A quantitative analysis of women's sex roles in print advertisements within a symbolic interactionist perspective.

Constance Jean. Hopkins

University of Windsor

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A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S SEX ROLES
IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS WITHIN
A SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

by

Constance Jean Hopkins

A Thesis
submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of
Sociology and Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at
the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1989
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To Tricia and Tara
and Mom and Dad
ABSTRACT

A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S SEX ROLES
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The perceptions that women have about the similarity between their own and other women's sex roles and the roles of women portrayed in print advertisements were explored through the Meadian tradition of Symbolic Interactionism. It was proposed that masculine sex-typed women would express liberal attitudes toward women, and would perceive their own sex roles and other women's sex roles as similar to the non-stereotypical advertisements. Feminine sex-typed women were expected to express traditional attitudes toward women, and perceive their own and other women's roles as similar to the stereotypical roles in the advertisements. A sample of 102 women from the Windsor area completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory, the Attitudes toward Women Scale, the Self-Identification with Advertisements Scale, and the Other-Identification with Advertisements Scale. Four advertisements were administered for each level of the Revised Scale of Sexism. Only masculine-typed women perceived themselves as more similar to the non-stereotypical advertisements, and all women saw other women as more similar to the non-stereotypical advertisements. A woman's habitual personal definition of her own role did not significantly influence her cultural definition of other women's roles.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Thesis Committee members for their guidance and assistance during this research: Dr. Mohammad Shuraydi, for his motivating interest and insightful recommendations, and whose original contribution laid the foundation for this thesis, without which this endeavour would never have been launched; Dr. Gerry Booth, who willingly took over while Dr. Shuraydi was on Sabbatical, for his encouragement and co-operation; Professor Don Stewart, for his unfailing availability and valuable suggestions; and Dr. Stan Cunningham, for his sincere interest in my work and his constructive and thought-provoking comments.

I wish to add a special note of thanks to Dr. Jack Ferguson, a friend and supporter, who gave me the confidence and push when I needed it, and spent untold hours helping me to "perfectly" format this thesis on his computer.

To friends, Joy, Geri, Sue, and Debbie, who, through our discussions, brought to light the necessary refinements, and to the coders and subjects, thank you.

Finally, and most importantly, I want to extend my deepest and heart-felt appreciation to my family, who gave me the encouragement, understanding, emotional support, and caring to achieve what, at times, seemed an impossible task.
As the motivational researchers keep telling the advertisers, American women are so unsure of who they should be that they look to this glossy public image to decide every detail of their lives.

Betty Friedan - The Feminine Mystique
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CHAPTER I
Introduction

An apocryphal story (Basow, 1986, p3): A boy and his father were involved in an automobile accident. The father was killed and the boy sustained severe injuries. The boy was rushed to a hospital by ambulance and a prominent surgeon was called to perform an immediate operation. Upon examining the boy, however, the surgeon exclaimed "I can't operate on this boy. He's my son." Who is the surgeon?

If the answers to this question include stepfather, adopted father, illegitimate father, reincarnation, mistaken identity, or the like, the respondents are part of the vast majority of Westerners who believe that surgery is a male occupation. The answer is simple: the surgeon is the boy's mother. The fact that the majority of people answer perspectivevally illustrates the strength and the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes in our society.

The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged Edition, 1966, defines a stereotype in sociological terms as "a simplified and standardized conception or image invested with special meaning and held in common by members of a group." Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, Second Edition Unabridged, 1968, defines sexism as "the economic exploitation and social domination of members of one sex by the other, specifically of women by men." Sexism is born out of stereotypes which subsequently are altered by many people to incorporate sexist attitudes. A role is "a cluster of socially or culturally defined expectations that individuals in a given situation are expected to fulfill" (Chafetz, 1978, p4). Society defines roles,
applies them to all people in a particular category, and demands that those people learn the roles and responses which are in turn applied to them. The combination of the definitions of stereotype and role refers to gender stereotypes and sex roles as the overgeneralizations and the rigidly held beliefs that females and males, by virtue of their sex, have clear and distinct psychological characteristics and traits. Sex-role stereotypes are the oversimplified conceptions of female or male behaviour.

Advertising capitalizes on stereotypes in a multi-billion dollar a year industry. It attempts to define ourselves and the situation for us, hoping we will accept the advertisers' definitions as our own and purchase their products, thereby reinforcing the usage of those definitions. Advertising is one of the most powerful socializing forces in our culture. It shapes our attitudes and self-images, and sells the concepts of who we are and who we should be (Kilbourne, 1979). Commercials and advertisements present females and males, for the most part, in stereotypical and traditional ways, usually with negative deviations: women as nagging wives and men as couch potatoes.

Individuals are exposed to stereotypical advertising at a very young age. Parents use television as a babysitter. By the age of five years, the average child is viewing approximately thirty hours of television per week. At sixty years of age, an adult has seen an average of 50 million advertisements (Kilbourne, 1979).

Illustrations of stereotyping are brought to mind in the oft heard jingles: "You've come a long way, baby," "Calgon, take me away," and "Ring around the collar." The first commercial implies that women may have come far enough to smoke outside of a closet, but it is a
trivialization of women's liberation. When, simultaneously, the dog is barking, the telephone's ringing, and the children are screaming, the woman is pictured as frenzied, unable to cope with the pressures of her day. Her only way of dealing with everyday life is to run to the bathroom and, behind a locked door, soak her problems in a bath of bubbles. In the detergent commercial, not only is the woman told she is responsible for the household duties, such as the laundering, but if the brand she uses is not satisfactory, it is her fault. The next scene shifts to the horrified wife and her subsequent efforts to remedy the humiliating and embarrassing situation.

Of course, not all advertising is as blatantly sexist as the ones just described. Some stereotypic portrayals in advertisements are more subtle, such as the commercial that introduces the female biochemist from Florida but concentrates on a discussion of the type of orange juice she gives her children for breakfast. The messages communicated about sex roles are still, by and large, of a sexist and traditional nature.

This research investigates women's sex roles and the stereotypical and non-stereotypical images of women in print advertisements. It explores the perceptions a woman has about her own and other women's sex roles, and the similarity between those perceptions and the images in the advertisements. This study was designed to explore the proximity of the advertising portrayals, not from the point of view of the advertisers or the researcher, but from the point of view of the women in society, a perspective not taken by the research conducted to date.

It is necessary from the beginning to make the distinction between stereotypical and non-stereotypical sex roles in advertising. To do
this, I rely on the researchers' opinions. Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley (1976) believe that the subordination of women is sexist, and that advertisements which depict women in subordinate and traditional roles are stereotypical. They further contend that an advertisement which pictures a woman in an equal or superior position participating in "womanly" activities is also a stereotypical advertisement. Therefore, any advertisement that portrays a woman in an equal or superior role, outside of traditional "womanly" activities, is non-stereotypical. Conversely, any advertisement in which a woman is not depicted in equal and superior roles is stereotypical.

It is the contention of this researcher that there are women in today's society who perceive their roles and other women's roles as non-traditional, and, thus, non-stereotypical, perceptions contrary to the advertisers' perceptions of the vast majority of women in society. It is also asserted that women's perceptions are associated with masculine and feminine personality characteristics, and with attitudes women hold toward women. Specifically, the following hypotheses are postulated:

1. Women, who perceive in themselves a high degree of femininity, will express traditional attitudes toward women; women, who perceive a high degree of masculinity in themselves, will express liberal, or pro-feminist, attitudes toward women. Therefore, women, who endorse masculine characteristics and reject feminine characteristics, will be more liberal in their attitudes toward women than those who endorse feminine personality traits and reject masculine personality traits.

2. Women, with a high level of masculine traits and a low level of feminine traits, will perceive their own roles as more similar to the print advertisements that portray women in liberal, non-stereotypical
roles, than to the stereotypical advertisements. Women, with a high degree of feminine traits and a low degree of masculine traits, will perceive their own roles as more similar to the stereotypical roles in the advertisements. It follows that women, high in masculine characteristics and low in feminine characteristics, will view their own roles as more non-stereotyped than the women high in feminine traits and low in masculine traits.

3. Women, who strongly endorse masculine traits and reject feminine traits, will perceive a similarity between other women's roles and the advertisements portraying women in non-stereotypical roles. Women, who strongly endorse feminine characteristics and reject masculine characteristics, will perceive a similarity between other women's roles and stereotypical roles in the advertisements. Hence, women, with high masculine traits and low feminine traits, will associate other women's roles more with the non-stereotyped roles in the advertisements than the women with high feminine traits and low masculine traits.

4. Women, who express traditional attitudes toward women, will perceive more similarity between other women's roles and the stereotypical roles depicted in the advertisements, than women who express liberal attitudes toward women.

5. Women, who endorse masculine traits and reject feminine traits, will identify other women's roles as equally non-stereotyped as their own roles from the depictions in the advertisements. Women, who endorse feminine characteristics and reject masculine characteristics, will perceive the same similarity between their own roles and other women's roles, with the advertisements portraying women in stereotypical roles. Women, who perceive in themselves a high degree of masculinity and a low
degree of femininity, will view the roles of themselves and other women as more non-stereotyped as illustrated in the advertisements, than women who perceive in themselves a high degree of femininity and a low degree of masculinity.

It is also the intention of this investigation to explore the relationships between a woman's perceptions of her own masculinity and femininity, and her attitudes toward women, her identification with the roles in the advertisements, and the similarity of those roles to other women's roles. As women's femininity increases, do their traditional attitudes also increase? As women's self-perceptions of masculinity increase, do their liberal attitudes toward women increase in a linear fashion? Is the endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics related to a woman's identification with stereotypical and non-stereotypical roles portrayed in advertisements? Are a woman's personality traits associated with her perception of similarity between other women's roles and the stereotypical and non-stereotypical roles depicted in the advertisements? Are a woman's attitudes toward women related to her perceptions of other women's roles? Is a woman's self-identification with the roles in the advertisements related to how closely she perceives those advertisements representing other women's roles in society, or is there a relationship at all between her view of herself and her view of others? These are questions which I hope this study will be able to answer, or at least, will provide some insight.

A secondary objective of this research is to address the assertions of Erving Goffman and feminist researchers concerning the accuracy of women's portrayals in advertisements. Goffman (1979) contends that advertising images are reflections of today's society. He
states that advertisements portray women and men, their positions and behaviours, no differently than they naturally exist in society, implying that the stereotypes of women and their roles, the subordination of women and the domination of men in advertising, are precise portrayals of women and men in the world. In his words:

I believe that upon examination these (natural) expressions turn out to be illustrations of ritual-like bits of behaviour which portray an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each other, accomplishing this in part by indicating, again ideally, the alignment of the actor in the social situation... By and large, advertisers do not create the ritualized expressions they employ; they seem to draw upon the same corpus of displays, the same ritual idiom, that is the resource of all of us who participate in social situations, and to the same end: the rendering of glimpsed action readable. If anything, advertisers conventionalize our conventions, stylize what is already a stylization, make frivolous use of what is already something considerably cut off from contextual controls. Their hype is hyper ritualization (1979, p.84).

Susan and Joseph Rossi (1985), Alice Courtney and Thomas Whipple (1983, 1985), and Diane Stemple and Jane Tyler (1974) maintain that the stereotyped sex roles of women depicted in the advertisements are not mirrored images of the sex roles of today's women. They assert that the images are outdated modes of salesmanship that promote sexism, in that some women strive to emulate those images. On first inspection, it appears that Goffman and Rossi et al. have opposing viewpoints, but they may be complimentary. Both positions may be accurate in that they are interpretations of two realities about women in advertising. It is hoped that this research will provide the empirical evidence to determine whether their assertions are contradictory or complimentary.
CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

As far back as 1908, a printed advertisement for Colgate pictured a beautiful young woman holding her child. The caption read that the mother had captured youth when she began using Colgate Dental Cream. The advertisement implied that it was the woman's duty as a mother to promote an early introduction of training into beauty that was essential to her child (Ewen, 1976). In the 1920's women were encouraged to accept the role definition of an efficient home manager. But they were constantly reminded that it was their beauty and youth, more than their organizational abilities, that ensured their husbands' fidelity and their own home security. Beginning in 1925, advertisements exalted the glory of motherhood while admitting the drudgery of housework (Stemple & Tyler, 1974). Women were socialized to view themselves as objects to be created competitively against other women. A Woodbury soap advertisement assured women that they could maintain their youthful appearance and their social security by simply washing their faces. Advertisements of the 1930's merged the traditional image of the woman as wife, mother, housekeeper, and socializer, with the feminist image of a more equal partner in marriage. Women were primarily shown in ads for food and home-care products. Advertisers introduced women into advertisements for cigarettes around the mid 1930's in an attempt to increase their sales by emphasizing the acceptability of women smoking. The 1940's brought a tremendous influx of beauty advertisements which suggested that bad breath and body odor should be considered "irrevocable and deadly sins" (Stemple & Tyler, 1974). Car advertisements displayed women in a light
that still continues today: the woman is a possession which can be acquired by the man if he buys the car. By 1950 advertisements concentrated on food, clothing, beauty, and appliances. Women were encouraged to economize the time spent cooking and housekeeping in order to concentrate on appearance and sexual attractiveness. In the 1960's advertisements, women were depicted mainly in the roles of the social companion, mother, housewife, and the alluring woman (Sexton & Haberman, 1974).

Much of the research conducted on sexism in advertising has been done in the last 20 years, following the women's movement. Early investigations and the vast majority of the research into the stereotyping of women have been descriptive studies using content analysis of print advertisements. Joseph Dispenza (1975) consulted more than 2000 periodicals dating from 1900 to 1975 for the purpose of discovering the sexual role-conditioning in "one of the most accessible image-reinforcers" (p. 2). Six major themes emerged from the range of print advertisements: facial beauty; domestic matters, the woman's role as housewife and cook, and her relationship to her home; the progression from courtship and early romance, through engagement to marriage and motherhood; a woman's body and shape; the "spare parts" attitude, that is, parts of the body taken in isolation; and health and health products.

Stemple and Tyler (1974) analyzed magazine advertisements from the previous 64 years. They concluded that, although the advertisements had kept pace with technology during that time span, they did not reflect the changing attitudes toward women in today's society, nor did they free the woman from her position as homemaker, cook, status symbol,
child raiser, and sex object for the man. Sexton and Haberman (1974) drew similar conclusions from the print advertisements of 1950-1951, 1960-1961, and 1970-1971. In fact, they found a significant increase in the number of advertisements which showed women as social companions and in traditional situations. In the 1970-1971 period, more than 30 percent of the beverage, automobile, cigarette, and airline travel ads pictured women as sex objects.

In one of the first exploratory studies, Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) identified four stereotypes of women’s roles in print advertisements taken from general interest publications: "a woman's place is in the home," "women do not make important decisions or do important things," "women are dependent and need men's protection," and "men regard women primarily as sexual objects: they are not interested in women as people." The researchers found that advertisements underrepresented the millions of women who had occupations other than that of wife and mother. Women were rarely shown in activities outside the home; women inside the home were depicted with limited decision-making abilities. Expensive household products were advertised by males. Cigarette advertisements, which never showed a woman smoking without a male present, suggested that some social and business activities were inappropriate for women. Women were seldom pictured with other women. The isolation of women and the traditional family roles in which women were often shown gave the impression of dependence on men. Women, more often than men, were shown in decorative roles and were seldom seen in working roles. Courtney and Lockeretz concluded that advertisements, in general, failed to show the full range of roles women play in society.

In a follow-up study almost two years later (Wagner & Banos, 1973), the
only changes discovered were increases in the number of advertisements showing women in working roles outside the home and in decorative nonactive roles. Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) statistically compared the findings of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) and Wagner and Banos (1973) with advertisements from 1958. They found no differences over the years in employment status, occupational roles, nonworking roles, and nature of product being advertised. Belkaoui and Belkaoui agreed with Courtney and Lockeretz in that advertisements had not kept up with the times, had not adequately reflected the improved status of women over the previous 30 years, and had pictured women in under-representative numbers and in unrealistic situations.

Venkatesan and Losco (1975), in a more comprehensive study, analyzed the roles of women in print advertisements ranging from 1959 to 1971. Their analysis found a considerable decrease in the portrayals of women as sex objects from 1961 to 1971. The theme of the woman depending on the man remained stable throughout the time period and the "happy housewife" appeared infrequently. Even in light of these changes, the most frequently appearing roles for women were determined to be: "women as sex object," "women as physically beautiful," and "women as dependent on men." Rosemary Scott (1976) reviewed the research on print and television advertising, and summarized that women were portrayed in two roles: luring and catching a man, and then serving him as housewife and mother.

In Jean Kilbourne's film, Killing Us Softly: Advertising Images of Women (1979), the portrayal of women in magazine advertisements are shown from the 1930's to the present. Kilbourne points out that advertising dwells on a negative image of women: the moronic housewife,
a sex object, and an inferior class of humans. According to advertisers, contends Kilbourne, the ideal look for a woman is absolute flawlessness - no scars, no blemishes, no pores, and above all, extreme youth. However, the perfect woman doesn't exist in reality; it is artificially created by advertisers with cosmetics, camera angles, and air brushing. Advertisers project the idea that beauty is not the inner self, but is the external appearance and the result of the products that improve the external appearance from head to toe. Because advertisers use the body as an object to sell products, they instruct women to view their own bodies as such. An advertisement for a diet aid infers that marriagability is dependent on weight loss, and that a perfectly proportioned body is vital to being loved. Women are often grouped together as objects, and parts of dismembered bodies are also grouped together, promoting the idea of non-personhood.

A double standard of appearance and behaviour is promoted in advertisements. For women, the emphasis is on youth, and aging is taboo. Gray hair and wrinkles are not part of the ideal woman. Advertisers sell the products to "wash that gray right out of your hair," and to tighten the skin so a woman is not forced to "grow old gracefully." As women grow older, they are portrayed as less attractive, less sexually appealing, inadequate, demented, and pathologically obsessed with cleanliness. For men, however, there seems to be a positive correlation between aging, and knowledge, authority, and intelligence (Posner, 1977).

Erving Goffman (1979), the proponent of the dramaturgical approach in social psychology, asserts that advertisements don't create the stereotypes; they simply reflect the stereotypes present in society. He
argues that both advertisements and society rely on the same devices to orient participants to each other in social situations: "intention displays,, microecological mapping of social structure, approved typifications, and the gestural externalization of what can be taken to be inner response" (p. 27). What results are pictures of idealized characters, arranged in ideal relationships, "using ideal facilities to realize ideal ends" (1979, p.25). In Gender Advertisements (1979), hundreds of print advertisements were studied and grouped together into six classes according to type of genderisms: relative size: women shorter and thinner than men; the feminine touch: women crossing products; function ranking: men in authoritative roles and women in subordinate roles; family: women alongside children and men distanced in protective roles; ritualization of subordination: women at a physically lower level than men, at men's feet, on floors, beds, and couches; and licensed withdrawal: women snuggling, nuzzling, and mentally and psychologically removing themselves from the social situation. Goffman contends that gender is pictured in the postures and minute physical expressions, and that these six categories of "genderisms" illustrate the position of men and women in society.

Goffman's theory of the relationship between gender, nonverbal behaviour, and dominance was evaluated in three studies (Halberstadt & Saitta, 1987). Focusing on three nonverbal behaviours purported by Goffman: head cant, body cant, and smiling, the studies assessed gender differences in nonverbal behaviour in media portrayals and in natural settings, and went on to evaluate the differences in connection with perceived dominance. Males were presented twice as often as females, were older than females, and were most frequently in news photographs,
whereas women were found most often in advertisements. Except for
greater smiling in females, nonverbal behaviours were similar for males
and females in media portrayals and natural settings. In a comparison
between real life observations and media portrayals, more smiles and
body cants appeared in media depictions than in the natural settings;
the frequencies of head cants were similar. Nonverbal behaviours did
convey a message, but it did not appear to be dominance. The authors
suggested that the message may have been friendliness or
flirtatiousness. The findings provided no support for gender or
perceived dominance differences in head cant, in both the portrayals and
natural settings. Only slight support was found for portrayed and real
gender differences in the perceived dominance of smiling. The results
produced a reversed difference in perceived dominance in body cant, but
little support for gender differences in the depictions and real
settings. Halberstadt and Saitta concluded that "nonverbal behaviour is
not a particular culprit in gender stereotypical portrayals."

Dominick and Rauch (1972) analyzed 986 television advertisements
during prime time viewing for the purposes of describing how women were
portrayed in television advertisements and examining the criticisms
levied at advertisers by feminist writers. They found that the most
frequent role was that of sex object or decoration; next in frequency
was the wife/mother characterization. Women were seven times more likely
to be in ads selling personal hygiene products, and 75 per cent of all
advertisements using women were for products for the bathroom or
kitchen. Twice as many women were shown with children as were men.
Seventy one per cent of the women in the ads were considered to be
between 20 and 35 years of age, while only forty-three per cent of the
men were in this age category. Men were shown in 43 different occupations, but women were only shown in 18, primarily in low-level service jobs. Of the 946 advertisements with voice-overs, a female voice was heard only six per cent of the time; 37 per cent of the ads used a male voice. Dominick and Rauch concluded that the typical female in television commercials was a young housewife, pictured in the kitchen or bathroom, eagerly accepting advice from an authoritative male. The authors determined that "commercials presenting the image of the 'modern' woman are virtually non-existent."

In a later replication of Dominick's and Rauch's study (1972), Culley and Bennett (1976) investigated the frequencies of men and women portrayed as spouse and parent in television advertisements. They found that the frequency of women portrayed as housewife/mother had decreased from 56 per cent in the previous study to 45 per cent. Men cast as husband/father increased by only one per cent, from 14 to 15 per cent of their depicted roles. Although advertisements changed minimally in their portrayals of roles for men and women, the adjustments in sex roles in society were not reflected by advertisers.

Courtney and Whipple (1974) compared the results of four studies (Cantor, 1972; Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Hennessee & Nicholson, 1972; Toronto Women's Media Committee, 1973) conducted between April, 1971, and February, 1973, which analyzed women's roles in television commercials. Three studies looked at the content on United States' television stations, while the most recent one concentrated on Canadian TV channels only. Over the two-year time period, significant changes occurred in the sex of product representatives. Overall, female representatives were found as often as male representatives. However,
the equality in frequency of appearance was the result of an increase in
the female presence during the daytime; men still dominated during the
prime-time hours. Women were significantly over-represented in family
and home occupations; men dominated the media and celebrity, and
business, sales, and management occupations. Courtney and Whipple stated
"the reality of the out-of-home working woman has not yet permeated TV
advertising...Although over one-third of the married women in North
America are employed, commercials seldom show a working wife." Male
product representatives demonstrated the product, but didn't actually
use the product. Female representatives were most often seen performing
the domestic tasks involved with the product. Youth was stressed in
commercials, especially for women. Women were not pictured as
independent, autonomous human beings, but stereotyped housewives
worrying about cleanliness and food preparation, serving their children
and husbands. In contrast to this image, men were portrayed as older
advice-givers, benefiting from the activities performed by women.
Courtney and Whipple concluded that commercials showed little
improvement over the two-year time span in their portrayal of women.
Because the role changes for women were not depicted by advertisers, the
researchers suggested that television commercials were getting worse
instead of better.

The voice-over technique in Canadian television advertisements was
investigated (Pyke & Stewart, 1974) using 2,662 commercials, aired from
8:30 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. each day for a full week on three Toronto
stations: CBC, CTV, and OEGA. The vast majority of the voice-over
announcers, at least 90 per cent, were male for the CBC and CTV
stations, but little difference was found in the sex of the announcer
for OECA. However, in the regular programming, male figures outnumbered female figures to the greatest extent, a ratio of 725:255, on the educational station, OECA. Commercials, in which female product representatives were visually present, were given more thrust by an accompanied male voice-over. It was concluded that the television medium portrayed women in a more denigrating light than was true in society, and was not acting as a change agent with regard to the sex roles of women. In more recent research (Rak & McMullen, 1987), a content analysis of Canadian television commercials suggested that the stereotypical representation of women and their sex roles still have not changed. Although women appeared more often in the daytime than in the evening hours, the pattern of adult male-female dyads verbally interacting was more sex-stereotyped during the day than during prime-time. Sex role stereotyping was still present at subtle, as well as obvious levels.

In addition to the findings concerning the inequality of male and female presence, the theme that men are the authority figures and women are the product users, and fewer women in occupational settings than men, McArthur and Resko (1975) found that women were portrayed as less knowledgeable than men in television advertisements; women were significantly less likely to present an argument for using the product than men. Female product users were more likely to be rewarded with the approval of the husband and family, while male product users were more likely to be rewarded with social and career advancement.

The Montreal YWCA "Sexism in Advertising" Committee (1978) found two broad categories in sexist advertising. The first category was "woman as object": the object of seduction, the object of decoration,
and the object described with the same adjectives as the product being
advertised i.e. the word "intoxicating" used to describe liquor and the
woman. The second category was the sexist stereotypes; namely,
stereotypes associated with traditional sex roles such as cleaning woman
and family servant; and stereotypes linked to character traits i.e. dumb
blond, silly Sally, and nosy Rosey.

Courtney and Whipple (1978) compiled a large body of research and
summarized the stereotyped portrayals of women in print and television
advertising. Women were predominantly depicted as housewives and
mothers, shown inside the home three times more often than men. Women
were portrayed in subservient and dependent roles, in which men tell
women what to do, what products to buy, and how to use them. Women were
shown isolated and alienated from other women. They were depicted in
decorative and nonfunctional roles using stereotyped body language,
stereotyped voice tone, and exaggerated acting. Women were minimally
used as announcers, voice-overs, product representatives, and other
authority figures. The typical female model in advertising was younger
than the typical male. In drug advertising, women were shown as passive
and dependent, with imagined or exaggerated symptoms. Courtney and
Whipple concluded that advertising rarely showed women outside the home,
women engaged in sports, and women from minority groups.

Cindy Scheibe (1979), in an extensive analysis of over 10,000
characters in 6,262 advertisements, focused on the changes of role
portrayals for women, men, and children. Overall, the greatest change
occurred in the occupational roles for women. A smaller percentage of
women were depicted in domestic occupations than in any previous study;
almost as many women, 21 per cent, were portrayed as housewives as women
working outside the home, 18.3 per cent. The number of occupations outside the home increased for women, although men were still shown in twice as many different occupations. Some women were shown in traditionally male occupations, but men were never shown in traditionally female occupations. Only rarely were women depicted as concerned with family finances. Interrelationships remained unchanged between the performers, especially in domestic scenes. In order to assess the accuracy of the representation of women's occupations, Scheibe compared the results of her study to the 1975 Labor Bureau report on the numbers of working men and women. Since 1.7 times as many men worked as women in the working world, and 2.4 times as many men as women were shown working in the advertisements, Scheibe concluded that working women were under-represented in television commercials by at least 41.18 per cent.

Similar findings were reported for British TV and radio advertising (Furham & Schofield, 1986; Harris & Stobart, 1986; Livingstone & Green, 1986; Manstead & McCulloch, 1981). The first study undertaken to investigate the sex-role stereotypes in British television advertisements (Manstead & McCulloch, 1981) found that men were typically the authorities and experts, with the objectivity and knowledge about buying the product, occupying autonomous roles, and concerned with the practical consequences of purchasing the product. Women were typically portrayed as unknowledgeable consumers, occupying roles defined in relation to others, and concerned with the social consequences of buying the product. Compared to the findings reported by McArthur and Resko (1975), Manstead and McCulloch determined that British commercials depicted adults in a more sex role stereotyped
manner than did American advertisements. In a subsequent replication five years later, Livingstone and Green (1986) found similar results in the portrayals of adults, but also discovered through a cluster analysis of the data that silence was presented in advertisements as a feminine quality. Furnham and Schofield (1986) replicated the studies by both McArthur and Resko and Manstead and McCulloch using British radio commercials as the medium. Radio advertisements showed men portrayed as the narrator, celebrity and product authorities, while women were more often the product users in the home. In comparison with British television advertisements, British radio commercials were stereotyped as to sex roles, but on fewer dimensions: no differences by sex were found for arguments in favour of the product and for type of reward for buying the product. Harris and Stobart (1986) refined the coding procedures of Manstead and McCulloch and extended the viewing time of television advertisements to include daytime commercials. They agreed with Manstead and McCulloch in that, overall, British television advertisements portrayed adults in traditionally stereotypical ways. However, this tendency was found to be more pronounced during the evening hours than during the day. All four studies concluded that British radio and television advertisements did not accurately reflect women's sex roles as they existed in the society.

The content of pharmaceutical advertisements in medical journals has been analyzed for sexual bias (King, 1980; Prather & Fiddell, 1975). Advertisements for psychoactive drugs used primarily female models as the patients and male models as the doctors in charge. Men were shown more often than women in ads for nonpsychoactive drugs. Women were depicted as nuisances with either imaginary or diffuse emotional
symptoms, while male difficulties centered around temporary anxieties caused by job-related pressures or an accompanying organic illness. The use of demeaning and derogatory images of women was shown to reinforce a doctor's expectation that the patient requiring the drug would be female. McRee, Corder, and Haizlip (1974) found that 45 per cent of the responding psychiatrists perceived sexual stereotyping in randomly selected pharmaceutical advertisements, which negatively influenced the physicians’ perceptions of women. Respondents also perceived a predominance of women in the advertisements.

Sex-role stereotyping is as prevalent in advertisements aimed at children as it is in commercials aimed at adults. McArthur and Eisen (1976) studied 161 advertisements aired during children's television. Eighty per cent of the central characters were male; 20 per cent were female. Bercus (1980) found 90 per cent of the product spokespersons were male. These figures are more extreme than those found by McArthur and Resko (1975) in adult commercials; 57 per cent males and 43 per cent females. The imbalance of males to females reported by McArthur and Eisen was supported by Feldstein and Feldstein (1982) in a later study of television commercials televised during the 1977 and 1978 Christmas season. McArthur and Eisen also determined that males were more often shown in independent roles, while females were more likely to be portrayed in domestic roles. More females than males appeared indoors, and males were more often located in "unidentifiable" places. Verna (1975) analyzed the female image in children’s television advertisements and found that there were "only mommys and no daddys." The sound-track of female commercials was quieter than male or neutral advertisements. Soft background music in female commercials and loud background music
and sound effects in male advertisements was also determined by Welch, Huston-Stein, Wright, and Plehal (1979) in their study using toy advertisements. Welch et al. also found that advertisements directed at boys contained highly active toys, variability in scenes, a high rate of camera cuts, and aggression, both to objects and to other characters. Advertisements directed at girls contained frequent fade-outs and fades-ins, dissolves, and music as a background for narration. Female figures talked very little in the presence of males, but were authoritative and talkative in the absence of males. In other studies using toy commercials, Scheibe (1979) found that the advertised toy was almost always sex-differentiated, especially dolls. Chafetz (1974) concluded that boys were portrayed as mechanical and physically active, and girls were pictured as more passive. Schwartz and Markham (1985) noted that one of the most striking divisions of sex was the costumes of the performers. Girls were dressed in wedding dresses, nurses uniforms, ballerina costumes, and cheerleader uniforms; boys' costumes included uniforms for doctors, soldiers, astronauts, and policemen. The final results indicated that children's toys were strongly or moderately sex typed, and always shown with a child of the "appropriate" sex. A content analysis of children's regular television programming during the 1971-1972 season (Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974) found more than twice as many males as females. Boys were more aggressive and constructive than girls, while girls were deferential and ineffective. The consequences differed with respect to sex: males were rewarded more often and females received either no consequence for their behaviours, positive or negative, or were punished more often for high levels of activity.
Following the studies using content analysis to determine the type of roles and the extent to which women were stereotypically portrayed in advertisements, later research narrowed the scope of interest and selected qualitative aspects of the manner or style in which men and women were presented. Kilbourne’s observation that the message to women in advertisements is that youth and beauty are good, important, and valuable, while aging is ugly and unacceptable, has been specifically studied. Downs and Harrison (1985) analyzed television commercials, focusing on the frequency of attractiveness stereotypes. Some form of attractiveness message that "beauty is good," referring to looks, style, weight, age, etc., was found in more than one quarter of all advertisements. Female performers, coupled with the authoritative male voice-overs, delivered the greatest number of attractiveness messages. Additionally, Judith Posner (1977) suggested that being female was synonomous with beauty and youth, and antithetical to aging and ugliness. She pointed out that the few advertisements which employed aged persons, depicted negative stereotypes about the aged. Advertising promoted a denial of the aging process by selling products that waged a war on wrinkles. The imagery in ads "depicts the aging woman as being 'dragged down' as epitomized by sagging aged breasts. The advertising ploy for such female ads, then usually revolves around providing perk-me-up-products for dragged out dames."

Archer, Iritani, Kimes, and Barrios (1983) confirmed their hypothesis that the essence of men resides in their faces and heads, while the essence of women resides in their bodies. Women were less often than men to be depicted with their faces prominent, as opposed to their bodies, in published photographs across eleven cultures, in
artwork across six centuries, and in amateur drawings of women and men. The viewer's assessment of the person was affected by facial prominence: a person was perceived more favourably and more intelligent when facing the audience than when the face was partially or totally obscured. Because anatomical differences were found in the representations of women and men, it was suggested that the qualities associated with the different anatomical locations may be attributed to the sex of the individual. Hence, the authors concluded that portrayals of men inferred intelligence, wit, personality, character, and other mental life, and the portraits of women implied beauty, sensuality, emotion, shapeliness, and other nonintelectual terms.

Content analysis, although it is the important starting point in research into an area not previously investigated, does not assess audience perceptions of or reactions to the sex-role stereotyping of women in advertisements. One cannot assume that the viewers perceive the same meanings from advertising images as do the researchers. The next stage of research, then, involved the consumers' perceptions, preferences, and dislikes of the roles portrayed by women. Lundstrom and Scigliimpaglia (1977) found that women in general were only moderately critical toward the portrayals of women's sex roles in advertisements. The strongest critics were younger, better educated, and less traditional women, from higher occupational status and higher income households. The women in their sample felt, more strongly than men, that advertisements: portrayed women in an offensive manner, suggested that women did unimportant things, suggested that a woman's place was in the home, did not portray men as they really were, but did not treat women as sex objects. The women reported that they would continue to purchase
a particular product despite the offensive advertisement for that product.

Stemple and Tyler (1974) conducted a survey which showed that 27 of the 30 women in the study were aware of sexism in advertising, but failed to perceive the trivialization of the "liberated" image; such ads had a positive effect on the women. An advertisement portraying the woman as a sex object did not elicit negative reactions as effectively as an ad depicting a woman being ignored by her date in favour of another woman's legs.

Sharits and Lammers (1983), using 128 television commercials, asked their subjects to rate the performers in the advertisements on the attributes: responsible-mature, social image-status, and independence. Overall, men were not portrayed in a more positive way than women, and differences in perceptions were not determined by the viewers' sex. However, perceived differences were a function of time of airing; in prime time, women were perceived to have less of the responsible-mature attributes and more of the social image-status attributes. The latter finding tended to contradict previous research findings.

Role status in a relationship elicited the same set of personality traits that have traditionally been attributed to the descriptive content of male and female stereotypes (Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Corrado-Taylor, 1984). After viewing the traditional television commercials, 64 female college students and 64 male college students evaluated the actors' personality attributions. Female performers in low-status roles were perceived as emotional, submissive, contented, dependent followers; their male counterparts in high-status roles were described as rational, dominant, ambitious, independent leaders. After
the reversed-role re-enactments of the same commercials, the personality attributions of the same men and women also reversed. Perceived stereotypic traits were attributed more to role status than to gender.

The investigations into women's stereotypical sex roles in advertising progressed from consumers' perceptions to the association between those perceptions and the consumers' personality attributes and attitudes toward women. A series of studies was conducted to determine whether women with positive attitudes toward the women's liberation movement, as measured by the Attitudes toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1972a), perceived a product as more desirable than women with negative attitudes when the woman in the advertisement was depicted in a nontraditional role. Wortzel and Frisbie (1974) found no differences in the preferences of women's roles that would enhance the desirability of products between positive attitudinal and negative attitudinal women. The desirability of the product was based on the product's usage and end benefits, and had no association with the role of the woman advertising the product. A subsequent study (Duker & Tucker, 1977) extended the work of Wortzel and Frisbie by adding Barron's test of "independence of judgment". Female college students, aged 18 to 21, were classified as profeminist, traditional, or neutral, and were rated on their reactions to advertisements which portrayed women as "mother, sex object, glamour girl, housewife, working mother, modern woman, and professional." The results of this study coincided with the results of the previous study, in that women with profeminist opinions, even those judging themselves to be independent, did not perceive the roles assigned to women in advertisements differently from women with traditional opinions. A more recent study (Lammers &
Wilkinson, 1980) reassessed the findings of the previous research using male and female students. The progressive women were significantly less satisfied with female sex-role portrayals than were progressive males, traditional females, and traditional males. The hypothesis that attitudes toward women would influence the satisfaction with the portrayal of women in advertisements was incomplete.

Rossi and Rossi (1985) found female college students displayed more liberal attitudes than male college students on the Attitudes toward Women Scale. Subjects rated ten target advertisements depicting women as sex objects and ten control advertisements depicting women and men interacting as equals, for appeal and sexism. Both women and men rated the target advertisements more sexist than the control ads, but only the women rated the target ads less appealing than the control advertisements. For all subjects, traditional attitudes toward women were related to lower sexism ratings and higher appeal ratings for the target advertisements.

Women were significantly less sex-role specific than men (Alreck, Settle, & Belch, 1982). In "gendered" advertisements, that is, advertisements for products that use sex-role stereotypes of performers to associate a designated gender with the product, it was found that sex-role prescription had nothing to do with women's willingness to try and use masculine brands, but did affect men's willingness to accept opposite-gendered brands.

Pamela Cheles-Miller (1975) reported that, of the 276 fourth and fifth grade children in the study, the student most likely to accept the stereotypes of women in advertisements, was most positive about the
characters in the advertisements, had a low self-concept, and a mother with a low occupational rating.

A study, focusing on career orientations (Barry, Gilly, & Doran, 1985), confirmed that the homemaker role in advertisements appealed significantly more and was more reflective of the interests of women with a low desire to work than of women with a high desire to work. Conversely, women with a high desire to work found advertisements depicting a career woman more appealing, more persuasive, and more reflective of their interests than did the low-desire-to-work women.

The most recent area of inquiry has been the influence of the traditional sex-role images of women in advertisements on adults and children. Researchers have endeavoured to establish cause-effect relationships between media portrayals of women and stereotypic attitudes. The majority of the experimental studies were conducted using children, in an attempt to show the media as a socializing force behind the acquisition of attitudes toward women. However, a few studies with adult subjects do fall into this category. College students and elderly people were compared on self-rated sex-types, as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), amount of viewing, and stereotyped television program viewing (Ross, Anderson, & Wisocki, 1982). Elderly people watched significantly more television, 44.5 hours per week, than the college students, 12.1 hours per week. For both the elderly sample and the student sample, subjects who rated themselves as more stereotyped, watched more sex-role stereotypical programs on television. Ross et al. concluded that television viewing reinforced an adult's sex-role attitudes.
Studies with children have produced contradictory and somewhat inconclusive results. Ann Beuf (1974) reported that preschool children, who were heavy television viewers, selected more sex-stereotyped careers for themselves in answer to the question "What do you want to be when you grow up?" than moderate viewers. Frueh and McGhee (1975) found that school-aged children, boys and girls aged five to eleven years, who were considered heavy viewers, obtained higher scores on a measure of the strength of traditional sex-role development than the children classified as light viewers. Fifteen months later, in a follow-up study using the same children, McGhee and Frueh (1980) found that light viewers showed progressively less stereotyped perceptions of males as they moved from grades one to seven; stereotypic perceptions of males among heavy viewers increased between grades one and five before leveling off. The relationship between the acquisition of female stereotypes and amount of television was stable across age for both the boys and the girls, but the girls generally had more stereotyped perceptions of female characteristics than male characteristics. Similar results were confirmed in a longitudinal study spanning a two-year time period (Morgan, 1982). Light-viewing girls were less sexist than heavy-viewing girls and all boys. Due to the temporal design of the study, it was concluded that the amount of television viewing had a causal influence on sex-role stereotypes, beyond the effect of earlier sexism and demographics. However, a recent study of 40 children with a mean age of 5.5 years found no such correlation (Repetti, 1984). Repetti's findings suggested that it was the parents' traditional sex-role traits, that is, mothers' femininity and fathers' masculinity, as measured by
the Bem Sex Role Inventory, and the watching of educational television programs that influenced the stereotypical attitudes of their daughters.

College women who viewed television commercials depicting men and women in traditional roles displayed less self-confidence when delivering a speech and scored higher on a conformity test, indicating less independence of judgment, than women who were exposed to nontraditional TV commercials in which the same actors reversed the roles (Jennings-Walstedt, Geis, & Brown, 1980). Overall, the subjects identified at a low level with all of the actors, regardless of sex of actor or type of commercial, suggesting that the portrayals and the roles had an influence outside of conscious awareness. In a subsequent similar study (Geis, Brown, Jennings-Walstedt, & Porter, 1984), women who viewed the traditional commercials emphasized homemaking more than other achievements, answering in a similar manner as the women who had not seen the commercials. Conversely, the women who were exposed to the reversed-role commercials put significantly greater emphasis on achievement, weighting career more equally with homemaking. It was concluded that subtle sex-role stereotyping had an influence on women's aspirations for achievement. Carol Tucker (1984) stated that the images of women reflected in advertising told women that achievement was not feminine, and that success would cause men to reject them. This message contributed to women fearing success. Further, Tucker contended that, by relegating women to low-status jobs and domestic roles, the status-quo was supported by advertising.

Tan (1979) found that teenage girls, aged 16 to 18, exposed to fifteen consecutive beauty commercials, perceived beauty characteristics as significantly more important in being popular with men and for
themselves personally than the girls exposed to neutral advertisements. Subjects also rated the beauty commercials as less effective, but remembered more products or brand names in the beauty advertisements than in the neutral ones.

Suzanne Pingree (1978) compared the attitudes toward women of 227 third and eighth grader children, before and after showing them women in television advertisements in either traditional roles: wives and mothers, or in nontraditional roles: businesspersons. In general, the younger children perceived all images of women as more real than the older children. The children who were told in advance that the characters in the commercials were real, believed that the models were more real than the children who were told the models were acting. Children, not given any instructions regarding the reality of the stimuli, fell between the two groups. Instructions about the reality of the characters failed to effect changes in attitudes toward women; however, all instructed children were less traditional in their beliefs after being exposed to the nontraditional commercials than after the traditional commercials.

Children as young as four to six years old were aware of the sex-typed connotations associated with toys, and avoided spending time with a toy after viewing a commercial depicting it as appropriate for the opposite sex (Rubie, Balaban, & Cooper, 1981).

With respect to the effects of television on occupations, children learned about jobs and the appropriate sex designated to particular occupations based on the sex of the TV worker (O'Bryant & Corder-Bolz, 1978). After viewing female models in traditionally male occupations, more elementary school girls preferred those jobs than they had prior to
the viewing. Black girls from low-income families expressed a greater preference for traditional male jobs after viewing women in such roles than before the exposure, although they had not changed their stereotypical views of those roles (O'Bryant & Corder-Bolz, 1978).

An intervention experiment, the Freestyle television program, was introduced into the educational environment across the United States in the 1978-79 academic year to promote career awareness and nonsexist role learning among nine to twelve year old children with respect to traditional and nontraditional occupations. A weekly combination of 30 minutes of viewing time and classroom discussion and activities over a 13-week period, significantly reduced stereotypical attitudes and beliefs toward women (Johnston, Ettema, & Davidson, 1980). A questionnaire was administered nine months later to the students in Ann Arbor elementary and junior high schools, to ascertain the persistence of effects. Researchers found the overall decay from the original effects was 25 to 40 per cent. The residual net effect was considered large and educationally significant to conclude that the Freestyle program was an effective method for inducing large changes in children's attitudes and beliefs about women's roles for at least nine months.

The Freestyle stories were used in later research (Eisenstock, 1984) to determine the extent of identification of sex-typed children with nontraditional sex roles. Feminine-typed and androgynous-typed children, classified by an adapted version of the Bem Sex Role Inventory, identified more strongly with counterstereotypical characters than masculine-typed children. Feminine-typed girls were more likely than other sex-typed girls to identify with the nontraditional roles, lending support to the same-sex hypothesis (McArthur & Eisen, 1976), in
that the sex of the model was more important than the sex-typed behaviour for females with traditional attitudes toward women.

Content analytic studies have revealed a persistent sexism in the representation of women and their roles in advertisements. Women were numerically outnumbered by men, the range of roles for women was extremely limited compared to those portrayed for men, and certain personality characteristics, judged to be unfavourable by the researchers in the literature, were overemphasized for women. The correlational and experimental studies investigating the associations between and the direct social effects of sex-role stereotyping in advertisements on viewers yielded inconsistent results. Audiences, women more so than men, perceived the advertising images of women as stereotypical, but were not as critical of the more subtle messages as were the researchers. Females appeared to be less affected by stereotypical portrayals of women, and more easily influenced by counterstereotypical depictions than were men.

The inquiry into causal effects is still in its infancy, and has, as yet, been unable to isolate the effects of sexism in advertising and its extent from other socializing forces. The correlational analyses have not drawn clear associations between the sex-role stereotypes in advertisements and the sex-role stereotypes in the viewers. I feel what is more important than the researcher's interpretation of the influence of sexism in advertising on women, is a woman's interpretation of that influence on herself and her perceptions of the "realness" of the advertisements. What is clear from past research, however, is the fact that advertisements do contribute to a woman's perceptions of sex-role stereotypes; they do play a part in her sex-role socialization. Since
sex-role acquisition is a major feature of the human socialization process, it is important now to turn to the theoretical framework within which the influence of sexist advertisements on the acquisition of sex roles may be explained.
CHAPTER III

Theoretical Orientation

There are two schools of thought in Symbolic Interactionism: the Chicago school and the Iowa school. The Chicago school, generally associated with the views of George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, a student of Mead who elaborated on Mead's work, emphasizes process, sympathetic introspection, and indeterminacy. The Iowa school, identified with the work of Manford H. Kuhn, places its emphasis on structure, stability, and determinancy (Stryker & Statham, 1985). The differences between the two perspectives stem from their respective definitions of the "self." G. H. Mead, a forerunner and the most influential force in Symbolic Interactionism, conceived of the self comprising two important components: the "I" and the "me." The "I" is the innovative, creative, and spontaneous element of the self that is free from control by others. It is the unorganized, driving impulse to act, similar to the Freudian id, which responds to the attitudes of others toward the individual. Mead (1934, p. 177) describes the "I" as:

...the answer which the individual makes to the attitude which others take toward him when he assumes an attitude toward them. Now, the attitudes he is taking toward them will contain a novel element. The 'I' gives the sense of freedom, of initiative.

The "me" is the socially determined aspect, that is, the organized attitudes and expectations of others assumed by the individual, which dominates and controls the "I," and directs the socialized person's behaviour. In Freudian terms, the "me" is equivalent to the ego. As Ritzer (1983, p. 165) describes the processes within the self:
The 'me' is that part of the self of which the actor is aware, the internalization of the organized attitude of others, of the generalized other. It represents the forces of conformity and of social control. The 'I' is that part of the self of which the actor is unaware; we are only aware of it after an act is completed. It is the immediate response of the actor that both calls out and responds to the 'me'.

In contrast to Mead's concept of the self is the concept developed by Manford H. Kuhn from the Iowa school of Symbolic Interactionism. Kuhn believed that humans are passive participants in their society. In relation to the Meadian perspective, the self is composed only of the "me." An individual's core self is determined totally by the definitions of others, an internalization of the roles, attitudes, and perspectives of his/her particular reference groups. Human behaviour is prescriptive, predictable, determined, and constrained. Personal attitudes are reflective of society's attitudes. Individuals only have the ability to be role-takers, not role-makers. The creativity, free will, and spontaneity of the "I" are not considered aspects of the self, but Kuhn does allow for the opportunity of some "volatility" in the self through slippage between self-definition and social structure (Stryker, 1981, p.12).

There were three reasons why the Meadian tradition in Symbolic Interactionism was chosen as the theoretical orientation for this research. First, the behaviour of an individual can be understood by looking at the meanings of objects as the individual sees them (Stryker, 1981, p.10). Second, it fits well with my viewpoint that a self is not merely an object with a stable set of meanings attached to it, but both an object and a subject simultaneously. Behaviour is not totally predictable; the self and one's roles are emerging social products.
Finally, the Meadian tradition is a theoretical perspective that is capable of bridging social structure and person (Stryker, 1980, p.53). Social structure is created, maintained, and changed through interaction, but does not restrict the interaction. The reciprocity of social structure and person is an important aspect. Maines (1977, p.235) suggests that Symbolic Interactionism:

...does not exclude or deny the existence of the phenomena such as social class, bureaucracy, social institutions, power structures, international relations, or social stratification, which are usually included in considerations of social organization and social structure.

Mead focused on the self and the development of the self. Central to Symbolic Interactionism is the concept that the self is an acting organism. It is "that which can be an object to itself" (Stryker & Statham, 1985, p.316), a communicative process of self-interaction: reflexivity. Reflexivity is the essence of the self: to interact with oneself is to have a self. The person categorizes, names, defines, and redefines who and what he/she is. In this way, the individual views him/herself as an object, just as any other object is viewed. Because the individual has the ability to take the attitudes of the other in his/her imagination, the self is an object of the reflection (Coser, 1977, p.337). The individual views him/herself from the point of view of how he/she thinks others view him/her. As Blumer (1969b, p.5) makes clear:

The process (interaction) has two distinct steps. First, the actor indicates to himself the things toward which he is acting; he has to point out in himself the things that have meaning...This interaction with himself is something other than an interplay of psychological elements; it is an instance of the person engaging in a process of communication
with himself....Second, by virtue of this process of communicating with himself, interpretation becomes a matter of handling meanings. The actor selects, checks, suspends, regroups, and transforms the meanings in the light of the situation in which he is placed and the direction of his action.

The acquisition of the self lies in three key assumptions (Mackie, 1987, p.118). First, the ability to act towards oneself is dependent upon the acquisition of language. Language is the means by which we use and interpret verbal significant symbols and meanings. Second, the self is social in origin. It is an object that is defined and redefined in interaction with others, created and recreated in each new social situation. Third, an acquisition of the self requires role-taking.

Roles, from a Symbolic Interactionist perspective, are not simply occupations or socioeconomic statuses; instead, the term is used broadly to mean the expected behaviours associated with a social position. The various positional labels, or "socially recognized categories" to which one feels he/she belongs, is one's identity set (Heiss, 1981, p.58). Theodorson and Theodorson (1969, p.352) define role as:

A pattern of behaviour, structured around specific rights and duties and associated with a particular...position within a group or social situation. A person's role in any situation is defined by the set of expectations for his behaviour held by others and by the person himself.

Symbolic Interactionists emphasize the interaction between people in roles and the consequent modifications in behaviour. A role, in existence prior to the individual, has expected behaviours that go with it, based on the shared social meaning of the role in the culture (Stryker & Statham, 1985, p.323). The expected behaviours of every role are also in existence before the individual assumes the role. The
individual who assumes a particular role is expected to assume the appropriate behaviours of the role, and others act toward the individual with those expectations. However, the total behaviour of a role is not prescribed; it is always undergoing modification in interaction. No role exists independently of other roles. In order to interact with a person having a particular role, the individual must play one of the counter-roles; that is, the teacher interacts with the student, the parents of the student, other faculty, etc. Roles are interrelated; thus, a person holds many social positions at the same time, for instance, a woman may be a mother and a daughter, a teacher and a student. The woman will not behave in a similar manner towards her child as she does toward her mother. The expected behaviours attached to those roles differ. There is a certain amount of acceptable variability in any role (Lauer & Handel, 1983, p.124); social expectations are flexible enough to tolerate some deviation from the norm. Personal characteristics, such as love and hate, enter into an interpersonal relationship. The interpersonal role, then, can modify the standardized and impersonal conventional role. Variability in role behaviour also stems from the modification of the role in interaction, and the discrepancy between the individual role behaviour and the prescribed role behaviour.

Role-taking is defined as "the process whereby an individual imaginatively constructs the attitudes of the other, and thus anticipates the behaviour of the other" (Lauer & Boardman, 1971, p.137). Jerold Heiss (1981) includes not just the attitudes of the other, but also the role of the other, in the capacity to see things with the other's eyes through the use of imagination. The individual puts him/herself in the other's place to view the world as he/she sees it, in
order to anticipate the expected course of action of the other and the consequences of his/her own actions. Thus he/she is able to continue, modify, or withdraw his/her resultant actions. In most situations, individuals "take the role" of the "generalized other." "Ongoing conduct is oriented not only to the expected responses of those physically present, but to the general expectations as a whole of the group to which the individual belongs" (Hewitt, 1976, p.53). The individual may also take the role of just one other person, when he/she is in a dyadic interaction, or two others, when in a triadic interaction, and so on, to anticipate the responses of the other/s within the social situation. With respect to this study, role-taking is involved in the women's perceptions of the similarity between the roles of women portrayed in the advertisements and other women's roles in society.

Lauer and Handel (1983, p.107) comment on identification as a related process to role-taking. The person imagines the attitudes of the other, and internalizes them into the self. The other may be another individual or group, and may be real or imaginary. Normally, the person is selective in the attitudes he/she internalizes, but sometimes it is a total conformity i.e. a member into a radical religious cult. Additionally, in some cases, the process of identification includes the perceptions and feelings of the other. The person is more likely to appropriate the other's attitudes about him/herself if those attitudes are positive as opposed to negative. In the end, the individual is more like the other than before the identification process. This internalization of attitudes of the other provides the social control of one's own behaviour: self-control, which is in accord with the community's standards. The conformity of one's behaviour to the
community's standards is the domination of the "I" by the "me". The community sees it as social control; the individual views the attitudes as his/her own.

The process of role-taking implies the process of role-making. Role-taking is reflexive if the thing of interest is the actor him/herself; that is, if the actor is interested in anticipating how the other will react to him/her, the actor must view his/her own actions, behaviours, and appearance from the perspective of the other. The distinction between the two concepts, according to Ralph Turner (1962, p.21-22), is that role-making involves the creation or modification of the conception of the self- and other-roles. In the words of Turner (1962, p.23): "the idea of role-making shifts emphasis from the simple process of enacting a prescribed role to devising a performance on the basis of an imputed role." The actor, then, imagines the other's actions and reactions and decides whether to continue, modify, or abandon his/her next responses. Role-making may be a process in which the women in this study have engaged in when they establish the similarity between the roles of women in advertisements and their own roles. I say "may" because there has not been any empirical research in the area of advertising which suggests this. It will only become evident if there is a disparity in the subjects' perceptions of similarity between other women's roles and the advertisements, and their own roles and the advertisements.

Role-taking and subsequent role-making are only as accurate, in part at least, as the extent of the commonality of the meanings and symbols upon which they are based (Stryker & Statham, 1985, p.325). If the created meanings, developed from one's shared experiences, are not
common and universal between the persons in the interrelationship, then the accuracy of role-taking will be affected. Imprecise perceptions of the other can and does result in conflict within the relationship, which may, in turn, affect the accuracy of the perceptions in interpersonal relations.

According to the commentators of Mead, there are four stages through which the self develops, namely, the preplay stage, the play stage, the game stage, and the generalized other stage (Wallace & Wolf, 1986, pp.197-198). The preplay, or preplay, stage is the pre-symbiotic stage. The child, up to about one and a half to two years of age, simply imitates the actions of the significant others. Social objects are not defined with words because the child does not comprehend language. Interaction with another person has no meaning or symbolic understanding for the child. Role-taking is merely imitating the other's actions. Acts are meaningless at this stage because "the child at that age lacks the ability to 'take the attitude of the other'" (Wallace & Wolf, 1986, p.198). However, this imitation of actions implies that the child is on the verge of role-taking (Meltzer, 1978, p.18).

The play stage is entered into during the acquisition of language. With language, the child can label, define, and identify objects. These social objects then have a shared meaning for the child, and he/she can act towards them accordingly; for example, the child learns what a chair is and its uses: either for sitting or standing. The child also learns that he/she too is an object from the labelling by his/her significant others. A significant other at this point is an individual who takes on importance and with whom he/she identifies as a role model, usually a parent. With age, the child's realm of significant others increases to
include other adults, friends, television heroes, and storybook characters. At this stage, the child can only take the role of one significant other at one time, and his/her identity is in relation to that one person. His/her total self is fragmented since his/her perspectives are not organized. The child sees and acts towards objects and him/herself as do others. This stage is called the play stage because the child is play-acting; he/she plays the role of a significant other which enables the child to act back toward him/herself. The child becomes an object to itself. It is in this stage that "the child first begins to form a self, that is, to direct activity toward itself" (Meltzer, 1978, p.18).

In the game stage, the child organizes the perspectives of significant others into a group. Mead used the game of baseball to illustrate the progression of the self through the game stage. In this organized game, each player on the team learns the attitudes and roles of the other members of the team, in order to anticipate their responses in the game. The player takes a number of roles at the same time, and responds to the expectations of several players simultaneously (Meltzer, 1978, p.19). Thus, the player must organize the roles of the other players into a generalized set of expectations of the group, and the individual attitudes of the others into an "organization of the attitudes of all involved in the game" (Wallace & Wolf, 1986, p.198). The player sees him/herself as all of the others see him/her, and act towards them on the basis of the group's generalized set of expectations.

Mead made no clear-cut division between the game stage and the generalized other stage. However, I believe, as do others (Lauer &
Handel, 1983; Wallace & Wolf, 1986) that the distinction between the stages warrants such a separation. The generalized other stage is an extension of the game stage in a wider social context. Mead (1934, p.154) defined the generalized other as the "organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self." This is the adult stage. The individual expands his/her group of significant others into the generalized other which becomes society as the individual knows it. The individual internalizes the society's rules, perspectives, and the definition of him/herself, to develop a "complete" and "unified" self. The individual takes the role of the general membership of his/her society, and is able to act in an organized and consistent manner in a variety of situations. Attitudes about what is normal and appropriate behaviour for women and men form a part of the generalized other. The generalized other now is the entire society.

The concept of "reference group" was first used by Hyman in 1942, and has since been refined several times. I prefer the definition by Shibutani because it incorporates the aspects of all previous definitions. According to Shibutani (1955, p.565), a reference group is "that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field." A reference group is similar to the generalized other in that the individual develops his/her attitudes, self-concept, roles, appropriate behaviours, and self-control by taking the role of the group. However, a reference group does not require membership, and does not have to be real. The generalized other is one's society of which the individual is a member. But another culture or society, of which the individual is not a member, may be a reference group. In addition, a reference group may be imaginary or
fictional. The images in advertisements form an example of a reference group. Individuals gain a definition of some objects and themselves from this group to the extent that people identify with the members of the group because they share certain characteristics and values, i.e. sex, age, concern for appearance and health (Lauer & Handel, 1983, p.119). Individuals adopt the perspectives of this imaginary reference group insofar as they share its views about what clothes are fashionable, what shampoo is best, and so on.

In addition to having the characteristics of being processual, reflexive, and self-controlling, the self consists of a structure or organization of attitudes. Mead (1934, p.5) defines attitudes as the "beginnings of acts." A more common definition by Secord and Backman (1964, p.97) is "certain regularities of an individual's feelings, thoughts, and predispositions to act toward some aspect of his environment." Attitudes, then, have cognitive, affective, and behavioural components which develop through interaction. The attitudes of one individual are different and of varying degrees from the attitudes of another individual because interactional experiences differ. One's attitudes may also be conflicting; a person may hold liberal attitudes toward one group of people, and traditional attitudes toward another group based on some characteristic of the groups, such as age or sex. Attitudes within an individual are processional, ever-changing, due to new experiences in interaction. Some attitudes change at a rapid pace, other attitudes change at a slow pace. Since this study concerns women's attitudes toward women in general, it is necessary to elaborate on attitudes.
Lauer and Handel (1983, pp. 93-96) list the properties of attitudes. First, attitudes do not exist independently of each other. A single isolated attitude cannot account solely for a specific overt behaviour. An attitude toward an issue may not be the same as an attitude toward an action related to the issue. Second, attitudes are multidimensional, in that they have cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects. All attitudes contain the cognitive and affective components, but not all attitudes manifest a behaviour, at least not one that might be expected. Third, extrapolated attitudes are different from existential attitudes. An extrapolated attitude, the one measured by a questionnaire, is the projected attitude in an imaginary situation; an existential attitude is one's actual beliefs, feelings, and behaviour in the real situation. The two types may differ because: the individual may unexpectedly conform to social norms in a real situation, or the attitude is modified during the interaction in a concrete situation, or the individual is inaccurate in imagining the actual situation, or the researcher falls short in replicating the real situation. Fourth, attitudes can be central or peripheral in their organization. In the web of interlocking attitudes, there is a relationship between centrality and linkage between attitudes, such that, an attitude is more central with a greater number of linkages to other attitudes, which, in turn, is more likely to influence behaviour. Additionally, a central attitude is more strongly developed in the individual than a peripheral attitude. Fifth, attitudes can be primary or secondary. Primary attitudes are crucial to the individual's self-concept, while secondary ones are about other matters or issues that bear on one's self. Primary attitudes are the most difficult to measure, and the most important for understanding
behaviour. The sixth and final characteristic of attitudes is the interaction of attitudes with other factors that affect behaviour in a complex situation. As Lauer and Handel (1983, p.96) put it: "behaviour is always a function of both attitudes and situations, and the situation includes interaction with its formative potential."

Six significant functions of attitudes have been identified that affect behaviour (Lauer & Handel, 1983, pp.96-98). Attitudes influence perception and learning. An individual's perception of an object or situation is congruent with his/her own attitudes. Similarly, an individual is less likely to learn or retain material that is not congruent with his/her own attitudes. Mead (1938, p.131) argues that attitudes determine perception. The individual's behaviour toward an object is the meaning that object has for the individual. The definition of the object is based on its meaning. Thus, the attitude toward the object determines the behaviour toward the object.

Attitudes can act as an ecological variable. To understand a person's behaviour, one must know how the person defines the situation, his/her self-concept, and his/her reference groups, particularly since the individual functions within social groups (Shibutani, 1961, p.279). The individual's understanding of the attitudes of his/her reference groups will have a direct bearing on his/her own behaviour.

People prefer to associate with others who have similar attitudes; therefore, attitudes serve a selective purpose in interaction. As one's attitudes change, an individual may also change his/her realm of preferred associates.

Just as attitudes influence some behaviours, they also inhibit certain behaviours. Negative attitudes toward women in some cultures are
supported by the social structure. Attitudes and institutions together form a main barrier to social change which inhibits behaviour by both men and women to secure equality for women.

Not only do attitudes affect the behaviour of the individual who holds them, but they affect the behaviour of those with whom he/she interacts. In addition, one's attitudes affect the behaviour of others to whom the attitudes are directed. The self-concepts of the objects of the attitudes are shaped in social interaction.

Finally, attitudes effect change and are, in turn, affected by change. Discriminatory hiring practices in the work place may be used as an example to demonstrate this. A change in attitude against the discrimination of hiring women led to a change in legislation to remedy the problem. Subsequently, the change in legislation led to a more universal change in attitudes against discrimination. Discordance between attitudes and situations continually leads to further changes.

The human being acts, not just responds to external stimuli as do lower life forms on the evolutionary scale. Mead conceptualized the self as a constant process of behaviour and self-image through social interaction with others and him/herself. Using language and non-verbal gestures, individuals actively and freely participate in the world, developing ever-changing shared perspectives from reference groups that guide and influence behaviour. An individual acts, assesses his/her actions, thus, viewing his/her self as an object, interprets the reactions of others, defines others' actions toward him/her, decides on the next course of action and the consequences of it, and acts again (Turner & Beeghley, 1981). Herbert Blumer (1969b, p.2) states three premises concerning this process of interaction and interpretation:
1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

2. The meaning of things arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.

3. The meanings of things are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.

Individuals identify, classify, and name social objects around them on the basis of their meanings through social interaction. The names and labels they give to themselves are partly derived from the labels significant others give to them. Who they are, their identities, and their self-judgments of their identities make up their self-concept. It must be noted that individuals do not automatically and unconsciously incorporate all the perspectives of the other without question. Individuals have the capacity to accept, modify, revise, or reject others' definitions of themselves.

Perception is defined as "an activity that involves selective attention to certain aspects of a situation, rather than a mere matter of something coming into the individual's nervous system and leaving an impression" (Meltzer, 1978, p.20). The individual perceives certain events as relevant to him/her, inhibits immediate overt behaviour, organizes possible lines of action, and then selects his/her response to the stimulus in the environment. The ability to perceive what is important and to ignore what is not, to indicate this to oneself, and to engage in an internal conversation regarding future action, is what Mead called "reflective thinking" or "mind." The mind is a mental process of self-interaction using significant symbols, and, like the self, is social in function.
The definition of the situation is described by Donald Ball (1972) as "the sum total of all recognized information, from the point-of-view of the actor, which is relevant to his locating himself and others, so that he can engage in self-determined lines of action and interaction." Robert Stebbins (1978, p.259) identifies three modes of the definition of the situation: cultural definitions, habitual personal definitions, and unique personal definitions. Whatever identity the individual assumes and whatever situation he enters may be classified as one of these modes. Cultural definitions, according to Stebbins (1978, p.259), are the "collective representations; the standard meanings of events embedded in the community culture as a whole or some sub-part of it (sub-culture)" that individuals learn through interaction. Cultural definitions are consensually shared by all of the members in the group; all members are aware that every other member of the group recognizes and uses the identical definition in the same manner as they do. In the context of the present study, the cultural definitions are the women's perceptions of the portrayals of women in the advertisements as those images reflect the roles of other women in society. Habitual personal definitions are the "regular meanings employed by categories of actors in specific kinds of periodic situations that for one reason or another...are not communicated." Habitual definitions are non-consensual. The situation has the same meaning for all of the members of the group, but each member is unaware that the others define the situation in the same way. For my purposes, habitual personal definitions are the women's perceptions of the depictions of women's roles in the advertisements as they represent their own roles. Unique personal definitions refer to an individual's interpretation of events
which are rarely or never encountered, or for which no cultural or habitual meaning exists. The individual must then improvise his/her own interpretation from the closest personal or collective equivalent. This study will be dealing only with cultural and habitual definitions. Whether the mode of the definition is cultural or habitual, the individual's definition of the situation is very much based on his/her predispositions. Predispositions are enduring products of past experience which equip the individual with a specific view of the world and guide his/her behaviour in the present. Stebbins (1978, p.263) specifically identifies these measurable predispositions as "attitudes, values, general life goals, ideal self-conceptions, internalized role expectations, interests, and so forth." The selection of the mode of definition, cultural or habitual personal, takes place in two rapidly occurring successive phases. Phase I is the identification of the present events as a category of a situation. In recurrent situations, meanings are attached based on previous experience in prior situations; therefore, a part of the cultural or habitual definition has already been selected. In terms of the present study, phase I involves the identification of the role of the woman in the advertisement. Phase II concerns the choice of personal plans of action: "a standard personal evaluation" (Stebbins, 1978, p.263), guided by predispositions, immediate intentions of the individual, and his/her identification of the situation in Phase I. In this study, phase II is the woman's identification of either her own role or other women's roles in terms of the identification of the advertisement's depiction of the woman's role, and her perception of how similar the roles are to each other.
Problems may occur in defining a situation in the early stages of interaction (Heiss, 1981, p.206). Relevant to this research are the problems of defining oneself and others before one can define the situation. Sometimes, the cues are not sufficient or the individual cannot decipher the cues, so the individual doesn't know which identity is appropriate. In other cases, there may be many cues pointing to different identities, but not to one in particular. In some instances, the cues may clearly indicate which identity is appropriate and the individual is aware of this, but he/she does not have that identity in his/her repertoire; thus, the person cannot play that role. The task of identifying the self goes together with identifying the other, for the two are interrelated. This process of identifying self and other extends to the roles attached to the identities. Normally, roles are learned in association with the identities; in some cases, however, a person may have the proper identities for self and other, but may not know the associated roles. In the present study, each woman will be engaged in self-interaction, and will have to determine the identities and roles of the women in the advertisements independent of one another. Variability between the women's perceptions of the identities may be attributed to the cues in the advertisements. One woman may perceive the occupational identity as the relevant identity, while another woman may believe that the marital status identity should be used in the definition of the situation.

In interaction with others, we define and label others based on their actions and words, in order to act appropriately in the situation. Stereotyping is a form of labelling. The other is free to accept, modify, or reject these labels. A definition of the self is exhibited in
the style of clothes and material objects used in everyday life. An individual attempts to define the situation for others by his/her appearance and the setting of the interaction.

Advertising, to a large degree, makes use of the concepts of Cooley's "looking-glass self" in an attempt to shape the consumer's self-image. Mead incorporated the concepts into his version of the self. According to Cooley, individuals imagine their appearance to others, imagine others' judgment of how they look, and judge themselves based on these imaginations. People see themselves as how they think they are seen by others, and how they think others see them. If they are pleased with their appearance, they feel a sense of pride; if they are not pleased, they feel mortified. Their self-judgment is, according to Cooley, socially bestowed. In Cooley's words (1902, p. 184),

As we see our face, figure, and dress in the glass, and we are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be; so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it.

Advertising presents an idealized image. Individuals compare how they think they appear to others with that idealized image, using the ideal as a base of measurement. If the gap is large, they may then take action to reduce it. Advertisers tell us exactly which products to buy that will accomplish the necessary alterations. Of course, the advertisers' job is to convince us that the alterations are always necessary.

From the Meadian Symbolic Interactionist perspective, we are free to reject their images of us, modify them, or accept them. A review of
the research in advertising has shown that women are primarily portrayed in stereotypical roles. Is this how women perceive the roles of women in advertisements, and is this perception congruent with their definitions of their own roles? Have women internalized the portrayals of women in the advertisements, or have they rejected them? Do women define other women's roles in society the same as the advertisers do? Do women define their own roles the same as they define other women's roles? Do the attitudes that women hold toward women reflect their perceptions of their own roles, other women's roles, or both? Finally, what predispositions contribute to the women's definitions in the advertisements? These are fundamental questions of a theoretical nature for which this study will attempt to provide some answers.
CHAPTER IV
Methodology

Because the two schools of thought in Symbolic Interactionism, the Iowa school and the Chicago school, differ in their definitions of the "self," their methodological practices reflect these viewpoints. The Iowa school proposes a scientific structured approach to research, using quantitative analysis, i.e. the Twenty Statements Test, to determine the causal relationships between an individual's internalized statuses and roles, and behaviour (Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1978, p.46). In the Blumerian tradition of the Chicago school, the preferred methodology is a qualitative analysis. Through exploration and inspection, the researcher conducts a "direct naturalistic examination of the empirical social world" (Blumer, 1969b, p.40).

The present study follows the theoretical orientation of the Chicago school of Symbolic Interactionism in conjunction with the quantitative analytical methodology of the Iowa school of Symbolic Interactionism. The theoretical perspective does not dictate the methodology; rather, the researcher selects the most appropriate methodology for investigating the problem at hand. This fusion of the perspective of one school and methodology of the other is endorsed by Denzin (1970, p.217) when he states:

Sociologists must carefully analyze each of their methodologies in terms of the kinds of questions they can best answer. To proclaim participant observation as the method of sociology is equivalent to stating that the experiment is the method of psychology. Obviously every discipline can and must employ more than one as it moves from vague hypotheses to observations and empirical tests.
The survey methodology, in particular self-administered questionnaires, was selected for a number of reasons. First, it is used chiefly in studies in which individual people are the units of analysis. Second, according to Babbie (1989, p237), surveys are "...probably the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly." Third, survey research is excellent for measuring orientations and attitudes in a population. Fourth, questionnaires may be administered to a group of subjects in one place at the same time. Fifth, because exactly the same questions are asked of all subjects, the data collected are standardized (Babbie, 1989, p258). Sixth, the responses of the subjects are not biased through the interpretation of the researcher. Seventh, there is considerable flexibility in the analyses of the data because many questions can be asked concerning a particular topic. Finally, self-administered questionnaires are best used with sensitive issues if complete anonymity is offered. "Respondents are sometimes reluctant to report controversial or deviant attitudes or behaviours in interviews but are willing to respond to an anonymous self-administered questionnaire" (Babbie, 1989, p253).

Mead emphasized interaction as crucial to an individual's well-being, not just interaction with others, but also with him/her self in an internalized conversation (Lauer & Handel, 1983, p89). Interaction is vital in the maintenance of one's attitudes and beliefs, and behaviour is prompted by interaction. The present study focuses on women's attitudes toward and perceptions of the sex roles of themselves and other women, their identification with the sex roles presented in print
advertisements, and their beliefs concerning the identification of other women with the portrayals in the advertisements.

**Subjects**

A total of 102 women, residing in Windsor and in the surrounding area, participated in the study. Thirteen of the women were enrolled as part- and full-time students in an introductory Sociology course at the University of Windsor, while the rest were recruited from the community at large. The women ranged in age from 19 to 64, and held a variety of marital statuses: single, married, separated, divorced, widowed, and cohabiting. Fifteen women worked solely in the home and 87 worked either part-time or full-time outside of the home.

**Materials**

The self-administered test instrument contained demographic information, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS), the Self-Identification with Advertisements Scale (SIADS), and the Other-Identification with Advertisements Scale (OIADS).

The cover page consisted of a brief statement as to the purpose of the study, an assurance of confidentiality and anonymity, and instructions for answering each question. Following this was the demographic information concerning marital status, number of children living at home, occupation, and age (see Appendix A).

The BSRI (Bem, 1974) is a self-report 7-point scale used to characterize a person as masculine, feminine, androgynous, or undifferentiated according to the person's endorsement of traditionally
desirable masculine and feminine personality characteristics. The BSRI considers masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions. Thus, a woman may perceive herself as having both masculine and feminine characteristics. A highly sex-typed score reflects an individual tendency to describe one's self according to the sex-typed socially desirable behaviour for men and women. The scale contains 20 masculine, 20 feminine, and 20 neutral characteristics, and scores may range from one to seven on the Masculinity and Femininity scales. The difference between a person's endorsement of masculine and feminine characteristics partially determines a person's sex-type. If the difference score is high, the person is typed masculine or feminine according to their endorsement. If the difference score is low, a median split procedure is then used to determine whether the person is androgynous or undifferentiated (see Appendix B).

The AWS (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1972a) contains 55 statements about the roles and rights of women in vocational, educational, and intellectual activities, dating and sexual behaviour, etiquette, and marital relationships. The AWS yields an average numerical score for each individual which reflects the extent to which the individual holds liberal or traditional attitudes toward women in today's society. On a Likert-type scale, scores may range from one to four, indicating respectively traditional to liberal attitudes (see Appendix C).

The SIADS is a Likert-type scale which this researcher developed to measure a woman's identification of her own role with the role she perceives of the woman/women in a print advertisement. Each subject has five averaged scores, each ranging from one to four, which indicate how alike a woman believes the two roles to be. The five scores are in
ascending order according to the five Levels of the Revised Scale for Sexism. A low score represents no identification; a high score represents a subject's high identification with the woman in the advertisement (see Appendix D).

The OIADS is similar in structure to the SIADS and was also designed by this researcher. The scale measures how closely the portrayal of the role of the woman in a print advertisement is, in the subject's opinion, to the role of the average woman in today's society. This scale also yields five averaged scores, ranging from one to four, which represent each of the five ascending Levels of the Revised Scale for Sexism. Low scores indicate no similarity between the roles; high scores indicate that the role of the woman in the advertisement is very similar to that of the average woman (see Appendix E).

Coding the Advertisements

A panel of judges was selected from the Windsor community to code the advertisements with respect to their content of sex-role stereotyping. In order to ensure that the coding would not be biased on the basis of sex, both women and men were assigned to the panel. The panel consisted of five paired groups, made up of one woman and one man. The woman and the man in each group were matched, as closely as possible, on marital status, age, and number of children. However, it was essential to have coding groups which varied in marital status, age, occupation, number of children, and, most importantly, in attitudes and beliefs toward women, so as to achieve a coding that would be representative of a coding by the general population. The coders assembled in an informal setting, were introduced to each other, and
first completed a short version of the questionnaire packet. The short version consisted of the cover page with the demographic information, and the AWS. Table I shows a summary of the collected data describing the coders. The coders are ordered in their paired groups i.e. coder 01 and coder 02 constitute one group, coders 03 and 04 make up another group, and so on.

Prior to their meeting, approximately 20 magazines that are available in Canada were collected. These magazines were a selection of what is commonly regarded as women's magazines i.e. Chatelaine and Canadian Living, men's magazines i.e. Playboy, fashion magazines i.e. Mademoiselle, news magazines i.e. Time and Life, and sports magazines i.e. Sports Illustrated. The majority of the magazines were recent issues of 1988, and only two of the fashion magazines were dated 1987. All of the advertisements which had a woman or women appearing in them were extracted. Any doubles of the advertisements were eliminated from the total count. It should be noted here that all of the magazines published some of the same advertisements from issue to issue, and many advertisements, particularly those for make-up and hair care products appeared in several different magazines at the same time. In all there were 57 different advertisements to be coded.

Each coder was given an outline of the Scale for Sexism (Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, & Paisley, 1976). The Scale for Sexism is an ordinal consciousness scale which classifies sexist portrayals of women in advertisements on the basis of qualitative indicators on a five level continuum, ranging from very sexist to non-sexist. Level I, characterized as "put her down," includes presentations of women as the dumb blond, the sex object, and the whimpering victim. Women are
Table 1
Demographic Information and AWS Scores of Coders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coder ID</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Prestige of Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>AWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.8545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.9636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3.1091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2.6364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3.2182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.7455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3.0909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.6182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
portrayed at this level as two dimensional non-thinking decorations. Level II is characterized as "keep her in her place". Women are seen in traditionally "womanly" roles, such as wives, mothers, nurses, teachers, secretaries, etc. However, in non-traditional roles, such as doctors and lawyers, they are shown negatively, struggling in areas that are beyond their capabilities. Level III, a little less common in the media, depicts women in two roles: in the office and in the home. The role of a woman as a professional career woman is overridden by her duties of housework and mothering. In Level IV, women are portrayed as fully equal to men. Images allow women to be professionals without suggesting that their private lives, mothering, and housework take precedence over their careers. Level V, the top level, is non-stereotypic. Women and men are treated as individuals, and not judged by their sex. They are superior to each other in some respects and inferior in others. However, only media images that depict women as superior to men in roles outside the home or in non-traditional activity are coded Level V.

The Scale for Sexism was explained to the coders and any questions they had about the distinction between the Levels on the scale were answered. Although the coders understood the theoretical difference between Level IV and Level V of the scale, they were unable to distinguish between the levels when applying them to the advertisements. It was an unanimous decision that the content of these two levels be changed for the following reasons: in the late 1980's, the coders believed that there is very little difference between a woman being judged equal to a man and being judged regardless of her sex. The coders felt that being equal is the same as being an individual. Also, a woman may be fully equal and treated as an individual, but, from this, it
follows that she cannot be in a superior position. The two positions are incongruent. The Scale for Sexism was then revised to reflect the coders' opinions. In the revised Level IV, a woman is equal to a man; a female professional is treated as a professional, an individual. The revised Level V is the only place a woman is superior to a man in non-traditional activity (see Appendix F).

Once the Scale for Sexism had been revised, the coders had little difficulty categorizing the advertisements. They were not informed prior to the coding that an advertisement must be assigned to a Level by unanimous consensus to be considered for the final selection. This was done to prevent any coders who disagreed with the majority's opinion from feeling pressured to conform. Only five advertisements failed the criterion and were discarded. Of the remaining 52 advertisements, fifteen were coded Level I, sixteen were categorized Level II, six were assigned to Level III, eleven were rated Level IV, and four were classified Level V.

All of the advertisements at each Level, one Level at a time, were then laid out, and the coders were instructed to select four advertisements that both best represented their respective Level and which spanned the areas of family, work, and social life, where it was appropriate. The meeting took approximately two hours and the coders were thanked for their participation.

The advertisements were labelled from one to four inclusive for Level I (see Appendix G), five to eight for Level II (see Appendix H), nine to twelve for Level III (see Appendix I), thirteen to sixteen for Level IV (see Appendix J), and seventeen to twenty for Level V (see
Appendix K). The numbers on the advertisements corresponded to the numbers on the SIADS and the OIADS.

**Procedure**

The questionnaires were administered to women on a voluntary basis both individually and in a group setting, whenever it was possible. The only requirement for participating in the study was that the woman be between 19 and 65 years of age. Respondents came from an availability sample, most of whom were not personally known to me, and were recruited to participate by the coders, friends, relatives, acquaintances, and co-workers.

Subjects were only told that this was a study for a Master's thesis about women and their roles in today's society. They were assured that their answers would be kept confidential and told not to put their names or any identifying marks on the questionnaires. When two or more respondents were filling out the questionnaires, they were also instructed not to discuss their opinions or make any comments, positive or negative, about the contents of the questionnaire or their answers. The subjects were directed to complete the cover page and the following two measures on their own.

The test advertisements were arranged in randomized order and shown to each subject one at a time. Respondents were instructed to look at each advertisement, and to pay attention to the role of the woman in the ad, reading the accompanying printed advertising where applicable. The subjects were then told to indicate, by using the code provided in the SIADS questionnaire, how similar the role of the woman in the advertisement was to their own individual role. The women were
instructed to read the directions at the top of the SIADS test instrument before responding and to express any questions or problems regarding the directions. Respondents were allowed as much time as they required to look at the advertisements before making their responses. It was stressed that care be taken to insert their choice of response on the appropriate numbered line i.e. "your answer for advertisement numbered '1' goes on the line beside the number 1."

When the subjects completed the SIADS, the advertisements were then arranged in a different randomized order. Respondents were instructed to turn to the last page of the questionnaire booklet, the OIADS, and again view the advertisements, still attending to the role of the woman. They were told to judge, by using a code similar to the previous one, how similar the role of the woman in the advertisement was to the role of the average woman in today's North American society, which did not necessarily include themselves. Subjects were again reminded to read the accompanying directions before starting and to observe the correct positioning of their responses when filling out the OIADS.

The length of time to complete the questionnaires varied from twenty minutes to two hours, but the average time was approximately 45 minutes. Appreciation was expressed to the subjects for their cooperation and participation. Many of the respondents were curious about the meaning of the advertisements. They were informed that some of the advertisements were sexist and some of them were not; this study was endeavouring to determine which advertisements women perceived as sexist. No further information was given.
CHAPTER V
Analysis of Data

Demographic Description of Sample

Respondents fell into one of six different categories of marital status. Ninety-eight women selected one of the five specified choices offered, and four subjects circled "OTHER," reporting that they were currently in a cohabiting relationship. Table 2 shows the frequency and percentage of women in each class.

Table 2
Frequency and Percentage of Women and Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Separated</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Cohabiting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents were asked to state how many children they had living at home, not just how many children they had. This distinction was necessary due to the fact that women's roles, life-styles, perceptions, attitudes, and sometimes their occupations change when their children no longer reside with them. Several women stated me that they had children who were either grown and living on their own or were not in their mother's custody at the time of the study. The average number of children per woman was 1.02. Table 3 displays the number and percentage of women who had from none to six children.
Table 3

Frequency and Percentage of Women With Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The women were orally instructed to be specific when stating their occupations. Occupations were classified according to an occupational prestige scale (Pineo, Porter, & McRoberts, 1977) which ordinarily rated the social status of the occupations from the 1971 Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations codes. This scale, developed by a team of sociologists, was preferred over other occupational scales because it takes into account characteristics related to occupations, such as education, freedom and independence, difficulty or skill required, number of people controlled, etc. It is also an improvement over an earlier prestige scale (Pineo & Porter, 1967) in that an attempt was made to avoid being influenced by any stereotypification of occupations by gender. Some of the respondents listed several occupations, but only the first one was coded. It was felt that a person would order their occupations according to their own perception of priorities, placing their primary work first and so on, ending with the least important one. The 1971 Census codes do not include "housewife" or "homemaker" as an occupation; this work is given a separate code, similar to a non-response. However, from a Symbolic Interactionist perspective, if a woman perceives the job of "housewife"
as an occupation, then it is an occupation to her. Since this study focused on women's perceptions of themselves and others, it was compulsory to treat "housewife" as an occupation. I placed "housewife" and "homemaker" in the category labelled Unskilled Manual, reasoning that the work done by a housewife, such as cooking, babysitting, laundering, housekeeping, etc. were all occupations coded Unskilled Manual. Table 4 shows the frequency and percentage of the women in each classification of the occupational prestige scale.

Table 4

Frequency and Percentage of Women on Occupational Prestige Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Category</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed professionals</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed professionals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level management</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle management</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-professionals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forepersons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled crafts and trades</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled manual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled manual</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm labourers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last demographic variable was age. The mean age of the women was 34.28 years. The number of women and the perspective percentage in each five-year interval is displayed in Table 5.
Table 5

**Frequency and Percentage of Women by Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Interval</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BSRI and AWS Scores of Total Group**

From the BSRI, each subject received a Masculinity and a Femininity score. The mean Masculinity score for the total group was 4.999, and the mean Femininity score was 5.242. The mean score of the total group on the AWS was computed to be 3.284. It should be noted here that one woman failed to complete the entire AWS in the questionnaire; there were then only 101 AWS scores to be averaged. A score this high on the AWS indicates that the group as a whole leaned toward the liberal end on the attitudes scale. To determine if there was a relationship between masculine and feminine characteristics and attitudes toward women, two correlations were calculated between Masculinity scores and AWS scores, and between Femininity scores and AWS scores. The criterion for statistical significance was set at .05. A significant positive correlation was found between the Masculinity scores and the AWS scores ($r = 0.20, p = .04$) and a significant negative correlation was found between the Femininity scores and the AWS scores ($r = -0.24, p = .02$).
This signified that as attitudes toward women became more liberal, the endorsement of masculine characteristics increased and feminine characteristics decreased. In other words, a high degree of traditionally masculine traits was associated with very liberal attitudes toward women, and a high degree of traditionally feminine traits was related to traditional attitudes.

**BSRI and AWS Scores by Marital Status**

The associations between each of the demographic variables and the BSRI and AWS scores were investigated. Table 6 shows the mean Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS scores for each of the categories in Marital Status.

**Table 6**

**Mean Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS Scores by Marital Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>AWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>4.99</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ---- denotes 1 missing value

It is interesting to note that the average Masculinity and AWS scores were lowest for women living with a partner: married and cohabiting. I cannot comment on the Masculinity score in the Widowed category since it was not an average of scores by widows; there was only one widow. This low score may be indicative of all widows, or it may be
peculiar to this subject. The Femininity scores do not follow a similar trend.

To determine if there were differences between the categories of marital status on Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS scores, three separate analyses of variance (ANOVA) were calculated. Masculinity scores were not significantly different across the classes of marital status ($F = 1.97, p = .09$). Similarly, no significant differences in the Femininity scores were found between the classifications of marital status ($F = 1.18, p = .32$). The differences between the mean AWS scores in the marital status categories were not significant either ($F = 2.02, p = .10$). However, when individual $t$ tests compared the AWS scores between the categories, married women had significantly more traditional attitudes toward women than separated women ($t > 1.98, p < .05$).

**BSRI and AWS Scores by Children**

The average Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS scores were calculated for women according to the number of children they had living with them (see Table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>AWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>3.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * denotes 1 missing value
Correlations were computed to determine if there were relationships between the number of children a woman had living at home and her Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS scores. A significant negative correlation was found between the number of children and Masculinity scores \( r = -0.21, p = .03 \). This indicated that the more children a woman had living at home, the less she endorsed masculine characteristics. The correlation between number of children and Femininity scores was not statistically significant \( r = -0.001, p = .99 \), nor was the correlation between number of children and AWS scores \( r = -0.10, p = .32 \).

Masculinity scores were compared across the number of children using an ANOVA. An overall significant difference was found in the Masculinity scores \( F = 3.14, p = .01 \). Separate t tests between the groups showed that the mean Masculinity score of women with no children was significantly higher than the mean Masculinity score of women with one child and women with two children \( t > 1.98, p < .05 \). The score of the woman with five children was found to be significantly lower than the mean score of women with no children and women with three children \( t > 1.98, p < .05 \); but these findings were inconclusive since there was only one woman in the category with five children.

Another ANOVA was calculated to compare the Femininity scores across the number of children. No significant difference was found \( F = 0.15, p = .99 \). Individual t tests did not reveal any differences in the Femininity scores between the pairs of groups.

A third ANOVA was computed across the number of children for the AWS scores. Again, the overall comparison was not statistically significant \( F = 1.17, p = .33 \). However, the individual t test
comparisons showed that women with no children had significantly more liberal attitudes than women with one child.

BSRI and AWS Scores by Occupation

Table 8 is a display of the mean Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS scores of the women in each of the Occupation categories.

Table 8
Mean Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS Scores by Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>AWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed professional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-level management</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.45</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle management</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-professional</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled manual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>3.36*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled manual</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * denotes 1 missing value

An ANOVA was computed on the Masculinity scores across the occupational categories and an overall difference between the means was found to be highly significant ($F = 2.88$, $p = .005$). After individual t tests were calculated, it was determined that the women in the least prestigious occupations, Unskilled Manual, had significantly lower Masculinity scores than the women in the Middle Management, Semi-professional, Skilled and Semi-skilled Clerical-sales-service, and Semi-skilled Manual occupations ($t > 1.96$, $p < .05$). Also, those women
working in Unskilled Clerical-sales-service jobs had significantly lower Masculinity scores than the women in Middle Management and Semi-professional positions ($t > 1.98$, $p < .05$). The correlation using Kendall Tau found a significant negative relationship between age and occupation ($T = -0.23$, $p = .001$). This result suggested that as a woman rose in her occupational level, her endorsement of traditionally masculine traits also increased.

A second ANOVA was computed on the Femininity scores across occupations. No significant overall difference was found between the levels ($F = 0.37$, $p = .97$). There was also no significant correlation between occupation and Femininity scores ($T = 0.05$, $p = .45$). It was concluded from this that a woman's endorsement of feminine characteristics was in no way related to how high her occupation was located on the prestige scale.

Another ANOVA, calculated on the AWS scores across the categories of occupation, determined a value which approached the level of significance but failed to meet the criterion ($F = 1.81$, $p = .08$). The paired $t$ tests indicated that the women in both the Middle Management and the Semi-professional occupations held significantly more liberal attitudes than the women in both the Semi-skilled Clerical-sales-service and the Unskilled Manual jobs. A significant negative correlation was determined ($T = -0.24$, $p = .001$), indicating that as a woman rose in occupational status, her attitudes toward women became more liberal.

**BSRI and AWS Scores by Age**

The average Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS scores for the women in each of the five-year intervals of age are shown in Table 9.
Table 9

Mean Masculinity, Femininity, and AWS Scores by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Interval</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>AWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.35</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ---- denotes 1 missing value

Using the age intervals as separate groups, an ANOVA was computed for the Masculinity scores. Although the overall difference between the age intervals was not significant ($F = 0.94$, $p = .49$), it was determined that the 64 year old woman had a significantly lower Masculinity score than the 19 year olds, the 25 to 29 year olds, the 30 to 34 year olds, the 40 to 44 year olds, and the 55 to 59 year olds ($t > 1.98$, $p < .05$). Again, it was difficult to conclude a definitive meaning from this result with only one score in the 60 to 64 age interval. In scanning the mean scores across the intervals, there did not appear to be an ascending or descending order to the Masculinity scores. Indeed, the correlation between age and Masculinity scores was low and not significant ($r = -0.10$, $p = .31$), indicating that a woman's endorsement of traditionally masculine characteristics was not related to age.

The Femininity scores were then compared across the age intervals in an ANOVA, and the overall difference was not found to be significant ($F = 0.82$, $p = .60$). The non-significant correlation between age and
Femininity scores ($r = -0.12$, $p = .22$) indicated that a woman's age was also not associated with her endorsement of traditionally feminine characteristics.

The ANOVA, comparing the AWS scores over the age intervals, did not produce a significant overall difference ($F = 1.23$, $p = .29$). However, the t tests of paired groups found that the 19 year olds had significantly more traditional attitudes toward women than both the 20 to 24 year olds and the 55 to 59 year olds ($t > 1.98$, $p < .05$). As with the Masculinity and Femininity scores, no significant correlation was computed for age and AWS scores ($r = 0.05$, $p = .61$). This result was interpreted to mean that a woman's age was not related to how liberal or traditional her attitudes were toward women.

**BSRI and SIADS**

Every respondent had 20 scores on the SIADS. Each set of four scores, representing the five levels of the Revised Scale of Sexism, were averaged to obtain a mean score for each level which indicated how closely the woman identified with the role of the woman in the advertisements. The SIADS, then, produced a mean score for each ordinal Level of sexism. The mean scores of all subjects were computed for each Level and are illustrated in Table 10.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>1.527</td>
<td>2.632</td>
<td>2.471</td>
<td>2.483</td>
<td>2.346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In general, the women did not identify with the roles in the advertisements on Level I, whereas, on the rest of the Levels, they did perceive a degree of similarity between their own roles and those pictured in print media. Since the highest mean score was found on Level II, it was concluded that the women identified to the greatest extent with the traditional roles of women in the advertisements.

In order to determine the relationship between a woman's perception of herself and her identification with the roles on the various levels of sexism, separate correlations were calculated between the Masculinity and Femininity scores and the Level scores on the SIADS. Table 11 displays the Pearson r correlations and their respective probability levels.

Table 11

Correlations and Probability Between Masculinity and Femininity Scores and SIADS Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BSRI</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc</td>
<td>0.0003</td>
<td>-0.0896</td>
<td>-0.0774</td>
<td>0.3987</td>
<td>0.2820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.9975</td>
<td>0.3703</td>
<td>0.4391</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
<td>0.0041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>0.1386</td>
<td>0.3265</td>
<td>0.1674</td>
<td>-0.0330</td>
<td>-0.0959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.1648</td>
<td>0.0008</td>
<td>0.0926</td>
<td>-0.7422</td>
<td>0.3379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correlation coefficients on Level I indicated that neither masculine nor feminine traits were related to a woman's identification with the most sexist roles portrayed in advertising, those of "woman as sex object." On Level II and Level III, the correlations of the Masculinity scores with the SIADS scores were very low but in the
negative direction. The negative direction was interesting because it suggested that the more a woman identified with the roles, the less she endorsed masculine characteristics. The highly significant correlation between the Femininity scores and the SIADS scores on Level II and the correlation which approached significance on Level III was important to note because, while masculine characteristics were irrelevant, the more a woman perceived herself as having feminine traits, the more she perceived a similarity between her role and traditional roles and roles that allowed her a non-traditional occupation but required her to make mothering and housekeeping her first priority. This was particularly so in Level II, in which women were pictured as functioning well only in traditional roles. The trends in Level II and Level III were reversed in Level IV and Level V. Highly significant positive correlations were found between Masculinity scores and SIADS scores on both upper Levels, and very low non-significant correlations in a negative direction were calculated between Femininity scores and the SIADS scores. Feminine characteristics were not related to a woman's perception of her identification with the roles in advertising which portrayed women in equal or superior positions. However, masculine characteristics were related; the more a woman saw herself as having traditionally masculine traits, the more she saw herself in equal and superior roles.

**BSRI and OIADS**

Every respondent had 20 scores on the OIADS. The method for obtaining the mean scores on the Levels for each woman was the same as the method applied to the SIADS. The average scores for the women on each Level of the OIADS are shown in Table 12.
Table 12

Mean Scores for Each Level of OIADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>2.158</td>
<td>3.047</td>
<td>2.918</td>
<td>3.176</td>
<td>2.782</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the lowest mean was found on Level I, it was concluded that the women generally saw less similarity between the role of other women and the roles of "woman as sex object" in the advertisements than they saw between the role of other women and the roles in the other Levels. The highest mean, found on Level IV, suggested that the subjects perceived the role of other women mainly as one of equality with men.

To determine the relationship between a woman's perceived characteristics and the similarity between her perception of the role of other women and the role of the women in advertising on the various Levels, correlations were computed between the Masculinity and Femininity scores and the Level scores on the OIADS. The Pearson $r$ correlation coefficients and their respective probabilities are shown in Table 13

Correlations and Probability Between Masculinity and Femininity Scores and OIADS Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BSRI</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc</td>
<td>$-0.0845$</td>
<td>$0.0133$</td>
<td>$0.0495$</td>
<td>$-0.1482$</td>
<td>$0.0325$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$0.4010$</td>
<td>$0.8951$</td>
<td>$0.6228$</td>
<td>$0.1392$</td>
<td>$0.7471$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>$0.2615$</td>
<td>$0.0016$</td>
<td>$0.0346$</td>
<td>$0.1609$</td>
<td>$0.2221$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$0.0082$</td>
<td>$0.9875$</td>
<td>$0.7311$</td>
<td>$0.1079$</td>
<td>$0.0256$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results of the correlational analyses of the OIADS did not follow the same direction as the results of the SIADS. There was no significant relationship on any level between the masculine characteristics of the respondents and how similar the subjects viewed the role of other women to the roles portrayed in the advertisements. The slight negative correlation on Level IV should be pointed out because it hints that, the more a woman perceived herself as having masculine traits, the less she saw other women as being equal to men. The Femininity scores did not significantly correlate with the OIADS scores on Level II, Level III, or Level IV; but there were significant positive relationships on Level I, advertisements containing the most sexist portrayals of women, and Level V, advertisements containing the least amount of sexism. It was concluded that the more a woman endorsed feminine characteristics, the more she perceived a resemblance between the role of other women and the role portrayed in the advertisements of "woman as sex object" and "woman as superior" to men in non-traditional activity.

**AWS and OIADS**

In order to determine if there was a relationship between the attitudes the subjects held toward women and their perception of the similarity between the role of other women and the role the advertisements portrayed, correlations were calculated between the AWS scores and the OIADS scores on each level of sexism. Table 14 displays the Pearson r correlation coefficients and the tabulated probabilities between the scores.
Table 14

Correlations and Probability Between AWS Scores and OIADS Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-0.3122</td>
<td>-0.2371</td>
<td>-0.1105</td>
<td>-0.1658</td>
<td>-0.1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.0016</td>
<td>.0175</td>
<td>.2738</td>
<td>.0993</td>
<td>.0752</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations in the negative direction were found across all Levels, but only the ones on Level I and Level II reached statistical significance. It was concluded from the results on Level I that the more traditional a woman's attitudes, the more she perceived the role of other women as being that of a "two-dimensional, non-thinking image."

Similarly, from Level II, a woman with traditional attitudes viewed other women in the traditional roles of wife, mother, nurse, teacher, etc. The correlations on Level IV and Level V approached the significant level. These findings suggested that the more liberal a woman's attitudes toward other women, the less she perceived other women to be equal to men and superior to men.

The women were divided on the basis of their attitudes into two groups. The median/mean cutoff point of 3.284 on the AWS separated the women with traditional attitudes from the women with liberal attitudes. The mean OIADS scores of the two attitude groups were then compared at each Level to evaluate the differences between the roles the women with liberal attitudes perceived as appropriate for other women and the roles the women with traditional attitudes perceived as representative of other women. Table 15 illustrates the average OIADS scores of the
attitude groups on each Level of the OIADS, and the computed t values and the respective probabilities between the means on every Level.

Table 15

Mean OIADS Scores and t Values by Attitude Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trad</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2.319</td>
<td>3.118</td>
<td>2.931</td>
<td>3.235</td>
<td>2.887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.995</td>
<td>2.975</td>
<td>2.905</td>
<td>3.115</td>
<td>2.675</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t Value</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2.6801</td>
<td>-1.6383</td>
<td>-0.3336</td>
<td>-1.2485</td>
<td>-1.7284</td>
<td>0.0086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0086</td>
<td>.1045</td>
<td>.7394</td>
<td>.2148</td>
<td>.0870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The means of the liberal group were lower than the means of the traditional group on all Levels. The two groups differed significantly only on Level I, and the t value on Level V approached the criterion for significance. It was concluded that women with liberal attitudes perceived less similarity in the extreme Levels of sexism between other women and the roles portrayed in the advertisements than women with traditional attitudes.

**SIADS and OIADS**

The similarities and the differences between the roles that the women identified with themselves and the roles the respondents identified with other women were investigated. Table 16 is a summary of the statistical analyses performed between the SIADS scores and the OIADS scores. For purposes of visual comparison across the Levels, the mean scores on the SIADS from Table 10 and the mean scores on the OIADS from Table 12 were included.
Table 16
Means, Correlations, *t* Values, and Probability Between SIADS Scores and OIADS Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistic</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean SIADS</td>
<td>1.527</td>
<td>2.632</td>
<td>2.471</td>
<td>2.483</td>
<td>2.346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean OIADS</td>
<td>2.158</td>
<td>3.047</td>
<td>2.918</td>
<td>3.176</td>
<td>2.782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t</em> Value</td>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>5.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson r</td>
<td>0.4293</td>
<td>0.1751</td>
<td>0.3025</td>
<td>0.0301</td>
<td>0.2356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0799</td>
<td>.0021</td>
<td>.7648</td>
<td>.0177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean OIADS scores were higher than the mean SIADS scores on all Levels, the differences ranging from 0.415 on Level II to 0.693 on Level IV. Paired comparison *t* tests were tabulated on the SIADS scores and the OIADS scores in each Level of sexism to determine if the average of the differences between the scores significantly diverged from zero. The results indicated that the mean OIADS scores were significantly higher than the mean SIADS scores on every Level. It was concluded that the respondents perceived the roles in the advertisements as more closely describing other women than themselves. In other words, the roles of women pictured in print media were more representative of other women than they were of the individual.

To determine if there was a relationship in the responses between the identification a woman perceived between her own role and the roles presented in the advertisements, and the similarity of the roles between other women and those pictured in the advertisements, Pearson *r* correlations were computed between the SIADS scores and the OIADS
scores. The correlations were statistically significant on Levels I, III, and IV, and approached significance on Level II. These findings suggested that, on the four Levels, the more a woman identified with the roles in the advertisements, the more she identified those roles with other women. The t test analyses indicated that a woman identified those roles in the advertisements with other women to a greater extent.

Sex Classifications From BSRI

Individual t tests computed the difference between the Masculinity scores and the Femininity scores for each respondent to derive the Androgyny score, the t value. If the Androgyny score was less than -1, the woman was sex-typed Feminine; if the Androgyny score was greater than +1, the woman was sex-typed Masculine. When the Androgyny score ranged between -1 and +1, a median split procedure was used (Orlofsky, Aslin, & Ginsburg, 1977) to distinguish between Androgynous and Undifferentiated classifications. The Masculinity median of 4.90 and the Femininity median of 4.85 were taken from the study by Orlofsky et al because they were based on a population of both male and female respondents. The median split method of classification required that both the Masculinity and Femininity scores be less than their respective medians in order for the subject to be sex-typed Undifferentiated; otherwise, the respondent was categorized Androgynous.

In the sample of women in the study, 26, or 25.5% were classified Masculine, 44, or 43.1% were sex-typed Feminine, 28, or 27.5% were categorized Androgynous, and 4, or 3.9% were found to be Undifferentiated. The analysis of the data for the separate groups followed the same format as was done for the group as a whole. In
addition, the results were compared across the sex classifications to
determine the differences between categories.

**Demographic Description of Sex Classifications**

Respondents in each of the sex classifications were categorized
according to their marital status. Table 17 displays the frequencies and
column percentages of marital status by classification.

**Table 17**

**Frequency of Marital Status by Sex Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.46%</td>
<td>29.55%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.92%</td>
<td>56.82%</td>
<td>60.71%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.38%</td>
<td>4.55%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.54%</td>
<td>2.27%</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>2.27%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.69%</td>
<td>4.55%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between the nominal variables of marital status
and sex classification was tested using the chi square method of
analysis. A chi square value was calculated to be 26.565, reaching a
probability level of .032. Since the chi square analysis is not capable
of pointing out exactly where the relationship lies or in which direction, it could be concluded only that there was a significant association between sex classification and marital status.

Women with children were sorted by sex classification. Table 18 exhibits the frequency and percentage of women with children at home in each sex type.

Table 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69.23%</td>
<td>36.36%</td>
<td>46.43%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>29.55</td>
<td>21.43</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.73</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>22.73</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 44 28 4
100.00% 100.00% 100.00% 100.00%

Masculine-typed women had an average of 0.577 children; Feminine women had 1.159 children per woman; Androgynous women had a mean of 1.214 children; and Undifferentiated women had 1.00 child per woman.
The occupations of the women were cross-tabulated with sex classification. Table 19 shows the number of women and percentage in each occupational category by sex type.

### Table 19

**Frequency of Occupation by Sex Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.69%</td>
<td>2.27%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level Management</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-professional</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.08</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.08</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>32.14</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.77</td>
<td>20.45</td>
<td>17.86</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled manual</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled clerical-sales-service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>11.36</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled manual</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>31.82</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                          | 26   | 44  | 28    | 4      |
|                                | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Chi square was calculated on the frequencies in occupation by sex classification. The computed chi square value of 40.895, reaching a
probability level of .042 suggested that occupation was associated with sex type.

The last demographic variable, age, was cross-tabulated with the sex types. The frequency and percentage of women in each sex classification by age intervals is displayed in Table 20.

Table 20
Frequency of Age by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Interval</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.54%</td>
<td>2.27%</td>
<td>7.14%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>13.64</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.92</td>
<td>22.73</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>15.91</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26  44  28  4
100.00% 100.00% 100.00% 100.00%
The mean age of Masculine women was 32.77 with a range of 19 to 55 years. Feminine women ranged from 19 to 64 years of age, averaging 33.91 yrs. Androgynous women had a mean age of 35.75 years and ranged from 19 to 59 yrs. The average age of Undifferentiated women was 38.00 years, ranging from 25 to 52 yrs. The chi square test of independence produced a value of 31.96 with a probability level of .233. No significant association was found between age and sex classification.

**BSRI and AWS Scores by Sex Classification**

The mean Masculinity, Femininity, Androgyny t, and AWS scores in each sex classification are illustrated in Table 21.

**Table 21**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>5.704</td>
<td>4.307</td>
<td>5.488</td>
<td>4.613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femininity</td>
<td>4.696</td>
<td>5.507</td>
<td>5.414</td>
<td>4.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgyny t</td>
<td>2.034</td>
<td>-2.408</td>
<td>0.160</td>
<td>-0.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWS</td>
<td>3.375</td>
<td>3.209</td>
<td>3.290</td>
<td>3.450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An ANOVA was computed on the AWS scores across the sex classifications. The overall difference between the means did not exceed the criterion level of probability, but did approach it to the extent that further investigation was warranted ($F = 2.25, p = .0876$). Individual t tests on pairs of groups found a significant difference in the AWS scores between Masculine and Feminine women ($t > 1.98, p < .05$).
The Masculine-typed women had significantly more liberal attitudes toward other women than the Feminine-typed women.

Since Masculinity scores had already been shown to be positively correlated with the AWS scores, and Femininity scores had had a significant negative correlation with the AWS scores within the total group, it was important to investigate if such relationships existed within each sex classification. Separate Pearson $r$ correlations were calculated between the Masculinity, Femininity, and Androgyny $t$ scores and the AWS scores for each sex type. Table 22 is a summary of the results.

Table 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity and AWS</td>
<td>0.3145</td>
<td>0.0436</td>
<td>0.0570</td>
<td>-0.7374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1176</td>
<td>.7815</td>
<td>.7734</td>
<td>.2626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femininity and AWS</td>
<td>0.0511</td>
<td>-0.3208</td>
<td>-0.0733</td>
<td>-0.6047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.8041</td>
<td>.0360</td>
<td>.7107</td>
<td>.3953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgyny $t$ and AWS</td>
<td>0.2004</td>
<td>0.3026</td>
<td>0.1546</td>
<td>-0.8213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.3264</td>
<td>.0486</td>
<td>.4322</td>
<td>.1787</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the correlations between the Femininity scores and the AWS scores, and between the Androgyny $t$ scores and the AWS scores in the Feminine classification were statistically significant. Since the Androgyny $t$ was a singular value which consisted of both the Masculinity and Femininity measures, it seemed most appropriate to consider just the results for the Masculinity and Femininity scores. It was concluded that
for a Feminine-typed woman, who already held a high degree of feminine traits while rejecting masculine traits, the more she endorsed traditionally feminine characteristics, the more traditional her attitudes toward other women. The moderate to high correlations between the Masculinity and Femininity scores and the AWS scores for the Undifferentiated women were also noted, even though they did not reach statistical significance due to the few subjects in the category. The results indicated that the more an Undifferentiated woman endorsed Masculine and Feminine traits, though to a low degree, the more traditional her attitudes. The common thread in the above results was the rejection of masculine characteristics and the endorsement of feminine characteristics, which together related to traditional attitudes toward women.

A median/mean cutoff point of 3.284 on the AWS scores again divided the women into the liberal and traditional attitudinal groups. Table 23 shows the distribution of the attitude groups by sex classification.

Table 23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.46%</td>
<td>61.36%</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.36%</td>
<td>38.46%</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>75.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A chi square value of 4.620, computed on the frequencies in the table, did not reach the statistical significant level (p = .202). However, the percentages in each cell were worthy of perusal, particularly in the first three classifications in which 96% of the subjects were located. Almost two thirds of the Masculine-typed women had liberal attitudes toward other women and the same percentage of the Feminine-typed women had traditional attitudes. The Androgynous women were evenly split between the liberal and traditional attitude cutoff point.

**BSRI and SIADS by Sex Classification**

It was investigated whether, and to what extent, women in the various sex-types differed in their identification with the roles presented in the advertisements. Table 24 shows the average scores in each Level of the SIADS, broken down by sex classification.

**Table 24**

**Mean Scores for Each Level of SIADS by Sex Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1.471</td>
<td>1.580</td>
<td>1.473</td>
<td>1.688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>2.462</td>
<td>2.700</td>
<td>2.661</td>
<td>2.813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2.375</td>
<td>2.494</td>
<td>2.491</td>
<td>2.688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>2.904</td>
<td>2.222</td>
<td>2.509</td>
<td>2.438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2.731</td>
<td>2.182</td>
<td>2.223</td>
<td>2.500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Separate ANOVAs were calculated on the mean SIADS scores in each Level across the sex classifications. In the comparisons between the sex-types on Level I, Level II, and Level III, no significant overall differences were found ($F = 0.41$, $p = .7490$; $F = 1.04, p = .3768$; $F = 0.41, p = .7461$, respectively). On Level IV, the category in which women were portrayed as equal to men, a significant difference was computed between the sex classifications ($F = 7.56, p = .0001$). T tests performed on the pairs of groups showed that Masculine-typed women identified more closely with the roles of women presented in the advertisements than did the Androgynous women, who in turn also identified more closely with those roles than did the Feminine-typed women ($t > 1.98, p < .05$). On the uppermost Level of sexism, Level V, an overall significant difference was found between the sex classifications ($F = 3.47, p = .0191$). It was concluded from the separate t tests that Masculine women more closely identified with the portrayal of the roles in the advertisements than did Feminine or Androgynous women ($t > 1.98, p < .05$).

In order to ascertain the relationship within each sex classification between how the women perceived themselves and how they identified with the roles portrayed in the advertisements, Pearson $r$ correlations were computed between the Masculinity and Femininity scores and the SIADS scores on each Level of the SIADS for every sex classification. Table 25 shows the correlations and probability levels between the Masculinity scores and the SIADS scores on the different Levels of the SIADS for every sex classification. Table 26 is a similar table of correlations between the Femininity scores and the SIADS scores on the Levels of SIADS for each sex type.
Table 25

Correlations and Probability Between Masculinity Scores and SIADS Scores
by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-0.2556</td>
<td>0.2761</td>
<td>0.2041</td>
<td>-0.7930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.2072</td>
<td>.0696</td>
<td>.2976</td>
<td>.2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-0.2162</td>
<td>0.0221</td>
<td>0.1848</td>
<td>-0.0274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.2887</td>
<td>.8868</td>
<td>.3464</td>
<td>.9727</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| III   | -0.1082 | -0.1374| 0.1981 | 0.7037 
|       | .5787   | .3738  | .3122  | .2963  |
| IV    | 0.1702  | 0.2247 | 0.1886 | -0.5806 |
|       | .4059   | .1452  | .3364  | .4194  |
| V     | 0.0558  | 0.2688 | 0.3241 | -0.8186 |
|       | .7867   | .0776  | .0925  | .1814  |

Table 26

Correlation and Probability Between Femininity Scores and SIADS Scores
by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-0.0895</td>
<td>0.2013</td>
<td>0.4514</td>
<td>-0.6224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.6637</td>
<td>.1901</td>
<td>.0159</td>
<td>.3777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-0.2061</td>
<td>0.4032</td>
<td>0.2327</td>
<td>0.2504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.3125</td>
<td>.0066</td>
<td>.2334</td>
<td>.7496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>0.2123</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.3178</td>
<td>0.8553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.2977</td>
<td>.6592</td>
<td>.0994</td>
<td>.1447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>0.0397</td>
<td>0.3559</td>
<td>0.2656</td>
<td>-0.3391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.8473</td>
<td>.0177</td>
<td>.1720</td>
<td>.6609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-0.2249</td>
<td>0.2222</td>
<td>0.2838</td>
<td>-0.6126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.2695</td>
<td>.1471</td>
<td>.1433</td>
<td>.3874</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three low correlations between the Masculinity scores and the SIAJS scores approached significance on Level I for Feminine women and on Level V for the Feminine-typed and Androgynous-typed women. The results for the Feminine women implied that the more the women perceived themselves as having masculine traits, from a low to a moderate degree, the more they identified themselves as "two-dimensional, non-thinking images" and as "superior to men" in non-traditional activity. The Androgynous women, with moderate to high masculine characteristics, also identified with the superior roles in the advertisements.

The Femininity scores significantly correlated with the SIAJS scores in a positive direction on Level II and Level IV for the Feminine-typed women, and on Level I for the Androgynous classification. The correlation on Level III, also for the Androgynous-typed women, approached the significant level but failed to reach the criterion. It was concluded that as the feminine characteristics increased from a moderate to a high level, the more the Feminine women perceived their roles as being very traditional roles and equal to men. Similarly, as femininity traits were adhered to, the more the Androgynous women identified with the most sexist and "professional but family and home first" roles.

BSRI and OIADS by Sex Classification

Since significant results had been uncovered between the Masculinity and Femininity scores and the OIADS scores within the total group, further investigation was necessary to pinpoint the differences between the sex classifications. Table 27 illustrates the mean OIADS scores for each sex-type.
Table 27

Mean Scores for Each Level of OIADS by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1.962</td>
<td>2.233</td>
<td>2.250</td>
<td>2.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>3.010</td>
<td>3.012</td>
<td>3.089</td>
<td>3.375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2.788</td>
<td>2.890</td>
<td>3.045</td>
<td>3.188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>3.010</td>
<td>3.238</td>
<td>3.268</td>
<td>2.938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2.712</td>
<td>2.820</td>
<td>2.848</td>
<td>2.375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five ANOVAs were calculated on the OIADS scores across the sex classifications. No significant overall differences were revealed between the sex-types on Level I ($F = 1.36, p = .2592$), Level II ($F = 0.98, p = .4072$), Level IV ($F = 1.97, p = .1242$), or Level V ($F = 0.83, p = .4787$). However, a statistically significant difference was found between the sex classifications on Level III ($F = 2.71, p = .0491$). Separate t tests indicated that the Androgynous women perceived the role of "professional but family and home first" as being more like the role of other women than did the Masculine women ($t > 1.98, p < .05$).

In order to examine the associations between women's perceptions of themselves and their perceptions of other women's roles within each sex-type, Pearson r correlations between the Masculinity and Femininity scores and the OIADS scores at each Level were calculated for the sex classifications. Table 28 exhibits the correlations between the Masculinity and the OIADS scores by sex-type. The correlations between the Femininity scores and the OIADS scores at each Level by sex-type are similarly displayed in Table 29.
### Table 28

**Correlations and Probability Between Masculinity Scores and OIADS Scores by Sex Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-0.1550</td>
<td>-0.1363</td>
<td>0.3923</td>
<td>-0.0458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.4496</td>
<td>.3833</td>
<td>.0389</td>
<td>.9542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>0.1147</td>
<td>0.0129</td>
<td>-0.1715</td>
<td>0.7091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.5770</td>
<td>.9344</td>
<td>.3829</td>
<td>.2909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>0.2179</td>
<td>0.1730</td>
<td>-0.2251</td>
<td>0.9902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.2849</td>
<td>.2674</td>
<td>.2495</td>
<td>.0098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>-0.1905</td>
<td>-0.0931</td>
<td>-0.0796</td>
<td>-0.3550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.3512</td>
<td>.5527</td>
<td>.6871</td>
<td>.6450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-0.1141</td>
<td>0.0404</td>
<td>0.3037</td>
<td>0.4391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.5791</td>
<td>.7970</td>
<td>.1161</td>
<td>.5609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 29

**Correlations and Probability Between Femininity Scores and OIADS Scores by Sex Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.1808</td>
<td>0.4005</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.7188</td>
<td>.2460</td>
<td>.0347</td>
<td>.9194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-0.2626</td>
<td>0.1720</td>
<td>0.0890</td>
<td>0.8154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1949</td>
<td>.2700</td>
<td>.6525</td>
<td>.1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>-0.1282</td>
<td>0.0922</td>
<td>-0.1563</td>
<td>0.9869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.5326</td>
<td>.5563</td>
<td>.4270</td>
<td>.0131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>0.0643</td>
<td>0.0222</td>
<td>0.0762</td>
<td>-0.3290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.7551</td>
<td>.8875</td>
<td>.7001</td>
<td>.6710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>0.0994</td>
<td>0.1584</td>
<td>0.4084</td>
<td>0.5841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.6290</td>
<td>.3103</td>
<td>.0309</td>
<td>.4159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
None of the correlations between the Masculinity and the OIADS scores and between the Femininity and the OIADS scores were significant for both the Masculine and Feminine-typed women. These results were interpreted to signify that, for the Masculine women who endorsed masculine characteristics and rejected feminine characteristics, the traits they perceived in themselves were unrelated to the roles they perceived for other women. The same conclusion was drawn for the Feminine women, who perceived themselves as having a high degree of traditionally feminine characteristics and a low degree of traditionally masculine characteristics.

On Level I both the Masculinity and the Femininity scores positively correlated with the OIADS scores for the Androgynous-typed women. The Femininity scores were also related significantly to the OIADS scores on Level V. It was determined that as the Androgynous women increased their endorsement of both masculine and feminine traits to a high degree, the more they perceived the role of other women as being that of a "sex object." Their perception of the role of other women as that of superiority over men increased only as their endorsement of feminine characteristics increased.

The Masculinity and Femininity scores for the Undifferentiated women were significantly related to the OIADS scores only on Level III. Both computed values were near-perfect correlations. It was concluded that as their endorsement of masculine and feminine qualities increased from a low to a moderate level, the similarity Androgynous women perceived between the role of other women and the role of "professional but family and home first" also increased.
AWS and OIADS by Sex Classification

It was important to investigate within each of the sex classifications the relationship between a woman's attitudes toward other women and her perception of their roles as portrayed in the advertisements. Therefore, the correlations between AWS scores and the OIADS scores at the various Levels of sexism were computed for each sex classification. Table 30 is a summary of the Pearson r correlations and their respective probability levels.

Table 30
Correlations and Probability Between AWS Scores and OIADS Scores by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-0.0775</td>
<td>-0.4073</td>
<td>-0.3408</td>
<td>-0.3562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.7068</td>
<td>0.0074</td>
<td>0.0760</td>
<td>0.6438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-0.1919</td>
<td>-0.2412</td>
<td>-0.3883</td>
<td>-0.0563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.3477</td>
<td>0.1239</td>
<td>0.0411</td>
<td>0.9437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>0.1654</td>
<td>-0.2487</td>
<td>-0.2250</td>
<td>-0.6750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.4195</td>
<td>0.1122</td>
<td>0.2496</td>
<td>0.3250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>-0.2253</td>
<td>-0.1438</td>
<td>-0.0207</td>
<td>0.8204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.2685</td>
<td>0.3635</td>
<td>0.9166</td>
<td>0.1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-0.2800</td>
<td>-0.2417</td>
<td>0.0129</td>
<td>0.2766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.1660</td>
<td>0.1230</td>
<td>0.9482</td>
<td>0.7234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only statistically significant correlations were on Level I in the Feminine classification and on Level II in the Androgynous category. It should also be noted that the correlation on Level I for the Androgynous women approached the critical level of significance. These results indicated that the more traditional the Feminine women's
attitudes, the more the Feminine women perceived a likeness between the role of other women and the most sexist roles portrayed in advertisements. Additionally, the more traditional the Androgynous women's attitudes toward other women, the more the Androgynous women perceived the roles of other women to be extremely sexist and traditional ones.

In order to evaluate the differences between the roles the women with liberal attitudes perceived as representative of other women and the roles the women with traditional attitudes perceived as appropriate for other women within each sex type, the sex classifications were divided using the median/mean cutoff point on the AWS scores. The mean OIADS scores of the liberal and traditional women within each sex classification were calculated and compared using t tests. Table 31 illustrates the mean OIADS scores of the traditional and liberal women on each Level of OIADS by sex classification.

Table 31
Mean OIADS Scores of Attitude Groups by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc Trad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.900</td>
<td>3.100</td>
<td>2.650</td>
<td>3.075</td>
<td>2.800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc Lib</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.000</td>
<td>2.953</td>
<td>2.875</td>
<td>2.969</td>
<td>2.656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem Trad</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2.404</td>
<td>3.058</td>
<td>2.923</td>
<td>3.308</td>
<td>2.962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem Lib</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.971</td>
<td>2.941</td>
<td>2.838</td>
<td>3.132</td>
<td>2.603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andro Trad</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.446</td>
<td>3.232</td>
<td>3.125</td>
<td>3.250</td>
<td>2.875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andro Lib</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.054</td>
<td>2.946</td>
<td>2.964</td>
<td>3.286</td>
<td>2.821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undiff Trad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.500</td>
<td>3.250</td>
<td>3.250</td>
<td>2.750</td>
<td>2.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undiff Lib</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.833</td>
<td>3.417</td>
<td>3.167</td>
<td>3.000</td>
<td>2.500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The t values and respective probabilities computed between the mean OIADS scores of the traditional group and the liberal group on each Level by sex classification are shown in Table 32.

Table 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex Type</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc</td>
<td>-0.4225</td>
<td>0.8145</td>
<td>-1.4829</td>
<td>0.5574</td>
<td>0.5338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.6764</td>
<td>.4234</td>
<td>.1511</td>
<td>.5824</td>
<td>.5984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>2.5037</td>
<td>0.9136</td>
<td>0.7538</td>
<td>1.1646</td>
<td>2.1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0164</td>
<td>.3663</td>
<td>.4553</td>
<td>.2509</td>
<td>.0337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andro</td>
<td>1.4674</td>
<td>1.5632</td>
<td>0.9624</td>
<td>-0.1840</td>
<td>0.1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1543</td>
<td>.1301</td>
<td>.3447</td>
<td>.8554</td>
<td>.8471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undiff</td>
<td>2.0000</td>
<td>-0.3780</td>
<td>0.5000</td>
<td>--.-----</td>
<td>-0.8660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1835</td>
<td>.7418</td>
<td>.6667</td>
<td>--.-----</td>
<td>.4778</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ---- denotes missing value

The t values on Level I and Level V for the Feminine-typed women reached the criterion level of significance. These results suggested that the Feminine women who held traditional attitudes toward other women perceived more similarity between the role of other women and the role of the "two-dimensional non-thinking image" in the advertisements than did the Feminine women with liberal attitudes. Similarly, the Feminine women with traditional attitudes perceived the role of other women as being more superior to men than did the Feminine women with liberal attitudes.
SIADS and OIADS by Sex Classification

In order to examine the relationship in the different sex classifications between the identification the women perceived in their own roles with the roles in the advertisements, and the identification they perceived in other women's roles with the roles portrayed in the advertisements, the Pearson r correlations were computed between the SIADS scores and the OIADS scores on the various Levels of sexism within each sex-type. Table 33 illustrates the calculated correlation coefficients and the probability levels.

Table 33
Correlations and Probability Between SIADS Scores and OIADS Scores by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>0.3128</td>
<td>0.2594</td>
<td>0.6829</td>
<td>0.5941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1197</td>
<td>.0931</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.4059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-0.1755</td>
<td>0.2327</td>
<td>0.3410</td>
<td>0.2268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.3884</td>
<td>.1332</td>
<td>.0757</td>
<td>.7732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>0.1666</td>
<td>0.3505</td>
<td>0.3014</td>
<td>0.7778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.4150</td>
<td>.0212</td>
<td>.1191</td>
<td>.2222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>-0.0816</td>
<td>0.2075</td>
<td>0.1590</td>
<td>0.5726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.6919</td>
<td>.1818</td>
<td>.4189</td>
<td>.4274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>0.3093</td>
<td>0.2281</td>
<td>0.3528</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1242</td>
<td>.1412</td>
<td>.0655</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the correlations at any Level were significant for the Masculine-typed or the Undifferentiated-typed women. For the Feminine-typed women, only the correlation on Level III was statistically significant. These results suggested that the more the Feminine women
identified with women in the advertisements portrayed as professionals but keeping family and home the priority over the career, the more the Feminine women identified these roles for other women. The correlation coefficient which approached significance on Level I indicated that as Feminine women's identification with the "sex object" roles increased, so increased their identification of other women with those roles.

A high positive correlation was found in the Androgynous category on Level I. It was concluded that the more similarity that the Androgynous women perceived between their roles and the role of the "sex object" portrayed in the advertisements, the more similarity the Androgynous women perceived between other women and that role in the advertisements. Conversely, the Androgynous women who did not identify with the role of "sex object" also did not identify that role as representative of other women. Additionally, the correlations on Level II and Level V approached the criterion level of significance, which suggested that the Androgynous women who perceived a likeness between their roles and the "traditional" and "superior" roles pictured in the advertisements, also perceived a likeness between other women's roles and those particular images of women.

In addition to ascertaining the relationships within each sex classification between the self-perception of roles and the perception of roles of other women, the differences between them were investigated. The means of the SIAIS scores (see Table 24) and the OIADS scores (see Table 27) for each sex category on the different Levels were compared using the t test for correlated samples. The resulting t values and probability levels are shown in Table 34.
Table 34

$t$ Values and Probability Between SIADS Scores and OIADS Scores by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>7.47</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0012</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.2394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0011</td>
<td>.0049</td>
<td>.0011</td>
<td>.0979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0031</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>9.97</td>
<td>5.89</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.4554</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.2674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.9002</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0007</td>
<td>.8240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Feminine-typed and the Androgynous-typed women scored significantly lower on the SIADS than on the OIADS at every Level, which indicated that the roles presented in the advertisements were perceived as significantly more representative of other women than of themselves. This was also true for Masculine-typed women on the three most sexist Levels. On Level IV, although Masculine women perceived less similarity between their own role and those in the advertisements than they perceived for other women according to the means, the difference was not significant. The difference between their perceptions of roles for themselves and other women was also not significant on the uppermost Level V, where the Masculine women associated themselves to a greater degree with superior roles than they did other women. Only on Level III did the Undifferentiated women perceive significantly less similarity...
between the advertisements and themselves than between the advertisements and other women.

The respondents were again divided into the attitude groups and their scores on the SIADS and the OIADS were correlated to determine the relationships between the perceptions of roles for themselves and the perceptions of roles for others on the basis of their traditional and liberal attitudes. Table 35 illustrates the Pearson r correlation coefficients and the probabilities between the SIADS scores and the OIADS scores at each Level of sexism for the traditional and liberal attitude groups.

Table 35
Correlations and Probability Between SIADS Scores and OIADS Scores by Attitude Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>0.4545</td>
<td>0.0812</td>
<td>0.3050</td>
<td>0.1986</td>
<td>0.2954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0008</td>
<td>.5713</td>
<td>.0295</td>
<td>.1625</td>
<td>.0354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>0.3541</td>
<td>0.1824</td>
<td>0.3111</td>
<td>-0.1104</td>
<td>0.2594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0116</td>
<td>.2049</td>
<td>.0279</td>
<td>.4453</td>
<td>.0689</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant correlations were found for both the traditional and liberal attitude groups on Level I and Level III. The correlation for the traditional group on Level V was also statistically significant, and the correlation approached significance for the liberal group on Level V. These results drew the conclusion that as both women with traditional attitudes and women with liberal attitudes increased their identification with the roles in the advertisements of "sex object,"
"professional but family and home first," and "superior to men," they also increased their identification of those roles with other women. This was consistent with the findings for the total group.

The SIADS scores and the OIADS scores were compared within each attitude group using the t test for correlated samples which determined if the difference between the means was significantly greater than zero. Table 36 illustrates the mean OIADS scores from Table 16 and the mean SIADS scores, and the t values and respective probability levels between them for each attitude group.

Table 36
Mean SIADS Scores, OIADS Scores, and t Values by Attitude Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th>Level V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trad SIADS</td>
<td>1.610</td>
<td>2.813</td>
<td>2.639</td>
<td>2.380</td>
<td>2.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trad OIADS</td>
<td>2.319</td>
<td>3.118</td>
<td>2.931</td>
<td>3.235</td>
<td>2.887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Value</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0017</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib SIADS</td>
<td>1.440</td>
<td>2.445</td>
<td>2.295</td>
<td>2.590</td>
<td>2.490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib OIADS</td>
<td>1.995</td>
<td>2.975</td>
<td>2.905</td>
<td>3.115</td>
<td>2.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Value</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td>7.82</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.1526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the t value on Level V for the liberal group, the differences between the SIADS scores and the OIADS scores were significant. It was concluded that the women with traditional attitudes perceived their own roles as significantly less similar to the
roles at all Levels of sexism in the advertisements than they perceived the similarity of other women's roles in the advertisements. The women with liberal attitudes perceived significantly less similarity between their roles and the roles portrayed in the advertisements at all Levels of sexism except the role of superiority to men than they perceived between other women's roles and the depicted roles in the advertisements. The division of the total group by attitude only revealed that women with liberal attitudes did not perceive a difference between themselves and other women in the "superior to men" role.

Regrouped SIADS and OIADS by Sex Classification

Since stereotypical advertisements were defined as advertisements which did not depict women in equal or superior roles, Levels I, II, and III of the SIADS and OIADS were considered stereotyped portrayals of women's roles. The scores on these three Levels for each scale were averaged together to obtain one Stereotype SIADS score and one Stereotype OIADS score. Levels IV and V of the SIADS and the OIADS were the non-stereotypical depictions in the advertisements. Means for the two Levels in each scale were also computed to derive a Non-Stereotype SIADS score and a Non-Stereotype OIADS score. Comparisons between the sex classifications on each Level have already been computed, but it was necessary to determine if the women in each sex classification responded differently to the stereotypical advertisements than to the non-stereotypical advertisements. Table 37 displays the mean Stereotype and Non-Stereotype SIADS and OIADS scores for the individual sex classifications, and the t values and probability levels computed
between the Stereotype and Non-Stereotype SIADS and between the Stereotype and Non-Stereotype OIADS.

Table 37
Mean Stereotype and Non-Stereotype SIADS and OIADS by Sex Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Undiff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIADS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereo</td>
<td>2.103</td>
<td>2.258</td>
<td>2.208</td>
<td>2.396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Stero</td>
<td>2.817</td>
<td>2.202</td>
<td>2.366</td>
<td>2.469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Value</td>
<td>-5.72</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>-1.62</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>.557</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIADS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereo</td>
<td>2.587</td>
<td>2.711</td>
<td>2.795</td>
<td>2.854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Stero</td>
<td>2.861</td>
<td>3.029</td>
<td>3.058</td>
<td>2.656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Value</td>
<td>-2.47</td>
<td>-5.53</td>
<td>-2.72</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.273</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the masculine-typed women perceived significantly more identification between their own roles and the non-stereotypical portrayals than the stereotypical depictions in the advertisements. The masculine, feminine, and androgynous women viewed other women's roles as significantly more non-stereotyped than stereotyped.

A comparison between the Stereotype SIADS and the Stereotype OIADS for each sex classification revealed that masculine-typed women ($t = -5.92$, $p < .001$), feminine-typed women ($t = -8.44$, $p < .001$), androgynous-typed women ($t = -7.71$, $p < .001$), and the undifferentiated-
typed women ($t = -3.54, p = .038$) perceived significantly more similarity between other women's roles and the stereotyped portrayals in the advertisements than they did between their own roles and the stereotyped advertisements.

Another set of comparisons were calculated between the Non-Stereotype SIADS and the Non-Stereotype OIADS for the sex classifications. The masculine-typed women ($t = -0.33, p = .743$) and the undifferentiated women ($t = -0.46, p = .674$) did not perceive differences between their own roles and other women's roles in the non-stereotypical advertisements. However, the feminine-typed women ($t = -8.67, p < .001$) and the androgynous-typed women ($t = -5.19, p < .001$) did view other women's roles as significantly more non-stereotyped than their own.

Of particular interest in this study was the comparison of perceptions of their own and other women's roles between masculine women and the feminine women. Separate $t$ tests between the scores of the masculine-typed women and the feminine-typed women on the Stereotype and Non-Stereotype SIADS and OIADS were tabulated. Feminine women did not perceive their own roles as more significantly stereotyped than masculine women ($t = -1.59, p = .117$), nor did they perceive other women's roles as more significantly stereotyped ($t = -1.67, p = .100$). There was also no significant difference between masculine and feminine women's perceptions of the similarity of other women's roles to the non-stereotypical advertisements ($t = -1.43, p = .158$). However, masculine-typed women perceived their own roles as significantly more similar to the non-stereotypical portrayals in the advertisements than did the feminine-typed women ($t = 4.70, p < .001$).
Overall Multivariate Analysis

A factor analysis was computed on the Masculinity and Femininity scores of the BSRI, the AWS scores, the SIADS scores on all Levels, and the OIADS scores on all Levels to determine which variables clustered together and to extract the underlying dimensions of the clusters of the variables. Thirteen factors were initially found in the principle components analysis, but only five factors achieved eigenvalues greater than one, the criterion of statistical significance required for inclusion into the model. These five factors accounted for 69.6 per cent of the total variance of the thirteen variables. The unrotated factor pattern was then rotated using the VARIMAX method to give a clearer picture of the factors. The five retained factors achieved eigenvalues of 2.08 on factor one, 1.96 on factor two, 1.88 on factor three, 1.63 on factor four, and 1.49 on factor five. Table 38 illustrates the loadings of the variables on the five factors in the rotated factor pattern.

Table 38
Variable Loadings on Rotated Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
<th>Factor 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc</td>
<td>-0.048</td>
<td>0.681</td>
<td>-0.064</td>
<td>-0.065</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>0.554</td>
<td>-0.105</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>0.200</td>
<td>-0.317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWS</td>
<td>-0.425</td>
<td>0.444</td>
<td>-0.484</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>-0.262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIADS - I</td>
<td>-0.092</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>0.866</td>
<td>0.076</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIADS - II</td>
<td>0.879</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>-0.020</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIADS - III</td>
<td>0.785</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIADS - IV</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>0.849</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIADS - V</td>
<td>-0.136</td>
<td>0.730</td>
<td>0.461</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIADS - I</td>
<td>0.297</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.676</td>
<td>0.307</td>
<td>-0.031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIADS - II</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
<td>0.828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIADS - III</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.043</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
<td>0.281</td>
<td>0.678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIADS - IV</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>-0.124</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.877</td>
<td>0.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIADS - V</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.417</td>
<td>0.791</td>
<td>-0.035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first rotated factor contained the personal aspect of traditionality. Femininity, AWS, SIADS-II, and SIADS-III loaded significantly on this factor; thus, a high endorsement of traditionally feminine characteristics and a tendency to hold traditional attitudes toward women were coupled with self-perceptions of very traditional and "professional but family and home first" roles.

Four variables: Masculinity, AWS, SIADS-IV, and SIADS-V, loaded substantially on the second rotated factor. The common element in these variables was the personal feeling of liberation. A high endorsement of masculine traits and liberal attitudes toward women were associated with perceiving one's own roles as equal to men and superior to men.

The third rotated factor had two variables with high loadings: SIADS-I and OIADS-I, and three variables with moderate loadings: AWS, SIADS-V, and OIADS-V. The most interesting combination of variables appeared on factor three in that SIADS-I and OIADS-I correlated to the highest degree with factor three and SIADS-V and OIADS-V loaded to a similar extent with factor three although they were secondary loadings, their primary weightings being on factor two and factor four respectively. It was concluded that traditional attitudes were related to the role of "sex object" in both self-perceptions and perceptions of others with a lesser sense of superiority to men of self and others. Factor three was the dimension of the "vamp" - a woman who traditionally views the woman as the object of sexual pleasure while, at the same time, has the control over men to refuse if she wishes.

Factor four had only two variables with high loadings: OIADS-IV and OIADS-V, which stressed the concept of the liberation of other women. The fact that SIADS-IV and SIADS-V had extremely low
insignificant correlations with factor four indicated that the perception of liberation for other women was in no way tied to one's self.

The two variables that loaded significantly on factor five, OIADS-II and CIADS-III, both contained an external element of women's traditionality. Similar to the findings for factor four, a woman's view of other women's traditional roles was not affected by her vision of her own traditional roles.

The fact that the combination of the thirteen variables resulted in five separate and distinct factors, whereby, with the exception of Level I of the SIAADS and the OIADS, the role of the "sex object," the remaining four Levels of the SIAADS and OIADS did not significantly correlate together, indicated that a woman's perception of her personality characteristics, attitudes, and roles was not associated with her perception of other women's roles as portrayed in the advertisements.
CHAPTER VI
Conclusions

An interpretation of each statistical analysis performed on the raw data was included in the previous chapter, but it is necessary now to synthesize the results to form a comprehensive picture in relation to the main focus of the study.

Demographic Information

The demographic information was gathered for descriptive purposes of the sample population only. The majority of the women in the sample were married, without children living at home, worked in a skilled clerical-sales-service occupation, and were between 25 and 29 years of age. Differences in a woman's endorsement of traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics were not found between the classifications of marital status; nor were there any relationships between gender traits and age for the women in the sample. The adherence to feminine qualities was also not related to a woman's occupation or the number of children she had living at home. The only significant results concerning the demographic data were the findings that women who had no children at home with them, perceived a higher degree of masculine traits in themselves than the women with one or two children, and that those women in unskilled occupations endorsed traditionally masculine characteristics to a lesser extent than those women holding middle management and semi-professional jobs. However, any general inferences from these findings were inconclusive due to insufficient cell frequencies within the matrices.
Hypothesis 1.

The results supported the first hypothesis: women, who perceived themselves a high degree of femininity, expressed traditional attitudes toward women; women, who perceived a high degree of masculinity in themselves, expressed liberal, or pro-feminist, attitudes toward women; women, who endorsed masculine characteristics and rejected feminine characteristics, were more liberal in their attitudes toward women than those who endorsed feminine personality traits and rejected masculine personality traits.

In a comparison of attitudes between the sex classifications, the masculine-typed women were significantly more liberal toward women than the feminine-typed women. The results concurred, for the most part, with the results found by Orloffsky, Aslin, and Ginsburg (1977), who found that masculine-typed women held the most pro-feminist attitudes and that feminine and undifferentiated women were most conservative; but they contradicted the results of a study by Sandra Bem (1977) in which women's attitudes were not found to be significantly related to either their masculinity or their femininity.

Hypothesis 2.

The findings supported the second hypothesis: women, with a high level of masculine traits and a low level of feminine traits, perceived their own roles as more similar to the print advertisements that portray women in liberal, non stereotypical roles, than to the stereotypical advertisements; women, with a high degree of feminine traits and a low degree of masculine traits, perceived their own roles as more similar to the stereotypical roles roles in advertisements; women, high in
masculine characteristics and low in feminine characteristics, viewed
their own roles as more non-stereotyped than the women high in feminine
traits and low in masculine traits.

The women, in general, did not identify with the role of the "sex
object," but did perceive some similarity between their own roles and
all of the other roles pictured in the advertisements. The highest mean
for the entire group of women was found on the second level of the
sexism scale; the women, therefore, identified to the greatest extent
with the "traditional" roles of wife, mother, nurse, teacher, etc. When
the group was broken down into sex types, the feminine, androgynous, and
undifferentiated women identified more, although not significantly more,
with the "traditional" roles than with the other roles portrayed in the
advertisements; but the masculine women perceived more similarity
between their own roles and the "equal to men" roles. In comparing the
self-identification between the sex classifications, it was found that
the masculine women significantly identified more closely with the
"equal to men" roles presented in the advertisements than did the
androgynous women, who, in turn, also identified more closely with that
role than did the feminine women. The masculine women also significantly
identified more closely than either the feminine or the androgynous
women with the advertisements that depicted women in superior roles.

When the advertisements were collapsed into the stereotyped and
non-stereotyped groups, the masculine women identified significantly
more closely with the non-stereotypical advertisements than with the
stereotypical ones; feminine women did not. Masculine women also
perceived significantly more similarity between their own roles and the
non-stereotypical roles in the advertisements than did the feminine women.

Hypothesis 3.

The results supported only the first statement of the third hypothesis: women, who strongly endorse masculine traits and reject feminine traits, perceived a similarity between other women's roles and the advertisements portraying women in non-stereotypical roles. However, the remaining statements of the hypothesis was not supported, such that: women, who strongly endorsed feminine characteristics and rejected masculine characteristics, did not perceive a similarity between other women's roles and the stereotypical roles in advertisements; additionally, women, with high masculine traits and low feminine traits, did not associate other women's roles more with the non-stereotyped roles in advertisements than did the women with high feminine traits and low masculine traits. Therefore, the third hypothesis was rejected.

As with the self identifications, the women did not perceive a similarity between other women's roles and the role of the "sex object" pictured in the advertisements. The highest mean among all of the women for other-identification was in the roles of "equal to men." Therefore, the subjects perceived the role of other women mainly as one of equality with men. However, no overall significant difference was found between this role and the other roles.

When the roles in the advertisements were grouped into stereotyped and non-stereotyped, both masculine women and feminine women viewed other women's roles as more non-stereotyped than stereotyped. Feminine
women perceived other women's roles just as non-stereotypical as did the masculine women.

Hypothesis 4.

The fourth hypothesis was rejected because women, who expressed traditional attitudes toward women, did not perceive more similarity between other women's roles and the stereotypical roles depicted in the advertisements, than women who expressed liberal attitudes toward women.

In the division of all of the women into liberal and traditional groups, both the traditional women and the liberal women perceived other women's roles as most similar to the role of "equal to men" portrayed in the advertisements, than the other roles, according to the means. Women with traditional attitudes perceived more similarity between other women and all of the roles in the advertisements, but significantly more similarity with only the advertisements portraying women as "sex objects", than the women with liberal attitudes. Significant differences were not found for the other two stereotypical roles: "traditional" and "professional but family and home first" roles. In a further breakdown of the attitude groups into sex types, it was the feminine women with traditional attitudes, who perceived significantly more similarity between other women and the "sex object" in the advertisements, than the feminine women with liberal attitudes.

Hypothesis 5.

The first statement of the fifth hypothesis was supported by the findings: women, who endorsed masculine traits and rejected feminine traits, identified other women's roles as equally non-stereotyped as
their own roles from the depictions in the advertisements. However, the remainder of the hypothesis was rejected because women, who endorsed feminine characteristics and rejected masculine characteristics, did not perceive the same similarity between their own roles and other women's roles with the advertisements portraying women in stereotypical roles. Consequently, women, who perceived in themselves a high degree of masculinity and a low degree of femininity, did not view the roles of themselves and other women as more non-stereotyped as illustrated in the advertisements, than women, who perceived in themselves a high degree of femininity and a low degree of masculinity.

In general, the women perceived the roles of women depicted in the advertisements as more representative of other women than of themselves. Significant differences were found between the self-identification and the other-identification for all of the Levels of roles. In a comparison between the sex classifications, only the feminine and androgynous women perceived all of the roles portrayed in the advertisements as more like other women than themselves. Masculine women perceived significant differences between their own and other women's roles in the stereotypical advertisements, but not in the non-stereotypical advertisements. Undifferentiated women saw only the role of "professional but family and home first" as more closely describing other women than themselves.

Collapsing the Levels of the advertisements into stereotyped and non-stereotyped, the masculine women identified other women's roles as equally non-stereotyped as their own roles from the portrayals in the advertisements. The feminine women, however, perceived other women's roles as significantly more non-stereotyped than their own roles from
the advertisements' images of women, and just as non-stereotyped as did the masculine women.

**Variable Relationships**

The following are answers, based on the analysis of the data, to the questions posed at the start of this thesis.

**Q:** As women's femininity increases, do their traditional attitudes also increase?

**A:** Yes. Among all of the subjects, a positive correlation was found between feminine characteristics and traditional attitudes; the more strongly women endorsed feminine characteristics, the more traditional were their attitudes toward women. When the whole group was broken down into the sex classifications, a positive relationship was found between feminine traits and traditional attitudes for only the feminine-typed women.

**Q:** As women's self-perceptions of masculinity increase, do their liberal attitudes toward women increase in a linear fashion?

**A:** Yes. Masculine characteristics were positively correlated with liberal attitudes; the more strongly women endorsed masculine characteristics, the more liberal were their attitudes toward women. However, an increase in the endorsement of masculine personality traits among masculine-typed women was not accompanied by an increase in the possession of liberal attitudes.

**Q:** Is the endorsement of feminine personality characteristics related to a woman's self-identification with the stereotypical roles portrayed in advertisements?
A: Partially. Significant correlations were also found among the entire sample between feminine characteristics and self-identification with only the "traditional" roles: the more the women adhered to traditionally feminine traits, the more they perceived a similarity between their roles and the traditional roles of mother, wife, teacher, nurse, secretary, etc. For the individual sex types, an increase in feminine characteristics was associated with an increase in identification with the "traditional" roles by the feminine-typed women only. Therefore, it was concluded that it was the endorsement of feminine traits and the rejection of masculine traits together that produced the feminine women's perception of self-identification with the "traditional" roles in advertising.

Q: Is the endorsement of masculine personality characteristics related to a woman's self-identification with the non-stereotypical roles portrayed in advertisements?

A: Yes. For the whole group of women, statistically significant correlations were found between masculine traits and self-identification with the "equal to men" and "superior to men" roles, demonstrating that an increase in the women's perception of traditionally masculine traits in themselves was accompanied by an increase in the self-identification with the non-stereotypical roles. However, when the group was classified into sex types, the relationships did not remain significant for any sex type.

Q: Are a woman's feminine personality traits associated with her perception of similarity between other women's roles and the stereotypical roles depicted in the advertisements?
A: No. The more a woman endorsed feminine characteristics, the more she perceived a likeness between the role of other women and the "sex object" and "superior to men" roles in the advertisements. However, the positive correlation between feminine characteristics and the role of other women as the "sex object" was considered negligible because the subjects did not perceive a similarity between other women and this role. When the sample was divided into sex types, the positive relationship between feminine characteristics and perceptions of other women's role as "superior to men", a non stereotypical role, was found only for the androgynous women.

Q: Are a woman's masculine personality traits associated with her perception of similarity between other women's roles and the non stereotypical roles depicted in the advertisements?

A: No. The endorsement of masculine characteristics of the respondents was not significantly related to how similar the subjects viewed the role of other women with the roles portrayed in the advertisements.

Q: Are a woman's attitudes toward women related to her perception of other women's roles?

A: Partially. Correlating women's attitudes with their identification of other women's roles in the advertisements, it was found that the more traditional a woman's attitudes, the more she perceived a similarity between other women and the "sex object" and "traditional" roles in the advertisements. Although the correlation between attitudes and other-identification for the "traditional" roles was statistically significant, it was very low ($r = -0.2371$).
Q: Is a woman's self-identification with the roles in the advertisements related to how closely she perceives those advertisements as representative of other women's roles in society?
A: Partially. There were significant positive correlations between the whole group's perceptions of proximity of its roles and other women's roles to three of the five Levels on the sexism scale. The more the women identified with the roles of "sex object", "professional but family and home first", and "superior to men", the more they identified those roles, to a greater degree, with other women. Within the individual sex classifications, only the androgynous women responded in the correlated manner with respect to the "sex object" role. The more the feminine women identified with "professional but family and home first" roles, the more they identified those roles with other women. For the "superior to men" roles, no significant relationship was found for any sex type.

The first and most important factor of the five significant factors produced by the factor analysis, was the self-perception of the "traditional woman". This factor linked feminine characteristics and traditional attitudes with the self-identification with "traditional" and "professional but family and home first" roles. The second most important factor which emerged from the analysis was the sense self as the "liberated woman." Endorsement of masculine characteristics and liberal attitudes were coupled with the self-identification with the "equal to men" and "superior to men" roles depicted in the advertisements. A woman's feeling of liberation was secondary to her sense of traditionality. On the third factor, coined the "vamp", a woman's traditional attitudes toward women were related to her
perception of herself and others as a "sex object", and to a lesser extent, to her perception of her own and other women's roles as "superior to men". The women had traditional attitudes toward the role of "sex object", but they did not view it as a passive and powerless one. The role of the "vamp" is a traditional role for women, but one with a sense of power in its ability to manipulate men. Thus, although she may be seen as the object of sexual pleasure, the "vamp" uses her sensuality to be in control. However, the women in the sample did not identify their own or other women's roles with the "sex object" role. Their self-perceptions of masculinity and femininity were also not related to this role. It was concluded that this role, which advertisers often portray as a role for women, was not seen as an appropriate one for women. The fourth significant factor stressed the "liberated other woman," with high loadings on other-identification with non-stereotypical roles; the fifth and final significant factor stressed the "traditional other woman," correlating with the "traditional" and "professional but family and home first" roles.

What is interesting in the factor analysis is the order in which the factors emerged; the non-stereotypical roles of others preceded, and were, therefore, more prominent than, the "traditional" and "professional but family and home first" roles. This order was reversed for a woman's perception of self-identification. This adds support to the conclusions drawn from previous analyses, in that, women view their own roles as more traditional, and other women's roles as more liberal. It is most important to note that personality characteristics and attitudes toward women were not related to the last two factors; leading
to the conclusion that a woman's perception of other women's roles is independent of her perception of herself and her attitudes toward women.

Summary

The following is a summary of the general conclusions drawn from the analyses of the data.

1. Increases in self perceptions of masculine and feminine characteristics are accompanied by increases in liberal and traditional attitudes, respectively.

2. Masculine women express liberal attitudes toward women and perceive the non-stereotypical roles in advertisements as more representative of their own roles than feminine women.

3. Feminine women hold more traditional attitudes toward women than masculine women and perceive the traditional roles in advertisements as representative of themselves.

4. Attitudes toward women, be they liberal or traditional, are a factor in identifying one's own role, but not in identifying other women's roles.

5. Masculine personality traits are positively related to the perceptions of self-identification with the non-stereotypical roles in the advertisements.

6. Feminine personality traits are positively related to self-identification with only the traditional roles of wife, mother, nurse, teacher, secretary, etc., but not with all of the stereotypical roles portrayed in advertising.

7. Women view all of the roles depicted in advertisements as more similar to other women's roles than their own.
8. Other women's roles in society are viewed by all women as more closely resembling the non-stereotypical roles than the stereotypical roles in advertisements.

9. The "sex object" role is not perceived by women as an acceptable role with which to identify themselves or other women.

10. Finally, a woman's self-perception of personality characteristics, attitudes, and self-identification with the roles pictured in the advertisements has no relationship to or an effect on her perceptions of other women's roles.
CHAPTER VII
Discussion and Implications

The main focus of this study was to investigate, most importantly from the woman's perspective, how similar women perceive their own roles and other women's roles to the roles portrayed in print advertisements, within the Meadian tradition of Symbolic Interactionism.

Mead described the self as reflexive, interacting with oneself; thus, the individual sees him/herself both as the subject and the object in the interaction. The self-report questionnaire used in this study is in line with Mead's view. For each response in the Bem Sex Role Inventory, the women must first read the adjective i.e. yielding, understand its meaning, look at themselves to see to what degree they possess the characteristic, and then decide which number to circle based on this self-inspection. The murmurs of one woman illustrates the process of self-interaction: "yielding. Oh yeah, yielding. Am I yielding? Mmm. Well, a little bit. No, more than a little bit. I'm about a six."

Advertisements are designed to tell a story as clearly as possible in a single frame. Each of the advertisements used in this study depicts a woman or women in a social position demonstrating its attached role, and is categorized according to the Revised Scale for Sexism i.e. advertisement number five portrays a woman in the role of laundress, a woman taking the clothes out of the dryer. The roles of the women in the rest of the advertisements may also be identified by their actions and behaviours. It is believed that the women perceived the roles of women depicted in the advertisements in a like manner, due to the similarity
of responses within each sex classification. It appears, then, that the
women in each sex type selected the same aspects to attend to in the
advertisements; hence, their perceptions of women’s roles in the
advertisements were similar.

Stebbins (1978, p.259) defined cultural definitions as the
"collective representations" which are consensual among all members and
universal within the culture. The cultural definition of a woman’s role
in North American society was operationally defined in this study as the
similarity a woman perceives between other women’s roles in society and
the roles portrayed in the advertisements. The results indicate that the
cultural definition of a woman’s role in this society is a non-
stereotypical role, one which is equal to men. Although this definition
is based on the responses of women only, it can be inferred that this
definition is shared by men because the four sex classifications:
masculine, feminine, androgynous, and undifferentiated, are universal,
and were represented by the sample. The fact that all of the sex-typed
women in the study perceived other women’s roles as most like the "equal
to men" roles pictured in the advertisements, provides the evidence that
the cultural definition was consensual among the women.

The habitual personal definition is the "regular" meaning that is
the same for all members of the group, but is non-consensual in the
culture (Stebbins, 1978, p.259). Additionally, each member of the group
is unaware that the others define the situation the same way. The
habitual personal definition was operationalized as the similarity a
woman perceives between her own role and the role of the woman in the
advertisement. The habitual definition of the masculine women was
different from that of the feminine women; masculine women perceived
more similarity with the "equal to men" roles than did the feminine women. This result supports the concept that an habitual personal definition is culturally non-consensual. Whether the women were aware of intragroup similarity and intergroup differences is a topic for future research.

The women's cultural definition differed from their habitual definitions. All of the roles depicted in the advertisements were more representative of other women than they were of the women themselves. A woman's cultural definition seems to be more clear-cut and distinct to her than her habitual definition. According to the factor analysis, the women's cultural definition of the situation is impersonal, and has no statistically significant bearing on her habitual definition. It would be interesting to conduct a longitudinal study to determine changes in women's definitions over time. It is also suggested that how women define the situation they perceive in advertisements, how they define their own and other women's roles, and the process of identifying the similarity between these definitions, are areas for future research to further the theoretical development of the definition of the situation.

Relevant predispositions, which play a part in the selection of cultural and habitual personal definitions, are those that are logically associated with the social situation being investigated. It is common sensical that masculine and feminine personality characteristics, and attitudes toward women are predispositions influencing a woman's definition of the roles presented in advertisements in relation to her own and other women's roles. Originally it was thought that these predispositions would affect both her cultural definition and her habitual personal definition. However, those internalized attitudes and
self-conceptions influence only her habitual definition, not her cultural definition. One reason for this may be a sense of alienation from other women. The majority of women in this study, all but the masculine-typed women, identified with the traditional, stereotypical roles in the advertisements. These roles demand that women's top priority be family and home. If a woman's most important role centers around her immediate family within the confines of a single abode, she may not feel she is one of the "women in today's society." Her family is her society, and she is the woman in her society. Thus, her attitudes toward women pertain only to herself. Other predispositions that may contribute to a woman's cultural definition are her parents' attitudes toward women, her career aspirations, her adherence to religion, her moral and ethical values, her concepts of the ideal role for a woman, and the amount of contact with women in different groups.

A reference group is a group used as a frame of reference with which an individual identifies, based on shared characteristics (Lauer & Handel, 1983, p.119). Since a reference group may be fictional or imaginary, the images of women in advertisements form a reference group. However, women do not identify with all of the members of this group. The women in this study were instructed to attend to the roles of the women in the advertisements, thereby, limiting the characteristics with which they could identify i.e. age and appearance. None of the women identified with the image of a woman as the "sex object." Feminine women identified with the traditional role, whereas, masculine women identified more with the images depicting women in equal roles to men.

The generalized other stage is the adult stage of self development. The generalized other is the society in which one has
membership, North American society for the women in this study. A woman's role, from the perspective of the generalized other, was defined as the role for other women in North American society that the subjects perceived as most similar to the roles depicted in the advertisements. The respondents viewed women's roles in society as non-stereotypically equal to men. Any role a woman engages in that places her in an equal position to men and treats her as an individual regardless of her sex, is the role perceived to be for women in this society. In role-taking, the individual takes society's rules, perspectives, attitudes, and expected behaviours of the general membership of his/her society. Some of the women, to a certain extent, took the role that was viewed as the role of the general membership.

Mead describes the self as a constant process of changing behaviour and self-image through self-interaction and interaction with others. Blumer's third premise (1969b, p.2) concerning the process of interaction and interpretation states that "the meanings of things are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters." This modification can be applied to the role-taking process. One's self-image and attached role are modified through an interpretative process in interaction with the self and others. The alteration or creation of a role and its enactment, as opposed to the enactment of a prescribed role, is the concept of role-making. The results of this study provide the empirical evidence to support the statement that women are role-makers. The fact that the women's perceptions of their own roles differed from their perceptions of other women's roles, and the fact that this difference
was not the same for every woman, indicates a modification of the conception of the self-role: making the role.

The secondary purpose of this study was to provide the empirical evidence to determine whether Goffman's observations of women and their roles in advertisements contradict or compliment the observations of Rossi et al. As previously stated, Goffman asserts that advertising is a mirror, reflecting women, their positions, and attached roles as they exist in society; advertisers do not create the stereotypical portrayals of women and their roles, they simply illustrate the natural behaviour of women in the real world. Rossi et al. contend that advertisements are not mirrored images of women, but depictions of outdated stereotypes that promote sexism and entice women to emulate the images in an effort to sell their products. The question is not whether one is right and one is wrong. It appears from the data in this study that both positions are accurate interpretations of two realities. The fact that some of the women, feminine women, perceived the most similarity between their own roles and the stereotypical roles in the advertisements, provides the support for Goffman's assertions. Similarly, the assertions of Rossi et al. are supported in that the masculine-typed women perceived the most similarity between the non-stereotypical roles in the advertisements and their own roles. Thus, it can be concluded that the viewpoints of Goffman and Rossi et al. are complimentary; both depict two realities about women in advertising.

A review of the previous research into advertising which used content analysis found that the bulk of the television and print advertisements were stereotypical in nature. Recent research has attempted to analyze the effects of stereotypical portrayals on women's
and children's attitudes. Although the results are convincing in that, children, who are presented with non-stereotypical portrayals of women and their roles, respond in a less traditional manner than those presented with stereotypical depictions, one can question the direct cause-effect relationship concluded by the researchers for two reasons. First, it has been shown (Ward, Wackman, & Wartella, 1977) that less than half of the children under seven years of age understand that advertisements are selling products. A certain degree of skepticism can be raised about the validity of the results of studies using young children as subjects. If young children are unable to comprehend the intentions of advertising, can they understand the nature of attitudes to respond to scales assessing their traditional or liberal attitudes toward women and their roles? Second, in experimental research to determine a cause-effect relationship between variables, it is necessary to include an experimentally naive control group with which to compare the responses of the experimental group/s under the different conditions. However, a control group is virtually impossible to obtain because everyone in this culture has been exposed to commercials and advertising during their lives. As Pingree and Hawkins (1980) point out, presentations of women in non-traditional sex roles are relatively rare, and portrayals of women in traditional sex roles are so pervasive that exposure to stereotypical images of women is unavoidable. In the absence of a control group, it is questionable whether differences in responses are the direct result of a change in the condition, or the result of unknown intervening variables.

In considering the present study, if the advertisements had been classified into two groups on the basis of their stereotypification of
women's roles, stereotyped and non-stereotyped, the results concerning
the most sexist portrayal of women in the advertisements, the "sex
object," would not have been uncovered. The role of the "sex object" was
the only role that the women did not identify with themselves or other
women in the advertisements, when the advertisements were categorized
according to the Levels of the sexism scale. This was not apparent when
the Levels of advertisements were collapsed into stereotyped and non-
stereotyped. Although the "sex object" role is an old role for women,
advertisers have capitalized on it by modernizing old values. According
to Millum (1975, p.181), advertisers are presenting our more
"permissive" society with this compromising model: the "more sensual,
 overtly sexual woman." Thus, advertisements have changed in their
manifest content and outward style, but have maintained "all the old
social roles for women in slightly updated guises" (Millum, 1975,
p.181).

In retrospect, the only change I would suggest for a future
replication of this study is an updating and redesign of the Attitudes
toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1972a). Some of the
statements in the scale at the time of its development were
controversial in our society. Over the past seventeen years, however,
attitudes toward women have changed, legislation concerning the rights
of women have been introduced into the legal system, and new issues have
risen to replace old and/or resolved ones. Points of dispute in today's
society which were not addressed in the AWS, but could be included in a
revision of the AWS or in the development of a new attitudinal scale
include the areas of child custody, abortion, homosexuality, surrogate
motherhood, childless marriages, children without marriage, long
distance relationships, cohabitation and common-law marriages, househusbandry, and job priority between husband and wife. Only one statement in the scale was problematic, and this was not apparent until more than three quarters of the women had been interviewed. Statement 44 reads: "The intellectual equality of woman with man is perfectly obvious." If the respondent strongly disagrees with this statement, the response is coded very traditional. Conversely, a "strongly agree" response is very liberal. The comment made by one subject demonstrates the problem: "...intellectual equality? Huh. I think it's perfectly obvious that women are smarter than men. I strongly disagree with this one." There are no provisions in the AWS scale for the opinion that women are superior to men, only the reverse. This should be taken into consideration in the design of a more current attitude scale.

The results of this study are generalizable to the population only to the extent that the same proportions of sex-typed women as were found in the sample, exist in the population. The question of generalizability is not appropriate at this time since this research was an exploration into previously uncharted territory. Of course, a purely random sample of the population, if that is possible, should be used in future research.

The purpose of this research was to quantitatively analyze women's perceptions of the images of women's roles in advertisements. It was postulated that certain predispositions, personality characteristics and attitudes toward women, would influence women's cultural and personal definitions of women's roles in advertising. It appears, however, that the cultural definition of some women is very different from their personal definition, and not affected by the predispositions selected
for investigation. Until now, no research has investigated the perceptions of women and their roles in advertising from the point of view of the women themselves. One's perceptions, whether accurate or inaccurate, are real to the individual and guide his/her behaviour. Research into women's roles through the eyes of women seems to be of the most significant importance for a better understanding of social behaviour.
REFERENCES


Appendix A

This is a questionnaire to find out how women perceive their roles in today's society. Out of respect for your privacy, may I assure you that the questionnaire is anonymous and your answers will be kept completely confidential. For this reason please do not put your name or any identifying marks on the pages.

There are no right or wrong answers to this questionnaire. It is a measure of your personal beliefs. Please answer every item honestly. However, do not take too long on any one item, and do not be influenced by any of your previous choices.

The following questions are general information concerning your life style. It is important that they all be answered.

1. Circle your present marital status.

SINGLE      MARRIED      SEPARATED      DIVORCED      WIDOWED

OTHER (please specify)______________________________

2. How many children do you have living at home?___________

3. What is your occupation?______________________________

4. How old are you?_____________years
Appendix B

Directions: Circle the number beside each characteristic which best describes you. The scale is as such:

1 - never or almost never true of me
2 - rather untrue of me
3 - slightly untrue of me
4 - neither true nor untrue of me
5 - slightly true of me
6 - rather true of me
7 - always or almost always true of me

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<td>53. does not use harsh language</td>
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<td>54. unsystematic</td>
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<td>55. competitive</td>
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<td>56. loves children</td>
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<td>57. tactful</td>
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<td>58. ambitious</td>
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<td>59. gentle</td>
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<td>60. conventional</td>
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Appendix C

Directions: The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) Agree strongly, (B) Agree mildly, (C) Disagree mildly, or (D) Disagree strongly. Please indicate your opinion by marking the alternative which best describes your personal opinion. Please respond to every item.

(A) Agree strongly
(B) Agree mildly
(C) Disagree mildly
(D) Disagree strongly

AS indicates that A to D are coded from 1 to 4
DS indicates that A to D are coded from 4 to 1

AS! ___ 1. Women have an obligation to be faithful to their husbands.

AS! ___ 2. Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

AS! ___ 3. The satisfaction of her husband's sexual desires is a fundamental obligation of every wife.

DS! ___ 4. Divorced men should help support their children but should not be required to pay alimony if their wives are capable of working.

AS! ___ 5. Under ordinary circumstances, men should be expected to pay all the expenses while they're out on a date.

DS! ___ 6. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

DS! ___ 7. It is all right for wives to have an occasional, casual, extramarital affair.
8. Special attentions like standing up for a woman who comes into a room or giving her a seat on a crowded bus are outmoded and should be discontinued.

9. Vocational and professional schools should admit the best qualified students, independent of sex.

10. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.

11. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.

12. Husbands and wives should be equal partners in planning the family budget.

13. Men should continue to show courtesies to women such as holding open the door or helping them on with their coats.

14. Women should claim alimony not as persons incapable of self-support but only when there are children to provide for or when the burden of starting life anew after the divorce is obviously heavier for the wife.

15. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

16. The initiative in dating should come from the man.

17. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

18. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

19. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

20. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

21. Parental authority and responsibility for discipline of the children should be equally divided between husband and wife.
AS\[22\]. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

DS\[23\]. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

DS\[24\]. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

AS\[25\]. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

AS\[26\]. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

AS\[27\]. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

AS\[28\]. It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage.

DS\[29\]. Society should regard the services rendered by the women workers as valuable as those of men.

AS\[30\]. It is only fair that male workers should receive more pay than women even for identical work.

AS\[31\]. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

AS\[32\]. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiancés.

DS\[33\]. Women should demand money for household and personal expenses as a right rather than as a gift.

DS\[34\]. The husband should not be favoured by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.

DS\[35\]. Wifely submission is an outworn virtue.

AS\[36\]. There are some professions and types of businesses that are more suitable for men than women.
AS: 37. Women should be concerned with their duties of childrearing and housekeeping, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

AS: 38. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

AS: 39. A wife should make every effort to minimize irritation and inconvenience to the male head of the family.

DS: 40. There should be no greater barrier to an unmarried woman having sex with a casual acquaintance than having dinner with him.

DS: 41. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set by men.

AS: 42. Women should take the passive role in courtship.

AS: 43. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contribution to economic production than are men.

DS: 44. The intellectual equality of woman with man is perfectly obvious.

DS: 45. Women should have full control of their persons and give or withhold sex intimacy as they choose.

AS: 46. The husband has in general no obligation to inform his wife of his financial plans.

AS: 47. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

AS: 48. Women with children should not work outside the home if they don't have to financially.

DS: 49. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

DS: 50. The relative amounts of time and energy to be devoted to household duties on the one hand and to a career on the other should be determined by personal desires and interests rather than by sex.
AS: 51. As head of the household, the husband should have more responsibility for the family's financial plans than his wife.

DS: 52. If both husband and wife agree that sexual fidelity isn't important, there's no reason why both shouldn't have extramarital affairs if they want to.

AS: 53. The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in all matters of law.

DS: 54. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

AS: 55. Most women need and want the kind of protection and support that men have traditionally given them.
Appendix D

Directions: The advertisements that I am about to show you depict a woman or women in various roles in our society. Look at each advertisement, and pay attention to the role of the woman in the ad. Read the accompanying printed advertising where applicable. Indicate, by using the code below, how much you yourself can identify with the woman in the ad; in other words, how similar is the role of the woman in the ad to your own role as you perceive it to be. Is the role of the woman in the ad an accurate reflection of your own role?

A - not at all like me
B - rather not like me
C - rather like me
D - very much like me

1.  
2.  
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19.  
20.  
Appendix E

Directions: I will show you the same advertisements again. As before, pay attention to the role of the woman in the ad. This time you are to judge, by using the code below, how similar the role of the woman in the ad is to the role of the average woman in general in today's society (not yourself). In other words, is the role of the woman in the ad an accurate reflection of the role of the average woman in today's North American society as you perceive that role to be?

A - not at all like a woman today
B - rather not like a woman today
C - rather like a woman today
D - very much like a woman today

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____
13. _____
14. _____
15. _____
16. _____
17. _____
18. _____
19. _____
20. _____
Appendix F
Revised Scale of Sexism

LEVEL I - characterized as "put her down"
- presentations of women include the dumb blond, the sex object, and the wimpering victim
- woman less than a person, a two-dimensional image
- woman's body is included as a decorative object
- woman relies on others to do her thinking for her
- woman is so limited and/or incompetent that she is not a complete person
- woman with no real function involving the product
- woman's face and figure used only to enhance the attractiveness of the product i.e. woman standing next to a car

LEVEL II - characterized as "keep her in her place"
- traditional strengths and capacities are acknowledged, but tradition dictates "womanly" roles
- women functioning well as wives, mothers, secretaries, clerks, teachers, and nurses
- women struggling with roles that are "beyond them" (business executives, doctors, editors, etc.) or in which they develop unwomanly traits
- women demonstrating makeup is a traditional "womanly" activity
- woman is competent, but only within traditional "womanly" activity

LEVEL III - characterized as "give her two places"
- woman's career is viewed as something extra
- housework and mothering come first
- woman may be a professional, but her first place is in the home
- women may sometimes work outside the home professionally, but always work in the home i.e. woman can be a lawyer or architect as long as she has dinner on the table for her husband at six; woman Ph.D. in biochemistry discussing what she gives her children for breakfast
- women are allowed a broader sphere, but only if traditional activities remain primary
LEVEL IV - characterized as "she is fully equal to men"
- treats female professionals as professionals - no mention of her private life, her favourite recipes, or how she cleans the house
- images do not remind us that housework and mothering are non-negotiably the woman's work as in LEVEL III
- nonstereotypic
- women and men are viewed as individuals

LEVEL V - woman is shown as superior in a context other than in the home or in traditional "womanly" activity - this is the only place where a woman is allowed to be superior
OGGI...
FOR THE MOST
IMPORTANT THING
YOU WEAR

OH, THESE **SPOTS**!
THEY'RE DRIVING ME BUD
AWAY!

**MY ONLY HOPE IS**
**NEW LIQUID**
**SUNLIGHT**!

NOW

**SUNLIGHT**
FOR DISHWASHERS
COMES IN A
LIQUID.

NO LIQUID GETS GLASSES
MORE SPOTLESS

© 1967 Lever Brothers Company. Available in limited areas.

*from Good Housekeeping, January, 1988.*
ARGENTI.
THE NAME ON EVERY SMART WOMAN'S HIPS.
Whirlpool gives laundry experts (like you) loads of choices.

You know by experience that different fabrics require different washing and drying temperatures, cycles and more. That's why we design Whirlpool® washers and dryers to give you all the choices you need for expert fabric care.

Choices of cycles and settings to get clothes their cleanest. Whirlpool washers offer you the right wash and rinse cycle to match virtually any fabric and cleaning job. There's a gentle cycle for delicate knits. A Super Wash cycle for tough stains and heavier fabrics. And you can also select the right water level and temperature for every load to help save water and energy.

We make expert fabric care easier, too. Because our self-cleaning lint filters and automatic bleach and fabric softener dispensers save you unnecessary trips to the laundry room.

Choices of drying temperatures help clothes come out just right. You can find a range of four different temperatures on Whirlpool dryers to make sure clothes come out fluffy and soft. There's a gentle setting for knits and delicate fabrics. A Permanent Press cycle helps cut down on wrinkles. And our washers and dryers come in a wide range of sizes and styles to let you select the combination that's just right for you.

A promise of quality we stand behind. Every Whirlpool washer and dryer is backed by our promise of good, honest quality. And we stand behind that promise with helpful programs like our toll-free, 24-hour Cool-Line® telephone service to help you with problems or questions. Just call 800-253-1301. It's one more way we can make your world a little easier.

CNA...for all the commitments you make

A new house. A promotion. A growing family. Your life is full of new beginnings, new commitments. And as your commitments change, your needs change with them.

The CNA Insurance Companies can help you meet your growing commitments with our Universal Security Policy, combining home, auto, personal property and liability coverage, all under one convenient, cost-efficient plan.

This is only one of the many insurance products we provide through our agents, protecting family, home and business. With the industry's highest A- rating and almost 100 years of experience, you can count on us. We'll be there when you need us. Helping you keep the commitments you make.

Insurance for individuals, business groups and associations.

from Good Housekeeping, October, 1988.
"You're never too old to learn something new, right? And this semester I learned the best place to find my favorite designs is the Spiegel Catalog. They've got terrific looks for work. Think L'Enfant, for example. Plus shoes, accessories—the works.

And ordering is more child's play. I just call on the 24-hour, toll-free line and everything is expedited to my home or dormroom. Returns are equally easy—Spiegel has them picked up free.

"Now, keeping my kids' attention is no problem. In fact, I even seem to be attracting some from Mr. Garamella, the gym teacher."

The new Spiegel Spring Catalog is yours for just $3. Attachable to your first purchase. Call 1-800-348-4800. Ask for Catalog 764 and 766-348-4800.
"If there is a drier or better diaper, I haven't seen it...not as a nurse or as a mother."

"Moisture trap" and lock-away can help draw wetness away from baby's skin.

No other diaper does more to help keep baby, and baby's clothes and bedding, dry. No diaper does more to help maintain dry, healthy baby skin.

"I see proof every day in the hospital and at my own home...of just how good Ultra Pampers Plus really are. I have a happy baby and we both get a good night's sleep."

All the dryness a mother or father can give!

Ultra Pampers Plus brings a combination of two major product attributes together to help keep your baby dry and comfortable. Ultra Pampers Plus uses the special "moisture trap"* to absorb wetness quickly, plus a customized "fit zone". Together they help prevent wetness from leaking out at the waist and leg area.

from Chatelaine, September, 1988.
CORRECTOL

PROOF THAT A LAXATIVE PILL CAN BE GENTLE AND EFFECTIVE.

Correctol is the effective laxative pill that provides gentle, overnight relief. That's because Correctol is different. Its dual-action formula is over 60% softening agent, with just enough laxative to help give regularity a start, without the harshness sometimes experienced from purely chemical stimulants. Try gentle Correctol.

It may be all the laxative you really need. And that's a relief.

A WOMAN'S LAXATIVE.

*Reg. TM. Scott-Peugh Canada Inc.
Toronto, Canada M4A 1E3

YOUR KITCHEN... the best of breads!

You could win superb Cellini Kitchen Cabinetry by Catan, or $15,000 in cash, or one of 100 Sunbeam toasters, or a GE Wall Oven and Cooktop, or... this entire kitchen worth $40,000!
There are 16 different prizes to choose from: 174 prizes in all, and each prize is a different draw!

Choose which prize from you want to enter! Enter as often as you like!
THE MILK BREAD "KITCHEN" SWEEPSTAKES... choose what's best for you!

from Canadian Living, April 16, 1988.
"I use Ultra Pampers Plus for changes in my office, and of course I want this same dryness for my own baby at home."

Dr. Michelle De Antonio of Alpine, New Jersey agreed to talk about Ultra Pampers Plus and what the product attributes mean to her as a pediatrician and a mother:

"When I became a parent, I became a better pediatrician because I now react more empathetically to parents' concerns. So when I say that Ultra Pampers Plus is an excellent product, I say it because I understand that when little ones are drier, they're happier and when they're happier, parents are happier, too."

Ultra Pampers Plus brings a combination of two major product features together to help keep your baby dry and comfortable. Ultra Pampers Plus uses the special "moisture trap* to absorb wetness quickly; plus a customized "fit zone". Together they help prevent wetness from leaking out at the waist and leg area.

Ultra Pampers Plus helps baby's clothes and bedding stay nice and dry so baby can sleep better.

Speaking from experience, "Ultra Pampers Plus helps keep my little one dry and happy during the day and night and that makes us all happy."

All the dryness a mother or father can give!

*moisture trap

BY THE TIME YOU REMEMBER
YOU LEFT IT ON, IT’S OFF.

Ten minutes ago, you left your house behind. And your iron
on. But don’t panic. You have the Black & Decker Automatic
Shut-Off iron, remember?

Go away from it, and it sounds an alert. If you
don’t return, it remembers to shut itself off. It
even beeps and lights when the temperature
you’ve selected is right. So you never have to
worry if your iron’s too hot or cold.

And like all Black & Decker household
products, it has a full two-year warranty.

So relax. With the Black & Decker Auto-
matic Shut-Off iron, your ironing worries
are completely extinguished. And remem-
ber, GE irons are now Black & Decker.

THE AUTOMATIC SHUT-OFF IRON
BB&B
IDEAS AT WORK.

from Redbook, April, 1987.
APPENDIX J.

You don't just think fast on your feet... You look great in action...
Unconstructed Jacket $44
Pants $29
Sweater $26
Worthington Classic reflections of the woman who wears it.
You're looking smarter than ever at JCPenney.

from New Woman, April, 1988.
from *Elle*, April, 1988.
ATTENTION: SHARP OBJECT.

THE HEARTBEAT OF AMERICA

TODAY'S CHEVROLET

SPECTRUM.
A sharp car has to do more than look good. It has to act sharp, with intelligent design and function backing up the good looks. That's a terrific combination. It's also the philosophy behind Chevy Spectrum.

ADVANCED GEOMETRY.
Spectrum's dual purpose tail shape up front. With the look of flush-mounted headlight.
The Human Energy Behind Nuclear Medicine

Canadian Nuclear Association
Association Nucléaire Canadienne

from Chatelaine, August, 1988.
APPENDIX K

SHE'S VERY CHARLIE.

from *New Woman*, April, 1988.
Depot

Want you compute—fantastic!
And if you'd like a styling system that's always in control... just like you. With a super-
bolding gel that shapes your hair any way you want it. And an ultra-
bolding spray that makes sure it stays put...
Get to know Dep Styling Gel and Sculpt & Hold Spray.
That way, the computer read-out on your hair will always say... "perfect!"
Get Depolized!
You know how it is...
Some guys just naturally know their place. With others, you have to put them there!
And if you'd like to have the same control over your hair, get it all together with a styling group that will leave your hair full of body and easy to manage...from start to finish.
Get to know the Dep Styling System.
You'll want to keep it in a file marked "must-have!"

Get Organized!
from Madame Selle, September, 1980.

"A Style of Your Own."

ZENÁ
FASHION DENIM

G. Fox  Famous Dan  Roche Co
VITA AUCTORIS

Constance Jean (Hewitt) Hopkins, born in Galt, Ontario, graduated from Grade 13 at Vincent Massey Secondary School in 1968. She attended the University of Windsor, majoring in Mathematics, before marrying. While raising two daughters, she returned to the University of Windsor in 1982 as a part-time student. As an undergraduate she was on the President's Roll of Scholars until graduating in 1985 with an Honours B.A. in Psychology. In September, 1987, she was admitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Windsor. As a graduate student, she was a Graduate Assistant in Statistics and Introductory Sociology and was awarded a University of Windsor Summer Research Scholarship. She completed the requirements for her M.A. in Sociology in 1989. In September, 1989, she was employed as a sessional instructor of Sociological Statistics at the University of Windsor.