Gender Stereotyping in Advertisements- the Relevance of Goffman's Study for Contemporary Advertising

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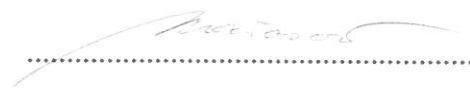*vedoucí katedry*

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ABSTRAKT

Bakalářská práce se zaměřuje na identifikaci stereotypních genderových reprezentací v současné české tištěné reklamě. Základním teoretickým východiskem pro tuto práci je studie E. Goffmana z roku 1979, která se věnuje způsobu, jakým reklamy vyjadřují nerovné postavení mužů a žen jejich status a v sociální hierachii. Byla provedena obsahová analýza 300 náhodně vybraných reklam z českých lifestylových magazínů, která měla za úkol změřit množství jednotlivých kategorií popsané E.Goffmanem. Dále byla na názorných ukázkách okomentována jednotlivá stereotypní zobrazení můžu a žen a porovnána s Goffmanovými závěry. Výsledky analýzy ukázaly, že ikdyž jsou některé genderové stereotypy výrazně na ústupu, reprezentace žen v české reklamě je stále závislá na tradičních a negativních stereotypních představách. Bylo zjištěno, že česká reklama do jisté míry reflektuje pozitivní posun v genderových rolích, nicméně stereotypy popsané E.Goffman před více než třiceti lety jsou stále aktuální a hojně využívané.

Klíčová slova: gender, žena, reklama, stereotypy, sex, Erving Goffman, semiotická analýza, obsahová analýza

ABSTRACT

This Bachelor Thesis focused on identification of gender stereotypical expressions in Czech print advertisements. The theoretical basis for this work is Goffman's study from 1979 which deals with unequal relationships between men and women and their social positions in social power hierarchy displayed in advertising images. A total of 300 randomly selected advertisements from Czech lifestyle magazines were examined by using Goffman's framework. Further, individual gender stereotypes were analysed and compare with Goffman's findings. The results showed that although some of the Goffman's categories are disappearing, traditional negative and unequal representation of women still dominate in Czech print advertisements. The findings revealed that Czech advertising mirror the changes in social gender roles in our society, however, stereotypes described in Goffman's study more than thirty years ago are still prevalent.

Keywords: gender, woman, advertising, stereotypes, sex, Erving Goffman, semiotic analysis, content analysis

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Modern advertising is known to be very powerful. The fact that advertisements are both persuasive and pervasive suggests they have a significant impact on our lives. While we might be tempted to think we are immune, research shows that it does have both long and short-term indirect effects (Reichert 2001, Kilbourne 2000). In fact, messages conveyed in advertising might influence our system of values and our social roles. They also play a significant role in constructing our gender identities and shape our ideas about "appropriate" behavior and attitudes towards and expectations of men and women in our society. Likewise, Goffman argue that "this depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, want to be or should be, in relation to themselves, and in relation to each other" (1979, 1).

However, advertisements often do not reflect the reality; instead they create and perpetuate images of negative or unrealistic cultural stereotypes. A significant body of research has analyzed stereotypical portrayals of men and women in advertisements, generally demonstrating negative and inaccurate images of women. One of the most important contributions to this issue was made by American sociologist Erving Goffman in his classic study of gender stereotyping in print advertisements, "Gender Advertisements" from 1979. Unlike most of the previous research, the focus of his study is not on specific social roles, but rather on visual representation of traditional stereotypes of women (e.g. dependence, submissiveness etc.) and men (e.g. authority, seriousness etc.). Goffman concluded that these images show men and women engaged in ritual–like behavior representative of gender ideals and therefore he centered his attention on subtle visual aspects of self-presentation, such as body language, emotional expressions and positions. By analyzing less obvious elements of the advertising images his study helps to answer how specifically social superiority and power are created in advertisements.

Just like in Goffman study, the main focus of this paper will be on unequal relationships between men and women in advertising images. Firstly, it will provide a theoretical context for understanding the roles of gender and stereotypes in society as well as review of previous research on this topic. The analysis in the second part will focus on gender stereotypical portrayals in print advertisements from Czech magazines and using Goffman's model of decoding behavior it should be able to explore possible changes. The practical part of this thesis will show how gender portrayals in print advertisements have

changed since Goffman's time and whether the stereotypes described in Goffman's categories, more than thirty years ago, can be usefully applied in contemporary advertising.

I. THEORY

1 GENDER

While a variety of definitions of the term gender have been suggested, this paper will use the definition first suggested by Lippa (2002) who refers gender to "all of the socially defined, learned, or constructed accoutrements of sex". It is common to think that sex, being male or female, is biologically given. In contrary, gender can be defined as socially created concept that is connected with the construction of two basic categories, masculinity and femininity. More specifically, it is a process of acquiring certain attitudes and behaviors that we consider appropriate to our understanding of femininity and masculinity in our culture (Fowles 1996, 201).

1.1 Social construction of gender

Whether they want to or not maturing individuals must take onto themselves some version of *gender identity*. Simply put, it is subjective feelings and convictions of belonging to one sex or another, yet it is one of the most significant aspects of our self concept (Kendall 2010, 320-349). Similarly, Jhally (1990) suggested that "our understanding of ourselves as either male or female (socially defined within the society at that time) is central to the understanding of who we are" (p.52).

How we perceive masculinity and femininity is based on our *cultural gender belief system* (Bullough 1994, 30). This can be understood as a set of descriptive beliefs and opinions about males and females, their qualities, attitudes towards appropriate roles or actions of men and women and also attitudes toward individuals that do not fit such gender categories, e.g. transsexuals (Ibid.) One of the most significant influences of the culture gender belief system is the existence of gender stereotyping. At an early age males and females are socializes to get prepared to different roles in life. For example larger groups and competitive activities train boys in how to get attention, status and power. This social culling leads directly to forceful, independent and competitive traits in men. In modest contrast girls lays games organized to be cooperative and their relations are arranged by closeness, commitment and intimacy. As a result girls are socialized to be nurturing, tender and cooperative – attributes that can be associated with home or community (Foley 1997, 280-289). This view is supported for example by Tannen (1990) who discussed the conversational styles of men and women and developed a model that shows how men use language to gain power and prestige whereas women emphasize connection and build

relationships. The conclusion is the same, boys dominate and girls cooperate. Gender identity and advertising (Ibid).

1.2   Gender identity and advertising

One of the most significant current discussions in gender studies is the role of media in developing our gender identity. From early age children are pressured to learn gender appropriate behavior. Messages about masculinity and femininity that help to create our gender identity are presented in our language, school systems, family environment or religion. Since advertising has become one of the most influential institutions of socialization in modern society many researchers support the suggestion that the self-identity including sex role attitudes are increasingly learned via media exposure, especially in today's western societies (Harris 2009, 30).

Several theories help to explain the relationship between socialization and media. Cultivation theory, for example, suggests that extensive and repeated exposure to media gradually shapes our view of the world, value systems and personalities. The major construct of this theory is mainstreaming, "the homogenization of people's divergent perceptions of social reality into convergent mainstream." Mainstreaming or other cultivation tendencies of media that present "a fairly uniform set of social messages" may result in developing a particular limited schema about masculinity and femininity (Morgan and Signorielli 1989, 98-156).

Because we face an immense number of advertisements since our childhood, they are an important element contributing to the shaping of our attitude to masculinity and femininity and their role in today's society. Therefore, this influence should not be underestimated and it is important to analyze masculinity and femininity portrayed in advertisements.

2 STEREOTYPES

Walter Lipmann introduces the term "stereotype" in his text Public Opinion, referring to them as "pictures in our heads" that simplify how people think about particular groups of people (1922, 81). In fact, people rely on simplistic pictures and images when forming or expressing opinions about others. Lippmann argues: "For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then we see" (Ibid). As such, cultural or personal stereotypical thinking might result in misunderstanding, tension and perhaps most important discrimination.

2.1 The role of stereotypes

When connected with media, stereotypes have been mostly used as means of abuse, which is reinforced by justified objections of various groups such as women, ethnic minorities or homosexuals. However, when Walter Lipmann used the term "stereotype" for the first time, he did not intend it to have such pejorative connotation. Therefore it is important to examine how stereotypes work in society and also focus on some positive effects from the point of view of the mind of individual. It has been suggested that there are four main social functions of stereotypes:

- **An Ordering Process**. Stereotypes serve to shape our reality in an easy-to-understand form. They help to make sense of the world and society, particularly through generalization, patterning and typification. In this way, they play a key role in our understanding of the world. Lippman suggests that the fact that stereotypes offer an incomplete view of the world does not necessarily make them false. "There is anyway no such thing as a complete view of world (Dyer 1993, 7)."

- **A Short Cut**. Stereotypes are simple, easy-to-grasp form of representing a great deal of complex information. They help people to easier understand otherwise complicated matters (Ibid.).

- **Referring To 'The World'**. They have their origin in the real world. Stereotypes as social constructs are a type of "re – presentation". Media as main source of information in today's world have a great influence on creating, maintaining and reinforcing stereotypes. They serve to naturalize the power relations in society. For

example, the fact that women are often stereotyped as subservient to men, homemaker or housewife legitimizes her inferior position (Ibid).

- **An expression of our values and beliefs.** Stereotypes are based on consensus on the way we think about a social group. Many stereotypes exist because they appear to have a status of consensus. What stereotypes represent, however, are not beliefs based upon reality but ideas which reflect the distribution of power in society, they are not expressions of true value but ideology (Ibid).

2.2   Stereotypes in advertising

For the purpose of this paper, it is essential to focus on stereotypes associated with the perception of masculinity and femininity in our society. According to Deaux and LaFrance gender stereotypes "are the most fundamental aspects of the gender belief system, both in term of duration over time and their pervasive influence on the other aspect of the system", because these beliefs help us to define who we are as well as who we should be (Worel 1980, 562). While gender stereotypes might not originate from the mass media, it is clear that mass media, particularly advertising, represents a rich source of stereotypical expressions. Advertising often use stereotypes to generalize about groups of people in an over-simplified way, therefore, in many cases they reinforce limited meanings of values and beliefs about gender roles.

However, it is important to remember that there are valid reasons why marketers use stereotypes. The main purpose of an advertisement is to sell and persuade as effectively as it can which requires effective and quick communication with the audience. Many commercial messages therefore use men's and women's stereotypical images as central components of their strategy to both get attention and persuade. Why is it that? In general, most advertisements have only very short time (television commercials take approximately 30 seconds) to present their selling message to the specific audience (Edwards 2003, 65). During this time they need to create the right "buying atmosphere" and messages that the audience easily decodes. Stereotypes can capture in simple terms an essence of complex idea and therefore communicate instantly and nonverbally. In other words, stereotypes evoke familiar images and easily recognizable roles and therefore they become very effective in communicating to the specific audience.

In modern advertising, gender is probably the resource that is used by most of advertisers. Likewise, Jhally argues: "Thousands of images surround us every day of our lives that address us along gender lines. Advertisements seem to be obsessed with gender and sexuality" (2000, 68). Although the idea that "sex sells" has been strongly criticized by many feminists, advertisers have good reasons for using sexual images as a part of their selling strategy. Firstly, representation of attractive and seductive model successfully plays a "stopping power role" (Sutherland 2008, 101) and almost unintentionally captures consumer's attention Secondly, advertising researchers found out that sexually attractive models positively influence the attitude toward advertisement and actual purchase. For example, Miller Lite advertisement form 2003 showed two scantily clad women involved in a mad fight over the taste versus low calorie. While the ad dealt with some negative complaints on its poor taste, the company schedules three sequels because of its apparent success with the target audience (Tellis 2003, 14).

Some studies, however, argue that using stereotypical sex roles can create negative response that can lead in rejecting the whole selling message. Some surveys suggested that women in general prefer images that reflect diversity of roles for women. "Advertisements that women dislike most are those implying that laundry, cooking and household were women's work or when men or women are shown as childish and incompetent, or those that treated women as sex objects" (Romaine 1998, 258-278). Similarly, recent research concluded in Leo Burnett Worldwide, (one of the biggest American advertising agencies organizing successful advertising campaigns for Coca Cola, Mc Donald's, Samsung etc.) revealed that "advertisements targeting newly empowered women are mostly clichéd and offensive". Linda Wolf, the chief executive officer, comment on their recent survey: "Women are simply not buying the message we have to sell." She added that "vast majority of advertisement aimed at women too often leave them feeling objectified, debased or demoralized" (Crawford 2004).

2.3   Ethical issues in women's advertising

Modern advertising no longer views its primary objective as conveying information about the product. Many scholars argue that advertisements assume certain characteristics which are less directly connected with selling. Commercial persuasion seems to program not only our shopping and product-use-behavior but also our lifestyle, a system of values and concepts of relationships. Modern advertising has been described as one of the greatest

vehicles of social communication, a vast system with "unsurpassed communicative powers" (Botterill, Kline and Leiss2005, 7)

As an industry, advertising concentrates primarily on women. Not surprisingly, recent survey revealed that 75% of all customers advertising budget in US is spend on advertisements appealing to women (Romaine 1998, 252). Women seem to be easy targets for advertising industry and therefore it is essential to focus on ethical issues connected with stereotyping in women's advertising. For the purpose of this paper three main issues are suggested:

1. Traits associated with men in advertising tend to be more highly regarded than traits associated with women. Men are often portrayed as powerful, secure and serious. Women are often portrayed as confused, contradictory, or generally in need of help. American sociologist Erving Goffman, who examined the issue of power and inequality of men and women in advertising, further concluded that childlike depictions of women also signify subordination and therefore women are "being saved from seriousness" (Goffman 1976, 13). The message is that a sexy woman - the type that men want - is one who is easily manipulated, vulnerable, weak, etc. This might encourage women to believe they are or should be weak, mindless, and needy (Cohan 2003, 325).

2. Another ethical concern is based on the idea that "sex sells". Sexual images are being criticized mainly for two reasons. Firstly, women in decorative images often represent sexualized objects mostly aimed to please men. Such images often include nonverbal cues as an indication that women lack any valued authority, become powerless and submissive. Advertisements of this kind suggest, according to Kilbourne, that "women's bodies are often dismembered and treated as separate parts, perpetuating the concept that a woman's body is not connected to her mind and emotions. The hidden message is "If a woman has great legs, who cares who she is" (Kilbourne 2000, 134)?

Secondly, advertising represents sex as brutal and violent rather than intimate and consenual: "advertisements present bodies, or body parts, with the *cool estrangement of commodities*. Or they depict sex that is brutal and violent. . . . The issue, then, is not just that we are inundated with sexual images but the *kind* of sexual images we are inundated with. . . . Sex in ads is inherently exploitive. . . ."(Colins 1995, 231).

3. Advertising is often criticized that it redefines attractiveness from something natural to an unattainable ideal. Sexual attractiveness is considered one of the most important characteristics of femininity. Marketers certainly profit through exploiting the importance of physical beauty and they constantly bombard women with pictures of ideal female beauty. These marketing practices are responsible for upholding and perhaps even creating homogenization of beauty standards (Cohan 1995, 326). Moreover, Jean Kilbourne (2000) states that cultural ideas of beauty have been set for men as well.

Striving to meet cultural ideals is the key selling message used by many types of advertisers. Naomi Wolf in her provocative work "Beauty Myth" describes the ideology of beauty industry as trying to persuade women to accept their definition of being a perfect woman. She argues that during this period, "the old myth" that women were fulfilled as housewives and mothers (as represented in Betty Friedan's "Feminine Mystique") was gradually replaced by advertisers with what she calls "the beauty myth." This cultural ideology tells women that they will not be desirable to, or loved by men unless they are physically perfect. Although many of these images present a standard of beauty that is in many cases impossible to attain for most of the women, women associate the products with this desire and they keep on purchasing them in order to achieve the ideal (Sheehan 2003, Wolf 2002).

Studies have shown that exposure to advertisements with highly attractive skinny models has a strong impact on self esteem and confidence of women. Feelings of guilt, anxiety and shame increase women's dissatisfaction with their bodies, as well as eating disorders among women. Teenagers and young girls, being less experienced consumers, are the prime targets of many advertisements. In the process of learning their values and roles and developing their self-concepts they become particularly vulnerable. Jean Kilbourne (2000) states that "most teenagers are sensitive to peer pressure and find it difficult to resist or even question the dominant cultural messages perpetuated and reinforced by the media."

These ethical issues have not changed in decades and women are still their victims. Not everybody has been content with the situation, though. Because these aspects have always attracted some negative reactions, the portrayal of women in advertising has been a subject to numerous studies throughout the last four decades. Perhaps the best-known contribution to the analysis of these issues can be found in Gender Advertisements (1979)

from American sociologist Erving Goffman. The following chapter provides a review of previous research and discusses Goffman study in detail.

3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH – LITERATURE REVIEW

The Women's Liberation Movement has had a significant impact on the roles and status of men and women in western society. Since 1970's researchers in a number of fields, such as social psychology, marketing or communication started to challenge male-dominated society and examine the issue mainly from a US advertising context. Advertising has been criticized for "helping perpetuate by failing to show the diverse capabilities and personalities possessed by women and by failing to show the wide range of lifestyles that may be attended by them" (Sexton & Haberman 1974, 41-46).

3.1 Content analysis

During this time several analyses, generally labeled as sex role stereotyping, have been conducted to examine the accuracy of images of women. Early researches in this area usually examine large number of ads in order to classify a particular type of women representation. The aim was to demonstrate what prevalent sex role stereotypes could be found in advertisements. Results from these researches revealed a common emphasis on projecting male superiority and feminine domesticity. Specifically, early sex role research revealed that 1) advertisements gave only patriarchal picture of women 2) advertisements feature women mostly in stereotyped ways (Valdivia 2003, 198).

One of the first studies that made a significant contribution to the research on women roles in print advertisements was conducted by Courtney and Lockeretz in 1971. Through the use of content analysis, the authors looked at 700 advertisements from eight general interest magazines that appealed to both men and women. They introduced four general stereotypes characterized for print advertisements: (1) "A woman's place is in the home." (2) "Women do not make important decisions or do important things."(3) "Women are dependent and need men's protection." (4) "Men regard women primarily as sexual objects; they are not interested in women as people."

Women were most often shown in advertisements for cleaning, food, and beauty products, drugs, clothing, and home appliances. Men, in contrary, appeared most often in advertisements for cars, travel, alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, banks, industrial products, entertainment media, and industrial companies. Almost half of the men were shown in working roles. In contrast, less than one-tenth of the women were shown in working roles, which were limited to entertainers, stewardesses, schoolteachers, assembly line workers,

and a lone portrayal identified only as a "working woman"(Courtney, and Lockeretz 1971, 92-95).

Several studies compared advertisements from different time periods since the pre-women's movement area. Ahmed and Janice M. Belkaoui (1976) undertook a comparative analysis of advertisements from 1958 to 1972 to examine whether advertisers correctly respond to the women's movement. The study from Sexton and Haberman (1974) focused on advertisements for beverages, cigarettes, air travel and automobiles and made a similar conclusion. Their findings revealed that "very few advertisements showed women in circumstances that would be considered atypical by society standards" and "image of women reflected in advertising is narrow". Although the status of women has been improving significantly at that time, advertising industry has not reflected this change and, with a few exceptions, tended to "portray women in unrealistic settings and in under-representative numbers".

In 1980's and 1990's the number of sex role analyses decreased. The studies started to be more specialized, they concentrated for instance on portrayals of women in business or cross- cultural analysis. They often work with data collected from 1970 either to revisit or replicate the previous studies to see whether gender stereotypical images have progress over the time or to advance the previous theories with stress on the impacts of stereotypes (Valvidia 2003 , 250).

Results of more recent studies are mixed. In 1988, Sullivan and O'Connor compared print advertisements of the year 1983 to advertisements of the 1950s and 1970s. Their study concluded that the 1983 advertisements more accurately reflected the true diversity of women's social and occupational roles than did those of the earlier decades. They were portrayed as working outside the home, in progressive occupations or in non-traditional roles. Women were more often shown as independent of men and as occupying equal social roles. However, the trend toward gender equality (i.e., men and women engaging in more similar activities and behaviours) was counteracted by an increase in women portrayed in purely decorative and sexualized roles. Similarly, another major study from 1990 conducted by Ferguson, Peggy and Kreshel, suggested that portrayals of women as subordinate to men have decreased in print advertisements. On the other hand, images of women presented as sexually alluring objects with no functional relation to the product have strongly increased. This may suggest that the progress in one area seemed to be counterbalanced by setbacks in another. "An increase in sexualized, as well as degrading,

submissive, and objectified, images of women re-established the power imbalance between the sexes" (Faludi 2006, 69).

3.2   Semiotic analysis

Although the study of advertising has been heavily influenced by semiotics in last few decades not much research on advertising gender employed this approach (Jhally 2000, Williamson 1986). Semiotics can be defined as science of the signs and is a branch of linguistics. It has originated in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure in Europe and further developed in America by Charles S. Peirce. This approach offers a completely different insight into understanding advertisements. Unlike the previous analyses, which were not able to provide the explanation of the findings, this approach concentrates mainly on the meaning and tries to answer how advertisements work, or more specifically, how the meaning is reconstructed by both advertisers and users of the message (Botterill, Klinne and Leiss, and 2005, 164).

This approach suggests that each advertisement works with the concept of the sign, which may be separated into two components: "the signifier" and "the signified". The signifier is the material vehicle of meaning. The signified is our metal construct or the idea. In other words, signifier is the concrete dimension, signified is the "abstract" side. For instance, a diamond as a signifier means empty meaning. The diamond as a sign is full of meaning. This means that these two elements can be separated only for analytical purposes, but in reality they are inseparable (Jhally 1990, Bignell 1997, Valdivia 2006).

A significant semiotic exploration of advertising is provided in Decoding Advertisements (1978) by Judith Williamson. She explains the ideological processes in advertising by which goods are given meaning. According to Williamson, advertising transforms the practical "use value" of products into the symbolic "exchange value" of commodities. This process is explained in the idea of a "metastructure". Meaning is not just decoded with one structure, but transferred to create another new meaning that happens as a result of consumers decoding signs. Therefore the central point is that the meaning is created through the audience, rather than meaning being directed at audiences.

Whereas the previous content analyses concentrated on explicit content and suggests that this represents a single, fixed meaning, semiotic approach suggests we should participate in decoding linguistic or visual signs of the advertisements. However, since the advertisements cannot be read in the same way by all readers, we should remember there

are several limiting factors in using semiotic approach. Firstly it is the potential ambiguity in the meanings of signs and secondly the reader might decode the signs differently which might produce completely different results.

3.3   Content-semiotic analysis – Goffman's study

Some scholars state that previous content analyses on gender stereotyping are not correct when they stress the truth or falsify of gender representations. In fact, "advertisement images are neither false nor true reflection of social reality because they are in fact part of social reality" (Jhally 2000). Therefore advertisements need to be studied as a constituent part of reality. Goffman suggested that the most relevant question we can ask of advertisement is: what can advertisements tell us about ourselves.

As noted, there is nothing natural about our gender, our gender identity is socially defined and constructed. Specific relations between men and women and our "codes of normality" can have many different meanings depending upon the specific culture patterns in society. Since the codes of masculinity and femininity are created in culture, we have to learn how to communicate our gender in the way that will be understood correctly. In other words, in our daily interactions we need to act according to masculine and feminine roles expected by the social conventions that surround us. These expressions of our masculine or feminine identities Goffman called "gender display". In gender display is observed our behaviors, gestures, body postures, ceremonial activities or cultural rituals. He concluded that these nonverbal cues help to define our masculinity and femininity specific for particular culture and therefore interpret the social reality and the best way how to observed our "gender displays" is in advertising images. And this is the reason why these pictures seem to be familiar for us. They can be easily read because they show us our "gender display", our rituals, bits of behavior and gestures in which we engage in real life.

Therefore, in analyzing advertisements we need to pay special attention to these nonverbal elements. Goffman suggest we should concentrate how men and women communicate their feelings, values of power, submissiveness or sexuality. Because in advertising these expressions needs to be communicate swiftly and ambiguously they become over-stylized and conventionalized, or what he called "hyper-ritualized", tendencies which contribute towards the stereotyping of people particularly of men and women (1979, 84). Goffman explains that "advertisers conventionalize our conventions, stylize what is already a stylization, and make frivolous use of what is already something

considerably cut off from contextual controls" (Ibid.). Jhally (2000) further concludes that "just as gender displays are not true or false representations of real gender relations neither are ads true or false representation of real gender relations or of ritualized gender displays - they are hyper-ritualizations that emphasize some aspects of gender displays and de-emphasize others." Therefore advertisements do not present unreal world separated from social reality.

3.3.1 Goffman's method

Goffman's method for decoding gender behaviour uses every little detail of daily life. In his provocative analysis of nearly 500 advertisements he concentrates on very subtle signs of our social interaction, mainly the gestures, eye contact, posture of hands, facial expressions etc. He states that the most innocent gestures, familiar rituals, or taken-for-granted forms of address enhanced understanding of the relations between males and females. He designed following categories to measure gender stereotyping in advertising images: (1) Relative Size, (2) The Feminine Touch, (3) Function Ranking, (4) The Ritualization of Subordination, (5) Licensed Withdrawal. He argued that these categories are indicative of gender differences in "social weight," that is social power, influence, and authority.

Relative Size

Social weight, specifically power, authority, rank, office, and renown are often expressed through "relative size". Goffman suggested that men are regularly pictured above women. Male "relative size" over females in the picture reflects traditional cultural attitudes of male power and authority over females. When a woman is pictured taller than men, it is usually indication of her higher social status (doctor and patient).

The Feminine Touch

Another category may appear as trivial, but, in fact, it supports the idea that women are vulnerable and non-assertive. According to Goffman, women's hands are rarely depicted engaged in practical, utilitarian activity. Rather than using the whole hand they are more likely to use just the ends of the fingers and hold the objects delicately and lightly. In contrary, men are depicted grasping, squeezing, manipulating or gripping objects. Goffman calls this pattern in the representation of female hands "The Feminine Touch." The soft,

delicate, caressing touch (Goffman calls it "ritualistic touching") conveys the idea that the product being caressed is "precious and desirable." Sometimes, we can find a variation of self-touching, when a woman is gently touching different parts of their bodies, their hands, face, neck or hips and showing her body as precious product or something that needs support.

Function Ranking

Whereas men are shown in a relatively wide variety of social roles and activities, women are more often restricted to domestic and subordinating roles. In fact, they are often underrepresented in advertisements or performing less meaningful roles. When men and women appear together in an advert, men are more likely to be portrayed as experts or leaders. According to Goffman, sometimes, even in advertisements aimed at female audience, selling product such as household goods, males are depicted in executive roles, often teaching or instructing women. When women appear in a traditionally male task, such as fixing a car, the man is presented to "parenthesize the activity, looking on appraisingly, condescendingly, or with wonder."

Licensed Withdrawal

Goffman state that women, more than men, may seem as not paying attention to what is happening around them. They tend to be pictured physically or mentally removed or withdrawn from the social situation and appear to be disoriented. This leaves women dependent on the protection of others. Men, by contrast, seem to control the situation and stay alert and ready for potential threats.

Women are also often presented as losing their control in strong emotional situations and use their hands to cover the mouth or the whole face. Furthermore, similarly to children, in some situations when dealing with uncomfortable feelings, such as shyness, fear or embarrassment, women tend to use their fingers to suck or bite them.

Another form of this category can be found when women and men appear in some euphoric state. Women are more likely to be exhibiting a more expansive expression than men, which Kant called "expansive smile."

The Ritualization of Subordination

Another example demonstrating women's subordination is presented in "The Ritualization of Subordination." Goffman states that women are often depictured as lying down in vulnerable position, while men look alert and ready to respond to or to initiate action. Such poses explicitly communicate submission and dependency of women. Firstly, placing her in such a position gives her no defense against possible threats and makes her completely powerless. Secondly, women appearing in such powerless positions often signalize they are sexually available for men.

Another way how women express their submissiveness is through "the bashful knee-bend." He calls it "canting" postures – meaning the body is tilted – positions that take the body away from being upright and perpendicular and places people off-centre. Similarly to the other submissive positions, "the bashful knee-bend" leaves women in vulnerable or sexualized position.

Finally, Goffman again proved that women are "saved from seriousness." He argues that while men have to act seriously and look dignified in all kind of situations, women tend to show playful "clowning." Acting, posing, playing like children, women cannot be taken seriously.

3.4 Czech Research

According to research conducted by OmnicomMedia Group in 2009, advertising is one of the fastest growing industries in our country and more than 18,5 billion crowns was invested in this service last year. However, unlike in the US, where the issue of ethics of advertising as well as gender stereotyping has been heavily discussed for many years, in our country any extensive survey seems to be missing.

One of the first studies on gender roles in advertising was conducted by Oates – Indruchováin early 1990's.[1] In her semiotics analysis she focused on images of women and construction of femininity in contemporary billboards advertising. In her analysis she used the semiotic approach similar to Williamson (1978) and combined it with some suggestions about specifics advertising slogans. Her findings suggested strong differences

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[1] doc. Libora Oates-Indruchová, Ph.D. (Faculty of Social Studies at Masaryk University) is initiated the founding of with Gender Studies s.r.o; she is the editor of two famous athologies of feminist theory: Dívčí válka s ideologií: klasické texty angloamerického feministického myšlení and Ženská literární tradice a hledání identit: antologie angloamerické feministické literární teorie

between advertisements targeting men and women. Women, according to Oates-Indruchová, act in such roles that men expect from them e.g. they take care of homes and families and devote their primary energies to improving their appearance and. In all these roles, however, women seem to be active and show that everything is under their control; they can feel free, strong and independent. The opposite is true when the intended audience is a man. Females pictured in men advertisements are shown in rather passive positions. Sexual appeal is the most important for these messages; a woman is seen either as a passive sexual object or someone whose biggest concern is to satisfy men's needs.

The recent study conducted by Koudelka (2008) revealed more positive conclusions.[2] The research focused on print advertisement in Czech magazines (1997-2006) concluded that "women and men are closer in advertising than they used to be in the past". In the analysis that focused on typically men's and women's popular magazines (e.g. Esquire, Cosmopolitan) revealed that these magazines can be still considered as a rich source of traditional stereotypical images. The role of women in advertising is, however, rapidly changing. A woman is now shown more often as confident and independent. Furthermore, she is more often portrayed in dominant position and as a main figure in the advertisement, where a man is pictured behind her.

Interesting finding was also revealed in his quantitative research of more than 6 000 respondents that focused on attitudes towards stereotyping. This concluded that Czech society is very liberal in terms or gender stereotyping. The traditional stereotypical roles of women such as mother and housewife are not seen as negative. Not even the non-traditional roles of men and women cause any negative responses. Almost three quarters of the respondents consider a dominant position of women over men in advertisement as acceptable and normal.

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[2] Doc.Ing.Jan Koudelka CSc. (Department of Marketing, VŠE, VŠEM) has long been engaged in consumer behaviour and marketing segmentation research. He is also author of author of various books and articles about gender roles in the perspective of consumer behaving.

II. ANALYSIS

4 GENDER STEREOTYP RESEARCH

4.1 Research objectives

The representation of men and women in advertising often presents the power relation of the society in a kind of black and white, stereotypical way. Further, gender stereotypes used in advertising images often show a distorted view of women's reality and support rigid gender hierarchical roles. Since these messages play a crucial factor in forming our perception of our gender identities, it is essential to examine how men and women are portrayed in advertising. Previously mentioned studies show that some shifts in stereotypical depiction of men and women in advertisements have occurred since Goffman's time. However, it is important to note that despite the significant changes in the role of women and rapidly growing advertising industry in our society, academic research on this topic has been, with a few exceptions, very limited.

The purpose of this paper is, therefore, to examine whether portrayals of women in the print advertisements have changed in our society and whether the stereotypes defined by Goffman (1979) can be usefully applied in contemporary advertising images. The basic yet the most important question of this research is: what kind of message about women is created in contemporary advertisements in our society?

4.2 Research method

A total of 300 print advertisements were randomly collected from Czech magazines published from the years 2008-2010. Four types of popular magazines were selected for the analysis, two female targeted magazines, Svět Ženy and Cosmopolitan, and two male targeted magazines, Men's Health and Esquire. For the purpose of this analysis all advertisements that contained a picture of at least one adult person or a part of their bodies were used.

The coding sheet was developed based on Goffman's research framework. Just like in his study, this research will focus on visual aspects of images rather than words. Modern advertising depends on images and according to Bovee and Arens (1986) most readers of advertisement firstly look at the illustration, then read the headline and finally read the body copy. Visual communication in advertising therefore carries a great deal of responsibility for decoding messages in an advertisement.

Goffman states that advertising conveys cultural ideals of masculinity and femininity, sometimes in subtle forms, other times more explicitly. In his coding method he concentrates mostly on subtle signs of human behavior that allow exploring less obvious elements of an advertisement (Goffman calls it "opaque goings on"). This research is working with the following coding categories: (1) Relative Size, (2) The Feminine Touch, (3) Function Ranking, (4) The Ritualization of Subordination, (5) Licensed Withdrawal. In addition to Goffman's classical categories, I decided to add another two categories which were introduced by Kang in her conceptual replication of Goffman study from 1997, which is (6) Body Display and (7) Independence and Self-assertiveness. Most of the previous research agreed that in addition of being stereotyped as passive and submissive, women sexuality have been extensively used in advertisements targeting both men and women (Kant 1997, Millard 2006, Sullivan and O'Connor 1983). Kang's category "body display" will examine the degree of nudity and sexual explicitness in advertising images. And since it is associated with sexual objectification of women and men bodies it might be useful for this analysis. Considering the changes of women social roles in our society I decided to add another category that should help to evaluate female model's overall images in terms of independence and self assertiveness. While Goffman centered his attention primary on details such as body positioning, emotional expression or using hands, this category allowed to look at the "bigger picture " and to obtain overall message of an advertisement.

As a starting point these categories will be examined using traditional content analysis technique. Content analysis involves quantitative approach which helps to make an overview of frequencies of particular categories. These findings will be demonstrated on suitable examples and commented on using Goffman's semiotic approach which investigates rather latent, connotative meaning of the images. Table I will describe and summarizes all coding categories.

5 ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL CATEGORIES

5.1 Relative Size

According to Goffman higher physical position is associated with higher social status and superiority and lower physical position with lower social status and submissiveness. Male "relative size" over females in this sense is the most obvious index of power which, according to Goffman, reflects traditional cultural attitudes of male power and authority over females. This category also examines whether the women in the images were portrayed as sexually dominant or submissive.

"Relative size" only applies on advertisements that picture both men and women. In this analysis, only 81 advertisements showed a male and female together. Overall, the results show that about 19 % of all advertisements portraying both sexes apply this category. However, in some cases the physical position was not identifiable or the differences between their heights were very subtle. In fact, more often, men and women appeared in equal or very similar height, and in two cases women appeared in higher position than a man.

Figure 1. Relative size
(Cosmopolitan July, 2009)

Figure 2. Relative size
(Cosmopolitan August, 2009)

As demonstrated in two fashion advertisements in figure 1 and figure 2, "relative size" is often used in rather subtle ways and without any obvious messages about women's place in social hierarchy as it is described by Goffman in his study. Female's and male's social

position is, however, demonstrated with positions of their bodies. It can be assumed that the couples are romantically involved and therefore of equal social status and same or similar height. However, their positions and body language clearly show dominance and authority of the men. Both examples illustrate that although "relative size" is not so obvious, there is a tendency of men to take control over women's bodies, containing their space by encircling or blocking access to their bodies, or by putting their arms around women's shoulders etc.

More obvious example of men dominance is demonstrated in figure 3. Another way how to demonstrate "relative size" can be seen in the advertisement for men perfume that presents "ultimate code for seduction of men". As the text states, this advertisement will try to sells the reflection of the ideal heterosexual manhood. The man portrayed as virile and authoritative becomes the centre and most important figure in the picture. Besides his facial expression, his superiority and social power are highlighted with his formal elegant suit. There is no eye contact or any emotional intimacy expressed by the man. The lightly clad woman, on the other hand, is showing her desire by kissing his neck, and leaning towards him in spite of his apparent ignorance. These visual cues might indicate that the woman's role is, in effect, primarily decorative. These messages suggest that the principal aim of this advertisement is to induce the male reader into purchasing the perfume by using the woman as a "potential reward".

Figure 3. Relative size
(Men's Health January, 2010)

5.2 The Feminine Touch

Although the focus on hand might not seem the most burning issue to be tackled on the question of representation of femininity and masculinity in advertising images, Goffman pays particular attention to the way how men and women use their hands and how they treat the objects or products which are promoting. Similarly, Winship (1981) analyzed the relationship of positioning of hands and sexuality in advertisements. She suggested that male and female hands are "part of an entire message system of social representation signifying appropriate gender behavior....women's hand does not signify word leader and men's hands does not signify home-made, but, as it is, the appropriately gendered hands allows us to key into familiar ideologies of masculinity and femininity" (Shields 2002,40).

Overall, this stereotypical behavior among women was applicable in more than 16% from all the pictures displaying women alone or together with men. The findings have shown that men are often presented as using tools to control or manipulate their environment, whereas women are using the Goffman's "The Feminine Touch," caressing an object, or tracing its surface. This category was most often shown in messages promoting beauty products for women as a kind of gentle self-touching of the body, or specific parts such as hips, hair or face (see fig. 4).
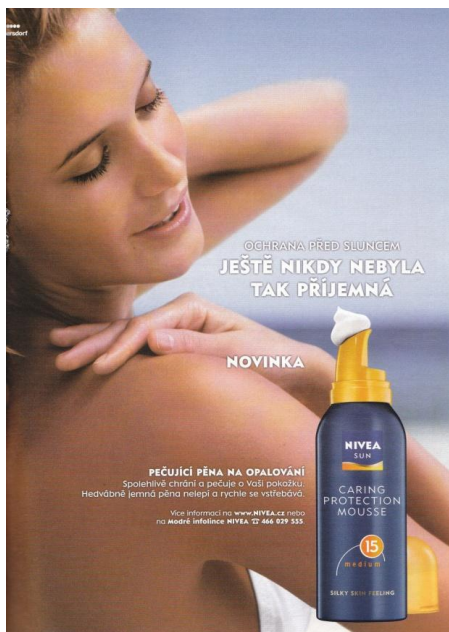

Figure 4. The Feminine Touch
(Cosmopolitan May, 2009)

Figure 5. The Feminine touch
 (Men's Health August, 2009)

This stereotypical behavior applies exclusively to women. They are shown as admiring their bodies and displaying them to others so that everyone can share the admiration of this "delicate and precious" thing (Goffman 1979, 31). As can be seen from the advertisement for Nivea, this image conveys the impression of narcissism and love for her body. However, self-touching often appears together with other categories which are associated with more overt sexuality such as "body display" and "the ritualization of subordination". In these cases the messages have a strong sexual connotation in order to get attention quickly and provoke.

The ritualistic feminine touching is different from functional touching like grasping or holding. When comparing these images with the men's touching demonstrating in the figure 6 and figure 7, it might be suggested that men and women have different relationship to objects. Men apparently act with the clear purpose but women do not want to impose themselves on the objects; they rather treat the objects as precious and admire them in aesthetic way as shows the advertisement for a new LCD monitor (see fig. 5). Men, by contrast, show the object who their owner is; treating them as means to a particular end even though it might be only a piece of jewellery (see fig. 7).
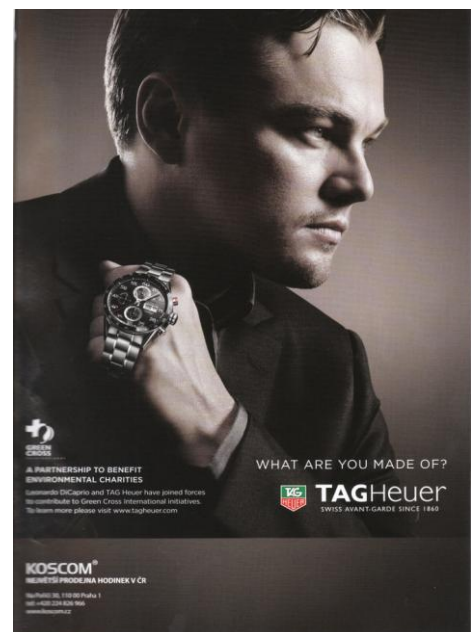

Figure 6. Men's grasp
(Svět Ženy January, 2008)

Figure 7. Men's grasp
(Men's Health January, 2010)

5.3   Function Ranking

This category refers to the advertisements in which women are shown in less prestigious roles and occupations than men or as controlled by men. Goffman also states that when men and women appear together in an advertisement, men are more often portrayed as experts and leaders or playing instructing roles whereas women are restricted to more passive and less meaningful roles. The purpose of this category was, therefore, to compare the type of roles applying to men and women.

Contrary to expectation, this hypothesis was not confirmed and it can be suggested that this stereotypical behavior patterns can be considered as no longer applicable. However, one possible explanation of the absence of this category is limited scope of advertisements. The final sample consists of 300 advertisements but only less than one third showed both sexes together. Furthermore, few advertisements were able to demonstrate and compare men's and women's active/passive or instructing/less meaningful social roles because many of them demonstrate men and women in purely decorative roles. This might suggest that advertisers are becoming very hesitant to demonstrate women's social roles because both traditional and new non-traditional roles of women can be easily criticized. Therefore, using women as aesthetic decoration in the image might be viewed as a safer strategy for advertisers that might help to avoid possible criticism.

In addition, the traditional stereotypical expressions dominated in 1970s such as "women's place is at home" or "women do not take important decisions" (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971) were not found in the sample. These findings also support the previous research which concluded that advertisements do reflect the changes of social roles of women and the range of women's responsibilities that go much further than housework or raising children (Sullivan & O'Connor 1988, Lindner 2004, Koudelka 2008). This may indicate that advertisers are now much more sensitive to this kind of stereotypes and try to put more women into advertisements in positions of authority and dominance. As Courtney and Lockeretz argue in their research from 1971, the traditional portrayals of women were often restricted to traditional female-oriented occupations such assistants or nurses. However, as can be seen in the advertisement for KB (see fig. 8), advertisements now better reflect the professional lifestyle of women.

Figure. 8. Function ranking no longer
applies (Svět Ženy May, 2009)

5.4   Licensed Withdrawal

"Licensed withdrawal" is associated with more subtle way of stereotyping. Goffman
suggested that women, more likely than men, tend to remove themselves psychologically
from the situation. Their attention often drifts away; they gaze into the distance and this
may create an impression that they are disoriented. This leaves women dependent on
protection of others, whereas men stay alert and ready for potential threats to their control
of situation. In this category special emphasis needs to be put on the difference in using
emotions in male and female models.

Overall, almost one-fourth (24%) of the advertisements featured some aspects of these
behaviours. Figures 9 and figure 10 demonstrate the contrast between a man and a woman
depicted as "drifting from the scene". In both cases there is no eye contact with the camera.
However detailed focus on woman's face suggests rather passive approach. She is not
concentrating – instead she is perhaps involved in romantic daydreaming. The man is
looking into the distance, possibly enjoying the view from the mountains, but he is staying
alert and concentrated. This stereotypical behavior often appeared in others categories,
primary in "the ritualization of subordination" which is a category associated with
women's sexuality and objectifying women's bodies. Combination of these two categories
was found quite frequently. Women are often seen as posing in subordinate positions, lying

on the floor and mentally removing themselves from the situation which emphasise the impression they are waiting for help or support (see fig. 15).

Figure 9. Licensed withdrawal -
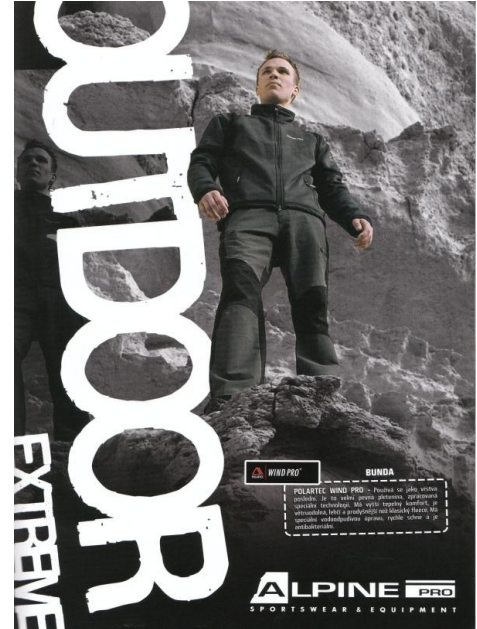a woman(Cosmopolitan Juny, 2009)

Figure 10. Licensed withdrawal –
a man (Cosmopolitan May, 2009)

Eye contact and facial expression are particularly in attention here. Most of our gestures or facial expressions are socially learned and part of our socializing process when we learn about what is socially acceptable or unacceptable for our gender identity in our society. Therefore facial expressions, particularly using our emotions and eye contact might vary from culture to culture. Goffman suggested that in general, women more that men lose control over their emotion which is successfully exploited in advertisements. This was mostly demonstrated by euphoric feelings which can be called "expansive smiles" (Kant 1997, 996). As illustrated in figure 11 and figure 12, women's movements and emotions are often exaggerated, ridiculous and childlike, calling into question the competence of the performers. This sometimes takes the form of surprise, remorse, or shock (see fig. 11). It can be also suggested than women more than men demonstrate the feeling of commitments and closeness as can be seen in the advertisement for Jacobs that demonstrates friendship and solidarity. Men, by contrary, are rarely seen as expressing any emotions; they keep their dignity and seriousness and rather than affection they show their confidence and independence (see fig. 10).
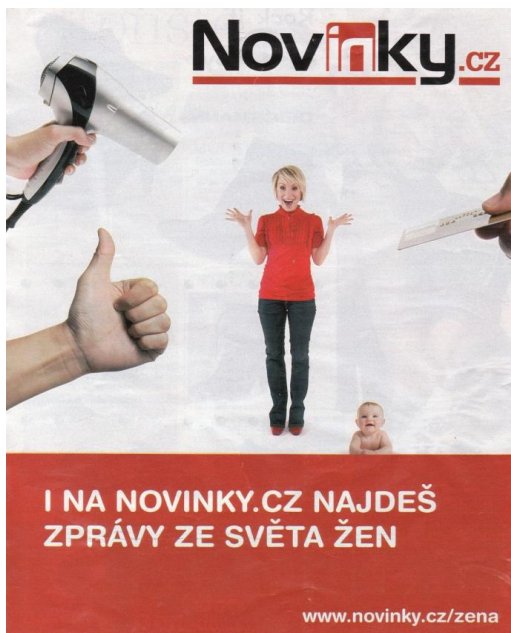
Figure 11. Licensed withdrawal-
using emotions (Svět Ženy June, 2009)

Figure 12. Licensed withdrawal-
closeness (Svět Ženy Januaru, 2010)

5.5   The Ritualization of Subordination

According to Goffman, a woman more likely than a man, lowers herself physically; she often appears as lying or sitting in vulnerable positions, off–balance or insecure. These images are often associated with strong sexual symbolism and sexual objectification and unlike the previous "The Feminine Touch" it measures more over sexuality. Therefore, this category should examine the degree of explicitly sexual behavior demonstrated in advertisements. Another form of this category is "body clowning". In this sense, it concentrates primarily on women portrayed as childish and incompetent. Goffman states that while men tend to act seriously and look dignified in all kinds of situations, women tend to act, pose and play like children and therefore are "being saved from seriousness".

It is surprising, that in both men's and women's magazines was found such a high level of this stereotypical behavior that explicitly associates a woman with the lower degree of social power and control (28,6%). The advertisement for a car shop (fig. 13) demonstrates a classical example of "the ritualization of subordination" position as well as of sexual objectifying of women's bodies. Depiction of a female model in the position of a provocative sexual object without any logical relation to the product, removes her subjectivity or individuality as well as her rights to control her body against advances of others.
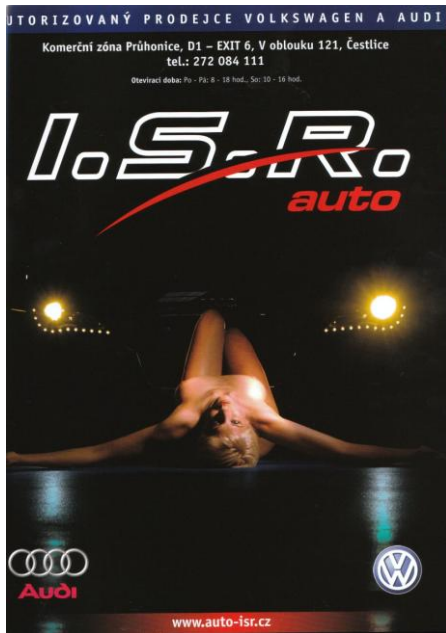
Figure 13. The Ritualization
of subordination (Esquire July, 2009)

Examples from this category demonstrate, that advertising images of women frequently contain a "male gaze" (Valdivia 2003, 258). This means that the "point of view" in advertisements featuring idealized female body or sexually passive objects is most often that of an implied "invisible" male spectator. Seen through the lens of "male gaze" the woman in the picture is the object of the gaze as opposed to the subject of the gaze. Mulvey (1975) further explains the concept of gendered gaze: "In the world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy into female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness" (1975, 366).

Perhaps the best demonstration of "the ritualization of subordination" in advertisements is displaying both a man and a woman together (see fig. 14). The man is positioned higher than the woman who at the same time leans against his crotch, lying on the ground. The man is portrayed in obviously dominant position, as woman's protector. The second advertisement represents the woman in completely passive and decorative role, lying on the floor and looking upwards off the camera ("licensed withdrawal"). It creates the impression she is looking for help or someone's protection.
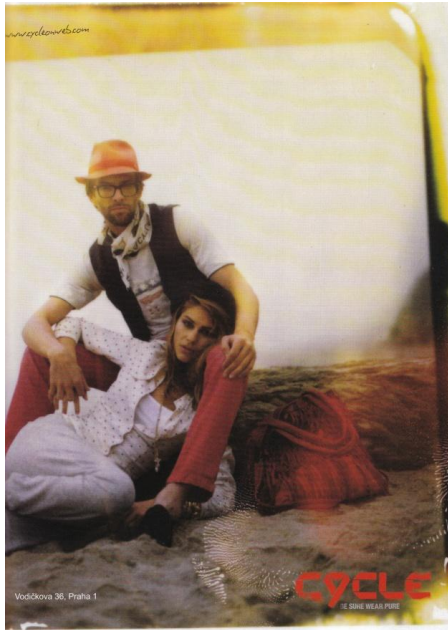
Figure 14. The ritualization of
subordination (Esquire May, 2009)

Figure 15. The ritualization of
subordination (Esquire May, 2009)

One of the most important contributions of Goffman analysis is "the continuous, ever deepening connection he makes between our image of women and the behavior of children" (Gornick 1979, viii). Goffman pointed out that women often act, pose and look like children. This is demonstrated through women using their bodies as "playful gesticulate device, a sort of body clowning" (Goffman 1979, 50). It seems that such images play no exceptional role in today's advertising. Two examples are illustrated in the figure 16 and figure 17. All female models are obviously adult women, however their behaving and body language would be more typically found among little girls. Again, it can be seen that women express their emotions via exaggerated body language and expansive smile which suggests that "the ritualization of subordination" and "licensed withdrawal" are related concepts. These examples of "body clowning" were found only among women and therefore can serve as a demonstration of the difference of how men and women are treated in advertisements. When an adult woman imitates children's behaviour it suggests that she expects to be treated as a child, e.g. as incompetent, dependent on protection of others and therefore cannot be taken seriously. Based on these images Goffman suggested an analogy: man is to woman what parent is to child. Although these portrayals were found frequently in the sample, they always appeared in single sex advertisements. Therefore the visual demonstration of Goffman's analogy is not possible.
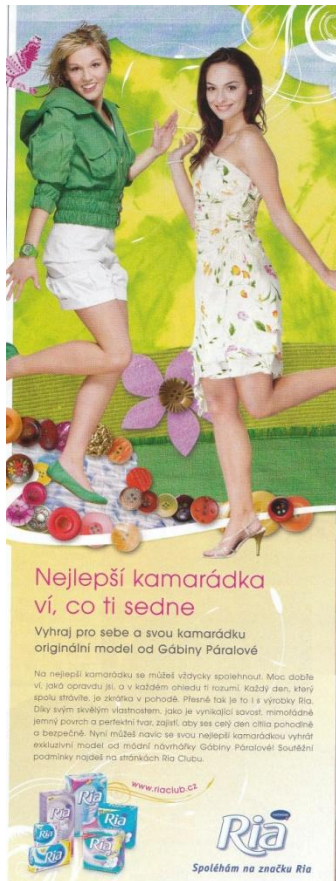
Figure 16. Body clowning
(Svět Ženy December, 2009)

Figure 17. Body clowning
(Svět Ženy October 2009)

5.6 Body Display

Like the previous category, "body display" is closely linked to the sexuality of men and women in the images. The cliché that sex and nudity sells in our culture also confirms the fact that the most recognized internet Czech websites about marketing and advertising, Marketing and Media, announced the competition of "Sexy Advertisements of the Year". Sparse clothing and nudity, which are often connected with sexual appeal, are commonplace and used to promote an increasingly wider range of mainstream products and services in many cultures. Likewise Jhally (1990) argues that the iconography of the culture, perhaps more than any previous society, is obsessed with sexuality. The end result is that the commodity is part of an increasingly eroticized world and that we live in a culture that is more and more defined erotically through commodities. Figure 18 demonstrate a type of sexual appeal which primary relies on decorative naked model. This woman plays no part in demonstrating the effectiveness of the product. Her role is not to persuade viewer about the qualities of the product but attract viewer's attention. This

example demonstrates that the element of naked female body has become commonsense even though the relationship between the product (acrylic baths) and the women is in itself arbitrary.
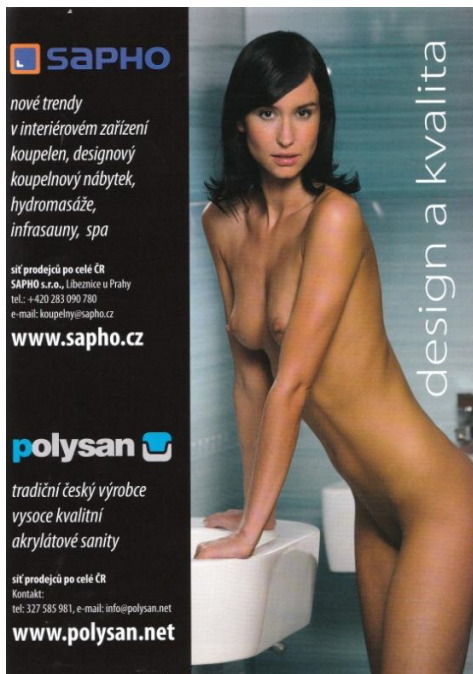

Figure 18. Connection of sexual elements
and the product (Esquire July, 2009)

Unsurprisingly, the results show that "body displays" are found quite frequently (19%) in magazines targeting both men and women. This may suggest that sexual images and the nudity in the advertising are accepted in our society for both men and women. However, one unexpected finding was a high number of "body displays" of men which may indicate that today's marketing campaigns are no longer limited only to women's idealized and sexualized bodies.

Despite these apparent similarities, there are, in fact, profound differences in the ways in which sexuality is represented on men and women's models. The comparison between two advertisements both promoting underwear is the best illustration of stereotypical use of "body display" of femininity and masculinity (see fig. 19, 20). Unlike women, men do not appear in any kinds of postures or gestures discussed in previous Goffman category (posing in vulnerable positions, using eye aversion, expansive smile etc.). As shown in the figure 19, the man is portrayed standing upright and looking back at the viewers in ways that assert his dominance and independence as a value marking his masculinity. Figure 20 in

complete contrast to this, shows a playful and smiling girl. As Goffman pointed out, women, like children, tend to use their hands or fingers to cover their faces to hide their feelings of embarrassment or shyness. What is puzzling is the message that is rather contradictory. The girl presents herself as active and desiring, as someone who is not seeking men's approval. A discourse of empowerment is crucial: "I am jealous but I am worth it". This creates a powerful message about her sexual confidence but at the same time her body language denies such a message. This advertisement might serve as an example of another hyper-ritualization that Kilbourne identifies as "innocent and sexy".
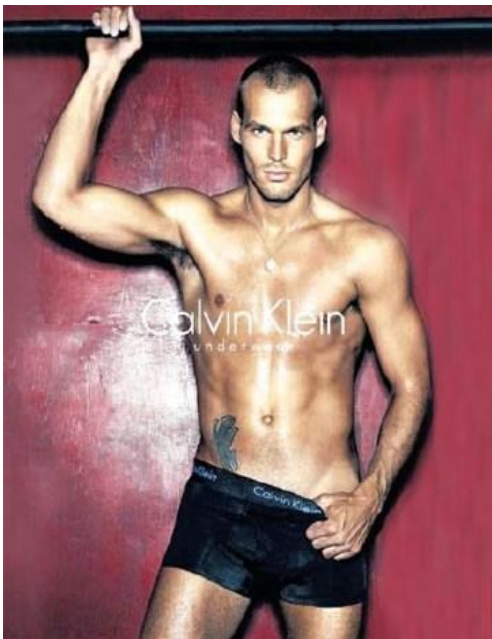

Figure 19. Masculinity- Body Display
(Cosmopolitan January, 2008)

Figure 20. Femininity – Body Display
(Cosmopolitan December, 2009)

The advertisements aimed at women contained a high degree of nudity and body-revealing clothes. However unlike in men's magazines, the most common function of a female model in women's magazines is as a product user. Therefore, women sexuality and objectifying her body is usually expressed in a more subtle way. Such images usually promote the message that a woman can increase her sexual appeal and improve her imperfect body parts with the advertising products as illustrated in figure 21. This might suggest that in women's magazines, the idea is to try to obtain beauty through a certain product, whereas in men's magazines the idea is to obtain an attractive woman through a product (see fig. 3 in "relative size"). It can be also noticed that such messages more often use "body cropping" (Kilbourne 2000), a technique of a dismembered female body in the

images (see fig. 21). Similarly, showing a woman's face is used to emphasize her personality and character. Facial expressions are the primary mechanism to convey meaning, feeling and emotion between people. Without this, there is no display of desirability or appreciation of the object being advertised and hence no reward is suggested for purchasing the product. A faceless woman cannot express who she is and therefore has no individuality and desirability. Objectifying is a very common element in both men's and women's advertisement. Figure 21 and 22 demonstrate that although the messages are completely different, the visual difference in advertisements may not be so obvious.

Figure 21. Objectification
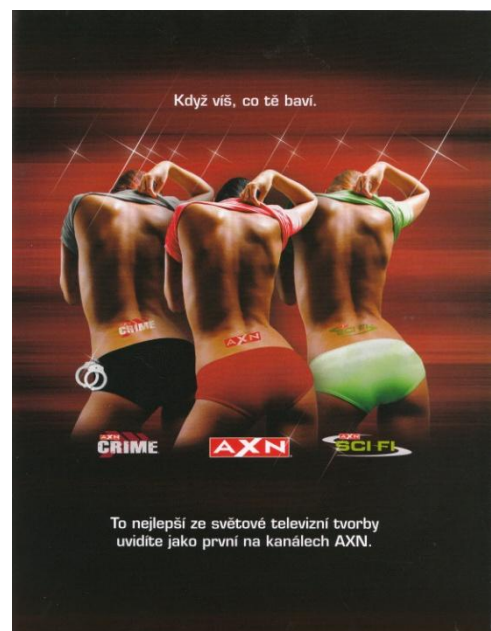& body cropping
(Svět Ženy August, 2009)

Figure 22. Body cropping &
objectification (Esquire June, 2009)

5.7   Independence and Self-assertiveness

Like the in previous case, this category was not part of the original analyzing method but was introduced by Kant in her conceptual replication of Goffman study in 1997. Advertising has changed constantly throughout the history in response to social and economical changes and advertisers have been forced to reconsider the earlier modes of

representation of women in advertisement. As noticed, the absence of "function ranking" category suggested that the advertisements do reflect these changes to certain extent, particularly in gender social roles. Therefore this last category was used in order to evaluate woman's overall image in terms of the independence and assertiveness.

The results show that this category appeared in more than 18% of the advertisements. Perhaps most obvious example is demonstrated in the advertisement for "Real Beauty" campaign. Dove's campaign is breaking the traditional stereotypes and tries to broaden the narrow vision of feminine beauty. Dove discovered during their pre-campaign research that more than half of female respondents are dissatisfied or even disgusted with their bodies and they blame media for creating unrealistic beauty standards (Cortese 2008, 82). As seen in figure 23, their advertisements shows "real women" (not airbrushed or retouched) who often pose only in the lingerie. The overall impression is very positive. She is not trying to hide any part of her body and looks confident and happy. As shown in this example, advertising can be used as a positive force in women's lives and can perhaps at the same time effectively explore the potential for commercial profit.

Figure 23. Independence and
self-assertiveness
(Svět ženy December, 2009)

6 DISCUSSION

Findings from this analysis show that the female models outnumbered male models in print advertisement. Overall, the final sample consisted of 406 persons, of which there were 293 women and 112 men (see Table II). Interestingly, men's magazines revealed that print advertisement targeting men use more female models than male models.

The study was set up with the aim of examining whether portrayals of women in the print advertisements have changed in our society and whether the stereotypes defined by Goffman can be usefully applied in contemporary advertising images. Considering the changes in social and personal life of women in our society, the findings from the practical part are rather discouraging. The results strongly suggest that stereotypical depictions of women defined by Goffman are still prevalent in print advertisements (Table III gives the exact values). On the other hand, some examples explicitly demonstrate that the traditional gender stereotypes are slowly changing or disappearing. The most important finding of this research is that "function ranking", e.g. portrayals of men in instructing roles and women in less meaningful roles or domestic settings are not prevalent depictions in contemporary advertisements. It seems that advertisers become more sensitive to the way men and women are portrayed, especially when depicted together in the images, and show them more often in more diverse and equal roles and positions. This is also supported by the independent and self-assertiveness" category which indicates that advertising industry responds to the growing criticism and pressures to a certain degree.

However, other categories involving more subtle means of emphasizing gender stereotypes were found frequently in the sample. For instance, the strong emotions such as euphoria, uncertainty or shyness expressed by expansive smile, head aversion or lowering eyes ("licensed withdrawal") were common stereotypes that applied to more than one fifth of all advertisements from the sample. Similarly, less obvious messages about social power such as demonstration of the ability to control the environment appeared often in the "the feminine touch" category. In the category "relative size" was also demonstrated that the blatant stereotypical images containing messages about the social status or social power are replaced by more subtle means expressed by the man's tendency to control woman's body and her movement.

Categories "the ritualization of subordinations" and "body display" that contained images associated with sexual appeals indicating the vulnerability and need for protection did not play exceptional roles in the examined advertisements. Analyzing this category

more closely revealed that such images most often contain portrayals of women as object of sexual desires or in purely decorate roles in advertisements targeting both men and women. More than 20 years ago, Sullivan and O'Conner (1988) reported an increase in such portrayals in print advertisements and the analysis suggests that this trend is continuing. One unanticipated finding was the high number of sexual objectifying of male models.

Therefore, the evidence in this thesis indicates that the amount of stereotypes has not changed much during last few decades. The submissive and superior roles of men and women in the social power hierarchy are most apparent in Goffman's "function ranking" category. With its disappearing, more subtle stereotypes described in the rest of categories gain value and become more useful. The result also showed that the traditional stereotypes are being replaced by other passive ones – decorative, with strong sexual symbolism. As a result, the focus when judging a woman has shifted from her social position to her appearance and body.

CONCLUSION

Many scholars argue that the constant and stereotypical portrayals of women in advertising can have negative effects in regard to their gender identity as well as their self-esteem, aspirations or self-images. Therefore, the portrayals of women in advertising have generated a lot of attention over the past few decades, especially in western cultures. However, in our country academic research on this topic has been very limited.

This thesis critically examined gender stereotypical portrayals in Czech advertising. The evidence of this thesis suggests that women's representation and roles in advertisements are much narrower due to the stereotypical portrayals form patriarchal point of view. Returning to the questions at the beginning of this paper it is possible to state that stereotypical portrayals described in Goffman's categories in his study (1979) have changed slightly but not to an appropriate extent. Although the absence of "function ranking" category and relatively high number of "independence and self-assertiveness" category suggest that advertising industry does reflect the changes and empowerment of women's socioeconomic status, advertisers continue to portray women in stereotypically submissive poses and rather passive roles. The analyses also revealed that women are not portrayed as socially inferior to men in very blunt and obviously stereotypical ways anymore, but other, more subtle messages associate with women's lower degrees of social power ("licensed withdrawal", "the feminine touch") or sexual objectification ("body display", "the ritualization of subordination") are widely used in contemporary advertising.

The evidence from this study might have several implications for advertising industry. Advertisers should be more aware not only of blatant and offensive stereotypical expressions but mainly of more subtle visual cues that help to perpetuate social stereotypes and the existing imbalance in terms of social power between men and women in our country. Further, advertising campaigns that are sensitive to the way how men and women are portrayed and show them in equal and more real positions may be more competitive than those who are not sensitive to this issue. Some companies have already proven that women's advertising may be even more successful while turning into more positive images that serve to enhance the self-esteem of female customers. In any case, advertisers should continue to monitor the way men and women are portrayed in all kind of media as well as measure the success or failure of using these stereotypical images in their campaigns.

There are several limitations of this thesis that future research may address. Firstly, this analysis used only limited scope of samples from limited selection of magazines. Secondly,

it has documented only the stereotypes that are present in print advertisements. Considering the growing influence of TV in our lives, further research should focus on gender representation in television commercials. This would provide a better understanding of current state of gender stereotypes in contemporary Czech advertisements.

There are still many unanswered questions connected with the role that stereotypical images play in our lives or in business. Do these images sell more? Do men and women experience these stereotypes in the same way? And what are the possible consequences of the influence of these images in men's and women's lives? As Ewen and Ewen remind us, "the image in the commercials, reaches out to sell more than a service or product; it sells a way of understanding the world" (1992, 24). In other words, advertising has the power to send messages associated with the "appropriate" gender roles, behavior or appearance, or, more generally, with the ideas of what constitutes masculinity or femininity in our culture. With increasing exposure to these images in today's media-saturated environment, this kind of research will become even more important.

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APPENDICES

P I   Tables I-III

P II   List of figures

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APPENDIX P I: TABLES I-III

Table I   Coding scheme

Relative Size
Women/Man taller

The Feminine Touch
Cradling/ caressing object
Touching self

Function Ranking
Man as an instructor
Woman serving other person
Man in superior role

The Ritualization of Subordination
Woman/Men lowering
Body clowning
Lying/sitting in vulnerable position

Licensed Withdrawal
Expansive smile
Covering face with hands
Head/eye gaze aversion
Lowering eyes

Body Display
Nudity
Sparse clothing

Women's Independence and Self-assertiveness

Table II   Depiction of men and women for different types of magazines

Sample	Men's magazines	Women's magazines
Ads (n=300)	40,3%	59,7%
Persons (n=393)	39,0%	62,0%
Men	41%	16,4%
Women	59%	83,6%

Table III Overall stereotyping in each coding category

% of advertisement falling into the category	women	men
Relative Size	6,7	19,0 *
The Feminine Touch	16,0	0,3
Function Ranking	0*	0*
The Ritualization of Subordination	28,6	2,3
Licensed Withdrawal	24,0	5,0
Body Display	19,0	11,3
Independence and self-assertiveness	18,0	- **

* only advertisements portrayed both sexes were used

** this category is related exclusively to females

APPENDIX P II: LIST OF FIGURES