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# WHERE HAS SHE BEEN AND WHERE IS SHE GOING: THE EVOLUTIONARY PORTRAYAL OF BLACK WOMEN IN PRINT ADVERTISING FROM THE 1960s TO 2000s

Madeline Smith  
mksmith4@siu.edu

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WHERE HAS SHE BEEN AND WHERE IS SHE GOING: THE EVOLUTIONARY  
PORTRAYAL OF BLACK WOMEN IN PRINT ADVERTISING FROM THE 1960s TO 2000s

by

Madeline K. Smith

B.A., Eastern Illinois University, 2011

A Research Paper  
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Masters of Science Degree

Department of Mass Communications and Media Arts  
in the Graduate School  
Southern Illinois University Carbondale  
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RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

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A Research Paper Submitted in Partial

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in the field of Professional Media and Media Management

Approved by:

Dr. Kavita Karan, Chair

Dr. Novotny Lawrence, Co-Chair

Graduate School  
Southern Illinois University Carbondale  
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## DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my mom and dad for always believing in me and loving me unconditionally. I would like to thank my mom for exposing me to art and culture, which has shaped my view of the world. I appreciate all her love and support. I would like to thank my dad, who has radiated so much wisdom and knowledge into my life, thank you for contributing to my development. Their guidance and support has made a tremendous impact on my life and for that I am forever grateful.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The representation of women in media, specifically in magazines, is a continuous issue because “[m]agazines have ...given the world an up-close and personal view of a patriarchal definition of womanhood. Commercial images of women have generally reflected their secondary status, and women’s roles depicted in these images are often defined by patriarchal attitudes” (Frith and Karan, 2008, p. 2). The misconception of women has adversely affected how the general public perceives African American women. Traditionally, black women were depicted in ads as domestics who cooked and served. In a contemporary context, black women are represented as undereducated, unhealthy, gold diggers, dominating, angry, and regularly portrayed as the over-sexualized black women (Walton, 2013). Social movements, educational levels, higher economic status and greater levels of acceptance and tolerance have gradually changed the misrepresentations of African American (Black women) in the society and the media. Using a content analysis method, this study analyzes magazines to find out the extent of change in the portrayals of African American women in magazines over a period of five decades.

The hegemonic ideologies of black women have been continuously cultivated through media outlets. Media is an influential source that people often emulate and replicate any concept into a visual image. With just a press, flash, or click of a button, people are prone to believe the images and concepts depicted in media and particularly in advertisements. Advertising is an influential medium because “...advertising images can reflect, reinforce, and perpetuate sexist and racial attitudes, opinions, and behaviors already engrained within a given society” (Mastin, Coe, Hamilton, & Tarr, 2004, p.229). Unfortunately, that is how stereotypes and misconceptions continue to manifest about various groups of people, especially black women in America.

The multiplicity of black women's identities is a derivative of historical stereotypes that permeate contemporary society. Stereotypical characters like Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Jezebel and Sapphire were all conceived during slavery. Mammy is a well-known black domestic character. According to Bogle (2008), "Mammy is distinguished, however, by her sex and fierce independence. She is usually big, fat, and cantankerous" (p.9). Additionally, she is characterized by dark-skin and she is asexual. Other characteristics of Mammy include being very loyal, a trustworthy advisor, and caring for the slave master's family. She nurses the children, cooks, cleans and serves the family. Melissa Harris-Perry (2011) further explains "Mammy was not a protector of or defender of black children or community"...Melissa Harris-Perry also conveys that Mammy "...was entirely devoid of sexual desire" (p.72-73). This rendition of Mammy has been modified for a variety of media platforms like television sitcoms, advertisements, and films. For example, "[i]n Hollywood masterpieces like *Imitation of Life* [1934] and *Gone with the Wind*, [1939] mammy characters used outbursts instead of grammatical sentences to communicate (Cortese, 2008, p.92).

Unlike Mammy, who is more strict and stern, Aunt Jemima is a domestic character that is mild-mannered, always happy to serve and historically represented with a handkerchief tied on her head. Similar to Mammy, "Aunt Jemima was consciously portrayed as an asexual, unattractive being" (Kern-Foxworth, 1994, p.87). Moreover, Aunt Jemima is a household brand. Her popular products consist of pancakes, syrup, and flour, which are still on shelves to this day.

Other frequently depicted images in mainstream media of African America women are Jezebel and Sapphire. Jezebel is a hypersexual and predatory-like black woman, while Sapphire, is an ultra-dominating woman who challenges black masculinity? According to Baker (2005) "...the characteristics displayed by the matriarch and Sapphire images are highly correlated with

Jezebel” (p. 15). The concept of the matriarch is a black woman who is head of her household, regardless if a man is present or not. Mammy, Jezebel, Aunt Jemima, and Sapphire “...do not reflect black women’s lived experience, instead, they limit African American women to prescribed roles that serve the interests of others” (Harris-Perry, 2011, p. 96). Causing black women’s identity to become diluted in everyone else’s ideal of what black womanhood should be. These negative stereotypes of women, similar to those perpetuated about black men were a part of the reason that Civil Rights Movement was necessary.

The Civil Rights Movement was an unprecedented time in American history. Under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., African Americans and other races of people fought for justice, equality, and against Jim Crow laws. Jim Crow laws legalized segregation, which defined Southern parts of America (Jim Crow Laws, 1996-2010). These laws prohibited African Americans from using the same public facilities (such as water fountains, schools, restrooms, buses, etc.) as white people. Also, black people were not allowed in all-white restaurants, hotels, and public parks. With a collective of social movements across America, protestors rallied for educational, political, and social equality through non-violent protests in the form of marches, bus boycotts, sit-ins and more (Chamber, 2008, p.113).

While the Civil Rights Movement was broadcast on televisions across the country for the world to witness the U.S.’s civil unrest, advertising agencies needed to respond to large social changes by decreasing the subservient roles portrayed in ads. Many of the advertisements continued to portray African Americans as domestics and laborers or “...tar black Sambos with oversized rubbery red lips and large bugging eyes and overweight mammies to sell everything from cigarettes to cereals” (Kern-Foxworth, 1994, p.41).

This era generated unity among black people and other racial groups. Through their

lobbying with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 eliminated discriminatory practices in “...voting, public accommodations, employment, education, and health care” (Kook, 1998, p.167). Black people gradually became accepted into the mainstream American culture. The civil rights era increased upward mobility within social classes (Wilson, 2007). As a result, the socio-economic conditions of African Americans started to improve, even household earnings were gradually increasing.

During the 1960’s the overall buying power of the African American consumer increased tremendously. According to “[t]he Wall Street Journal [which] noted in 1961 that national advertisers now lavished attention upon black consumers. The Negro market, with an annual purchasing power of \$20 billion, “almost equal to that of all Canada,” expanded daily” (Sewell, 2004, p.138). Black people were now viewed as a viable consumer base, which could influence the profitability of a business. Advertisers saw African Americans as a viable target market because they were receiving more economic clout and thereby had greater purchasing power. Therefore, “African Americans were the first racial minority group to be recognized as an audience that could be targeted through both advertising content and placement” (Hollerbach, 2009, p.600).

A new sense of social awareness circulated during the late 1960’s. As a result, less overt stereotypes of racial minority characters in advertising were created (Hollerbach, 2009, p. 600). The stereotypical representation of African Americans, which included butlers, servants, cooks, housekeepers and laundresses, were slowly subsiding in advertisements. According to Marilyn Kern-Foxworth (1994) “the civil rights movement was critical in changing the way blacks were presented in American mass media and ultimately in American advertising” (p. 39). This shift caused southern whites to oppose the change in black peoples roles as less subservient but

focused on positive images reflected in Southern white's opposed the positive images of black people in advertising nationwide (Kern-Foxworth, 1994).

Civil Rights organizations like the "Congress of Racial Equality and the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People have brought direct pressure upon advertisers to include Negroes in advertising layouts, and to hire more Negro actors in television programming, and hire more Negroes into the advertising industry" (Kassarijian, 1969, p. 29). The growing number of African American people employed in the advertising industry helped to improve the overall portrayal of the black community, in addition to increasing the use of Black models. The representation of Black people influences how they consume products, especially, when companies portray black models positively in their advertisements. According to Wheatley (1971), white business owners and black consumers saw using black models as a perfect strategy for increasing sales and more representations of blacks in the community. "It can be assumed that businessmen, on the one hand, wish to supply black consumers and realize greater sales, and black consumers, on the other hand, want to enjoy the additional goods and services their increased incomes can provide and like being catered to" (p. 391). Additionally, images of Black people in commercial advertising can influence brand awareness of a company and black people's self-esteem.

As progressive shifts in advertising began to take place, in 1963 The New York Telephone Company created an innovative advertisement featuring "a professionally dressed, distinguished-looking black man shown anxiously entering a telephone booth. It was the first time such an ad ran in general-circulation publications" (African-Americans: Representations in Advertising, 2003). Another example of mainstream media making an effort to positively portray

African American people was “[i]n 1972, Eastman Kodak Co. and J. Walter Thompson Co. took the groundbreaking step of using a black Santa Claus to advertise Kodak's pocket Instamatic camera in *Ebony*” (African-Americans: Representations in Advertising, 2003).

As positive portrayals of black people were coming to the forefront of mainstream media, magazines started to shift their overall representations. Most magazines in the pre-civil rights movements were directed towards white women and the black women, when portrayed, were negatively stereotyped. However, over the years there have been changes, particularly with the publication of magazines like *Ebony*, which were geared towards Black women. Other mainstream magazines also portrayed Black women in more occupational roles and also included them in fashion and beauty advertisements. Hence, given the role of media and the influence of magazines in particular, this study is significant in terms of understanding and recording the changes in the portrayal of black women in magazines.

### **Significance of the Study**

Although there has been a continuous evolution in the advertising industry, as time has passed negative stereotypes are still overly represented in today's society. The infamous baby mama, welfare queen, hypersexual and the angry black woman are contemporary manifestations of Jezebel and Sapphire. In October of 2013, *Essence* magazine conducted the Image Study, a research study consisting of more than 1, 200 participants. Reports from the study found that 85% of Black women reported that they regularly see representations of Baby Mamas in media, while only 41% said they often see Real Beauties (Walton, 2013). It is evident that mainstream media still lacks diverse representations, and that the advertising industry reduces black women to stereotypes that objectify their physical features and disregard their intellect.

Instead of representing the diversity of African American women as mothers who balance myriad professional careers, mainstream media has depicted African American women through a lens that views them as exotic, sexual, undereducated and unwed. Most importantly, African American women, much like all people want their children to grow up seeing positive role models and images that help cultivate high self-esteem, pride, morals and values. Increasing positive images in mass media can help to rewrite the negative narrative that has dominated the advertising landscape and provide balance. Increasing the amount of black women appearing in magazine advertisements as attractive, educated, loving, and healthy can possibly have a direct effect on the career choices and educational attainment of black women and girls across the nation. This research will examine possible shifts in the portrayal of African American women in print advertisements in magazines between the 1960s and 2000s. The following sections of this research project include the literature review, the research questions, the methods of study, the data analysis and presentation, discussion and conclusions.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Advertisers thrive on the general public's wants, needs and desires. As media and advertising are interwoven into American society they continue to replicate and project various beliefs and value systems whether good or bad. The over saturation of realistic and unrealistic views of people, places, and things can have a profound effect on how people stereotype others. According to Frith and Mueller (2010) people "make sense" of ads by relating them to a shared belief system—one that is held in common by most people within a society. Stereotyping, therefore, is based on cultural beliefs" (p.96). The traditional stereotypical representations of African Americans in the form of Mammy, Uncle Tom, Coon, Aunt Jemima, and Jezebel were formulated during slavery. The aforementioned caricatures are characterized as subservient, loyal, and obedient to his/her slave master. Those stereotypes demeaned African Americans and represented them as unintelligent. Unfortunately, stereotypical characters like Mammy, Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben did not stay in the past but are still advertised in products and perpetuated through various media outlets to this day.

Consequently, modern day stereotypes of African American women in particular consistently represent black women as angry and as welfare queens, causing African American women to develop feelings of resentment towards a society that has alienated them as a group. According to Poran (2006), "Black women feel rather targeted by media standards, men's preferences and comparisons with other women" (p.752). This preconceived notion of African American women's identity should not be validated from a male's perspective of beauty in society. Furthermore, when women are represented from a male's perspective women become devalued through distorted images that do not express their goals, accomplishments, and



aspirations. This can cause women to have low self-esteem, depressions, and/or eating disorders. If women are going to be represented in media, it is imperative that mass media begin to incorporate women's preferences to counter the biased narratives that have been displayed in advertising. The pressures to uphold unattainable beauty standards can never be attained by a majority of women and are unrealistic in a world where everyone is uniquely different.

### **Historical Overview of Black women in Mainstream Media**

During slavery the buying and selling of black people was advertised in numerous outlets. According to Kern-Foxworth (1994) “[p]osters in windows, flyers, and newspapers advertised slaves the same as inanimate objects are advertised today” (p. 3). Years after the abolishment of slavery African Americans still lacked citizenship, protection and were deprived of their human rights (Kook, 1998). As time progressed, the civil rights movement came to fruition during the 1960s. As a result, new social and economic improvements occurred. As great strides began taking place in American history, negative stereotypes of black people continued to persist. For example, American households became consumers of food and cleaning products that depicted negative representations of old stereotypes. Some of those caricatures utilized to sell products were Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and The Gold Dust Twins. Unfortunately, these caricatures represented the black population as beings that were only valued when assuming subservient roles. This further confirms that “...one can see relatively little change within the dominant racial ideology because television, as a mass media outlet, provides a space which continually updates and re-creates Mammy and Jezebel stereotypes, and in turn, presents them as icons of what Black womanhood is today” (Hudson 1998, p. 245). Throughout this research I plan to examine how these caricatures are represented in print advertisements between the 1960 and 2014.

RQ 1. How are African American women portrayed in stereotypical roles like Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Sapphires, and Jezebels in print advertisements?

### **1950s-1960s Representations in Print Advertisements**

#### Occupational Roles & Representations during the 1950-1960s

In the 1950s, black people were extremely dissatisfied with their social and economic conditions in America. Their disappointment with the system and the portrayal of black people caused them to vocalize their dissatisfaction through rallies and protests. During public demonstrations they addressed voting rights, segregation and basic human rights. Unfortunately, the publicly broadcast protests did not stop advertisers from poorly portraying African Americans. Particularly, during the 1950s, “all the black ads were in the low-skilled labor category, with 75 percent of the ads representing blacks as cooks, servants, and porters, and 25 percent representing blacks as African or Island laborers” (Humphrey and Schuman, 1984, p. 559). It was evident “...no advertisements portrayed Negroes as professionals, businessmen, students, or clerical workers in 1949-50, 21 percent of the 1967-68 advertisements included Negroes in these occupational categories”(Cox 1969-1970, p. 605). These findings demonstrate the status of African Americans represented in ads.

According to Marilyn Kern-Foxworth (1994) “the civil rights movement was critical in changing the way blacks were presented in American mass media and ultimately in American advertising” (p. 39). The overall shift transpired in 1967-68 after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. During this time period advertisers started to mirror societal shifts.

After the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, progressive ads were created with representations of African Americans in more diverse roles. But, overt representations of black

people in subservient roles sustained. Colfax and Sternberg's (1972) findings suggest, "...28 [percent] are shown in blue-collar occupations. These include mechanics, waiters, repairmen, panel installers, and bus drivers. If we exclude the 11 celebrities, over half (54 percent) are shown in blue-collar occupations..." (p. 16). As a result, African Americans understood that in order to be recognized by Caucasians as equal they had to become a part of the consumer landscape in advertisements (Chamber, 2008).

As a result of hard work and dedication, social and economic changes were slowly becoming visible. According to Kassarian (1969), [p]rofessional, managerial, and clerical occupations rose from less than one percent to nine percent in 1965" (p. 36). But, women were still seen as housewives, beauty queens, and moms with no workforce positions portrayed in ads. Women received little representation in professional/executive occupational roles because "[a]bout 33 [percent] of the full-time workers in the United States are women: however, only 12 [percent] of the workers shown in the ads are female" (Courtney and Lockertz, 1971, p.93). Society's reflection of working class women and advertisers depiction of women is occupationally disproportionate.

In this research I plan to study the representation of women and the occupational roles in magazines during the 1960s and 2000s by examining whether or not the representation has changed over the years from the 1960s, particularly after the Civil Rights movement to the present 2014.

RQ: 2 How has the portrayal of African American women in different occupational roles in the magazine advertisements changed over the past four decades?

## **1990-2000s Representations in Print Advertisements**

### **Overall Representation in Occupational Roles**

The common assumption that African Americans are only capable of excelling in sports and entertainment is truly a misconception. As a result of these common stereotypes, black people are often advertised in sports or as entertainers, but seldom represented in executive positions. In 1999, the portrayal of African American women in occupational roles was disproportionate. Results from this study showed that “White women comprised 90% of the managerial and professional subset of the sample, with Blacks representing 5%, and Latinas 2% (Covert and Dixon 2008, p. 242). The lack of diverse occupational roles does not fairly represent the black population’s achievements but instead demeans their hard work and occupational achievements.

Although occupational diversity was limited, technological-based products were even less likely to represent African Americans. Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) found that compared to other minority groups such as Hispanic and Asian Americans “African American models were underrepresented in advertisements for technology-based products, appearing in only 34.6% of those advertisements” (p. 616). The lack of African American women models in technology-based advertisements insinuates that technological intellect is only limited to certain races or genders. When companies advertise to diverse groups they reinforce that their products were designed for everyone and this inclusion develops loyal clientele.

RQ:3 What are the kinds of products advertised by African American women in comparison with their occupational roles in the magazine advertisements.

### **Interracial Peer & Non-Peer Interaction in Advertisements**

The interracial peer interaction has a profound effect on how black models are positioned in terms of being located in the background, faded or equal to white model in the ads. Colfax and Sternberg's (1972) research suggests that blacks and whites were never shown interacting informally together in ads during the 1950s (p.562). Furthermore, the interaction between African Americans and Caucasians as peers were not shown (Kassarjian, 1969). In the 1970s, integrated advertisements started to become mainstream. As a result, peer-to-peer interaction between African Americans and Caucasians are gradually becoming the norm in some corporate advertisements. According to Humphrey and Schuman (1984) "89 percent of the ads in 1980 show blacks and whites in equal status role relationships, and 65 percent of these show face-to-face interaction"(p. 561). These findings made it clear that in America social ideologies about race were changing gradually.

### **Beauty Standards**

In previous years, the antithesis of black beauty and womanhood were Mammy and Aunt Jemima, these images of black women suggest that they are lacking in beauty, femininity, attractiveness, and other attributes generally associated with womanhood." (Smith, 1988, quoted by Kern-Foxworth, 1994, p. 87). Because of how demeaning Mammy and Aunt Jemima are, these mythical characters have tainted the concept of beauty and identity in relation to black women in America.

Around the 1940s, "[c]osmetics and advertisements were geared to White complexions, and, consequently, Black women almost never saw themselves reflected in marketing campaigns for beauty products" (Norment,1995, p.116). If so, skin-lightening advertisements were at the forefront. For example, a well-known skin-lightener. Nadinola Bleaching Cream was advertised

frequently. “Between 1945 and 1950 *Ebony* ran numerous quarter-page ads for Nadinola products which urged Black women not to let ‘a dark unlovely complexion hurt [their] popularity...’ and that dark-skinned women should do ‘what thousands of pretty women do...be lovely, with lighter smoother skin beauty...results guaranteed from just one Jar”(Gooden, 2011, p. 88).

As time progressed into the Civil Rights Era, advertisers were forced to rethink how advertisements of their products and services were represented in the black communities. This was during a turbulent time in America and the concerns of African Americans were to lobby legislatures in an effort to improve their overall social and economic conditions. During the 1960s and 70s, the Black Power Movement became extremely popular. Malcolm X was one of the most influential public speakers and Black Nationalist during the 1960s. He was a devoted Black Muslim, who cared about the advancement of black people. His speeches were portrayed as radical and belligerent in the American public’s eye and caused him to be considered as a black militant during the civil rights movement. (Lowery& Marszalek, 1992, p.340).

Over time, his Black Nationalist approach influenced upcoming leaders like Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who redefined the slogan Black Power for “black people in this county to unite, to recognize their heritage, [and] to build a sense of community,” in addition to “rejecting the racial institutions and values of American society” (Lowery and Marszalek, 1992, p.54-55). Other leaders influenced by Malcolm X were Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton, who formed the Black Panther party. This organization was devoted to providing better housing and education into the black community. In addition to, advocating for self-defense against race related brutality (Lowery & Marszalek, 1992).

The Black Power Movement embodied black love, beauty, and pride, promoting these attributes through Afrocentric symbols such as Afros and the black clenched fist. Additionally, the movement was driven by soulful music by artists like James Brown, who “had his audience chanting, Say it loud, I’m black and I’m proud.” (Black power article on [www.ushistory.org/us/54i.asp](http://www.ushistory.org/us/54i.asp), 2008-2014). Even though the Black Power Movement was changing certain aspects of culture, issues of colorism within the black community continued.

According to Hill (2002)...”the political and ideological shifts associated with the civil rights and black power movements did not permanently alter long-standing Eurocentric color preferences among African Americans” (p.87). Importantly, colorism creates a division based on skin color deeming dark skin as inferior and light skin as superior. Colorism destroys self-love, identity and confidence. It also continues to perpetuate negative stereotypes and unfair treatment based on skin color. Given the portrayal of beauty standards of African American women, I plan to examine how females were portrayed in terms of skin color, skin tone, and hair color in ads?

RQ: 4 How are African American women portrayed in terms of skin color, hair type, and skin color compared to the white standards of beauty?

### **Beauty Standards-Sexuality**

Another negative connotation black women had to endure is being hypersexual. As discussed earlier in the literature review, the concept of the oversexualized black women emerged during slavery, and has been perpetuated through advertisements. For example, 70 percent of print advertisements showed African American women wearing animal print clothing of predatory cats such as leopards, tigers and cheetahs (Plous and Neptune, 1997, p. 638). The captions underneath the advertisements include such phrases as: “call of the wild,” “your animal

instincts will be right on the mark," "creates provocative allure," and "perfect for romantic fall interludes"(Plous and Neptune,1997, p. 638). This has sexual connotations that imply that African American women can fulfill any sexual desire. Thus, the depiction of Black women wearing animal print clothing in print advertisement is sexually objectifying because of the predatory patterns, sexual content, and body exposure that continues to perpetuate historical stereotypes of Black women.

Poran's (2006) evidence suggests that African American women do not identify with the media's portrayal of their cultural practices. In addition, they were confused by the methodology used to represent them. The concept of a modern day Jezebel and Sapphire continue to perpetuate the over-sexualized African American women. Additionally, Watson, Robinson, Dispenza, and Nazari's (2012) research participants suggested that the sexual objectification of black women stems from history that has carried on throughout the years. She goes further to state "[o]ne of those things that have carried over I think is the freedom to feel like you have the right to objectify African American females" (p. 465). The sexually aggressive and exotic stereotypes of black women, displayed in advertisements, portray African American women as sexual objects. Therefore, in this study I examine how the African American women's sexuality is represented in print advertisements.

RQ: 5 How African American women's sexuality is represented given the literature review in terms of sexual poses and body postures?

The symbol of beauty in American society is a young white woman, regardless of how sexually objectified she is in mass media (Baker, 2005). The complexity of beauty standards stems from white supremacist ideology that "intensified the link between whiteness and



femininity through the myth of “sacred white womanhood,” an image that conflated “feminine” virtues such as piety and purity with whiteness” (Hill, 2002, p. 79). This ideology of whiteness helped to formulate colorism within minority groups. Historically, “skin-color bias (colorism) in the United States originates from a history of slavery and racial oppression” (Drake and Cayton 1945: 495-506; Myrdal 1944; Russell, Wilson, and Hall 1992 cited by Hill, 2002, p.77). Since, the enslavement of Black people, the African American woman has always been considered physically unattractive because of her defined phenotypes, skin tone, textured hair, and physical features. Moreover, Black skin has been stigmatized as dirty, ugly and unintelligent.

African Americans are bombarded with standards from dominant society and the African American community. There is tremendous pressure to uphold the dominant society’s standard of beauty, which is, fair-skin, straight hair and thin bodies. Watson et al. (2012) states, “having to compete with those images can be really exhausting sometimes” (p. 465). The constant burden to uphold society’s standard of “attractiveness has greater consequences for women’s self-esteem and life chances than men” (Collins, 2002 quoted by Hill, 2002, p.79). Negative misconceptions of beauty standards in society do not encourage or empower people. Instead, it perpetuates generations of self-hate.

## CHAPTER 3

### REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS

#### RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Currently, print advertisements portray women in multidimensional roles like mothers, and businesswomen. Nonetheless, explicit advertisements of women, as sex objects are still a driving force in contemporary society. For instance, women's fashion magazines portray female models as more flawless than women's home magazines (Conley and Ramsey, 2011). Regardless of how flawless or close to perfection women are portrayed, they are sexually objectified. That is an issue that cannot be concealed by flawless women in ads.

Presently, women are more sexually objectified in print advertisements than in previous years: “[f]rom the mid 1960s through the early and mid 1990s, there were significantly more overt portrayals of women as sex objects” (Henthorne and LaTour, 1995; Mayne, 2000; Reichert et al, 1999; Soley and Kurzbard, 1986 quoted by Zimmerman and Dahlberg, 2008, p. 72). The concept “sex sells” has become a driving force in the world of advertising. Women's bodies have become accessories, props or decorations when selling products and/or services to the general public. According to Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) in women's fashion magazines (i.e., *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle*, *Essence*, *Glamour*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Honey*, *InStyle*, *Marie Claire*, *Self*, and *Vogue*), 63.39% of advertisements portrayed women as sex objects” (p.585).

The previous research suggests that fashion magazines have more sexually objectifying advertisements than non-fashion magazines. Those advertisements have the ability to influence the way that the general public views beauty standards and body size. These are all things that can have a tremendous effect on women and girls' self-esteem and body dissatisfaction. According to Coltrane and Messineo (2000), “...regardless of race or ethnicity, women continue

to be much more likely than men to be shown as sex objects, but it is White women who are singled out as icons of beauty. In television commercials, White women are routinely shown being “checked out” by a man, inspecting themselves, flirting, trying to look pretty, wearing something revealing” (p. 383-384). Nonetheless, the standard of beauty is still White women, who are young and thin. This overall construction of beauty affects various women because regardless of race, most women do not fit within mainstream society’s standard of beauty.

Hazell and Clarke’s (2008) research findings suggest that Black-oriented magazines are now making tremendous strides embracing natural black beauty when compared to previous years. They write, “In the 2003 issues of *Essence* magazine, most of the models had light complexions whereas a significant and equal number of models had medium or dark complexions”( p.14). A year later, in *Essence* 2004 issues “most of the models had dark complexions, with the number of models with medium and light complexions following closely behind” (Hazell and Clarke, 2008, p.14).

Mainstream media’s standard of beauty consists of having European-like features. African Americans who have European-like features are perceived as more beautiful because of their smaller facial features or lighter skin tone. Regardless of what mainstream media deems as beautiful, *Essence* magazine exemplifies the diversity in black people’s skin tone in the magazines by showing an array of different skin tones.

The exploitation of women transfers over into the way they are positioned in advertisements. For example, “[w]omen’s home magazines portrayed female models less often in passive positions compared to women’s fashion magazines” Conley and Ramsey (2011, pg. 472). Traditionally in advertisements women have been shown as housebound and subservient to

a man. Now, women are seen in more work-settings. Even African American women are portrayed in authoritative positions in the workforce, instead of the traditional domestic worker. Hazell and Clarke found “*Essence* and *Jet* in 2003 and 2004.... models tended to be represented in familiar roles (e.g. mothers, wives, husbands) and as athletes (e.g., basketball players, boxers). *Essence* and *Jet* failed to illustrate non-stereotypical occupational roles in which African American women and men are currently excelling.

African American women started to proclaim black beauty during the 1970s, more than ever before. In previous years, black women were rarely recognized in cosmetic advertisements that emphasized black complexions. Stereotypical representations that plagued black women’s identities were shifting because of buying power of African American people, which increased revenue streams for advertisers. Even though, less overt stereotypes were represented, issues of hypersexual being associated with black women were insinuated in advertisements through the use of animal print clothing, which is associated with animal-like and predatory. As time progressed, advertisers started to utilize black models and represent the diversity within black hair texture and complexion. In some capacity issues of skin color, women’s roles, beauty standard still arise in contemporary society. That is why it is important to investigate the progression and regression of the representation of black women in ads.

The overarching themes described in this text relates to beauty, occupational roles, interracial peer-to-peer interaction, and the representations of black women in print advertisements between 1960s and 2000s, which provides a past and present perspective of the portrayal of black women in advertisements. As times shifted portrayals of black women changed from being advertised as domestics to having professional occupations. But, issues of colorism stayed the same, although they were translated differently in contemporary society. The

research will further impact the historical stereotypes of black women entrenched in modern day society, while offering an overview of African American women's journey through print advertisements.

### **Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to analyze the past and present representations of African American women in print magazine advertisements between the 1960s and 2000s. The overall objective is to examine how African American women were portrayed in advertising as a result of ideological shifts in American society from the 1960s until the 2000s. Did the images of African American women progress during the following time periods or regress? This research study will further consider the following:

RQ 1. To what extent are African American women portrayed in stereotypical roles like Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Sapphires, and Jezebels in print advertisements?

RQ: 2. How are African American women portrayed in terms of skin color, hair type, and skin color compared to the white standards of beauty?

RQ: 3 How has the portrayal of African American women in different occupational roles in the magazine advertisements changed over the past four decades?

RQ: 4 What are the kinds of products advertised by African American women in the magazine advertisements?

RQ: 5 How is the African American woman's sexuality represented given the literature review in terms of sexual and body postures and animal prints?

## Methodology

When examining the representation of African American women throughout the decades of the 1960's- 2000's, Content Analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2009) was done to examine the advertisements. At the onset of the study, both *Cosmopolitan* magazine and *Ebony* magazine were considered for review. However, *Cosmopolitan* was not examined further because it did not have a comparable amount of black women represented in the print advertisements to analyze black women's roles. Advertisements found in *Ebony*, an African American oriented magazine, were ultimately selected for examination. *Ebony* was chosen because it has a large circulation and predominantly female readership of African Americans. Overall, a total of five issues of the magazine were examined, one from each decade. The decades were explored for the purpose of evaluating various trends within those years. The 1960s through 1970s were especially monumental in American history because of the various social movements that influenced culture as well as the portrayal of African American women in advertising.

The advertisements chosen for examination were either a full page or half a page and included at least one African-American female. The magazines were chosen from January through December during 1964, 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2014. These months and years were selected based on the availability of the magazines in Morris Library at Southern Illinois University. A total of 138 advertisements were analyzed. Each of these advertisements include at least one African American woman represented in the ad.

The coding categories in the study are based on how black women are represented in the following categories -sexual objectification, occupational roles, physical characteristics like skin tone and hair types, and the product advertised to African Americans women. This analysis will provide a broader insight into shifts within society's representation of African American women

in advertisements, if any.

### **Coding Categories**

Each advertisement was coded among the following categories of sexual objectification, physical characteristics, occupational roles, interracial reaction, products advertised. Each coding category is discussed further below.

#### Operational Definitions-

##### *Physical Characteristics-Skin Tone and Hair Type:*

Describes the skin tone and hair types of African American women models in the ads. The following categories are designed to score what skin colors and hair types are more likely to be portrayed in advertisements on black women in Ebony magazines from the 1960s to 2000s.

Baker (2005) coding categories for physical traits consisted of Black women's "...skin tone (fair, medium, or dark complex-ion [and] hair texture (straight, wavy, curly, or braided (p.19) were utilized to some extent to characterize black women's features.

##### *Sexual objectification:*

It is described as the exploitation of women by positioning them in provocative positions that emphasizes and exposes their body parts to sell products. According to Plous and Neptune (1997) body exposure is defined by the body parts being displayed sexually like the shoulder, cleavage, buttocks, stomach, and etc. Furthermore, body position will be assessed based on how a model is positioned in the ad. Positioned is defined by animalistic positions like crawling, kneeling, and lying down on the ground.

##### *Occupational Roles:*

The occupational roles that were selected were educator, professional managers, servants/maids,

and entertainer/celebrities. Furthermore, Frith and Karan (2008) occupational categories were utilized within this research to project recreational roles where women are positioned in behaviors like shopping, visiting friends, jogging, sports and outdoor activities. In addition to those aforementioned occupational, decorative roles, were included based on advertisements that were designed to emphasize her attractiveness because she does not have a functional roles in the advertisement.

*Products Advertised:*

The type of product that was being advertised using African-American models is coded this category. Specifically, hair care, products skin care products, clothing, travel destinations and recreational products like alcohol and cigarettes advertised to African American women were identified.

*Interracial Interaction:*

Describes the interactions among people of different races of people in advertisement. Peer-to-peer interaction is define by white and black people socializing as peer or equals in the advertisement. According to Kassarian (1968) non-peer relationship represented black people as inferior to white people mostly holding positions such as waitress and waiters.



## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS

Overall I analyzed the portrayal of African American women in 138 advertisements. I then compared the trends in their representation in terms of their stereotypical representations, occupational roles, the products they advertised, the skin tones, the hair type and color to the years of publication. The publication year provides an understanding of the trends of women's roles that may or may not be prevalent to this day.

RQ 1. To what extent are African American women portrayed in stereotypical roles like Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Sapphires, and Jezebels in print advertisements?

The study analyzed the portrayal of African American women depicted in these advertisements in comparison with historical stereotypes like Jezebel and Mammy, as well as modern day stigmas like the angry black women, gold digger, and welfare queen. Interestingly, it was found that, despite extensive literature on Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Sapphires, and Jezebels, there was not one print advertisement in the several issues of *Ebony* magazine that represented black women as one of the aforementioned caricatures. This could be attributed to the fact that *Ebony* is largely directed towards an African American readership. In addition to *Ebony* executives may have an understanding of and sensitivity to the social issues pertaining to black culture both past and present to encourage better lives and not be bounded by projecting the social stereotypes of the women.

RQ: 2. How are African American women portrayed in terms of skin color, hair type, and skin color compared to the white standards of beauty?

In answering the second research question the findings suggest that there are changes in the standards of beauty like physical characteristics, and occupational roles of the African

Americans from the 1960s to 2000s. The three most significant standards of beauty when comparing black and white models are skin tone, hair type and hair color, as suggested in the literature.

*Physical Characteristics:*

Table 1: Percentage of Skin Tones Represented in Advertisements

		Skin Tone				Total
		Fair Skin	Light Brown	Medium Brown	Dark brown	
1964	Count	4	19	8	1	32
	% within Year	12.5%	59.4%	25.0%	3.1%	100.0%
1974	Count	0	12	7	11	30
	% within Year	0.0%	40.0%	23.3%	36.7%	100.0%
1984	Count	0	5	11	3	19
	% within Year	0.0%	26.3%	57.9%	15.8%	100.0%
1994	Count	0	3	25	2	30
	% within Year	0.0%	10.0%	83.3%	6.7%	100.0%
2014	Count	1	14	7	5	27
	% within Year	3.7%	51.9%	25.9%	18.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	53	58	22	138
	% within Year	3.6%	38.4%	42.0%	15.9%	100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	54.599 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	55.008	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.093	1	.043
N of Valid Cases	138		

Table 1 provides a summary of information regarding the skin tones of female African American models throughout the five decades investigated. In analyzing the skin tones of the models from

1964 to 2014, it was found that in 1964, 59.4% of African American models were light brown-skinned. 25.9% were medium brown-skinned, 12.5% of had fair skin with, and 3.1% were dark brown-skinned. A chi-square test was performed to test the relationship between the years of publication and the skin tone of the models. The results show there was a significant relationship.

During the 1970's there was a significant shift in the skin tones of African American models portrayed in the magazine. As discussed previously in the literature review, the civil rights movement and black power movement introduced the theme of black beauty and black pride into mainstream culture. As a result darker skin tones were embraced more in magazine advertisements. In 1974, there were no fair skinned models represented in magazines and the number of dark brown-skinned African American models increased from 3.1% to 36.7%. Overall dark brown-skinned models were more prevalent in the 1974; however, in the years following the trend went back to preferring medium brown-skinned models. The shift began in 1984 and continued into 1994. During this time more brown-skinned models were prevalent in magazine advertisements, 57.9% and 83.3% respectively. These results show evidence that colorism still dominated the overall landscape of black identity as previously discussed in the literature review. Since the 1970s the trend went back towards the lighter brown skin tones overall in advertisements, most notably in 1994 where there were medium brown-skinned models represented in 83.3% of advertisements and the shift continued in 2014 where 51.9% of advertisements contained light brown-skinned models.

*Hair Type and Hair Color*

Table 2: Hair Types Represented in Advertisements

		Hair Type							
		Straight Hair	Wavy	Curly	Kinky Curly	Afro	Jheri Curl	Locks / Twist	
Year	1964	Count	31	0	0	0	1	0	0
		% within Year	96.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%
	1974	Count	11	0	0	0	10	3	0
		% within Year	36.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	10.0%	0.0%
	1984	Count	12	0	0	0	1	5	0
		% within Year	63.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.3%	26.3%	0.0%
	1994	Count	18	1	5	2	3	0	0
		% within Year	60.0%	3.3%	16.7%	6.7%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	2014	Count	12	1	5	4	0	0	3
		% within Year	44.4%	3.7%	18.5%	14.8%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%
	Total	Count	84	2	10	6	15	8	3
		% within Year	60.9%	1.4%	7.2%	4.3%	10.9%	5.8%	2.2%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	99.944 <sup>a</sup>	28	.000
Likelihood Ratio	99.485	28	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.027	1	.155
N of Valid Cases	138		

When examining hair trends in 1964, as shown in Table 2, 96.9% of the models had straight hair. Straight hair was the dominant hair type for African American women models in print advertisements throughout all five decades. The only instance when another hair type was shown in the advertisements as much as straight hair was in 1974 when 33.3% of models wore Afros whereas 36.7% had straight hair. In 1984, 26.3% of model wore Jheri curls even though

63.2% wore straight hair. These were the only two instances when another hair trend came close to being as popular as straight hair. In 2014, more advertisements portrayed black women with natural hair texture like curly and kinky curly hair at 18.5% and 14.8% respectively. The current trend towards a natural hair movement contributed to the representation of African American women in these hair types unlike previous years (Table 2). The chi-square test performed showed a significant relationship between the years and dominant hair type represented as straight hair.

Table 3: Hair Color Represented in Advertisements

		Hair Color					Total	
		Black	Brown	Blonde	Mixed color	Others		
Year	1964	Count	26	5	0	0	1	32
		% within Year	81.2%	15.6%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	100.0%
	1974	Count	23	2	0	0	5	30
		% within Year	76.7%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	100.0%
	1984	Count	17	1	0	0	1	19
		% within Year	89.5%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	5.3%	100.0%
	1994	Count	26	0	1	0	3	30
		% within Year	86.7%	0.0%	3.3%	0.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	2014	Count	13	10	1	3	0	27
		% within Year	48.1%	37.0%	3.7%	11.1%	0.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count	105	18	2	3	10	138
		% within Year	76.1%	13.0%	1.4%	2.2%	7.2%	100.0%

Table 4 Hair Color of Models in Advertisements

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Black	105	72.9	76.1	76.1
brown	18	12.5	13.0	89.1
blonde	2	1.4	1.4	90.6
Mixed color	3	2.1	2.2	92.8
Others	10	6.9	7.2	100.0
Total	138	95.8	100.0	
Missing System	6	4.2		
Total	144	100.0		

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.569 <sup>a</sup>	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	43.595	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.176	1	.278
N of Valid Cases	138		

In regards to hair color 72.9% of hair color was black with the five our decades. Even though, black hair color was heavily represented in throughout the five decades brown hair color was more frequent in 1964 and 2014 (15.6% and 37%). As the years progressed, models with blonde hair color were more frequently shown in ads in 1994 and 2014 (3.3% and 3.7%). Even though, a small amount of models were represented with blond hair this shows Europeans standards of beauty maybe seen in hair color in the more current years. Regardless, African American women model are still represented with black hair more frequently than any hair color. This can be attributed to African American women continuing to embrace their traditional black hair color. Causing them not to assimilate to European beauty standard with hair colors such as

blond hair color. The Chi-Square test represents a significant correlation between the hair color black and the years. A chi-square test was performed to test the relationship between the years of publication and the skin tone of the models. The results show there was a significant relationship.

### *Occupational Roles*

Table 5: Roles of African American Women Models

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Professionals/Managers	1	.7	.7	.7
Entertainers/Celebrities	6	4.2	4.3	5.1
Decorative	115	79.9	83.3	88.4
Valid Recreational	1	.7	.7	89.1
Housewives	9	6.3	6.5	95.7
Others	6	4.2	4.3	100.0
Total	138	95.8	100.0	
Missing System	6	4.2		
Total	144	100.0		

The occupational roles of African American women in advertisements traditionally presented women in subservient roles like household servants, cooks, and cleaning ladies as discussed in literature review. However, unlike the stereotypes in the literature, the data in this study found that 79.9% of black women were represented in decorative roles throughout the five decades. Decorative roles emphasize African American women models attractiveness is being used for promoting products just like the other Caucasian models and do not have a necessary function in the ad. The second highest occupational role within five decades analyzed were housewives at 6.3% and the lowest representation of women was in professional/manager roles at 0.7%. The analysis indicates that occupational roles among African American women within the five decades have not changed. Overall African American women are more likely to be seen

in decorative roles than professional or managerial position. The Chi-Square test performed concludes, there is no direct correlation between the years and the occupational roles portrayed in advertisements.

Table 6: Roles of African American Women Models

		Occupational Roles					
		Professionals / Managers	Entertainers / Celebrities	Decorative	Recreational	Housewives	Others
1964	Count	0	0	28	0	4	0
	% within Year	0.0%	0.0%	87.5%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
1974	Count	1	1	23	1	4	0
	% within Year	3.3%	3.3%	76.7%	3.3%	13.3%	0.0%
1984	Count	0	0	16	0	1	2
	% within Year	0.0%	0.0%	84.2%	0.0%	5.3%	10.5%
1994	Count	0	1	29	0	0	0
	% within Year	0.0%	3.3%	96.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
2014	Count	0	4	19	0	0	4
	% within Year	0.0%	14.8%	70.4%	0.0%	0.0%	14.8%
Total	Count	1	6	115	1	9	6
	% within Year	0.7%	4.3%	83.3%	0.7%	6.5%	4.3%

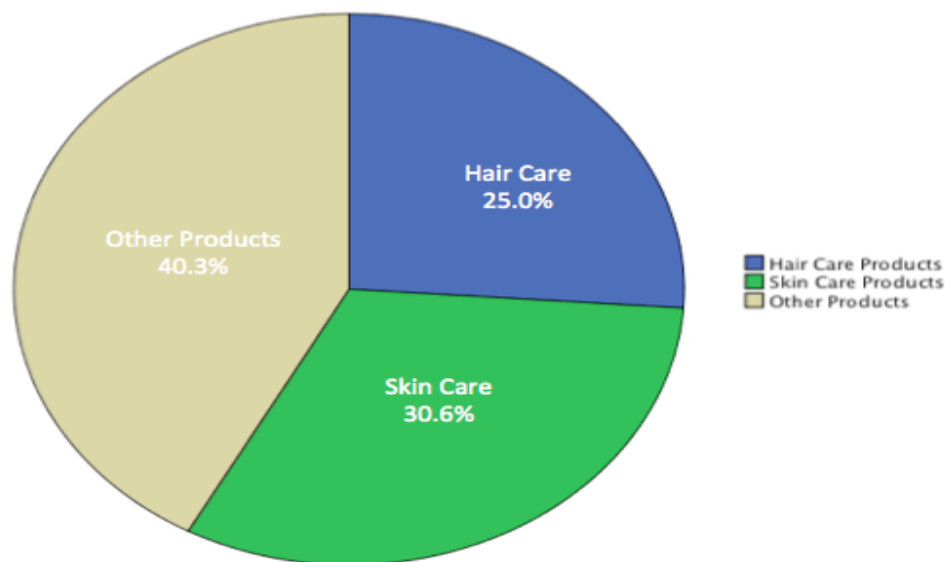


### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37.899 <sup>a</sup>	20	.009
Likelihood Ratio	40.106	20	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	.073	1	.787
N of Valid Cases	138		

RQ 4: What are the kinds of products advertised by African American women in in the magazine advertisements?

*Products Advertised:*



*Figure 1: Products Advertised Using African American Women Model*

The beauty skin care products were the highest number occupying 30.6% of the advertisements that were being promoted by the African American models throughout the five decades. Also, skin-lightening products were commonly used in ads throughout the five decades. This is evident that European beauty standards are still as influential in 2014 as in 1964.

The beauty products were followed by; hair care products such as straighteners, relaxers, hair

moisteners, shampoos, and conditioners occupied 25% of the advertisements throughout the five decades. Specifically, straighteners/relaxers advertisements were represented more than any other beauty product in the products advertised. While the focus of one of the research questions was on the type of products advertised using African American women, the category of 'other products' was found to encompass 40.3%% of the advertisements within all five decades. These products consisted of electronic devices, household appliances, beds, paint, and shaving cream for men. Furthermore, African American women were used in the advertisements of products that included airlines, cars, and travel related, food and beverages and lastly, health related advertisements. There was no significant shift in the products used to advertise with African American women models between 1964 and 2014. The analysis concludes that the increased use of African American women models to sell a variety of products is attributed to African American's buying power increasing in the 1960s as discussed in the literature review.

RQ: 5 How is African American women's sexuality represented given the literature review in terms of sexual poses and body postures and animal skin?

The second important and surprising finding was the sexual objectification of women. Contrary to literature, when examining the ads in Ebony magazines, if African American women were sexually objectified in print advertisements, the findings suggest that African American women models were not sexually objectified in the magazine advertisements. The most frequent camera angle shot of black women were face-to-shoulder images and no shots of body parts were used for advertising products. Women wearing animal prints were also negligible.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

Mainstream media is an influential source that connects the world around us.

Advertisements can project messages and inform the general public about people, products, and events, and influence purchase decisions, attitudes, and behaviors. The advertising industry is also influential in shaping the portrayal of people and perpetuating stereotypes. In earlier years, African American women were exploited and underrepresented in print advertisements. As time has progressed, the representation of African American women in print advertisements has improved, featuring more black women models and less stereotypical roles in ads.

This research study explored potential shifts in the portrayal of African American women in print advertisements in magazines between the 1960s and 2000s. Traditionally, African American women and men were depicted in domestic roles, and they were used to promote food products. At one time food products with pickaninny's, mammy and black Sambo were regularly displayed on store shelves and became permanent staples in households across the country (Kern-Foxworth, 1994, p.40). The Civil Rights Act of 1964, promoted equal rights and opportunities for the African Americans, and as time progressed, the black community's educational and economic status improved thereby increasing their buying power. This caused advertisers to rethink the representations of African Americans in advertisements and target products to them. Eventually, consumer products, particularly beauty products were directed towards African American women. Negative stereotypes were changing and less overt negative stereotypes of black people were being represented in advertisements.

A Content Analysis of *Ebony* magazine was conducted to find how the portrayal of women across the five decades has changed through their representation of beauty standards like skin tones, hair color and care, and types of products advertised for African American women.

The findings in this study suggest that African American women were neither represented as Mammy, Aunt Jemima, and Sapphire nor sexually objectified. Women appeared in more decorative roles promoting facial beauty and hair care products along with other products. Overall, this research suggests that advertisers have shifted away from representing African American women as caricatures and sex objects. The occupational roles of African American women in print advertisement were typically domestic roles in the earlier years. Now we have more African American women models in decorative roles, but their representation in professional roles still needs to be improved. The lack of stereotypical roles shows progress because positive trends are displayed in print advertisement. Unfortunately, they failed to represent African American women in professional occupational roles, which insinuates that black women do not possess roles of authority or prestige.

Another change throughout the five decades was the portrayal of African American women's skin tones, hair types, and colors in print advertisements. The fair skinned models were less likely represented throughout the five decades, although light-skinned models were most extensively used during the following decades. Eventually, darker brown-skinned models started to be more preferred in 1974. This may be attributed to the influence of the black power movement. After 1984 these representations of darker brown-skinned models started to fade and lighter brown-skinned models became the most commonly represented in print advertisements. Another category was the portrayal of hair type and hair color of female models in the ads. Findings suggest that straight hair with black hair color was most popular in the ads. The most

prevalent representation of fair skinned, light brown-skinned, and straight hair were associated with upholding a dominant ideology of European beauty standards. After examining the products advertised, the study revealed that African American women were being targeted for a variety of products including electronic products, cars, and financial services that did not just pertain to food or cleaning products as found in earlier literature. This shows that African American women have come a long way and positively progressed over the decades.

Through unspoken truths and untold stories, black women continue to proclaim their identity, even at the thresholds of hegemonic systems that have distorted the image of black womanhood. This goes to show that African American women continue to redefine themselves by embracing their natural hair, their curves, and by becoming more accepting of their complexions. Holding some of the most prestigious positions in America; our First Lady Michele Obama, actress Lupita Nyong'o, and Oprah Winfrey to name a few, have given African Americans a reason to be proud. As African American women break away from traditional negative generalizations about their identities that have plagued black women's identity; they continue to show the world that Black womanhood extends beyond stereotypes of Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Sapphire and Jezebel. Instead, black womanhood includes community heroines, leaders, intellectuals, educators and more who strive to proclaim their rightful place, voice, and identity in American society.

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## APPENDICES

Appendix-A  
Coding Manual

1. Number	1-100
2. Magazine	2. Ebony
<hr/>	
3. Year	1. 1964 2. 1974 3. 1984 4. 1994 5. 2014
<hr/>	
4. Month	(1-12) January - December 12months in a year
<hr/>	
5. Issue/Volume	
<hr/>	
6. Sexual Objectification	Yes No
1. Buttocks	1 2
2. Breast	1 2
3. Stomach	1 2
4. Face & other *cut face in ad	1 2
<hr/>	
7. Skin Tone	1. Fair skinned 2. Light- brown 3. Medium-Brown 4. Dark-brown
<hr/>	
9. Hair	Color
1. Straight hair	1. Black
2. Wavy	2. Brown
3. Curly	3. Blonde
4. Kinky Curly	4. Mixed color (strikes
5. Others	5. Afro
6. Jheri Curl	
7. Locks/Twist	

## 8. Not Shown

## 10. Occupational Roles

1. Educator
2. Professional/ Managerial position
3. Servant/Maid
4. Entertainer
5. Decorative
6. Recreational
7. Housewife

## 14. Interracial Interactions on screen

Yes No

1 Peer to peer

1 2

## Beauty Products Advertised

## 15. Hair Care

## Category 1

1. Straightener/ Relaxer
2. Hair Moisturizer
3. Shampoo
4. Conditioner

## Skin Care

## Category 2

5. Lightening products/ blemishes
6. Moisturize
7. Cleanser
8. Clothing
9. Accessories
10. Other

## Category 3

## 6. Other products advertised

1. Recreational products (liquor, beer, cigarettes, and wine )
2. Travel destinations
3. Airlines
4. Cars
5. Banks
6. Insurance
7. Others

## VITA

Graduate School  
Southern Illinois University

Madeline K. Smith

madeline4817@yahoo.com

Eastern Illinois University  
Bachelor of Arts, Mass Communication, December 2011

Research Paper Title:

Where Has She Been and Where is She Going: The Evolutionary Portrayal of Black Women in Pint Advertising from the 1960s to 2000s

Major Professor: Dr. Kavita Karan