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**Attitudes Towards Gender Portrayal
in Advertising:
An Australian Perspective**

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This study examines community attitudes of Australians towards gender portrayal in advertising. Despite some well-publicised cases involving sexually provocative billboards, we find that gender portrayal in advertising is not of major concern to many Australians. We also examined the relationship between attitudes to gender portrayal and Arnott's (1972) Female Autonomy Inventory, a measure of feminist consciousness. Ford and LaTour (1996) tested a model of attitudes toward gender portrayal in advertising that found an unambiguous relationship between attitudes to female autonomy and the perceived offensiveness of the portrayal of women in advertisements. Our study, in contrast, suggests that the relationship is more complex. While one group of high female autonomy respondents (that we labeled "Feminist Pessimists") rated the offensiveness of the portrayal of women in advertising very highly, another high female autonomy group (labeled "Feminist Optimists") did not. Hence regulatory bodies may treat complaints on stereotyping in advertisements from these groups in different ways and advertisers may modify their messages for maximum effect. Differences in the findings between this study and Ford and LaTour's are discussed.

Introduction

This paper explores attitudes towards role portrayals in advertising in the Australian context and the relationship of such attitudes to feminist consciousness. The project was conducted in conjunction with a study of complainants to the Advertising Standards Bureau of Australia (ASB), Australia's national regulator of advertising standards. ASB complainants

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were found to be atypical of the general population, being more likely to be older, female, have stronger political allegiances, and be from a professional or managerial occupation (Volkov, Harker and Harker 2002)

Numerous instances of sexist stereotyping of women persist in advertising as a result of widely held marketing beliefs such as 'sex sells' and 'any publicity is good publicity'.

Extreme examples of such advertisements incur the wrath of 'serial' advertising complainers, as evidenced by the deluge of complaints when the more 'revealing' adverts are aired, but how prevalent are these attitudes in the general population and are there differences within the population? This study aims to further explore community standards about gender portrayal in advertising in order to provide some insight for advertisers and regulators.

Another goal of the paper is to examine a theoretical model developed and tested by Ford and LaTour (1996) in which purchase or boycott intention is a function of both gender role offensiveness and negative corporate image while role offensiveness is predicted by Arnott's (1972) Female Autonomy Scale. This model is shown in Figure 1.

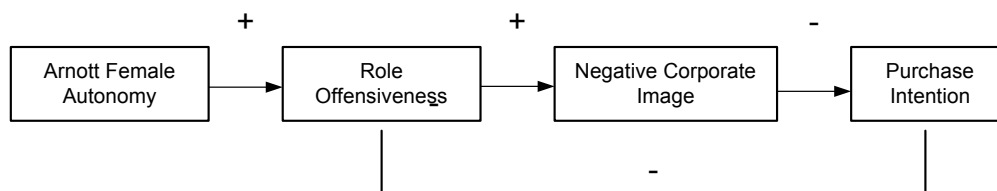


Figure 1. Ford and LaTour's Model of Offensiveness of Gender Roles in Advertising

This model was tested initially on a sample drawn from the South Hampton Roads area of Virginia, USA. It was not our intention to test this model in its entirety, as our focus was on offensiveness rather than purchase intention. However, we did explore the relationship between autonomy and offensiveness.

The Literature and the Controversy

There have been numerous studies of portrayals of gender in advertising conducted over the past three decades across a variety of countries and cultures (Table 1). Most have focussed on various aspects of female stereotypes in advertisements; few studies have as yet examined male stereotypes (Kolbe and Albanese, 1997). Stereotyping has been defined as the process of 'categorising individuals by predicting their behaviour based on their membership of a particular class or group' (Bovee, Thill, Dovel and

Wood, 1995, p. 61). Gender stereotyping involves general beliefs about sex-linked traits and gender roles (Browne, 1998, p. 83).

Table 1. A Selection of Sex Role Portrayal Research

| Year | Authors | Country |
|-------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1974 | Edgar and McPhee | Australia |
| 1975 | McArthur and Resko | USA |
| 1975 | Marquez | Philippines |
| 1980 | Santa Cruz and Erazo | Mexico |
| 1981 | Manstead and McCulloch | USA |
| 1981 | Manstead and McCulloch | England |
| 1985 | Lysonski | England |
| 1985 | Sebastian et al. | Spain |
| 1986 | Furnham and Schofield | England |
| 1986 | Livingston and Green | England |
| 1987 | Wyckham | Canada |
| 1988 | Bretl and Cantor | USA |
| 1988 | Gilly | Mexico |
| 1988 | Gilly | Australia |
| 1989 | Furnham and Voli | Italy |
| 1990 | Lysonski and Pollay | Denmark |
| 1990 | Mitchell and Taylor | England |
| 1990 | Lysonski and Pollay | Greece |
| 1990 | Gendall and Blakeley | New Zealand |
| 1990 | Lysonski and Pollay | New Zealand |
| 1991 | Ford, LaTour and Lundstrom | New Zealand |
| 1992 | Mazzella et al. | Australia |
| 1993 | Ford and LaTour | USA |
| 1994 | Ford, LaTour, Honeycutt and Kramer | USA, Japan, Thailand and New Zealand |
| 1996 | Mwangi | Kenya |
| 1996 | Neto and Pinto | Portugal |
| 1996 | Ford and LaTour | USA |
| 1997 | Furnham and Skae | USA |
| 1997 | Furnham, Babitzkow and Ugucioni | Denmark |
| 1997 | Furnham et al. | France |
| 1997 | Furnham, Mak and Tanidjogo | Hong Kong |
| 1997 | Kolbe and Albanese | USA |
| 1998 | Browne | USA |
| 1998 | Jones, Stanaland and Gelb | USA |
| 1998 | Ford, Voli, Honeycutt and Casey | Japan |
| 1999 | Lavine, Sweeney and Wagner | USA |
| 1999 | Ford, LaTour and Middleton | USA |
| 1999 | Maynard and Taylor | Japan and USA |
| 2000 | Furnham and Farragher | Great Britain and New Zealand |
| 2000 | Milner and Collins | Japan, Russia, Sweden and USA |
| 2001 | Bower and Landreth | USA |
| 2001 | Bower | USA |

(Developed from Furnham and Mak, 1999; Ford, LaTour, Honeycutt and Kramer, 1994 and literature review)

The general consensus of the research literature on gender role stereotypes in advertising over the past 30 years is that:

- Women are more often portrayed as young and concerned with physical attractiveness than their male counterparts;
- Women are less likely than men are to be portrayed as authority figures and more likely to be shown as product users;
- There is a tendency for women to be shown as subordinate to men, as decorative objects, or as alluring sex objects;

Women have tended to be shown as passive, submissive, deferential, unintelligent, shy, dreamy, gentle, likely to be manipulated and helpless: in contrast, men have often been portrayed as constructive, powerful, dominant, autonomous and achieving (Artz, Munger and Purdy, 1999; Browne, 1998).

It has been argued that repeated exposure to such gender stereotyping contributes to the development and reinforcement of sexist attitudes and beliefs. Sexist advertising has been associated with sexual harassment, violence against women, negative self-evaluations, distorted body images, eating disorders, and stereotyped perceptions of, and behaviour toward, men and women (Gulas and McKeage, 2000; Lavine, Sweeney and Wagner, 1999).

Advertisers and their industry organisations in Australia have generally been responsive to these concerns. Attitudes of advertisers have changed along with those of the community and, as with other service industries, the proportion of women working in advertising has increased. There has also been a long-standing tradition in Australia of activists defacing advertising billboards that have been considered offensive, while the ASB now provides an avenue of complaint for persons offended by advertising. Women are thus now more often portrayed as assertive, and as being in positions of authority (Zhou and Chen, 1997).

Methodology

Surveys

Identical surveys were completed by a stratified random sample of 464 Australians and a sample of 265 people who had complained to the ASB, the regulatory body about advertising in Australia. A 'drop-off, pick-up' methodology (Ford, LaTour and Honeycutt 1997) was employed for the general population survey to ensure a high response rate and enhance external validity (Burns and Bush 1995). The survey instrument had been employed in a previous study and was redrafted after further testing on small samples of both populations.

The survey comprised items of three types:

a. Attitudes to Gender Role Portrayal

This comprised 24 salient items plus some filler items not employed in the analyses. These were mostly derived from Ford and LaTour's (1996) instrument. Items represented "Ad. offensiveness", for example, 'I find the portrayal of women in advertising to be offensive'; "Portrayal accuracy", e.g. "Ads which I see show men as they really are". The instrument differed from that of Ford and LaTour's in that items relating to company image were omitted, while additional questions on the portrayal of men and billboard advertising were incorporated. In addition, as we were interested in assessing the importance people placed on these issues, we included items designed to assess this. Scoring was on a 7-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

b. Female Autonomy Scale

A shortened five-item version of Arnott's (1972) Female Autonomy Inventory was employed. The Inventory measures the extent to which people believe that women should have the freedom to work and to make important decisions. Previous studies have found that, for western cultures, a strong female autonomy orientation leads to criticality of female role portrayals (Ford and La Tour 1996; Ford, La Tour and Honeycutt 1997). Scoring was on a 7-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

c. Demographic information

These items asked respondents about their age, gender, marital status, state of residence, employment status, occupation and political orientation.

Data Analysis

The data was coded and analysed using the computer package Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 10.0). The main steps in the analysis were as follows:

1. Descriptive statistics for the sample were derived, and a cross-tabulation of the attitudinal items by sex was performed.
2. The attitudinal items (a and b) above were subjected to a principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation. This differed from the methodology of Ford and LaTour (1996) who employed principal components analysis. The latter methodology is appropriate when the goal is simply to reduce the number of variables. When the goal of the

analysis is to identify the factor structure of theoretical constructs, factor analysis is superior as 'noise' in the form of error and unique variances are eliminated (Widaman 1993).

3. Using a methodology recommended by Fiedler and McDonald (1993) the highest loading two or three items on each retained factor were selected for inclusion in a cluster analysis. Demographic variables known to be related to the attitudinal variables (age, gender and occupation) were also included in the cluster analysis.

Results

Respondent Characteristics

The general stratified random sample included an equal number of males and females. Forty-six per cent of respondents were married, 35 per cent never married and the remainder were widowed, separated or divorced. Fifty-three per cent of respondents were in full-time employment, 29 per cent were employed part-time, 11 per cent were not employed and the remaining 7 per cent did not specify their employment status. The quota sample reflected the geographical dispersion of the population and certain socio-demographic variables. The selective 'complainers' sample comprised people who had complained about sex or sexism to the ASB in the preceding two years.

Gender differences in attitudes to the portrayal of gender in advertising

Table 2 provides the mean values of the attitudinal items. There was a similarity in attitudes between women and men on the portrayal items (item 1-22), with only five items significantly different. Women were much more likely to find offensive the portrayal of women in advertising generally and billboard advertising than were men. Women were more likely than men to report being more sensitive to the portrayal of women and more likely to perceive women as portrayed as dependent on men. Men were somewhat more likely than women to perceive that women were portrayed as they really are and more likely to buy a product that was advertised in a way that portrayed women offensively.

Gender differences in female autonomy

There were significant gender differences in four of the five autonomy items (items 23-27 in Table 2) with women much more likely to support autonomous responses. The exception was the item relating to abortion (item 26) which did not quite make the .05 level of significance ($p < .069$).

Table 2. Summary of Attitudes towards Portrayal of Men and Women in Advertising

| Item | Mean Scores | | Factor Loadings | | | | | | |
|--|---|--------|-----------------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| | Females | Males | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | 1. Advertisements suggest that a woman's place is in the home | 4.15 | 3.90 | .61 | | | | | |
| 2. Ads which I see show women as they really are | 2.90 | 3.14* | | .48 | | | | | |
| 3. Advertisements suggest that women are fundamentally dependent on men | 3.91 | 3.57* | .64 | | | | | | |
| 4. Ads which I see show men as they really are | 3.35 | 3.33 | | .53 | | | | | |
| 5. Ads suggest that men like their beer | 5.82 | 5.79 | .34 | | .33 | | | | |
| 6. Advertisements treat women mainly as 'sex objects' | 4.94 | 4.80 | .56 | | | | | | |
| 7. Ads treat men mainly as 'tools' | 3.91 | 4.08 | | | | | | | .50 |
| 8. Ads which I see accurately portray women in most of their daily activities | 3.62 | 3.74 | | .72 | | | | | |
| 9. Ads which I see accurately portray men in most of their daily activities | 3.18 | 3.99 | | .69 | | | | | |
| 10. Advertisements suggest that women make important decisions | 3.99 | 3.99 | -.41 | | | | | | |
| 11. Advertisements suggest that women do not do important things | 3.79 | 3.63 | .65 | | | | | | |
| 12. Ads suggest that men make important decisions | 4.83 | 4.78 | .41 | | | | | | |
| 13. I am more sensitive to the portrayal of women in advertising than I used to be | 4.68 | 4.21** | | | | .60 | | | |
| 14. I am more sensitive to the portrayal of men in advertising than I used to be | 4.10 | 3.93 | | | | .84 | | | |
| 15. I find the portrayal of women in advertising to be offensive | 4.24 | 3.41** | .44 | | | .34 | | | .46 |
| 16. I find the portrayal of men in advertising to be offensive | 3.38 | 3.21 | | | | | | | .64 |
| 17. If a new product is introduced with advertising that portrays women offensively, I might still buy it if it offers benefits which I find attractive | 4.26 | 4.61* | | | | | .76 | | |
| 18. Even though I may see an ad which is offensive for one product, I would continue to purchase other products that I have been using from the same company | 4.35 | 4.67 | | | | | | .63 | |
| 19. Overall, I believe that the portrayal of women in advertising is changing for the better | 4.30 | 4.35 | -.36 | | | | | .36 | |
| 20. Billboards are increasingly used to portray women in an offensive manner | 4.60 | 4.19** | .37 | | | | | | |
| 21. The portrayal of women in advertising is an extremely important issue | 4.38 | 4.27 | | | | | | | .76 |
| 22. The portrayal of men in advertising is an extremely important issue | 4.03 | 3.74 | | | | | | | .68 |
| 23. A woman should respect just as much freedom as a man | 6.22 | 5.50** | | | .81 | | | | |
| 24. Women should not subordinate their career to home duties to a greater extent than men | 5.32 | 4.78** | | | .38 | | | | |
| 25. The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in matters of law | 2.67 | 3.73** | | | -.59 | | | | |
| 26. The decision to seek an abortion should rest with the wife | 3.77 | 3.44 | | | | | | | |
| 27. Her gender should not disqualify a woman from any occupation | 5.93 | 5.14** | | | .89 | | | | |

Notes: Factor analysis was performed using principal axis factoring with varimax rotation. Loadings of less than .3 are not shown. Items in bold were retained for the cluster analysis. * significant at p<.05 ** significant at p<.01

Offensiveness and Importance

As shown in Table 2, respondents were generally neutral on the questions of whether gender portrayal in advertising was offensive (items 16 and 17) or a very important issue (items 23 and 24). Table 3 provides an insight into the proportions of respondents that felt strongly about these issues:

Table 3. Proportions Who Felt Strongly About Offensiveness and Importance

| Item | Females | Males |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Strongly Agree (%) | Strongly Agree (%) |
| 16. I find the portrayal of women in advertising to be offensive | 8.7 | 1.3 |
| 17. I find the portrayal of men in advertising to be offensive | 0.9 | 3.5 |
| 23. The portrayal of women in advertising is an extremely important issue | 19.3 | 8.3 |
| 24. The portrayal of men in advertising is an extremely important issue | 9.2 | 6.5 |

Relatively few respondents felt strongly that the portrayal of gender in advertising was offensive, but somewhat more respondents felt that it was an important issue.

Results of the Factor Analysis

In the initial solution, eight factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 were extracted that accounted for 44 per cent of the variance. Only two items, 10 (loading .56) and 19 (.31) loaded on factor 8. Because these two items also loaded on other factors, and because a Cattell scree test indicated that only seven factors should be retained, a seven-factor solution was performed. Factor loadings of greater than .3 for this solution are shown in Table 2.

The seven-factor solution, which accounted for 41.5 per cent of the total variance, was readily interpretable. The results are compared to those of Ford and LaTour's (1996) principal components analysis. The first point of difference is that we extracted more factors, seven, compared with the four extracted by Ford and LaTour. As we did not include the items for 'Company Image', Ford and LaTour only extracted three comparable factors.

The highest loading items on Factor 1 in our solution were clearly related to perceptions of sexism in advertising in the portrayal of females. This factor was thus labelled 'Sexist Portrayal of Women'. The factor bears a strong resemblance to Ford and LaTour's (1996) Factor 1, which they labelled 'Ad Offensiveness'. Unlike Ford and LaTour, we also had items concerning the

offensiveness of the portrayal of men, and 'Ad Offensiveness' formed a discrete factor, Factor 7.

Our Factor 2 was very similar to Ford and LaTour's (1996) Factor 2 and we gave it the same label, 'Portrayal Accuracy'. Unlike Ford and LaTour, item 15, portrayal of women in advertising changing for the better, did not load on this factor. This item has no clear relationship with portrayal accuracy. Four of the five female autonomy items loaded most highly on Factor 3 and the factor was thus labelled Female Autonomy. Ford and LaTour (1996) did not include these items in their principal components analysis, and relied on previous studies that supported its construct validity. We found that the abortion item did not load on this item (.09) and the item had low communality (.08) suggesting that the abortion decision is not seen to any great extent as a female autonomy issue in Australia.

Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis provides a means of dividing a sample into groups according to their similarities across a selection of variables. There are numerous clustering algorithms (see, for example, Hair, et. al 1998, Chapter 9): of the two available in SPSS we chose the K-means method, as this is more easily interpreted when there is a large number of cases. This was also the method employed by Ford and LaTour (1996).

For the reasons explained in the methodology section, the two highest loading items on each factor were retained for the factor analysis. As the third highest loading items on Factors 1 and 7 were of similar magnitude to the second highest loading items, these items were also retained. Item 19, relating to whether respondents considered the portrayal of women to be changing for the better, was also retained as it was considered to be of potential theoretical interest.

Results of the cluster analysis are provided in Table 4. Members of Cluster 1, which comprised 27 per cent of the sample, were on average the oldest, were predominantly male (65 per cent) and more likely than average to be in a blue-collar occupation. In contrast to the prediction of the Ford and LaTour model they ranked second lowest on female autonomy (5.40 of a possible 7) yet ranked highest on Portrayal Sensitivity and second highest on Sexist Portrayal of Women, Importance of Portrayal and Ad Offensiveness. They were highly likely to agree that the portrayal of women was changing for the better. It was difficult to assign a label to this group, but as they were the eldest and closest to the mean on the majority of factors they were labelled Older Norms.

Cluster 2, comprising some 27 per cent of the sample, more closely resembled the Ford and LaTour model in that members obtained the second highest Autonomy score and the highest Offensiveness Score. Members of the cluster were most likely to regard the portrayal of women as sexist and

least likely to agree that the portrayal of women had changed for the better. Members were thus labelled Feminist Pessimists. They were the most likely to agree that the issue was extremely important and second most likely to agree that they had become more sensitive to the issue. Members were the second youngest on average, overwhelmingly female (72 per cent) and most likely to be in a white-collar occupation (89 per cent).

Table 4. Final Cluster Centres

| | Cluster | | | | Full Sample |
|--|---------|------|------|------|-------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| Attitudinal Factors (7 point scale) | | | | | |
| 0. Portrayal women changing for better | 4.97 | 3.10 | 4.98 | 4.09 | 4.31 |
| 1. Sexist Portrayal of Women | 3.96 | 4.98 | 3.04 | 3.25 | 3.84 |
| 2. Portrayal Accuracy | 4.28 | 3.27 | 4.00 | 3.53 | 3.79 |
| 3. Female Autonomy | 5.40 | 6.05 | 6.19 | 3.65 | 5.46 |
| 4. Portrayal Sensitivity | 4.89 | 4.78 | 3.67 | 3.34 | 4.23 |
| 5. Purchase Intention | 4.79 | 3.85 | 5.11 | 4.29 | 4.53 |
| 6. Importance of Portrayal | 4.53 | 4.68 | 3.70 | 3.64 | 4.17 |
| 7. Ad Offensiveness | 4.47 | 4.55 | 2.85 | 2.64 | 3.71 |
| Demographic variables | | | | | |
| Age bracket | 2.63 | 2.14 | 2.11 | 2.60 | 2.35 |
| Sex (1=male, 2=female) | 1.35 | 1.72 | 1.59 | 1.25 | 1.50 |
| Occupation (1=white 2=blue collar) | 1.51 | 1.11 | 1.11 | 1.56 | 1.31 |
| n | 123 | 119 | 123 | 85 | 450 |

Cluster 3, which also comprised about 27 per cent of the sample, did not conform to the Ford and LaTour model in that its members had the highest autonomy score yet had the second lowest Offensiveness score. Members of this cluster were most likely to agree that the portrayal of women was sexist and that the portrayal of women had changed for the better and second least likely to regard the issue as important. The members of the cluster were therefore labelled Feminist Optimists. Members of this cluster were the youngest, most likely to be in white-collar occupations (89 per cent) and comprised 59 per cent females.

The members of Cluster 4, which comprised 19 per cent of the sample, were labelled Patriarchals as they had by far the lowest mean autonomy score. They conformed to the Ford and LaTour model in that they were the least likely to be offended by the portrayal of gender in advertising, least likely to agree they had become more sensitive to the issue and least likely to regard the issue as important. They were the second least likely to regard the

Portrayal of Women as Sexist, to agree that the portrayal of women was changing for the better and portrayal accuracy. They were on average the oldest, overwhelmingly male (75 per cent) and had the highest proportion of blue-collar workers.

Conclusions and Implications

The objective of this research project was to firstly gain more insight into the level and nature of community perceptions of, and attitudes towards, gender portrayal in advertising. Secondly, the data were analysed to determine whether they conformed to the Ford and LaTour (1996) model of gender portrayal in advertising.

Despite some well-publicised extreme cases, our conclusion is that gender portrayal in advertising is not of major concern to our sample of the general Australian population. It is of some concern to a segment of younger, female white-collar workers of a feminist orientation, but their views are not shared by a substantial number of their peers. Unsurprisingly, gender portrayal is also an issue for people who complained about advertising to the regulatory body; the 'serial' complainers.

Our finding of two groups of feminist orientation with completely different attitudes to gender role portrayals, if found to generalise across culturally similar populations, would necessitate substantial modifications to the Ford and LaTour (1996) model.

We believe that our finding of at least two discrete high autonomy groups in the cluster analysis adds an additional dimension to Ford and LaTour's (1996) model. Feminism, or the belief in women's autonomy, is not a unitary phenomenon and embraces a wide divergence of viewpoints (see, e.g. Caine and Pringle 1995). The finding of two groups of feminist orientation with completely different attitudes is therefore more consistent with what is known about the women's movement, indeed, it may well be the case that two groups do not adequately represent the range of feminist attitudes towards gender role portrayals.

It would appear from this exploratory study in Australia that people generally are not unduly offended by advertisements that portray women in a stereotypical way. Men are less concerned than women about errant ads. but women differ in their response to them. Traditional feminists, 'pessimists' as we have named, are more likely to exhibit offense than women at large and the 'optimist' feminist group expressed less concern than the traditional feminists group about stereotyping. Feminists are often accused of leading the charge when advertisers stray into the supposed minefield of sexual stereotyping and regulatory bodies such as the ASB are quick to respond to the charges laid. As a result of the findings of this study, it is possible that regulatory bodies may wish to develop new strategies to

deal with the different groups of women in different ways when stereotyping occurs in advertising in the future. Also advertisers and their agents may wish to research their markets more carefully when planning campaigns in order to identify which kind of feminist they are addressing in their messages in order to maximise impact and minimise offense.

The differences between our findings and those of Ford and LaTour (1996) could be due to several factors. Firstly, the sample employed by Ford and LaTour may have included one or more influential outliers that prevented the formation of meaningful third and subsequent clusters. Secondly, our sample was a national one, and might be expected to be more heterogenous than Ford and LaTour's. Thirdly, there may be cultural differences between Australians and Americans. Finally, the refinements we have made to the methodology might have influenced the outcome.

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Before becoming an academic, **Debra Harker** worked as a Marketing Consultant with KPMG Peat Marwick Management Consultants in England and AGB McNair in Australia. Debra achieved a BA (Hons) in Business Studies at South Bank University, London, and evaluated the effectiveness of the advertising self-regulatory scheme in Australia for her doctorate, which was awarded by Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia. She now lectures in Marketing at the University of the Sunshine Coast in Queensland, Australia and publishes in quality journals around the world.

Stuart Svensen is a multi-disciplinary researcher with degrees in economics, psychology and history. He has also researched and written on business, industrial relations, public policy, law, marketing and problem gambling issues. He has previously been a researcher at the Workplace Studies Centre, Victoria University; the National Key Centre in Industrial Relations, Monash University; and the Labour Market Analysis Centre, University of Wollongong, all in Australia. He has written more than 40 academic publications, including three books.