

**QUEER PRODUCTION: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS**

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To professors that venture to provoke and inspire-

Patti Giuffre
Sharon Zukin

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ABSTRACT

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Studies of mass media render the discursive power of advertisements as sites of identity construction reflecting cultural hegemony. Using ethnographic content analysis, this study explores the production of Queer identity through the political economy of print advertisements in *The Advocate* and *Curve* from 2000-2002. Over 1,000 advertisements were examined based on four schematic themes: race, sex and gender, relationship and family status, visual cues, and textual messages. Men are more likely

than women to be portrayed within gender normative scripts in relation to their status as the ideal representation of the Queer niche market. As compared to Caucasians, African Americans are branded through restricted representation by visibility, product type, and sexual appeal. Furthermore, advertisements reveal a cooptation of language for political rights in exchange for consumer liberties. The findings show evidence that support the role of niche marketing in the commodification and homogenization of Queer identity in consumer society privileging men over women, Caucasian over African American, and normative over marginalized.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Advertising is a kind of conduit through which meaning is constantly being poured in its movement from the culturally constituted world to consumer goods. Through advertising, old and new goods are constantly giving up old meanings and taking on new ones. As active participants in this process, we are kept informed of the present state and stock of cultural meaning that exists in consumer goods. To this extent, advertising serves as a lexicon of current cultural meanings. In large part, it is advertising that maintains a consistency between what Sahlins calls the “order of culture” and the “order of goods” (McCracken 1988: 79).

A \$147 billion dollar a year institution (The Promotion Marketing Association 2004: 18), surpassing the GDP of 156 of the 188 nation-states (The World Bank Group 2005), the promotion marketing industry wields immense discursive power within television and print mass media. Embedded within the social institution of mass media, niche marketing centered on identity consumption provides a conduit for the interdependence of cultural hegemony and the construction of gender and sexual identities within consumer culture. The political economy of advertising serves as “a potential method of meaning transfer by bringing the consumer good and a representation of the culturally constituted world together” (McCracken 1988: 77). Moreover, reinforced from an early age, messages regarding socially appropriate gender roles permeate television, movies, newspapers, books, and magazines, while circumscribed representations of racial and ethnic minorities ensure secondary status. As an economic

and cultural powerhouse, the advertisement industry has prompted the research community to examine the images and messages contained in advertisements.

Social science research has demonstrated that advertisements portray narrow, traditional images of sex, gender, age, race, ethnicity, and nationality. The disciplines of mass communication, psychology, and sociology endeavor to examine hegemony and social status contained within mass media images. Although the most extensive body of literature on the subject matter has come through the analytical lens of mass communication, the theoretical and empirical work generated by sociology provides a critical and cogent examination of social processes and social organization that add to the discourse on the political economy of identity construction within mass media.

As a form of social communication, the purpose of advertisements is to capture attention and influence consumers. Analyses of advertisement images have drawn strong criticism of prescribed gender role portrayal and the submissive-status representation of minority groups. Critics of mass media have claimed that mass media not only reflects existing patterns of social norms, it influences and shapes concepts of social status (Courtney and Whipple 1983). Early sociological inquiry employing content analyses have explored ideologically dominant cultural patterns of interaction in advertisements. Erving Goffman's (1979) analysis of sex and gender in *Gender Advertisements* emphasizes the construction of masculinity and femininity within the advertising industry. In crafting a vocabulary of tools for examining images, Goffman's work has spurred social scientists to undertake the deconstruction of print advertisements in an endeavor to systematically decode the social relationships and expected normative behaviors engendered in advertisements. Goffman (1979) contends:

Advertising portrays us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we think men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other (P. i).

Several studies employing content analysis of mass media have focused on class, gender, and racial identity and subjectivity individually or the intersection (Collins 2000) of these various categories unveiling a process of social construction located within a specific historical moment and locality. Echoing the social construction of the aforementioned categories of identity within a social historical process, the construction of sexuality is embedded within traditional social institutions of the family, economy, and polity in addition to secularized social regulation by way of “medicine, education, psychology, social work and welfare practices” that serve as a social edict for sexuality (Weeks 1986: 27-30).

In addition to the traditional and contemporary social institutions cited above, mass media plays an instrumental role in the construction of sexuality at the intersection of race, sex and gender. Building on numerous content analysis of race, sex and gender in print advertisements and the social construction of identity, this exploratory project looks at the images in print advertisements in a venture to decode the images and embedded messages buttressing cultural hegemony of sexuality and the construction of gender and sexual identities within consumer culture. The questions guiding this analysis include, how and in what ways have the images of Queer identified individuals and groups of people been constructed through race, sex, and gender in print magazines? How are race, sex and gender exercised in support of cultural hegemony within the advertisements? What is the role of print media in creating niche marketing strategies that capture

marginalized groups by incorporating them into mainstream consumer culture? Do niche marketed magazines offer alternative images and messages of gender and sexuality to mainstream consumer culture? And to what extent does compulsory heterosexuality materialize in the advertisements? The two magazines selected for this study include *The Advocate* and *Curve* magazines.

Definition and Description of Concepts

Queer

In lockstep with other empirical and theoretical work examining Queer subculture (Scott 2005; Skeggs et. al. 2004; Gamson and Moon 2004; Hamers and Brown 2004), this study forgoes the use of the acronym GLBT (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender), and instead utilizes the term ‘Queer’ to more accurately capture the social construction of identity. The purpose for establishing a framework of analysis using the term ‘Queer’ as opposed to GLBT is to emphasize the production of identity categories within a social historical process. GLBT implies that sex and sexuality are fixed categories rather than socially constructed. Born out of the negation of a grand narrative by social construction, the poststructuralist use of the term ‘Queer’ relinquishes notions of stable categories of sexuality by bringing gender into the analysis (Jagose 1996: 74). In general, gender refers to the social construction of the binary categories of femininity and masculinity whereas sex is embedded in a biological binary of female and male (Kessler and McKenna 1978: 7). Although it falls outside the purview of this project, it is important to note that Anne Fausto-Sterling’s (1993), “The Five Sexes: Why male and female are not enough,” in addition to other empirical and theoretical studies on inter-

sexed, provides a site of contestation of the biological as external to social forces, institutions, organization and discourse.

The popularity of ‘Queer’ emerged in 1990 with the inception of Queer Nation, an AIDS activist organization that sought to reclaim the pejorative term as an act of resistance in a struggle for power. Shortly thereafter, Queer Theory materialized with prodigious force in academic institutions, in particular within the Humanities (Stein and Plummer 1994; Smith 1996: 277; Jagose 1996: 107; Epstein 1994: 49; Rimmerman 2002: 83; Hall 2003: 52). The term ‘queer’ refers to the de-centering of “identity as something fixed, coherent, and natural” (Jagose 1996: 98) and “in favor of a more thorough resistance to regimes of the normal...” (Warner 1993: xxvi). Moreover, Queer theory affirms that “the study of homosexuality should not be a study of a minority –but a study of those knowledges and social practices that organize society as a whole by sexualizing–heterosexualizing or homosexualizing– bodies, desires, acts, identities, social relations, knowledges, culture, and social institutions” (Seidman 1996: 13). Thus Queer provides a tool for examining images and sexuality embedded in hegemony as socially and historically located in contrast to a trans-historical identity inferred by GLBT. The terms ‘gay’ and ‘lesbian’ are exercised only in relation to the aim of the magazines, *The Advocate* and *Curve*, to capture and reinforce normative categories of sex and gender identity.

Consumer Society – Consumer Culture

Moving from an orientation rooted in production to consumption (Anderson and Wadkins 1991: 129), consumer society refers to the quantitative increase in the procurement of goods and services as the touchstone of “cultural aspiration and the surest

perceived route to personal happiness, social status, and national success” (Ekins 1991: 244). Thus a “culture of consumption” 1) organizes social life as centered on consumption, and 2) elevates the status of consumer cultural values in society (Slater 1997: 25). Advertisements perform a crucial role in promoting the link between product and the “cultural aspirations” of consumer society. To illustrate the role of advertisements in forging a “consumer citizen” (Cohen 2003) former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani’s “I Love New York Theatre” ad campaign illuminates the link between product and services (for consumption) and “national success” (the political economy). Shortly after the attacks on September 11th in New York City, Giuliani rolled out a print ad campaign urging Americans who were interested in patriotically helping the city of New York recover to come not as volunteers or donors but as shoppers. The ad features a nighttime aerial view of the bright lights of Times Square and Broadway with a caption that reads, “I have a great way of helping: come here and spend money. Go to a restaurant, see a show” (The League of American Theatres and Producers: 2001). This example shows that in relation to modernity and post-modernity, consumption no longer exists purely for subsistence, but rather is intimately woven through society by 1) the process of commodification (NYC commodified as a space of consumption), 2) promotion (through advertisement), 3) individuality through personal choice (niche market), and 4) rationality (Slater 1997: 8-9). This study focuses on the first three aspects of consumption by looking at the ways in which Queers are produced through commodification and promotion for identity based consumption.

Niche Market

Increasingly challenged with the problem of saturating a unified market through mass production, manufactures and retailers chartered a new course employing segmentation marketing to ensure market share and sustainability. With the increased presence of television in homes across America, more specifically television commercials, and technological advances in manufacturing, segmentation marketing reinvented cultural consumption through the manufacture of desires and lifestyles for differing segments of the population (Cohen 2003: 301). Within consumer society, identity politics is complicated by identity consumption. Niche markets afford the opportunity for identity expression through consumer choice (Cohen 2003: 309). Thus for visible, politically disenfranchised groups niche marketing refashions civil liberties as inclusion into a liberalized, democratized market (Chasin 2000: 101).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter surveys past studies related to images of racial, ethnic, and gender portrayal in mass media with specific emphasis on 1) the images and recurring themes displayed in print and television advertisements, 2) a summary of findings from social impact studies of mass media, and 3) some of the dominant theories addressing the role of mass media in social life.

Mass Media Images

Sociologists argue that the prevalence of mass media in American culture serves as a significant agent of socialization by inculcating how men and women are and should be. Of all socializing sources of sexist portrayals, advertisements are the most offensive as reported by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (1999). Research on commercial advertisements provides evidence of the extreme ideal of gender stereotyping embedded within mass media. While some researchers maintain that advancement has been made since the 1970s regarding changes in the gendered depictions of men and women (Belknap and Leonard 1991), relations of power continue to persist as men are more often rendered as dominant while women are depicted as submissive (Thomas and Treiber 2000: 2). Research focusing on gender roles in print

advertisements has come about due to a thematic universality within the media in depicting heightened images of masculinity and femininity. The maintenance of women and men in separate spheres promotes an ideology of male authority and superiority alongside female incompetence (Goffman 1979).

In print advertisement, two major themes prevail regarding gender: ads portray considerably different roles of appropriate behavior for men and women, as well as instill a hierarchical cultural assumption that women are subordinate to men (Moreno 1997: 57). Ultra-masculinity is conveyed through images of muscular physique, strength, stature, and power. These images are used to masculinize products, all the while promoting in its sale a gender schematic text (Cortese 1999: 58-59). Alongside images of masculinity, research indicates that women in advertisements are also represented in gender-stereotyped ways promoting a heightened femininity. In contrast to images of men, women are under represented, depicted as submissive, emotional, dependent, relegated to the domestic sphere, sexualized, and as well, ideals of beauty and youth reign over images of what it means to be a woman (Cortese 1999: 31-35).

As briefly mentioned above Goffman's (1979) innovative examination of gender role portrayal in *Gender Advertisements* furnished an empirical and theoretical framework from which the field has proliferated. Emphasizing the construction of masculinity and femininity within the advertising industry, Goffman's analysis offers compelling evidence for the "ritualization" of the depiction of male superiority and female reliance. Goffman's contributions included a vocabulary for methodologically codifying nonverbal behavior of female and male models that imitated and reinforced traditional gender norms generating a social text of power stratification through ritual,

gender, and social displays. To demonstrate, Goffman's concept of "relative size" defined male authority and domination juxtaposed to female servitude based on stature (Goffman 1979: 28).

Similarly, "feminine touch" was also observed in ritual displays of print advertisements. Goffman contends that female models are more often portrayed as "just barely touching" or "cradling" objects as compared to male models that are depicted as "manipulating" or "grasping" objects. The use of "feminine touch" connotes weakness as a gender defined characteristic (Goffman 1979: 29).

Paying close attention to the representation of women and men in print advertisements, Goffman noted the employment of "function ranking" and the "ritualization of subordination" as social displays of hierarchy and dependence. The hierarchical depiction, as illustrated by "function ranking," involves the portrayal of guidance or assistance of female models by male models or other female models. Goffman observed that advertisements portrayed in an occupational setting more often rendered men in a superior role over women; for example, he noted several illustrations containing male physicians and female nurses (Goffman 1979: 32). Further displays of dependence, deference, and vulnerability are expressed through "ritualization of subordination." Illustrations of this concept include the portrayal of women as canting one's head or bending of the body in opposition to standing or sitting erect. Additionally, women are more likely depicted in reclined positions, offering visual cues of sexual availability (Goffman 1979: 40-47).

Revisiting Goffman's analysis, Belknap and Leonard (1991) utilized content analysis to examine 1000 advertisements from six popular magazines. They concluded

that “relative size” and “function ranking” were no longer significantly observable. Conversely, “feminine touch” and the “ritualization of subordination” continued as recurring themes depicting stereotypic gender displays (Belknap et al. 1991; Kang 1997). In a comparison study, Kang (1997) replicated Goffman’s analysis with an examination of advertisements in popular women’s magazines for the years 1979 and 1991. A random sample of 252 advertisements from each year revealed that no significant changes in gender displays took place, only shifts in the dispersion of stereotypic portrayals. As an illustration, Kang analyzed advertisements for the use of “body displays” emphasizing female sexuality. Markedly, advertisers have significantly increased the sexualized portrayal of women.

Shifting in focus to include a more in depth examination of masculinity, contemporary content analyses have contributed in expanding knowledge of thematic patterns of ideological gender roles. A study of popular men’s magazines (Kolbe and Albanese 1997) centering on the “sole-male image” examined the symbolization inferred from the use of one model depicted in an image. Universal images containing men in traditionally masculinized roles, such as the athlete and the outdoorsman, emerged from the analysis signify independence and individualism. The researchers noted that the limited use of background settings, the frequency of purposefulness of the role of the male model as opposed to an ornamental role, and the absence of humor from the captions resulted in legitimizing the importance of the male model in the advertisement.

Undoubtedly images of men appear in magazine advertisements targeted at both men and women. In comparing advertisements marketed to a male audience with those marketed to a female audience, observable differences surface. Vigorito and Curry

(1998) found that male images in popular men's magazines more often portray men in occupational roles, particularly when the SES and age of the target audience increases. The message inferred from the advertisement is one of male dominance. In contrast, male images in popular women's magazines depict men in more nurturing roles, rejecting ideological gender norms associated with masculinity. The researchers conjecture that the divergent portrayals communicate different expectations of men based on the intended audience (Vigorito and Curry 1998: 148-149).

The designation of images expressing social status based on traditional ideological roles does not end with sex and gender. Historically, images of racial and ethnic minorities have been severely lacking from the literature. Slowly, an increase in images of specific minority group members, African Americans and Latinos, has surfaced in advertisements. Similar to gender displays, the representations of ethnic minorities have been confined to limited roles based on hegemonic ideology (Coltrane and Messineo 2000).

Initial examinations of racial and ethnic portrayals in advertisements reveal the extent to which minority groups are nearly nonexistent in mass media. During the late 1970's, only 2% of the advertisements contained images of African Americans (Bush et al. 1980; Weigel et al. 1980). Furthermore, the depiction of African Americans was limited to roles of subservience and as part of the background (Wilkes and Valencia 1989).

The social institution of sports has propelled images of African Americans into mainstream media. The focus of contemporary research of African Americans has centered on athletes. A comparison of images of African American athletes to white

athletes exposes the stereotypic portrayal presented in advertisements. Employing content analysis in an examination of advertisements in *Sports Illustrated*, Dufur (1997) revealed differences in the depiction of athletes, based on race, from 1985 to 1994. The findings conclude that white athletes are more often portrayed as successful due to determination, intelligence, and leadership abilities, as compared to images of African American athletes whose success is based on “innate” physical attributes. In addition, trends in advertisements containing African Americans display animalistic characteristics associated with hyper-sexuality and violence. Furthermore, 100% of the advertisements containing images of body dissection were of African Americans (Dufur 1997: 250-252).

Moving beyond a univariate analysis, the intersection of gender and race presents a more accurate depiction of power and status. Plous and Dominique (1997) examined race and gender bias in print advertisements of fashion magazines. The study looked at ten years of advertisements in magazines marketed to white women, African American women, and white men. 1,800 advertisements from 1985-1994 were analyzed. The results revealed that “body display” was greater for female models than male models, and that body exposure of female models has significantly increased over the period reviewed. Furthermore, African American female models continue to be underrepresented. When African American female models were depicted, they were much more likely to be clothed in predatory animal print. The overall findings suggest that the portrayal of racial and gender stereotypes has increased over the ten-year period (Plous and Dominique 1997: 638-639).

Thomas and Treiber (2000) conducted a study examining gender and racial displays with the inclusion of images of African American males. The study selected

four magazines that targeted readership by race and sex. The findings revealed distinct patterns of social stratification. Along displays of gender, male models were more often portrayed as active, while female models were depicted as beautiful; connoting objectification and ornamental status. Although affluence permeated advertisements in all four of the magazines selected, white female and male models were observed more often in roles of affluence than African American male and female models. Instead, African American male models were depicted as “trendy,” while “everyday” status was appropriated for African American female models.

Social Impact Studies

A review of past content analyses of advertisements is insufficient without an examination of the impact the institution of mass media has on media consumers. Although less prevalent and more difficult to conduct than content analysis studies, studies examining traditional gender norms and minority depictions within mass media and its effect on social perceptions have yielded findings that suggest the influence of mass media on attitudes, behavior, and subjectivity. It is relevant to note that the scarcity of these studies is due to the difficulty in establishing causality in experimental and survey studies. For example the role of other social institutions such as the family, religion, and education bear impact on attitudes and behaviors of gender and racial stereotyping. Furthermore, content analysis research and studies measuring effect do not offer opportunities for addressing the motivations of the producers of media images. Nonetheless, research in this area is increasingly revealing meaningful information on the effect of mass media.

Early research measuring societal impact of mass media focused on the relationship between television programs and children's views of traditional gender-typed roles. DeFleur and DeFleur (1967) examined the influence television had on children's occupational knowledge as compared to personal contact and the general culture. The findings suggest that occupational roles portrayed on television proved to be a source of "incidental" learning by which children were exposed to a "distorted" work force based on traditional gender stereotypes (DeFleur and DeFleur 1967: 789).

Similarly, Pingree (1978) conducted an experimental study measuring the effect of traditional and non-traditional gender-typed roles in commercials in shaping gender-typed attitudes of young viewers. Based on a group of 227 participants, third and eighth graders, Pingree's findings illustrated that upon viewing non-traditional gender-typed roles of women versus traditional gender-typed roles children's attitudes toward women were less stereotypical. The researcher contends that the overwhelming exposure to traditional gender-typed commercials as compared to non-traditional commercials influences children's attitudes offering little alternative to traditional roles (Pingree 1978: 275-276).

Coinciding with Pingree's study in 1978, O'Bryant and Corder-Bolz examined the extent to which children stereotyped occupations based on traditional gender roles and the influence of non-traditional gender-typed commercials on children's attitudes and preferences regarding occupation. Exposure to commercials with non-traditional occupational roles resulted in a direct increase in the designation of traditionally male occupations as appropriate for women. Furthermore, upon viewing commercials with women in non-traditional occupations, female respondents showed an increase in

preference for traditionally male occupations, as compared to their preferences before watching the non-traditional commercials (O'Bryant and Corder-Bolz 1978: 242-244).

In a more contemporary analysis of the effects of advertisements, Currie (1997) examines culture as a locus of subjectivity for women. According to Currie, fashion magazines present a social text from which teenage girls gain an understanding of self in relation to notions of femininity buttressed by patriarchy and capitalism. In her interview of 48 girls, ranging in age from 13 to 17, Currie concludes that although the girls were competent in recognizing unrealistic and irrational images the impact of a narrow view of femininity within the fashion magazine advertisements served as an ideology from which the teenage girls developed their subjectivity (Currie 1997: 474).

Indeed, recent studies on the effects of bodily perfection in advertisements offers compelling evidence that young children and teenagers are not the only cohorts influenced by mass media. In an experimental study, Lavine, Sweeney, and Wagner (1999) investigated the impact of television advertisements, portraying women as sex objects, on body size satisfaction. Female and male subjects reported body dissatisfaction upon viewing commercials objectifying women in comparison to subjects exposed to non-sexist commercials. Overall, the subjects described a greater disparity between their body size and the ideal body size. Women described themselves as overweight, whereas men conveyed discontent due to lack of having a muscular physique (Lavine, Sweeney, and Wagner 1999: 1056).

In addition to gender roles, mass media presents a limited view of racial and ethnic minorities. Early research conducted by Zuckerman, Singer, and Singer (1980), surveyed 155 third, fourth, and fifth graders concerning exposure to violent television

programming and perceptions of minorities. The findings demonstrated that viewing violent television programming portraying African Americans as deviants by white children resulted in creating and/or perpetuating negative attitudes towards African American children (Zuckerman, Singer, and Singer 1980: 292).

Further pursuing the effects on racial and ethnic perceptions, Peffley, Shields, and Williams (1996) conducted an experimental study that investigated the impact of race on assessments of guilt. White college students were exposed to various news programs that differed only with regards to the race of the suspect in question. African American suspects were overwhelmingly more often evaluated as guilty and considered likely to repeat the offense (Peffley, Shields, and Williams 1996: 326).

Additional experimental research supports an association between exposure to stereotypical portrayals of African Americans and discriminatory beliefs. Ford (1997) examined the role comedy skits played on negative perceptions of African Americans. White subjects viewed comedy skits containing either stereotypical or non-stereotypical portrayals of African Americans. Following the skits, the subjects read an account of an alleged assault by a roommate in which the race of the roommate could be inferred. Subjects exposed to the stereotypical comedy skits as opposed to the non-stereotypical skits rated higher evaluations of guilt if the roommate was African American. Ford hypothesizes that humor acts as a channel for acceptance of discriminatory belief systems (Ford 1997: 271-272).

Despite the difficulty in establishing causality, when taken in aggregate a review of survey and experimental research on the effects of mass media reveals an authentic link between exposure to sexist and discriminatory images and negative attitudes and

beliefs concerning women and minorities. Furthermore, the social text from which socially appropriate behavior is defined by the media provides a reflection of subjectivity generating a sense of self. As substantiated by content analysis studies, limited roles for out-group members continue to dominate the institution of mass media marginalizing entire segments of the population.

Theoretical Framework

Tempering criticisms of the validity of empirical studies measuring the impact of advertisements, Theodor Adorno and Pierre Bourdieu provide frameworks for examining the social institutional processes involved in the production of mass media images and messages and its facilitation of hegemony. In the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno provides a cogent articulation of the role of the corporate elite in the production of the “culture industry.” Bourdieu’s comprehensive analysis of the journalistic field in *On Television* (1998) dissects and exposes the mechanisms exerting power on the “instruments of production” (Bourdieu 1998: 13). In addition, Michel Foucault’s *History of Sexuality: An Introduction* presents an analysis of power and knowledge with respect to the discourse of sexuality.

From its inception, criticisms of mass media by sociological theorists have proliferated. In Marxist fashion, early critical theory examined the social power structure and its relationship with mass media. Theodor Adorno’s (1972) innovative work on modernity, technology, and mass culture expounds the role of the corporate elite in maintaining capitalism through the “culture industry”. In the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno contends that the corporate elite consists of the company directors of industries in control of natural resources and bank owners. The “culture industry” serves to pacify

consumers through the perpetual creation of illusionary needs for consumption and by means of entertainment. Adorno affirms that by accounting for every market group in mass production the ideals of social life become standardized, resulting in negligible variance in consumer goods (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972: 120-123). Central to the “culture industry’s” success is the corporate elite’s exclusive access to the advertising industry, which serves as a “blocking device” to true competition eliminating the submission of alternative ideas and products. Furthermore, as with the “culture industry”, the advertising industry seeks to solicit every market group varying only in presentation (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972: 162-163).

Adorno’s observation of the advertisement industry as solicitous of identifiable markets materializes in the more recent proliferation of advertisements targeted at queer consumers. In chapter 4, the findings of advertisements in *The Advocate* and *Curve* magazines reveal that although images of queer relationships are depicted, differing from more mainstream magazines, the larger societal system of cultural consumer consumption persists. Alcohol, entertainment, and travel dominated the types of branded products placed in the Queer magazines examined, followed by advertisements for credit cards, Queer social internet sites, and mental health. Although Adorno’s assessment of the advertisement industry’s pursuit of identifiably marketable groups astutely applies to the Queer niche market, the proliferation of the specific aforementioned types of advertisements suggests that while some branded products are able to profit from a Queer market, the stigmatization of a Queer identity impedes others from soliciting such a market.

Moving beyond Adorno's cultural industry framework, Bourdieu elucidates the power of media firms to determine the content of mass media. By bringing the owners of media firms into the analysis of media in general and journalism, specifically, Bourdieu calls attention to the connection linking media content and corporate interest to market share. As illustration of this connection, he brings attention to the web of media and non-media holdings held by the largest global media corporations. For example, it would not be advantageous for General Electric (a \$151B industrial corporate powerhouse) to have one of their television holdings, such as NBC, reporting damaging news with regard to one of their other business sectors (Bourdieu 1998: 16). Corporate watchdog organizations point to a conflict of interest between NBC news reporting on the war in Iraq and GE's nuclear power contract in the rebuilding of Iraq (CorpWatch.org). In linking media directly to multibillion dollar corporations, the pervasiveness of consumer culture materializes within the institution of mass media.

Bourdieu's connection between corporate interest and media content illuminates the objectives of the owners of the publication firms and the advertisers in relation to all markets, including the queer niche market. Although small in comparison to global media firms such as GE and Disney, LPI Media the publishing firm for *The Advocate*, adopts similar corporate merger tactics for an increasing share of the Queer market (PlanetOut.Com 2000). In addition to *The Advocate*, with a circulation of 88,000 and 40,000 opt-in online subscribers, LPI Media, the largest publishing firm in the U.S. for the Queer market, currently owns Alyson Books publishing house which publishes over 30 queer titles per year, Out Publishing Inc., publisher of *Out*, with a circulation of 115,000 and 20,000 opt-in online subscribers, *OutTraveler* magazine, *HIVPlus* magazine,

and PlanetOut, the largest internet media company targeting the queer community. Moreover, PlanetOut has established partnerships with America Online Inc., Yahoo, Netscape Communication Corp, and maintains advertising agreements with Johnson & Johnson, Arista Records, and Virgin Atlantic Airways Ltd. to name a few (Advocate.Com 2004). The latest market expansion for the Queer publishing giant (LPI Media) includes a venture into Queer subscription based television, which will offer television specials based on LPI magazines on Viacom owned Logo, a channel for “LGBT viewers” that launched in June of 2005. Brian Graden (Logo President) affirmed, “I am very proud to partner with LPI Media not only because of its dominant role but because the company is a true pioneer in the LGBT marketplace and the larger media landscape” (PlanetOut.Com 2005). In contrast to LPI Media, Inc, *Curve* Magazine, with a circulation of 68,200, has not merged with other media outlets (Curvemag.Com 2004).

A second crucial element of Bourdieu’s analysis is the “circular circulation of information” (Bourdieu 1998: 23). In his examination of journalism, competition among news outlets leads to a homogenized production of news that is bound by “identical pressures and opinion polls.” As illustration, a survey of headlines across various news outlets yields analogous headlines (Bourdieu 1998: 23). A similar effect can be seen in advertisements geared to Queer niche markets. Although, on the surface the advertisements in queer magazines appear to illustrate a diversity of images and messages from magazines targeted at straight consumers, a closer examination reveals patterns based on more traditional social norms.

As illustrated by Bourdieu and exemplified by LPI Media, a third factor to consider when examining mass media is market share and competition. Market share serves as an indicator of competition through “unperceived power relations” that sets the industry framework. Market share by powerful media firms facilitates the exclusion of less powerful, smaller media firms in economic terms by setting an “entry barrier” by way of lowering prices. The introduction of television to mass media provides “permanent access to public visibility, broad circulation, and mass diffusion” (Bourdieu 1998), which gives marketers the power to construct the values, desires, and worldview that strengthen consumer culture. Furthermore, the increasingly centralized corporate global media holdings create limited space for alternative perspectives and images (The Nation 2002).

The connection between market share and a single global market culminates in the proliferation of cultural hegemony. Global corporations, transnational corporations, and multinational corporations regard the global market as a single market (Appelbaum 2004: 81). The production of identity-based consumption by global media holdings and niche marketing by large corporations generates a homogenized effect that predominately renders the Queer community as white, middle-class (Chasin 2000) American consumers by constructing a narrow vision of Queer identity, ultimately shaping not only consumer desires, but sexuality and gender. LPI Media’s dominant market share of print and internet media, in addition to the expected venture into television, positions the privately held corporation to control the “instruments of production” employed for Queer consumption. The impact of this level of control creates limited space for alternative perspectives and images within the community. Moreover, the transformation of a Queer

social movement into a niche market yields consequences for normalizing specific segments of marginalized groups through consumer society (Chasin 2000). As documented by previous content analysis of gender and ethnicity in mass media, traditional norms of social status and stratification play out in images and messages of mass media crafting a limited worldview of race, ethnicity, sex, and gender. The consolidation of ownership in Queer production further facilitates the construction of sexuality within normative notions of race, sex, and gender.

Bourdieu's critique of the centralized power of media ownership and the homogenized effect of competition, coupled with Adorno's assessment of the culture industry's drive to reach all identifiable markets, provides a structural analysis of the economic and social power of mass media and its implications for the emergent Queer niche market.

Shifting from an examination of structure to the framing of knowledge of sexuality, in *History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Foucault articulates the discursive construction of sexuality as a historical process that has led to firmly placing the human body under political control resulting from a growing "will to knowledge" regarding sexuality (Foucault 1978: 157). In a postmodern framework, Foucault refers to the discourse of sexuality, rather than conversations on sexuality, in an effort to bring attention to the politicized aim of available knowledge. The term 'discourse' encapsulates the contextual framework of knowledge, exposing mechanisms of power that dictate who can speak and how the information can be framed. Those in control of the discourse, and the "silences" created by discourse, control knowledge resulting in narrowly constructed notions of sexuality. Foucault's analysis of the discourse of

sexuality brings to the fore a mediation of all aspects of social life through the lens of sexuality. The diffusion of sexuality in social life coupled with narrowly constructed notions of sexuality lead to the perception of sexuality as fundamental to identity (Foucault 1978). The advertising industry lucidly illustrates Foucault's discursive construction of sexuality and its saturation of social life and the glaring "silences" that manufacture a framework that facilitates its annex to the market. Furthermore, an analysis of images depicting sexuality and sexual identity elucidate the constructed makeup of sexuality.

Summary

The role of the media in the production of sexuality through constructed imagery serves as a narrow social palate of hegemony. The centralization and corporatization of media ownership, the homogenized effect of market competition, the emergence of niche marketing in consumer society, and the discursive power of the media play a critical role in the cultural material production of identity-based consumption. The empirical work examining images, messages, and impact coupled with the theoretical frameworks provided by Goffman, Adorno, Bourdieu, and Foucault serve to inform an analysis of print advertisements. Nonetheless, the failure of earlier empirical studies, entrenched in heteronormative assumptions of sexuality, miscalculates the interminably discursive power of the advertising industry within consumer society to inform the social construction of sexuality. In an exploratory enterprise this study seeks to expand the discourse of knowledge on the production of Queer sexuality in magazines marketed to Queer consumers through the political economy of print advertisements.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This study employs ethnographic content analysis for the purpose of examining race, gender, and sexuality in print advertisements. Although more frequently utilized, quantitative content analysis solely seeks to measure the frequency of a more readily identifiable category, characteristic, behavior, action, setting, textual message, dress, demeanor, and bodily position in an objective and systematic fashion to ensure reliability (Berelson 1971; Berger 1991). Nonetheless, in coding for reliability, quantitative content analysis potentially renders the observed variables as oversimplified, distorting the overall context of the image and or message (Kracauer 1952: 632). Furthermore, critiques of quantitative content analysis problematize the inference of impact from “social scripts” gleaned from tested hypotheses on media consumers given the objective of the analysis to generalize to a population (Walters 1995; Currie 1997).

An ethnographic content analysis examines both quantitative (numeric) data and qualitative (narrative) data. The aim of ethnographic content analysis, as an exploratory endeavor, seeks to establish validity through conceptualizing images and messages contained within media as fieldwork to better aid in defining “patterns of human action” (Altheide 1987: 65-67) in an effort to develop a theoretical analysis of social construction

in contrast to testing hypotheses (Daniels 1997: 141). The purpose of this study is to look at how print media serves as “social texts” (Currie 1997: 456) through structural and discursive social systems at the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality in consumer society.

Utilizing Microsoft Excel and Access, print advertisement images were collected, tallied, and analyzed for a nuanced reading of narrative content. Moreover, exploratory research questions were employed in this study, nullifying the need for statistical tests (e.g. chi squares).

Sample

The unit of analysis for this study was print advertisements featuring human subjects from 2000-2002 in *The Advocate* and *Curve* magazines. Divergent from other content analysis studies (see Chapter 2), which typically employed the use of random samples, purposive sampling was used in this study through theoretical and saturation sampling (see Altheide 1987: 69). In an ethnographic content analysis, the function of purposive sampling is to allow for the “generalizability of cases to theoretical propositions rather than to populations” (Bryman 1988: 90). In total, 1,017 advertisements were examined, 695 from *The Advocate* and 322 from *Curve*. The saturation sample encompassed every advertisement containing a human subject, including cartoon figures. Accordingly, the design approach implemented considered all duplicate advertisements as separate advertisements. The purpose for doing this was to accurately tally the recurring images throughout the magazines at the aggregate level. In addition, saturation sampling was used to obtain a sufficiently large sample size from *Curve* magazine due to the limited number of advertisements per issue as compared to

The Advocate. The advertisements were systematically coded using many of the categories from earlier content analysis on sex and gender as noted in chapter two. To ensure reliability in coding (Altheide 1996), one third of the advertisements were recoded 9 months later at 97% accuracy when compared to the initial round of coding.

The Advocate and *Curve*, news and entertainment magazines, predominately serve a Queer readership. Based on the intended audience, the selected magazines ensure awareness on the part of the advertisers in targeting a Queer niche market. The selection of the magazines was based on their respective dominance in their readership market in terms of circulation and longevity. Founded in 1967, *The Advocate*, touted as the “national gay and lesbian newsmagazine,” has a circulation of 88,000 print magazine subscribers (Advocate.Com 2004). Although *The Advocate* targets both men and women, men are the predominant market segment for the magazine in terms of content, advertisements, and readership. Additionally, *The Advocate*, in 1977, was the first to conduct a gay male marketing survey of their readers to gather data to draw advertisers (Chasin 2000: 198). Owing to the male-centered focus of *The Advocate*, *Curve*, founded in 1991 as *Deneuve*, was selected for targeting women, due to its national circulation of 68,200, and readership of 200,000 (Curvemag.Com 2004).

The purposive sampling for *The Advocate* and *Curve* differed based on the number of issues circulated annually. Producing 24 issues per year, the sampling frame for *The Advocate* was reduced to twelve issues. *The Advocate* issues circulated during the middle of the month were selected for the sample frame, as opposed to the issues circulated at the beginning of the month. The selection of the middle of the month issues was based on its larger content size. Moreover, a comparison of ads at the beginning of

the month versus the middle of the month yielded duplications. The rationale for reducing the sample frame to twelve issues in *The Advocate* was to make it more equivalent to the eight issues circulated annually in *Curve*. The purposive sampling frame for *Curve* consisted of all eight issues produced annually.

Coding Categories

In coding the advertisements, four central themes guided the themes that were included in the examination: 1) race, sex, and gender; 2) relationship status and children; 3) bodily visual cues (such as bodily exposure, body dissection, and body type); 4) textual messages and narrative images.

Race, Sex, and Gender

Given the limitations of content analysis to precisely measure race, sex, and gender from an image, visual cues were utilized to give a nuanced reading of the probable intended construction of the categories to seek out possible representation of these categories. Race was coded into the following categories: Caucasian, African American, Latino(a), Asian American, and foreign (see Appendix B). Visual cues included skin color, dress, and setting. Although generalizability of skin color is problematic with all racial/ethnic categories, Latinos and Latinas can be confused as Caucasian or African American. Given that Latinos and Latinas may be underrepresented in the sample due to the social construction of Latino(a) ethnicity based Ibero-Latin American descent creating a pan-ethnic definition (Oboler 1995) and the considerably low count for the categories of Asian American and foreigner, the quantitative analysis for this project centered on the categories of Caucasian and African American.

The category of sex included male, female, and transgender. Due to the inability to determine whether the model was portraying a transsexual, cross-dresser, or transgender, all models appearing to be either of the three were coded as transgender (see Appendix C, #1). Only 6 out of the 1017 images were coded as transgender, which resulted in the elimination of transgender from the quantitative analysis. Gender was operationalized as masculine, feminine, and bi-gender (see Appendix C, #2-6). The category of bi-gender was constructed for the purpose of this project to articulate images of models that display a blend of masculinity and femininity. In appendix C, #6, the nude male model in the Mitchell Gold ad (furniture designer) captures the category of bi-gender. Although the model has a muscular physique (masculine), the physical placement of the model in a semi-fetal position from the waist down and the de-emphasis on the muscular build of the model as depicted in the photograph conveys a mixed message of vulnerability and strength; femininity and masculinity.

Relationship Status and Children

Relationship status and the presence or absence of children permits a closer examination of the complexity of sexuality at the intersection of race, sex, and gender by locating individuals either outside or within an intimate social network. The purpose in measuring demographic categories with images coded as single, couple, children, no children is to render a theoretical sketch of how the advertisers construct a visual map of expected relationship norms based on race and sex (see Appendix D). Limited research has been done on relationship status and the construction of sexual identity (Reichert and Lambiase 2003). Coding for this project was not based on previous work. Similarly, the category of children was not guided by other studies given the absence from analysis in

previous print media content analysis on parenting in relation to race and gender. Emphasis on earlier print media content analysis of images of parents and children focuses specifically on “mother role” (Johnston and Swanson 2003; Demarest and Garner 1992). Relationship status was coded as either single or couple. Images alluding to possible threesomes were coded as single (see Appendix D, #1). The purpose for coding threesomes as singles is due to the difficulty in establishing levels of intimacy from an image given the normative social construction of intimate relationships consisting of only two people. Threesomes were only observed in *The Advocate*. Children were coded as either present or absent. It was also noted that of the all advertisements with children, only one child was observed in the image.

Bodily Visual Cues

As with relationship status, bodily visual cues of body exposure (Plous and Dominique 1997; Oliver et. al. 2003; Beasley and Collins Standley 2002), body dissection (Goffman 1979), body type (Baker 2005), body position (Goffman 1979; Baker 2005), and active/passive poses (Goffman 1979; Lynn et al: 2002) afford a systematic approach to sorting images into easily observable categories in an endeavor to deconstruct race, sex, gender, and sexuality embedded within the lived bodies depicted in advertisements (Goffman 1979).

Body exposure was classified into “Fully Clothed,” “Partially Clothed” (Appendix E, #3), “Swimsuit,” “Undergarment,” “No Clothing,” and “Unknown.” Partially clothed category included models with exposed shoulders and cleavage, exposed abdomen, or exposed legs above the knee. Images coded as unknown consisted of headshots. The importance of examining body exposure comes from its expression of

social identity within the context of consumer society (Bourdieu 1984). Moreover, body exposure can convey messages of sexual attractiveness (Baker 2005) or sexual objectification (Beasley and Collins Standley 2002).

Expressions of body dissection include images that reveal a portion of the body absent from the model's head or the exposure of only a half portion of the model's face (Goffman 1979). The absence of a face disembodies the model rendering the body as an object (Cortese 1999; Baker 2005).

Body Type is coded as thin (Appendix B, #1), average (Appendix D, #4), overweight, toned (Appendix D, #1), and muscular (Appendix E, #2). The aim in cataloging body types is to determine cultural constructions of attractiveness based on idealized body types (Baker 2005).

The body position of the model's body can convey relative positions of status referred to by Goffman as "ritualization of subordination" (1979). Dominance can be inferred from high position such as standing, whereas sitting or in a reclined position may connote submissiveness (Baker 2005). The purpose in observing body position is to explore whether normative notions of dominance and submissiveness materialize.

Coding for active and passive poses was employed to gauge the social construction of race, sex, and gender through activity. Similarly, Goffman's (1979) use of "function ranking" established a pattern in which men were more often portrayed as performing a function (active) juxtaposed to women who were more often portrayed as decorative (passive).

Textual Messages and Narrative Images

Coding textual messages and images based on the intended target audience serves to indicate the frequency of the production of heterosexual advertisements marketed to Queer consumers (Appendix B, #3) and the use of textual messages to link the branded product to Queer identity consumption. The textual message variable was sorted using oversimplified categories, which comprise of “informative,” “informative target Queers,” “sexual,” “sexual target Queers,” and “other.” “Informative” refers to advertisements that communicate some level of product information. “Sexual” conveys heteronormative sexual text messages. The use of “target Queers” for informative and sexual text messages signifies the advertiser’s intent to specifically market to Queer consumers.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Race, Sex, and Gender

As with earlier empirical studies, an analysis of race, sex, and gender resulted in findings that closely patterned hegemonic constructions of the three categories. Racial depictions resulted in the following findings: Caucasian only ads represented 74% of the images in *The Advocate*. Additionally, 9% of *The Advocate* images contained predominately Caucasian models along with one minority model, elevating the total of Caucasian only or Caucasian dominated ads to 83%. The next predominant group was African Americans, represented by 7% of the models in *The Advocate*. The only other visible minority in *The Advocate* were Asian Americans (excluding South Asian-Americans) representing 3% of the models (Appendix I).

Of the 7% of the African American only ads represented in *The Advocate*, 72% were represented in advertisements for AIDS and HIV medications (Appendix I) as compared to only 4% of Caucasian only ads. Furthermore, African Americans in AIDS and HIV medication ads were depicted as solemn and alone (Appendix B, #1) in contrast to some of the ads depicting Caucasian patients as surrounded by family and friends joyfully celebrating a milestone event such as a birthday or graduation. Moreover,

limited advertisements that did sexualize African Americans contained one or more sexualized Caucasians. As illustration, the Skky Vodka advertisement in the June 2002 issue features a close-up aerial view of three men, an African American man flanked by two Caucasian men, lying down on a boat deck in black square cut trunks (Appendix D, #1). The African American is depicted in contrast to the other two models by way of positioning and the absence of the branded product in his possession. Other product types that materialized in the African American only ads include alcohol (10%), banking and credit cards (7%), and entertainment (5%). In total, the four product types marketed to Queer African Americans represent only 17% of all product types. Diverging from African American only ads, Caucasian ads resulted in a more even distribution of product types. The heaviest concentration of ads was in travel (21%). In addition to alcohol, banking and credit cards, and entertainment other product types include art, furniture, dietary supplements, events and parties, investments, skin and hair products, and Queer community internet sites. Coupled with the limited representation of racial minorities, the branding of race by product type suggests that while Queer Caucasians are more accepted in democratized consumption spaces such as bars, furniture stores, restaurants, galleries, cruises, and so forth, ad campaigns targeting Queer African Americans in *The Advocate* are largely restricted to medication, alcohol, and entertainment.

Similar to *The Advocate* in racial depiction, Caucasian only ads in *Curve* represented 70% of all advertisements. In addition, 16% of *Curve* images contained Caucasian dominated ads resulting in a net total of 86% for Caucasian only and Caucasian dominated ads. African American only ads totaled 5% (Appendix I).

In terms of product type in *Curve*, 75% of Queer African Americans were represented in travel advertisements, a considerable departure from *The Advocate's* AIDS and HIV medication concentration. The remaining product types targeting Queer African Americans in *Curve* include Queer events and parties (13%), alcohol (6%), and banking and credit cards (6%) (Appendix I). The four product types make up 33% of the total product types found in *Curve*. Although the portrayal in travel versus AIDS and HIV medication advertisements is less problematic in terms of potential stigmatization, the absence of Queer African Americans in ads for product types such as clothing, entertainment, sex toys, and Queer community Internet sites renders the representation of Queer African Americans largely invisible. In addition, the 16% gain in product type for Queer African Americans in *Curve* as compared to *The Advocate* is due to the overall lower number of product types advertised in *Curve*. Containing nearly double the branded product types (48%), *The Advocate* proves to be the more marketable of the two magazines.

Sex ratios for the two magazines produced dramatic results representing one population to a much greater degree than the other. An analysis of *The Advocate* resulted in the following figures: male only ads (61%), female only ads (20%), both males and females (18%), and transgender (1%). Not surprising, *Curve*, a lesbian marketed magazine, produced the following results: female only ads (86%), male only ads (1%), and both males and females (13%) (Appendix J).

As briefly noted above, approximately half of the product types in *The Advocate* are marketed in *Curve*. Product types not present in *Curve* include furniture stores, galleries, dietary supplements, grooming products, and technology. The absence of

product types that focus on aesthetics (space, art, and personal appearance) suggests that Queer women compared to Queer men largely fall outside the purview of the commodified gay aesthetic ultimately constructing the ideal of Queer production as male and Caucasian.

Depictions of gender display (masculinity and femininity) patterned closely to sex categories of male and female. Single male only ads in *The Advocate* depicted males as 85% masculine, 7% feminine, and 8% bi-gender. Male couple only ads produced the following results: 92% of the time with both men rendered as masculine and the remaining 8% with one man portrayed as exhibiting more masculine characteristics and the other more feminine characteristics. An ad for Showtime's "Queer as Folk" serves as illustration of a couple coded as masculine-feminine (Appendix D, #3). The masculine male (clothed with a slightly opened black button-down, exposing a small amount of body hair) is positioned directly facing the camera, while the more feminine man (topless and smooth) placed in a profile position gently touches the chest of the other man. Through positioning, body exposure, and Goffman's notion of "feminine touch" the ad locates the couple within a binary gender display of masculinity and femininity.

In contrast, female only ads in *The Advocate* offered more diversity in portraying gender display than the male only ads. Single female only ads resulted in the following: 65% feminine, 25% masculine, and 9% bi-gender. Accordingly, female couples in *The Advocate* were depicted with both partners as feminine 57% of the time, 10% masculine and feminine, 8% as both masculine, and 25% as bi-gender (Appendix J). The diversity in gender display of women in contrast to men suggests a more favorable social acceptability for gender variance in relation to masculinity on the part of the advertisers.

In *Curve*, no images of male couple only ads were depicted in the advertisements reviewed for this study. As for single female only advertisements images were coded as 46% feminine, 14% masculine, 30% bi-gender, and 10% various. Marked differences between magazines for female couple only ads appeared in the category variables of “both bi-gender” (*The Advocate*: 25%; *Curve*: 16%) and “masculine-feminine” (*The Advocate*: 10%; *Curve*: 25%) (Appendix J). In *Curve*, the drop in percentage from the category “both bi-gender” and the increase in “feminine-masculine” couples suggest greater acceptance for depictions of women as masculine. Relative acceptance for non-normative rendering within and between magazines, sex, and race materializes in the less marketable magazine, *Curve*, and the less marketable Queer sub-groups (i.e. Queer women and Queer African Americans).

Relationship Status and Children

The relationship status of Queer men and women in *The Advocate* followed similar patterns; 22% of the women were coupled as compared to 25% of the men (Appendix K). Thus roughly three quarters of the images projected sexuality as outside of a coupled relationship. Although a comparison of advertisements in non-Queer targeted magazines falls beyond the scope of this study, a content analysis of sexual appeal in *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Details*, and *Esquire* concluded that heterosexual couples comprised 46.7% in a sample of 1,324 ads (Reichert and Lambiase 2003: 128). Nearly doubling the ads in *The Advocate*, the discrepancy and the limited visibility in the depiction of couples in *The Advocate* renders the construction of Queer identity as single, non-committed.

Although virtually no differences in relationship status materialized in *The Advocate* based on sex, race did play an important role. African Americans were portrayed as coupled in 10% of the ads compared to 30% for Caucasians (Appendix K). Additionally, in measuring for interracial couples, 5% of all couples were African American and Caucasian in contrast to 87% as Caucasian only. Furthermore, of all ads depicting African Americans as coupled, 67% were shown to be in interracial relationships with Caucasians (Appendix L).

Diverging from *The Advocate's* sample of men and women, women in *Curve* were rendered as coupled 49% of the time (Appendix K). The discrepancies in women between magazines may be due to the larger number of non-Queer targeted ads in *The Advocate* (29% as compared to *Curve's* 6%). For an illustration of non-Queer targeted ads see appendix E, #3 and #4. Similar to *The Advocate* race was a factor when measuring for relationship status, while 50% of Caucasian women are in coupled relationships, only 12% of African American women are rendered as coupled (Appendix K). Interracial couples coded as African American-Caucasian appeared in 15% of all ads with couples. Additionally, 92% of all Queer coupled African Americans appear in interracial relationships with Caucasians (Appendix L).

Sexuality in advertisements not only serves to draw attention, but also to link the product to sexual appeal (Reichert and Lambiase 2003: 129). The findings support evidence of a “whitening” of Queer sexual appeal by way of sexual desirability as represented through the depiction of couples. The limited representation of couples based on race in both magazines suggests that to be a Queer African American is to be less sexually desirable. Moreover, the high percentage of African Americans coupled with

Caucasians implies that a Caucasian partner elevates the sexual desirability of Queer African Americans.

The presence of children was minimal resulting in only 2% of the ads in *The Advocate* and 0% in *Curve*. Although it is difficult to make comparisons from the small sample of ads with children, the absence of children suggests 1) that advertisers may assume Queer parents do not form a large enough readership base of the two magazines, 2) childless Queer couples are the default group for targeting families, and or 3) Queer parents may not be a desirable market due to possible economic and or political reasons.

Nonetheless, for explorative purposes it is important to note what did materialize in the few ads containing children. In all of the ads, the parents were constructed as either both Caucasian or Caucasian and Latino, middle class or higher in SES, and presented as single child families. A comparison of a Mitchell Gold furniture ad in *The Advocate* with a G & L Internet Bank ad in *Curve* does hint at constructed consumption patterns of male co-parents versus female co-parents. The Mitchell Gold ad appeals to the “consumer citizen’s” desire for aesthetization centered on the commodification of childhood (Cook 2004) with it’s “Kid’s Biarritz club chair in Old American Ranch leather.” The color, Old American Ranch, further draws a metaphorical connection between product and the republic (see Appendix D: #2). The focus of the G & L Internet Bank ad is socially located within the context of Queer families and the need for financial security that is complicated and compromised by the absence of laws to protect them. The ad serves to promote the brand as circumventing the lack of civil liberties through juridically binding “joint ownership” (see Appendix D: #4); illustrating the cooptation of language for political rights in exchange for consumer liberties (Chasin 2000).

Bodily Visual Cues

The category of body exposure in *The Advocate* revealed the state to which men and women in the advertisements were clothed. The female only ads reflected 66% fully clothed, 12% partially clothed, 4% no clothing, 9% swimsuit, 4% undergarments, and 5% unknown. In comparison, the male only ads resulted in the following: 44% fully clothed, 14% partially clothed, 14% no clothing, 23% swimsuit, 1% undergarments, and 4% unknown (Appendix M). The 22% drop in the fully clothed category for men can be accounted for in images containing no clothing or swimsuits. Similar differences resulted in measuring for race. Body exposure in African American only ads yielded findings of 76% fully clothed, 6% partially clothed, 10% no clothing, and 8% unknown. In contrast, Caucasian only ads resulted in 48% fully clothed, 15% partially clothed, 11% no clothing, 19% swimsuit, 4% undergarments, and 3% unknown (Appendix N). The 28% drop in the fully clothed category for Caucasians can be accounted for in images containing partially clothed models and models in swimsuits. The findings reveal a heightened sexualization of the male Caucasians through body exposure, pointing to the advertisers' aim in attracting the attention of a Queer male Caucasian consumer through constructed, sexualized bodies.

Further evidence to suggest a link between body exposure and product appeal through bodies as sites of sexual commodification is supported by the distribution of body exposure in female only ads in *Curve*, which pattern closely to male only ads in *The Advocate*; 42% fully clothed, 9% partially clothed, 16% no clothing, 19% swimsuit, and 14% unknown (Appendix M). When considering race, Caucasians were depicted in various categories of body exposure that reproduce analogous results to the female only

ads in *Curve*: 43% fully clothed, 4% partially clothed, 20% no clothing, 19% swimsuit, and 14% unknown. In contrast, African American only ads comprised solely of the categories fully clothed (24%) and partially clothed (76%) (Appendix N). Although an overwhelming percentage of the ads were in the partially clothed category, these images were not intended as sites of sexualization; instead they contained images of athletes featured for their athleticism, such as tennis players Venus and Serena Williams.

Continuing with the theme of the body as a site of sexual allure and objectification, body dissection in *The Advocate* was observed in 14% of the ads with men as compared to 1% with women. Likewise, measuring for race resulted in 12% Caucasian and 0% African American. The use of sexual objectification in product promotion in *The Advocate* portrays Queer sexual desirability embodied in Caucasian men (Appendix O).

Comparably, the advertisements featuring the body dissection of women (17%) in *Curve* closely matched men (14%) in *The Advocate*. When quantifying for race, the numbers reveal that 6% of ads containing African American models use body dissection in contrast to 20% for Caucasian models (Appendix O). The presence of body dissection of women in *Curve* equivalent to men in *The Advocate* coupled with similar findings on race underscores the implications of body dissection and sexual appeal. The consumption space crafted within the glossy ads in *Curve* render the sexually objectified body of Queer women as Caucasian.

Within normative gender boundaries, the measurement of body types in *The Advocate* produced the subsequent findings: Women were depicted as 26% average, 68% thin, 5% toned, and 1% of ads contain various body types; the presentation of men

resulted in 8% average, 58% muscular, 18% thin, 15% toned, and 1% various (Appendix P). Although ideal body types were pervasive throughout most of the ads, the 18% higher concentration of images of women in the “average” body type category implicates advertisements in *The Advocate* as predominantly geared towards male consumption. Furthermore, the polarization of women depicted as thin (68%) juxtaposed to men portrayed as muscular (58%) reinforces normative notions of ideal beauty corresponding to normative gender scripts of femininity and masculinity. When considering race, African Americans more closely parallel women in the category of “thin” (60%). The remaining categories include 8% average, 18% muscular, 6% overweight, 4% toned, and 4% containing various types. Caucasian models were more evenly dispersed allowing for a broader representation of body types; 12% average, 43% muscular, 1% overweight, 30% thin, 11% toned, and 3% various (Appendix P).

The images of body types for women in *Curve* resulted in skewed, albeit more diverse representation as compared to *The Advocate*: 7% average, 5% muscular, 81% thin, 6% toned, and 1% various. The introduction of the category of “muscular” allows for a small, but nonetheless greater gender variation as compared to the more mainstream Queer magazine, *The Advocate*. The findings also show that the concentration of women in the muscular category are African Americans (79%) presenting Caucasians more often within gender norm boundaries and African Americans as deviating from them (Appendix C, #5).

Body position and active/ passive pose often serve as visual cues indicating levels of dominance and gender norms. In *The Advocate* women were more likely than men to be reclined (9%) or sitting (20%) when compared to men [reclined (6%); sitting (13%)].

In contrast, men were more likely to be depicted as standing (71%) when compared to women (50%) (Appendix Q). A portion of the 21% difference in standing between men and women can be attributed to the scene depicted in the advertisement. The variable active/passive pose revealed that when comparing between and within magazines, men were more often portrayed in active (27%) positions in contrast to women (Appendix R). The women in *The Advocate* were depicted in active positions 11% of the time and 10% in *Curve*. “Standing” coupled with “active” often emphasized masculinity (Appendix E, #2). No distinguishable differences materialized based on race for body position and active and passive poses.

A notable disparity that did come into focus was the increase in ads featuring women in reclined positions in *Curve*; 9% in *The Advocate*, 24% in *Curve*. While “standing” paired with “active” signaled masculinity and appealed to a male audience, the increase in the reclined position in *Curve* suggests the employment of passivity, thus femininity as lending to the desirability of ads featuring women (Appendix E, #4). Furthermore, in reference to race, Africans Americans were not depicted in reclined positions in *Curve*, thus intimating, the “whitening” of sexualized, reclined women.

Textual Messages and Narrative Images

The textual messages observed and tallied in *The Advocate* revealed that 37% of the ads contained non-Queer identified messages; 28% informative and 9% sexual (Appendix S). Despite the lack of sexual text messages in the 28% of ads that were coded as informative, nearly all of the ads contained some form of heteronormative expression. For example, the text message in the 2000 Slates’ ad (Appendix H) reads:

Slates' clothing for men & women: worn by the people of Community Connect, who launched AsianAvenue.com and BlackPlanet.com to fill the void of cultural diversity online. That's just the beginning. Soon this cultural, political and entertainment destination will link us all.

First, the advertisement's text manufactures racial commodification by linking racial diversity and identity politics to the branded clothing. Second, although the text is neutral in terms of sexual tone therefore coded as informative, the image nonetheless contains a message of "compulsory heterosexuality." The two full page color copy contains five models; one Asian American woman, two African American women, one Asian American man, and one African American man. On the first page, the Asian American man is positioned in the center of the ad and flanked by two of the women. Both women playfully pull and tug on the Asian American man as he smiles directly into the camera. The second page of the ad shows one of the women holding on to the African American man. Although both look directly into the camera, the woman is positioned to the side while the man faces forward. The positioning of both men in the center of each page conveys the dominant position of masculinity in heteronormative sexual scripts (Carpenter 1998).

In "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," Adrienne Rich (1980) examines "heterosexuality as a political institution" to elucidate the construction of heterosexuality and the mechanisms of male power that ensure its survival. Rich presents a range of characteristics of power exerted on women by men that aid in the maintenance of compulsory heterosexuality by means of 'control of consciousness.' Two mechanisms of control include the force of male sexuality upon women by "the idealization of heterosexual romance in art, literature, the media, advertising, and so forth" and the

“erasure of lesbian existence (except as exotic or perverse) in art, literature, and film” (Rich 1980: 638-639). The re-circulation of ads geared for a heterosexual audience into magazines targeted to a queer audience illuminates Rich’s notion of forms of compulsion by way of consciousness. However, instead of capitalizing on ‘idealized heterosexual romance,’ ads depicting compulsory heterosexuality employ idealized heterosexual desire (see Appendix F). Furthermore, the adherence to heteronormative and gender normative stereotypes presents a type of ‘erasure of lesbian existence’ by contextualizing the image as an eroticization of lesbian sexuality for heterosexual male consumption even if the intended audience is female (see Appendix C, #3 and F, #2).

The Kahlúa 2001 ad campaign exemplifies re-circulated heteronormative advertisements targeted to both magazines. The original ad, featured in *The Advocate*, depicts a man looking up with his tongue out in hopes of seizing one of the falling snowflakes that dot the night sky. Upon closer inspection, the snowflakes are embodied by women clothed in silver and white from veiled head to high heeled toe signifying female objectification and conjuring up allusions of femininity through the purity of snow (see Appendix B, #4). Although the *Curve* copy eliminates the man portrayed in the ad, the snowflake women are still rendered as objects of femininity (see Appendix F, #4).

In relation to the percentage of non-Queer targeted textual messages, diverging from *The Advocate*, *Curve* contained a total of 8% heterosexual text messages (6% informative; 2% sexual). Echoing the findings in product type, the 29% difference in non-Queer target messages between the magazines can be attributed to the marketability of *The Advocate* over *Curve* (Appendix S). Nonetheless, as briefly stated above, ads originally intended for heteronormative and or heterosexual male readership were

recycled targeting Queer women in *Curve*. In the November 2001 Beefeater copy, two blonde women clad in identical micro-mini dresses are positioned in front of a Beefeater label backdrop with a message at the bottom that reads, “Make it a double” equating women with gin (Appendix C, #3).

In textual messages directed for Queer consumption, the use of identity politics materialized in advertisements for both magazines (Appendix G). As illustration, the caption at the top of the *Curve* 2002 Bridgestone tires ad reads “Your ideas about liberation...,” directly recasting political liberation through what McCracken (1988) refers to as “democratized consumption” (Appendix G, #1). In consumer society “liberation” takes the form of liberalized, free markets (access to products and services) culturally constructing identity (McCracken 1988) as located within the circuit of production and consumption (Leach 1993). This is particularly salient given the co-emergence of increasing Queer visibility on television in shows like the “L-Word” which features a predominantly Queer female ensemble cast of characters and the political maneuvering in many states across the U.S. to add constitutional amendments banning gay marriage and civil unions.

Textual messages promoting references to Queer identity, family protection, and political activism serve as brand identity marketed for Queer consumption. Examples illuminating the merger of identity politics and identity consumption include Bud Light’s “Be yourself...Make it a Bud Light” campaign that features the iconic colors of the rainbow flag, emblematic of Queer community, as backdrop to the product name evoking promotion of individuality, while simultaneously uniting brand identity with Queer identity (Appendix G, #2). Moreover, *The Advocate*’s 2000 Safeco ad advocates the use

of insurance as an instrument of protection for Queer families (Appendix G, #3). The ad reads, “Auto. Home. Business. Family. We offer protection for all that you value.” Although Safeco offers auto, home, and business insurance, to date there are no “family” indemnification policies to protect family members of voluntary or involuntary dissolution of a Queer family unit that would otherwise be afforded protection through laws governing marriage, divorce, and parental rights. Beyond the traditional use of the term ‘family,’ the Safeco ad also plays off the more general reference to family within Queer culture to connote Queer community. Thus serving as evidence of consumer society, the Safeco ad co-opts the language of family protection and Queer community in a move to market insurance for property protection.

Another example of the recasting of political rights into consumer liberties includes an appeal to consumers desiring to contribute to civil liberty movements through affinity credit card purchasing power. The April 2000 Travelers Bank Rainbow Visa card ad (Appendix G, #4) features Martina Navratilova in front of an oversized black and white aerial photo of the “One Million Strong: 1993 March on Washington for lesbian, gay and bi equal rights” (Cox et al 1993). Colored rainbow flags punctuate the black and white image as a ‘metaphor of gay nationalism’ (Chasin 2000: 120). The tagline reads, “Inspired in 1993, influencing our Future.” A quote from Martina follows up with “over \$1 Million raised for lesbian and gay causes. March on!” The language of the 1993 march for civil rights is intimately interwoven into the overarching message to consume through credit; “the currency of the Consumers’ Republic” (Cohen 2003). The Travelers Bank Rainbow Visa card ad campaign embodies the co-emergence of movement and

market and the recasting of the language and imagery of political democracy into liberalized markets. For a sample list of textual messages see appendix S.

Further underscoring the role of late capitalist cooptation of identity movements for niche marketing, 1993 also ushered in the market research and consulting firm Witeck-Combs Communications, specializing in promoting brand awareness and expanding market share by targeting the “gay, lesbian and bisexual (GLB) market” (Witeck-Combs 2003). In 2001 Witeck-Combs Communications partnered with PlanetOut, Inc. (now owned by LPI Media), Rivendell Marketing, Metamorphics, Prime Access, Inc., and The Karpel Group to form the Gay Media Alliance (GMA). The aim of GMA is to “create integrated marketing programs for Fortune 500 companies” interested in capturing the Queer niche market (Singer 2001).

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The findings yield substantive links between product branding and identity construction based on race, sex, and gender in the production of Queer targeted images. Overwhelmingly, *The Advocate* rendered sexualized images of men as Caucasian, masculine, muscular, and actively engaged. Moreover, the relegation of African Americans to mostly AIDS and HIV pharmaceutical advertisements resulted in restricted depictions of African Americans as sexually desirable. Advertisements of women in *The Advocate* were also restricted signaling the desirability of a Queer niche market as decidedly male despite the magazine's more inclusive branding campaign declaring to be "The National Gay and Lesbian Newsmagazine."

Images in *Curve* allowed for more gender diversity; nonetheless female masculinity was couched in terms of race. The "whitening" of femininity based on body type, body dissection, and sexually reclined positions further emphasized normative gender scripts for Caucasians in the construction of sexual desirability. Further adding to the production of white as ideal, Caucasians were four times more likely to be portrayed

as coupled than African Americans. Between and within magazines the overall findings suggest that mass media not only bifurcates the Queer community by rendering the desirable niche market as male and or Caucasian, but also paired with marketability is the production of Queer identity within normative racial and gender scripts.

Strengths and Limitations

A comparative exploration of advertisements within and between *The Advocate* and *Curve* contributes to previous empirical and theoretical work on the construction of identities in mass media. The empirical evidence supports a homogenization of dominant group members (Caucasian and or male) into mainstream culture, while marginalizing other group members (African Americans and or women). Moreover the discursive construction of Queer sexuality as Caucasian by means of limiting representation of African Americans and other minority groups through bodily visual cues, product type, and relationships underscores the “silences” crafted by the social institution of mass media.

It is important to note that this study is explorative in approach therefore establishing several limitations. First, the sample was limited to advertisements in two Queer marketed news and entertainment magazines. Although the magazines were selected based on circulation size and longevity (in their respective markets) as compared to their competitors, other Queer marketed magazines may yield different findings. Second, difficulties in coding for ethnicity limited the analysis to an oversimplified reading of white versus black, largely ignoring other ethnic minorities. Third, similar to ethnicity, coding for bisexual, transsexual, transgender, and genderqueer is complicated given the limitations in having to decipher from a picture.

Studies to consider for future research would be to build on an explorative examination of Queer production in print and television media in relation to the continued emergence of the market and its further segmentation. The growing presence of Queer identity shows on subscription based television such as “Queer Eye for the Straight Guy” (2003) and the “L-Word” (2004), hyper-branded with product placement, in addition to Queer centered subscription channel “Here!” (established in 2002) and “Logo” (set to launch in 2005) serve as new markets of Queer production and scripts for Queer consumption. As this study reveals, marketing to the Queer community makes visible dominant status groups (i.e. Queer Caucasians, Queer Men) while marginalizing minority group members (i.e. Queer African Americans, genderqueers). As further segmentation of the Queer market proliferates more research is needed to decode the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality.

Conclusion

Adorno’s observation of the “culture industry” as solicitous of all identifiable markets through means of entertainment materializes in the emergence of a Queer niche market. The steady increase in Queer visibility as represented in the proliferation of magazines, television, film, books and the internet, largely under the authority of LPI Media, Inc., brings into focus the use of niche marketing through advertisement and entertainment and the discursive construction of identity leading to the homogenization of Queer identity based consumption. Thus, the success in achieving Queer visibility in the media comes at the cost of assimilation into consumer culture.

Ultimately, the role of the media in the production of sexuality through constructed imagery serves as a narrow social palate of hegemony. The centralization of

media ownership, the intimate relationship between the media and corporate powerhouses, and the homogenized effect of market competition play a key role redirecting civil liberties for marginalized groups as economic freedom through identity consumption. Although Queer visibility has emerged, the diffusion of Queer identity as a commodity in consumer culture recasts expected gender norms into mainstream culture leaving intact a system of inequality that places Caucasian over African American, male over female, normative over marginalized.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Publication Inventory (n=59)

The Advocate, 2000-2002

Year	Month	Day
2000	January	18
2000	February	14
2000	March	14
2000	April	25
2000	May	23
2000	June	20
2000	July	18
2000	August	15
2000	September	26
2000	October	24
2000	November	21
2001	January	16
2001	February	27
2001	March	27
2001	April	24
2001	May	22
2001	June	19
2001	July	17
2001	August	14
2001	September	25
2001	October	23
2001	November	20
2001	December	25
2002	January	22
2002	February	19
2002	March	19
2002	April	16
2002	May	14
2002	June	25

(Publication Inventory continued)***The Advocate, 2000-2002***

Year	Month	Issue
2002	July	23
2002	August	20
2002	September	17
2002	October	15
2002	November	12
2002	December	10

Curve, 2000-2002

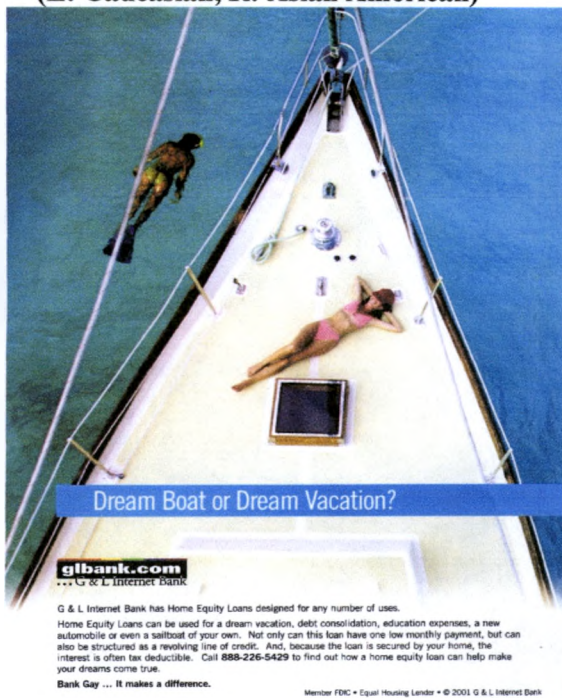
Year	Month	Issue
2000	February	Volume 10, #1
2000	April	Volume 10, #2
2000	May	Volume 10, #3
2000	June	Volume 10, #4
2000	August	Volume 10, #5
2000	October	Volume 10, #6
2000	November	Volume 10, #7
2000	December	Volume 10, #8
2001	February	Volume 11, #1
2001	April	Volume 11, #2
2001	May	Volume 11, #3
2001	June	Volume 11, #4
2001	August	Volume 11, #5
2001	October	Volume 11, #6
2001	November	Volume 11, #7
2001	December	Volume 11, #8
2002	February	Volume 12, #1
2002	April	Volume 12, #2
2002	May	Volume 12, #3
2002	June	Volume 12, #4
2002	August	Volume 12, #5
2002	October	Volume 12, #6
2002	November	Volume 12, #7
2002	December	Volume 12, #8

NOTE: *The Advocate*, December 2000 is no longer available by the publisher.

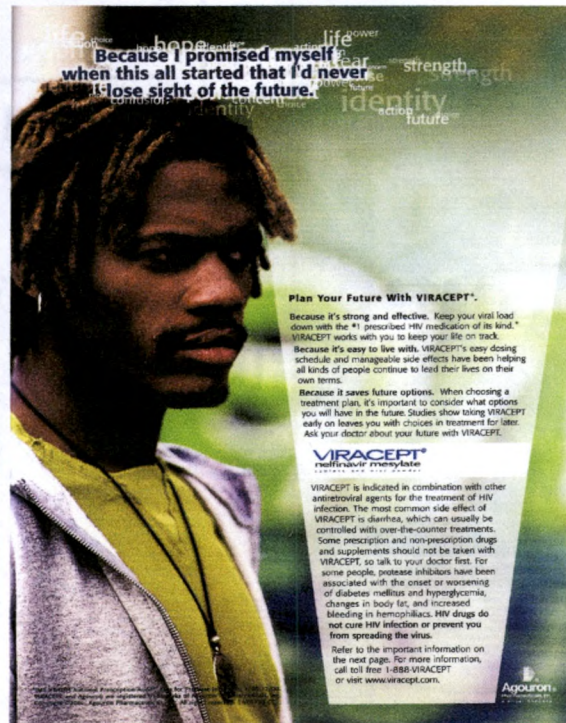
Appendix B: Race



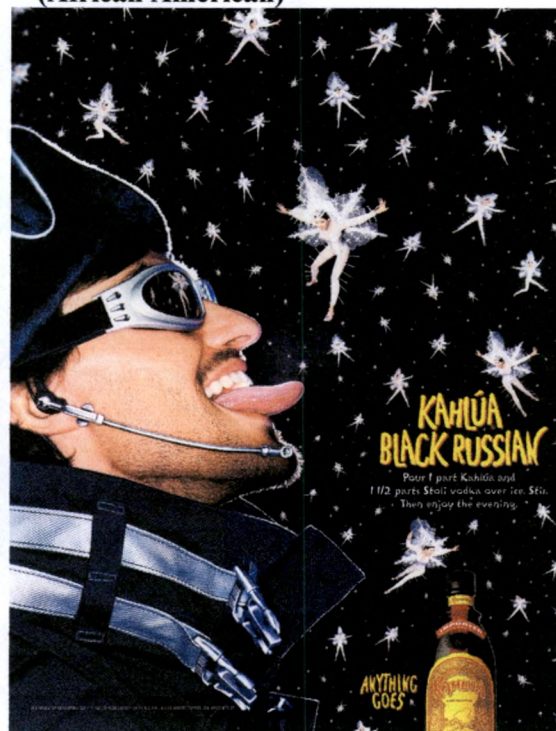
1) *The Advocate*, November 2000
(L: Caucasian, R: Asian American)



3) *Curve*, October 2001
(L: Foreigner, R: Caucasian)



2) *The Advocate*, September 2001
(African American)

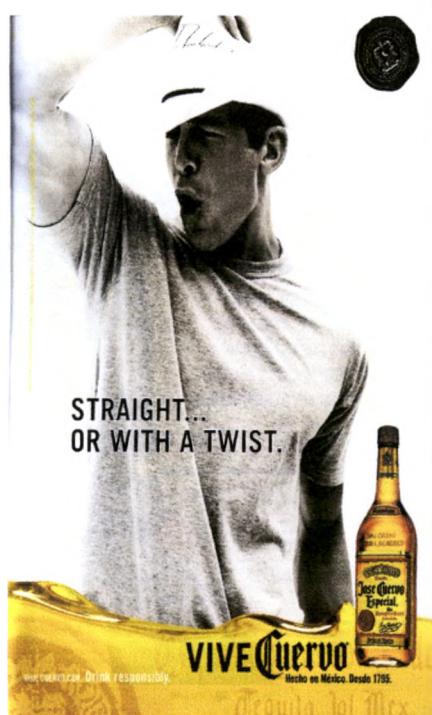


4) *The Advocate*, June 2001
(Latino)

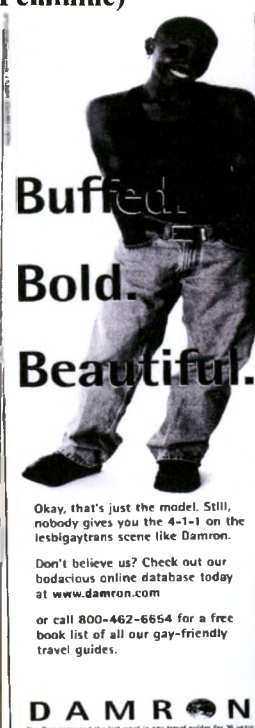
Appendix C: Sex and Gender



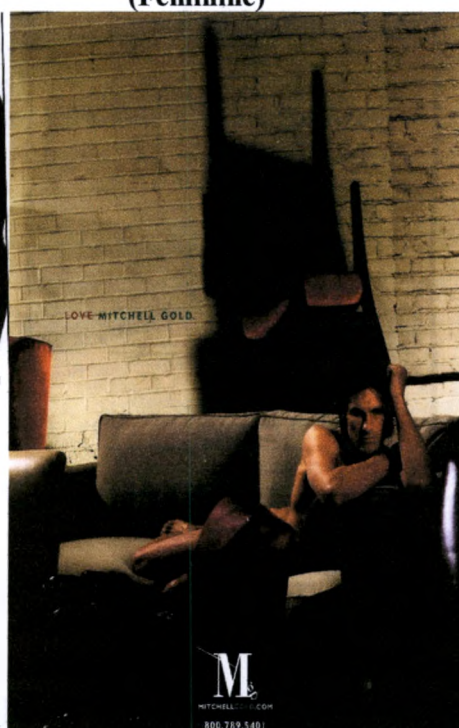
1) *The Advocate*, April 2002 (Transgender) 2) *The Advocate*, January 2000 (Feminine) 3) *Curve*, November 2001 (Feminine)



4) *The Advocate*, April 2002 (Masculine)

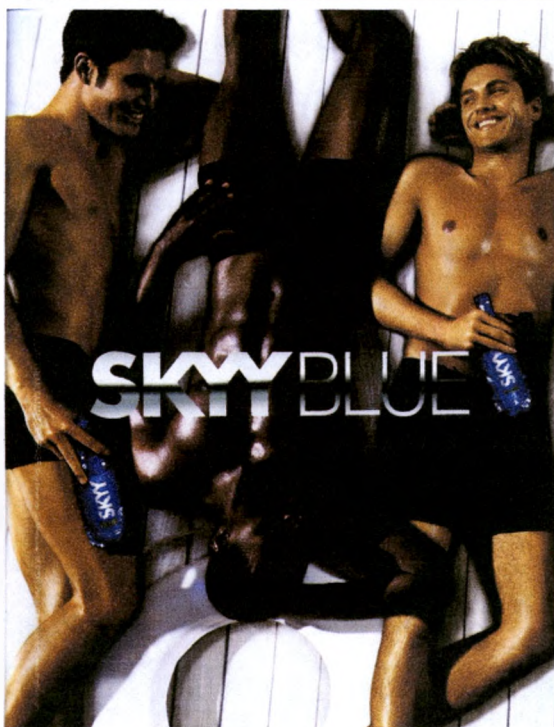


5) *Curve*, Feb. 2002 (Masculine)



6) *The Advocate* 2002, June 2002 (Bi-Gender)

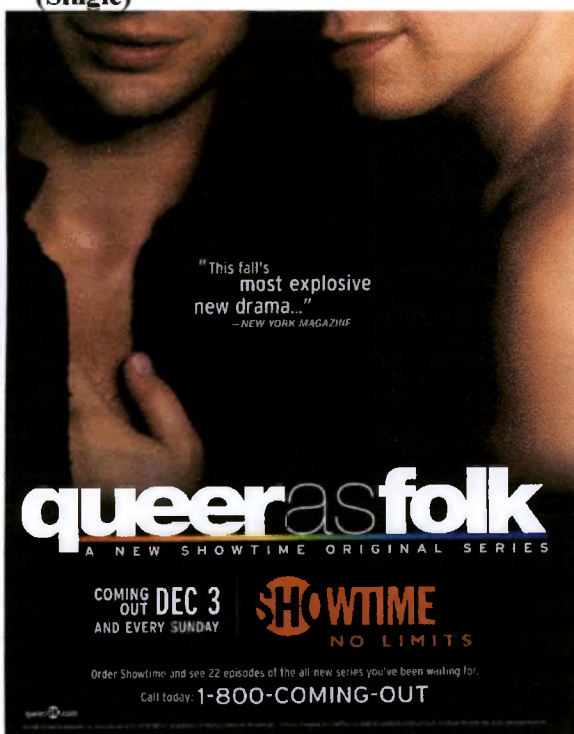
Appendix D: Relationship Status and Children



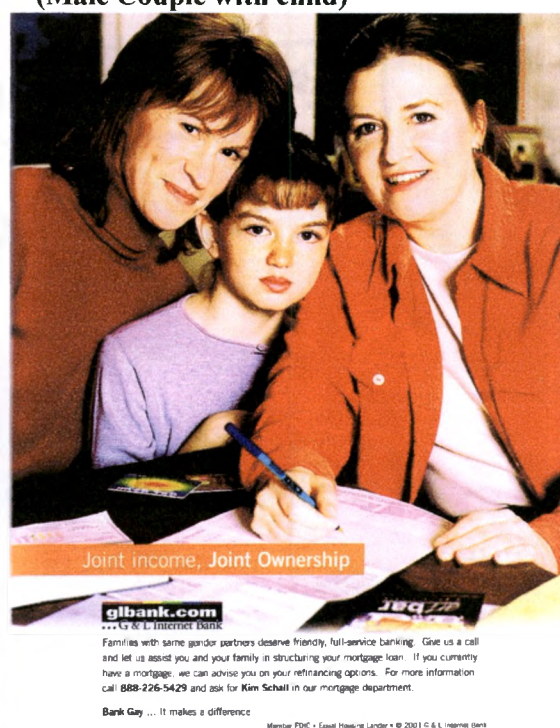
1) *The Advocate*, June 2002
(Single)



2) *The Advocate*, January 2000
(Male Couple with child)



3) *The Advocate*, November 2000
(Masculine and feminine couple)



4) *Curve*, August 2001
(Female Couple with child)

Appendix E: Visual Cues



1) *Curve*, April 2000
(Body Dissection)



2) *The Advocate*, August 2002
(Body Dissection, Partial Clothing)



3) *The Advocate*, September 2000
(Reclined, Partial Clothing)



4) *Curve*, August 2001
(Reclined, Partial Clothing)

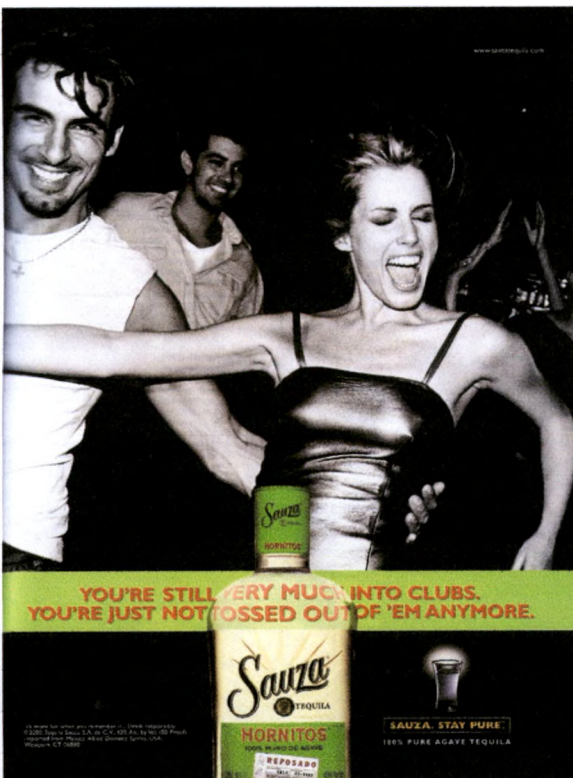
Appendix F: Heteronormative Expression



1) *The Advocate*, February 2002



2) *The Advocate*, May 2002

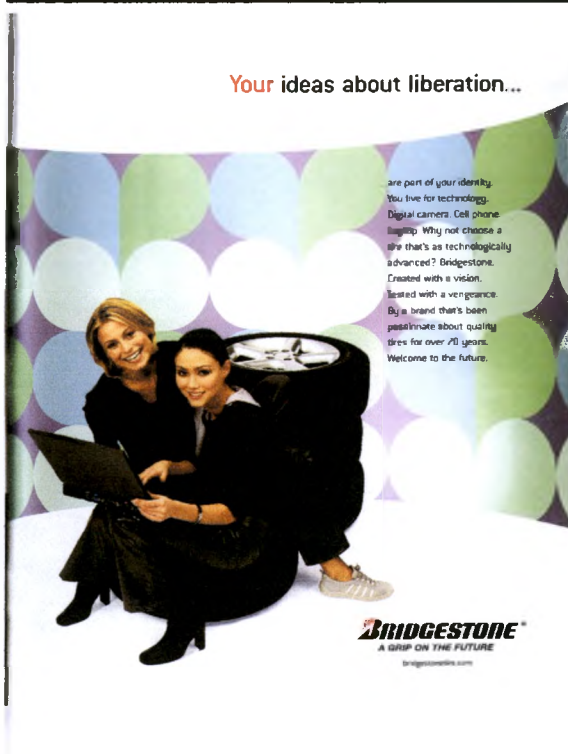


3) *The Advocate*, August 2000



4) *Curve*, December 2001

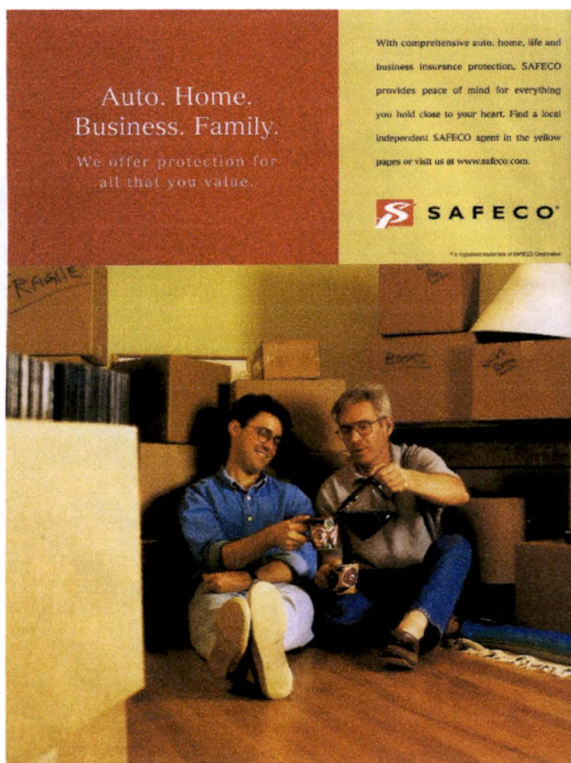
Appendix G: Textual Messages for Queer Consumption



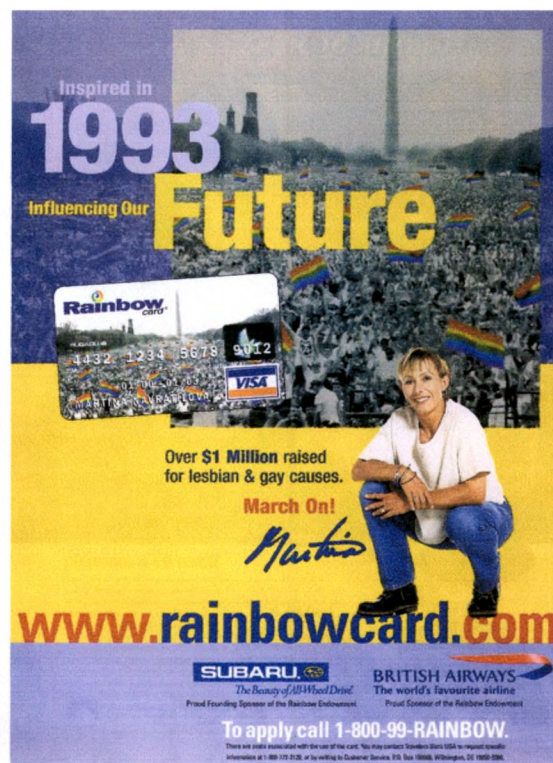
1) *Curve*, May 2002



2) *Curve*, June 2001



3) *The Advocate*, April 2000



4) *The Advocate*, June 2001

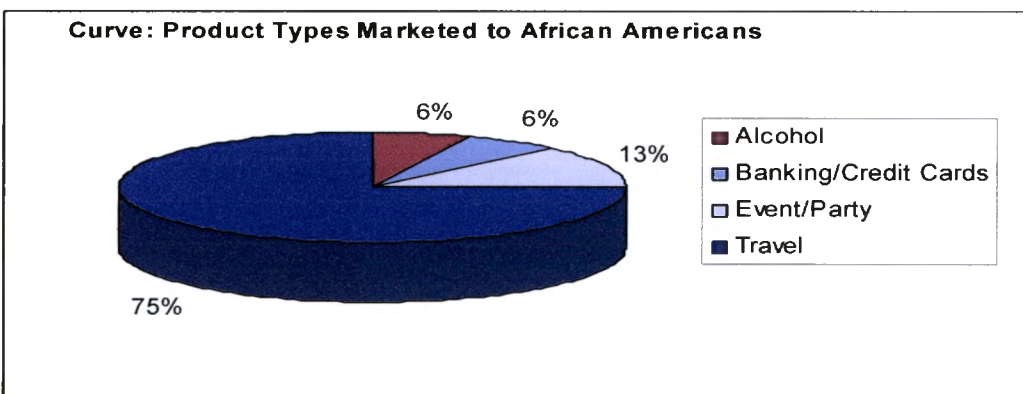
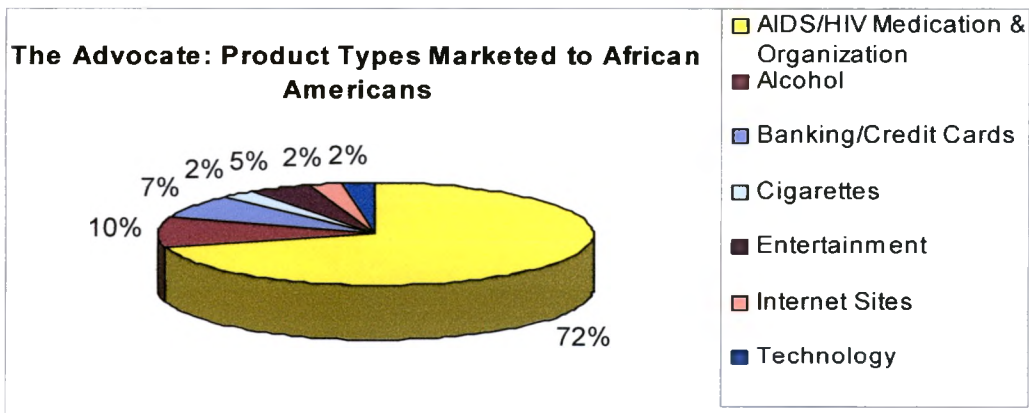
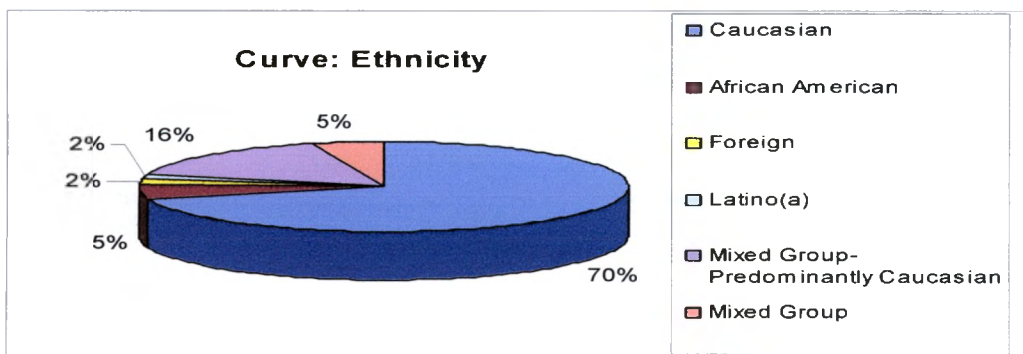
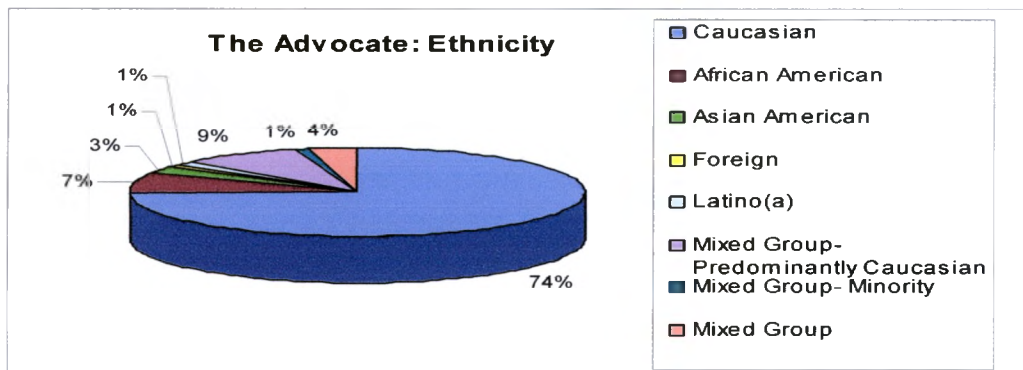
Appendix H: Heteronormative Expression & Commodified Textual Message



Textual Message in the upper right corner:

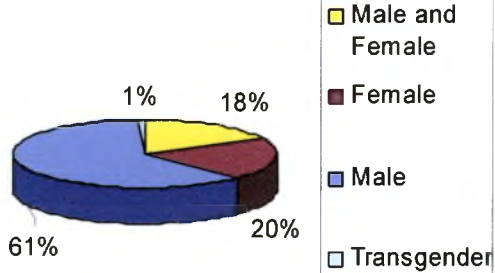
Slates' clothing for men & women: worn by the people of Community Connect, who launched AsianAvenue.com and BlackPlanet.com to fill the void of cultural diversity online. That's just the beginning. Soon this cultural, political and entertainment destination will link us all (The Advocate 2000).

Appendix I: Ethnicity & Product Type Marketed by Ethnicity

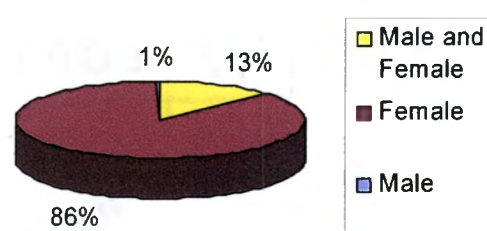


Appendix J: Sex and Gender Display

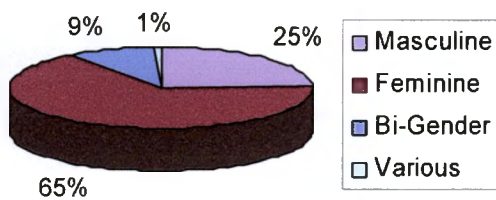
The Advocate: Sex



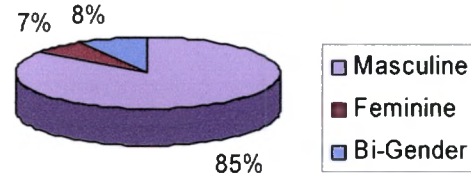
Curve: Sex



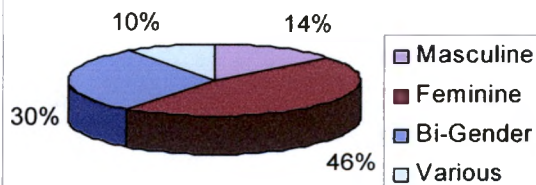
The Advocate: Gender Display by Single Females



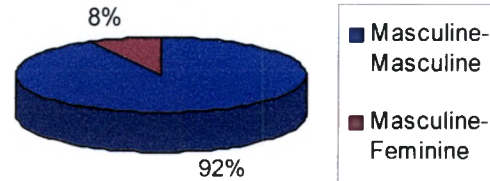
The Advocate: Gender Display by Single Males



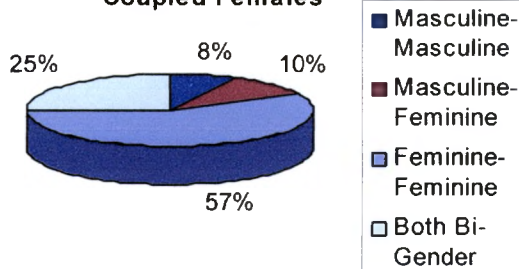
Curve: Gender Display by Single Females



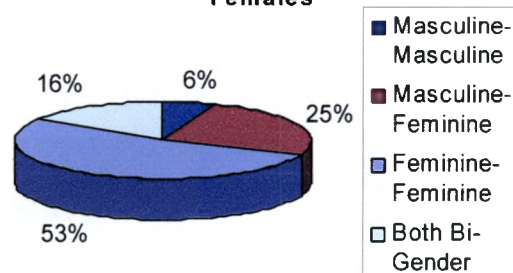
The Advocate: Gender Display of Coupled Males

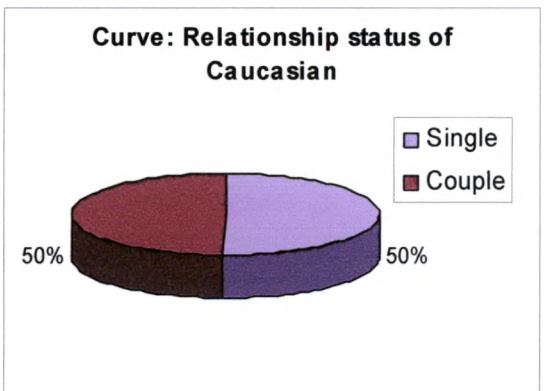
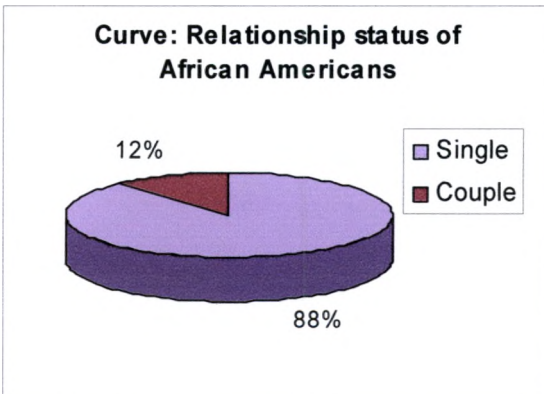
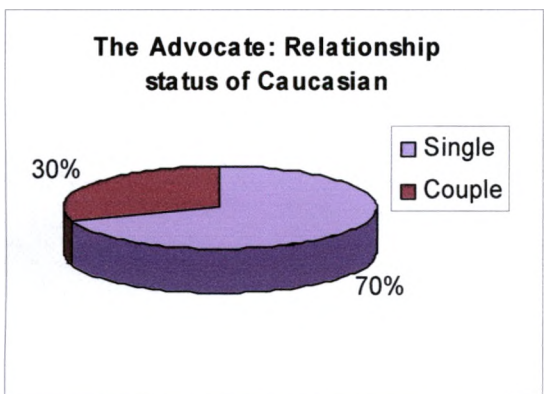
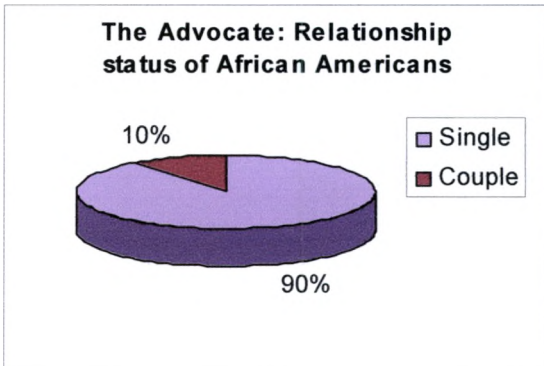
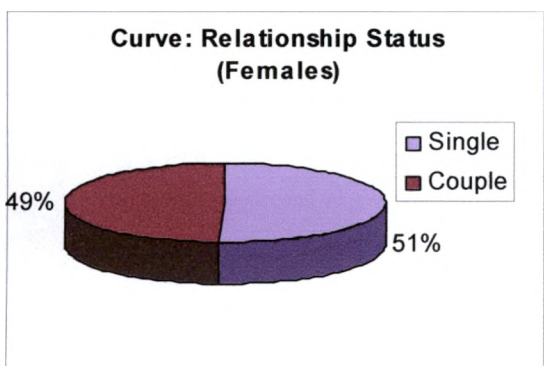
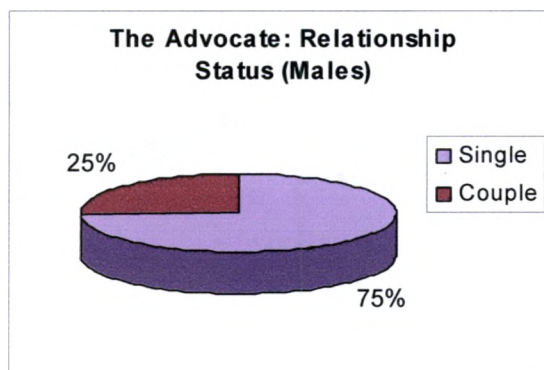
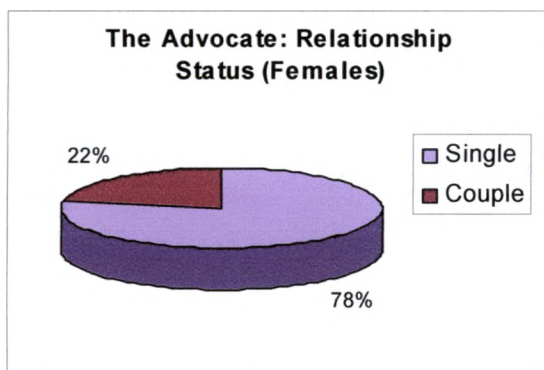


The Advocate: Gender Display of Coupled Females



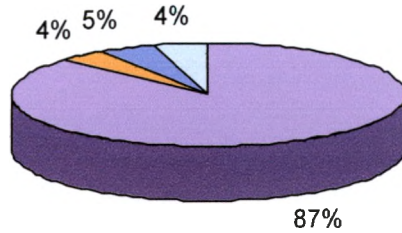
Curve: Gender Display of Coupled Females



Appendix K: Relationship Status by Sex and by Race

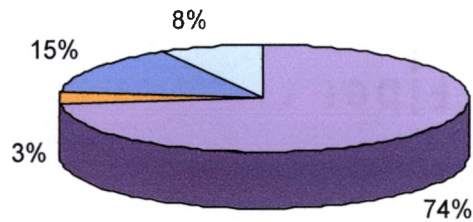
Appendix L: Interracial Couples

The Advocate: Interracial Couple?



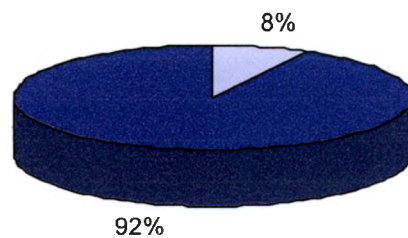
- Caucasian Couple
- Minority Couple
- Caucasian & African American Couple
- Caucasian & Asian American Couple

Curve: Interracial Couple?



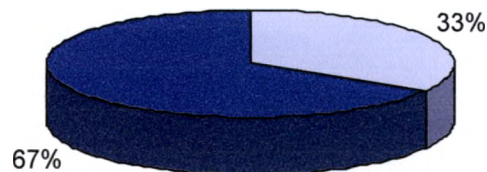
- Caucasian Couple
- Minority Couple
- Caucasian & African American Couple
- Caucasian & Asian American Couple

Curve: Coupled Queer African Americans



- African American
- Interracial: Caucasian & African American

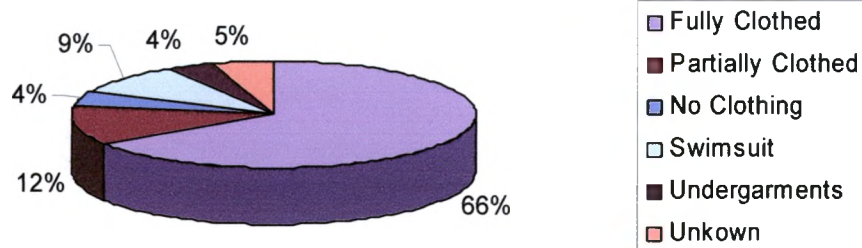
The Advocate: Coupled Queer African Americans



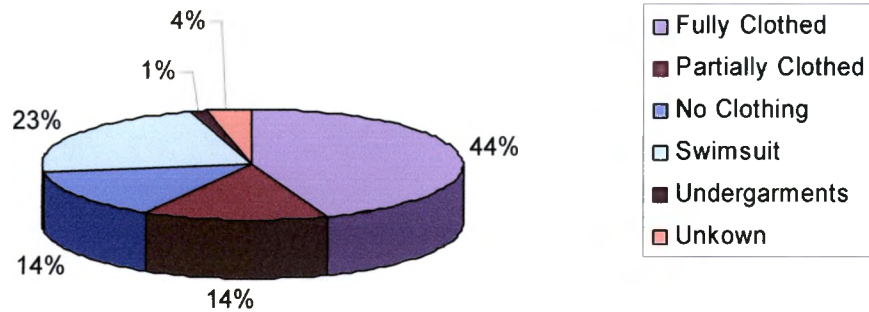
- African American
- Interracial: Caucasian & African American

Appendix M: Body Exposure by Sex

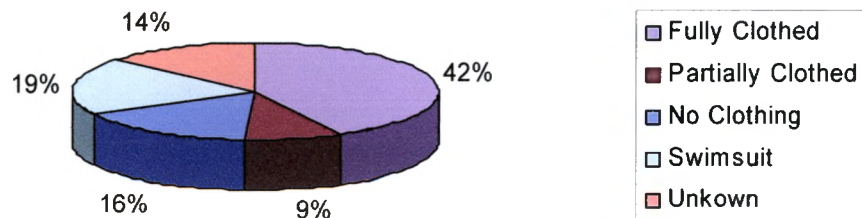
The Advocate: Body Exposure in Female Only Ads



The Advocate: Body Exposure in Male Only Ads

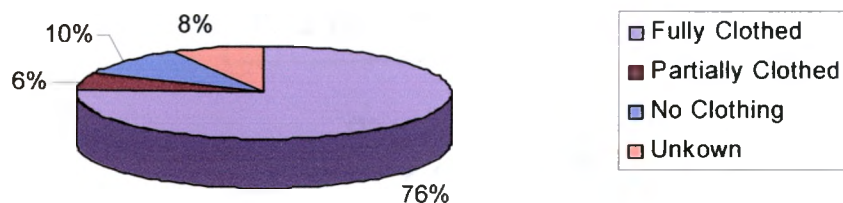


Curve: Body Exposure in Female Only Ads

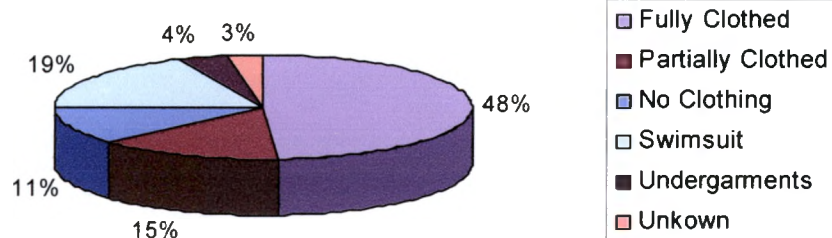


Appendix N: Body Exposure by Race

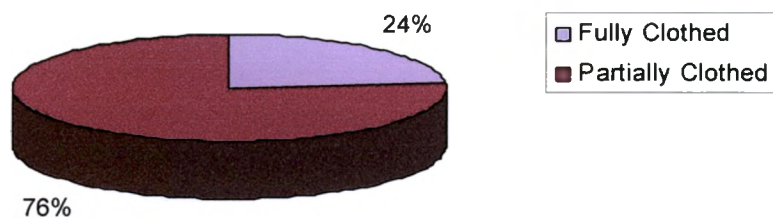
The Advocate: Body Exposure in African American Only Ads



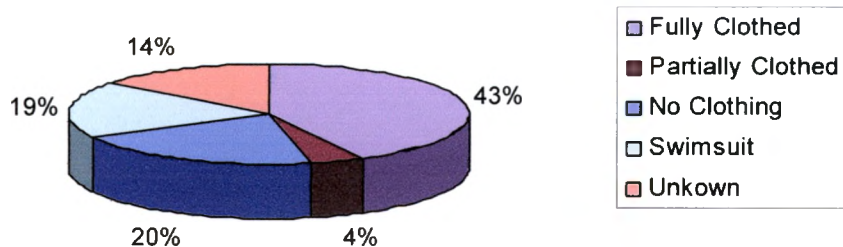
The Advocate: Body Exposure in Caucasian Only Ads



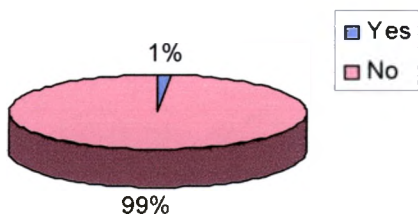
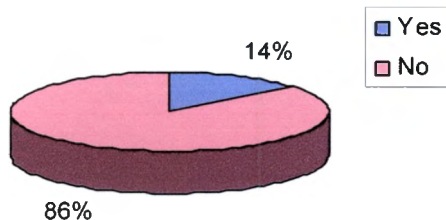
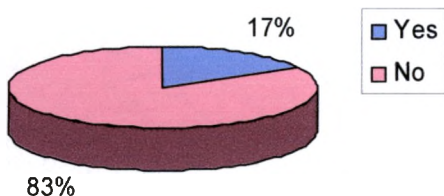
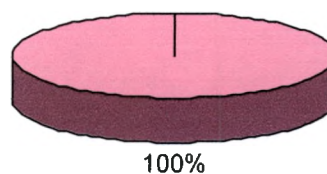
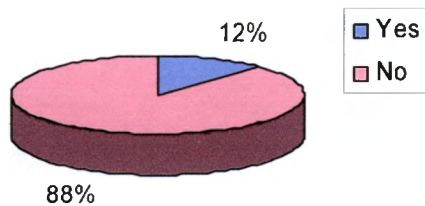
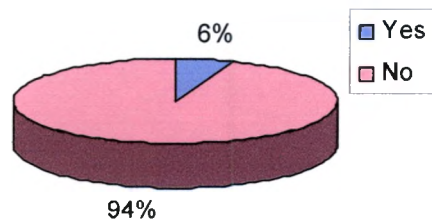
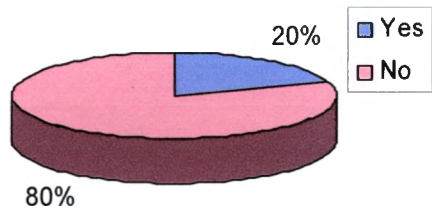
Curve: Body Exposure in African American Only Ads



Curve: Body Exposure in Caucasian Only Ads

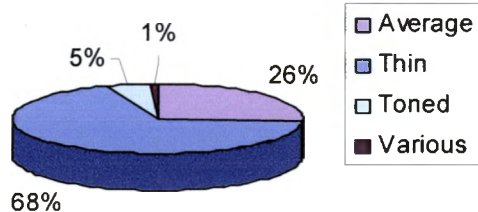


Appendix O: Body Dissection by Sex and Race

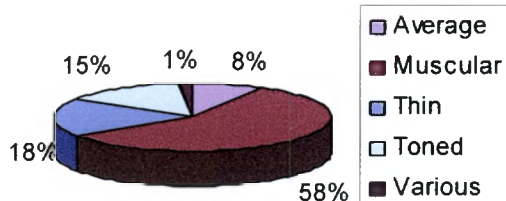
The Advocate: Body Dissection of Females**The Advocate: Body Dissection of Males****Curve: Body Dissection of Females****The Advocate: No Body Dissection of African Americans****The Advocate: Body Dissection of Caucasian****Curve: Body Dissection of African Americans****Curve: Body Dissection of Caucasian**

Appendix P: Body Type by Sex and Race

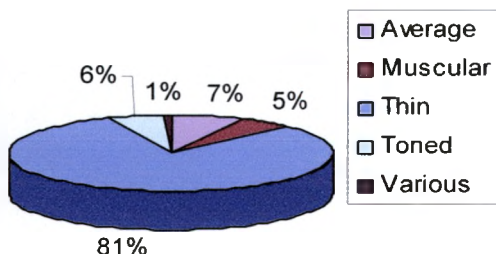
The Advocate: Body Type of Females



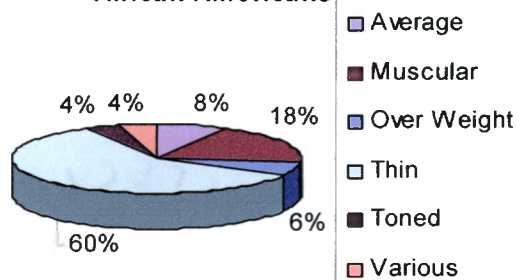
The Advocate: Body Type of Males



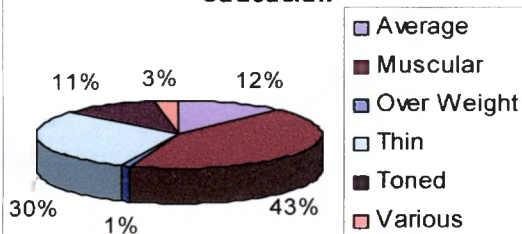
Curve: Body Type of Females



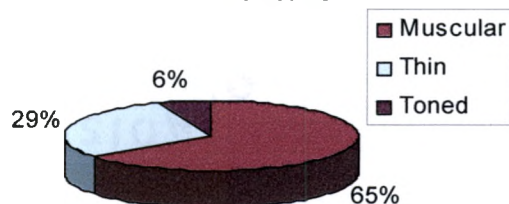
The Advocate: Body Type of African Americans



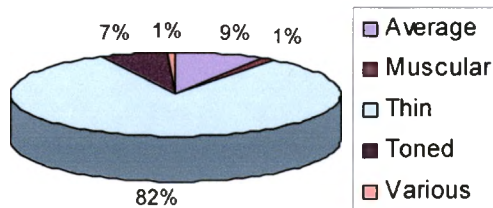
The Advocate: Body Type of Caucasian



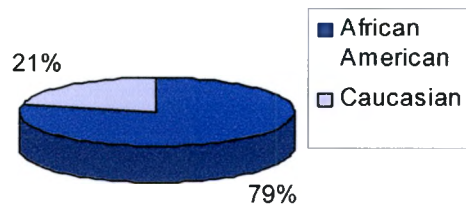
Curve: Body Type of African Americans



Curve: Body Type of Caucasian

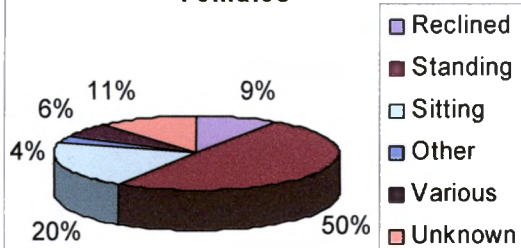


Curve: Muscular Body Type

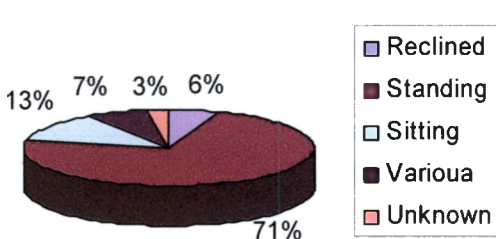


Appendix Q: Body Position by Sex and Race

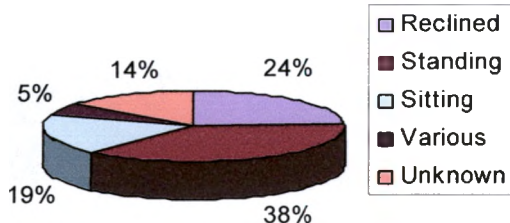
The Advocate: Body Position of Females



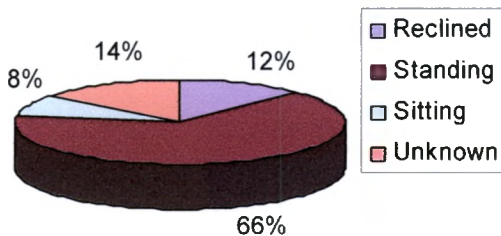
The Advocate: Body Position of Males



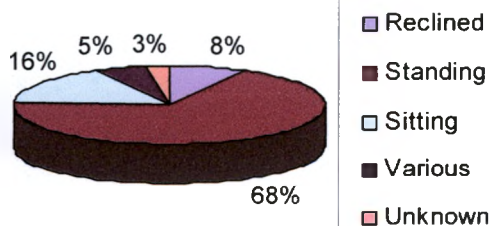
Curve: Body Position of Females



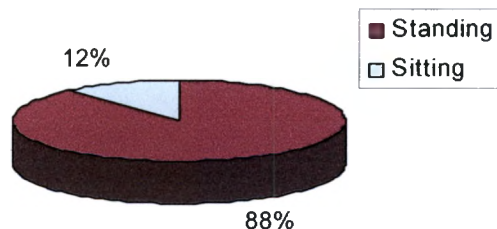
The Advocate: Body Position of African Americans



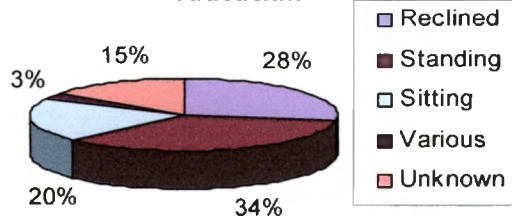
The Advocate: Body Position of Caucasian

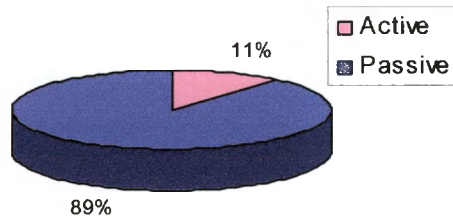
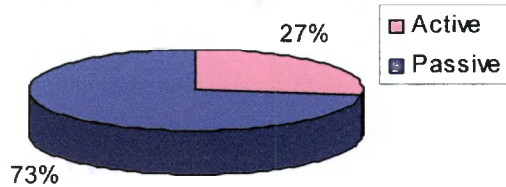
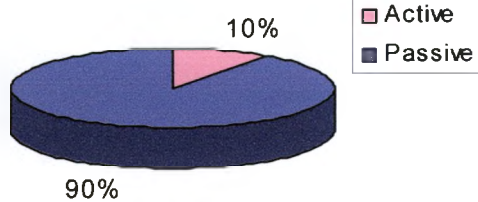
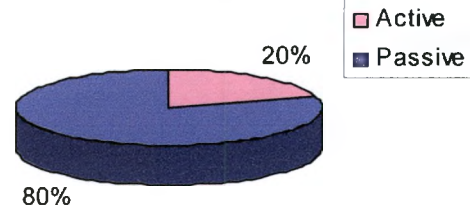
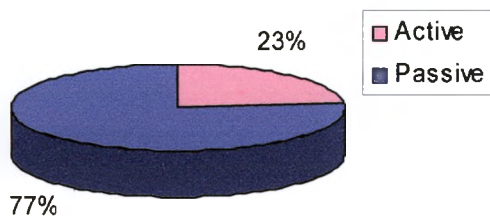
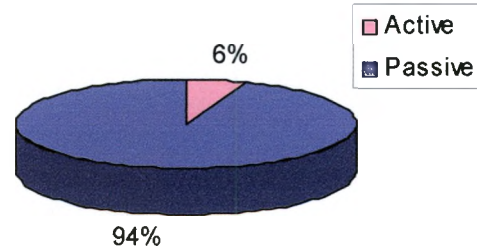
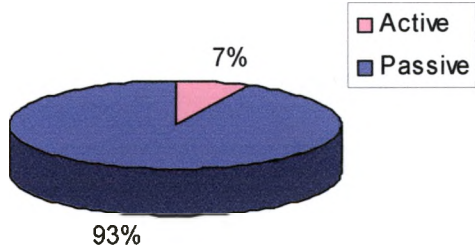


Curve: Body Position of African Americans



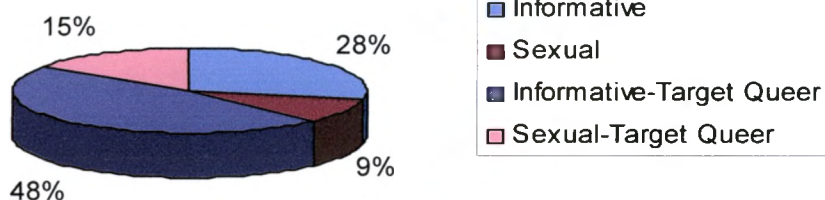
Curve: Body Position of Caucasian



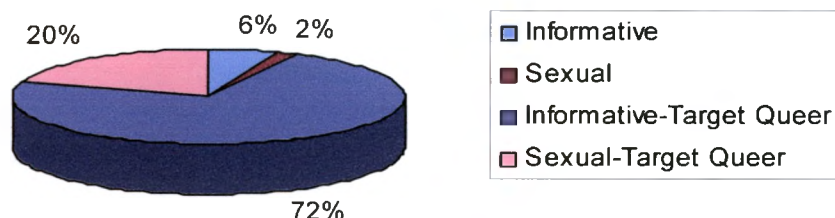
Appendix R: Active or Passive Pose**The Advocate: Active and Passive Poses in Female Only Ads****The Advocate: Active and Passive Poses in Male Only Ads****Curve: Active and Passive Poses in Female Only Ads****The Advocate: Active and Passive Poses in African American Only Ads****The Advocate: Active and Passive Poses in Caucasian Only Ads****Curve: Active and Passive Poses in African American Only Ads****Curve: Active and Passive Poses in Caucasian Only Ads**

Appendix S: Textual Messages

The Advocate: Textual Messages



Curve: Textual Messages



Sample of Textual Messages

- *Curve* February 2000. The Gay Financial Network (banking, mortgage, insurance, investing) ad: "Because our needs are different."
- *The Advocate* April 2000. The Gay Financial Network (banking, mortgage, insurance, investing) ad: "The best in online trading, home mortgages, online banking, insurance and more from top-name financial partners, gfn.com is empowering the gay community toward realizing our American dream."
- *The Advocate* April 2000. The Meyers Pride Value Fund (Mid-Cap Fund) ad: "Investing in your community can have its own rewards."
- *The Advocate* October 2000. G & L Internet Bank ad: "It's not a choice....it's the way we bank."
- *The Advocate* January 2001. Prudential (investment) ad: "Live together"- "Plan together"- "Unsure how to secure their financial future together."
- *Curve* February 2001. G & L Internet Bank ad: "It's the way we live...and it's the way we bank."
- *Curve* April 2001. G & L Internet Bank ad: "Why worry? Bank on your own terms...Don't fall victim to straight-bank induced stress; bank on your own terms without worry at G&L Internet Bank."

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VITA

Valerie Trujillo was born in Texas, but spent her first years in Mexico City, with her parents, Diane Trujillo and Albert Trujillo, and extended family. She attended Health Careers High School in San Antonio, Texas in pursuit of her passion for physics, ecology, and the “natural” sciences in general. At the University of Texas at Austin, elective courses in anthropology and social psychology coupled with zeal for political activism excavated and unearthed the world of the social sciences resulting in a degree in sociology. She then continued her sociological quest in the master’s program at Texas State University-San Marcos. Currently, Valerie is engaged in the everyday grist that New York City offers to the sociological mill and urban sociology at The Graduate Center, the doctorate-granting institution of The City University of New York.

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