

The Symbolic Meaning and Values Portrayed In Models' Characteristics in Fashion Advertisements

Gi-Young Kwon*, Sally I. Helvenston¹

Full time Instructor, Dept. of Clothing and Textiles, Kyungpook National University, Korea

¹Associate Professor, Dept. of Arts and Letters, Michigan State University, USA

Abstract : Various current events provide evidence that society is undergoing changes in perceptions of social relationships. Specifically, visual media in the form of advertisements can convey images which reflect society's values and concepts about role relationships. The purpose of this research was to examine ads in fashion magazines to determine what types of model roles and role relationships typically appear in fashion advertising which can mirror society's values. A content analysis was conducted of ads obtained from *US Vogue* and *US GQ* for the year 2002. Six kinds of roles/relationships were found: (1) Narcissism (representing self absorption), (2) sexually enticing opposite-sex relationships, (3) close/romantic same-sex relationships, (4) friend relationships, (5) family relationships, and (6) independent relationships. Of these, narcissism predominated, however, a small number of sexually provocative ads appeared as well as same-sex romantic relationships. Because sole (single) models were more typical, they also were examined to determine ways in which they relate to the audience. Characteristics examined included body presentation & pose, eye gaze, and facial expression. Direct eye gaze was the typical way to engage the audience. Gender differences were apparent: smiling was more typical of women, indifference for men. The symbolic meaning and values investigated from this research are the blurring of gender identity portrayed in homosexual imagery, family values, and the value of youth. The consistency of models' race in ads does not portray the diversity reflected in the demographic census.

Key Words : clothing style, fashion advertisement, informality, race, role relationship

I. Introduction

The marketplace is a major structuring institution in contemporary consumer society. Advertisements used to market products are a reflection of society's range of activities, its consumption behavior, its values, role models, and symbols (Tellis, 2005). Models in advertisements represent 'real' people who 'stand for' reigning social values such as family structure, status differentiation, and hierarchical authority (Jhally, 2003). Although these images may not be identical to everyday life and may not fundamentally be connected to goods,

the ads tend to depict abstract or hypothetical representations of perceived happiness. Thus, advertising promotes images of what the audience conceives as the good life, and this image is reflected in models' role relationships in ads.

Advertisers tend to depict specific role relationships which represent desirable situations with which the potential consumer can identify. Because people's repeated exposure to ads tends to make them internalize behavior patterns, the models in ads also can act as role models. Advertisers expect these photographs to meet certain standards of realism, and to match the audience's

*Corresponding Author: Gi-Young Kwon, Dept. of Clothing and Textiles, Kyungpook National University, 1370, Sankyuk-dong, Buk-gu, Daegu 702-701, Korea. Tel: 82-53-950-6222 Fax: 82-53-950-6219 E-mail: gykwon@knu.ac.kr

conceptions of how people actually behave.

Detailed characteristics such as pose, eye gaze, and facial expression are important factors to understand how advertisers use models to suggest role. In fact, models' personal demeanor or pose often has greater impact on audiences than their clothes. Eye gaze decides the model's image and the psychological distance between the audience and the ads. Models' facial expressions are the main factor that determines how audiences react to models and whether they appear to identify with them (Crane, 2003).

The work of sociologists has mainly focused on models' image in relation to their roles in general advertisements. As a vital component of our global popular culture, fashion shares characteristics with other commodities of popular culture and expresses the wearer's identities. Especially fashion advertisements in fashion magazines present a wide range of social identities and "agendas" (Crane, 2003), which addresses our physical sense of self through our bodies and our need to articulate our social identities through our physical appearances (Barthel, 1988). Investigations comparing the male image to female image usually focus on models' limited roles in aspects of the gender dimension. However, people's relationships in contemporary society are very complex and their roles are also complicated with others besides gender relationships. So, there is a need for research on the broader aspects of models' roles. In addition, the models' race as one of the obvious characteristics of the human body contains many significant meanings (Martin, 2004).

The investigating of race is an important factor to interpret whether the ads reflect diversity of society or not. The purpose of this research was to examine ads in fashion magazines to determine what types of model roles and role relationships typically appear in fashion advertising which can mirror society's values.

Analyzing a comparative set of male model advertisements in a major men's fashion magazine with a similar set of women's fashion advertisements can help to answer the following questions.

- Q1. Given an increasingly diverse society, are models increasingly diverse according to role and race? And what kinds of values and symbolic meaning are presented in each role characteristic in fashion advertisements?
- Q2. What characteristics of sole models are portrayed more frequently in fashion advertisements, and what can be interpreted from these results?
- Q3. Are male fashion models portrayed differently than female models?

II. Review of Literature

1. Model's role characteristics

1) Model's role and gender

As commercial photographs, ads are in the main entirely posed, but in their artificial imagery they presumably reflect realism (Goffman, 1979). Advertisements use these various imageries to promote their products. Among these various imageries, many commercial messages have used gender images as central components of their market strategy (Jhally, 2003), and so models' gender and role in ads have received researchers' main attention. Researchers have argued that advertisers have portrayed women as dependent on men, and limited women to traditional work and non-worker roles. Sexton and Haberman (1974) analyzed women's appearance in terms of traditional or nontraditional roles, and the results showed women in magazine advertisements generally appeared in traditional roles. But another study suggested that traditional depictions of women have been decreasing since the early 1980s and that ads portraying equality are on the rise (Klassen, Jasper, & Schwartz, 1993). According to Paff and Lakner (1997), since the 1970s women's dress has become more masculine, but roles have remained consistently feminine.

Researchers also have compared male and female roles portrayed in ads (Belknap, Penny, Leonard &

Wilbert, 1991; Milner & Collins, 2000). These results showed gender stereotypes still existed such as a hedonic (being) role for females and agonic (doing) role for males (Damhorst, 1991; Freedman, 1986; Kaiser, 1991; Morgan, 1972). Women have been portrayed in ads in a more “sexy” appearance than men (Soley & Kurzbard, 1986). Researchers have evaluated the level of sexism of male and female roles through the investigation of magazine advertisements and found that the sexual objectification of both men's and women's bodies has increased over time (Skelly & Lundstrom, 1981; Thompson, 2000).

More recently, role reversals are appearing, and men in advertisements tend to be shown as neutralized and feminized (Malossi, 2000). Until the early 90s, advertisements clearly divided male and female body image, and the male's image was fixed by the ‘tough man’ or ‘tragic hero’ image of the movies, while the female image was sexy and feminine. There is currently a trend toward blurring gender categories. The most discriminating thing among contemporary changes is the emergence of homosexual imagery in ads. Gay publications and advertisements have entered the American mainstream (Danna, 1994), which reflects a change and liberation of expression about people's perception of sexual identity.

Factors which affect gender related studies are market segmentation and apparel companies which develop their own brand image through models' roles in ads. Therefore, magazines or brands which focus on gay consumers, for example, may develop ads to effectively access this market.

2) Sole models' characteristics

Portrayals of one (sole) model in ads are high. Yet they also portray an ideal concept of role models. Sole models' detailed characteristics like pose, eye gaze, and facial expression help to interpret an image and the relationship of the model to the reader.

Commercial photographs involve carefully performed poses presented in the style of being ‘only natural’. In

GQ the most common pose of the male figure is cool, confident, staring out of the page, a permanent figure, more often than not, alone. The ads in men's lifestyle magazines show the male figure as far more individuated, and less family obligated (Richardson & Shaw, 1998). Women's poses are expected to occupy less space than men's and women are expected to exert greater control over their bodies and facial expressions.

Facial expression is a major factor that determines how audiences react to the models and whether they appear to identify with them (Crane, 2003). For example, models' smiling expressions function as ritualistic mollification, and all of these smiles seem more the offering of a models' inferior relational status than a superior one. Females' smiles are more expansive than males' both in real scenes and in commercially contrived ones (Goffman, 1979), and female audiences respond positively to female models who are smiling and who appear to be enjoying themselves (Crane, 2003).

Norms of eye contact proscribe the stare as a gesture indicating dominance. Women are expected to avert their eyes, particularly if the other person is male. Goffman (1979) interpreted vacant gaze as licensed withdrawal, implying that the subject is passive, alienated from, and not in control of the situation. In a study by Kolbe and Albanese (1996) on sole male image, many male models were looking away from the ad reader which was interpreted as indicating aloofness and detachment.

2. Race and ethnicity

Race is also a significant factor in models' role relationships in ads. It is an apparent characteristic of the human body and contains many significant meanings. The media are a powerful source of ideas about race as well as a place where these ideas are articulated, worked on, transformed, and elaborated (Hall, 2003). Researchers have analyzed models' race in terms of roles, focusing on which race is portrayed in the main role versus background roles. The results showed white race models

appeared more than any other race. According to Taylor and Bang (1997), all racial minorities were under-represented in magazine advertising compared to census figures. In ads showing mixed ethnicity, whites typically outnumbered minorities, and the relationships depicted were set in formal or work settings with very little face-to-face interaction. Taylor and Stern (1997) indicated that Asian models are more likely than members of other minority groups to appear in background roles, and Asian women are rarely depicted in major roles.

However, the producers of mainstream magazines and other marketers are becoming increasingly sensitive to the needs of people of color because of the increasing proportion of non-whites (Wilson & Gutierrez, 2003; Fisher, 1994). The U.S. Census estimates that by year 2010, thirty nine percent of the teen population will be made up of African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and other non-whites (Duke, 2000). Bowen and Schmid (1997) found that the number of black models used in mainstream magazine advertisements has increased when compared with earlier studies. But, the use of Hispanic and Asian models was extremely small.

Researchers have found that portrayals of models' races influence the perception of the audience about their identity and personal appearance. In studies of the effect of models' race related to audience's race, a correspondence between models' race and consumers' race was found to be more effective in reaching consumers (Choudhury & Schmid, 1974; Duke, 2000; Keenan, 1997).

This research will reexamine issues of role, race, gender and relationship as they appear in fashion advertisements.

III. Method

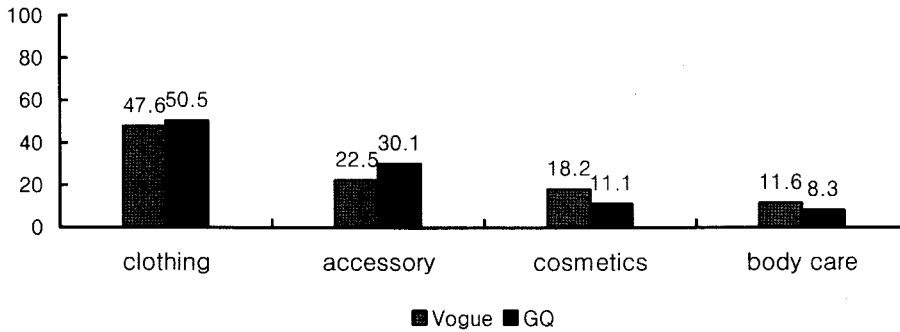
We selected a major male-audience fashion magazine, *Gentleman's Quarterly (GQ)* and a major female-audience magazine, *Vogue* issued from the USA for 2002 (12 months). Each has a long history and is

internationally distributed, so they are appropriate for this study. *GQ* had been launched in by the title of <Apparel Arts/Gentlemen's Quarterly> in the USA in 1957. It is now published in twelve countries. *Vogue* also is a worldwide fashion magazine, and had been launched in the USA in 1892. Media surveys indicate that fashion magazines, in particular, are read by the majority of women and girls-estimates up to 83% - in American society (Tiggemann, 2002). The Periodical Publishers Association (PPA) also confirms that fashion consumers prefer magazines over other media for their fashion information (Armstrong, 2002).

The contents of *Vogue* advertisements mainly consist of fashion, apparel, accessory, cosmetics, and body care goods which relate to women's interests. *GQ* advertisements include a greater variety of goods such as automobile, liquors, cigarettes, electronic goods, cameras, credit cards, and foods, in addition to fashion, accessories, cosmetics, and body care goods. Therefore, *GQ* advertisements present men as having more varied interests than personal appearance compared with women.

For this study, we selected the advertisements of fashion and beauty related goods, and in each issue chosen, all half and full paged advertisements containing people (models) were included. If the picture of a model was too small to define or appeared as a blurred image, it was excluded. And, if text and picture were detached, we selected ads in which the picture occupies 80% of the whole page. In the case of one brand having many pages of advertising, we included the ads when the model appeared in a different pose or in different kinds of apparel. When the same advertisements were presented in another magazine issue, they were included in the sampling unit. Therefore, the number actually analyzed is larger than the brand number.

Ultimately, 1121 ads were selected in *Vogue*, and 388 ads were selected in *GQ* for this study; fashion and beauty ads occupied 90.9% in *Vogue* and 57.58% in *GQ*. This shows that appearance and embellishment occupy a much higher place in women's fashion magazines than



<Figure 1> The percent of fashion and beauty products ads in *Vogue* (n = 1121) and *GQ* (n = 388).

men’s though it is a principal concern in both.

We divided fashion and beauty related goods into 4 categories: clothing (outer wear, underwear, etc.), accessories (shoes, bag, jewelry, watches, eyeglasses etc.), cosmetics (face skin care, color make up cosmetics, fragrances, etc.), and body care goods (body-skin care, hair, tooth care, nail care, etc.).

The proportion of each fashion and beauty product category in *Vogue* and *GQ* is indicated in <Figure 1>. Clothing ads occupied the highest portion of beauty and fashion product ads, followed by accessories, cosmetic, and finally body care goods ads.

The category of analysis : The researcher classified the fashion and beauty advertisements according to models consistency based on the number of models and their sexes: 1 f (one female), 1 m (one male), m & f (one male and one female), 1f-over 2 m (one female and over two males), 1m-over 2 f (one male and over two females), 2 m (two males), 2 f (two females), over 3 all m (over three all males), over 3 all f (over three all females), over 3 m & f (over three male and females). Analyzed were models’ role relationships, race and sole models’ characteristics such as body presentation & pose, eye gaze, and facial expression. Models’ role relationships were classified into 6 categories: (1) narcissistic/self absorption (confident about oneself; enjoys another person’s gaze when he/she is surrounded by people), (2) sexually enticing opposite-sex relationships (which depicts intimate physical contact between opposite sexes and sexual mood), (3) close/romantic

same-sex relationship (more intimate body contact compared with general contact between the same sex), (4) friendship/fellowship (models who are close physically and have a mutual relationship, but showing no sexual mood or sexual touching among them), (5) family (various aged model portraying family members), (6) independent/unrelated (no relationship with others; different gaze direction), and (7) indiscernible (cannot determine).

For single models’ detailed body characteristics, we analyzed body presentation, pose, eye gaze, facial expression, and these categories were divided into subcategories. See <Table 2> for a listing of these categories.

For models’ race, we used Caucasian, Asian and Afro-American based on models’ skin tone and facial characteristics. Some models could have been mixed race, for example dark skin with Caucasian facial features. In this case, the model was classified as Afro-American, because mixed people are demographically a minority group. We have 8 categories of model groupings. One or more Caucasian, Asian and Afro-American models constitute the first three groups of models. Mixed groups included Caucasian and Afro-American, Caucasian and Asian, Afro-American and Asian or all three included in the same ads. A final group where race could not be determined was classified as indiscernible.

The analytic contents in each of the sampled advertisements were coded by two authors who worked independently. If there were disagreements as to

placement of some advertisements in a particular category, we reconciled differences by reviewing the advertisements and discussing together the coding until a consensus was reached on how the item was best coded.

The coding sheet used by the authors contained a variety of measures that provided a detailed and comprehensive examination of the physical qualities of the male and female models in the sample advertisements.

IV. Results

There were various groupings of male and female models in advertisements in *Vogue* and *GQ* magazines.

Sole model images in ads occupied a substantial portion of the sampled advertisements (See <Figure 2>).

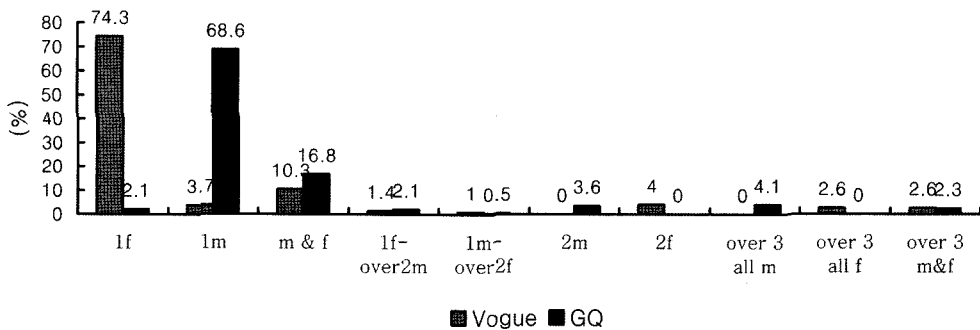
1. Model's role characteristics

1) Model's role relationships and gender

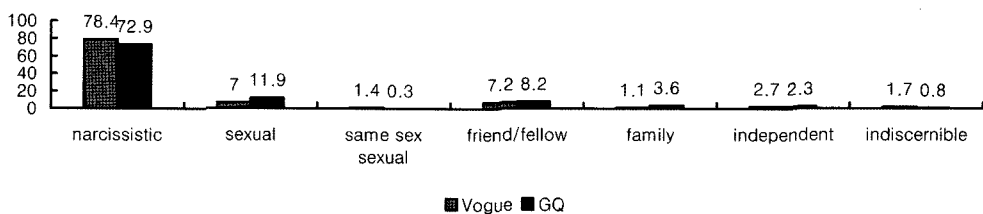
The models' role relationships for male and female models appearing in *Vogue* and *GQ* are shown in

<Figure 3>. The highest portion of models' role relationships, narcissistic/self-absorption, appeared in ads portraying sole models. Narcissism means choosing and valuing oneself as a love object, and signals a desire to enjoy oneself, to develop one's potential to the fullest, to overcome handicaps and eliminate flaws. It can foster self-awareness and enhance feelings of worth (Freedman, 1986). Therefore, sole models' narcissistic role in fashion ads was a natural result, showing the feeling of satisfaction and self-enhancement associated with a product. Even ads which used two or more models showed a narcissistic role relationship (*Vogue* = 2%, *GQ* = 2.3%). This means each model was absorbed in himself/herself, showing today's individualism.

Portraying male and female couples in a sexual relationship suggests that products can be used to attract the opposite sex. Of the male/female couples shown in ads 11.9% in *GQ* and 6.7% in *Vogue* appeared in an amorous or sexual way. For both magazines combined, this was the highest percent in all categories followed by friend relationships (2.9%). Other categories, narcissistic, family, close/romantic same-sex, and independent, were one percent or less.



<Figure 2> The percent of models' consistency in *Vogue* (n = 1121) and *GQ* (n = 388).



<Figure 3> The models' role relationships in *Vogue* and *GQ* (%).

Same-sex partners engaged in close/personal encounters appeared in a number of ads. Of the total ads same-sex models appearing romantically close occurred in 1.4% in *Vogue*, and 0.3% in *GQ* (See <Figure 3>). The second ranked category in *Vogue* showed female couples in friend relationships in 1.3% of the ads, while in *GQ* the friend relationship was the top-ranked category for paired males, 1.8%. Intimate body contact appeared more with female couples than male couples which may mean that women's intimate contact is regarded as more acceptable than male's.

Using this close/romantic same-sex relationship in ads suggests that advertisers are attempting to appeal to a potential homosexual market. However, this portrayal also may be an attempt to introduce a fresh image for consumers (Hamilton, 2000).

The proportion of friend relationships was similar in *GQ* (8.2%) and in *Vogue* (7.2%). Gilligan's research (1982) shows that women feel a basic sense of connectedness to others, whereas men operate more often from a premise of separateness. But this study showed that the males' friend relationship was almost equal to women's.

The ads portraying family role relationships showed a mix of various aged models including children, adults, aged models, and pregnant women. Interestingly, the male magazine showed more family relationships, 3.6%, than the women's magazine (1.1%). The models age is a unique factor to consider in advertising. The reason for portraying various aged models is related to market segmentation. For a long time, marketers did not use older models because they were so obsessed with the 18-35 demographic age group, but baby boomers now form a large mass of people who are reevaluating youth culture (Gubernick & Kroll, 1996). Although age has been regarded as a negative characteristic for physical attractiveness (Lennon, 1988), demographically, aged individuals are the fastest growing in the market. A few older models make an appearance alongside the photographs of perfect young faces and boyish figures, and to use older models is regarded as a part of a

growing trend that embraces unconventional types of beauty. For example, Gap's campaign, "For Every Generation" has used ads portraying various age models including older aged models, which shows the connection that people of all ages have with Gap (Vinakmens, 2002). Likewise it reflects a "family values" theme currently running through American society.

Models' independent/unrelated role relationships in ads show emotional separation. Lack of eye contact, physical distance, and absence of touching indicate independence. Surprisingly, in some cases, where groups of three or more models were shown, the relationship was judged to be independent. This independent role relationship follows today's trend toward individuality.

<Table 1> shows models' role relationships and the consistency of sex ratio in *Vogue* and *GQ*.

2) Sole models' characteristics

Body presentation and pose: The degree of body presentation indicates whether a model is viewed as a whole person versus detached, objectified parts. The classification of body presentation was decided by the frame of photograph. We divided the degree of body presentation into 15 categories, and the result showed that the highest portion of body presentation was 'total body' (See <Table 2>). On the other hand, today's tendency to emphasize special parts of the body such as the face, hand, leg, hip, feet, teeth etc. reflects the interest in physical appearance and the development of specialized grooming products

Models' body presentations varied according to product types because advertisers usually adopt the most effective way of portraying the model to promote products. For clothing ads, the highest portion of body presentation was total body (38.7%), followed by 'head to upper thigh' (22.4%). In accessory ads, there were no considerably high portions of the body presentation except 'head to shoulder' (19.7%). Likewise the high portion of body presentation for cosmetic ads was 'head to shoulder' (31.1%), followed by face-only presentations (24.9%). This is due to the characteristics of

<Table 1> Models' role relationships and the consistency of sex ratio in *Vogue* and *GQ* (%)

Role	Models' consistency							
	M & f	1f-over2m	1m-over2f	2m	2f	over3all male	over3all female	over-3 m & f
Role	<i>Vogue</i> (N = 1121)							
Relationships	(n = 115)	(n = 16)	(n = 11)	(n = 0)	(n = 45)	(n = 0)	(n = 30)	(n = 29)
Narcissistic	7.0	50.0	0	0	8.9	0	0	6.9
Sexual	65.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.4
Homosexual	0	0	0	0	35.6	0	0	0
Friend	13.9	43.8	45.5	0	33.3	0	66.6	51.7
Family	1.7	6.3	27.3	0	4.4	0	6.7	6.9
Independent	7.0	0	18.2	0	13.3	0	26.7	13.8
Indiscernible	5.2	0	9.1	0	4.4	0	0	17.2
Role	<i>GQ</i> (N = 388)							
Relationships	(n = 65)	(n = 8)	(n = 2)	(n = 14)	(n = 0)	(n = 16)	(n = 0)	(n = 9)
Narcissistic	6.2	0	0	7.1	0	0	0	44.4
Sexual	70.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homosexual	0	0	0	7.1	0	0	0	0
Friend	9.2	37.5	50.0	50.0	0	75.0	0	33.3
Family	1.5	50.0	50.0	28.6	0	25.0	0	0
Independent	10.8	0	0	7.1	0	0	0	11.1
Indiscernible	1.5	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	11.1

<Table 2> Sole models' characteristics and fashion styles (%)

	<i>Vogue</i> (n = 876)	<i>GQ</i> (n = 273)		<i>Vogue</i> (n = 876)	<i>GQ</i> (n = 273)
<u>Body presentation</u>			Active pose	2.2	13.5
Only face	7.0	0.7	Prostrate oneself	1.4	0
Only head	4.5	2.0	Back	3.1	0.7
Head-shoulder	14.9	21.1	Indiscernible	0.2	0
Head-chest	7.0	9.7	<u>Facial expression</u>		
Head-waist	7.1	12.4	Expressionless	37.4	39.2
Head-upper Thigh	14.6	18.1	Tempting	26.7	11.4
Head-knee	12.7	11.1	Smile or laugh	19.4	13.2
Total body	26.3	18.8	Confident	7.6	27.8
Bodice without head	1.4	2.7	Sad	1.1	3.3
Totalbody without head	0.9	0.3	Surprising	0.9	0.7
Only hip	0.4	0.7	Scream	0.6	0
Only leg	1.9	0	Indiscernible	6.2	4.4
Only foot	0.5	2.3	<u>Eye gaze</u>		
Part of the face	0.3	0	Direct gaze	59.9	50.2
Only hand	0.4	0	Indirect gaze	30.7	44.7
<u>Pose</u>			Close eyes	4.7	1.5
Stand	42.1	48.9	Wink	1.1	0
Sit	34.6	35.5	Indiscernible	3.5	3.7
Lie	6.6	1.4			

cosmetics which are used just on the face. Body care product ads also showed the high portion of 'head to shoulder' presentations (30.2%), followed by head-chest presentations (15.9%).

The models' pose also was useful to determine social relationships. Standing poses occupied the highest portion in both magazines. The lying pose, prostrate pose, and back pose appeared more in *Vogue* than *GQ*.

These kinds of poses, including the sitting pose, show informal and casual moods, and passive portrayals more characteristic of women. Models' active poses in fashion photographs are accompanied by the popularity of sportswear, and this trend has been reinforced by casual and informal styles (Craik, 1994).

Eye gaze: The analysis of sole models' eye gaze showed that direct eye gaze occupied the highest portion in *Vogue* (59.9%) and *GQ* (50.2%). This direct eye gaze attracts the audiences' attention. Comparing the types of products and eye gaze, direct eye gaze occupied the substantial portion of the each product's ads (46.9% to 64.8%) in *Vogue*. It also occupied the highest portion of every product in *GQ*, except accessory ads of which the highest portion was indirect gaze (51.6%). This gaze implies directness and willingness to engage the audience, and thus suggests the trustworthiness of the product. More than a quarter of the sole models were looking 'in a direction away from the camera', and therefore were looking away from the ad readers. This point of eye gaze suggests aloofness and detachment. It may convey a sense of superiority which also can transfer to the product.

Facial expression: The highest portion of models' facial expression in *Vogue* and *GQ* was 'expressionless', showing models' aloofness and detachment. Associated with this is the 'confident' expression suggesting male superiority which occupied a high portion in *GQ*. In *Vogue* the highest percentage of facial expression was the 'tempting' expression. Females' tempting expression appeals to the opposite sex and thus shows the sexual

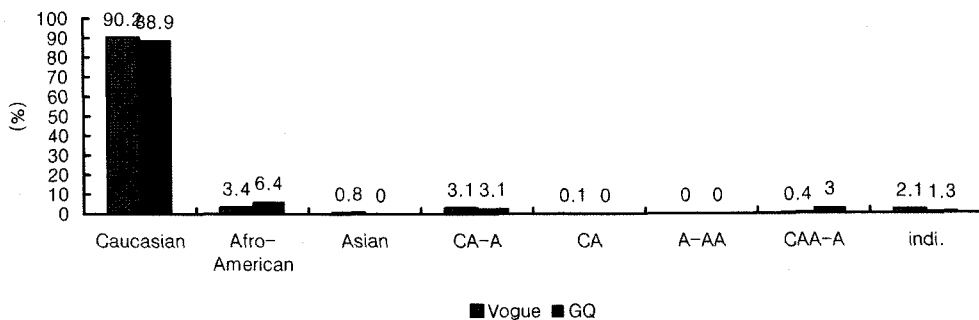
appeal of the product. These results suggest that models' facial expression is related to the sex role stereotypes. 'Smile/laughing' expressions also appeared more in *Vogue* than in *GQ*, and it may be regarded as portraying models' inferior relational status.

2. Models' race and ethnicity

Caucasian models occupied about 90% of ads in both of the magazines, followed by small percentages of Afro-Americans and Asians. The percentage of models' race in *Vogue* and *GQ* are shown in <Figure 4>. Compared to census figures, all racial minorities are under-represented as a percentage of population. Sometimes Afro-Americans female models' physical characteristics in ads blend with Caucasians' in terms of nose and lip shape, whereas Asian models' characteristics appear less blended, showing their own unique oriental features.

Fashion advertisements portraying models of various races together appeal to a more diverse market, and suggest contemporary trends in globalization. The result of this study showed advertisers use minority models mainly as background models like previous research (Taylor & Bang, 1997). This means that Caucasian ideology dominates fashion magazine advertising as well as other commercial advertisements.

The relation between product and race also showed a Caucasian beauty ideology, especially in cosmetic ads (See <Table 3>). The percentages of Caucasian models for each product were as follows (*Vogue/GQ*): cosmetics



<Figure 4> The models' consistency of race in *Vogue* and *GQ* (%).

<Table 3> The percent of models' race in *Vogue* and *GQ* (%)

	Products							
	Clothing		Accessory		Cosmetic		Body care	
	<i>Vogue</i> (n=640)	<i>GQ</i> (n=264)	<i>Vogue</i> (n=147)	<i>GQ</i> (n=47)	<i>Vogue</i> (n=206)	<i>GQ</i> (n=50)	<i>Vogue</i> (n=128)	<i>GQ</i> (n=27)
Race								
Caucasian	91.3	88.3	84.4	85.1	92.2	96.0	88.3	88.9
Afro-American	3.1	7.6	4.1	6.4	2.9	0	4.7	7.4
Asian	0.3	0	2.0	0	1.5	0	0.8	0
CA-A	3.3	3.4	4.8	2.1	2.4	4.0	1.6	0
CA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8	0
A-AA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CAA-A	0.2	0.4	0	0	0.5	0	1.6	0
Indi.	1.9	0.4	4.8	6.4	0.5	0	2.3	3.7

(92.2/96.0), clothing (91.3/88.3), body care (88.3/88.9), and accessory (84.4/85.1).

V. Discussion and Conclusion

Advertisements actively reflect social phenomena, and ritualized social ideals (Goffman, 1979: 84). Especially, models in ads represent social values and symbolic meanings through their images. Their role relationships and characteristics in advertisements can be interpreted as a socio-cultural phenomenon which displays a new structure of society and the changes of social perception on gender.

This study examined models' role relationships, race and sole models' characteristics in fashion and beauty ads targeted toward predominantly male and female audiences to confirm the following questions.

Q1. Given an diverse society, are models diverse according to role and race? And what kinds of values and symbolic meaning are presented in each role characteristics in fashion advertisements?

Models' role relationships not only represent today's diverse social life and system, but also portray new norms like the blurring of gender identity. The highest portion of models' relationship was narcissistic/self-absorption which shows individuality through the imagery of aloofness and detachment. The portrayal of close/romantic same-sex couples reflects the blurring of

gender identity, however, this appeared only to a limited extent. As a growth of the gay market, mainstream fashion magazines construct ads with homosexual subtexts very obvious to gay readers but unnoticed by heterosexual readers (Stabiner, 1982; Merret, 1988; Sender, 1999). Audiences have internalized traditional gender norms, but these new imageries violate established norms and influence people's conception about gender identity. Mainstream magazines may attempt this because young people are more open to homosexual imagery because they consider it cool (Hamilton, 2000).

Again, only portrayed to a limited extent in this study were various aged models which portray family role relationships and symbolize family values. Ads stressing family values are based on emotional security, and show a heightened importance of the family in our everyday lives and target all generations (Granatstein, 2002). As expected, youthful models occupied an overwhelmingly high portion of the ads which reflects the value of youth in contemporary society. Models' independent relationship represents the importance of individuality in contemporary society.

The consistency of models' race in ads in mainstream magazines like *Vogue* and *GQ* doesn't portray the diversity reflected in the demographic census. Considering the growth of the minority market, the ads in fashion magazines shows partiality which may be addressed in part by specialty magazines which target specific races or ethnicity. Korea is a racially homo-

geneous nation, but now several races have been increasingly portrayed in TV or magazine advertisements due to the global marketing tendency (Kim, 1998).

Q2: What characteristics of sole models are portrayed more frequently in fashion advertisements and what can be interpreted from these results?

Advertisers used sole models in a large proportion of ads. The highest proportion of these showed the total body which reveal clothing to the fullest extent. The rendering of parts of the body (versus the whole) have been viewed by other researchers as indicating fragmentation and objectification of the human body. In fashion advertising, this is more likely to be a function of the product advertised rather than as an indication of the loss of the "human" aspect of the advertisement.

Gender stereotypes were revealed in model's body characteristics. Likewise, poses which show acquiescence were more typical for females. In facial expressions, direct gaze and confident facial expressions appeared more for men while women were shown with tempting, laughing, and smiling expressions. Eye gaze serves as an indicator of a model's confidence and individuality. Direct eye gaze was used extensively to suggest directness and willingness to engage potential consumers in a straightforward way. The appearance of expressionless gazes could be interpreted as conveying a sense of superiority and thus the superiority of the product.

Q3: Are male fashion models portrayed differently than female models?

Conventional gender stereotypes were supported in many ways in the fashion ads examined. In sole model ads men appeared more expressionless, in standing poses, and with direct eye gaze when compared to women, supporting a hedonic characterization of men. Female models appeared more often smiling and in acquiescent poses such as sitting or lying down. As might be expected in fashion advertising, the majority of both male and female models appeared narcissistic. The appearance of same-sex couples suggests a greater acceptance of alternative lifestyles, though this does not appear to be a large feature in mainstream fashion

magazines.

This study indicates that fashion advertising examined in *Vogue* and *GQ* does not reflect the great variety of relationships nor demographic characteristics which appear in society at large. Fashion models' characterizations make them appear to be the center of attention which carries over to the promotion of products which relate to personal appearance. Using fashionable apparel to attract the opposite sex is inherent in many of the ads.

This research may lead advertisers to consider how to establish effective advertisement strategies and how to reflect consumers' desires who have various role relationships in real life and pursue varied values. Studies which explore readers' reactions to the characterizations found in this study could help to define the limits to which advertisers may go to appeal to a wider audience and stretch the limits of creativity in fashion advertising. For future research the relationship between body and images should be analyzed and it will be helpful for the consumer to understand the messages conveyed therein.

■ References

- Armstrong, M. (2002, June 21). Fashion magazines: advertising in style. *Media Week*, 14-15.
- Barthel, D. (1988). *Putting on appearances: gender and advertising*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Belknap, P. & Leonard, W. M. (1991, August). A conceptual replication and extension of Erving Goffman's study of gender advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 25(3-4), 103.
- Bowen, L. & Schmid, J. (1997). Minority presence and portrayal in mainstream magazine advertising. *Journalism Quarterly*, 74(1), 134-146.
- Choudhury, P. K. & Schmid, L. S. (1974). Black models in advertising to blacks. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 14(3), 19-22.
- Cohn, E. & Zengerle, J. (1997, November/December). Family values package. *The American Prospect*, p. 15.
- Craik, J. (1994). *The Face of Fashion*. London, New York:

- Routledge.
- Crane, D. (2003). Gender and hegemony in fashion magazines: women's interpretations of fashion photographs. In G. Dines and J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media* (pp. 314-332). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Damhorst, M. L. (1991). Gender and appearance in daily comic strips. *Dress, 18*, 59-67.
- Danna, S. R. (1994). Sexier and more Sensitive: The Cahanging Advertising Image of Males in the 1990s. In Luigi and A. Manca (Eds.), *Gender & Utopia in Advertising: A Critical Reader* (pp. 73-86). Lisle, IL: Procopian Press.
- Duke, L. (2000). Black in a blonde world: race and girls' interpretations of the feminine ideal in teen magazines. *J&MC Quarterly, 77*(2), 367-392.
- Fisher, C. (1994, November 7). Marketers straddle Asia-America curtain. *Advertising Age, 65*(47), p. S.
- Freedman, R. (1986). *Beauty Bound*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). In *A Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender Advertisements*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Granatstein, L. (2002, June 10). Family values. *Media week, 12*(23), p. 41.
- Gubernick, L. & Kroll, L. (1996, May 6). Gray hair is cool. *Forbes, 157*, 116.
- Hall, S. (2003). The Whites of their eyes-racist ideologies and the media. In G. Dines and J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media* (pp. 89-93). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Hamilton, W. L. (2000, July 20). When intentions fall between the lines. *New York Times*, p. F 1.
- Holland, P. (1977, January). How Straight Is Madison Avenue. *Christopher Street, 26-29*.
- Jhally, S. (2003). Image-based Culture: Advertising and Popular Culture. In G. Dines and J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media* (pp. 249-257). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Kaiser, S. B. (1991). Damsels in distress versus super-heroines. *Dress, 18*, 67-75.
- Keenan, K. L. (1997). Skin tones and physical features of blacks in magazine advertisements, *J&MC Quarterly, 73*(4), 905-912.
- Kim, D. H. (1998). The study of content analysis for Korea and foreign models's proportion. Institute of Communication Strategy.
- Klassen, M. L., Jasper, C. R. & Schwartz, A. M. (1993). Men and women: Images of their relationships in magazine advertisements. *Journal of Advertising Research, 33*(2), 30-39.
- Kolbe, R. H. & Albanese, P. J. (1996). A content analysis of sole-male images in male-audience magazines. *Journal of Advertising, 25*(4), 1-20.
- Lennon, S. (1988). Physical attractiveness, age, and body type. *Home Economics Research Journal, 16*(3), 195-203.
- Lipman, J. (1992, October 22). Advertising: Marketers of luxury goods are turning from self-indulgence to family values. *Wall Street Journal*, p. B. 1.
- Malossi, G. (2000). *Material Man*. New York; Harry N. Abrams.
- Martin, B. A. (2004). The influence of ad model ethnicity and self-referencing on attitudes : Evidence from New Zealand. *Journal of Advertising, 33*(4), 1-8.
- Merret, M. (1988, December 5). A gay look at advertising. *Advocate, 42-45*.
- Milner, L. M & Collins, J. M. (2000). Sex-role portrayals and the gender of nations. *Journal of Advertising, 29*(1), 67-79.
- Morgan, E. (1972). *The Second of Woman*. New York: Stein & Day.
- Paff, J. L. & Lakner, H. B. (1997). Dress and the female gender role in magazine advertisements of 1950-1994 : A content analysis. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal, 26*(1), 29-58.
- Richardson, J. & Shaw, A. (1998). *The Body in Qualitative Research*. Aldershot, Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate.
- Schwarz, N. & Kurz, E. (1989). What's in a picture? The impact of faceism on trait attribution. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 19*(4), 811-816.
- Sender, K. (1999). Selling subjectivities: Audiences

- respond to gay window advertising. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 16(2), 172-196.
- Sexton, D. E. & Haberman, P. (1974). Women in magazine advertisements. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 14(4), 41-46.
- Skelly, G. U. & Lundstrom, W. J. (1981). Male sex roles in magazine advertising, 1959-1979. *Journal of Communication*, 31(3), 52-57.
- Soley, L. & Kurzbard, G. (1986). Sex in advertising: a Comparison of 1964 and 1984 magazine advertisements. *Journal of Advertising*, 15(3), 46-54.
- Stabiner, K. (1982, May 2). Tapping the homosexual market. *New York Times Magazine*, p. 34.
- Taylor, C. R. & Bang, H. K. (1997). Portrayals of Latinos in Magazine Advertising, *J & MC Quarterly*, 74(2), 285-303.
- Taylor, C. R. & Stern, B. S. (1997). Asian-Americans: television advertising and the "model minority" stereotype. *Journal of Advertising*, 26(2), 47-61.
- Tellis, G. J. (2005). Advertising's Role in Capitalist Markets: What Do We Know and Where Do We Go from Here?. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 45(2), 162-170.
- Thompson, M. J. (2000). Gender in magazine advertising: skin sells best. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 18(3), 178-181.
- Tiggemann, M. (2002). *Media Influences on Body Image Development*. 91-98. In T. F. Cash, and T. Pruzinsky (Eds.), *Body Image* (pp. 91-98). New York: Guilford Press.
- Wilson, C. C. & Gutierrez, F. (2003). *Advertising and People of Color*. 283-292. In G. Dines and J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media* (pp. 283-292). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Vinakmens, K. (2002, September 23). Regular features: denim wars. *Strategy*, p. 4.

Received December 23, 2005

Accepted September 7, 2006