

GENDER UNDER COVER: HOW GENDER IS MADE MEANINGFUL ON THE COVERS
OF TIME AND NEWSWEEK

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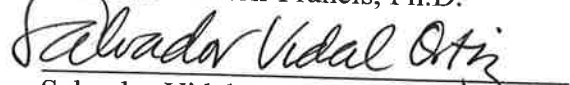
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To my family: Kent, Lynell, and Emily Syler whose love, support, and encouragement helped make this possible.

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ABSTRACT

This Thesis examines the ways in which gender is made meaningful on the covers of two general interest magazines, Time and Newsweek. Using directed qualitative content analysis and Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework from his work in Gender Advertisements, I analyze 46 covers during the 2008-2012 timeframe. While ample research examines advertisements in magazines, this research adds to the dearth of knowledge about gender on their covers. My findings reveal that gender stereotypes are in fact present on these covers. Covers depict men as superior and successful in the working world, while women are largely confined to roles of biological reproduction, mothering, and child-rearing. When women are shown in the similar positions to men, they appear unserious and are marginalized within these positions. Furthermore, women are sexualized throughout these portrayals. My analysis also indicates that Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework can be used on visual images in other contexts and forms.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Visual images permeate our society and send messages about gender, gender stereotypes, and gender relations. As Hall (1997) points out, people within the same culture share meanings on particular concepts, images, and ideas in order to understand the world around them and, thus, tend to see reality in similar ways. Visual images are cultural artifacts that provide members with ideas of socially appropriate behaviors for interaction, and previous research has shown that men tend to have more negative attitudes about women after being presented with images of women in stereotypical roles (Kilbourne 1990).

Relying on Goffman's (1979) methodology for analyzing gender displays, this Thesis seeks to understand what, if any, stereotypical portrayals are being employed to represent gender in visual images in two contemporary general-interest magazines, Time and Newsweek. It will also analyze and discuss the importance of these findings by offering new insight into how gender is constructed and enacted in the social world. Goffman's work is important for this research because it focuses on less-obvious elements in visual images, which he referred to as "opaque goings-on" (1979:27).

Theoretical Framework

Goffman's (1979) methodological framework introduced in his work, *Gender Advertisements*, has long been used by scholars to address gender in visual imagery. The underlying assumption in this methodological framework is that gender differences are social practices that are developed and produced by the social world, not the result of biology. Rather, these differences are produced from social conceptions of gendered roles that are learned through social interaction.

In approaching research into how gender is made meaningful, it is important to situate the relevance of gendered representations to the social world. As mentioned previously, visual images abound in our society and the portrayals of the people within them are meaningful frameworks for appropriate social behavior (Goffman 1974). Thus, an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of Goffman's (1979) work in *Gender Advertisements* is useful for the importance of this research through gaining a deeper understanding of the effect that visual imagery can have on an audience.

The theoretical underpinnings in Goffman's work are most closely related to the sociological perspective of Symbolic Interactionism, which holds that reality is constructed and understood through conventionalized meanings, produced in social interaction (Morgan and Smircich 1980). Goffman is distinguishable from the perspective of Symbolic Interactionism, however, in that, while this perspective holds that the self is affected through internalized experiences, Goffman sees everything, including the self, as a performance (1959). Like Symbolic Interactionism, he views reality as a social construction, but sees reality as constructed through action. He argues we perform along with social norms that bind and constrain our action, though we don't always do so consciously.

In his work on Frame Analysis, Goffman (1974) contends that primary frameworks are constituted by sets of common-sense rules, or guidelines that govern an individual's behavior in a situation. And individuals rely on these structures as a frame of reference for appropriate behavior in a situation. In this way, social context is as important as the interaction itself, because contingent frameworks reflect and constitute the larger sociocultural structure that created them (Goffman 1974:4). In the context of the current research, this means that men and women learn to read, and present, depictions of the traditional forms of femininity, and

masculinity, and to partake in their portrayal. Thus, Goffman's (1979) framework provides an analytical backing for the social significance of this research.

In *Gender Advertisements*, Goffman (1979) provides a thorough introduction to situate his concern in this work—namely, “gender displays.” As primary frameworks, gender displays are ritualized, common-sense acts of interpersonal interaction used to portray cultural indicators of gender. Gender displays work to affirm basic social arrangements, and present ultimate conceptions of the “essential” or “natural” expressions of persons. These expressions illustrate “ritual-like bits of behavior, portraying an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each other” (Goffman 1979:84). These portrayals thereby work disproportionately in favor of men by depicting them as strong, powerful, and in control, while working to subordinate women as weak, dependent, and in need of men's protection. By taking part in the portrayal of these subordinating roles, social actors (and most importantly, women themselves) work to subordinate women as a group.¹

Gender Advertisements (1979) extends Goffman's (1977) earlier “institutional reflexivity” theory of gender differentiation. Briefly, the idea is that the differential treatment of males and females is justified by a general conception of gender differences as being the result of biological sex. Gender differences are social practices developed and produced by the social world, not the result of biology. Social conceptions of gender stereotypes, learned through social interaction, produce and reproduce these differences. In this way, common conceptions of gender difference actually work to produce said “differences,” which are then reproduced through images depicting them as real.

¹ The work in this Thesis assumes a masculine-feminine binary by not discussing visual representation of trans* individuals. Since visual imagery in general interest magazines generally sticks to this gender binary, a discussion on transgender gender-identity is unwarranted for the purpose of the current research. However, as mass media begins to incorporate images of trans* individuals, a project such as this Thesis may offer a newer site to study visual representations beyond the binary.

Though Goffman (1974) originally defines a social situation as one person physically present with another, he later maintains that pictures of human figures also represent social situations, in that the scene will be read by the viewer, who will be engaged and informed by the appearance of the subject (Goffman 1979). The information read from the subject's appearance is then used by the viewer in actual social situations. The main thesis in *Gender Advertisements* (1979) is summarized as the difference between scenes depicted by the media and scenes in actual life is "hyper-ritualization." As stated in the conclusion of this work, the "standardization, exaggeration, and simplification that characterize rituals in general are in commercial posing found to an exaggerated degree, often rekeyed as babyishness, mockery, and other forms of unseriousness" (1979:84). Also noted is the fact that advertisers do not create the ritualized expressions they employ. Rather, they draw off of the same cultural conventions and displays that inform all of us who participate in social situations. When looking for gender displays in pictures, Goffman recommends imagining the sexes switched and imagining the appearance of the result, this makes viewers aware of stereotypes.

In sum, a sociological conception of gender sees it as a cultural convention that is a product of social interaction and based on biological sex differences. Gender is an accomplishment (Goffman 1977) that is situated as an ongoing process of "doing" rather than just "being" (West and Zimmerman 1987). As such, stereotypical portrayals of what it "means" to be a man or a woman affect how gender is understood and accomplished in social interaction.

Time and Newsweek are ideal for my research design because as general-interest magazines they are widely distributed and their content has the potential to affect the general public. The covers of these magazines feature some of the most powerful women and men in the United States today and, considering their vast audiences, the portrayal of women in a variety of

roles with minimal stereotyping is expected. Like other publications, their content must strive to be as sensational as possible without offending consumers. Thus, these magazines represent the upmost forms of gender stereotyping that are still acceptable to the public at large. Analyzing gender displays on the covers of the two most widely consumed general-interest magazines in the U.S. is relevant because negative stereotypes about women can serve to perpetuate systematic sexual inequality.

The next chapter will review studies that have applied Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework in the existing literature. Chapter Three presents the methodological underpinnings and method used for this Thesis research. Chapters Four, Five, and Six provide data analysis findings, a discussion of these findings, and a conclusion to the Thesis and subsequent relevance of the research to both the discipline and the social world.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since Courtney and Lockeretz's (1971) early study found that women in advertisements were depicted 1) in traditional gender roles, 2) as sexual objects, 3) as dependent on men's protection, and 4) almost exclusively in the home setting, studies of gender in magazine advertisements abound (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988; Peterson 1997; Cuneen and Sidwell 1998; Krassas, Blauwkamp and Wesselink 2003; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Monk-Turner et al., 2008; Zawisza and Cinnirella 2010; Rabe-Hemp and Beichner. 2011; Brown 2012). Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979) was published shortly after Courtney and Lockeretz's (1971) study and revolutionized the way gender is analyzed in advertisements. Goffman's (1979) methodology has been employed to understand gender displays in various forms of media, such as portrait photographs (Ragan 1982), birthday cards (Mooney, Brabant and Moran 1993), state tourism brochures (Sirakaya and Sonmez 2000), video game advertisements (Scharrer 2004), mobile phone advertisements (Döring and Pöschl. 2006), music videos (Wallis 2010), and tourism advertisements (Chhabra, Andereck, Yamanoi, and Plunkett 2011). Goffman's methodology has also been used to study the intersection of race (McLaughlin and Goulet 1999; Baker 2005; Hovland et al., 2005; Hazell and Clarke 2008) or sexual orientation (Milillo 2008) and gender displays in magazine advertisements. Since the literature on gender in advertisements is bountiful, this review will cover only the most notable in the canon, and shall focus on work concentrated to magazines specifically.² This literature review focuses on the work that came after Courtney and Lockeretz's (1971) study, Goffman's *Gender Advertisements*

² A broader literature review that considers Goffman's contribution to studies of gender in the media, or studies of gender in the media in a more general sense is possible. However, this is beyond the scope of the current study.

(1979), and the literature that employs his methodology. I will discern how Goffman's (1979) methodology has been used previously in order to understand if it can be a useful framework for analyzing gender displays in contemporary magazine covers.

Goffman's (1979) framework for analyzing gender displays in visual imagery includes six thematic behavior categories: 1) Relative Size, relating to the relative height of the characters, where the tallest figure is granted the most power. 2) The Feminine Touch, where ads show female hands differently than male hands. Their hands are depicted as soft and smooth, and are generally shown touching themselves in some way. Male's hands, conversely, are shown as tough, strong, and aggressive; they are in control of the environment. 3) Function Ranking: men and women are usually portrayed as doing tasks that are stereotypically associated with gender roles. 4) Ritualization of Subordination, which refers to portraying the female as passive and powerless. The woman is usually depicted as physically lower than the male, either crouching with her knees bent or lying down. 5) Licensed Withdrawal: females are generally depicted as mentally "drifting" off of the screen or withdrawn from the situation (Goffman 1979:65). They are positioned off center and appear to be staring off of the screen. This portrays them as weak or helpless, while males are generally portrayed as active (centered, or looking directly at the screen). 6) The Portrayal of the Nuclear Family: refers to depictions of the "traditional" four person family. This also portrays typical gender roles; the daughter is shown to have a special bond with the mother, and the son with the father. These categories are further explained in the Methodology Chapter of this Thesis.

Studies that Extend Goffman's (1979) Conceptual Framework

Some studies have extended Goffman's (1979) original conceptual framework by adding new categories for studying gender displays. Kang (1997:985) extended Goffman's (1979)

conceptual framework to include two new categories—Body Display, which refers to women being pictured as nude or wearing body-revealing clothing, and Independence/Self-Assertiveness, which considers the overall portrayal of women's independence in an image . Kang replicated Goffman's conceptual framework to test whether stereotypical representations of women had become less frequent since 1979. The study employed five of Goffman's categories, Function Ranking, Feminine Touch, Relative Size, Licensed Withdrawal, and Ritualization of Subordination (the category of The Family was not included in analysis), along with the two new categories—Body Display and Independence/Self-assertiveness in a content analysis of advertisements from three women's magazines, Vogue, Mademoiselle, and McCall's published in 1979 and 1991 (Kang 1997).

Findings from Kang's (1997) study indicate that stereotypical portrayals of women in advertisements in 1991 had not changed significantly since 1979; however, they had taken on a different form. The categories of Licensed Withdrawal and Body Display were more prevalent in 1991 than in 1979, while Relative Size and Function Ranking, highly prevalent in 1979, were so sparse in 1991 that they were suggested to be no longer relevant. Specifically, in terms of the new categories introduced by the author, nudity and body-revealing clothing appeared more frequently in magazine advertisements from 1991 than in those from 1979. Findings also indicated that women were portrayed as not having independence and self-assertiveness quite frequently in both years. An interesting change, as noted by Kang, between images from 1979 and those from 1991, was that many advertisements show only females or males, rather than the two sexes together, in 1991 and scenes of the family became less frequent. Overall, the findings were consistent with Goffman's (1979) study, except for Relative Size and Function Ranking.

Another author, Umiker-Sebeok (1996), effectively extends Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework by adding categories that consider space in the frame. The categories of Location, Movement, and Risk-Taking account for proximity, space taken, and the potential for space granted to subjects in the frame (Umiker-Sebeok 1996). Umiker-Sebeok (1996) analyzed print advertisements from 38 magazines collected randomly from a municipal recycling bin. The magazines within the sample were published between 1993 and 1994. The author used five of the categories introduced by Goffman (1979) (again, the category of The Family was not included), and the three additional coding categories introduced by the author: Location (refers to the setting in which the subject is located), Movement (refers to the level of activity or room for movement granted to subjects), and Risk-Taking (refers to the level of risk of activities in which subjects are engaging). Specifically, in terms of Location, women were more likely to be decontextualized (refers to subjects being shown in unidentified environments) than men (Umiker-Sebeok 1996). Additionally, women were more likely to be featured in the home, while men were more likely to be depicted in nondomestic settings (e.g., workplace, rural surroundings, sports facilities, and wilderness settings). In the categories of Movement and Risk-Taking, males were granted ability for controlling larger amounts of space by being featured in more fast-paced or active past-times (e.g., auto-racing, fishing, boating, football, and hunting) than women. In terms of Goffman's (1979) categories, findings showed all categories (Function Ranking, Feminine Touch, Relative Size, Licensed Withdrawal, and Ritualization of Subordination) were present. Overall, the author concludes that, while gender displays have shifted, "these changes have been superficial, leaving the underlying image schemas largely unchanged" (Umiker-Sebeok 1996:16).

Studies of Various Types of Magazines

Several studies expand the use of Goffman's (1979) methodology. Most notably, it has been used to compare the prevalence of gender stereotyping by magazine type. Belknap and Leonard (1991) apply Goffman's (1979) six themes in a content analytic study of advertisements in "traditional" (Good Housekeeping, Sports Illustrated, and Time) and "modern" (Gentleman's Quarterly, Ms., and Rolling Stone) magazines published in 1985. Results indicate the categories of Feminine Touch and Ritualization of Subordination are the most prevalent overall. Licensed Withdrawal is present somewhat, and the categories of The Family, Function Ranking, and Relative Size occur very infrequently.

No difference is found in gender stereotyping between traditional and modern magazines, overall (Belknap and Leonard 1991). The largest difference between the two types of magazines occurred in the category of Licensed Withdrawal. For females, Licensed Withdrawal is found most frequently in Ms. and Time, while for males it was most frequent in GQ and Time. This is an interesting find, as Licensed Withdrawal is greatly prevalent for both sexes only in the general interest magazine. Overall, Belknap and Leonard propose that, while the presence of reverse portrayals (such as Feminine Touch among males) suggests a decline in male role stereotyping, the portrayal of females is still largely traditional and stereotypical.

Another study further expands the applicability of Goffman's (1979) methodology by looking at gender displays of business women in a business magazine. This study, which performs a content analysis of Fortune Magazine's "The Fifty Most Powerful Women in American Business," discovered that even the most successful businesswomen in the U.S. are portrayed stereotypically in visual images (Shuler 2003). In looking at the first three issues of the "Power 50," the author noticed that, when business women were portrayed similarly to how

business men are generally portrayed (i.e., without stereotyping present), these pictures were smaller and given less prominent placing within the issue. The images that did contain gender-stereotypical portrayals, on the other hand, were larger and given prominent placing in the issue. As Shuler argues, these stereotypical images overshadow the more egalitarian portrayals and set the tone for the piece.

There were three overarching themes of gender stereotyping in these images (Shuler 2003). The themes are as follows: 1) a tendency for women to be pictured in “homemaker” roles, where they are either in their home or with their children (thus highlighting their “mom” roles) 2) displays of femininity, where Goffman’s (1979) Ritualization of Subordination and Relative Size were found and 3) sexualization—women were pictured in sexualized women’s attire, seductive body-positions, or flirtatious interactions with co-workers. Overall, even women holding well-regarded positions as CEO’s, or other successful business roles usually associated with masculinity, were constructed in gender-stereotypical ways that highlight their femininity and separate them from the “traditional” business person.

In order to further understand the extent that changes in gender displays have occurred over the years, Lindner (2004) studied advertisements over a longer period than the previous authors discussed. Advertisements in a general interest magazine (Time) were compared with those in a fashion magazine (Vogue) between the years of 1955 and 2002. This study uses five of Goffman’s (1979) genderisms (The Family was not included), plus the behavior categories introduced by Kang (1997) (Body Display) and Umiker-Sebeok (1996) (Location and Movement), and a new category introduced by the author—“Objectification,” which is applicable when the woman is portrayed in such a way that her major function in the image is to be an object of the male gaze (Lindner 2004). The categories present most frequently include:

Licensed Withdrawal, Ritualization of Subordination, and Objectification. Location and Feminine Touch were present fairly frequently, while Relative Size, Function Ranking, and Body Display were less frequent, and Movement was rarely present.

Advertisements in *Time* had more stereotypical portrayals of women in terms of Relative Size and Function Ranking, which works to reinforce stereotypical gender roles of women being small, inferior, or dependent on men (Lindner 2004:419). *Vogue*, on the other hand, was more likely to use Feminine Touch, Licensed Withdrawal, Ritualization of Subordination, and Body Display, which are associated with a more sexualized presentation of women (Lindner 2004:419). What this means is that advertisements in *Time* are more likely to reinforce stereotypical depictions about women's role in society, while advertisements in *Vogue* has more sexualized portrayals of women. These stereotypical depictions each have negative effects on understandings of women in society; they just take on different forms.

In line with research findings from the literature reviewed thus far, Lindner (2004) concludes that, while shifts in the presentation of women have occurred over time, stereotypical images of women are still quite frequent. The more traditional stereotypes, such as depictions of women in only domestic roles (i.e., the household or motherhood, that characterized the 1950s) have declined. Yet today, more sexualized presentations of women are occurring. Magazines may depict women in professional roles, but the positioning of their body exhibits subordination and domination.

A recent study employed Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework to compare gender displays across four different types of magazines (Mager and Helgeson 2010). Using four of Goffman's (1979) categories—Function Ranking, Feminine Touch, Licensed Withdrawal, and Ritualization of Subordination—the study analyzed gender displays in 50 years (1950-2000) of

magazine advertisements in two women's magazines (Cosmopolitan and Ladies' Home Journal), two men's magazines (Esquire and Popular Mechanics), two general editorial magazines (Reader's Digest and National Geographic), and one general interest magazine (Time). Their research suggests that Courtney and Lockeretz' (1971) findings: that 1) advertising depicts a woman's place as in the home and 2) advertising depicts women as not capable of making important decisions or doing important things, are no longer prevalent (Mager and Helgeson 2010). Their third finding, however, that the portrayal of women as dependent on men subsequently implicates their need for protection (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971), is still a prominent theme. Finally, their fourth finding, which suggests women are presented as objects of the male gaze, is even more prominent (Mager and Helgeson 2010).

Mager and Helgeson's (2010) research discovers that advertising has come a long way in 50 years, with advertisements in 2000 being much more likely to depict women in roles outside of the home, unlike the "traditional" gender stereotyping that was prevalent throughout advertisements in the 1950s (Mager and Helgeson 2010). That being said, the less objectively identifiable and more subtle types of gender stereotyping, which Goffman's (1979) methodology is useful for identifying, are still highly present (Mager and Helgeson 2010). This was especially the case in the categories of Function Ranking, Licensed Withdrawal, and Ritualization of Subordination.

Conclusion

A review of the literature demonstrates a shift in portrayals of women in visual images from obviously subordinate to men, to more subtle depictions of ideas about women's place in society, especially in relation to men. Overall, the consensus of previous literature is that displays of gender no longer portray women as subordinate in especially blunt stereotypes (e.g.,

confining them to roles associated with domestic life) (Belknap and Leonard 1991; Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Kang 1997; Shuler 2003; Lindner 2004; Mager and Helgeson 2010). However, new and more subtle patterns of stereotyping have emerged that paint women as inferior in the larger social hierarchy (e.g., sexualized displays of the body). Though some shifts have taken place, the underlying messages about gender are intact. Furthermore, the more subtle ways of stereotyping, which Goffman's (1979) genderisms are useful for identifying, are still highly present. Thus, a review of the literature affirms that Goffman's conceptual framework is not only useful, but also necessary for studying gender displays in contemporary magazines images.

By analyzing gender displays on the covers of Time and Newsweek, this research adds to the existing literature using Goffman's (1979) methodology and becomes both the first study (to the knowledge of the author) to look only at general interest magazines, and the only study that uses Goffman's methodological framework, Kang's (1997) category of Body Display, and Umiker-Sebeok's (1996) themes of Location and Movement to look at the covers of these magazines, rather than the advertisements inside them. As general interest magazines, Time and Newsweek direct content to a broad audience and covers a broad range of topics. Thus, Time and Newsweek should presumably show women in a variety of roles. However, although women may be shown in serious and influential roles in political or economic realms, it is also expected that Goffman's genderisms will still be present, as shown in Shuler's (2003) findings with business professional women.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This research is interested in understanding how the covers of Time and Newsweek give gender meaning. Employing a methodical approach that deals specifically with processes of meaning-making is necessary. As such, qualitative research methods aligned with a symbolic interactionist approach are useful for this line of inquiry.

Moving past statistical descriptions associated with quantitative research, qualitative research seeks to answer the “why” instead of the “how” (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). Qualitative research “involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world [and] studies things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:3). It is used to gain insight into the individual’s values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Thus, methods situated within qualitative research are necessary for understanding the meanings embedded in gender on magazine covers.

The core ontological assumptions of this research see reality as a symbolic discourse. This ontology, or way of seeing the world, holds that social reality can be understood as a pattern of symbolic relationships and behaviors created and carried out within human interaction (Morgan and Smircich 1980). These patterns are meaningful interpretations that operate as a form of “rules” for appropriate or inappropriate behavior in the social world. As such, these meaningful interpretations are purely social and are always subject to reification or change by individual members.

Holding reality as a realm of symbolic discourse means that a proper epistemological framework will approach research with emphasis on understanding patterns of symbols, like language and visual imagery, through which individuals negotiate their reality (Morgan and

Smircich 1980). This epistemology draws off metaphors of the theatre and culture, and holds that social phenomena should be researched in a way that exposes its inner nature. This epistemology does not hold research findings as universally generalizable, but rather as insightful and significant knowledge about the social world. Thus, this study approaches research with an understanding that meanings and beliefs are products of culture and society, and that people take for granted the social accomplishment of reality and see it as natural, objective, and fixed. Therefore, representations of gender on the cover of these general interest magazines work to create and maintain common conceptions for understanding gender. This research seeks to unravel the meanings embedded within these portrayals.

Goffman's (1979) methodological framework introduced in his work, *Gender Advertisements*, is situated within a symbolic interactionist approach and has long been used by scholars to address gender in visual imagery. Since this research adopts Goffman's understanding of gender differences as arising from social practices (such as displays of social interaction), researchers who adopt this methodological framework are best suited using qualitative research methods to understand the construction of gender in visual images.

Methods

Time and Newsweek magazines are the two most widely circulated print magazines in the U.S (Pew Research Center 2012). In 2012, Time magazine led the market in magazine sales, with overall circulation at about 3.3 million and Newsweek's circulation at 1.5 million. Given this wide circulation, they have the potential to be highly influential among their readership on matters of social importance. Also notable is the fact their readerships are evenly split between males (53%) and females (47%), predominately white (72%), and over 50 years of age.

Considering their vast audience, demographics, and positions as general interest magazines, Time and Newsweek are interesting sources for analysis because their content may not deviate from what is socially acceptable at a particular period of time. The content in these magazines are expressions of common attitudes and beliefs about gender in our society and can work to reaffirm the current view of society by its members. However, Goffman would argue that Time and Newsweek are not merely reflections of what is normal or general in society, but are also constitutive of societal norms and ideals (Goffman 1974). These depictions of gender relations reify the status quo.

Previous research on general interest magazines typically analyzes the content of advertisements rather than covers (Belknap and Leonard 1991; Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Lindner 2004; Mager and Helgeson 2010). In this Thesis, I look at magazine covers as the objects of analysis, given their potential to provide insight as to how gender is given meaning in visual images. Magazine covers first differ from the advertisements within them because covers are the “face” of a magazine. In his book, *One Hundred Years of Magazine Covers*, Steve Taylor states “It is hard to identify another cultural artefact that embodies an advertisement for itself in such a powerful way” (Taylor 2006:1929). Covers are marketed to catch the interest of the consumer to the content inside of the magazine. Traditional advertisements within magazines, on the other hand, are used to sell various products. Working as advertisements for the magazine itself, the social importance of covers outweighs that of the advertisements within them. In describing the importance of covers to the publication process, David Lee, a corporate marketing director at F&W Publications, says that “the images selected [for magazine covers] and the way we describe the contents must be provocative, hard-hitting, and full of elements that sell—not feature oriented...the cover is primarily a sales tool” (Cover a Sales Tool 1998). Magazine

covers play an insurmountable role as cultural artifacts in our society and are extremely valuable to the sales and reputation of magazines themselves. Therefore, magazine covers speak to the contents within them and work as a symbol of the magazine itself.

By concentrating on the covers of Time and Newsweek rather than their advertisements, this study is exploring an area that not been researched using Goffman's methodology. Additionally, covers are more representative of the content of these magazines because they work to sell the magazines themselves, rather than sponsoring a product.

Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis uses objective coding methods to distinguish themes and patterns in data under investigation (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). The main goal of content analysis is to "provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study" (Downe-Wamboldt 1992: 314) and it is a method for subjective interpretation of text or visual images through a process of coding and identifying key themes and categories (Hsieh and Shannon 2005:1278).

Content analytic methods are used traditionally to employ Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework to content such as magazine advertisements (Belknap and Leonard 1991; Kang 1997; Lindner 2004; Shuler 2003; Hovland et al., 2005; Baker 2005; Mager and Helgeson 2010), mobile phone advertisements (Döring, Pöschl 2006), music videos (Wallis 2010), portrait photographs (Ragan 1982), birthday cards (Mooney, Brabant, and Moran 1993), and state tourism brochures (Sirakaya and Sonmez 2000), and it is useful for studying gender on magazine covers. The decision to use content analytic methods in the current study strengthens its contribution to available knowledge on the topic, as using the same methods for analysis allows for the findings of this research to complement those of previous research.

This research utilizes one popular approach to content analysis, directed content analysis. Direct content analysis is useful for the purpose of this study because it is designed for qualitative research where data analysis is based on a pre-existing theoretical framework (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Additionally, it allows room for new codes for categories that may arise during analysis that do not fit existing codes. For example, in using directed content analysis for this work, coding will include Goffman's (1979) six categories, Kang's (1997) categories of body display, and any content that does not fit into any of these categories will be given a new code.

Directed content analysis obtains new research findings that offer supporting or non-supporting evidence for an existing theory (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Using this method also gives opportunity for extending existing theory with new findings. Descriptive comparisons of frequencies of code occurrences can effectively present findings from this method. Since this form of presentation is the most common in the previous literature on the topic, the current research also presents findings through descriptive frequencies. This decision allows findings from this research to be comparable to other research on the topic.

Sample Design and Selection

The data come from five years (January 2008 to December 2012) of covers from Time and Newsweek. This particular five-year period includes the 2008 Presidential election, as it marks a major cultural event for gender in American politics and, more comprehensively, in society. This election represents the first in history where two women were main contenders for the presidency and the vice-presidency in the same year. Although on separate tickets, Hilary Clinton was a close second to Barack Obama in the Democratic Presidential Primary, and Sarah Palin was on the Republican ticket for the vice-presidency. As general-interest magazines, the

covers of Time and Newsweek are likely to feature these political candidates, thus ensuring gender representations in the sample. Further, the most recent five years allows this research to analyze gender framing in Time and Newsweek in the most current age.

Since the sample is public domain, this research is exempt from Institutional Review Board approval. Data in this sample were easily accessible: Time Magazine covers are available via their website and the University Library obtained the covers from Newsweek. Following the initial collection, covers that featured animals, objects, cartoons or drawings, only partial body parts (such as a hand or leg), a large group of people, images of people taken from a distance so that features were not discernable, or small pictures of people that feature only the face and appear in small frames were excluded. Covers such as these do not feature depictions of micro-social interaction, and thus do not correspond with the methodological framework, or fit the scope of this study. After this stage, the sample was reduced to between 134-138 covers per magazine.

Covers featuring at least one adult female in the presence of at least one adult male were coded using all of the categories. Covers featuring only females or only males were not coded for the categories of Relative Size and Function Ranking, as these behavior categories are specialized for interactions between both sexes in the same frame. Covers featuring at least one child either alone or in the presence of one or more adults were coded only at Goffman's (1979) category of The Family and the new category of Subject Representation. This is because the rest of the categories are meant to apply to adult subjects, not child subjects or interactions between adult and child subjects (the latter is covered by The Family category). For the category of Location, it became apparent during data analysis that the domestic setting of home was not

present in the sample. Therefore, this category was extended so that “Domestic Setting” would account for the feminine-stereotyped location of “classroom.”

Data were organized from oldest to most recent date of publication. After the exclusionary stage, there were 134 Time Magazine covers and 138 Newsweek Magazine covers left for analysis. The total number of covers for each magazine was then divided by 25 to reach the target sample size of 25 covers per magazine, and 50 covers total. Thus, every fifth cover ($134/25 = 5.36$) was systematically selected from the Time Magazine data, resulting in a total of 26 covers. Every sixth ($138/25 = 5.52$) cover was systematically selected from Newsweek Magazine, resulting in a total of 23 covers. This made for a total sample size of 49 covers. During the coding process, it was noticed that three (two came from Time and one from Newsweek) of the covers were outside the parameter (cartoons/drawings) of the sample design. These three covers were removed, leaving the Time sample with 24 covers and Newsweek with 22 for an overall total sample size of 46 covers.

Coding Categories

This research will employ Goffman’s (1979) six coding categories, along with Kang’s (1997) category of Body Display, Umiker-Sebeok’s (1996) categories of Location and Movement, and a new category discussed below, introduced by the author to study gender displays on the cover of Time and Newsweek. Categories 1-6 shown below are from Goffman’s (1979) conceptual framework for studying gender in visual images.

1. **Relative size:** relates to the relative height and size of the characters. The tallest figure, or the one who takes up more space, is granted with the most power. In the rare occasion when a woman is taller than a man, the man is her social inferior (Goffman 1979:28).

2. **The Feminine Touch:** The hands of women are shown differently than males. Their hands are depicted as soft and smooth, and are generally shown touching or caressing themselves, or an object, in some way. Male's hands, conversely, are shown as tough, strong, and aggressive; they are in control of the environment (e.g., grasping, as opposed to caressing or outlining, objects or machinery).

3. **Function Ranking:** Subjects in images are normally featured doing different kinds of tasks. In line with stereotypical gender roles, men are usually pictured performing executive or instructional tasks. This usually takes the form of a man instructing (e.g., pointing) a woman or a child. This category is only coded when at least one man and at least one woman are featured in an image together. The researcher coded this category by first accessing the social situation portrayed in the image and then determined the function of each subject.

4. **Ritualization of Subordination:** refers to how women are usually portrayed as passive and powerless. They are usually depicted as physically lower than men, either crouching with knees bent or lying down (Goffman 1979:40). This category considers how poses or behaviors are ritualized by gender. Thus, the category accounts for ritualistic poses portraying women and men as subordinate or dominate, respectively.

5. **Licensed Withdrawal:** Women are generally depicted as “drifting off of the screen” (Goffman 1979:57) or withdrawn from the situation. They are positioned off center and appear to be staring off of the screen. This portrays them as weak or filled with emotion, while men are generally portrayed as active (i.e. centered, or looking directly at the screen).

6. **The Family:** Visualizations of the family work to symbolize the family's social structure. Also portrays typical gender roles; the father is usually pictured standing outside of the family circle, as to express protectiveness over the family (Goffman 1979:37).

Goffman's (1979) six coding categories for analyzing gender displays in visual images have been introduced above. Extended coding categories introduced by authors in the canon for this topic, as well as a new category introduced by myself, will be discussed below.

Kang (1997) effectively extended Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework by accounting for the more sexualized portrayals of women that characterize modern portrayals of women. Citing revolutionary changes in women's representation in the workforce, Kang (1997) compared gender displays in magazine advertisements from 1991 to those in 1979 (when Goffman completed his original study) to test for changes in the portrayals of women over time. As a result, she created two new coding types to account for gender portrayals that emerged after Goffman's time. These categories are Body Display and Independence/Self-Assertiveness. The category of Independence/Self-Assertiveness is operationalized somewhat vaguely in Kang's (1997:987) work, as an evaluation of "female models overall images in terms of independence and self-assurance." This category is therefore left somewhat open-ended and is not included in an analysis of the current study to avoid inconsistent application to data due to the elusiveness of this category. Body Display, alternatively, is operationalized in detail and effectively accounts for the shift in gender displays between 1979 and 1991. This shift toward more sexualized depictions of women in contemporary advertisements is agreed upon as a major theme now accompanying Goffman's gender displays in our modern time (Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Shuler 2003; Lindner 2004; Mager and Helgeson 2010). Kang's work is widely cited in the canon and her behavior category of Body Display is employed in Linder's (2004) work.

7. Body display: Refers to women being pictured as nude or wearing body-revealing clothing (Kang 1997). Body-revealing clothing is applicable when females are pictured wearing mini-skirts, tight skirts or shorts, short shorts, clothing with cleavage showing, halter dresses, bathing

suits, or transparent clothing (pp. 985). Nudity refers to females pictured unclothed with transparent clothing and nude underneath, wearing only a towel, or in up close shots where shoulders are bare. These behavior depictions in imagery create sexualized attitudes and expectations toward women in reality, which have significant social implications.

Umiker-Sebeok (1996) effectively argued the need for coding categories that account for space to work supplementary with Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework for an overall account of social power granted to women in relation to men in images. She draws from image schemas of "Blockage" and "Containment," which consider the subjects for control of space (Umiker-Sebeok 1996:3). The category of Movement accounts for subject's ability to move freely and to control objects or resources within their environment. The person capable of controlling the blockage (and likewise removing the restraint) is granted more power than the person who cannot. The category of Location draws off of a "Containment" schema, where power is given to the person who is able to control resources both within and outside of their environment. Accordingly, the person "contained" is disempowered. Hence, depictions of females restricted to domestic settings have implications of a need for the safety and security of the home, which, to be secure, must be protected. Moreover, males are generally pictured in a variety of locations, which grants the ability to obtain more resources and situates them as the protectors. Thus, males are depicted as controlling a variety of environments with access to resources unavailable to females within their confined environment.

8. **Location:** refers to the setting to which the subject is located. Previous research has shown that women are more likely to be decontextualized (refers to women being shown more often in unidentified environments) than men (Umiker-Sebeok 1996). Additionally, women were more

likely to be featured in the home, while men were more likely to be depicted in a wide variety of settings (i.e., workplace, rural surroundings, sports facilities, wilderness settings).

9. Movement/risk-taking (Umiker-Sebeok 1996): refers to tendency for men to be featured in more fast-paced or active past-times than women (mountain climbing, playing soccer, rodeo, etc.). These behavior depictions grant men the ability to control larger amounts of space.

During the data analysis process, a noticeable pattern emerged in regard to the reason a particular subject was featured on the cover. Unlike magazine advertisements where the majority of subjects in images are models, covers are more likely to feature well-known individuals in order to catch the attention of potential consumers. Since this pattern is specific to magazine covers, Goffman's (1979) coding categories, as well as those of others in the previous literature, could not account for these new noticings. As such, a new coding category was created to account for the type of subject in the image. After the first round of open coding for this new category, three categories for measuring the type of subject in a cover were created.

10. Representation of Subjects

1) **Actual Subjects:** this category refers to both well-known subjects featured for political or social cache or actual people who are identified by name but are not well known. There are two subcategories within this category, Namesake and Unfamiliar people.

I. **Namesake:** These subjects are either identified by name on the cover itself or are so well-known that they are recognizable without being identified by name. These subjects are usually featured for work, which carries with it some type of political or social cache. Examples of this category include Barack Obama, Hilary Clinton, Michael Jackson, etc.

II. Unfamiliar subjects: These subjects are identified by name within the cover as real people representing some type of cover topic but, unlike Namesake subjects, they are not well known. Such subjects are included in this category in that they are the main subjects in the cover who are identified by name and are thus differentiated from proxy or back-up subjects. Usually, these subjects are featured in images as a visual aide to represent a larger cover topic, rather than being featured for their own work or accomplishments like subjects who are the Namesake in cover images. These kinds of subjects are generally identified by name, usually in very small print.

- 2) Proxy Subject: refers to all subjects who are not well-known, and not identified by name when appearing on covers. Such persons work strictly as a visual aide to represent the cover topic. In other words, they appear on the cover to “put a face” on the cover topic. Most of these subjects are models, but some are associated with what Goffman (1979) referred to as “caught” images, or those in which the subject either is not aware of the camera or is not situating their behavior in order for a photo opportunity. Examples of subjects that fall under this classification are international protestors or victims of natural disasters. The subjects are not acting for the purpose or with knowledge of being in a photo, so they differ from models. However, they are similar in that they are unknown to the public and unidentified within the cover.
- 3) Back-up subject in image: This category was created to account for a type of subject positioning that is left out of the other categories. It is applicable when more than one subject appears in an image, and one or more subject(s) work as back-up to the main subject (whether they are Namesake figures or Unfamiliar people). Whether the main

subject in the image is Actual (Namesake or Unfamiliar) or Proxy, the back-up subject appears either behind the main subject, in the distance, or in a role in which their main function is to support the role of the main subject. Thus, their roles within the situation work only to support or assist the roles of the main subject in the image. An example of a situation where this category would be applied comes from a Newsweek cover title, “There Will Be Blood: Why The Right Hates McCain.” In this image, John McCain is positioned front and center and takes up the majority of space in the frame. Small headshots of five other Republicans are situated along the right side of the frame and, unlike McCain, they take up very little space and are not identified by name. Therefore, in this example, the five other subjects within the frame work to provide “back-up” visuals for McCain, the main focus of the frame.

This section has outlined the congruence of the methodological framework, sample, and selected method for this research. The next chapter presents the findings from an analysis with these tools.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

The findings of a content analysis of 46 magazine covers from Time and Newsweek magazines from January 2008 to December 2012 are presented in this chapter. As stated in the Methodology chapter, findings from the method of directed content analysis is presented through descriptive comparisons of frequencies of code occurrences. The first section pertains to overall findings that describe the sample as a whole. The second section details findings for each coding category within both magazines.

Description of Sample

The sample includes 22 covers from Newsweek Magazine and 24 covers from Time Magazine. As was stipulated in the sampling design, all of the 46 magazine covers feature at least one human subject in this sample. This is the large majority, with 78.26% ($n = 36$) of the covers having only one human subject present. The remaining covers ($n = 10$) have more than one human present; eight of these have only two people present. The largest number of people featured on a one cover is six. Only 39.13% ($n = 18$) of the covers in the sample include a female human subject, while males make up the majority of the sample appearing in 65.21% ($n = 30$) of covers. Fourteen of these covers picture only females, either alone or with one or more other female(s). Five out of the 18 covers that feature females also feature at least one male; in three of these covers the male is a child. Sixty-three percent ($n = 29$) of the magazine covers have a white human subject. Only 41.30% ($n = 19$) of the covers in the sample have a human subject with a race other than white. Of these, four covers have a non-white female; two are Asian, and two are Black. In terms of age, 85% of covers feature adult human subjects. Four

covers feature an adult and child together, and only one cover pictures a child alone. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the basic descriptive findings for magazine cover images.

Table 1. Basic Findings for Cover Images on Time and Newsweek

Item	Operationalized Finding	Percent (n)
Number of figures	One person	78.26% (36)
	Two people	17.39% (8)
	Three people	2.17% (1)
	Six people	2.17% (1)
Gender of image	Male	58.69% (27)
	Female	30.43% (14)
	Both	8.69% (4)
	Unidentified	2.17% (1)
Race/Ethnicity of human figures	White	63.04% (29)
	Black	26.08% (12)
	Middle-Eastern	6.52% (3)
	Asian	6.52% (3)
	Multiracial	2.17% (1)
Age of human figures	Adult	84.78% (39)
	Child	2.17% (1)
	Both	8.69% (4)

Overall Findings by Category and Magazine Type

Subject Representation

The percentage frequencies of females and males displaying a feature of associated with the category of Representation is presented in Table 2. Notice that findings are split up by magazine type and there is a separate tabulation for sex (i.e., females and males).

The vast majority of Time and Newsweek covers picture Namesake individuals as opposed to proxy subjects, who are widely featured in advertisements. Seventy-one percent of the covers feature subjects for either their accomplishments or occupational prestige. These subjects are the focus of the image and are usually the center of the cover topic. Males fell under the Namesake category in 54.34% (n = 25) of covers, while females were featured in this category in only 17.39% (n = 8) of the covers.

Covers in Time and Newsweek featured males as Actual subjects in almost equal frequencies; however, Newsweek featured females as well-known individuals on the cover almost three times more than Time. Among covers in Time that include a female on the cover, 8.33% (n = 2) feature females as a Namesake to the cover topic. In Newsweek, on the other hand, the majority of covers that feature females (27.27%) (n = 6) fall into this category. In Time, the largest percentage of category representation of females is under Unfamiliar subjects (16.66%) (n = 4). The next largest representation of females is in the category of Proxy subjects (12.50%) (n = 3). Newsweek covers have equal representation of sex for Unfamiliar subjects. Sex-category representation under the Proxy subject category is similar, though twice as many covers feature females as Proxy subjects than males. What this means is, although both magazines feature males as Namesakes more frequently than females, Newsweek is more likely than Time to feature females in this way; Time, conversely, features females as Proxy or Unfamiliar subjects.

Table 2. Subject Representation in Time and Newsweek

	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
1. Actual subjects	25.00% (6)	58.33% (14)	31.81% (7)	54.16% (13)
- Namesake subject	8.33% (2)	54.16% (13)	27.27% (6)	54.54% (12)
- Unfamiliar subjects	16.66% (4)	4.16% (1)	4.54% (1)	4.54% (1)
2. Proxy subjects	12.50% (3)	8.33% (2)	9.09% (2)	4.54% (1)
3. Back-up subjects	4.16% (1)	4.16% (1)	0.00%	4.54% (1)
Not present		0.00%		0.00%
Not applicable		0.00%		0.00%
Applicable		100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)
Total		100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

Feminine Touch

The findings from this category are presented in Table 3. This category was only present in 8.69% of the covers in the sample. Self-touching was the only female-stereotypical behavior found in this category. Goffman (1979) said this behavior is a ritualistic display that conveys one's body as delicate and precious and is distinguishable from the more utilitarian use of the hands, such as grasping and touching. A grasping behavior, contrary to a soft, caressing touch, portrays authority and control over an object. Self-touching was present in one cover from Newsweek magazine, while Time did not feature any subordinating portrayals of Feminine Touch. In Newsweek, there are equal portrayals between females and males in the dominant behavior category of grasping an object; however, this behavior was not present among females in Time.

The self-touching behavior is found in a Newsweek cover that features a pregnant model. Her shirt is pulled up just below her breasts to expose a round torso. Her hands are placed softly on top of, and under, her pregnant torso. The image frame profiles the left side of her body. Her left hand is open with widespread fingers, which appear to be almost cradling the bottom part of her stomach. The frame begins just below her buttocks and ends at her shoulders, leaving her head out of the frame. This framing ensures her pregnant body is the focus of the image. Also, the image is black and white with text that reads "womb for rent" over her stomach. The text is black except for the word "rent," which is red. The frame view of only one portion of subjects body, along with the text over her stomach and the word "rent" bringing the only color to the image, demonstrate that the subject's pregnant stomach is the focus of this image. This means that the subject's hands play a large part in this image, as they are almost outlining the subject's stomach and draw further attention to it.

Table 3. Goffman's Feminine Touch in Time and Newsweek

Behaviors	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
Self-touching	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Hands and fingers grasp object	0.00%	4.16% (1)	4.54% (1)	4.54% (1)
Hands and fingers cradle object	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Hands and fingers outline object	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Hands and fingers caress object	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Face used instead of hands and fingers	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Not present	20.83% (5)	54.16% (13)	31.81% (7)	63.63% (14)
Not applicable	16.66% (4)	8.33% (2)	0.00%	0.00%
Present		4.16% (1)		13.63% (3)
Total	100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)	

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

Relative Size

Relative size was not applicable in 95.65% (n = 44) of covers and was not present in one-half out of the sources to which it could have been applied. Males and females rarely appear together in this sample. In addition, while only 8.7% (n = 4) of the images in the sample depict both sexes, one-half of these images depict a mother-son relationship. This means that only 4.34% (n = 2) of covers featured adult males and females together, and were accordingly applicable for coding in this category. As such, the presence of this category in the sample is quite low. It is not present at all in Time covers, but appears in two covers from Newsweek. The findings within this category yield some surprising results. A male is not depicted as taller than a female in any of the sources in this sample. An example of these reverse portrayals found in Newsweek is discussed in the following paragraph. A breakdown of the findings for this category can be found in Table 4.

In one source where Relative Size is found to exist, the President of Brazil is depicted standing on the back seats of a car while waving at, presumably, the public. She is standing and

waving at the public, while the man featured in the image is driving the car. Here, as Goffman (1979) noted in his own work, the exception proves the rule. The Brazilian President, due to her status, is granted more power than her driver and thus takes up more space than he in the frame.

Table 4. Goffman's Relative Size in Time and Newsweek

Behaviors	Time	Newsweek
Relative size exists	0.00%	9.09% (2)
Not applicable	100.00% (24)	90.90% (20)
Not present	0.00%	0.00%
Present	0.00%	9.09% (2)
Total	100.00% (24)	100.00% (22)
Female taller/higher/takes up more space	0.00%	4.54% (1)
Male taller/higher/takes up more space	0.00%	4.54% (1)
Equal	0.00%	0.00%

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

Function Ranking

The category of Function Ranking is not applicable in 95.65% (n = 44) of sources, but is present in all of the covers to which it was applicable. There is seemingly no patterning by sex-class in this category, as it appears equally between the sexes. The category is present in 9.09% (n = 2) of the covers in Newsweek. Behavior displays within this category are equally represented by sex within this magazine, with one cover, for example, depicting a male in the dominant role while another presents a female in the dominant role. Function Ranking was not applicable in Time, as adult females and males were not pictured together in any covers within the sample. These findings are listed in Table 5.

Ritualization of Subordination

Table 6 displays the findings for this category. Ritualization of Subordination is seen quite frequently in this sample. At least one of the behavior arrangements associated with this

category is present in (76.08%) (n = 35) of covers. The category is present more frequently in Newsweek (86.36%) (n = 19) than in Time (66.66%) (n = 16), overall.

Table 5. Goffman's Function Ranking in Time and Newsweek

Behaviors	Time	Newsweek
Female in dominant Role	0.00%	2.17% (1)
Male in dominant role	0.00%	2.17% (1)
Equal roles	0.00%	0.00%
Not present		
Not Applicable	100.00% (24)	90.90% (20)
Present	0.00%	9.09% (2)
Not Applicable	100.00% (24)	100.00% (22)

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

It is apparent that covers on both magazines picture males in formal attire (41.66 – 50.00%) much more frequently than females (8.33 – 9.09%). Otherwise, displays between males and females in this behavior category are similar, but not quite equal. In both magazines, head cants are found twice as often in covers that feature females than in those that feature males. It is also notable that displays of bashful knee bends and head cants are more frequent in females than males in Newsweek.

Licensed Withdrawal

Some component of Licensed Withdrawal is found in 52.17% (n = 24) of covers in the sample overall (see Table 7). This category is present more frequently in covers from Time (54.16%) (n = 13) than from Newsweek (45.45%) (n = 10). Some coding categories associated with Licensed Withdrawal, such as “turning one’s gaze from another” and “head/eye gaze aversion,” most likely do not appear in the sample because these categories are only applicable in images where at least one female and at least one male appear together.

Table 6. Goffman's Ritualization of Subordination in Time and Newsweek

Behaviors	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
Informal Attire	8.33% (2)	12.50% (3)	22.72% (5)	4.34% (2)
Formal Attire (non-ritualized)	8.33% (2)	41.66% (10)	9.09% (2)	50.00% (11)
Not holding body erect	8.33% (2)	8.33% (2)	9.09% (2)	9.09% (2)
Lowering oneself physically	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Lying or sitting on bed or floor	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Crouching	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Laying down	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Standing Tall (non-ritualized)	0.00%	8.33% (2)	13.63% (3)	9.09% (2)
Head Cant	4.16% (1)	4.16% (1)	13.63% (3)	4.54% (1)
Body Cant	0.00%	4.16% (1)	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Bashful Knee bend	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Unserious or childlike poses	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)	4.54% (1)
Extended arm	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Arm lock	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Shoulder hold	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Sitting or standing without touching	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Hand holding	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Playing mock assault games	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Not present		12.50% (3)		13.63% (3)
Not applicable		20.83% (5)		0.00%
Present		66.66% (16)		86.36% (19)
Total		100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

The behavior categories, “withdrawing gaze from screen” (28.26%) (n = 11) and “mentally drifting from screen” (21.73%) (n = 10) had the largest occurrence in this category.

While there is not much difference in the frequency that this behavior appears between magazines, these frequencies do vary by sex. Female subjects display a withdrawn gaze twice as often in Time (16.66%) (n = 4) than in Newsweek (9.09%) (n = 2). The largest representation of this category in Newsweek (22.72%) (n = 5) was among males. A closer look at these covers reveals that the majority of these males are Republicans, which is an interesting find. Males

(13.63%) (n = 3) also appear more frequently mentally drifting from the scene at large than females (4.54%) (n = 1) in Newsweek, while females (20.83%) (n = 5) were much more likely than males (4.16%) (n = 1) to portray this behavior in Time. The display, “mentally drifting from screen,” is identified in six of the covers from Time; five featured females and one featured a male. This category appears less in Newsweek with only four covers; one featured females and three featured males.

Table 7. Goffman’s Licensed Withdrawal in Time and Newsweek

Behaviors	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
Shyness	0.00%	4.16% (1)	0.00%	0.00%
Crying	4.16% (1)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Laughter	0.00%	12.50% (3)	4.54% (1)	4.54% (1)
Withdrawal Gaze from scene at large	16.66% (4)	8.33% (2)	9.09% (2)	22.72% (5)
Mentally drifting from scene	20.83% (5)	4.16% (1)	4.54% (1)	13.63% (3)
Covering Face	4.16% (1)	4.16% (1)	0.00%	0.00%
Participation shielded behind objects	4.16% (1)	16.66% (4)	0.00%	0.00%
Participation shielded at the edge	4.16% (1)	8.33% (2)	9.09% (2)	4.54% (1)
Participation shielded behind a person	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)
Participation shielded behind animals	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Smile	8.33% (2)	8.33% (2)	9.09% (2)	4.54% (1)
Fear	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)
Grief	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Finger to finger	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Sucking or biting a finger	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Turning one’s gaze from another	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Head/eye gaze aversion	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Grief embrace	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Maintain telephone conversation	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Twist of men’s clothing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Nuzzling	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Snuggling	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Not present	25.00% (6)		54.54% (12)	
Not applicable	20.83% (5)		0.00%	
Present	54.16% (13)		45.45% (10)	
Total	100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)	

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

The Family

Findings from this category are presented in Table 8. This category was not applicable to 89.13% ($n = 41$) of the covers. Displays of The Family are only present in Time. Contrary to Goffman's (1979) findings on this category, the "traditional" four-person family is not present in this sample. Only females are shown in parental roles; males are not featured as fathers at all. Females are depicted as mothers in 16.66% ($n = 4$) of the covers in Time. Such depictions are not present in Newsweek.

Time featured three covers that picture one mother and one child together; two depict a mother-son relationship and the other depicts a mother-daughter relationship. There is also one cover with three generations of females shown; a grandmother, mother, and daughter. The last cover in this category features a baby alone; sex is not identifiable on this subject, as the baby is only wearing a diaper, which does not signify a gender category.

Contrary to Goffman's (1979) findings on The Family, which suggest children are usually shown as having a special relationship with a same-sex parent, a mother-son relationship was present just as often as a mother-daughter relationship. Only females are shown in parental roles in this sample; males are not featured as fathers at all.

Body Display

This category is only present in Newsweek, representing 13.63% ($n = 3$) of the covers within this magazine. The frequency of this category in a general interest magazine is quite socially significant. The fact that even two images in this overall sample of 46 images feature women in body-revealing clothing, or nude, gives interesting information as to what gender portrayals the public is willing to accept. See Table 9 for findings from this category.

Table 8. Goffman's The Family in Time and Newsweek

	Time	Newsweek
Mother present	16.66% (4)	0.00%
Father present	0.00%	0.00%
Special bond between father and son	0.00%	0.00%
Special bond between father and daughter	0.00%	0.00%
Special bond between mother and daughter	8.33% (2)	0.00%
Special bond between mother and son	8.33% (2)	0.00%
No evidence of special bonding for either gender	0.00%	0.00%
Female children present	8.33% (2)	0.00%
Male children present	8.33% (2)	0.00%
Unidentified child present	4.16% (1)	0.00%
Traditional family (four person heterosexual couple with son and daughter)	0.00%	0.00%
Not present	0.00%	0.00%
Not applicable	79.16% (19)	100.00% (22)
Present	20.83% (5)	0.00%
Total	100.00% (24)	100.00% (22)

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

One cover from Newsweek within the category of Body Display pictures a nude female from the shoulders up. Her body is turned so that the frame pictures her right side. She is looking straight ahead, so she is not facing the camera. The lighting in this image is quite dull, so her facial features cannot be seen clearly. The title of the cover article reads, "The Sex Addiction Epidemic." Text also appears on her face, which reads, "I lost two marriages and a job. I ended up homeless. I was totally out of control." There is no indication on the cover that the figure in the image is the owner of the quote, and she is not mentioned in any way in the cover's text. Thus, one can deduce that the woman is a model.

Also in Newsweek, one cover coded under "Body-revealing clothing" is Michelle Rhee, and education activist for D.C. public schools. Unlike other professional women in the sample, Rhee is photographed wearing a skirt that reveals her legs above the knee. Though this may not

constitute “body-revealing clothing” generally, remember that this coding category has been extended a bit to measure the more subtle gender portrayals found in general interest magazines. In turn, this image is coded under Body Display because, in comparison to both men and other women in the sample, Rhee’s clothing does reveal more of her body than that of others.

Table 9. Body Display in Time and Newsweek

	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
Body-revealing clothing	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (2)	0.00%
Nude	0.00%	0.00%	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Not present	79.16% (19)		86.36% (19)	
Not applicable	20.83% (5)		0.00%	
Present	0.00%		13.63% (3)	
Total	100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)	

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

Location

While previous literature has found that women are more often pictured in decontextualized, or unidentified, environments (e.g. solid color backdrops) and in domestic settings (e.g. the home) more often than males (Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Lindner 2004), Time and Newsweek feature subjects in decontextualized locations in the majority of their covers. Subjects are decontextualized in 66.66% (n =16) of covers from Time and 59.09% (n = 13) of covers from Newsweek. See Table 10 for findings.

Notably females are pictured in classrooms in one cover from each magazine. This location is associated with the feminine-stereotyped profession of teaching and males appear in no such settings. While Umiker-Sebeok (1996) did not discuss feminine-stereotyped locations outside of the home, I believe this finding has social significance. This is especially true since

previous literature has shown that women are less frequently pictured in blatantly stereotypical locations such as the home, and are more often being depicted through subtle forms of stereotyping (Belknap and Leonard 1991; Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Kang 1997; Shuler 2003; Lindner 2004; Mager and Helgeson 2010).

Since there are not many female subjects in this sample, it is socially significant that two of the few featured as professionals are depicted in a feminine-stereotyped occupation, situated in such a way that retracts power from them. Two covers, one from Time and one from Newsweek, are located in classrooms and each feature a female teacher sitting alone behind a student's desk. Not surprisingly, only females are featured as teachers in the sample. In both covers, the women are sitting behind student desks. This finding is meaningful, as they could have been positioned in a variety of locations within the classroom (e.g., standing by the chalk board, teaching to a room full of students, etc.) or outside of the classroom.

Table 10. Location in Time and Newsweek

	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
Decontextualized	12.50% (3)	54.16% (13)	22.72% (5)	36.36% (8)
Domestic setting	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Non- domestic setting	4.16% (1)	8.33% (2)	13.63% (3)	31.81% (7)
Feminine-stereotyped location	4.16% (1)	0.00%	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Not applicable	20.83% (5)		0.00%	
Applicable	79.16% (19)		100.00% (22)	
Total	100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)	

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

Movement

This category appears in 10.86% ($n = 5$) of the covers overall. The findings for this category are presented in Table 11. A close look at frequencies within this category reveals an interesting pattern. Only males are shown as displaying “active” movement in this sample. Active subjects in images are granted control of larger amounts of both vertical and horizontal space and, in some cases, the freedom to leave a social situation quickly (Umiker-Sebeok 1996). The two active subject covers feature males, which places control of the situation in their hands.

One cover in this category pictures Mitt Romney and Newt Gingrich swinging and raising swords. Romney is actively swinging his sword and Gingrich is raising his sword while standing in a fighting stance. Such positioning grants these men with activity or, in Gingrich’s case, the potential and ability for it. This means that their movement is not blocked. The other cover that includes an active subject refers to an image of Obama driving a car. As Umiker-Sebeok (1996) points out, subjects situated behind the wheel of a car are indeed “active,” as they are granted the ability to quickly flee the situation. In the image, Obama is posed for the camera, but he is grasping the wheel of the car with his other hand. This puts him in control of the vehicle, so his movement is not blocked.

Eight percent ($n = 2$) of the covers in Time and 4.54% ($n = 1$) of covers in Newsweek feature females with blocked movement. Conversely, males are never pictured in this manner. Of the covers that include blocked movement of a female, two feature teachers behind student desks, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The remaining source is a Time cover that exhibits Hillary Clinton sitting behind a desk in an office setting. In these displays, the movement of the subject is blocked because there is an object impeding their potential path for quick activity. Consequently, desks are used as objects to block movement in all covers in which this category

is present. While this sample overwhelmingly includes subjects in prominent and professional positions, many of whom are depicted in office or professional-like settings, the only subjects pictured sitting behind desks are females. Males, on the other hand, are depicted quite frequently in office-like settings and are typically pictured standing. Furthermore, the covers that fall under blocked movement are the only in the sample to feature female professionals, as opposed to Proxy subjects. Therefore, within this category, female professionals are granted with less power and control than the rest of the subjects in the sample.

Table 11. Movement in Time and Newsweek

	Time		Newsweek	
	F	M	F	M
Active	0.00%	4.16% (1)	0.00%	4.54% (1)
Blocked	8.33% (2)	0.00%	4.54% (1)	0.00%
Not applicable	16.66% (4)	8.33% (2)	0.00%	0.00%
Not applicable	20.83% (5)		0.00%	
Not present	66.66% (16)		90.90% (20)	
Present	12.50% (3)		9.09% (2)	
Total	100.00% (24)		100.00% (22)	

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

Conclusion

This research has presented findings from a content analysis of gender displays on the covers of Time and Newsweek magazines from 2008-2012. In sum, there are main effects for magazine type: covers in Time are more stereotypical than those in Newsweek in the categories of Subject Representation, Licensed Withdrawal, and The Family, while Newsweek features more stereotypical displays than Time in the categories of Ritualization of Subordination and Body Display. Though Feminine Touch is present frequently in Newsweek, there are no patterns of sex difference. There are overall patterns of stereotyping for the categories of Location and

Movement, but no difference between the two magazines. No patterns of gender stereotyping are found in the categories of Relative Size and Function Ranking. Newsweek actually contained some reverse portrayals, such as in the category of Relative Size and Licensed Withdrawal. Overall, the categories with the largest representation in this sample are Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal. These findings also hold true for each magazine type. A summary of the findings by category and magazine type appears below in Table 12.

Table 12. Overall Frequency of Categories by Magazine Type

Gender Display Categories	Time	Newsweek
Subject Representation (Namesake subjects)	62.50% (15)	77.27% (17)
Feminine Touch	4.16% (1)	13.63% (3)
Relative size	0.00%	9.09% (2)
Function ranking	0.00%	9.09% (2)
Ritualization of subordination	66.66% (16)	86.36% (19)
Licensed Withdrawal	54.16% (13)	45.45% (10)
The family	20.83% (5)	0.00%
Body display	0.00%	9.09% (2)
Location (Decontextualized)	66.66% (16)	54.54% (12)
Movement	12.50% (3)	9.09% (2)

Note: (#) refers to number of covers coded at category

This chapter has presented the categorical findings of the data analysis by both sex and magazine type. The next chapter discusses the sociological significance of these findings from the standpoint of Goffman's theoretical framework used to study gender displays.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This research has presented findings of a directed content analysis of gender displays on the covers of Time and Newsweek magazines from 2008-2012. Images draw off of cultural, social, and visual conventions to create positive associations for their product which, in this case, is the magazine itself. The content in the covers of Time and Newsweek convey relevant messages about gender, and my findings confirm that stereotypical gender displays are present within them. This study confirms that Goffman's (1979) methodology for studying gender displays is 1) useful for studying magazine covers rather than advertisements and 2) still useful for studying gender in imagery today.

In analyzing both magazines, three major themes emerged. The first refers to a marginalization of women's work in professional occupations. The second is a pattern of portrayals that confine women to roles of reproduction, mothering, and childcare. Throughout the first two themes, women are sexualized as objects of the male gaze. Finally, the new category of Subject Representation introduced in this Thesis extends the current conceptual framework aligned with Goffman's (1979) work to account for portrayals specific to the covers of magazines, rather than the advertisements within them. Each of these themes and the newly introduced coding category are discussed below.

Marginalization of Women in Professional Work

The presence of females is limited on the covers of Time and Newsweek, with sole male covers making up the majority of my sample. Even when females are present on these covers, their contribution to work in professional occupations is marginalized. Women are rarely featured in professional positions, which gives the impression that men still dominate the

professional sector and that women are mere exceptions within it. Furthermore, women are gendered within these positions in portrayals that undermine their work within this realm. Even when females are granted professional positions, they are restricted to feminine-stereotyped occupations. For example, both magazines feature females as teachers. Two covers depict females as teachers positioned behind student desks. Due to this positioning, the teachers' movements are blocked. This signifies a lack of power and control, as the ability to move freely is restricted by an object (Umiker-Sebeok 1996). Furthermore, the subjects could have been pictured in a variety of positions that would effectively display their role as teachers. Yet both females are depicted sitting, rather than standing, at a student's desk, as opposed to a teacher's desk, nonetheless. Locating the teacher behind the desks designated to the pupils she teaches equates her with her social inferiors. Such depictions undermine the ability of female teachers to have control over their subordinates, which works to retract power from women in already feminine-stereotyped occupations.

When women are shown as professionals in traditionally masculine fields, they are depicted in ways that highlight qualities associated with femininity. In a cover from Newsweek, Michelle Rhee is featured wearing a skirt. Though this is not a blatant depiction of body-revealing clothing, the way in which Rhee is pictured adds to the sexuality embedded in this portrayal. Rhee is seated behind a student's desk, which retracts power from her position as the Chancellor of D.C. Public Schools. The picture highlights her bare legs and draw attention to them within the picture. In this example, a combination of subordinating body positioning and body-revealing clothing highlights the feminine aspects of this accomplished woman and emphasizes her sexuality as an important feature.

Work in the professional realm in general, and especially within positions of political prestige, are traditionally associated with masculinity. Thus, highlighting the feminine qualities of a professional female emphasizes gender difference and subordinates her position in this realm. Portrayals of women as dissimilar marginalize their position in professional occupations and retract power from their work within traditionally masculine fields. These depictions imply to society that men are essential to this kind of work, while women are marginal.

Reproduction, Motherhood, and Childcare

In the Data Analysis Chapter, I provide detailed descriptions of two Newsweek covers that have heavy implications for how the female body is politicized in this magazine. These covers visually represent a theme of disembodiment. One cover is discussed under the behavior category of Feminine Touch and the other under Body Display.

The first cover refers to a pregnant woman representing a topic of surrogate pregnancy and the second cover is of a nude woman, labeled as a victim of sex addiction, and pictured in dark lighting that makes her features indiscernible. The first cover disembodies the female subject by picturing her only from the shoulders to buttocks, effectively cutting her head out of the frame, and directs focus to her pregnant torso, which is also the only portion of her body that is exposed from clothing. This visualization signifies that the main function of her body is reproduction. Her head is not visible and no reference is made to her own thoughts and ideas so her mind, and the attitudes and beliefs it holds, are insignificant. Accordingly, her identity is irrelevant. Her body is only useful insofar as it supplies a product for consumption. The cover title “Womb for Rent” further accentuates this point, as her body functions as an incubator. In this way she is portrayed, not as a person, but as an object to be consumed, as well as to produce for further consumption. The female in the second cover is completely nude, so she is exposed

and her body is subjected. She is disembodied because her features are not visible. Socially identifiable characteristics that symbolize identity are left out. Her race and class (and even age to some extent) are not discernable. Unlike the first cover, reference is made to the thoughts and actions of the female in the second cover. Through her being depicted a homeless sex addict who "...lost two marriages and a job" and was "totally out of control," she is portrayed as weak and unable to control her emotions and desires.

The Newsweek covers discussed above politicize the female body as an object of sexual desire and reproductive ability. Such depictions define women as objects, whose most significant contribution to society is reduced to the biological function of reproduction. The implication of these messages is that women are productive in society mostly when they are contributing to the consumption and production of goods. This is the most important role of women, as defined by their biology. When women are granted thoughts and ideas, however, they are unable to control their sexual desires, connoting a biological urge to reproduce, causing them to lose control of all aspects of their lives. These covers thereby implicate the need for women to be surveyed and protected by men.

In a frightening combination of subordinating themes, women were also sexualized as mothers. As discussed above, findings suggest that Newsweek uses the female body rather than the male body as a visual element, a trend consistent with previous research on magazine advertisements (Mager and Helgeson 2010). This pattern is not confined to the covers of Newsweek, however. In Time, a well-known cover on the topic of breastfeeding pictures a woman breastfeeding her six-year-old son. She is a tall, blonde, and attractive white woman, who is standing with her body tilted towards the camera frame. Her son is standing on a chair so that he is able to reach her breast, which exemplifies the absurdity of her body positioning. Her

breast would be fully exposed from her tank top but for her son's mouth covering her nipple. The picture on this cover could have been carried out in a variety of ways that did not sexualize the mother. It is doubtful that the woman regularly breastfeeds in the way that is pictured, as it would be highly inefficient. This point demonstrates the sexualization of this act by the magazine. In addition, if breastfeeding older children is a phenomenon (as Time is claiming), then the magazine should have a variety of women to choose for this issue, which makes obvious the meaning in selecting a young and attractive mother (with a male child, no less) to sensationalize the cover issue. Even further, there was no inherent need to feature human subjects for this topic issue at all.

The sexualization of women in roles of reproduction and mothering demonstrates the unseriousness with which these roles are regarded. In these portrayals, women are disembodied as sexual objects of reproduction, mothering, and child-rearing. Since women are shown frequently as mothers and rarely as professionals in Time, this emphasizes their functions and abilities in the domestic realm and retracts from their contribution outside of it. This situates women's contribution to the periphery of social life. In both Time and Newsweek, even when women were depicted in professional occupations, they were confined to work associated with child-rearing, like teaching. Still, within this profession that is already subordinated to others, their status of "teacher" was further subordinated by depictions that equated them with their subordinates—the children they teach.

"Representation" of Subjects

In addition to the themes discussed above, a pattern became noticeable during the data analysis process that could not be accounted for with Goffman's existing conceptual framework. This pattern refers to differing themes in the way subjects were represented on the cover by the

positions they occupy. It was found that covers of Time and Newsweek most frequently featured actual people for their social or political cache or to represent the topic of a cover. Less frequently, the covers pictured a proxy, or unknown and unidentified subject, to represent a cover topic. The latter category is generally represented by models, which generally appear in magazine advertisements. Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework has yet to be extended with a category that can account for such patterns, as it has generally been used in the past to study advertisements specifically. I became aware that these patterns are not prevalent in advertisements, as these sources mainly present only one type of subject—models. As such, there is a need to extend Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework to include a category that accounts for context of gender displays in order to make Goffman's framework more useful for studying magazine covers. The categories of Actual (including subcategories Namesake and Unfamiliar) and Proxy were introduced in detail in the Methodology Chapter.

There are noticeable patterns of gender stereotyping within the Actual category. Though subjects were featured most frequently under the subcategory of Namesake, very few of these were women. In fact, Hilary Clinton is the only well-known and accomplished woman pictured on the cover of Time in this sample. Even so, this cover is filled with Goffman's (1979) genderisms. While portrayals of well-known men depict them standing tall and looking directly at the camera, Clinton is pictured sitting down and looking away from her work as if she is withdrawn from the situation. This portrays her as distracted from the work on her desk. Even when Namesake men are depicted looking away from the camera, they are portraying power through other behavior displays. For instance, they will be standing rather than sitting, looking straight ahead with their eye line symmetrical to their body. This cover exemplifies the pattern across the Namesake category for both magazines. Newsweek featured women as Namesake

subjects much more frequently than Time, however like the Clinton cover in Time, even women with political prestige were gendered through displays of femininity.

Across both magazines, women who were Proxy subjects were most frequently stereotyped according to Goffman's (1979) genderisms. This tells us that more stereotyping was found in the type of subject generally featured in magazine advertisements and, therefore, that less stereotyping is found among subjects who are named, whether or not they are well-known. Proxy subjects were depicted through subordinating displays of body positioning and sexualization, and they represent cover topics like health, parenting, education, and sex addiction. In not one cover is a Proxy subject representing masculine-stereotyped topics such as politics, business, economics, international relations, etc.

The importance of this category is to add context to gender displays by differentiating subjects based on their social and occupational positions. With this, it is apparent that the category of Proxy subjects, which mostly consists of models, is more likely to be feminized and sexualized through gender displays and subordinated through the type of cover topics they represent. This category holds the lowest amount of social and occupational prestige, as these women are not featured for being well-known, any personal accomplishments, or even with their own name on the cover when representing a larger topic. They are the most stripped of personal identity, which apparently allows for more stereotypical portrayals. Considering this point, the lack of personal identity means that the subjects in this category, and their portrayals, represent women as a general category more so than any one woman who can be named. Without personal identity, these women can represent women in general. And when the personal is taken out, the stereotypes come flooding in. By looking at this as a reflection of how women are represented in society, rather than just how Hilary Clinton is represented (which still isn't great), we can see

that any one woman as part of the “general” is more likely to be stereotyped and subordinated than a well-known and personalized woman.

Conclusion

The findings from this research demonstrate that messages are sent about women—regular women and powerful women—to our society via two highly-esteemed magazines that work to subordinate women men in the social structure. These messages are powerful in that they are not overt to uncritical readers and are easily taken-for-granted due to their placement in respected general interest magazines.

In line with previous research (Belknap and Leonard 1991; Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Kang 1997; Shuler 2003; Lindner 2004; Mager and Helgeson 2010), there was no pattern of the blatant forms of gender stereotyping that characterized the 1950s, such as displays that pictured women exclusively in home settings (e.g., in roles confined to the kitchen). However, there were “traditional” depictions of gender in this sample that confine women to roles oriented to reproduction, care-taking, and nurturing, which are associated with domestic life. Along consistent with previous research, sexualization was a major theme throughout the data. Each of these themes of gender stereotyping was identified using Goffman’s (1979) gender displays, plus the new category of Subject Representation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study sought to find how gender is made meaningful on the covers of Time and Newsweek from 2008-2012. These covers of Time and Newsweek, which are widely circulated general interest magazines, construct women as inferior to men in the social world. Women's contributions to the most powerful occupational positions are situated as marginal, and they are portrayed as better suited for reproduction and child-rearing. Women's inferiority is further embellished by the way they are sexualized and constructed as objects of the male gaze. This research has also introduced a new category to extend Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework to effectively analyze gender displays on magazine covers.

Employing content analytic methods and drawing off of Goffman's (1979) conceptual framework for studying gender displays, this study demonstrates that the covers of Time and Newsweek convey messages that women are not only marginal within professional occupations, but that they should not be taken seriously within these positions. Instead, the main contributions of women to society are confined to roles of reproduction, mothering, and child care. This places women on the periphery of social life. In addition, women are disembodied as sexual objects that are in need of men's control and protection, within these roles associated with domestic life. As such, their functionality in the domestic realm is also not to be taken seriously. Findings from the new category, Subject Representation, discovered that women are generally featured as Proxy subjects on the covers of Time and Newsweek, rather than for social or political cache. Furthermore, Proxy subjects are highly gendered through stereotypical displays of femininity. These patterns reinforce depictions of women as objects of the male gaze.

The significance of displays of difference, according to Goffman (1979), is that the portrayal of difference constitutes differential treatment and, therefore, perpetuation of gender inequality in our culture. Through framing gender as an institution of difference based on roles, appearance, and demeanor, Time and Newsweek constitute the perception of gender difference being a normal aspect of our society. The research demonstrates how Time and Newsweek are gendered magazines that benefit men more than women in our society. It also shows how Goffman's (1979) themes are still relevant analytical tools as, unfortunately, gender displays are still found even in highly popular general interest magazines.

This Thesis contributes to studies of gender portrayals in visual imagery by demonstrating an application of Goffman's (1979) methodological framework to magazine covers rather than advertisements. The research has made evident that magazine covers provide meaningful depictions of gender relations. Also, it adds valuable information to the available literature through demonstrating the value of comparative analysis of only general interest magazines, as portrayals of gender difference are occurring within this magazine type. Furthermore, it extends the function of Goffman's conceptual framework through an additional coding category that accounts for phenomena specific to covers of magazines. Finally, this study demonstrates that the coding categories developed by Kang (1997) and Umiker-Sebeok's (1996) are relevant for studying gender advertisements on Time and Newsweek. However, Umiker-Sebeok's (1996) coding category of Location is not as useful for this data, as a vast majority of the covers feature subjects in a "decontextualized" location.

The social significance of this research points to themes found in Time and Newsweek covers that work together to paint women as inferior to men in all aspects of the social world. In exceptional cases where women are rewarded for work in professional occupations traditionally

associated with masculinity, they are both feminized and sexualized to strip any implication of belonging. In the domestic roles to which women are confined, they are subordinated through location, body-positioning, and sexualized depictions presenting them as objects of the male gaze in already inferior positions of social status. This research makes clear that these subtle stereotypes are not only accepted by general interest audiences but are, as implied by Time and Newsweek's sales numbers, actually encouraged.

One limitation to this research is the sample size. A larger sample size in future research would paint a more thorough picture of gender on Time and Newsweek covers across these five years. Another limitation to this work is that it does not consider gender portrayals in terms of race, age, class, or sexual orientation. Future research would make a significant contribution to existing knowledge of gender on the covers of Time and Newsweek by considering the intersection of these factors. Also, the usefulness of directed content analysis could not fully be expressed in this study, as images of covers were not included for copyright purposes. Including both visual examples and descriptive frequencies of findings would highlight the application of direct content analysis in future research.

Future research might also consider analyzing Time and Newsweek covers over a longer period of time. Extending the sample design to cover a decade of covers could add significantly to our knowledge on gender by including cover images from the next presidential election in analysis. Also, future research might benefit from a larger sample size. Even including all Time and Newsweek covers over a number of years would provide opportunity for a more thorough and in-depth application of methods. Additionally, as this is one of the first studies to compare only magazines, future research would benefit by including a third general interest magazine in analysis. Finally, a discernable pattern emerged on Newsweek covers of Republicans of both

sexes appearing frequently in stereotypical displays associated with Goffman's (1979) genderisms. I would therefore suggest future research also consider political party affiliation in analysis.

I am realistic about the current system of gender differentiation based on sex and the resulting inequalities, understanding that a colossal change in representations of gender is not surging towards our society. Peeling away sexism through analysis such as this one, however, is powerful and must be understood as such to make opportunity for larger change. Any advancement in the understanding of differential constructions of gender and the resulting role they play in both reconstituting and securing the current hierarchy of gender in our society is a step forward in annihilating the systematic oppression of women in our modern time. The discipline of Sociology is not only useful, but is crucial for doing such analyses.

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