

Men's Men and Women's Women:  
How TV Commercials Portray Gender to Different Audiences

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*Television advertisers have long followed the strategy of telecasting commercials at times when the sex of those in the audience most closely matches that of the primary purchaser of the product. Thus, daytime dramas, with a high percentage of women viewers, feature ads for food and cleaning products while weekend sportscasts, with a mostly male audience, have commercials for beer and automobiles. But don't such "gendered" ads encourage conventional, exploitative, gender images? That is, don't advertisers pander to the traditional gender fantasies and stereotypes of the audience in order to sell their products? In answering these questions in the affirmative, this paper examines some contemporary theory on gender fantasies, past research into gender stereotypes in television commercials, and documentation on current advertising industry practices. It then demonstrates, through a close analysis of several commercials, techniques used by advertisers to exploit different gender stereotypes at different times of the broadcast day.*

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It is hardly news that television advertising portrays traditional gender stereotypes. As long ago as 1963, Betty Friedan attacked American businessmen and their exploitation of women through advertising in her seminal feminist work, *The Feminine Mystique*:

It is their millions which blanket the land with persuasive images, flattering the American housewife, diverting her guilt and disguising her growing emptiness. They have done this so successfully, employing the techniques and concepts of modern social science, and transposing them into those deceptively simple, clever, outrageous ads and commercials, that an observer of the American scene today accepts as fact that the great majority of American women have no ambition other than to be housewives. If they are not responsible for sending women home, they are surely responsible for keeping them there. (pp. 218-219)

Business, she argued, has a vested interest in maintaining traditional gender stereotypes, for the production and sales of many American goods and services are dependent on the exploitation of fears and anxieties connected to traditional gender identities. Thus gender stereotyping has an important economic motivation, and this is seen nowhere better than in television commercials. Yet much of the past research into gender stereotyping in advertising has all but ignored the economic aspects of the issue, tending instead to treat gender stereotypes in television advertising as fixed portrayals, constant across the program schedule. My own recent research (Craig, 1990, December), however, supports the contention that advertisers manipulate gender stereotypes according to economic considerations, exploiting whichever gender images best fit the product offered and the audience targeted. This paper will examine the

economic motivations behind this practice in television, and provide a close critical analysis of four typical commercials, demonstrating the use of variable stereotyping.

## **PAST RESEARCH**

A great deal of academic research into gender stereotyping on television has been conducted, and Courtney & Whipple (1983) and Greenberg (1982) have reviewed much of the early work. Since the early 1970's, many of the studies on television advertising have consisted of content analyses. Bretl and Cantor (1988) reviewed eleven of these studies of U.S. television as well as reporting their own. Since that time, a number of other content analyses have been published (e.g. Ferrante, Haynes, & Kingsley, 1988; Lovdal, 1989). In addition, several studies have been conducted on non-U.S. TV ads (e.g. Manstead & McColloch, 1981; Harris & Stobart, 1986; Livingstone & Green, 1986; Rak & McMullen, 1987; Gilly, 1988; & Furnham & Voli, 1989). Yet little of this research has focused on variation in the gender portrayals in ads. Indeed, most have either tacitly assumed that the stereotypes shown in television commercials are the same across the broadcast day, or drawn their sample from a single day part, usually prime time.

A substantial amount of critical work has also been published on gender and advertising (e.g. Barthel, 1988; Flitterman, 1983; Goffman, 1976; Kervin, 1991; Shields, 1990; Wenner, 1991; Wernick, 1987; & Williamson, 1978). Yet, again, little attention has been given to the economic motivation behind variable gender portrayals in television advertising. Fiske (1987) has written on the gendering of television characterizations and programming (chs. 10, 11), and some of his perceptive comments will be discussed later.

The author's recent content analysis of over 2,000 television commercials did investigate variable gender portrayals. Sub samples of ads were drawn from daytime, evening, and weekend programming. Comparisons among these time periods revealed that men and women were portrayed differently in ads aimed at different audiences, with the largest differences being found between daytime and weekend ads (Craig, 1990, December).

## **GENDER AND THE ECONOMICS OF TELEVISION ADVERTISING**

The economic structure of the television industry has a direct effect on the placement and content of all television programs and commercials. Large advertisers and their agencies have evolved the pseudo-scientific method of time purchasing based on demographics, with the age and sex of the consumer generally considered to be the most important predictors of purchasing behavior. Computers make it easy to match market research on product buying patterns with audience research on television viewing habits. Experience, research, and intuition thus yields a demographic (and even psychographic) profile of the

"target audience." Advertisers can then concentrate their budgets on those programs which the target audience is most likely to view. The most economical advertising buys are those in which the target audience is most concentrated (thus, the less "waste" audience the advertiser must purchase). (Barnouw, 1978; Gitlin, 1983; Jhally, 1987)

Good examples of this demographic targeting can be seen by contrasting the ads seen on daytime television, aimed at women at home, with those on weekend sports telecasts. Ads for disposable diapers are virtually never seen during a football game any more than commercials for beer are seen during soap operas. True, advertisers of some products simply wish to have their commercials seen by the largest number of consumers at the lowest cost without regard to age, sex, or other demographic descriptors, but most consider this approach far too inefficient for the majority of products.

A general rule of thumb in television advertising, then, is that daytime is the best time to reach the woman who works at home. Especially important to advertisers among this group is the young mother with children. Older women, who also make up a significant proportion of the daytime audience, are generally considered less important by many advertisers in the belief that they spend far less money on consumer goods than young mothers.

Prime time (the evening hours) is considered a good time to reach women who work away from home, but since large numbers of men are also in the audience, it can also be a good time to advertise products with wider target audiences. Weekend sports periods (and, in season, "Monday Night Football") are the only time of the week when men outnumber women in the television audience, and therefore, become the optimum time for advertising products and services aimed at men.

## **GENDERED TELEVISION, GENDERED COMMERCIALS**

In his book *Television Culture* (1987, Chs 10, 11), John Fiske discusses "gendered television," explaining that the television industry successfully designs some programs for men and others for women. Clearly, program producers and schedulers must consider the target audience needs of their clients (the advertisers) in creating a television program line up. The gendering of programming allows the industry to provide the proper audience for advertisers by constructing shows pleasurable for the target audience to watch, and one aspect of this construction is in the gender portrayals of characters.

Fiske provides the following example:

Women's view of masculinity, as evidenced in soap operas differs markedly from that produced from the masculine audience. The "good" male in the daytime soaps is caring, nurturing, and verbal.

He is prone to making comments like "I don't care about material wealth or professional success, all I care about is us and our relationship." He will talk about feelings and people and rarely express his masculinity in direct action. Of course, he is still decisive, he still has masculine power, but that power is given a "feminine" inflection . . . . The "macho" characteristics of goal centeredness, assertiveness, and the morality of the strongest that identify the hero in masculine television, tend here to be characteristics of the villain. (p. 186)

But if the programming manipulates gender portrayals to please the audience, then surely so must the commercials that are the programs' reason for being. My previous research (Craig, 1990, December) supports the argument that advertisers also structure the gender images in their commercials to match the expectations and fantasies of their intended audience. Thus, commercials portraying adult women with children were nearly four times more likely to appear during daytime soap operas than during weekend sports (p. 50). Daytime advertisers exploit the image of women as mothers to sell products to mothers. Likewise, during the weekend sports broadcasts, only 18% of the primary male characters were shown at home, while during the daytime ads, 40% of them were (p. 42). For the woman at home, men are far more likely to be portrayed as being around the house than they are in commercials aimed at men on weekends.

Gendered commercials, like gendered programs, are designed to give pleasure to the target audience, since it is the association of the product with a pleasurable experience that forms the basis for much American television advertising. Yet patriarchy conditions males and females to seek their pleasure differently. Advertisers therefore portray different images to men and women in order to exploit the different deep-seated motivations and anxieties connected to gender identity. I would now like to turn to a close analysis of four television commercials to illustrate some of these differing portrayals. Variations in how men and women are portrayed are especially apparent when comparing weekend and daytime commercials, since ads during these day parts almost completely focus on a target audience of men or women respectively.

### **ANALYSIS OF FOUR COMMERCIALS**

In order to illustrate the variation of gender portrayal, I have chosen four commercials. Each was selected to provide an example of how men and women are portrayed to themselves and to the other sex. The image of men and women in commercials aired during weekend sports telecasts I call "Men's Men" and "Men's Women." The portrayals of men and women in commercials aimed at women at home during the daytime hours I call "Women's Men" and "Women's Women." Although there are certainly commercials aired during these day parts which do not fit neatly into these categories, and even a few which might be

considered to be counter-stereotypical in their gender portrayals, the commercials and images I have chosen to analyze are fairly typical and were chosen to permit a closer look at the practices revealed in my earlier content analysis. Further, I acknowledge that the readings of these commercials are my own. Others may well read them differently.

### **Men's Men**

I would first like to consider two commercials originally broadcast during weekend sports and clearly aimed at men. (These and the other commercials I will discuss were broadcast on at least one of the three major networks. I recorded them for analysis during January, 1990.)

#### *Commercial 1: Acura Integra (:30)*

MUSIC: Light rock guitar music runs throughout. Tropical elements (e.g. a steel drum) are added later.

A young, white, blond, bespectacled male wearing a plain sweatshirt is shown cleaning out the interior of a car. He finds an old photograph of himself and two male companions (all are young, slender, and white) posing with a trophy-sized sailfish. He smiles. Dissolve to what appears to be a flashback of the fishing trip. The three men are now seen driving down the highway in the car (we now see that it is a new black Acura Integra) in a Florida-like landscape. We see a montage of close-ups of the three men inside the car, then a view out the car window of what looks to be the Miami skyline.

ANNCR (Male): "When you think about all the satisfaction you get out of going places . . . Why would you want to take anything less . . ."

Dissolve to a silhouette shot of a young woman in a bathing suit walking along the beach at sunset.

ANNCR: "Than America's most satisfying car."

On this last line, the three young men are seen in silhouette knee-deep in the water at the same beach, apparently watching the woman pass. One of the men drops to his knees and throws his arms up in mock supplication. A montage of shots of the three men follows this of a deep-sea fishing boat intercut with shots of the first man washing the car. The montage ends with the three posing with the trophy sailfish. The screen flashes and freezes and becomes the still photo seen at the first of the commercial. The final shot

shows a long shot of the car, freshly washed. The first man, dressed as in the first shot gives the car a final polish and walks away. The words "Acura" and "Precision Crafted Performance" are supered over the final shot.

ANNCR: "The Acura Integra."

This ad, which ran during a weekend sports telecast, has a number of features that makes it typical of many other commercials aimed at men. First, it is for an automobile. My previous research found that 29% of the network commercials telecast in the weekend time period were for cars and other automotive products (compared to only 1% during the daytime sample) (Craig, 1990, December, p. 36). In our culture, automobiles are largely the male's province, and men are seen by the automotive industry as the primary decision makers when it comes to purchases. Further, cars are frequently offered as a means of freedom (literally so in this ad), and escapism is an important component in many weekend ads (only 16% of weekend ads are set at home compared to 41% of daytime ads) (p. 43).

Second, with the exception of a brief silhouette of the woman on the beach, there are no women in this commercial. Camaraderie in all-male or nearly all-male groupings is a staple of weekend commercials, especially those for automobiles and beer. Again, my earlier research indicates that fully one-third of weekend commercials have an all-adult male cast (but only 20% of daytime commercials have an all adult female cast) (p. 36).

The escapism and male camaraderie promised in this commercial is simply an extension of the escapism and camaraderie men enjoy when they watch (and vicariously participate in) weekend sports on television. Messner (1978) suggests that one reason for the popularity of sports with men is that it offers them a chance to escape from the growing ambiguity of masculinity in daily life.

Both on a personal/existential level for athletes and on a symbolic/ideological level for spectators and fans, sport has become one of the 'last bastions' of male power and superiority over -- and separation from -- the 'feminization' of society. The rise of football as "America's number-one game" is likely the result of the comforting *clarity* it provides between the polarities of traditional male power, strength, and violence and the contemporary fears of social feminization. (p. 54)

The Acura commercial acts to reinforce male fantasies in an environment of clear masculinity and male domination. Men's men are frequently portrayed as men without women. The presence of women in the commercials might serve to threaten men's men with confusing uncertainty about the nature of masculinity in

a sexist, but changing, society (Fiske, 1987, pp. 202-209, offers an extended psychoanalytic explanation of the absence of women in masculine television). On the other hand, the absence of women must *not* suggest homosexuality. Men's men are clearly heterosexual. To discourage any suspicions, the Acura ad portrays three (rather than two) men vacationing together.

It is also at least partly for this reason that the single quick shot in which the woman *does* appear in this commercial is important. She is nothing more than an anonymous object of desire (indeed, in silhouette, we cannot even see her face), but her presence both affirms the heterosexuality of the group while at the same time hinting that attaining sexual fulfillment will be made easier by the possession of the car. Men's men have the unchallenged freedom of a fantasized masculinity -- to travel, to be free from commitment, to seek adventure.

### **Men's Women**

#### *Commercial 2: Miller Beer (:30)*

We see the interior of a cheap roadside cafe. It is lit with an almost blinding sunlight streaming in the windows. A young couple sits in a far booth holding hands. A young, blonde waitress is crossing the room. A silent jukebox sits in the foreground. At first we hear only natural sounds. We cut to a closeup from a low angle from outside the cafe of male legs as they enter the cafe. The legs are clad in blue jeans and cowboy boots. As the man enters, we cut to a closeup of the blonde waitress looking up to see the man. We see a closeup of the man's body as he passes the silent jukebox. As if by magic, the jukebox begins to play a Rhythm and Blues number "I put a spell on you." We see the couple that was holding hands turn in surprise. The man in the booth's face is unlit and we can see no features, but the woman is young with long blonde hair. She looks surprised and pulls her hand away from the man's. We cut to an extreme closeup of the waitress's face. It is covered with sweat. As she watches the man pass, a smile appears on her face. She comes over to take the man's order. The camera takes the man's point of view.

MAN: "Miller Genuine Draft."

WAITRESS: "I was hopin' you'd say that."

We see a shot of a refrigerator door opening. The refrigerator is filled with sweating, backlit bottles of Miller beer. We then see a closeup of the man holding a bottle and opening it magically with a flick of his thumb (no opener). A montage of shots of the product

amid blowing snow follows this. The sounds of a blizzard are heard.

ANNCR: "Cold filtered. Never heat pasteurized. Miller Genuine Draft. For those who discover this real draft taste. . . the world is a *very cool place.*"

On this last line we see close-ups of the woman in the booth and the waitress. Wind is blowing snow in their faces and they are luxuriating in the coolness. The waitress suddenly looks at the camera with shocked disappointment. We cut to an empty seat with the man's empty beer bottle rocking on the table. The music, snow, and wind end abruptly. We see the man's back as he exits the cafe. The final shot is the waitress, elbow propped on the counter, looking after the man. The words "Tap Into The Cold" are supered.

When women do appear in men's commercials, they seldom challenge the primary masculine fantasy. Men's women are portrayed as physically attractive, slim, and usually young and white, frequently blonde, and almost always dressed in revealing clothing. Since most men's commercials are set in locations away from home, most men's women appear outside the home, and only infrequently are they portrayed as wives. There are almost always hints of sexual availability in men's women, but this is seldom played out explicitly. Although the sexual objectification of women characters in these ads is often quite subtle, my previous content analysis suggests that it is far more common in weekend than in daytime ads (Craig, 1990, December, p. 34). Men's women are also frequently portrayed as admirers (and at times, almost voyeurs), generally approving of some aspect of product use (the car he drives, the beer he drinks, the credit card he uses).

In these respects, the Miller ad is quite typical. What might have been a simple commercial about a man ordering and drinking a beer becomes an elaborate sexual fantasy, in many respects constructed like a porn film. The attractive, eager waitress is mystically drawn to the man who relieves her bored frustrations with an orgasmic chug-a-lug. She is "hot" while he (and the beer) is "very cool." But once he's satisfied, he's gone. He's too cool for conversation or commitment. We never see the man's face, but rather are invited, through the use of the point of view shot, to become a participant in the mystic fantasy.

There is, of course, considerable tongue-in-cheek intent in this ad. Males know that the idea of anonymous women lusting after them, eager for sex without commitment, is fantasy. But for many men, it is pleasurable fantasy, and common enough in weekend commercials. The main point is that the product has been connected, however briefly, with the pleasure of this fantasy. The physical pleasure of consuming alcohol (and specifically cold Miller beer) is tied

to the pleasurable imaginings of a narrative extended beyond that which is explicitly seen.

One industry executive has explained this advertising technique. Noting the need for "an imaginary and motivating value" in ads, Nicolas (1988) argues that:

Beyond the principle of utility, it becomes more and more important to associate a principle of pleasure to the value. The useful must be linked to the beautiful, the rational to the imaginary, the indispensable to the superfluous . . . it is imperative that the image be seductive. (p. RC-7)

Although some research has documented changes in gender portrayals in television advertising over the past few years (e.g. Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Ferrante, et al., 1988), such conclusions are based on across-the-schedule studies or of prime time rather than of specifically gendered day parts. While avoiding portraying women as blatant sex objects is doubtless good business in daytime or prime time, it would almost certainly inhibit male fantasies such as this one, commonly seen during weekend sports. The man's woman continues to be portrayed according to the rules of the patriarchy.

The next two commercials were originally aired during daytime soap operas. They represent Madison Avenue's portrayal of women and men designed for women.

### **Women's Women**

#### *Commercial 3: Weight Watchers (:30)*

The opening shot is a quick pan from toe to head of a young, thin, white woman with dark hair. She is dressed in a revealing red bathing suit and appears to be reclining on the edge of a pool. Her head is propped up with a pillow. She is wearing sunglasses and smiling.

ANNCR (Woman, voice-over): "I hate diets . . . but I lost weight fast with Weight Watchers' new program."

We see the same woman sitting at a dining table in a home kitchen eating a meal. She is wearing a red dress. The camera weaves and we briefly glimpse a man and two small children also at the table. Another closeup of the woman's body at the pool. This time the camera frames her waist.

ANNCR: "And I *hate* starving myself."

We see the same family group eating pizza at a restaurant. More closeups of the woman's body at poolside.

ANNCR: "But with their new "fast and flexible" program I don't have to."

Shot of the woman dancing with the man, followed by a montage of more shots of the family at dinner and closeups of the woman at poolside.

ANNCR: "A new food plan lets me live the way I want . . . eat with my family and friends, still have fun."

Closeup shot of balance scales. A woman's hand is moving the balance weight downward.

ANNCR: "And in no time. . . *here I am!*"

Shot of the woman on the scales. She raises her hands as if in triumph. The identical shot is repeated three times.

ANNCR: "Now there's only one thing I hate. . . not joining Weight Watchers sooner."

As this last line is spoken, we see a closeup of the woman at the pool. She removes her sunglasses. The man's head comes into the frame from the side and kisses her on the forehead.

This commercial portrays the woman's woman. Her need is a common one in women's commercials produced by a patriarchal society -- the desire to attain and maintain her physical attractiveness. Indeed, my previous research indicates that fully 44% of the daytime ads sampled were for products relating to the body (compared with only 15% of the ads during weekend sports). In this ad, her desire for an attractive body is explicitly tied to her family. She is portrayed with a husband, small children, and a nice home. It is her husband with whom she dances and who expresses approval with a kiss. Her need for an attractive body is her need to maintain her husband's interest and maintain her family's unity and security. As Coward (1985) has written:

Most women know to their cost that appearance is perhaps the crucial way by which men form opinions of women. For that reason, feelings about self-image get mixed up with feelings about security and comfort. . . . it sometimes appears to women that the whole possibility of being loved and comforted hangs on how their appearance will be received. (p. 78)

But dieting is a difficult form of self-deprivation, and she "hates" doing it. Implicit also is her hatred of her own "overweight" body - a body that no longer measures up to the idealized woman promoted by the patriarchy (and seen in the commercial). As Coward explains:

. . .advertisements, health and beauty advice, fashion tips are effective precisely because somewhere, perhaps even subconsciously, an anxiety, rather than a pleasurable identification [with the idealized body] is awakened. (p. 80)

Weight Watchers promises to alleviate the pain of dieting at the same time it relieves (or perhaps delays) the anxiety of being "overweight." She can diet and "still have fun."

A related aspect is this ad's use of a female announcer. The copy is written in first person, but we never see the model speaking in direct address. We get the impression that we are eavesdropping on her thoughts - being invited to identify with her - rather than hearing a sales pitch from a third person. My earlier research confirmed the findings of other content analyses that female voice-overs are relatively uncommon in commercials. My findings, however, indicated that while only 3% of the voice-overs during weekend sports were by women announcers, 16% of those during daytime were. Further, 60% of the women announcers during daytime were heard in commercials for body-related products (Craig, 1990, December, p. 52).

### **Women's Men**

#### *Commercial 4: Secret Deodorant (:30)*

We open on a wide shot of a sailing yacht at anchor. It is sunrise and a woman is on deck. She descends into the cabin. Cut to a close up of the woman as she enters the cabin.

WOMAN: "Four bells. Rise and shine!"

A man is seen in a bunk inside the cabin. He has just awakened. Both he and the woman are now seen to be young and white. She is thin and has bobbed hair. He is muscular and unshaven (and a Bruce Willis look alike).

MUSIC: Fusion jazz instrumental (UNDER).

MAN (painfully): "Ohhhh. . . I can't move."

WOMAN: "Ohhhhh. I took a swim - breakfast is on - I had a shower. Now it's *your turn*."

As she says this, she crosses the cabin and places a container of Secret Deodorant on a shelf above the man. The man leans up on one elbow then falls back into bed with a groan.

MAN: "Ahhh, I can't."

She pulls him back to a sitting position then sits down herself, cradling him in her arms.

WOMAN: "Come onnn. You only changed *one* sail yesterday."

MAN (playfully): "Yeah, but it was a *big* sail."

Close up of the couple. He is now positioned in the bed sitting with his back to her. He leans his head back on her shoulder.

WOMAN: "Didn't you know sailing's a sport? You know . . . an active thing."

MAN: "I just don't get it. . . You're so together already. . . Um. You smell great."

WOMAN: "Must be my Secret."

She looks at the container of Secret on the shelf. The man reaches over and picks it up. Close up of the Secret with the words "Sporty Clean Scent" visible on the container.

MAN: "Sporty clean?"

WOMAN: "It's new."

MAN: "Sounds like something I could use."

WOMAN: "Unnnnn. . . I don't think so. I got it for me."

She takes the container from him and stands up and moves away. He stands up behind her and holds her from behind.

WOMAN: "For these close quarters . . .?"

MAN: "Well close is good."

He begins to kiss her cheek.

WOMAN: "I thought you said you couldn't move."

She turns to face him.

MAN: "I was saving my strength?"

WOMAN: "Mmmm."

We dissolve to a close up of the product on the shelf.

ANNCR (woman): "New Sporty Clean Secret. Strong enough for a man, but ph balanced for an active woman."

This commercial portrays the woman's man. He's good looking, sensitive, romantic, and he appreciates her. What's more, they are alone in an exotic location where he proceeds to seduce her. In short, this commercial is a 30 second romance novel. She may be today's woman, be "so together," and she may be in control, but she still wants him to initiate the love-making. Her man is strong, active, and probably wealthy enough to own or rent a yacht. (Of course, a more liberated reading would have her as the owner of the yacht, or at least sharing expenses.) Yet he is also vulnerable. At first she mothers him, holding him in a Pietà-like embrace and cooing over his sore muscles. Then he catches her scent - her Secret - and the chase is on.

As in the Weight Watchers commercial, it is the woman's body that is portrayed as the source of the man's attraction, and it is only through maintaining that attraction that she can successfully negotiate the relationship. Although at one level the Secret woman is portrayed as a "new woman" - active, "sporty," self-assured, worthy of her own deodorant, she still must rely on special (even "Secret") products to make her body attractive. More to the point, she still must rely on her body to attract a man and fulfill the fantasy of security and family. After all, she is still mothering and cooking breakfast.

Once again, the product is the source of promised fantasy fulfillment -- not only sexual fulfillment, but also the security of a caring relationship, one that allows her to be liberated, but not too liberated. Unlike the women of the Acura and Miller's commercials who remained anonymous objects of desire, the men of the Weight Watchers and Secret commercials are intimates who are clearly portrayed as having relationships that will exist long after the commercial is over.

## CONCLUSION

Gender images in television commercials provide an especially intriguing field of study. The ads are carefully crafted bundles of images, frequently

designed to associate the product with feelings of pleasure stemming from deep-seated fantasies and anxieties. Advertisers seem quite willing to manipulate these fantasies and exploit our anxieties, especially those concerning our gender identities, to sell products. What's more, they seem to have no compunction about capitalizing on dehumanizing gender stereotypes to seek these ends.

A threat to patriarchy is an economic threat, not only to men who may fear they will have their jobs taken by women, but also in a more fundamental way. Entire industries (automotive, cosmetics, fashion) are predicated on the assumption that men and women will continue behaving according to their stereotypes. Commercials for women therefore act to reinforce patriarchy and to co-opt any reactionary ideology into it. Commercials for men need only reinforce masculinity under patriarchy and, at most, offer men help in coping with a life plagued by women of raised conscience. Betty Friedan's comments of 1963 are still valid. Those "deceptively simple, clever, outrageous ads and commercials" she wrote of are still with us. If anything, they have become more subtle and insidious. The escape from their snare is through a better understanding of gender and the role of mass culture in defining it.

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