

Taking It Off All Over Again:

The Portrayal of Women in Advertising Over The Past Forty Years

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Abstract

Magazine advertisements from six publications in 2004 were analyzed to replicate an original, seminal study that assessed the use of sexual imagery in advertising in 1964 and 1984. Research indicates that media, advertising in particular, can create and sustain unrealistic images and stereotypes, especially of women. It is important to examine how the portrayal of women in advertising has changed over the past decades. Preliminary data analysis shows that across all magazine genres, in 2004, males appeared demurely dressed 83.5 percent of the time, while women are only shown as demurely dressed a third of the time. This enormous discrepancy in the level of dress between male and female models indicates that women are portrayed much more often as sexual objects than are men. This study will hopefully advance feminist scholarship through the thorough documentation of the trend of inequality in the portrayal of sexuality and gender roles of females in the past and today.

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The use of sexual imagery in advertising is nothing new. Past studies suggest that the level of sex in advertising has grown more prevalent, more explicit, and more diverse over time (Soley & Reid, 1988; Soley & Kurzbard, 1986; Reichert, Lambiase, Morgan, Carstarphen and Zavoina, 1999). Cultivation research shows us that frequently repeated themes and behaviors seen in the media can influence our perceptions of social reality (Gerbner, 1990). One mechanism to explain how this happens is that the constant exposure to these themes and behaviors make them more accessible from memory (Shrum, 2003) – and when asked to make judgments in real life, those who are more exposed to certain mediated constructs are more likely to use them (Rhodes, Edison, & Bradford, 2004).

Is the level of sex in advertising increasing? How are women portrayed in advertising? This research seeks to address these important questions in order to quantitatively document the mediated role of women in advertising. Two analyses assessing the level of sexuality in magazine advertising found that the level of sexual dress in magazine advertisements increased from 1964 to 1984 (Soley and Reid, 1988) and that there was also a greater reliance on both visual and verbal sexual imagery in 1984 than in 1964 (Soley and Kurzbard, 1986). In order to assess change in the portrayal of women over time, the same coding procedures and content categories were used to update the seminal Soley and Reid study. Although Soley and Reid looked only at how level of dress changed over time, Soley and Kurzbard also examined headlines for sexual references and physical contact between models. By adding headline sexual reference and level of physical contact as additional content categories, this study will allow us to determine how advertisers' use of sexual imagery has changed over time and how women in

advertising are represented today. In addition, other variables investigating the role of models (especially female models) in magazine advertisements will also be examined and discussed.

Sex in Advertising

Since the 1850s, sexual imagery has been widely used to sell products, services, and ideas. During this time period, the development of cheaper, better printing technologies made using illustrations in newspapers and magazines more affordable, and therefore more accessible to advertisers and to the public (Folkerts & Lacy, 2004). For example, tobacco companies were using suggestive or even nude images of females during the later 1800s (Reichert, 2003).

However, during the last 50 years, social changes have become rapidly apparent in acceptable dress in real life – and in the media. The level of dress in advertising content today ranges from mere sexual suggestion to full nudity and depiction of intercourse. However, sex in advertising can also include “sexual imagery, innuendo, and double entendre” (Courtney and Whipple, 1983, p. 103). This study will assess other sexual content characteristics in addition to level of dress.

Content Analyses

In addition to the original, seminal works by Soley and Reid (1988) and Soley and Kurzbard (1986), which examined sex in advertising from 1964 to 1984, more recent studies have examined sex in advertising over the past twenty years (Reichert et al., 1999; Reichert & Carpenter, 2004).

A content analysis by Reichert and colleagues (1999) found that the incidence of sexual dress in magazine advertisements has risen over the past few decades. In addition to the level of dress, contact between models became more sexual over time. A recent update of the Reichert et al. study found that models in ads in 2003 were no more likely to be explicitly dressed or in sexual contact than they were in 1993 (Reichert & Carpenter, 2004). Not surprisingly, sexual ad content differs between magazine genres. For example, sexual ads are most apt to appear in

women's and men's magazines compared to general-interest magazines such as *Newsweek* and *Time* (Soley & Reid, 1988; Soley & Kurzbard, 1986; Busby & Leichty, 1993, Reichert & Carpenter, 2004).

Cultivation Effects and Construct Accessibility

Why do we care how prevalent sexual imagery is in the media? The cultivation hypothesis posits that televised social reality influences viewers' social perceptions and beliefs (Hawkins & Pingree, 1990). Although original cultivation hypothesis research examined only effects on perceptions of reality due to television use, other forms of media are also associated with distortions of reality (Rhodes et al., 2004). Cultivation "implies long-term, cumulative consequences of exposure to an essentially repetitive and stable system of messages" (Morgan & Signorielli, 1990, p. 18). For example, a recent study showed a correlation between reported viewing of romantic television programs and idealistic expectations for marriage (Segrin & Nabi, 2002). The frequent portrayal of women as sexual objects in all forms of the mass media can influence men's perceptions of women and women's perceptions of themselves.

Cultivation effects can be explained through models of construct accessibility (Shrum, 1996, 2002). Using more of a specific media genre can subtly influence perceptions and interpretations of the world and the people encountered in it by making mediated constructs/behaviors more accessible from memory than experiential realities. Accessibility is based on how often activation of a construct occurs, how recently it has occurred, and how vivid the information is. Accessibility is also dependent on availability – if a construct has not been encountered previously, or was not stored in memory, it cannot be available for activation (Sanbonmatsu & Fazio, 1991). Highly accessible information is more likely to be used when forming judgments than is less accessible information (Shrum, 2002). Since exposure, or repetition, is an important part that determines how accessible a construct is, it makes sense that

when people are repeatedly exposed to an idealized, sexualized image of the female body through the media, a real-world situation would be likely to activate the vicariously-learned image. “The media are instrumental in developing the constructs that are available in memory, and in determining which of those constructs are chronically accessible” (Sanbonmatsu & Fazio, 1991, p. 57). As Harris (1999) suggests, the mental reality experienced through the media becomes the basis for attitudes and behaviors.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

First, we compared ads from 2004 to the original study by Soley & Reid (1988). These authors examined the amount of clothing models were wearing in six high-circulation mainstream magazines over two decades (*Cosmopolitan*, *Redbook*, *Esquire*, *Playboy*, *Newsweek*, and *Time*). They found that although women were dressed more sexually in 1984 than in 1964, the incidence of sexualized images of men also increased. However, more recent studies suggest that the increase in sexuality in advertising is tapering off (Reichert & Carpenter, 2004). Comparing 2004 ads to the original Soley and Reid study will show how the use of sexual appeals in advertising has changed over the past four decades and where it stands today.

RQ1: How has the level of dress for male and female models in magazine advertisements changed over the past forty years?

RQ2: How has the level of dress for male and female models in magazine advertisements changed by magazine type over the past forty years?

Soley and Kurzbard (1986) also examined headlines in magazine advertisements for verbal sexual references. They found that from 1964 to 1984, verbal sexual reference had increased. We will assess amount of change in this content category over the last four decades, therefore:

H1: The frequency of headlines utilizing verbal sexual references will have increased over the past forty years.

In addition, we examined several other variables neglected in the previous study. First, we addressed current gender roles portrayed by models in advertising. Research focusing on the stereotypical portrayals of women in advertising is particularly important. In addition to being shown as young and good-looking (Goldman, 1992), women are more likely than men to be portrayed as domestic providers or sex objects in advertising (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971). Many advertisements concentrate on the female “ideal,” an identity to which all women should aspire. Shields (1997) explains, “These messages, used to sell everything from cosmetics to cars to beverages, provide a prescription for how women should look and be looked at, how they should feel, and how they are expected to act. In short, these messages prescribe particular gender identities... and how men should relate to women” (p. 71). Geis, Brown, Jennings and Porter (1984) also suggested how gender representations in the media could influence attitudes and behaviors.

First, on the macro level, they are broadcast publicly, and so appear to represent “everyone.” Second, on the micro level, the characters portrayed are shown as accepting their role relationship, thus appearing to validate the complementary roles within the scenario (p. 513).

In other words, some females may view ads as life scripts. Geis et al. concluded that many women’s personal self-concept is determined by the sex typing shown in advertising. When analyzing the six publications in 2004 for sexual content, we addressed the following research questions:

RQ3: How do gender roles enacted by models in magazine advertisements differ for males and females?

RQ4: How do gender roles enacted by models in magazine advertisements differ between magazine types for males and females?

Finally, physical contact between models is also becoming more sexual and explicit (Soley & Kurzbard, 1986; Reichert et al., 1999; Reichert & Carpenter, 2004). Although the sexuality of dress in magazine advertisements may no longer be increasing as rapidly as in previous decades, advertisements are becoming more sexual in other ways – primarily through physical contact between models. Therefore, we addressed this issue by comparing model contact in 2004 to model contact in 1964 and 1984 (Soley & Kurzbard):

H2: There will be increasing explicit sexual contact between male and female models over the past four decades.

Method

Sample

The present study analyzed sex in magazine advertising in 2004 by replicating the procedures and coding scheme employed in Soley & Reid's (1988) content analysis. As in the original study, all full-page or larger ads in the same six consumer magazines were analyzed for model dress level. Product category, sex role, contact level, headline sexuality, and homosexual reference were also analyzed. The magazines were initially chosen because they were the highest-circulation publications that represented three distinct editorial profiles (women's, *Cosmopolitan* and *Redbook*; men's, *Esquire* and *Playboy*; general interest, *Newsweek* and *Time*; Soley & Reid, 1988). Also as in the original study, ads in three issues of each magazine (January, August, and November) were coded. Because two of the magazines selected are weekly publications (*Newsweek* and *Time*), the first issue of the month was chosen for analysis.

Only ads featuring discernable adult models were included in the analysis of sexual content. All ads featuring body parts, such as feet or hands, were coded as not containing a model. All duplicate ads were included in the analysis.

The 2004 sample, which consisted of 18 magazine issues, included 960 full-page or larger ads. Of the 960 total ads, 568 contained discernable adult models. While 280 ads contained female models, 154 ads contained male models, and 134 ads contained both female and male models. The previous content analysis of 1964 magazines reported 586 full-page or larger advertisements, with 367 including adult models. The analysis of 1984 magazines reported 1,112 ads, 645 including adult models (Soley & Reid, 1988).

Content Variables

As in the original study, each discernible adult model was classified into one of four ordinal categories of dress (Soley & Reid, 1988). Dress differs primarily by the amount of clothing worn by models in the advertisements, and has four levels: (1) demure, (2) suggestive, (3) partially-clad, and (4) nude. Demure dress was defined as “everyday dress.” This category included all typical clothing, including walking shorts, but excluded short-shorts, underwear, or bathing suits. Suggestive dress included clothing that partially exposed the upper body, such as unbuttoned blouses showcasing cleavage, or tight “muscle” shirts. Models were considered partially clad if they were shown in underwear or bathing suits. If nudity was implied (models were holding only a towel or if the photograph was composed so that genitals were concealed), models were coded as nude. If the ad contained multiple models of the same sex, the model featuring the least amount of clothing was used to code that advertisement, as was done in the original study (Soley & Reid).

When at least one female and one male model were present in an ad, the level of physical contact between them was classified into one of four ordinal categories: (1) no contact, (2) simple contact (e.g., holding hands), (3) intimate contact (e.g., kissing and embracing), and (4) very intimate contact (e.g., the depiction or suggestion of sexual intercourse or behavior). The behavior within each category becomes more sexually explicit from Level 1 to Level 4. If the

advertisement only featured models of one sex, the ad was coded as Level 0: no contact, one model.

In addition to these variables, this study also looked at gender stereotypes. The five-level sexism scale developed by Pingree, Hawkins, Butler and Paisley (1976) was used to investigate stereotypical scenarios displayed in each full-page magazine advertisement featuring a discernable adult model. The operational definitions for each level in the Pingree scale were applied to the primary character in the ad. Level I is described for females as putting her down, the dumb blond, the sex object or being a two dimensional image (p. 194). Male Level I ads show a sexy male model for a product which doesn't necessarily help with explanation (p. 198). Level II is described for females as showing traditional female activities, characterized as "keeping females in their place." Women are shown as wives, mothers, secretaries, teachers and nurses; for men, Level II "is the world of work and traditional 'manly' activities... in the business or sports contexts and, if they are shown working around the home, it is mowing the lawn or taking the garbage out" (p. 199). Level III for women gives her two places (p. 194). Women can work out of the home, but always maintain their work at home first. Level III men are shown as competent both at work and at home with work always the first priority. For females, Level IV images do not remind us that housework and mothering are top priority (p. 195). Level IV for men is exactly the same for women; here women and men must be seen as equals. The last level of portrayal, Level V, is nonstereotypical. "Individual women and men are viewed as superior to each other in some respects, inferior in other respects" (p. 195). In addition, we also examined product category for each advertisement, and presence or absence of verbal sexual reference in headlines, and presence or absence of visual homosexual innuendo.

Coding Procedure. Two coders were trained in the content categories. The training session involved agreement between coders on all variables and variable levels and practice

coding until high intercoder reliability was achieved. The practice ads were not part of the analyzed sample. Working independently, the coders analyzed all ads in the sample frame. Using Scott's Pi analysis, average intercoder reliability across the variables product category, model gender, sex role, dress, contact level, headline sexuality, and homosexual reference was .98. Scott's Pi is a test of reliability that statistically corrects for chance agreement when computing reliability (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998). Scott's Pi for product category was .95 and .92 for sex role. All other variables achieved perfect intercoder reliability.

Results

Overall, in 2004, there were 702 adult models shown in a total of 571 advertisements. Of these, 131 ads included both male and female models, 284 included female models only, and 156 included male models only.

1984 vs. 2004. In 2004, 62 percent of all models were portrayed as demurely dressed (compared to 83 percent in 1964, and 74.4 percent in 1984; Soley & Reid, 1988). The change from 1984 is significant ($\chi^2 = 57.125$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), and constant. Fewer models are being portrayed as demurely dressed – inversely, significantly more models are being portrayed in a more sexual manner. More specifically, in 2004, 18.5 percent are shown as suggestively dressed (compared to 12.4 percent in 1984), 12.4 percent are shown as partially clad (compared to 12.8 percent in 1984), and 7.1 percent shown as nude (compared to 6.6 percent in 1984). More models are being portrayed as suggestively dressed across the years.

The first research question (RQ1) specifically sought to determine how the sexual explicitness of dress for male and female models in magazine advertisements has changed over the past four decades. Overall in 2004, males appeared demurely dressed 78.5 percent of the time, while women are only shown as demurely dressed 44 percent of the time. This means that over half of female models are shown as suggestively dressed, partially clad, or nude, compared

to less than a quarter of male models. This enormous discrepancy in the level of dress between male and female models is significant ($\chi^2 = 142.4$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) and indicates that women are still portrayed more often as sexual objects than are men. The increased number of non-demurely dressed females versus males is also apparent across time ($\chi^2 = 14.26$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). In 1984, of the 390 males depicted, 55 were dressed non-demurely (14.1 percent) and in 2004, 33 out of 287 males were depicted as non-demurely dressed (11.5 percent). For women, of the 462 female models depicted in 1984 ads, 163 were depicted as non-demurely dressed (35.3 percent), while in 2004, 232 of 415 were non-demurely dressed (55.9 percent). This shows that although overall, more models are depicted as somewhat sexually dressed in magazine advertisements now compared to 1984, this change is due entirely to how women are portrayed.

Our second research question addressed differences in dress levels by magazine genre. Tables 1, 2, and 3 break down model dress by gender (females in female-only ads, males in male-only ads, and females and males in ads containing both sexes).

General Interest Magazines

Although the data presented in the three tables supports past research that indicates that men's and women's magazines are more likely to portray *both* men and women as sexually dressed (i.e., non-demurely), dress level for female models in general interest magazines follows the trend documented in the original Soley and Reid (1988) study. In 2004, female models were suggestively dressed 24.6 percent of the time, whereas males were suggestively dressed less than two percent of the time ($\chi^2 = 19.72$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). However, the ratio of demurely-dressed versus non-demurely dressed models has not significantly changed since 1984 ($\chi^2 = .85$, $df = 1$, $p > .2$). However, men were *more likely* to be demurely dressed in 2004 than in 1984 ($\chi^2 = 7.76$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$).

Women's Magazines

In 2004, female models were more likely than men to be portrayed as sexually dressed ($\chi^2 = 34.19$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). Females were portrayed as demurely dressed only 45.5 percent of the time, whereas male models in women's magazines were portrayed as demurely dressed 82.5 percent of the time. Overall, female models in women's magazines are much more likely to be sexually dressed in 2004 than in 1984 ($\chi^2 = 18.71$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). However, as in general interest magazines, men do not follow the increasing trend of non-demure dress. There was actually no change in the incidence of non-demure dress for male models in women's magazines ($\chi^2 = .03$, $df = 1$, $p > .2$). A point of interest is that nudity for male models only, female models only, and both sexes together has increased over time. So although the incidence of sexual dress is increasing for females only in women's magazines, the type of sexual dress (or lack thereof) is changing over the years.

Men's Magazines

Of all the magazine genres, the trend for sexual dress in men's magazine advertisements is the most disturbing (see Table 3). Of all magazine genres in 2004, it is apparent that men's magazines represent the majority of disparity in women's versus men's dress. However, of all the magazine genres, men's magazine advertisements also reflect a changing trend for men's dress. In 2004, female models were much more likely than men to be portrayed as sexually dressed ($\chi^2 = 96.13$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). In addition, women were much *less* likely to be portrayed as demurely dressed in 2004 compared to 1984 ($\chi^2 = 36.83$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), and again, this change was not apparent for men ($\chi^2 = .16$, $df = 1$, $p > .2$). When women appear without men in men's magazine ads, there are only demurely dressed 7.5 percent of the time – they are portrayed as nude (17.5 percent) *more often* than demure. Although when male models appear by themselves

in ads, they are often demurely dressed, when they appear in conjunction with female models, they are much more likely to be sexually dressed, compared to 1964 and 1984.

Headlines. In 2004, 9.1 percent of all ads used sexually suggestive headlines. For 1984, Soley and Kurzbard (1986) found that 53 of 645 of ads with adult models (8.2 percent) used sexually suggestive headlines. This is not a significant change over the years ($\chi^2 = .889$, $df = 1$, $p > .2$). In 1984, the most sexually suggestive headlines were found in men's magazines, as is the case in 2004. It appears that this type of sexual suggestiveness in advertising has not increased over the years.

Gender roles: Males vs. Females. Of the 287 men portrayed in all 2004 magazine ads, 83 (28.9 percent) were portrayed decoratively, 176 (61.3 percent) were portrayed traditionally, and 28 were portrayed in roles more equal to women, or in non-stereotypical roles (these categories were collapsed to aid analysis). Of the 415 women depicted in all ads, 268 were decorative (64.6 percent), 120 were traditional (28.9 percent) and 27 were in the more equal categories. There was a significant difference in the way men and women were portrayed regarding their gender roles ($\chi^2 = 87.70$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$). Women were much more likely to be portrayed decoratively than were men, but less likely to be portrayed in traditional roles, which include those of housewife, etc. So although stereotypes of women as mothers and housewives may be less apparent in today's advertising, women are still often portrayed as decorative, useless objects that have no direct relation to a brand being advertised.

Gender roles: Magazine type by gender. Across magazine types, gender roles for males remained fairly constant. In both women's and general interest magazines, males were portrayed as traditional approximately half of the time, as decorative about one-fourth of the time, and as equal one-fourth of the time. For women, although they followed this pattern in general interest magazines, they were much more likely to be portrayed as decorative in both women's and

men's magazines. For both these categories, women were portrayed decoratively in about two-thirds of the ads, and almost one-third of the ads in these two categories portrayed them as in traditional roles. Very few ads in either men's or women's magazine portrayed women as equal with men, or in non-traditional roles.

Sexual contact. Again, the 2004 data was compared to Soley and Kurzbard's (1986) study. Of the 571 total ads containing adult models analyzed for 2004, males and females were both present in 131 ads. In 66 of these 131 ads there was no contact between males and females, in 28 there was simple contact, in 29 there was more intimate contact (collapsed for comparison purposes, total = 57), and in 8 there was explicit sexual contact. In 1984, there were 207 ads containing both males and females, with 131 showing no contact, 67 non-explicitly sexual contact, and nine depicting sexually explicit contact. Although it appears that there was an increase in the level of any contact between men and women in ads, across types of content this was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 5.55$, $df = 2$, $p < .10$).

Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that the trends captured in Soley and Reid (1988) and Soley and Kurzbard's (1986) studies continues. The incidence of sexuality in advertising is increasing over the years, and females continue to be more sexually depicted in magazine advertisement than are males. The increase in suggestive model attire from 1984 and 2004 is due almost entirely to the depiction of female models. More female models are being depicted as suggestively dressed over time, and in fact, in general interest magazines, men are *less* likely to be suggestively dressed than in 1984. In addition, female models are more likely to be portrayed in decorative roles than are men, and less likely to be featured in more non-stereotypical or equal roles. Specifically, in men's and women's magazines, women are more likely to be placed in a decorative role than are men.

Of interest is the apparent changing nature of sex in advertising. Although there is really not an increase in the number of ads containing both male and female models over the years, it is interesting to note that in men's magazines, when men were depicted with women in ads, the men were more likely to be suggestively dressed than when they appeared alone. Although this was apparent, there was not a significant increase in sexual contact between genders, nor was there a change in headline innuendo.

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TABLE 1			
Sexual Explicitness of Dress for General Interest Magazines by Year in Percent.			
	Year		
	1964	1984	2004
<u>Female-Only Ad</u>	n=11	n=27	n=21
Demure	100%	77.8%	76.2%
Suggestive	0%	7.4%	4.8%
Partially-clad	0%	7.4%	19.0%
Nude	0%	7.4%	0%
	n=72	n=68	n=44
<u>Male-Only Ad</u>			
Demure	100%	88.2%	100%
Suggestive	0%	1.5%	0%
Partially-clad	0%	7.4%	0%
Nude	0%	2.9%	0%
	n=44	n=45	n=40
<u>Ad Containing Both Sexes (Females)</u>			
Demure	93.2%	84.4%	75.0%
Suggestive	0%	8.9%	20%

Partially-clad	4.4%	6.7%	2.5%
Nude	2.3%	0%	2.5%
	n=44	n=45	n=40
<u>Ad Containing Both Sexes (Males)</u>			
Demure	97.7%	91.1%	97.5%
Suggestive	0%	0%	2.5%
Partially-clad	2.3%	8.9%	0%
Nude	0%	0%	0%
<i>Note.</i> Based on observed frequencies. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.			

TABLE 2			
Sexual Explicitness of Dress for Women's Magazines by Year in Percent.			
	Year		
	1964	1984	2004
<u>Female-Only Ad</u>	n=76	n=199	n=219
Demure	57.9%	61.8%	43.4%
Suggestive	10.5%	12.1%	33.8%
Partially-clad	23.7%	16.1%	10.5%
Nude	7.9%	10.0%	12.3%
	n=9	n=20	n=22
<u>Male-Only Ad</u>			
Demure	88.9%	80%	81.8%
Suggestive	0%	0%	4.5%
Partially-clad	11.1%	20%	4.5%
Nude	0%	0%	9.1%
	n=29	n=65	n=58
<u>Ad Containing Both Sexes (Females)</u>			
Demure	86.2%	70.8%	53.4%
Suggestive	6.9%	9.2%	31.0%

Partially-clad	6.9%	16.9%	10.3%
Nude	0%	3.1%	5.2%
	n=29	n=65	n=58
<u>Ad Containing Both Sexes (Males)</u>			
Demure	96.6%	84.6%	82.8%
Suggestive	0%	1.5%	6.9%
Partially-clad	3.4%	13.8%	6.9%
Nude	0%	0%	3.4%
<i>Note.</i> Based on observed frequencies. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.			

TABLE 3

Sexual Explicitness of Dress for Men's Magazines by Year in Percent.

	Year		
	1964	1984	2004
<u>Female-Only Ad</u>	n=26	n=29	n=40
Demure	42.3%	24.1%	7.5%
Suggestive	26.9%	24.1%	25.0%
Partially-clad	7.7%	13.8%	50.0%
Nude	23.1%	37.9%	17.5%
	n=54	n=95	n=88
<u>Male-Only Ad</u>			
Demure	92.6%	83.2%	90.9%
Suggestive	0%	1%	2.3%
Partially-clad	1.9%	6.3%	6.8%
Nude	5.5%	9.5%	0%
	n=46	n=97	n=36
<u>Ad Containing Both Sexes (Females)</u>			
Demure	58.7%	66.0 %	19.4%

Suggestive	13%	7.2%	33.3%
Partially-clad	21.7%	20.6%	38.9%
Nude	6.5%	6.2%	8.3%
	n=46	n=97	n=36
<u>Ad Containing Both</u> <u>Sexes</u> <u>(Males)</u>			
Demure	93.5%	87.6%	66.7%
Suggestive	0%	0%	0%
Partially-clad	4.3%	8.2%	22.2%
Nude	2.2%	4.1%	11.1%
<i>Note.</i> Based on observed frequencies. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.			

¹ The numbers used in this description and in the calculations were taken from the tabled percentages given by Soley and Reid (1988).