

GENDER-ROLE PORTRAYALS IN TAIWAN'S TELEVISION COMMERCIALS: A
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TIMES ADVERTISING AWARD WINNERS 1997-2002

By

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by

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To Ming Hua Chu for her great love and endless support.

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As an international student, the whole experience of studying in the U.S. was combined with various indescribable feelings. Sometimes I felt excited, happy, and delighted. Sometimes I was deeply depressed, frustrated, or even self-doubting. In some situations I was overwhelmed by homesickness and helplessness. Fortunately, I had some people who always stood by me and kindly accompanied me through the whole journey. Without their sincere support and timely encouragement, I could not have completed this task.

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This study was designed to gain a better understanding of how gender roles were portrayed in Taiwan's award-winning commercials. Using a feminist theoretical framework, this study examined whether the portrayals of Taiwanese men and women have changed, improved, or remained stereotypical over time; and whether any inequity of gender-role portrayals existed in these award-winning commercials.

To examine the differences and similarities in gender role portrayals of men and women shown in Taiwan's television commercials, a quantitative content analysis based on 608 Times Advertising Award winners from 1997 to 2002 was conducted. Variables used included: year, gender of character(s), ethnicity, language, age, social role, family role, occupation, basis for credibility, information role, setting, Pingree's consciousness scale of sexism, product type, and gender of announcer(s). In general, the results showed two perspectives on the gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's award-winning commercials: progressive and traditional.

- **Progressive portrayals:** Gender-role portrayals are unrestricted by traditional stereotypes and are more diverse. The gender gap between men and women has gradually narrowed. Significant improvements were found in language, occupation, product role, information role, setting, gender of announcers, and Pingree's consciousness scale of sexism.
- **Traditional portrayals:** Unequal portrayals of men and women still exist in the commercials. Gender stereotypes of primary character, age, social role, family role, and product type are still apparent. However, these stereotypical portrayals showed a slight tendency toward progress, instead of going backward, for both men and women could be seen appearing in more diverse gender roles in commercials.

As a whole, this study provided a general picture of gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's award-winning television commercials and elaborated on the potential meanings behind these gender depictions from social, economic, and cultural aspects. Results showed that the portrayals of men and women in Taiwan's award-winning commercials are more closely reflective of today's diverse gender roles in Taiwan's society than those in prime-time commercials, even though some inappropriate portrayals still appeared in award-winning commercials. These findings may also be used by advertising practitioners to create more-appealing gender roles in Taiwan's commercials. In addition, since only a handful of studies of this type can be found in Taiwan's gender literature, this study can serve as cornerstone to spur future studies of gender role portrayals in Taiwan's advertising.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

As a small island country with geographical area of 35,967 sq. km (about the size of West Virginia) and a population of 22.6 millions, Taiwan began to attract global attention with its growing economic power. Since adopting democracy and capitalism, Taiwan has successfully transformed itself from an underdeveloped, agricultural country with \$6.6 billion GNP (\$443 per person), to an economic power that is a leading producer of high-technology goods. Now, Taiwan is a creditor country, holding one of the world's largest foreign-exchange reserves, more than \$100 billion in 1999. The people in Taiwan were the 20th richest in the world in 2000-2004 and were projected to be 18th in 2005-2009 (Economist Intelligence Unit, EIU, 2004). In 2004, Taiwan's GNP reached \$314.3 billion and \$13,925 per person (DGBAS, 2004).

Along with economic growth, Taiwan's media industry also made great progress. In 1962, the first broadcast-television station, Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), was established. Several years later, the China Television Company (CTV, established in 1969), the Chinese Television Service (CTS, established in 1971), the Formosa Television (FTV, established in 1997), and Public Television Service (PTS, established in 1998) successively joined the market. Since the passing of the Cable-TV Bill in 1993, eighty different channels have been established. Recently, 99.4% of Taiwan's household have at least one color-TV set and are able to watch terrestrial TV programs (DGBAS, 2003^c), with 85% cable-TV penetration (Liu, 2004).

According to *Common Wealth* (2002), the authoritative business magazine in Taiwan, nearly 98% of Taiwanese watch TV an average of more than 2.5 hours a day. Approximately 73% of Taiwanese rely on TV as their main media source for information; and spend more time using TV than other media. Only 14% of Taiwanese prefer reading newspaper for information and spend more time on it. Moreover, up to 81% of Taiwanese think that TV has the most powerful influence on society of all media types, far exceeding newspaper (5%), and magazine (4%). Undoubtedly, television has become the most popular and competitive advertising media for advertisers to invest in.

Inspired by economic growth and the open media environment, Taiwan's advertising industry expanded vigorously. In 2000, Taiwan was ranked as the 6th largest country in the Asia-Pacific area in ad agency gross income: \$170.4 million, with an annual increase of 20.3% (AdAge Global, 2001). Advertising expenditures in Taiwan reached \$3.3 billion (IMF, 2002). Furthermore, more than half of all media expenditures have invested in television advertising, including terrestrial and cable TV since the 1990s (Advertising Magazine, 2004).

In addition to audience and advertiser preference of TV, academic researchers have also emphasized the influential communication power of television advertising. Numerous studies show that advertising can influence or form consumers' attitudes, perceptions, and likings toward the advertised brand and can deliver ideological values to brands (Aaker & Stayman, 1990; Biel, 1990; MacInnis & Jaworski 1989). Some studies further indicate that advertising can create, regulate, reinforce, or deliver the "proper" gender roles to audiences and reflect social phenomena to some extent (Ganahi, Prinsen, & Netzley, 2003; Gerbner, 1999; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Signorelli & Morgan, 1996).

For example, Courtney (1983) stated the social consequences of gender stereotyping in advertising, and gave detailed examples of these effects on women and children.

In Taiwan's television advertising, the portrayals of men and women have been stereotypical for a long time. Studies show that women portrayed in advertising tend to be subordinate, traditional, decorative, and sexually objectified; and men are often given independent, credible, and authoritative roles (Li, 1990; Tau, 1991; Hu, 1998). However, since the Feminist Movement of the 1970s and the social transitions due to prosperous economic development and equal education for all citizens, Taiwanese women's social status has risen substantially. For example, more women than men received higher education in 2003; the percentage of female labor participation keeps increasing; women have started actively participating in public affairs such as being government administrators or going into parliament (DGBAS, 2003^b). Consequently, the unequal treatment of Taiwan's society to women has been recognized, and women's voice has actually been heard by the government and the people. (Hu, 1998; Tau, 1991). Because of this, one cannot help but wonder how these social transitions manifest in Taiwan's advertising today. While few studies focus on exploring how gender roles are portrayed in Taiwan's advertising and examine whether these portrayals reflect today's diverse gender roles in Taiwan's society, a content analysis based on a reputable sample of Taiwan's television commercials is needed to answer this question.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to increase understanding of how gender roles are portrayed in Taiwan's award-winning commercials (Times Advertising Award 1997-2002). Using a feminist theoretical framework, this study examined whether gender-role portrayals have changed, improved, or remain stereotypical; and whether any inequality

of gender-role portrayals exists in these award-winning advertisements. There are three reasons for choosing samples from Times Advertising Award-Winners: 1) No previous study explores how gender roles are portrayed in Taiwan's Award-Winning advertising. Most studies focus on prime-time television commercials or magazine advertisements. 2) The Times Advertising Award is the most highly respected advertising award in Taiwan. All commercials of it are professionally judged for their creativity and are sufficiently representative of latest social trends. If advertising (especially television commercials) is the epitome of a society, it is reasonable to suggest that award-winning commercials can also precisely reflect the latest social trends, but in a more creative way. 3) Generally speaking, most advertising agencies view winning reputable advertising awards as their ultimate goal, possibly for they believe that winning awards can boost staff morale, promote company pride, challenge other employees, and lift standards in the agency so that creativity can be an integral part of company culture (Douglas, Collins, and Miciak, 2003). Therefore, gender-role portrayals in Times Advertising Award winners may directly or indirectly lead advertising practitioners to follow suit, in turn implicitly influencing audiences' perceptions of acceptable gender roles.

Significance of the Study

Based on both the quantitative and the qualitative examples of the findings, this study improves the understanding of how gender roles are portrayed in Taiwan's television commercials as well as of the social, economic, and cultural meanings behind these depicted gender roles. In addition, this study also helps advertising practitioners to create more-appealing gender roles in Taiwan's commercials. Since most studies of this type have been done in the U.S., and only a handful of them can be found in Taiwan's

gender literature, this study can serve as the cornerstone to spur future studies of gender role portrayals in Taiwan's advertising.

Research Questions

- **RQ1:** How were men portrayed in Times Advertising Award-Winning television commercials from 1997 to 2002?
- **RQ2:** How were women portrayed in Times Advertising Award-Winning television commercials from 1997 to 2002?
- **RQ3:** How differently or similarly were men and women portrayed in Times Advertising Award-winning television commercials from 1997 to 2002?
- **RQ4:** What do the findings imply about gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's television commercials by product types?
- **RQ5:** According to Pingree's scale for sexism, what is the consciousness scale of sexism in Times Advertising Award-Winning television commercials?

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender-Role Stereotyping in Advertising

According to Mayer and Bell (1975), a stereotype is the picture one has in mind when regarding a hypothetical kind of person and gender stereotypes are statements of how we believe traits to be related in males or in females rather than how they actually are. In Frith and Mueller's book (2003, p.227), *Advertising and Culture*, they exclaimed that gender was culturally determined (masculine and feminine), and each culture had a set of general beliefs about what constituted the gender roles. While stereotypes in advertising are believed to serve a useful function by conveying an image quickly and clearly and there is nothing inherently wrong with using characterizations of roles that are easily identifiable, gender stereotyping is pervasively used in advertising. Consequently, these stereotypes in advertising not only reflect cultural expectations of gender, but also shape and reinforce the stereotypical representations that are already present in a culture to some degree (Ganahl, Prinsen, and Netzley, 2003).

Since Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, a new wave of feminism and the consciousness-raising decade of the 1960s had begun. Friedan became interested in the way that the U.S. females were portrayed in women's magazines in general. She found that magazines either reflected or actually fostered and perpetuated a limited life style for the U.S. women by repeatedly portraying motherhood and the care of home and husband as the ultimate goal of women's life and their greatest creative presentation. Following her study, feminists and other researchers have started studying

how gender roles are portrayed in the media and advertising (Courtney & Whipple, 1983) more extensively and focus on more specific fields. Most of the mainstream media studies regarding gender-role portrayals reflect a liberal feminist perspective, namely, emphasizing on investigating gender difference/similarities shown in the media and using content analysis as the main research method (Cirksena & Cuklanz, 1992; Steeves, 1987). For examples, examining the gender portrayal differences/similarities of men and women in different advertising media such as television commercials (Bresnahan et al., 2001; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; O'Donnell & O'Donnell, 1978; Schneider & Schneider, 1979), print ads (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Kang, 1997; Pingree et al., 1976), or radio advertising (Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Hurtz & Durkin, 1997); investigating gender-role cues in commercials targeting different groups of audiences such as children (Durkin & Nugent, 1998; Smith, 1994), women (Gerber & Signorielli, 1979; Goffman, 1976; Jennings, Geis, & Brown, 1980), or teenagers (Block & Robins, 1993; Richins, 1991; Walsh-Childers, 1999); exploring gender-role stereotypes in commercials for particular products such as food (Jaffe & Berger, 1994), beer (Iijima, Hall & Crum, 1994), and medical products (Leppard, Ogletree & Wallen, 1993), or particular types of programs such as comedies (Olson & Douglas, 1997) and MTV commercials (Signorielli, McLeod, & Healy, 1994).

Although some studies find favorable improvements in gender portrayals in advertising, the gender differences shown in advertising are still obvious. The unequal depictions of men and women in the U.S. advertising continued and even had become more serious in some ways from the 1970s to the 1990s. Many findings indicated the pervasive use of traditional Western stereotypes of women as sex objects, as dependent

on men, as primarily in domestic settings, as decorations, and as product users rather than authoritative or credible spokespersons (Busby 1975; Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Ferguson, Kreshal, and Tinkham 1990; Ferrante, Haynes, and Kingsley 1988; Gilly 1988; Lovdal 1989; Maracek et al. 1978; Soley and Kurzbard 1986; Soley and Reid 1988).

According to the cultivation theory, television has long-term effects which are small, gradual, indirect but cumulative and significant on its viewers. Repeated TV viewing would cultivate viewers' attitudes to be more consistent with the world presented in television programs than with the real world (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986). This is also applicable to explain the influence of advertising on its viewers. Advertising, especially television commercials, is considered as an important socializing agent to deliver desirable images or personal traits of men and women to its target audiences. Therefore, a large numbers of studies have begun to focus on examining the effects of gender stereotyping in television commercials on society in general (Comstock et al., 1978; Courtney & Whipple; 1978) as well as on different target audiences such as children (Durkin & Nugent, 1998; Smith, 1994), teenagers (Block & Robins, 1993; Richins, 1991; Walsh-Childers, 1999), women, and men (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; McArthur & Resko, 1975).

Effects on Children and Teenagers

Although it is a common held belief that socialization effects occur only after repeated exposure to stereotypes over long time periods, some studies suggest that exposed to even one counter-stereotypical commercial can affect the attitudes of children, at least in the short term (Atkin, 1975; O'Bryant & Corder-Bolz, 1978). According to social learning theory, "observational learning from live and symbolic models (e.g. films, televisions, and books) is the first step in the acquisition of sex-typed behavior" (Mischel,

1966). Therefore, children learn a lot about gender-typed behaviors by observing television role models (Peirce, 1989; Ruble, Balaban, & Cooper, 1981; Liebert & Poulos, 1972), and are encouraged to emulate the same-gender models shown in television, whether seen directly or experienced through the media. As a result, children unconsciously shape or reinforce their views about gender-appropriate behaviors from TV (Courtney, 1983). Considering its profound influence on children, gender-role stereotyping in advertisements has become a popular area in academic communication.

Some studies suggest that children's TV programs as well as commercials, are primarily a male-dominant world (Signorielli, 1991; Barcus, 1983). Male characters carry the actions, while female characters offer support. Advertisers and marketers may take advantages of this gender-stratified phenomenon and then create different products for boys and girls. The typical gender-oriented commercial is: boys wear dark-colored clothing such as dark green and blue, play sports or compete with each other outside, or play their toys aggressively or even violently; girls wear in pastel colors such as pink or white, play their dressed-up dolls or soft animals quietly and gently in their pastel bedrooms or playrooms (Frith & Mueller, 2003). In O'Bryant and Corder-Bolz's (1978) study, they showed several commercials including both traditional (e.g. fashion model and file clerk) and nontraditional female occupations (e.g. pharmacists and butcher) to 67 girls and boys, aged 5 to 10 years old, and found that the children would learn about the gender appropriateness of the jobs through watching these commercials. Consistent with Atkin's (1975) study, they concluded that television commercials could have a significant impact on children's perceptions of occupational possibilities and thus on their career aspirations.

When these boys and girls grow up, the media continue to play an important role in developing their gender identity. The most common concern of critics is that advertisements present young girls with unrealistic beauty norms such as uniformly thin and big breasts (Frith and Mueller, 2003). This may contribute to young girls' unhappiness with their own appearance, undermine their self-confidence, create inferior self-feelings, and even cause some problems such as eating disorders (Freedman, 1986) and looking for immediate makeover such as plastic surgery regardless of the consequences (Walsh-Childers, 1999). While girls are obsessed by achieving these hard-to-attain standards of physical attractiveness present in advertising, boys have more freedom to do anything they want and hold a stronger view about themselves as holistic (Frith and Mueller, 2003).

Although the above studies suggest that advertising mirrors society and reflects or reinforces the gender stereotypes that are already presented in a culture by using gender stereotypes, none of them state that advertising creates the gender stereotypes held by children and teenagers. As early as thirty years ago, Cheles-Miller's (1975) had already indicated that television's influence on children was filtered through the child's own first-hand experience and personality and further concluded that the more consistent the role portrayal on television and the less the personal experience of the child, the greater was the power of the commercials to affect him or her. Similarly, O'Neil, Schoonover, and Adelstein's (1980) suggested that television could be a strong force maintaining the status quo of the child, but when parents and school took positive action such as fostering nontraditional gender-role perceptions, they could apparently undo what television was teaching their child. There is an interaction between what is viewed on television and

what is observed in reality (Courtney & Whipple, 1983). In addition, advertisers and marketers also need to take their social responsibilities to use more diverse and realistic gender-role portrayals in their advertisements to well educate children and teenagers.

Effects on Adults

Inasmuch as women have been underrepresented in advertising, researchers typically stress on female portrayals in advertising to examine gender-role stereotyping (Dominick & Ranch, 1982; O'Donnell & O'Donnell, 1978; Craig, 1992). Previous studies suggested that female role stereotyping in advertising is nearly a universal phenomenon (Ortner 1974). Exposed to the media and advertising may generate a causal traditionalizing effect on gender-role values and detrimental effects on women's self-concepts, achievement aspirations, and self-images (Frueh and McGhee 1975; Geis et al. 1984; Golden, Allison, and Clee 1985; Jennings-Walstedt, Geis, and Brown 1980; Moschis and Moore 1982). The concern about advertising's impacts on society and culture is not new. Since the 1970s, research in the United States has shown that the media, including advertising, promotes and reinforces traditional female role stereotypes. Most studies consistently indicate that women are not favorably portrayed in general and that their roles are frequently narrowly defined (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Dominick and Rauch 1972; Ferguson, Kreshel and Tinkham 1990; Schneider and Schneider 1979; Sengupta 1995; McArthur and Resco 1975).

Gender stereotypes used in advertising are also criticized for reinforcing, and perhaps also shaping, our view of our own capabilities and achievements, of appropriate gender roles, and of career aspirations (Courtney & Whipple, 1983). The three most common gender stereotypes representing in advertisements were stated by Frith and Mueller (2003, p.227-235). 1) Women are sexual objects, being objectified, and like

preys wearing furs and feathers and being sexually aggressive. 2) Women are shown in limited roles such as mothers and housewives (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971), and most of these roles are positioned passively or submissively as the objects of another (male) character's gaze. The most popular measure of the symbolic behaviors of female submissive poses present in advertising used by advertising researchers is that proposed by Goffman in 1976. In addition, women's voices are seldom used in commercials as announcers because of the general belief that women's voices lack authority. 3) Women are positioned in inferior social status. The primary use-value of women is sexual, household, or hand-work (factory work). Therefore, women, with inferior social status, are usually associated with low-priced products while men are more often present in advertising to promote expensive goods.

Unlike women's studies, only few studies focus solely on the images of men in advertising (Kervin, 1990; Kolbe & Albanese, 1996; Skelly & Lundstron, 1981; Wolhete & Lammers, 1980). Basically, men are used more as signifiers of cultural values such as status, strength, power, and success rather than actual users of the product in advertisements (Frith and Mueller, 2003, p.243), and less objectified as women are. The majority of men's physical figures are typically shown as strong and muscular (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). Inasmuch as the U.S. is a patriarchal society honoring individualism and heroism, the typical stereotypes of men present in advertising may include the following:

- **Sturdy oak:** Men appear in advertising as hard-working, good providers.
- **Big wheel:** Men are shown with signifiers of social and business success.
- **Cowboy:** Men are portrayed as tough, unemotional, and alone.
- **Superman:** Men who conquer the world would be surrounded by women.
- **Mr. Universe:** Men are present as achieving athletes or musclemen.

Although men appear not to be bothered as much by the pervasive stress on their body figures as women are, more and more advertisements start to aim at men in different income levels and across product lines to sell products that help men develop muscular physiques, such as weight training machines and nutritional supplements (Katz, 1995). According to the cultivation theory, repeat exposure to this muscular stereotype may generate unfavorable self-feelings in men. Moreover, when body power (muscularity) is highly associated with masculinity and dominance and repeatedly shown in advertising, the problem of male violence may become more serious. Lanis and Covell (1995) indicated that when men were shown magazine advertisements in which women were portrayed as sex objects while men were shown as progressive roles, men were significantly more accepting of rape myths, gender-role stereotyping, interpersonal violence toward women and held more adversarial sexual beliefs. Such depictions have been suggested to encourage rigid, authoritarian gender-role attitudes and support male dominance (Lanis & Covell, 1995; Walker, Rowe & Quinsey, 1993).

Notwithstanding plenty of evidences suggest that gender stereotyping in advertising does reflect societal ills or negative gender roles and help to sustain or reinforce audiences' existing negative attitudes and gender-role stereotypes (Livingstone & Green, 1986), some evidences state that the more responsible advertising could play a positive and beneficial role, the easier a gender-equal concept can take root in audiences' thoughts. For example, in Jennings-Walstedt, Geis, and Brown's (1980) study, they tested 52 female undergraduates with two matched series of TV commercials, identical in every aspect except that each of the roles in the scenarios was portrayed by a person of the opposite sex. Those females exposed to the nontraditional versions showed more

independence of judgment in an Asch-type conformity test and displayed greater self-confidence when delivering a speech. Their findings also suggested that repeated exposure to non-stereotypical commercials might help produce positive and lasting behavioral changes in women such as greater independence of judgment and better self-confidence (Frith and Mueller, 2003).

While gender stereotyping is well studied in the United States, understanding of gender-role portrayals in an international context is still limited for there are so few studies available (Ford, et al. 1994; Gendall and Blakeley 1990; Gilly 1988; Razzouk and Harmon 1986; Robbins and Paksoy 1989; Sengupta 1995; Wiles and Tjernlund 1991).

The international gender literature suggests several trends in gender roles in global advertising.

1. Women are more often than men portrayed as young, sex objects, or decorations, and as more concerned with physical attractiveness (Edgar and McPhee 1974; Gilly 1988; Lysonski 1985; Mazzella et al. 1992; Wyckham 1987). In some cases, this trend is increasing (Ferguson, Kreshal, and Tinkham 1990; Soley and Kurzbard 1986).
2. Women are more likely to appear as product users or demonstrators while men are more often shown as authorities or argument providers for the advertised products (Furnham and Schofield 1986; Furnham and Voli 1989; Gilly 1988; Livingstone and Green 1986; Manstead and McCulloch 1981; Mazzella et al. 1992; Sebastian et al. 1985).
3. Women tend to be associated with low priced products such as daily commodities, foods, and cosmetics, while men are more often associated with expensive products such as automotives, computers, and electronic equipments (Furnham and Voli 1989; Livingstone and Green 1986; Manstead and McCulloch 1981; Mazzella et al. 1992; Mitchell and Taylor 1990).

However, there is little research in this area among Asian countries. Most content analyses about gender-role studies in Asian advertising still tend to focus on information content, appeals, values, and creative strategies (Hong, Muderrisoglu, and Zinkhan 1987;

Madden, Caballero, and Matsukubo 1986; Mueller 1987; Stewart and Campbell 1988; Tse, Belk, and Zhou 1989; Wee and Chan 1989; Zandpour, Chang, Catalano, 1992).

Men and Women in Taiwan

Education

It is commonly believed that education is a valuable social resource and that educational expansion is a profitable social investment. Without education, men and women of certain classes and ethnic groups would be condemned to inferior lives in both the public and private spheres (Byrne, 1987). Moreover, education is also considered as one of the most decisive determinant of social status, and mechanism for social mobility (Tsai, Gates, and Chiu, 1994).

Since World War II, and especially since the 1960s, Taiwan has experienced extraordinary economic growth and social change, including considerable expansion of its education base (Tsai, Gates, and Chiu, 1994). In 1968, the government introduced nine-year compulsory education, including six years of public elementary school and three years of junior high school, and equal education rights. The percentage of elementary school graduates for Taiwan's total graduates had turned from 57.35% in 1968 into 25.69% in 1999, which in turn strongly indicated that the general level of education had greatly transformed into higher levels.

When further looking into the enrollment rates by gender, the education gap between male and female has narrowed. For instance, the elementary education enrollment rate for girls aged 6-11 had risen from 68.6% in 1951 to 99.9% in 1989, reaching the same level as the enrollment for boys; the high school enrollment rate for females aged 12-17 was 84.6%, higher than that for males of the same age, 81.3%; the higher education enrollment rate for women aged 18-21 was 16%, approximately the

same as that for men in 1989 (Tsai, Gates, and Chiu, 1994). After 1986, the higher education enrollment rate for women has become higher than that for men (Figure 2-1).

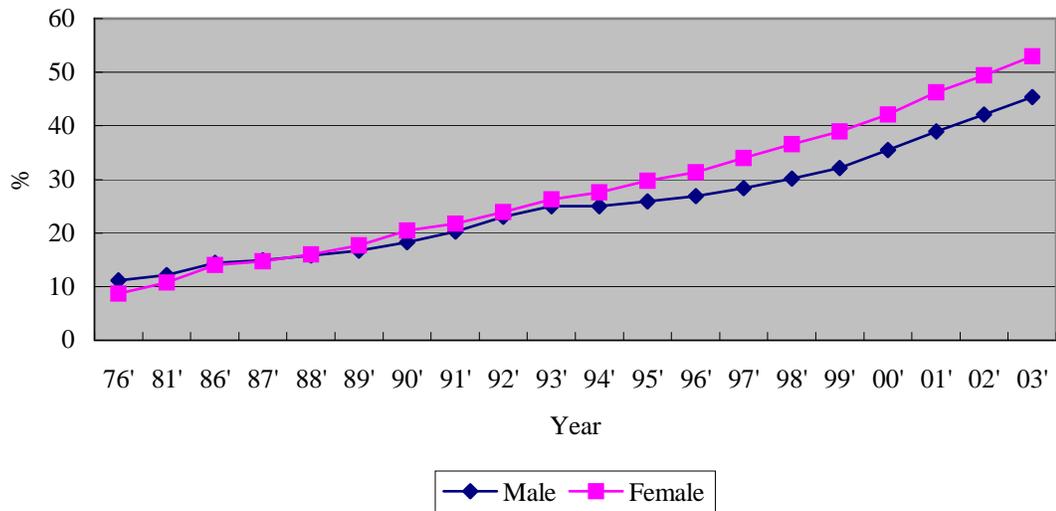


Figure 2-1. Higher Education Net Enrollment Rate by Gender. Source: 2004 Education Statistical Indicator: Education Development, Ministry of Education, R.O.C.

This educational reformation has completely transformed Taiwanese women's knowledge level. Several decades ago, it was nearly impossible for Taiwanese women to gain equal education as men did, limited by the Chinese traditional belief that "possessing no talent is a real virtue for women." It was generally accepted that women ideally should be less educated than the men they marry, or their marriage would not be happy. Such a consideration of marriageability indeed discouraged women from pursuing higher education. However, since women could receive the equal education opportunity as men, this situation has totally changed. The number and percentage of female students receiving higher education have increased substantially. For example, before the obligated education for all citizens was brought into force, only 18.40% of the male population and 10.60% of the female population attended high school, and 4.4% of the male population and 1.4% of the female population received higher education. However,

after 10 years, there were 92% of the male population and 83.1% of the female population attended high school, while 15.9% of the male population and 10.5% of the female population received higher education. In 2001, the enrollment number of higher education for women was 612,000, nearly 20 times larger than the number in 1966, 2,900. Moreover, the percentage of people receiving higher education between men and women has become slightly female-dominant recently. In 2003, the percentage of female students in higher education was 50.5%, while the percentage in America was 55.5% (Figure 2-2).

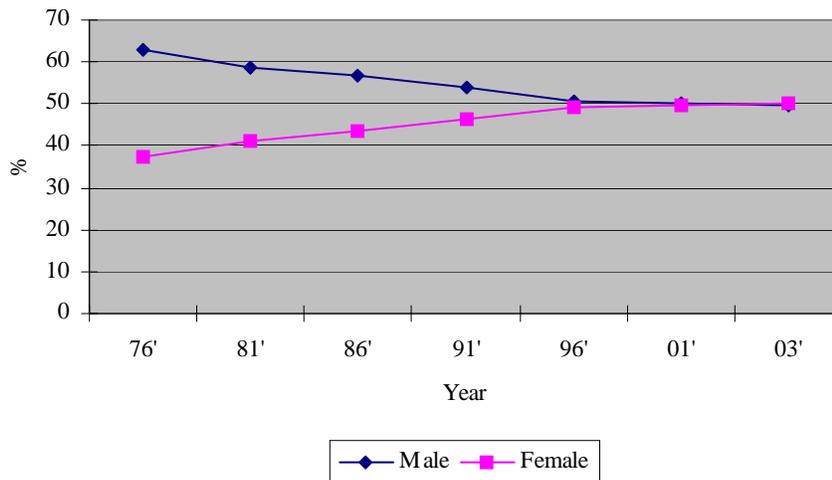


Figure 2-2. Percentage of Students at Higher Education by Gender. Source: 2004 Education Statistical Indicator: Education Development, Ministry of Education, R.O.C.

Now men and women enjoy equal opportunity to receive education. However, there are still some invisible barriers in existence when they choose academic disciplines. For example, men tend to dominate the medical profession, engineering, computer science, and natural sciences such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology; while women make up unequal number of the students in teachers' colleges, especially in those of training elementary school teachers. Moreover, a large number of women are found in

humanities and foreign language professions. Nursing remains a field which is mainly reserved for female students (Smith, 1992).

Employment

Inspired by the flourishing economic development and open education opportunities, a lot of job opportunities for new industries were released in Taiwan's labor market in the late 1970s. The make-up of Taiwan's labor market has been thoroughly changed, although the percentage of the labor force participation rate has been steady since the 1960s (Figure 2-3). For instance, in 1978, over 60% of labor force was concentrated in agriculture and production related industries, but 25 years later, it decreased to 40%, especially in agriculture-related industries, which declined from 24.58% to 7.14% (Table 2-1). On the contrary, other main industries in Taiwan have started playing more important parts in the labor force market, such as professionals, technicians and associate professionals, and service and sales workers. This further implies the transformation of Taiwan's economic structure, from a labor-intensive to a high-tech and service-oriented economy.

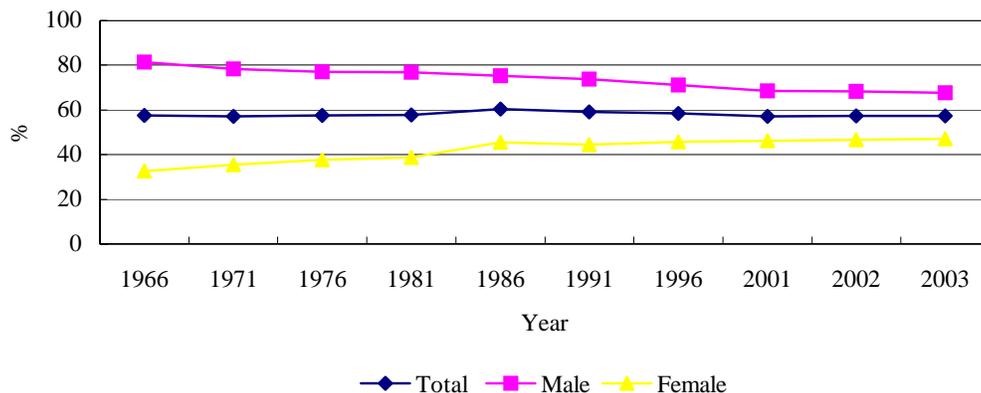


Figure 2-3. Taiwanese Labor Force Participation Rate by Gender. Source: 2003 Social Indicator: Labor Force Participation Rate, Directorate-General of Budget Accounting & Statistics Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Table 2-1. Occupation of Employed Persons in Taiwan Area by Year (Unit:%)

Year	1978			1988			1998			2003		
	Both Genders	M	F	Both Genders	M	F	Both Genders	M	F	Both Genders	M	F
Legislators, government administrators, business executives and managers	3.09	2.73 (88.35)	0.37 (11.97)	4.28	3.64 (85.05)	0.63 (14.72)	4.57	3.93 (86.00)	0.64 (14.00)	4.46	3.75 (84.08)	0.71 (15.92)
Professionals	3.71	2.18 (58.76)	1.53 (41.24)	4.59	2.45 (53.38)	2.15 (46.84)	6.22	3.00 (48.23)	3.22 (51.77)	7.09	3.60 (50.78)	3.49 (49.22)
Technicians and associate professionals	6.63	4.49 (67.72)	2.14 (32.28)	9.83	5.65 (57.48)	4.18 (42.52)	16.13	9.64 (59.76)	6.49 (40.24)	17.92	10.32 (57.59)	7.60 (42.41)
Clerks	5.96	2.72 (45.64)	3.24 (54.36)	7.68	2.71 (35.29)	4.98 (64.84)	10.28	2.43 (23.64)	7.85 (76.36)	11.09	2.56 (23.08)	8.53 (76.92)
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	13.99	8.86 (63.33)	5.13 (36.67)	6.76	9.47 (56.50)	7.29 (45.50)	17.20	8.08 (46.98)	9.12 (53.02)	18.98	8.48 (44.68)	10.51 (55.37)
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing workers	24.58	17.22 (70.06)	7.35 (29.90)	13.56	9.51 (70.13)	4.05 (29.87)	8.72	6.23 (71.44)	2.49 (28.56)	7.14	5.15 (72.13)	1.99 (27.87)
Prod. machine operators and related workers	42.04	28.94 (68.84)	13.10 (31.16)	43.29	28.77 (66.46)	14.52 (33.54)	36.88	27.09 (73.45)	9.79 (26.55)	33.33	24.42 (73.27)	8.91 (26.73)
Total	100	67.13	32.87	100	62.21	37.79	100	60.40	39.60	100	58.28	41.72

Source: Statistic Reports over the Years, Directorate-General of Budget Accounting & Statistics Executive Yuan, R.O.C. Sorted by the author

In addition, the percentage of female labor participation has gradually increased, while that of male has decreased slightly year by year. This phenomenon might imply that women not only have begun to compete with men directly but also have successfully improved their dominance in Taiwan's labor market (Figure 2-3). For example, all the percentages of female labor participation in Taiwan's five main growing industries show significant increase, especially in clerks—from 54.36% to 76.92%. However, the occupational distribution in Taiwan still reflects significant gender segregation (Figure 2-4). Looking into the components of Taiwan's seven occupation categories (Table 2-1), women are only predominant in clerks (76.93%) and service/sales workers (55.37%), while men keep dominating all the other five categories, especially in legislators, government administrators, business executives and managers (84.07%). In other words, women are yet to be included in the top levels of ownership and administrative-managerial positions, and grossly over-represented at the bottom of the occupational ladder as labor-intensive workers. Furthermore, women still suffer from wage

discrimination. Generally speaking, women's earnings are about 71% of men's for the same job positions (Shaw, 2000).

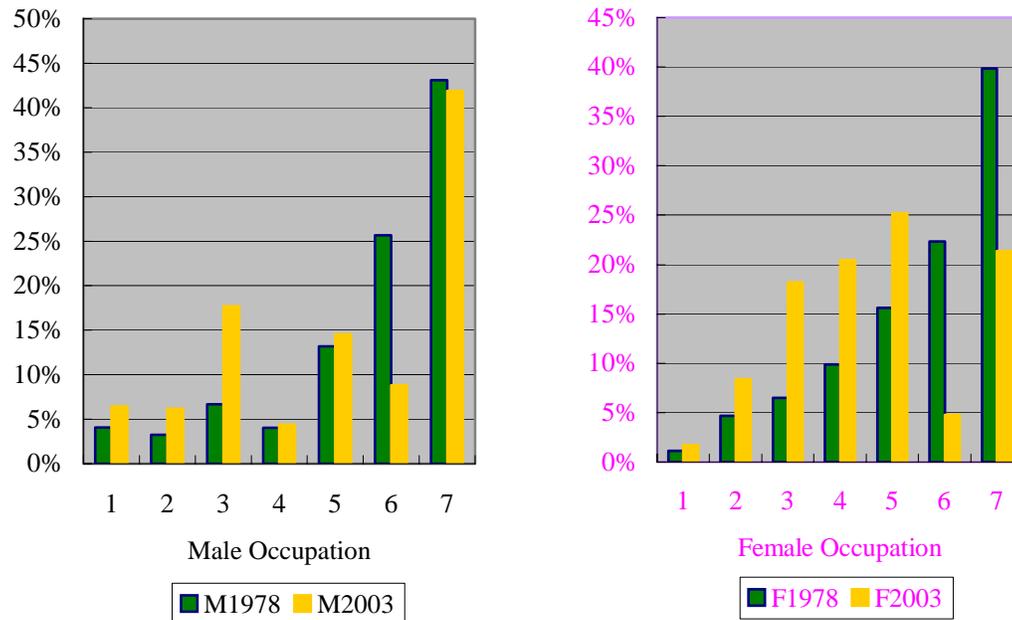


Figure 2-4. Occupation Distribution in Taiwan by Gender. 1) Legislators, government administrators, business executives and managers. 2) Professionals. 3) Technicians and associate professionals. 4) Clerks. 5) Service workers and shop and market sales workers. 6) Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing workers. 7) Production related workers, plant and machine operators and laborers. Source: 2003 Social Indicator: Labor Force Participation Rate, Directorate-General of Budget Accounting & Statistics Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Many researchers put their efforts in investigating the reasons for the wage inequality for women and state that the common attitudes, especially those of husbands, toward tradition gender roles seriously constraint women's work participation decisions (Boden, 1999; Chuang, and Lee, 2003; Lin, and Hsieh, 1993; Smith, 1980; Vella, 1994). Women tend to withdraw from work, either on temporary or permanent basis, when they face some conflicts between balancing family and work demands. Influenced by

traditional gender-role expectations, most Taiwanese women take family responsibilities as their first priority. Although it becomes easier for women to get satisfactory jobs in the market, they still cannot put all their efforts in their careers as men do, for they cannot unload their family roles as caring mothers and supportive wives. Therefore, it is difficult for women to avoid work interruption (Chuang & Lee, 2003). According to the results of the national survey, Taiwanese women, on average, quit their job once for getting married, pregnant, or other family considerations, regardless of their education levels (DGBAS, 2003^c).

In Mincer and Polachek's (1974) study, they stated that withdrawal from the labor market would influence wages 1.5% per year through human capital depreciation and underinvestment in on-the-job training. Chuang and Lee (2003) applied this theory to Taiwan's labor market and found 2.8% depreciation rate for women with at least a high-school level of education. In other words, highly-educated women in Taiwan would suffer a reduction in their earning power due to a discontinuous work experience, as human capital is the key determinant of their earnings. Therefore, to assure women's working rights, both job opportunities and salaries, it is necessary to change the traditional attitudes toward gender roles in Taiwan's society.

Social Status

As the inheritor of Chinese culture and 50-year colony of Japan, male dominance had been firmly entrenched in Taiwan's society for a long time. In traditional Taiwanese patriarchy, the main responsibility of a woman was to content her male families. Family might be the main, or even the only, social environment in a woman's life. In this situation, a woman's status was quite family-oriented and heavily influenced by her children's gender (boys were much more valuable than girls), while men were the

commanders, holding all the power. Besides family, discrimination against women was also institutionalized within all the common structures of Taiwan's society, including the economy, education, culture and political system (Cheng, 1993; Gallin, 1984; Greenhalph, 1985). The concepts that "Men go out to make money and find their careers; women stay at home to take care of household duties," and "the positions of men are superior; while those of women are inferior," were popularly accepted in previous Taiwan's society.

However, as more Taiwanese women have attained higher education, joined the work force, begun to compete with men, and become financially independent, women's roles have been redefined and gradually improved. During the last 20 years, women have become actively participating in public spheres, such as joining social works, advocating public issues, and even devoting themselves in politics. According to UNDP (United Nations Development Program, 2000), Taiwan's GDI (0.888) (Gender Development Index) was ranked 23 among 147 countries, only lower than Japan among Asian countries; Taiwan's GEM (0.646) (Gender Empowerment Measure, showing women's participation and influence in politics and economy) was ranked 20 among 67 countries, highest among Asian countries. The percentage of female members in the congress of Taiwan in 2001 had reached 22.2%, ranked as 27 globally, ahead of Japan, South Korea, and Singapore (DGBAS, 2003).

Feminist Movement

Since the wave of feminism started in the U.S. in the 1960s, American feminists have been engaged in the fight for women's right and equality, in turn contributing to the abundant publications of books and articles related to this issue. Following the trend, the first wave of the Taiwanese women's movement arose after Shioh-Lein Lu, Taiwan's

current vice president, preached “New Feminism” in the early 1970s. “New Feminism” successfully caught the public spotlight on the unequal treatment of Taiwan’s society to women. By 1982, Yuan-Cheng Li founded the *Awakening of Women* magazine agency which turned into the first women’s organization in Taiwan (Shaw, 2000). This organization had played a significant role in raising Taiwanese women’s awareness of their status in the society. After the martial law was lifted in 1987, diverse women’s organizations have established and focused on different issues such as eliminating underage prostitution, striving for equal working rights, pushing for political change, and advocating for individual autonomy. Generally speaking, the key point of Taiwan’s feminist movement is quite consistent with the liberal feminist perspective—striving for the same definition of citizenship regardless of gender (Cirksena & Cuklanz, 1992). Owing to these feminists’ persistent efforts to oppose women’s oppression or devaluation in Taiwan’s society, women have acquired more and more equal opportunities and social resources, which had been mainly opened to men before.

Portrayals of Gender Roles in Advertising

In Taiwan

As a series of feminism movements had effectively encouraged Taiwan’s women to ask for their rights and be more aware of the unequal social treatments to them, some researchers and advertising practitioners started examining gender-role portrayals in advertising. Although the amount of related research studies is few, most research findings agree that gender-role stereotypes still exist ubiquitously in Taiwan’s advertising. Women shown in advertising tend to be subordinate, traditional, decorative, and sexually objectified, while men are often depicted in independent, credible, and authoritative roles (Li, 1990; Tau, 1991; Hu, 1998).

Li (1990) examined Taiwan's newspaper advertisements from 1960-1989 to test women's roles, in both gender relationship and advertising patterns, and found that women in advertising were usually shown as young, sexy, and decorative roles without working status. Tau (1991) studied women's roles in Taiwan's magazine advertisements from 1981-1990 and concluded that there was a serious gender-role stereotyping present in Taiwan's magazine advertising. Two main findings from her study were: the trend that women were portrayed as beauty or sex models was increasing year by year; female magazine and male magazine tended to downgrade the other gender in respective magazine. Karloff and Lee (1999) further stated that women in Taiwan's magazine advertising were usually depicted in non-working and decorative roles, appearing most often in cleaning product, beauty product, travel, entertainment and cigarettes advertisements.

With regard to television commercials, Wang (1993) suggested that stereotypical gender roles were frequently shown in Taiwan's television commercials, such as women generally played the primary characters for female product commercials in family roles at home while men were the central figures for male product commercials in working roles and appeared in business settings. Moreover, Yang (1994) conducted a cross-country study, including Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and found that Chinese women were more often shown as parents and spouses than men were. Women often appeared in traditional womanly occupations such as fashion model, secretary, or nurse, while men were shown in male-dominant jobs such as doctor, businessman, or engineer. Even if women appeared in professional settings, their status was usually lower than men. Moreover, women's voices were often portrayed as being uncertain about the products.

In the U.S.

As the key advocate of feminism movement, U.S. researchers have spared no effort to investigate how gender roles are portrayed in advertising since 1960s. Thousands of articles and books related to this topic have been published. The research objects have gradually transferred from magazine ads to television commercials because of the astonishing reaching rate of television on the U.S. households and its widest variety of audiences regardless of race, creed, national origin, social class, sex, or age (McArthur and Resko, 1975), as well as the general beliefs of television's influential power on its viewers (Furnham & Mak, 1999). Accordingly, the portrayals of gender roles in the U.S. television commercials have attracted considerable interests (Dominick & Ranch, 1972; O'Donnell & O'Donnell, 1978; Schneider & Schneider, 1979).

The first major content study of television commercials was conducted by the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and reported in 1972 in the *New York Times Magazine*. Totally, 1,241 commercials over a period of one and a half year were examined in this study. Based on the findings, a serious gender stereotyping was found: 42.6% of the women were involved in household chores; 37.5% as adjuncts to men; 16.7% as sex objects. Only 0.3% of the women in the commercials were found by the NOW researchers to be shown as autonomous individuals. In addition, women in commercials were very likely to be positioned as information receiver, waiting for men's advises. Furthermore, nearly 90% of the voice-overs shown in commercials were male (Courtney & Whipple, 1983).

The study conducted by Dominick and Rauch (1972) is generally viewed as the first major academic study of female stereotyping in television commercials. Nearly 1,000 prime time commercials present on New York City network stations during April

1971 were included and coded by product category, gender of voice-over, gender of prime purchaser, setting, dress, and apparent occupation of female represented, on-camera selling by females, and primary role of the woman in the advertisement. The results showed that the common female stereotype in advertising was a young housewife at home, in the kitchen or bathroom, anxiously receiving advice of an authoritative male, relating to others in a service role, and concerning about how to look beautiful (Courtney & Whipple, 1983).

The content analysis of the portrayals of men and women in television commercials conducted by McArthur and Resko in 1975 is also a well-used example in this field. This study coded 199 television commercials, from three major networks (CBS, NBC, and ABC) during weekday broadcasts in the spring of 1971, into 9 categories and found some significant results with regard to authority roles in advertising. For examples, only 14% of women were presented as authorities and the other 86% were portrayed as product users, while 70% of men were showed as authorities and only 30% were product users. Women were more often portrayed as relational roles, or dependent on others, especially on the opposite sex, and as information receiver or product users. Women were more likely than men to obtain the approval of family and the opposite sex as reward for using a given product, while men more frequently obtained the approval from their friends, social achievements, and career advancements. In general, these gender differences revealed how women were portrayed in a relatively unfavorable manner in television commercials.

Similar to McArthur and Resko's (1975) coding categories, O'Donnell and O'Donnell (1978) examined 367 prime time commercials during November 1976 and

concluded that there had been little change on the gender-role stereotyping in advertising, and some of those were negative. Men and women appeared in equal numbers as product representatives but women usually represented domestic products (86%) and appeared at home (76%), while men dominated the non-domestic product categories and settings. Besides, men continued to be the voice of authority: male voice-overs had increased to 93%. Lovdal (1989) replicated this study and found that there was no significant improvement in the portrayals of gender roles in commercials after ten years.

However, Schneider and Schneider (1979) argued that role portrayals of men and women in television commercials in 1976 had been more realistic than those in 1971, in terms of the U.S. census data. The differences between the portrayals of men and women had narrowed, for example, more men were shown in the home as well as more women were employed with a wider range of roles such as business executives, professionals, and sales representatives (Lin, 1998; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988). Bretl and Cantor (1988) also supported this statement in their content-analytical study of gender-role portrayals in the U.S. television commercials from 1971 to 1985. They provided examples to show how gender gaps had narrowed as men and women appeared equally as central characters in prime-time commercials. Yet, there were still some unequal gender-role stereotypes shown in commercials in regard to employment, settings, product categories, authorities or credibility, and voice-over in particular (90% of all narrators were males).

In summary, there are two general perspectives of research conclusions regarding gender stereotyping in television commercials: pessimistic and optimistic. Pessimistic studies show that women are still being portrayed in a negative, stereotypical way, and

this kind of stereotyping is even becoming worse (Gilly 1988; Ganahl, Prinsen, & Netzley, 2003; Lovdal 1989; Maracek et al. 1978). However, optimistic studies see women as gaining substantial ground on their male counterparts and breaking out of the negative stereotyping. They suggest that the role portrayals of women in television commercials have been improved, more representative of contemporary women, and gradually become equal to men (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Schneider & Schneider, 1979; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988). Each of these opposing conclusions has received empirical supports. However, these studies are mainly based on the U.S. data. In order to get better understanding of the situation in Taiwan, it is necessary to conduct a content-analytical study based on representative Taiwan's data.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Content Analysis

According to *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2004), content analysis is the analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through a classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect. Krippendorff (2004) defined content analysis in his book, *Content Analysis*, as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use, rather than restricted on quantitative description and manifest content. Some researchers also point out that content analysis allows researchers to treat qualitative data in quantitative terms, and explains quantitative data qualitatively, thus helps to ground analysis of images and words in more individual and impressionistic way (Leiss, 1990).

Content analysis is well considered as one of the most efficient research tools to explore the meanings within or behind specific contexts, because of its capability for handling unstructured matter as data in an unobtrusive way, being context sensitive and thus allowing researchers to process data texts which are significant, meaningful, informative, and even representational to others, and coping with large volumes of data that in turn greatly increases its generalizability (Krippendorff, 2004). Many advertising researchers use content analysis as an objective method to measure how various social roles are portrayed in advertising, and observe the changing values in a society (Sung, 2000, Tse et al., 1989).

This study was designed to present how gender roles were portrayed in Taiwan's top creative television commercials and to further examine if any inappropriate gender-role portrayal existed. Hence, based on its context-explored nature, content analysis was chosen as the research method to analyze the different aspects related to the meanings of various gender-role portrayals. These aspects included gender of the characters, primary character's ethnicity, language usage, age, social role, occupation, basis for credibility, information-role, setting, product type, and gender of announcers. Moreover, the consciousness scale for sexism (Pingree, 1976) in Times Advertising award-winning television commercials was also examined.

Unit of Analysis

Referring to Krippendorff (2004), sampling units are units that are distinguished for selective inclusion in an analysis, and should be treated as independent elements. The counted units must be distinct—physically, conceptually, or logically—otherwise the numerical outcome would not make sense. With regard to this study, the unit of analysis is the single television commercial among the whole collection of Times Advertising Award-Winners from 1997 to 2002.

Sampling Design

This study used relevance or purposive sampling strategy to collect all Times award-winning television commercials from 1997 to 2002. The rationales for choosing Times Advertising award-winners are as follows. 1) No previous study explored how gender roles were portrayed in Taiwan's award-winning advertisements. Most studies focused on either prime-time television commercials or magazine advertisements. 2) Times Advertising Award is the most highly respected advertising award in Taiwan. All commercials of it are professionally judged for their creativity and are sufficiently

representative of latest social trends. 3) Under the atmosphere that most advertising agencies are eager to win reputable advertising awards, the preferred fashion of gender-role portrayals in Times Advertising Award may directly or indirectly lead advertising practitioners to follow which in turn would implicitly influence audiences' perceptions of acceptable or ideal gender roles.

All samples, presented in both book and VCD formats, were drawn from annual Times Advertising Award-Winning Television Commercial Collection 1997-2002. All the winners and finalists are listed in a profile, including the ad itself, ID number, prize-winning class, title of the advertisement, name of the advertiser, name of the advertising agency, and names of the creative team. They are sorted by 14 product categories such as public service and industry image. The annual collection book consists of five main parts: preface-the greeting from the president of the Times Advertising Awards Association; introduction of the judging panel; the words from the chairman of the judging panel; the comprehensive comments from the judging panel, also including the complete report of the whole grading process; and the main content—the introduction of all award-winning advertisements. Every year, the complete video content of each advertisement is included in the VCD, attached with the collection book.

Because the purpose of this study was to examine and compare gender-role portrayals, commercials without people involved or contain only products, animals, graphics, or non-human figure animations were excluded from the sample. There were totally 608 qualified television commercials, including 74 commercials in 1997, 123 commercials in 1998, 99 commercials in 1999, 109 commercials in 2000, 117 commercials in 2001, and 86 commercials in 2002. In light of Davis's (1997, p.400)

suggestion about how to deal with duplicate ads, this study treated each instance of the duplicate ad as a separate ad and coded all qualified ads in the sample, for the underlying motivation for the content analysis was to understand aspects of the “total number of ads.” For example, how often were female characters shown in automotive ads, or what’s the proportion of male to female voice-overs shown in food ads?

Coding Categories and Variables

Without a comprehensive coding system, it is impossible to develop meaningful and valid research analyses. Some researchers declare that the coding system used to code the content is the heart of the content analysis (Hu, 1998) and all categories should be reliable, and as mutually exclusive and as exhaustive as possible (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997). To develop a well-constructed coding system, this study integrated different categories from multiple previous studies about gender roles in advertising, both in the U.S. (Ganahl, Prinsen & Netzley, 2003; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992; Schneider & Schneider, 1979; McArthur & Resko, 1975) and in Taiwan (Bresnahan et al., 2001; Wang, 1991; Hu, 1998).

There were total of 14 categories—year, gender, ethnicity, language, age, social-role, family role, occupation, basis for credibility, information-role, setting, product type, gender of announcer, and the sexism scale of the Times Advertising Awards as a mass communication media—and 33 variables were coded in this study.

Definition of Coding Categories

Year

Six years, 1997-2002 in a row, were used to code all qualified Times Advertising Award-winning commercials.

Gender of the Characters

Based on Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu, and Nishida's study (2001), the gender-role portrayal should be coded for up to four adult characters in each commercial. Characters were recommended to be identified as the primary character, the secondary character, or supporting character(s) for the purpose of analysis. Bretl and Cantor (1988) defined a primary character as the character with the greatest amount of on-screen time and obviously as the leading role in the commercial. Otherwise, the roles might be coded as secondary, supporting, or even "unclear" character(s). However, the concept is comparative, not absolute. In other words, if two or more than two characters are tied on this measure, the one with the longest speaking time or is portrayed more like leading character will be considered as the primary role. Schneider and Schneider (1979, p.80) explained primary character as "male and female characters with on-camera appearances of at least three seconds and/or at least one line of dialogue." A secondary character was defined as the character appearing second longest and was less important than primary character, whereas supporting characters were those characters in the background who were not central to the commercial.

For this study, the guidelines to distinguish characters were as follows:

- The primary character was defined as the person who appeared the longest on screen (at least 3 seconds) and obviously had the leading role in product promotion. Otherwise, he/she might be considered as secondary or supporting role. Each commercial could have at most "one" primary character.
- Sometimes, two or more male or female characters appeared with exactly the same amount of time (at least over 3 seconds) without a leading character in the commercial. In this case, the person who gave information to others would be coded as primary character, while the person(s) receiving information would be coded as secondary character. If there was no obvious information role existing in the commercial, the person who spoke the last sentence would be coded as the primary character.

- Because the purpose of this study was to examine and compare gender roles, commercials without apparent human figure involved would be excluded from the sample, for instance, containing only products, animals, graphics, non-human figure animations, or only a part of human body such as arms, legs, or hands. Moreover, infants who did not have obvious gender characteristics would be excluded, while children under 12 whose gender roles could be easily recognized were included in the sample.
- When there was no obvious primary character, but secondary or supporting characters were present in the commercial, product type and gender of announcers were still coded.

Ethnicity

In Taiwan's advertising, it is very common to use foreign/western models as the primary characters (Neelankavil et al., 1995). This applies equally to award-winning television commercials, although all of them are produced by Taiwan's advertising agencies. Because of this phenomenon, three variables were used in this study to examine the ethnicity of the primary character: Eastern models, Western models, or not applicable/cannot be coded. Eastern models include characters who are Taiwanese, Cantonese, Singaporean, Korean, or other Asian groups; Westerns are people originally from North America, Latin America, Europe, or other non-Asian groups. Sometimes, if the ethnicity of the primary character could not be determined for his/her appearance, for he/she is a person of multi-racial background, human-figure animation, or wearing a mask, he/she would be coded as not applicable/cannot be coded.

Language

Besides the preference of using western model, there is also a trend to use western languages, especially English, in Taiwan's advertisements (Neelankavil et al., 1995). Because of this, the language used by the primary character was coded into seven categories: Mandarin Chinese (the official language in Taiwan), dialects (including Taiwanese, Hakka, and other languages used in Taiwan), English, mixed (using two or

more different languages), others (such as Japanese, Korean, and Cantonese), none (no language was spoken by the primary language in the commercial), or not applicable/cannot be coded (unclear language/sound such as infant's or alien's languages).

Age

Similar to Furnham and Mak's (1999) and Schneider and Schneider's (1997) studies, six coding categories were used in this study to classify the age of the primary character: under 11 (children), 12-17 (teens), 18-35 (young), 36-50 (middle aged), 51 and above (old), and not applicable/cannot be coded.

Social Role

In accordance with Hu's (1998) study, social roles were defined as the interpersonal relationship with other characters in the commercial. Although most commercials do not allow sufficient time to develop relationships, coders still can distinguish relationship between characters into several roles such as homemaker, parent, spouse (wife or husband), employer or employee etc. Five categories were coded in this study: family roles, friends, romantic partners (girlfriend/boyfriend), occupational roles (business partners/competitors), and not applicable/cannot be coded.

Family Role

If the family role of the primary character was apparent, he/she was further coded into four sub-categories: spouses (husbands/wives), parents/grandparents, children/grandchildren, and others (ex. siblings, aunties, uncles, nieces, and nephews). If there was no obvious family role portrayed by the primary character in the commercial, it was coded as not applicable/cannot be coded.

Occupation

According to the Gender Indicator of Statistics in Taiwan area (2003), there were

seven main types of occupations in Taiwan: (1) legislators, government administrators, business executives and managers; (2) professionals; (3) technicians and associate professionals; (4) clerks; (5) service workers and shop and market sales workers; (6) agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing workers; (7) production related workers, plant and machine operators and laborers. In addition, full-time housewife was also considered as a formal occupation in this study, based on feminist theory. Since the 1980s, American feminists have advocated that being a full-time housewife should be considered as being a member of the largest single occupation in the U.S. economy (Bergmann, 1981). Housewives do devote themselves to their own economic activity, or the activity that serves as their regular source of livelihood according to the definition of *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (2000): housekeeping, or housework, covering such tasks as cleaning, washing, daily shopping, preparation of meals, tidying, ironing, mending etc. Hence, it is certainly essential to include full-time housewife/househusband/homemaker in this categorization. In addition, student was also regarded as an occupation. When the primary character was portrayed as a retired elder, people without working capability, or in an unclear working status, it was coded as not applicable/cannot be coded.

Basis for Credibility

Two categories, authorities and product users, as proposed by McArthur and Resko's (1975), are typically used to examine the credibility of the primary character in various gender-role studies. Authorities were defined as an on camera character who had all the facts regarding the product being advertised, and spoke favorably about the product. Product users were characters depicted primarily as users of the product. Based on their study, Hu (1998) further added decorative roles/models, as another category, in

her study about Taiwanese female gender roles in Taiwan's prime-time TV commercials. The category represented the central character who was non-active or generally presented as an attractive or sex object without any conversation. Additionally, Bretl and Cantor (1988) proposed eight types of credibility in their study: (1) "celebrity" is a real-life famous people; (2) "expert" is the real-life person with a high degree of skill or knowledge in the product area; (3) "company representative" is a real-life person from within the company of the advertised product; (4) "personal experience" includes real-life people who have used the product; (5) "apparent expert" is an actor made to appear as an expert; (6) "apparent personal experience" includes actors made to appear as if they have used the product; (7) other basis; (8) no basis.

By integrating above variables, a two-level coding procedure was developed. First, the primary character was coded as authorities, product users, decorative roles/models, or not applicable/cannot be coded, according to his/her presented product-related role. Next, another ten categories: celebrity, expert, company representative, personal experience, apparent celebrity (an actor who imitated a real-life famous celebrity or was made to appear as if they were celebrities), apparent expert, apparent company representative, apparent personal experience, unreal people (such as human figure animations, aliens, or people from the future), not applicable/cannot be coded were used to specify what credible role the primary character played in the commercial.

Information Role

The role was determined by how the primary character interacted with other characters in delivering information in the commercial. Did he/she give information to others, or receive information from others, or neither? Usually, the information giver roles were characters shown as giving advice or help to other characters (to know the

product) “in the commercial.” The information receiver roles were portrayed as receiving advice, help, or commands from other characters (to know the product) “in the commercial.” Therefore, if there was no obvious interaction between characters about information delivery, or the primary character played both information roles (deliver and receiver) without distinction in the commercial, it was coded as not applicable/cannot be coded.

Setting

All settings present in commercials were sorted by 11 categories, according to Bretl and Cantor (1988), Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu, and Nishida (2001), and Hu (1998). The 11 settings included kitchen, dining room/living room, other places inside the house, indoors away from home, public places, riding inside transportation, business office/environment, school, outdoors, combination settings, and other settings.

Bretl and Cantor (1988) defined commercial setting as the location in which the primary character mainly appeared. Generally speaking, other places inside the house included bathroom, bedroom, any other space in the house, and indoors away from home could be backyard or balcony. Public places might be streets, stores, restaurants, bars, shopping malls, railway/bus/MRT station etc. Riding inside transportation included both private and public transportation such as bus, MRT, train, airplane, and so on. Outdoors meant doing outdoor activities in natural settings or simply enjoying the natural scenery. Following Bretl and Cantor’s (1988) suggestion, if the primary character appeared in more than one setting, only the setting in which he/she appeared longest was coded. If two or more easily recognized settings appeared at similar amount of time, it would be coded as combination settings. If the setting was in a film studio or unclear to be classified into one of the above categories, it was coded as others.

Product Type

Because all samples in this study were selected from Times Advertising award-winning advertisements, the product categories listed in Times Advertising Award were used to code this variable. There were 14 common categories in Times Advertising Award-Winning advertisements from 1997 to 2002, including (1) annual best of show, (2) public service, (3) industry image, (4) electric appliances, (5) automotive, (6) food, (7) beverages (both alcohol and non-alcohol), (8) household appliances, (9) personal items, (10) communication services, (11) culture and education, (12) financial services, (13) retail services, and (14) others.

Gender of Announcers

As to the gender of announcers, previous studies generally focused on exploring the influence of genders on voice-overs. However, while voice-over is not the only audio element shown in television commercials, it is necessary to take other components of audio presentation in advertising such as jingles and taglines into consideration. Based on Kleppner's (1986) definitions, voice-over is the voice of a TV commercial announcer recorded off camera and slogan is a tool which sums up the theme of a company's ad to deliver an easily remembered message in a few words, probably combined with a catchy tune to make a jingle. Generally speaking, jingle is defined as a short, simple, catchy, repetitious song, which is pleasant and easily remembered for presenting at least part of the commercial (Colnot, 1997; Kleppner, 1986). According to Stewart & Furse's (1986) definitions in their book, *Effective television advertising: a study of 1000 commercials*, spoken tagline is a statement at the end of the commercial that presented new information, usually unrelated to the principal focus of the commercial; auditory sign-off is the brand name repeated within the last three seconds of the commercial.

To get better understanding of how gender roles were used in the audio production of Taiwan's award-winning advertising from 1997 to 2002, five categories were examined: gender of voice-over, gender of jingle, gender of tagline, gender of slogan, and gender of sign-off. Each of these five categories was coded as male, female, none, and not applicable/cannot be coded. Referring to Bretl and Cantor's (1988) definition, the gender of voice-over was "the voice, not attributed to any on-screen character, which is heard for the longest time." In this study, if there were both female and male voice-overs shown in the same amount of time, the person who spoke the last sentence was coded. If the voice-over was unclear, such as from kids or from a mixed sound, it was coded as not applicable/cannot be coded (Hu, 1998). If there was no voice-over in the advertisement, it was coded as none. The other four categories were coded in the same manner as that of the gender of voice-over.

Consciousness Scale for Sexism

The Consciousness Scale for Sexism was originally developed by Butler-Paisley and Paisley-Butler (1974) as an ordinal five-level consciousness scale to describe how women as presented in the media were limited to special roles and relationship. Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley (1976) further elaborated this scale to actually examine the consciousness scale for women among four national magazines—*Time*, *Playboy*, *Ms.*, and *Newsweek*—and suggested a five-level exploratory model to examine the media sexism from both women and men's sides. In this study, the determinants of which level the primary character belonged to were his/her occupational role, social role, interaction with other characters in the commercial (equal/unequal), personal identity (independent/dependent, masculine/feminine), and so on. There were 6 categories coded in this study: Level I, Level II, Level III, Level IV, Level V, and not applicable/cannot be coded.

The definitions of each level in this study are as follows:

- **Level I.** “Put her down.” Women were presented as incompetent, dependent, two-dimensional decoration with no real function involving the advertised products, such as the dumb beauties, the sex objects, or the whimpering victims. “Put him up.” Men decorated advertisements for products that did not require the presence of handsome, well-dressed men to provide more information about the product. In this level, men were usually portrayed as attractive or sexy objects with masculine stereotyping such as being competent, independent, powerful, knowledgeable, muscular, and brave.
- **Level II.** “Keep her in her place.” Traditional strengths and capabilities of women were acknowledged, but tradition also dictated “womanly” roles, such as wives, mothers, secretaries, clerks, teachers, and nurses. Women in this level were usually seen in the home or doing feminine activities such as housekeeping, cooking, shopping, applying cosmetics, or gossiping with friends. Women were fully capable of doing typical womanly jobs or activities, but incompetent to accomplish manly tasks. “Keep him in his place.” Male characters were mainly shown at work, usually in managerial positions or other manly positions, or doing manly activities such as sports, gambling, or car racing. If they were shown working around the house, they were very likely to mow the lawn, take the garbage out, or do other manly housework. Men, who attempted traditional feminine activities at home such as doing laundry, changing diapers, or cooking, were considered as abysmally incompetent.
- **Level III:** “Give her two places.” In this level, women’s images presented in media were “progressive.” Women could be competent career women and housewives at the same time, but traditional activities such as housework and mothering were still their prior tasks. In this case, career was generally viewed as “something extra.” For example, woman could play a professional role such as a lawyer or a doctor outside as long as she prepared dinner on the table for her husband or children on time. When there was a conflict between her job and family, family always came first. “Give him two places.” In this level, the characteristics for men were similar to those for women. But, the priorities were reversed. Men were competent in both worlds, business and family, but they were “helping out” at home. Their true place was at work or outside the home.
- **Level IV:** “Women and men are fully equal.” Women were shown as fully competent to play professional roles outside the home, without mentioning that housework and mothering were non-negotiablely their responsibilities. Men were as competent as women to do womanly jobs or activities, and took womanly responsibilities as their own such as cooking, housecleaning, and taking care of children. In this level, women’s first place was probably at work, while men’s was at home. Moreover, while imaging romance was considered as a feminine activity, if the male primary character was portrayed as pursuing romance, he might be coded as Level IV. Besides, romance could be assigned to this level when the two lovers in the commercial were shown equally in love. Neither of them was superior.

- Level V:** “Women and men are individuals.” Women and men were viewed as being treated non-stereotypically and as superior to each other in some respects, while inferior in other respects. Generally speaking, level V was the only level where a woman was allowed to be superior. However, superior men were not usually coded V while superior women were. Superior men might be coded II, because it fit more with traditional view of the women-men relationship of level II, unless men were shown superior to women in doing womanly jobs or activities.

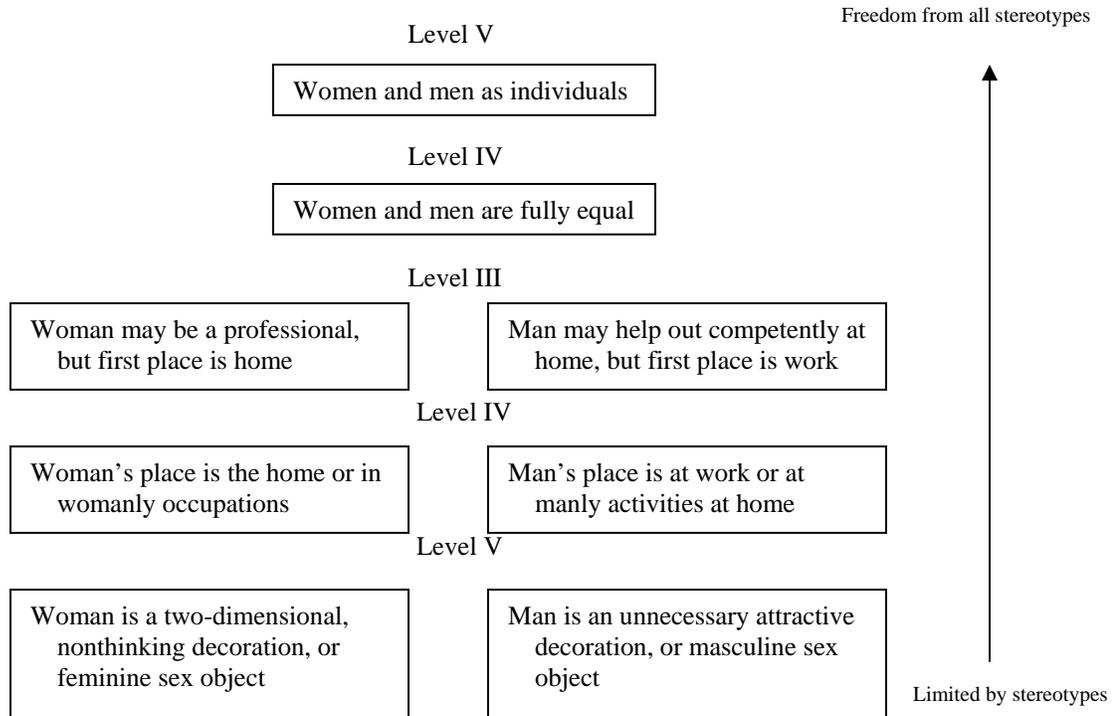


Figure 3-1. A Consciousness Scale for Media Sexism: Women and Men

Coding Procedure

Before the actual coding work started, the researcher did some preparations such as coding instructions, coder selection and training, and pretest. First, a codebook containing the definitions of all categories was developed as a common frame of reference for all coders, thus facilitating independent coder to view and respond to the same stimulus in the same way. Then, a coding sheet with the specification of categories, variables, and levels of measurement, was formulated for coders to actually record their observations.

Two coders were used in this study. One was the researcher herself, as the primary coder, and the other one was a male Taiwanese student, as the secondary coder. Once selected, coders were trained in a coding process, beginning with familiarization of the codebook and ending in using coding sheet to practice actual coding work.

In this study, the secondary coder was selected for three concerns:

- **Gender bias:** Because the primary coder is a female, inviting a male to be the secondary coder would be helpful in reducing the gender bias in this study.
- **Similar background:** The background of the secondary coder is similar to the primary coder, both are graduate students in advertising from Taiwan, which in turn could increase the likelihood that the two coders would view the same stimulus in the same way.
- **Language and culture:** Since all samples were produced and broadcasted in Taiwan and most of them were presented in Chinese and Taiwanese, it is essential to use a coder who is a native speaker and acculturated in Chinese/Taiwanese culture and language.

After finishing the coding and coder preparation, a pretest was conducted to improve the category structure, category definitions, and coding procedures. Two coders separately coded 60 representative sample advertisements, about 10% of the actual sample size, and then compared their results with each other.

Inter-Coder Reliability

When two or more coders independently assign the same code to the same stimulus, this is called inter-coder reliability (Davis, 1997). Among several methods in calculating inter-coder reliability for nominal data, Holsti's (1969) formula is the most popular one, for it is simple, straightforward, and easy to use (Davis, 1997). Accordingly, this study adopted Holsti's inter-coder reliability coefficient, as listed below, to calculate the overall percentage of agreement or times when both coders independently assigned the same code to the same object.

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M / N1 + N2$$

where:

M is the total number of coding decisions on which the two coders agree.

N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions made by coders one and two.

The inter-coder reliability for this study was calculated before data analysis and found to be 88.7%. Because 80% inter-coder reliability is generally considered as an acceptable calculated measure (Davis, 1997), the inter-coder reliability of this study is statistically valid.

Validity

According to Davis (1997), validity is a reliable measure that consistently measures what you want to measure. It occurs when there is a high degree of correspondence between a concept's operational definition and the specific observable event used to record the concept. As "a research technique for the systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication," the description function of quantitative content analysis is considered as a process that includes segmenting communication content into units, assigning each unit to a category, and providing tallies for each category (Berelson, 1952). Therefore, to testify the validity of quantitative content analysis, one question is proposed: Does the procedure describe what it intends to describe (Krippendorf, 1980; Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998)?

To answer this question, Gall, Borg, and Gall's (1996) suggested: "consider employing a coding system that has been used in previous research." Rourke and Anderson (2004) further claimed that those who did use this method might accomplish several things: They contributed to the accumulating validity of an existing procedure, were able to compare their results with a growing catalog of normative data, and

shortened the instrument construction process. In this study, the total 33 variables were operationally defined based on previous coding systems, those which were well-used to explore gender-role portrayals in television commercials such as Bretl and Cantor's (1988), Schneider and Schneider's (1979), McArthur and Resko's (1975), Pingree's et al. (1976), and so on. Each code was designed to answer the core research question, how men and women were portrayed in Taiwan's awarding winning advertising. Therefore, this study is undoubtedly able to answer the above-mentioned question with regard to testify the validity of quantitative content analysis and thus represent acceptable validity.

Data Analysis

The Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS release 11.0) was used in this study for statistical computer analysis. SPSS is well considered as an effective tool to deal with large amounts of data. Therefore, this study adopted SPSS to organize and analyze its 608 samples. Chi-square was used to identify differences in the frequency distributions among categories. Critical p-value (.05) was used to examine the statistical significance. If $p < .05$, it was considered to be significant; if $p > .05$, it was not significant. In addition, cross-tabulation was also used for variable analysis and comparison in this study.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

Descriptions of the Sample

A total of 608 commercials selected from the whole collection of Times Advertising Award winners from 1997 to 2002 were counted as the final qualified samples—74 in 1997, 123 in 1998, 99 in 1999, 109 in 2000, 117 in 2001, and 86 in 2002 (Table 4-1). Forty-eight commercials were excluded because of the lack of people involvement, namely, only containing products, animals, graphics, or non-human figure animations.

In this study, each sample was coded for 14 variables—year, gender of character(s), ethnicity, language, age, social-role, family role, occupation, basis for credibility, information-role, setting, Pingree’s consciousness scale of sexism, product type, and gender of announcer(s). If there was no obvious primary character shown in a commercial but secondary or supporting roles were present, the commercial was then coded for year, gender of character(s), product type, and gender of announcer(s).

Pertain to advertised products, all samples exhibited comparable male/female distribution (Table 4-2). Miscellaneous products including real estate, website, medicine, pet food, and not applicable product categories accounted for 12% of the sample, followed by financial services (10.0%) and beverages (9.0%). In regard to the gender of character(s), men predominated women in all character types, including primary, secondary, and supporting characters (Table 4-3). For example, within the 533 samples with primary characters, men appeared as primary characters in 357 (67%) commercials

while women only accounted for 176 (33%). More than 50% of commercials featuring secondary character(s) were male-dominant, while only 25% used female characters. In addition, consistent with previous studies, announcers used in these 608 sample commercials showed significant male-dominance, especially when announcing product/brand information such as slogan and brand name (Table 4-4). The finding shows a strong preference of using male announcers in Taiwanese award-winning commercials 1997-2002.

Table 4-1. Award-Winning Taiwanese TV Commercials per Year

	N	%
1997	74	12.2
1998	123	20.2
1999	99	16.3
2000	109	17.9
2001	117	19.2
2002	86	14.1
Total	608	100.0

Table 4-2. Advertised Product Types

	N	%
Annual best of the show	13	2.1
Public service	50	8.2
Industry image	42	6.9
Electric appliances	41	6.7
Automotive	42	6.9
Food	48	7.9
Beverages (alcohol and non-alcohol)	55	9.0
Household appliances	35	5.8
Personal items	37	6.1
Communication services	53	8.7
Culture and education	23	3.8
Financial services	61	10.0
Retail services	33	5.4
Others	75	12.3
Total	608	100.0

Table 4-3. Primary, Secondary, and Supporting Character(s) by Gender

	Gender of Primary Character		Gender of Secondary Character(s)		Gender of Supporting Character(s)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	357	67.0	240	50.7	89	24.6
Female	176	33.0	119	25.2	35	9.7
Both	--	--	114	24.1	238	65.7
Total	533	100	473	100	362	100

Table 4-4. Voice-over, Jingle, Tagline, Slogan, and Sign-Off by Gender

	Gender of Voice-Over		Gender of Jingle		Gender of Tagline		Gender of Slogan		Gender of Sign-Off	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	169	71.6	24	61.5	18	81.8	361	82.4	114	83.2
Female	67	28.4	15	38.5	4	18.2	77	17.6	23	16.8
Total	236	100	39	100	22	100	438	100	137	100

Analysis by Gender of the Primary Character

- **RQ1:** How were men portrayed from 1997 to 2002 in Times Advertising Award-Winning television commercials?
- **RQ2:** How were women portrayed from 1997 to 2002 in Times Advertising Award-Winning television commercials?
- **RQ3:** How differently or similarly were men and women portrayed from 1997 to 2002 in Times Advertising Award-winning television commercials?

Ethnicity

In commercials featuring male primary characters, Eastern models, appearing in 325 commercials (92.9%), were present overwhelmingly, compared to Western models (7.1%). For female primary characters, the statistical finding was parallel to that of male primary characters (Table 4-5). There was a strong presence for using Eastern models (92.9%), including Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean, and other Asians, as primary characters in these award-winning commercials, regardless of the gender of the primary character. However, no significant difference was found.

Table 4-5. Ethnicity by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Easterns	325	92.9	157	92.9	482	92.9
Westerns	25	7.1	12	7.1	37	7.1
Total	350	100	169	100	519	100

$\chi^2 = .000$, $df=1$, n.s.

Language

Table 4-6 showed that male primary characters usually spoke at least one line in commercials (66.1%). They used Chinese as the primary language (60.6%), and then

dialects (15.7%) such as Taiwanese and Hakka, and mixed (11.0%) such as speaking more than two different languages in commercials. In contrast, nearly 50% of female primary characters were present as non-speaking figures. In other words, these female characters neither had any conversation with other characters in commercials nor spoke to the audiences directly. For those female primary characters who did speak in commercials, Chinese was used most often (70.7%), followed by dialects (15.2%), and others such as Japanese and Korean (6.5%).

A statistically significant difference was found between men and women regarding whether they spoke or not in commercials ($\chi^2=9.531$, $p<.01$). In generally, women (47.7%) were more likely than men (33.9%) to be shown as non-speaking figures. However, when comparing male and female primary characters using a specific language in commercials, there was no significant difference found.

Table 4-6. Language by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Speaking	236	66.1	92	52.3	328	61.5
Non-speaking	121	33.9	84	47.7	205	38.5
Total ^a	357	100	176	100	533	100
Chinese	143	60.6	65	70.7	208	63.4
Dialects	37	15.7	14	15.2	51	15.5
English	19	8.1	4	4.3	23	7.0
Mixed	26	11.0	3	3.3	29	8.8
Others	11	4.7	6	6.5	17	5.2
Total ^b	236	100	92	100	328	100

^a $\chi^2=9.531$, $df=1$ $p<.01$

^b $\chi^2=7.306$, $df=4$, n.s.

Age

To gain a better understanding of the associations between gender and age, the six age categories were recoded to two major categories—young (under 35) including children (under 11), teens (12-17), and young (18-35) characters, and older (above 36) including middle-aged (36-50), and old (above 50) characters. According to the data,

54.3% of men were classified as young (Table 4-7). When examining specific age group, men were just as likely to be portrayed as middle-aged (40.0%) or as young (39.4%). With regard to female primary characters, young women under 35 years old (nearly 80%) appeared most frequently, while women above 36 (about 20%) were less found in commercials. More than 60% of female characters were of age 18-35, and only about 1% of them were very young children.

A significant difference was found between young and older age groups ($\chi^2 = 32.59, p < .01$) in the frequency of male and female primary characters. Men (45.7%) were more likely than women (20.1%) to be portrayed as older, while women (79.9%) were more often than men (54.3%) to be appeared as young. As to specific gender group, a chi-square test found a significant difference between men and women ($\chi^2 = 53.548, p < .01$). In general, men were more likely than women to shown as middle-agers (40.0%) or children (6.6%), while women were more often portrayed as young people (64.4%) or teens (14.4%).

Table 4-7. Age by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 35 (young)	190	54.3	139	79.9	329	62.8
Above 36 (older)	160	45.7	35	20.1	195	37.2
Total ^a	350	100	174	100	524	100
Under 11 (children)	23	6.6	2	1.1	25	4.7
12-17 (teens)	29	8.3	25	14.4	54	10.3
18-35 (young)	138	39.4	112	64.4	250	47.7
36-50 (middle-aged)	140	40.0	23	13.2	163	31.1
Above 50 (old)	20	5.7	12	6.9	32	6.1
Total ^b	350	100	174	100	524	100

^a $\chi^2 = 32.59, df=1, p < .01$

^b $\chi^2 = 53.548, df=4, p < .01$

Social role

There was a significant difference between men and women with respect to social

roles ($\chi^2 = 29.576, p < .01$). As shown in Table 4-8, men appeared most often in working situations and interacted with other characters like occupational partners (43.3%) than present in family roles (29.5%) or with friends (21.2%), and romantic partners (6.0%). Women were most often portrayed as family roles (47.2%), followed by occupational roles (18.9%), romantic partners (17.9%), and friends (16.0%). Obviously, men were more associated with occupational roles, while women were more associated with family roles. This is consistent with the common stereotypes of gender-role portrayals, i.e. men work outside and women stay at home to take care of families and household duties. Further comparison of men and women regarding other social roles suggested that men were more often involved in friendship, while women were more frequently shown in romantic relations.

Table 4-8. Social Role by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family roles	64	29.5	50	47.2	114	35.3
Friends	46	21.2	17	16.0	63	19.5
Romantic partners	13	6.0	19	17.9	32	9.9
Occupational roles	94	43.3	20	18.9	114	35.3
Total	217	100	106	100	323	100

$\chi^2 = 29.576, df=3, p < .01$

Family role

Table 4-9 indicated that men (32.4%) were shown as children/grandchildren more often than spouses (29.4%), parents/grandparents (22.1%), and others such as brothers (16.2%). Women usually appeared in commercials as spouses (37.7%), followed by parents/grandparents (34.0%), children/grandchildren (15.1%), and others (13.2%) such as sisters.

Comparing men and women with respect to family role, women were more often depicted as spouses (37.7%) and parents/grandparents (34.0%) than men were, while men

appeared more often as children/grandchildren (32.4%) and others (16.2%). However, no significant difference was found in this regard.

Table 4-9. Family Roles by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spouses	20	29.4	20	37.7	40	33.1
Parents/grandparents	15	22.1	18	34.0	33	27.3
Children/grandchildren	22	32.4	8	15.1	30	24.8
Others	11	16.2	7	13.2	18	14.9
Total	68	100	53	100	121	100

$\chi^2 = 5.927$, $df=3$, n.s.

Occupation

Table 4-10 showed a significant difference between gender and occupation ($\chi^2 = 66.038$, $p < .01$). According to the data, male primary characters usually appeared as technicians and associate professionals (29%), legislators/gov't administrators/ business executives and managers (22.5%), and professionals (15.4%); women most often appeared as homemakers (24.1%), followed by professionals (22.4%), technicians and associate professionals (19%), and service workers/shop and market sales workers (19%).

Comparing gender with occupation, women (22.4%) were more often than men (15.4%) portrayed as professionals in commercials. Except for professional roles, the finding, in general, is in line with traditional gender stereotypes. For example, men were usually shown in doing manly jobs such as governors, CEOs, farmers, and porters, but seldom shown in typical female occupations such as homemakers, and clerks. In contrast, women were very likely to be full-time housewives, service workers, or clerks, but rarely present in managerial positions or labor-concentrated occupations.

Basis for credibility

According to Table 4-11, more than 50% of male and female primary characters were portrayed as product users. However, when comparing men and women in regard to

product related role, males (46.4%) were more likely than females (30.7%) to be shown as authorities for their advertised products. In contrast, women appeared more often than men as product users (65.7%). A significant difference between men and women associated with their product related roles in commercials was found ($\chi^2=9.416, p<.01$).

Table 4-10. Occupation by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Legislators/gov't administrators/ business executives and managers	38	22.5	1	1.7	39	17.2
Professionals	26	15.4	13	22.4	39	17.2
Technicians and associate professionals	49	29.0	11	19.0	60	26.4
Clerks	1	.6	2	3.4	3	1.3
Service workers/shop and market sales workers	18	10.7	11	19.0	29	12.8
Agricultural/animal husbandry/ forestry and fishing workers	7	4.1	--	--	7	3.1
Production related workers/ plant and machine operators and workers	12	7.1	--	--	12	5.3
Homemakers/housewives/ househusbands	--	--	14	24.1	14	6.2
Students	18	10.7	6	10.3	24	10.6
Total	169	100	58	100	227	100

$\chi^2=66.038, df=8, p<.01$

Table 4-11. Product Related Role by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Authorities/ Spokespersons for the product	123	46.4	42	30.7	165	41.0
Product users	136	51.3	90	65.7	226	56.2
Decorative roles/Models	6	2.3	5	3.6	11	2.7
Total	265	100	137	100	402	100

$\chi^2=9.416 df=3 p<.01$

As to the credible role of the primary character, it could be separated into 9 types: celebrity, expert, company representative, personal experience, apparent celebrity, apparent expert, apparent company representative, apparent personal experience, and unreal people. Apparent personal experience (72.4%) and real-life celebrities (12.5%) were the most often appeared credible roles in commercials, regardless of gender (Table

4-12). Although no significant difference between men and women in regard to credible role exists, it is noteworthy that men monopolized the credible role as experts (100%).

To facilitate further analysis, the 9 categories were condensed to 2 major groups. Real experience meant that characters were real-life people who had real experience with the advertised product, including real celebrity, real expert, real company representative, and real personal experience. On the contrary, unreal experience was defined as characters who were actors and made to appear as real-life people, for instance, apparent celebrity, apparent expert, apparent company representative, apparent personal experience, and unreal people. More than 80% of the credible roles for both male and female primary characters were based on unreal experience, in other words, performed by actors. However, there was no significant difference found in this regard.

Table 4-12. Credible Roles by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Real experience	48	18.2	18	14.1	66	16.8
Unreal experience	216	81.8	110	85.9	326	83.2
Total ^a	264	100	128	100	392	100
Celebrity	33	12.5	16	12.5	49	12.5
Expert	4	1.5	--	--	4	1.0
Company representative	3	1.1	1	.8	4	1.0
Personal experience	8	3.0	1	.8	9	2.3
Apparent celebrity	9	3.4	2	1.6	11	2.8
Apparent expert	2	.8	1	.8	3	1.0
Apparent company representative	13	4.9	3	2.3	16	4.1
Apparent personal experience	182	68.9	102	79.7	284	72.4
Unreal people	10	3.8	2	.5	12	3.1
Total ^b	264	100	128	100	392	100

^a $\chi^2 = 1.045$, $df=1$, n.s.

^b $\chi^2 = 9.169$ $df=8$, n.s.

Information role

A statistically significant difference was found between gender and information roles ($\chi^2 = 5.491$, $p < .05$). As can be seen in Table 4-13, the majority of primary

characters with obvious information roles, 65.4% of men and 82.1% of women, were portrayed as information givers. However, when comparing men and women with respect to information roles, men (34.6%) showed higher presence than women (17.9%) as information receivers (34.6%); women (82.1%) were more likely to be present as information givers.

Table 4-13. Information Roles by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Information giver	102	65.4	46	82.1	148	69.8
Information receiver	54	34.6	10	17.9	64	30.2
Total	156	100	56	100	212	100

$$\chi^2 = 5.491, df=1, p < .05$$

Setting

As shown in Table 4-14, men were more often present in public places (42.6%) and business office settings (17.4%) and least likely in the kitchen (1.3%), indoors away from home (2.6%), and in a school setting (2.9%). Women were also most likely to be shown in public places (35.8%), followed by other places inside the house such as bedrooms and bathrooms (12.2%), and combination settings (10.1%) such as between home and business office. In addition, women were seldom present in school (1.4%) or outdoors (2.7%) settings. Comparing men and women in regard to settings, a significant difference between male and female primary characters was found. For example, men (17.4%) showed a higher presence than women (8.8%) in business settings.

The data were then recoded to 2 categories—home settings, including kitchen, dining/living room, other places inside the house, indoors away from home, and away settings, including public places, riding inside transportation, business office, school, and outdoors. The finding indicated that more than 70% of primary characters were mainly shown in away settings such as streets, restaurants, stores, or outdoors, regardless of

gender. A significant association was found between these two settings and gender ($\chi^2 = 25.463, p < .01$). Men (77.4%) more often appeared in away settings than women did (62.4%), while women (37.6%) were more likely to be shown in home settings.

Table 4-14. Settings by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Home settings	65	20.6	49	35	114	25.1
Away settings	250	70.4	91	65	341	74.9
Total ^a	315	100	140	100	425	100
Kitchen	4	1.3	10	6.8	14	3.1
Dining room/living room	28	9.0	13	8.8	41	9.0
Other places inside the house	26	8.4	18	12.2	44	9.6
Indoors away from home	8	2.6	9	6.1	17	3.7
Public places	132	42.6	53	35.8	185	40.4
Riding inside transportation	18	5.8	11	7.4	29	6.3
Business office/environment	54	17.4	13	8.8	67	14.6
School	9	2.9	2	1.4	11	2.4
Outdoors	13	4.2	4	2.7	17	3.7
Combination settings	18	5.8	15	10.1	33	7.2
Total ^b	310	100	148	100	458	100

^a $\chi^2 = 10.651, df = 1, p < .01$

^b $\chi^2 = 25.463, df = 9, p < .01$

Product type

As to product type, male primary characters were most frequently shown in association with financial services (11.2%), others (11.2%), and communication services (10.1%), while least with household appliances (2.8%) and personal items (2.5%). In contrast, female primary characters were most likely to be associated with personal items (14.8%), household appliances (11.4%), food (10.2%), and beverages (10.2%), but seldom present in commercials for annual best of the show (.6%), public services (2.8%), and automobiles (2.8%). A chi-square test showed that there was a significant difference between men and women regarding product type ($\chi^2 = 64.300, p < .01$). Table 4-15 clearly indicated that men were more likely than women to be shown as primary characters in most product categories, e.g. annual best of the show (3.1%), public service

(8.7%), automotives (8.1%), and industry image (9.0%). However, women were more often than men to appear in commercials for personal items (14.8%), household appliances (11.4%), food (10.2%), beverages (10.2%), and culture and education (4.5%).

Table 4-15. Product Type by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Consumed in home products	47	19.3	64	43.5	111	28.5
Consumed out of home products	90	37.0	31	21.1	121	31.0
Consumed both in and out of home products	106	43.6	52	35.4	158	40.5
Total ^a	243	100	147	100	390	100
Annual best of the show	11	3.1	1	.6	12	2.3
Public service	31	8.7	5	2.8	36	6.8
Industry image	32	9.0	7	4.0	39	7.3
Electric appliances	28	7.8	10	5.7	38	7.1
Automotives	29	8.1	5	2.8	34	6.4
Food	28	7.8	18	10.2	46	8.6
Beverages (alcohol and non-alcohol)	31	8.7	18	10.2	49	9.2
Household appliances	10	2.8	20	11.4	30	5.6
Personal items	9	2.5	26	14.8	35	6.6
Communication services	36	10.1	16	9.1	52	9.8
Culture and education	11	3.1	8	4.5	19	3.6
Financial services	40	11.2	17	9.7	57	10.7
Retail services	21	5.9	9	5.1	30	5.6
Others	40	11.2	16	9.1	56	10.5
Total ^b	357	100	176	100	533	100

^a $\chi^2 = 27.887$ df=2 p<.01

^b $\chi^2 = 64.300$ df=13 p<.01

Based on Bretl and Cantor's (1988) suggestion, the data were combined into three categories. Consumed in home products were those used mainly at home, including food, household appliances, and personal items. Consumed out of home products were those usually used in places other than home, including automotives, financial services, and retail services. Some products, which could be used both at home and elsewhere, were considered as consumed both in and out of home products, including electric appliances, beverages, communication services, and culture and education. The remaining product categories such as annual best of the show, public service, industry image, and others

such as real estate and E-Commerce, were excluded for lacking obvious product characteristics.

A significant difference between male and female primary characters with respect to product type was found ($\chi^2 = 27.887$, $p < .01$). As can be seen in Table 4-15, men were present in commercials for consumed both in and out of home products most often (43.6%), followed by consumed out of home products (37.0%), and then consumed in home products (19.3%). Women (43.5%) were most likely to be associated with consumed in home products, followed by consumed both in and out of home product (35.4%), and consumed out of home products (21.1%). Generally speaking, women were more associated with consumed in home products, while men were more associated with consumed out of home as well as consumed both in and out of home products. This finding is highly consistent with previous studies (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Dominick & Rauch, 1972).

Gender of announcers

As to gender of announcers, a strong preference to use male announcers was found in this study, no matter what function the male announcers played in commercials. Five statistical chi-square tests, as can be seen in Table 4-16, revealed some significant differences between gender of primary character and gender of announcers. In general, men dominated women as announcers in most commercials, e.g. men accounted for 63.2% of jingle announcers, 70.6% of voice-over announcers, and about 80% of tagline, slogan and sign-off announcers. However, in female-leading commercials, female announcers were used more frequently. For example, in commercials featuring female characters, 52% of voice-overs were announced by women, and 64.3% of jingles were

sung by women. In addition, no association between female tagline announcers and male primary characters was found.

Table 4-16. Gender of Voice-Over, Jingle, Tagline, Slogan, and Sign-Off by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male voice-over	101	84.9	36	48.0	137	70.6
Female voice-over	18	15.1	39	52.0	57	29.4
Total ^a	119	100	75	100	194	100
Male jingle	19	79.2	5	35.7	24	63.2
Female jingle	5	20.8	9	64.3	14	36.8
Total ^b	24	100	14	100	38	100
Male tagline	13	100	2	33.3	15	78.9
Female tagline	--	--	4	66.7	4	21.1
Total ^c	13	100	6	100	19	100
Male slogan	222	94.5	91	64.1	313	83.0
Female slogan	13	5.5	51	35.9	64	17.0
Total ^d	235	100	142	100	377	100
Male sign-off	69	93.2	30	63.8	99	81.8
Female sign-off	5	6.8	17	36.2	22	18.2
Total ^e	74	100	47	100	121	100

^a $\chi^2=30.148$, $df=1$, $p<.01$; ^b $\chi^2=7.175$, $df=1$, $p<.01$; ^c $\chi^2=10.978$, $df=1$, $p<.01$;

^d $\chi^2=57.976$, $df=1$, $p<.01$; ^e $\chi^2=16.717$, $df=1$, $p<.01$

- **RQ5:** According to Pingree's scale for sexism, what is the consciousness scale of sexism in Times Advertising Award-Winning television commercials?

Consciousness Scale for Sexism

This study used Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley's (1976) five-level exploratory model to examine the consciousness scale for both women and men among Times Advertising Award-winning commercials from 1997 to 2002. In this study, the determinants of which level the primary character belonged to might be his/her social role, occupational role, interactions with other characters in the commercial (equal/unequal), personal identity (independent/dependent, masculine/feminine), and other obvious gender role portrayals.

In brief, the five levels can be defined as following:

- **Level I:** Decorative roles. "Put her down vs. put him up."
- **Level II:** Traditional gender roles. "Keep her/him in her/his place."
- **Level III:** Double roles. "Give her/him two places."

- **Level IV:** “Women and men are fully equal.”
- **Level V:** “Women and men are individuals.”

As shown in Table 4-17, there was a significant difference between men and women with regard to the consciousness scale of sexism ($\chi^2 = 22.512$, $p < .01$). According to the data, nearly 60% of the interactions between male primary characters with other characters in Times Advertising Award-winning commercials were considered as Level II, about 25% were Level IV, and less than 3% were Level V. For commercials featuring female primary characters, more than 40% of commercials were classified as Level II, and nearly 30% were considered as Level IV. In addition, women were least present as Level III gender-role type in commercials.

Table 4-17. Consciousness Scale of Sexism by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Level I	25	9.3	16	10.9	41	9.9
Level II	158	59.0	64	43.5	222	53.5
Level III	12	4.5	6	4.1	18	4.3
Level IV	66	24.6	41	27.9	107	25.8
Level V	7	2.6	20	13.6	27	6.5
Total	268	100	147	100	415	100

$\chi^2 = 22.512$, $df=4$, $p < .01$

Generally speaking, both men and women were portrayed more often as Level II type, namely, traditional gender-role expectations such as men were depicted as professional businessmen and women were seen doing womanly activities at home or outside their houses. However, there were some noteworthy differences between men and women in association with the consciousness scale for sexism. 1) Men (59.0%) were present more often than women (43.5%) in traditional roles, Level II. 2) Women were more often portrayed equally (27.9%), as Level IV, and even superior (13.6%), as Level V, to their male counterparts. 3) Men were more likely than women to be portrayed as Level II, and III models. Women were more often than men present in Level I, IV, and V,

especially in the most non-stereotypical level, Level V. Furthermore, women were more likely than men to be portrayed non-stereotypically in commercials.

Summary of the Main Portrayals of Men and Women in Times Advertising Award-Winning Commercials

In summation, the main findings regarding the portrayals of men and women in Times Advertising Award from 1997 to 2002 were tabulated and shown below. In most cases, the differences between men and women were statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Table 4-18. Comparisons between Men and Women

	Male	Comparison	Female	χ^2
Ethnicity	Easterns	=	Easterns	.000
Language	Speaking	>	Speaking	9.531**
	Chinese	<	Chinese	7.306
Age	Young (under 35)	<	Young (under 35)	32.59**
	Middle Aged (36-50)		Young (18-35)	53.548**
Social role	Occupational role		Family role	29.576**
Family role	Children/grandchildren		Spouse	5.927
Occupation	Technicians and associate professionals		Homemakers/housewives	66.038**
Product related role	Product users	<	Product users	9.416**
Credible role	Unreal experience	<	Unreal experience	1.045
	Apparent personal experience	<	Apparent personal experience	9.169
Information role	Information giver	<	Information giver	5.491*
Setting	Away settings	>	Away settings	10.651**
	Public places	>	Public places	25.463**
Scale for sexism	Level II	>	Level II	22.512**
Advertised product	Consumed both in and out of home products		Consumed in home products	27.887**
	Financial services or others		Personal items	64.300**
Gender of voice-over	Male		Female	30.148**
Gender of jingle	Male		Female	7.175**
Gender of tagline	Male		Female	10.978**
Gender of slogan	Male	>	Male	57.976**
Gender of sign-off	Male	>	Male	16.717**

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Inferential Results of the Sample

- **RQ4:** What do the findings imply about gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's television commercials by product types?

In order to examine the correlations between gender and product type in regard to each of the above-mentioned variables, the current study applied Bretl and Cantor's

(1988) model, which generalized product types into three types: home products (hereinafter called consumed in home products which were mainly used in home, including food, household appliances, and personal items), away products (hereinafter called consumed out of home products which were mainly used outside the house, including automotives, financial services, and retail services), and both home and away products (hereinafter called consumed both in and out of home products which could be used either inside or outside the house, including electric appliances, beverages, communication services, and culture and education). The remaining product categories such as annual best of the show, public service, industry image, and others, were excluded from this study, considering there were no obvious product characteristics shown in these commercials.

Consumed in Home Products

As can be seen in Table 4-19, there was a significant difference between gender and language in consumed in home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 14.873$, $p < .01$). More than 70% of male primary characters were shown speaking at least one line in commercials, while the majority of female primary characters (62.5%) were present as non-speaking figures. Based on the data, men (74.5%) were more likely than women (37.5%) to speak in consumed in home product commercials. On the Contrary, female primary characters (62.5%) were more often portrayed as non-speaking figures than men (25.5%) were.

Table 4-20 indicated a significant difference between gender and age in consumed in home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 29.055$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2 = 13.892$, $p < .01$). Both male (60.9%) and female (90.6%) primary characters most often showed as young figures

(under 35 years old). Most female primary characters (90.6%) were shown as young, outnumbering male primary characters (60.9%). Men (39.1%) were more often than women (9.4%) present as older characters (above 36). However, with respect to specific age groups, the findings showed that men were as likely to be portrayed as young (37.0%) or middle-aged (34.8%), while women were usually shown as young (79.7%). When comparing men and women in this regard, men outnumbered women appearing as children (10.9%), teens (13.0%), or middle-aged (34.8%). Women (79.7%) were present more often than men (37.0%) as young people, and slightly outnumbered men (4.3%) as elders.

Table 4-19. Language by Gender in Commercials for Consumed in Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Speaking	35	74.5	24	37.5	59	53.2
Non-speaking	12	25.5	40	62.5	52	46.8
Total	47	100	64	100	111	100

$$\chi^2 = 14.873, df=1, p < .01$$

Table 4-20. Age by Gender in Commercials for Consumed in Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 35 (young)	28	60.9	58	90.6	86	78.2
Above 36 (older)	18	39.1	6	9.4	24	21.8
Total ^a	46	100	64	100	110	100
Under 11 (children)	5	10.9	1	1.6	6	5.5
12-17 (teens)	6	13.0	6	9.4	12	10.9
18-35 (young)	17	37.0	51	79.7	68	61.8
36-50 (middle-aged)	16	34.8	2	3.1	18	16.4
Above 50 (old)	2	4.3	4	6.3	6	5.5
Total ^b	46	100	64	100	110	100

$$^a \chi^2 = 29.055, df=1, p < .01$$

$$^b \chi^2 = 13.892, df=4, p < .01$$

As can be seen in Table 4-21, the findings showed significant associations between gender of primary characters and gender of announcers in consumed in home product commercials. Generally speaking, men dominated women as narrators for voice-over, slogan, and sign-off. In male-leading commercials, men outnumbered women narrating

voice-over, slogan, sign-off, and singing jingles. On the other hand, the only item that women dominated men was singing jingles in female-dominant commercials.

Table 4-21. Voice-Over, Jingle, Slogan, and Sign-Off by Gender of Primary Characters in Commercials for Consumed in Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male voice-over	13	100	19	52.8	32	65.3
Female voice-over	--	--	17	47.2	17	34.7
Total ^a	13	100	36	100	49	100
Male jingle	6	75.0	--	--	6	40.0
Female jingle	2	25.0	7	100	9	60.0
Total ^b	8	100	7	100	15	100
Male slogan	34	91.9	33	61.1	67	73.6
Female slogan	3	8.1	21	38.9	24	26.4
Total ^c	37	100	53	100	91	100
Male sign-off	12	100	13	52.0	25	67.6
Female sign-off	--	--	12	48.0	12	32.4
Total ^d	12	100	25	100	37	100

^a $\chi^2=9.400$, $df=1$, $p<.01$; ^b $\chi^2=8.750$, $df=1$, $p<.01$

^c $\chi^2=10.713$, $df=1$, $p<.01$; ^d $\chi^2=8.525$, $df=1$, $p<.01$

Table 4-22. Consciousness Scale of Sexism by Gender in Commercials for Consumed in Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Level I	2	5.6	9	17.0	11	12.4
Level II	15	41.7	19	35.8	34	38.2
Level III	4	11.1	1	1.9	5	5.6
Level IV	13	36.1	11	20.8	24	27.0
Level V	2	5.6	13	24.5	15	16.9
Total	36	100	53	100	89	100

$\chi^2=12.155$, $df=4$, $p<.05$

As Table 4-22 suggested, there was a significant difference between gender and the Consciousness Scale of Sexism in consumed in home product commercials ($\chi^2=12.155$, $p<.05$). Both male and female primary characters were more often portrayed as Level II, traditional gender roles. Nearly 80% of male primary characters were shown as Level II (41.7%) and Level IV (36.1%) gender-role types, while female primary characters were most often seen as Level II (35.8%), followed by Level V (24.5%), Level IV (20.8%), and Level I (17.0%) gender-role types. Interestingly, women dominated in Level I and

Level V, the opposite levels of the sexism scale, while men outnumbered women in presence in Level II, Level III, and Level IV types.

Consumed out of Home Products

As shown in Table 4-23, there was a significant correlation between male and female primary character with regard to age in consumed out of home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 5.395$, $p < .05$). In general, both male (57.1%) and female (80.6%) primary characters were usually present as young figures (under 35) in consumed out of home product commercials. Men (42.9%) were more likely to appear as older people (above 36 years old) than women (19.4%) were. Women (80.6%) were more often than men to be shown as young figures (57.1%).

Table 4-23. Age by Gender in Commercials for Consumed in Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 35 (young)	48	57.1	25	80.6	73	63.5
Above 36 (old)	36	42.9	6	19.4	42	36.5
Total	84	100	31	100	115	100

$\chi^2 = 5.395$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$

Table 4-24 showed a significant difference between men and women in regard to social roles in consumed out of home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 9.303$, $p < .05$). Based on the findings, men were most often shown in occupational roles (45.5%), followed by family roles (27.3%), friends (18.2%), and romantic partners (9.1%). Women were most likely to appear in family roles (52.4%), then occupational roles (28.6%), and as romantic partners (19.0%). However, there was no female primary present as friends in consumed out of home product commercials. When comparing men with women, it was found that men outnumbered women appearing in occupational roles and as friends, but women dominated men in family roles and romantic roles.

Table 4-24. Social Role by Gender in Commercials for Consumed out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family roles	18	27.3	11	52.4	29	33.3
Friends	12	18.2	--	--	12	13.8
Romantic partners	6	9.1	4	19.0	10	11.5
Occupational roles	30	45.5	6	28.6	36	41.4
Total	66	100	21	100	87	100

$$\chi^2 = 9.303, df=3, p < .05$$

The findings on Table 4-25 suggested a significant difference between gender and occupation in consumed out of home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 13.432, p < .05$). Men were usually shown in managerial occupations (28.9%), as technicians and associate professionals (21.1%) or service workers (21.1%), but never shown as clerks in consumed out of home product commercials. Women were only shown in three types of occupations: Half of them were shown as professionals (50.0%) and the other half was disproportionally divided between service workers (33.3%) and clerks (16.7%). In general, men were more likely than women portrayed in managerial roles, as technicians and associate professionals, and as production related workers; women were more often than men to be depicted as professionals, service workers, and clerks. Neither male nor female primary characters were depicted as agricultural/animal husbandry/forestry and fishing workers, homemakers, or students in consumed out of home product commercials.

Table 4-26 showed a significant difference between gender and product related role in consumed out of home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 6.100, p < .05$). Although both male (57.6%) and female (86.4%) primary characters were most often depicted as product users, some significant differences between men and women were found. For example, men were more likely than women to be shown as authorities or decorative models in consumed out of home product commercials, while women were more often present as product users. In addition, no woman was found to appear as decorative models in

consumed out of home product commercials.

Table 4-25. Occupation by Gender in Commercials for Consumed out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Legislators/gov't administrators/ business executives and Managers	11	28.9	--	--	11	25.0
Professionals	6	15.8	3	50.0	9	20.5
Technicians and associate Professionals	8	21.1	--	--	8	18.2
Clerks	--	--	1	16.7	1	2.3
Service workers/shop and market sales workers	8	21.1	2	33.3	10	22.7
Production related workers/ plant and machine operators and workers	5	13.2	--	--	5	11.4
Total	38	100	6	100	44	100

$$\chi^2 = 13.432, df=5, p<.05$$

Table 4-26. Product Related Role by Gender in Commercials for Consumed out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Authorities/ Spokespersons for the product	26	39.4	3	13.6	29	33.0
Product users	38	57.6	19	86.4	57	64.8
Decorative roles/Models	2	3.0	--	--	2	2.3
Total	66	100	22	100	88	100

$$\chi^2 = 6.100, df=2, p<.05$$

Table 4-27. Gender of Tagline and Slogan by Gender of Primary Characters in Commercials for Consumed out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male tagline	7	100	--	--	7	77.8
Female tagline	--	--	2	100	2	22.2
Total ^a	7	100	2	100	9	100
Male slogan	63	95.5	21	80.8	84	91.3
Female slogan	3	4.5	5	19.2	8	8.7
Total ^b	66	100	26	100	92	100

$$^a \chi^2 = 9.000, df=1, p<.05$$

$$^b \chi^2 = 5.066, df=1, p<.05$$

As can be seen in Table 4-27, some significant differences between male and female primary characters in regard to gender of tagline and slogan announcers in consumed out of home product commercials were found ($\chi^2 = 9.000, p<.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.066,$

$p < .05$). Generally speaking, there was a strong tendency to use male voices as tagline and slogan narrators. The only exception that taglines were mainly narrated by women was found in commercials featuring female central characters.

Consumed both in and out of Home Products

Table 4-28 showed a significant difference between gender and age in consumed both in and out of home product commercials, respectively ($\chi^2 = 7.832$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2 = 13.105$, $p < .05$). Most primary characters, regardless of gender, were shown as young figures. However, men (45.3%) were more often than women (22.0%) shown as older persons. Women (78.0%) were present more often as young than men (54.7%). When examining specific age group, more than 70% of men were coded between 36-50 (38.7%) or between 18-35 (35.8%) years of age. More than 70% of women were either between 18-35 (52.0%) or 12-17 (24.0%). Not surprisingly, female primary characters were more likely than their male counterparts present as young people and teens. In contrast, male primary characters were more often present as middle-aged or elder figures than female primary characters were. Moreover, men (7.5%) also outnumbered women (2.0%) when appearing as children.

Table 4-28. Age by Gender in Commercials of Consumed both in and out for Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 35 (young)	58	54.7	39	78.0	97	62.2
Above 36 (older)	48	45.3	11	22.0	59	37.8
Total ^a	106	100	50	100	156	100
Under 11 (children)	8	7.5	1	2.0	9	5.8
12-17 (teens)	12	11.3	12	24.0	24	15.4
18-35 (young)	38	35.8	26	52.0	64	41.0
36-50 (middle-aged)	41	38.7	8	16.0	49	31.4
Above 50 (old)	7	6.6	3	6.0	10	6.4
Total ^b	106	100	50	100	156	100

^a $\chi^2 = 7.832$, $df=1$, $p < .01$

^b $\chi^2 = 13.105$, $df=4$, $p < .05$

Table 4-29 indicated a significant difference between gender and social role in consumed both in and out of home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 17.442$, $p < .01$). Men were most often depicted in occupational roles (41.0%), followed by family roles (31.1%), and with friends (26.2%). Men were seldom shown as romantic partners (1.6%). Women were most frequently present in family roles (50.0%), then as romantic partners (20.6%), with friends (14.7%) and as occupational partners (14.7%). As to social role, it was found that men were more often portrayed in occupational roles and with friends, while women were often present in family roles and as romantic partners.

Table 4-29. Social Role by Gender in Commercials for Consumed both in and out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family roles	19	31.1	17	50.0	36	37.9
Friends	16	26.2	5	14.7	21	22.1
Romantic partners	1	1.6	7	20.6	8	8.4
Occupational roles	25	41.0	5	14.7	30	31.6
Total	61	100	34	100	95	100

$\chi^2 = 17.442$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$

Table 4-30 showed a significant difference between men and women in regard to occupation in consumed both in and out of home product commercials ($\chi^2 = 23.712$, $p < .01$). Men were most often portrayed as technicians and associate professionals (32.1%), followed by professionals (22.6%), and students (17.0%). In contrast, women were more likely to appear as housewives (35.3%), technicians and associate professionals (29.4%), professionals (11.8%) and service workers (11.8%). General speaking, men outnumbered women in most occupation categories, except for service workers and homemakers. Neither men nor women were shown as clerks in consumed both in and out of home product commercials.

Table 4-30. Occupation by Gender in Commercials for Consumed both in and out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Legislators/gov't administrators/ business executives and managers	5	9.4	1	5.9	6	8.6
Professionals	12	22.6	2	11.8	14	20.0
Technicians and associate professionals	17	32.1	5	29.4	22	31.4
Service workers/shop and market sales workers	3	5.7	2	11.8	5	7.1
Agricultural/animal husbandry/ forestry and fishing workers	4	7.5	--	--	4	5.7
Production related workers/ plant and machine operators and workers	3	5.7	--	--	3	4.3
Homemakers/housewives/ househusbands	--	--	6	35.3	6	8.6
Students	9	17.0	1	5.9	10	14.3
Total	53	100	17	100	70	100

$$\chi^2 = 23.712, df=7, p<.01$$

Table 4-31 indicated a significant difference between gender and information role in consumed both in and out of home commercials ($\chi^2 = 5.948, p<.05$). Although both men and women were usually portrayed as information givers in consumed both in and out of home product commercials, men (38.5%) were more likely than women (6.3%) to appear as information receivers. It is noteworthy that more than 90% of female primary characters (93.8%) were shown as information givers, outnumbering their male counterparts (61.5%).

Table 4-31. Information Role by Gender in Commercials for Consumed both in and out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Information giver	32	61.5	15	93.8	47	69.1
Information receiver	20	38.5	1	6.3	21	30.9
Total	52	100	16	100	68	100

$$\chi^2 = 5.948, df=1, p<.05$$

Table 4-32 revealed a significant difference between male and female primary characters with regard to settings in consumed both in and out of home commercials (χ^2

=13.988, $p < .01$; $\chi^2 = 30.079$, $p < .01$). According to the data, 74.2% of men and 40.9% of women were shown in away settings, while 25.8% of men and 59.1% of women appeared in home settings. As to specific setting, both men (35.9%) and women (26.1%) were most often shown in public places. In addition to public places, men were usually seen in business settings (19.6%) and dining/living room (17.4%), but seldom appeared in the kitchen (1.1%). Women were often seen in dining/living room (19.6%), kitchen (15.2%), and other places inside the house (15.2%). Generally speaking, men dominated women's presence present in most away settings, except for riding inside transportation. In contrast, women outnumbered men appearing in all home settings, including kitchen, dining/living room, other places inside the house— e.g. bedroom and bathroom, indoors away from home, combination settings, and in one away setting—riding inside transportation.

Table 4-32. Setting by Gender in Commercials for Consumed both in and out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Home settings	23	25.8	26	59.1	49	36.8
Away settings	66	74.2	18	40.9	84	63.2
Total ^a	89	100	44	100	133	100
Kitchen	1	1.1	7	15.2	8	5.8
Dining room/living room	16	17.4	9	19.6	25	18.1
Other places inside the house	3	3.3	7	15.2	10	7.2
Indoors away from home	3	3.3	3	6.5	6	4.3
Public places	33	35.9	12	26.1	45	32.6
Riding inside transportation	4	4.3	4	8.7	8	5.8
Business office/environment	18	19.6	1	2.2	19	13.8
School	4	4.3	1	2.2	5	3.6
Outdoors	7	7.6	--	--	7	5.1
Combination settings	3	3.3	2	4.3	5	3.6
Total ^b	92	100	46	100	138	100

^a $\chi^2 = 13.988$, $df=1$ $p < .01$

^b $\chi^2 = 30.079$, $df=9$ $p < .01$

Table 4-33 showed that men were more often than women to narrate voice-overs and slogans in consumed both in and out of home product commercials, especially when male primary characters were present. Nevertheless, women (75%) outnumbered men

(25%) as voice-over announcers in female leading commercials. These differences between gender of primary characters and gender of announcers were statistically significant ($\chi^2=27.903, p<.01$; $\chi^2=26.075, p<.01$).

Table 4-33. Gender of Voice-Over and Slogan by Gender of Primary Characters in Commercials for Consumed both in and out Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male voice-over	31	96.9	4	25.0	35	72.9
Female voice-over	1	3.1	12	75.0	13	27.1
Total ^a	32	100	16	100	48	100
Male slogan	72	96.0	24	58.5	96	82.8
Female slogan	3	4.0	17	41.5	20	17.2
Total ^b	75	100	41	100	116	100

^a $\chi^2=27.903, df=1, p<.01$

^b $\chi^2=26.075, df=1, p<.01$

Table 4-34. The Consciousness Scale of Sexism by Gender in Commercials for Consumed both in and out of Home Products

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Level I	9	11.7	1	2.5	10	8.5
Level II	46	59.7	21	52.5	67	57.3
Level III	5	6.5	2	5.0	7	6.0
Level IV	16	20.8	11	27.5	27	23.1
Level V	1	1.3	5	12.5	6	5.1
Total	77	100	40	100	117	100

$\chi^2=9.895, df=4, p<.05$

As Table 4-34 indicated, there was a significant difference between men and women with respect to the Consciousness Scale of Sexism in consumed both in and out of home product commercials ($\chi^2=9.895, p<.05$). About 80% of male and female primary characters were portrayed either as Level II, traditional gender roles, or as Level IV, equal gender roles. However, men (59.7%) were more often than women (52.5%) to be present as Level II type, while women (27.5%) were more likely than men (20.8%) to appear as Level IV type. Moreover, men (11.7%) were also more frequently than women (2.5%) shown in consumed both in and out of home product commercials as Level I type, e.g. men were appeared as unnecessarily attractive/masculine sex objects. In contrast,

women (12.5%) were much more likely than men (1.3%) to be portrayed as Level V type such as a superior woman. In Level III type, double roles/duties, male primary characters (6.5%) slightly outnumbered female primary characters (5.0%).

Summary of the Main Portrayals of Men and Women in Times Advertising Award-Winning Commercials by Product Types

Some significant differences between gender of primary characters and product types in Taiwan's Times Advertising Award winners from 1997 to 2002 were found and tabulated below ($p < .05$).

Table 4-35. Comparisons between Men and Women by Product Type

		Male	Comparison	Female	χ^2
In home	Language	Speaking	>	Non-Speaking	14.873**
	Age	Young (under 35)	<	Young (under 35)	29.055**
		Young (18-35)	<	Young (18-35)	13.892**
	Gender of voice-over	Male	>	Male	9.400**
	Gender of jingle	Male		Female	8.750**
	Gender of slogan	Male	>	Male	10.713**
	Gender of sign-off	Male	>	Male	8.525**
Sexism Scale	Level II	>	Level II	12.155*	
Out of home	Age	Young (under 35)	<	Young (under 35)	5.395*
	Social role	Occupational role		Family role	9.303*
	Occupation	Legislators/Business executives		Professionals	13.432*
	Product related role	Product users	<	Product users	6.100*
	Gender of tagline	Male		Female	9.000*
	Gender of slogan	Male	>	Male	5.066*
	Both in and out of home	Age	Young (under 35)	<	Young (under 35)
		Middle aged (36-50)		Young (18-35)	13.105*
		Social role	Occupational role		Family role
Occupation		Technicians and associate professionals		Homemakers	23.712**
Information role		Information giver	<	Information giver	5.948*
Setting		Away settings		Home settings	13.988**
		Public places	>	Public places	30.079**
Gender of voice-over		Male		Female	27.903**
Gender of slogan		Male	>	Male	26.075**
Sexism scale		Level II	>	Level II	9.895*

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the current study was to gain a better understanding of how men and women were portrayed in Taiwan's award-winning commercials. A content analysis based on 608 television commercials from Times Advertising Award winners from 1997 to 2002 was conducted. The main reason for choosing samples from Times Advertising Award was because it is generally viewed as the most highly respected annual advertising award in Taiwan. All commercials of it are professionally judged for their creativity and representativeness of latest social trends. Furthermore, in light of liberal feminist theoretical framework, this study further examined if the unequal gender-role portrayals present in Taiwan's television commercials have changed, improved, or remain stereotypical over time.

Generally speaking, there are two common research perspectives regarding gender stereotyping in television commercials: pessimistic and optimistic.

- **Pessimistic perspectives:** Pessimistic studies suggest that the negative or stereotypical role portrayals of women remain a ubiquitous presence in commercials and are even becoming worse (Gilly 1988; Ganahl, Prinsen, & Netzley, 2003; Lovdal 1989; Maracek et al. 1978).
- **Optimistic perspectives:** Optimistic studies conclude that the female role portrayals in commercials have been improved, are more representative of contemporary women, and gradually become more equal to men (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Schneider & Schneider, 1979; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988).

With regard to the gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's advertising, most studies show pessimistic perspective. For example, women are often present in commercials as subordinate, traditional, decorative, and sexually objectified. Men are usually depicted as

independent, credible, and authoritative (Hu, 1998; Liu, 1997; Wang, 1992; Wang, 1990). However, some studies have different opinions and suggest that gender roles shown in Taiwan's commercials have improved and become more non-stereotypical. In Besnahan, Inoue, Liu, and Nishida's (2001) study, they found that an equal number of men and women were present in Taiwan's prime-time commercials. Their findings suggested that most characters were present in non-stereotypical roles in combined settings. Similarly, the findings in this study indicate that although men and women, in general, are still portrayed stereotypically, their images as well as relationships shown in Taiwan's award-winning commercials have improved.

As far as solely male primary characters is concerned, the most likely portrayals of men shown in award-winning commercials are depicted as young or middle-aged Asians who appear in occupational roles such as technician or associate professionals. Males are often shown in away settings, especially in public places, and speak Chinese. If they have obvious family relationships with other characters, males usually appear as either children/grandchildren or spouses. As to credibility, it is common to see male actors giving product related information to other characters in commercials or showing audiences their personal experiences of using those products. Usually, males are more often associated with products consumed out of home such as automotives as well as with those consumed both in and out of home such as financial services. In most commercials featuring male primary characters, male announcers are predominately used.

In contrast, female primary characters shown in commercials are very likely to be young Asians present in family roles such as spouses or parents/grandparents in public places and speaking Chinese. If females appear in working conditions with obvious

occupational roles, they tend to work as either full-time housewives or as professionals, such as investment consultants. In addition, women, often actresses, are usually present in consumed in home product commercials as product users and provide product information to others based on their apparent personal experience. In a female-leading commercial, it is common to hear both female and male voices appearing in different parts of the commercial. For instance, female voices are more often used to announce voice-overs, jingles, or taglines, while male voices are more likely to appear delivering slogans or sign-offs.

Based on the liberal feminist perspective, this study focused on examining gender differences/similarities between men and women in Taiwan. In Chapter 2, the literature review detailed the social status of men and women in Taiwan from educational, economical, political, and cultural aspects. In general, all evidences point toward one conclusion: Taiwan's society has gradually moved from the male-dominant past to a more gender-equal future. However, can one also see these changes reflected in Taiwan's commercials? In view of the current findings based on chi-square and cross-tab tests, the study concludes that the portrayals of male and female primary characters in Times Advertising Award-winning commercials significantly differ in several respects (Table 4-18). Some of these differences are consistent with the social transitions, while some remain stereotypical. A summary of the overall current findings is as listed below:

- **Primary characters:** Nearly 70% of primary characters are males.
- **Language:** Women tend to be visually portrayed without speaking in commercials (supports Furnham & Mak's, 1999), especially when they are associated with consumed in home products such as personal items. However, being portrayed in non-speaking roles does not equate to non-activity. Women without speaking roles in commercials are much more likely than men to be portrayed progressively, particularly in home product commercials. Non-speaking male characters are more

likely to be shown as merely non-active attractive decoration, especially in commercials for consumed both in and out home products.

- **Age:** Regardless of product category, women were consistently portrayed as young (18-35). In most cases, they appeared younger than their male counterparts in commercials.
- **Social role:** Female primary characters present in commercials remain family-oriented, while males are more associated with occupational roles. These differences are statistically significant in commercials for consumed out of home products as well as for consumed both in and out of home products. In addition, men are seldom involved in romantic relationships, especially in consumed both in and out of home product commercial. Only one advertisement for Hey-Songs milk tea and black tea shows a young man and his girl friend happily having these drinks at home in a romantic atmosphere to gain audiences' favorable attitudes toward these products. The message "I love the feeling in this moment" is used to induce a feeling of love by sharing this product with your beloved one among target consumers. Moreover, these results also suggest that women are usually shown in dependent roles and eager to gain approval of families, especially husbands and boyfriends. Men are portrayed as independent and in situations where they are rewarded with social or career advancement (supports the findings of Furnham & Mak, 1999; McArthur & Resko, 1975).
- **Family roles:** Consistent with previous studies (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Courtney, 1983; Yang, 1994), women are usually seen in commercials as spouses or parents/grandparents. As far as male primary characters are concerned, they are more often shown as children/grandchildren or spouses.
- **Occupation:** Two patterns appear from the results of this category. The first pattern shows stereotypical portrayals for men and women in regard to occupations. Men usually appear doing manly jobs, such as government administrators or CEOs. Rarely are males seen in traditional female occupations, such as clerks and homemakers. Women are very likely to be seen as full-time housewives, but seldom present in high-level managerial positions or doing masculine jobs such as machine operators or porters. The second one suggests that women are gradually involved in more diverse occupational roles such as engineers, investment consultants, and artists. The transformation may attribute to the great increase of women's social status as well as buying power, the fruitful results of their persistent striving to occupy positions previously closed to them. Now, it is common to see female primary characters with positive images such as professional, independent, and confident present in commercials for traditionally male-oriented products such as automotives and financial products. And the trend is on the increase. Moreover, when comparing these findings (Table 4-10) with actual census of Taiwan's labor force distribution (Table 2-1), it is consistent with the fact that men dominated in most manly occupations while not often appear in womanly occupations such as clerks and service workers. Interestingly, women are equally likely as men to be professionals whether in real-life or in consumed out of home

commercials. However, further examination of the detail distributions of male and female labor force in regard to each occupation, several inconsistencies between gender images in commercials and those in reality are found. For example, Taiwan's women in reality are not associated with professional roles so often as those portrayals in commercials. In addition, most men in Taiwan are production-related workers rather than those high-level business executives shown in award-winning commercials. Such inconsistencies indicate a common preference of these award-winners to show career women in a more modern way such as appearing in professional roles to advertise traditionally manly (consumed out of home) products. In contrast, men are more restricted to appear in manly occupations, particularly in managerial roles.

- **Product role:** In this regard, male and female primary characters seem to be getting closer in their frequency of presence as product users, apparently different from stereotypical gender portrayals. However, men are still relatively more likely to play authoritative roles, while women tend to be present as product users. These findings are in accordance with international gender studies, such as studies in America by Bretl and Cantor (1988), in Denmark and France by Furnham et al. (1999), and in Mexico by Gilly (1988). Hence, it can be expected soon that the portrayals of men and women regarding product roles in Taiwan's award-winning commercials will become fully equal.
- **Information role:** In Taiwan's awarding winning commercials, women are usually portrayed non-stereotypically in regard to information role. It is common to see the female primary characters giving product related information to other characters instead of passively receiving information from others such as their husbands or boyfriends. In addition, women are relatively more likely than men to appear as information givers, particularly in commercials for communication services. The general depiction is that women enthusiastically share some product-related information such as beneficial plans, free services, and money-saving packages with their friends or customers. This may attribute to the general belief that women are better than men in daily budgeting and acquiring money-saving information.
- **Setting:** The findings show two-fold conclusions regarding commercial settings where primary characters are mainly present. On the one hand, the gender gap between men and women has gradually narrowed. Both men and women are usually seen in public places such as streets and restaurants, although women are relatively more often shown in home settings and men are more likely to be present in away settings. On the other hand, women still tend to appear in different kind of home settings, particularly in consumed both in and out of home product commercials. In this regard, kitchen remains the place for women, while business settings and outdoors are mainly for men (Bretl & Cantor, 1998; Wang, 1993).
- **Product type:** Similar to previous studies about gender roles in prime-time commercials (Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu, & Nishida, 2001; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Furnham & Mak, 1999), our findings reveal that women present in award-winning commercials are more likely than men to advertise consumed in home products

(usually low-priced) or feminine products such as personal items, household appliances, and food. Although more female primary characters appear in commercials to advertise different types of products, men still dominate in most consumed out of home or both in and out of home product commercials (usually high-priced). In addition, men are more often portrayed as high-level administrators or business executives to endorse public services or industry images. Such portrayal reflects stereotypical gender-role expectation—men are believed to be more appropriate than women to play authoritative roles.

- **Gender of announcers:** The data of this study suggest that the inequity between men and women used as narrators in award-winning commercials is manifest, which is consistent with previous studies (Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu, & Nishida, 2001; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Furnham & Mak, 1999). There is a strong preference to use male voices to deliver advertising messages, especially in male-dominant commercials. This male-favored fashion is the result of a common belief that male voices are more authoritative and therefore more persuasive than female voices (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Frith & Barbara, 2003; Liu, 1997; Wang, 1990). However, in some female-leading commercials, women show more presence than man as narrators. For example, singing jingles for consumed in home products, speaking taglines for consumed out of home products, or narrating voice-overs for consumed both in and out of home products.
- **Consciousness Scale of Sexism:** According to the findings, both men and women still most often appear in traditional roles, Level II (Liu, 1997; Wang, 1990). However, the general picture of gender-role depictions in award-winning commercials is quite different to those shown during prime time in several aspects.
 - Men are more likely than women to be portrayed stereotypically (Level I-III). The typical scene is that a well-dressed male character confidently driving the newest car model on the street or competently dealing with his business in a business environment.
 - Men seldom appear as inferior to women. If they are, the purposes are usually to make audiences laugh. For example, in one car insurance advertisement, the husband is shown as obedient to his bossy wife when she asks for his car insurance card to drive out with friends, even though he doesn't trust his wife's driving skill at all. Then, right after she starts the engine, she crashes the car into the garage. In this case, although the male character seems inferior to his wife in their marriage, he is still portrayed stereotypically in some aspects such as knowing better about cars and reading newspapers.
 - Unlike men, women are quite often present as Level V type, although most are associated with consumed in home products. The popular portrayal of women in this regard is “naughty yet powerful.” Women care about how to become more attractive or beautiful for their own joy, rather than pleasing their male counterparts, who are usually placed in

submissive positions in these commercials. Moreover, since “love yourself” has become an important concept in female-oriented commercials, more and more women are portrayed as modern, self-confident, satisfied with themselves, and having enjoyable lives without being bothered by men’s gaze. In one commercial for China Times, the portrayals of gender roles are very progressive. A female real-life legislator, who is well-known for her knowledge and professional ability, was invited to be the spokesperson for China Times and conveyed the message “knowledge is power.” In this commercial, the male characters are shown as non-speaking background decorations.

- Comparing with Wang’s (1990) study, the results of the current study suggest two perspectives on the portrayals of men and women in Taiwan’s commercials. 1) There is a strong reference in award-winning commercials to show non-stereotypical gender images, especially those for women in female-leading commercials. 2) Based on the presumption that award-winning commercials actually reflect the current social situation, it can be said that the gender roles showing in Taiwan’s commercials have improved after one decade.

Inasmuch as above-mentioned findings, the gender-role portrayals in Taiwan’s award-winning commercials can be synthesized into 2 perspectives.

- **Progressive portrayals:** Gender-role portrayals are unrestricted by traditional stereotypes and present in a more diverse way. The gender gap between men and women has gradually narrowed. The significant improvements are found in language, occupation, product role, information role, setting, gender of announcers, and Consciousness Scale of Sexism.
- **Traditional portrayals:** Men and women are still portrayed very unequally. The gender stereotypes for primary characters, age, social role, family role, and product type are still evident and highly consistent with pessimistic gender studies. Fortunately, the general depiction of these stereotypical portrayals shows a slight tendency toward getting progress, instead of going backward.

As a whole, this study provides a general picture of gender-role portrayals in Taiwan’s award-winning television commercials and investigates the potential meanings behind these gender depictions from social, economic, and cultural aspects. Most of the findings effectively answer the core research question—what’s the gender difference/similarity in Taiwan’s award-winning commercials, which in turn strengthens the validity of this study. In addition, comparing the results of this study with previous studies as well

as current gender developments in Taiwan, this study concludes that the portrayals of men and women in award-winning commercials are more modern and closely reflective of diverse gender roles in today's Taiwanese society than those in prime time commercials. Some inappropriate portrayals present in award-winning commercials are also pointed out. Moreover, these findings provide some ideas to advertising practitioners about how to create more appealing gender roles in commercials. Using non-stereotypical portrayals with strategic creativity, especially in women-dominant commercials, is strongly suggested.

Implications for Advertising Practitioners

As the highest honorable advertising award in Taiwan, Times Advertising Award displays the most outstanding creativity in the current year. Such creativity should be efficiently representative of the latest social mainstream from multi-faceted respects such as social values, cultural transitions, political situations, economical developments, as well as gender relationships. In this regard, this study suggests some feasible implications by product categories for advertising practitioners to develop their creativity more effectively.

For consumed in home product commercials, traditional portrayals of men and women are appropriate. However, it is also suggested that portraying men in a more equal way such as “new nice guy” for household products as well as depicting women in a relatively non-stereotypical way such as “naughty yet powerful women” for personal items. As to consumed out of home products, male-dominance remains obvious. The stereotypical portrayals of male primary characters such as successful, competent, and in high-level managerial positions are popularly accepted. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that women's buying power is on the increase that in turn provides a highly profitable

market for advertisers to invest in. Advertising practitioners should take advantages of this niche market and create more effective communication to draw women's attentions. For example, showing female primary characters with contemporary images such as independent, confident, competent, and professional to advertise these expensive consumer goods. Opposite to those for consumed in home products, the progressive female images showing in consumed out of home product commercials should more stress on gender-equity rather than superiority. In addition, it is strongly suggested to use upper-class modern images of men or women to advertise these relatively high-priced consumed out of home products. Finally, referring to consumed both in and out of home products, the traditional gender portrayals are well considered as appropriate.

Limitations

It is important to remember that these findings in all likelihood can only be said to characterize award-winning commercials. It is reasonable to expect that for different types of commercials such as those broadcast during prime time or only on local network, they may reflect different gender-role presentations. In other words, although some evident improvements of gender-role portrayals in award-winners are found, this doesn't assert that such improvements also exist in other non-award-winning commercials. Moreover, constrained by time and money, the total 608 samples were mainly coded by the researcher herself and pretested by the other coder with similar background, which in turn might decrease the coder independence to some degree. The coders' subjective perceptions about gender-role portrayals, especially as to determine sexism scale, may influence the final results. In addition, because of the scarcity of related studies in Taiwan, the coding system of this study was mainly based on Western studies. And the findings could only be compared with few available studies on gender portrayals in prime-time

commercials based on Taiwan's data. In such a way, the findings may only provide a general picture of how men and women were portrayed in Taiwan's award-winning commercials, rather than reveal the comprehensive cultural insight of these portrayals. Last but not least, the Pingree's scale for sexism used in this study was proposed 30 years ago and has not been revised in accordance with social transitions. The nature of this scale is exploratory and mainly based on Western culture. Therefore, it may not work well to examine today's diverse gender roles, especially in a cross-cultural situation.

Suggestions for Future Studies

In accordance with the limitations discussed earlier, some suggestions for future studies are proposed. 1) More research efforts related to gender-role portrayals based on Taiwan's data should be put in to expand the considerably limited scope of available literature. Future studies can apply this coding system on different types of award-winning advertising samples such as print advertisements, Internet advertisement, and outdoor advertisements. It is also suggested to examine gender roles in non-award-winning advertising. 2) The effects of gender portrayals in award-winning commercials on advertising practitioners as well as on general audiences need to be further measured. Such studies could be conducted from cultural, social, psychological, behavioral, or other feasible perspectives and applied to examine if those higher respected creative gender-role portrayals in award winners are really more influential than those relatively ordinary portrayals in non-award winners. 3) To acquire the comprehensive insight of the gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's advertising from cultural, historical, or social aspects, some gender studies applying qualitative methods such as interviews or focus groups need to be conducted. 4) Inasmuch as no coding system is designed based on Taiwan's case, it is necessary to develop a favorably acceptable

standard for probing into the gender-role portrayals in Taiwan's advertising more precisely. The coding system used in this study is just the first step. More analytical content studies on various gender roles in Taiwan's advertising should be further conducted. And more coding categories can be embraced such as class distinction and feminine/masculine product types. 5) In order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the changes of gender-role portrayals shown in Taiwan's award-winning commercials, a longitudinal research collection for at least 10 years is suggested.

APPENDIX
CODING SHEET FOR TAIWAN'S AWARD-WINNING TELEVISION
COMMERCIALS 1997-2002

Ad ID # _____

Coder ID: _____

Variable 1: Year

_____ (1) 1997 _____ (2) 1998 _____ (3) 1999
_____ (4) 2000 _____ (5) 2001 _____ (6) 2002

Variable 2-4: Gender of character(s)

2. Gender of the primary character (only one):

_____ (1) male (skip code #16-27) _____ (2) female (skip code #5-15)
_____ (3) none (skip code #5-27)

3. Gender of secondary character (at most two):

_____ (1) male _____ (2) female _____ (3) both _____ (4) none

4. Gender of supporting character (s)

_____ (1) male _____ (2) female _____ (3) both _____ (4) none

Variable 5-15: Male Primary Character

5. Ethnicity:

_____ (1) Easterns _____ (2) Westerns _____ (3) not applicable/cannot be coded

6. Language:

_____ (1) Chinese _____ (2) dialects (Taiwanese, Hakka etc.)
_____ (3) English _____ (4) mixed _____ (5) others _____ (6) none
_____ (7) not applicable/cannot be coded

7. Age:

_____ (1) under 11 (children) _____ (2) 12-17 (teens)
_____ (3) 18-35 (young) _____ (4) 36-50 (middle aged)
_____ (5) 51 and above (old) _____ (6) not applicable/cannot be coded

8. Social role:

_____ (1) family roles _____ (2) friends _____ (3) romantic partners
_____ (4) occupational partners _____ (5) not applicable/cannot be coded

9. Family role:

_____ (1) spouses _____ (2) parents/grandparents _____ (3) children
_____ (4) others _____ (5) not applicable/cannot be coded

10. Occupation:

- _____ (1) legislators/gov't administrators/business executives and managers
- _____ (2) professionals
- _____ (3) technicians and associate professionals
- _____ (4) clerks
- _____ (5) service workers/shop and market sales workers
- _____ (6) agricultural/animal husbandry/forestry and fishing workers
- _____ (7) production related workers/plant and machine operators and laborers
- _____ (8) housewives/househusbands/homemakers
- _____ (9) students
- _____ (10) not applicable/cannot be coded

Variable 11-12. Basis for credibility**11. Product-related role**

- _____ (1) authorities/spokespersons for the product
- _____ (2) product users
- _____ (3) decorative roles/models
- _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

12. Credible role

- | | |
|---|--|
| _____ (1) celebrity | _____ (2) expert |
| _____ (3) company representative | _____ (4) personal experience |
| _____ (5) apparent celebrity | _____ (6) apparent expert |
| _____ (7) apparent company representative | _____ (8) apparent personal experience |
| _____ (9) unreal people | _____ (10) not applicable/can't be coded |

13. Information role

- _____ (1) information giver
- _____ (2) information receiver
- _____ (3) not applicable/cannot be coded

14. Specific setting

- | | |
|---|--|
| _____ (1) kitchen | _____ (2) dining room/living room |
| _____ (3) other places inside the house | _____ (4) indoors away from home |
| _____ (5) public places | _____ (6) riding inside transportation |
| _____ (7) business office | _____ (8) school |
| _____ (9) outdoors away from home | _____ (10) combination settings |
| _____ (11) other settings | |

15. Consciousness Scale for Sexism

- _____ (1) Level I
- _____ (2) Level II
- _____ (3) Level III
- _____ (4) Level IV
- _____ (5) Level V
- _____ (6) not applicable/cannot be coded

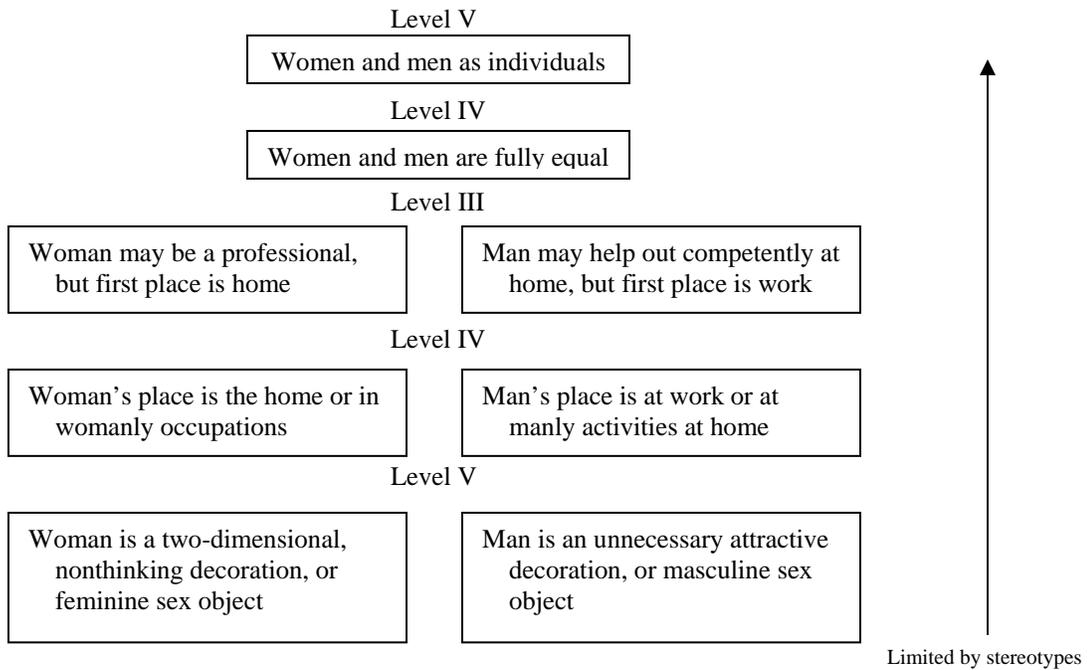


Figure 1. A Consciousness Scale for Media Sexism: Men

Variable 16-27. Female Primary Character

16. Ethnicity:

_____ (1) Easterns _____ (2) Westerns

17. Language:

_____ (1) Chinese _____ (2) dialects (Taiwanese, Hakka etc.)
 _____ (3) English _____ (4) mixed _____ (5) others _____ (6) none
 _____ (7) not applicable/cannot be coded

18. Age:

_____ (1) under 11 (children) _____ (2) 12-17 (teens)
 _____ (3) 18-35 (young) _____ (4) 36-50 (middle aged)
 _____ (5) 51 and above (old) _____ (6) not applicable/cannot be coded

19. Social role:

_____ (1) family roles _____ (2) friends _____ (3) romantic partners
 _____ (4) occupational partners _____ (5) not applicable/cannot be coded

20. Family role:

_____ (1) spouses _____ (2) parents/grandparents _____ (3) children
 _____ (4) others _____ (5) not applicable/cannot be coded

21. Occupation:

_____ (1) legislators/gov't administrators/business executives and managers
 _____ (2) professionals
 _____ (3) technicians and associate professionals

- _____ (4) clerks
- _____ (5) service workers/shop and market sales workers
- _____ (6) agricultural/animal husbandry/forestry and fishing workers
- _____ (7) production related workers/plant and machine operators and laborers
- _____ (8) housewives/househusbands/homemakers
- _____ (9) students
- _____ (10) not applicable/cannot be coded

Variable 22-23. Basis for credibility

22. Product-related role

- _____ (1) authorities/spokespersons for the product
- _____ (2) product users
- _____ (3) decorative roles/models
- _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

23. Credible role

- | | |
|---|--|
| _____ (1) celebrity | _____ (2) expert |
| _____ (3) company representative | _____ (4) personal experience |
| _____ (5) apparent celebrity | _____ (6) apparent expert |
| _____ (7) apparent company representative | _____ (8) apparent personal experience |
| _____ (9) unreal people | _____ (10) not applicable/can't be coded |

24. Information role

- _____ (1) information giver
- _____ (2) information receiver
- _____ (3) not applicable/cannot be coded

25. Public/private setting

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| _____ (1) public | _____ (2) private |
| _____ (3) combination | _____ (4) not applicable/cannot t be coded |

26. Specific setting

- | | |
|---|--|
| _____ (1) kitchen | _____ (2) dining room/living room |
| _____ (3) other places inside the house | _____ (4) indoors away from home |
| _____ (5) public places | _____ (6) riding inside transportation |
| _____ (7) business office | _____ (8) school |
| _____ (9) outdoors away from home | _____ (10) combination settings |
| _____ (11) other settings | |

27. Consciousness Scale for Sexism

- _____ (1) Level I
- _____ (2) Level II
- _____ (3) Level III
- _____ (4) Level IV
- _____ (5) Level V only
- _____ (6) not applicable/cannot be coded

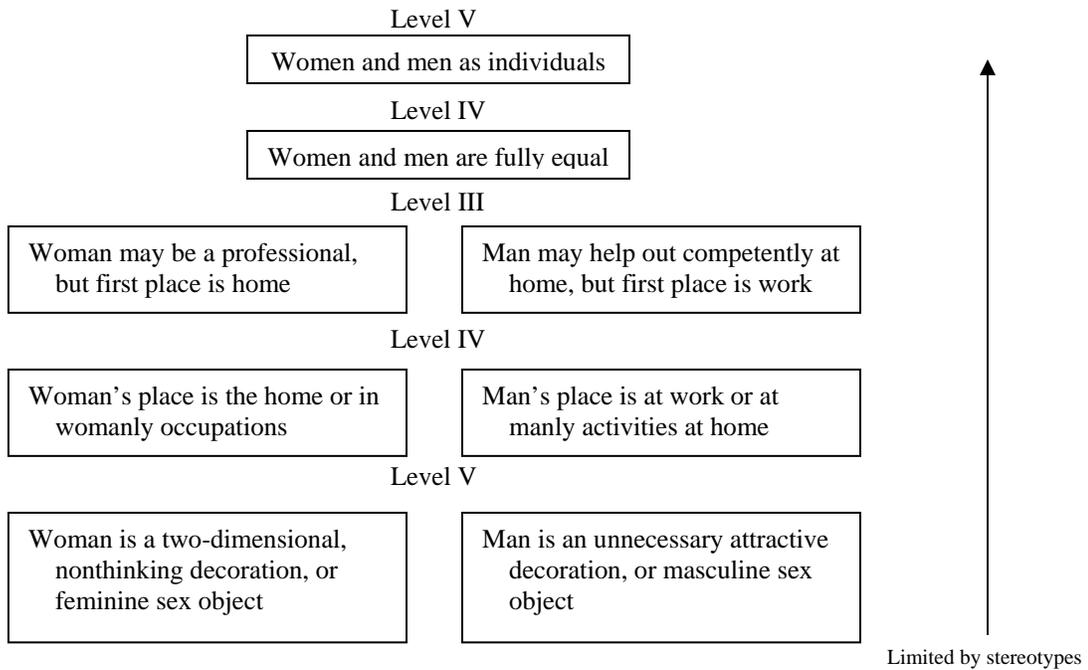


Figure 2. A Consciousness Scale for Media Sexism: Women

Variable 28-33: Others

28. Product type

- _____ (1) annual best of show
- _____ (2) public service
- _____ (3) industry image
- _____ (4) electric appliances
- _____ (5) automotive
- _____ (6) food
- _____ (7) beverages (alcohol and non-alcohol)
- _____ (8) household appliances
- _____ (9) fashion (clothing and accessories)/personal items
- _____ (10) communication services
- _____ (11) culture and education
- _____ (12) financial services
- _____ (13) retail services
- _____ (14) others

Variable 29-33 Gender of announcer(s)

29. Gender of voice-over

- _____ (1) male _____ (2) female
- _____ (3) none _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

30. Gender of jingle

- _____ (1) male _____ (2) female
- _____ (3) none _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

31. Gender of Tagline

_____ (1) male _____ (2) female
_____ (3) none _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

32. Gender of slogan

_____ (1) male _____ (2) female
_____ (3) none _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

33. Gender of sign-off

_____ (1) male _____ (2) female
_____ (3) none _____ (4) not applicable/cannot be coded

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Wan-Ping Chao was born and raised in Taipei, Taiwan. She was awarded a B.A. from National Taiwan University in 2001, with a major in library and information science and a minor in political science, public administration. Following graduation, she worked as an account executive at K-Concepts Communication Consultants Co., Ltd.; and then as a research assistant at the College of Management, National Taiwan University. In fall 2003, she came to the University of Florida (Gainesville) to pursue her master's degree in advertising. After completing her degree, she plans to return to Taiwan and begin her career in one of the top 10 international advertising agencies.