CHILDREN IN ADVERTISEMENTS:

Visual representation of children in Time magazine, volumes of

1994, 2004 and 2014.

Master's Thesis
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Mainosten representaatiot vaikuttavat käsitykseemme itsestämme ja muista. Vaikka mainontaa on tutkittu laajasti, lapsia ja mainontaa on tutkittu lähinnä siitä näkökulmasta, millaisia mainoksia lapsille on suunnattu tai miten mainonta vaikuttaa lapsiin. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tarkastella lasten representaatiota aikuisille suunnatuissa mainoksissa. Lisäksi halutaan selvittää ovatko mainokset muuttuneet vuosien aikana.

Tutkimuksen aineistona ovat Time-lehden vuosikerrat 1994, 2004 ja 2014. Aineistossa on kaiken kaikkiaan 80 erillistä mainosta, joiden pohjalta tyypillinen representaatio luotiin. Kyseisinä vuosina mainosmäärät aikajärjestyksessä olivat: 19, 37 ja 24.

Teoreettinen viitekehys pohjautuu vahvasti Kress ja van Leeuwenin visuaaliseen kielioppiin. Visuaalisen kielopin avulla aineiston mainokset pystyttiin koodaamaan noudattaen laadullisen sisällönanalyysin työvaiheita. Metodologisesti työ on siis laadullinen, mutta myös määrällinen. Analyysin aikaisessa vaiheessa aineistosta nousi induktiivisesti esille tietyt toistuvat asiat, joiden pohjalta - ja visuaalisen kieliopin termejä deduktiivisesti lainaten - luotiin kategorioita. Kategoriat nimettiin Tyypeiksi (Types). Vuosittainen vertailu toteutettiin sekä tutkimalla mainostettavia asioita että käyttämällä Tyyppejä.

Tulokset osoittivat että tyypillisesti mainoksissa lapsi ei katso lukijaan, vaan antaa lukijan katsella itseään rauhassa. Lisäksi lapsi on rajattu lähikuvaan luoden tunteen läheisyydestä ja tuttuudesta. Kuvauskulma on edestä ja lukijan tasolla: läheisyyden tunnetta voimistetaan nostamatta lukijaa tai lasta korkeampaan voima-asemaan toiseensa nähden. Enimmäkseen lapset olivat kuvissa kuvien osina eivätkä niinkään toimijoina. Tyypeille löydettiin niille asetettuja perusteluita ja olettamuksia, joten voidaan sanoa että Tyyppien kaltaisia lasten representaatioita löytyy mainoksista. Vuosittainen vertailu ei tuottanut yhtä vahvoja tuloksia, sillä vuosittainen aineisto oli pienempi. Teknologia, matkustaminen ja turismi, sekä hyväntekeväisyys olivat kaikissa vuosikerrassa suosituimpia mainostettuja asioita.

Asiasanat – Keywords Advertising, children, representation, grammar of visual design, Kress and van Leeuwen
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1. INTRODUCTION

Advertisements are ubiquitous. The radio, TV, cinema, YouTube, Spotify, the sides of buses, windows, posters, neon lights, the applications on one's mobile phone, magazines, newspapers, the Internet, online games – all of them are filled with advertisements. It can be questioned whether there is a place left that would not be exposed to advertising. The extent of advertising has resulted in advertising becoming a popular research and discussion topic. Some topics have received more attention than others, for example, gender images and representations of women and/or men have been extensively studied and reported on. How different groups of people respond to advertisements has also been a popular study object. The focus of this research paper is, however, one that has not been widely studied: how children are visually represented in advertisements aimed at adults.

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss and research advertisements with representations of children. The advertisements are examined by making use of Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar which they presented in 1996. The Visual Grammar is a systematic grammar of visual design and a demonstration of how meanings are created through visual traditions and regularities in Western image composing. By Western visual tradition and culture, Kress and van Leeuwen do not refer to cultures of specific countries, but to a visual resource that has globally spread. It is like any other grammars that are commonly associated with linguistics: it is both a description of how elements are used and as well as a set of rules. It does not take a moral stand or criticise the choices made by the creator of an advertisement, but provides a way to approach the subject objectively and to create a neutral description of how, in this case, children are depicted. It does not, for example, focus on why there is a child in an advertisement, what might be the reasons 'behind the curtains' or what the consequences are to society of using a child representation. However, since their grammar is based on how visual images are built in Western cultures, the Visual Grammar not only enables studying images systematically, but also reveals the motives behind creating an image in a certain way.

In the previous studies about children and advertising, children are seen as potential consumers or as targets or even victims of advertising. There are concerns expressed over advertising to children and how our society raises the consumers of the future (see e.g. Linn 2005, Thomas 2007, Gunter and Furnham 1998, Acuff and Reiher 2005), and also apprehensions of how presenting children in advertisements can endanger "the innocent childhood" by for example sexualising the image of a child (see e.g. Faulkner 2011, Holland 2004, Merskin 2004, Vänskä 2012). Moreover, in the previous studies the profile of how children are represented in advertisements is either quite outdated (Hood, Heinzerling, Chandler and Hausknecht 1995), based on just one material source, which affects the profile inevitably (O'Dell 2008, Vänskä 2012) or the target audience of the advertisements is children (Jennings and Wartela 2007, Strasburger, Wilson and Jordan 2009). The aim of this study is to create a more versatile profile and, in a way, contribute to the profiles that others have already created.

In order to research representations of children in advertisements, three volumes of *Time* magazine were selected; volumes of 1994, 2004 and 2014. These three volumes were chosen not only to create a versatile profile of a child representation, but also to enable a comparative discussion between years. Moreover, as the aim of this study is to examine advertisements that are not aimed at children, but the targeted audience is an adult one, *Time* magazine is decidedly a valid data source. Furthermore, as the Visual Grammar is a grammar of Western visual literacy tradition, the optimal data source was decided to be a Western one as well. Altogether 80 individual advertisements were discovered; 19 in volume 1994, 37 in volume 2004 and 24 in volume 2014.

To discuss the representations of children in advertisements, I created a classification system of my own and labelled the different categories as Types. These Types were formed inductively by a preliminary analysis of the data in this study and deductively by following the rules of Visual Grammar set up by Kress and van Leeuwen. However, even though the Types follow the Visual Grammar, they are my own construction. Generating the Types was motivated by two different positions: firstly,

by aiming to create a comprehensive example of the visual representation of children and secondly, by aiming to aid the comparison between different years.

The analytical method of the present study is qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis enables a qualitative way to describe a large data by creating a systematic description of data using a coding frame. It reduces the data by focusing on certain, predetermined aspects and by reducing the data, examining and describing this amount of material becomes possible. The coding frame of this study is both concept- and data-driven; concept-driven categories for the coding frame were taken directly from Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar. The data-driven categories, on the other hand, are the Types introduced in the previous paragraph. By applying the coding frame to the material results in numeric data, which makes this study also a quantitative one. In the present study, the numeric data enables discussion and comparison, firstly of all the data, secondly, between the Types and, finally, between the different volumes. In other words, this study is both a qualitative and quantitative one.

All in all, both the position of advertising in the world today and the small attention to how children are represented in them argue for a valid thesis topic. As one cannot escape advertising, it follows that one cannot help being influenced by advertising, either. The images we see in advertisements each day both contribute to and reflect on how we see the world around us, what we believe to be valuable and how we see ourselves as part of that world. Therefore, it is important to study advertising and to become more conscious of the representations offered to us.

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter two focuses on the theoretical background of this study: a short description of advertising, previous studies about children and consumerism and children in advertisements. Chapter two also focuses on presenting the Visual Grammar by Kress and van Leeuwen. After presenting the theoretical background, Chapter three firstly focuses on the aims and research questions, secondly on the data selection and collection and lastly on the methodology applied to this study. Chapter four includes the main analysis of this study which is divided into four parts: explaining the analysis procedure, introducing the average

representation of a child, discussion of the findings in relation to the Types, and comparison throughout the years. Finally, in Chapter five, the findings of this study will be discussed in relation to the research questions and previous research and the limitations of this study will be addressed with suggestions for future research.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

In this chapter, the theoretical background of the present study and the context, in which the present study belongs, are introduced. There are a few important and complex terms that require a definition; representation, advertising and Western culture. These will be discussed first. Secondly, previous studies about children and advertising will be discussed and revised. Finally, Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar of visual design will be presented.

2.1 KEY TERMS

The analysis in this study will be looking into representations of children in Western advertisements. Therefore, it is important to discuss early on what representation, advertising and 'Western' are understood to be in this thesis. First, representation will be briefly explained. Secondly, the discussion will move on to defining Western culture. Finally, the focus will move on to advertising. The descriptions are left short, even though all of these important terms are really versatile and interesting topics, but in depth discussions would be outside the scope of the present study.

2.1.1 Representation

Representation by its simplest definition means how things are portrayed. In some studies, portrayals are even used as synonyms for representations. These portrayals can be expressed, for example, through written or spoken language or through visual

forms. In the heart of it all is meaning-making and communicating to each other – how we signal representations to each other.

There are some aspects that are lost when referring to representations just as portrayals. Most importantly for the present study, representations are not just depictions of what they represent, but they are always depended on the creators of the representations. Kress and van Leeuwen argue that a representation is "never the 'whole object' but only ever its criterial aspects which are represented" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 7). In other words, they believe that when creating a representation, the creator chooses the aspects considered worth a representation. The chosen aspects are evaluated via the cultural, social and psychological history of the creator of the representation (ibid:7).

In short, representation in this study is foremost seen as something motivated by the creators. In other words, the representations of children in the data are motivated by the creators of the advertisements. Moreover, the advertisements and their creators are motivated by the context and medium in which the advertisements are published. In this study, the context and the medium is *Time* magazine, which is a Western publication with an adult audience.

2.1.2 Western Culture

Defining the Western culture is a multifaceted topic. When something is referred to being 'Western' it is commonly thought to be something of a European origin. Some theories start with Greek philosophers or the Roman Empire, or the beginning of Christianity. Others focus on Western Civilization and its history. Moreover, geographically, 'Western' is challenging to judge: is it the Western Europe, the whole of Europe, Americas or Oceania? Furthermore, in the modern, connected world of today where the distances are getting shorter and shorter by the aid of the technology, ideas, ideals and ideologies can spread through the whole globe in an extremely short time. It is difficult to point out where 'Western' begins or ends. For example, mass

media and Western advertising have contributed to the Western culture spreading onto 'un-Western' societies as well.

In the present study, the Western culture is seen as a complex mixture of common beliefs, values, habits and behaviour patterns and how these are expressed. The theoretical framework of the present study, Visual Grammar, follows the same definition. In other words, Visual Grammar is based on Western culture and, more specifically, in the tradition of Western visual communication. For example, the positioning of the elements in an image and the meanings attached to these different positions are based on the Western reading paths from left to right and from top to bottom (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 4, 204-208). Moreover, the desired feeling of attachment/detachment between the reader of an image and the represented object is achieved by framing the object either into a close-up or picturing the object in the distance, following the everyday distances Western people tend to keep from each other in their social interaction (ibid: 124-129).

2.1.3 Advertising

Dyer (1982: 2) defines advertising as follows:" In its simplest sense the word 'advertising' means 'drawing attention to something' or notifying or informing somebody of something." Advertising can also be called as a system designed to produce artificial needs among people to buy things in order to achieve for example happiness and a better life (Dyer 1989: 3, Danesi and Perron 1999: 279) or "[…] a purely commercial text that links images of health, happiness and success with the consumption of marketed brands" (Hackley 2010: 249). Dyer (1982: 2-11) continues that the most commonly known form of advertising is a public announcement but it includes also an individual talking to another. Moreover, Dyer (ibid.) differentiates commercial consumer advertising from public relations, commonly known as PR. In other words, commercial consumer advertising aims to sell goods or services to people, whereas PR endeavours to contribute positively to a person's or an establishment's public image. Danesi and Perron (1999: 278) also have the same

distinction between commercial advertising and PR, but they wish to make a further distinction between commercial advertising, propaganda and publicity. Propaganda is a diffusion of ideological views, and publicity, "a craft of disseminating any information that concerns a person, group, event, or product through some public medium" (Danesi and Perron 1999: 278).

As discussed above, advertising aims to create needs and raise the status of a brand in order to make the readers buy the products. If creating a brand image is successful, consumers feel the brand to be trustworthy, reliable, and it can lead into a relationship between the brand and the customer (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty 2000:163). In his article, Berger (2011) takes this claim even further: he argues that wearing a certain brand is a choice made to reflect ourselves to others around us and even to ourselves. For a brand to achieve such a status, it must utilise advertising and make the brand and the ideals of the brand known to an audience. In other words, if brands are in fact so important that we see them to represent ourselves as signals about who we are, advertising is unquestionably a worthy research topic.

In this study, all the examined advertisements are examples of public announcement, since they are taken from a printed magazine and thus intended public. Moreover, there are some examples of publicity announcements and public relations but no examples of propaganda. However, since the focus of this research paper is on interpreting and discussing advertisements and not on the marketing side, PR and publicity announcements will be classified as advertisements as well and included in the analysis. It could also be argued that PR and publicity are indeed commercial advertisements; after all, they just try (more) indirectly to have an effect on sales by creating a positive image or to collect money for charity organisations.

2.2 CHILDREN AND CONSUMERISM

The topic of advertising and children has been studied mainly from the point of view of a child being a potential consumer, an interpreter of advertising messages or a target of the advertising and consumer culture. These topics are common in the fields

of economics, sociology and psychology. In other words, the focus of studying advertising and children has been on how children influence their families that are in the decision-making process of purchasing something, and on how children comprehend advertisements' messages and/or are affected by them. In this section I will introduce some exemplar studies on the subject, ranging from advertising to children to children as consumers.

When advertising to children, children can be seen as a primary market, an influence market or a future market. A primary market refers to children being the consumers themselves. As an influence market children are hoped to have an effect on their parents, thus resulting in purchasing. If referred as a future market, the marketing efforts are invested in the hope of the child buying the product later in life, also called as 'cradle-to-grave' marketing where the intention is for a life-time loyalty for a brand (Gunter and Furnham 1998: 166, Strasburger, Wilson and Jordan 2009: 44-46)). However, it can be argued that advertising to children is always more or less advertising to the parents, since children rarely the finances of their own but the money they have available comes from their parents. There are two approaches: firstly, marketing things that are for the child's use or pleasure (for example diapers and toys) and are bought for the child by the parents with good intentions and secondly, marketing a wide variety of items to a child so that the child brings the thing to the parents' attention. Thomas discusses how marketing 'educational' toys has been a massive success even though studies have revealed that there is no actual gain from using toys labelled as educational, on the contrary, there are suggestions that flashing toys and being constantly exposed to different medias might even lead to cognitive problems (Thomas 2007: 11-12). It is a great example of how marketing something to children is actually marketing something to the parents.

Advertising targeted specifically to children is at times a topic approached in quite populistic ways. For example, in her book, psychologist Susan Linn launches an attack on Northern American advertising aimed at children. She "goes undercover" attending a conference on marketing to children, revealing how there is no ethical discussion involved (Linn 2005: 11-30). The last chapter on her book is dedicated to

giving practical advice on how to protect children from advertising, aiming her advice to parents, foundations and professionals that work with children (Linn 2005: 195-219). Even if one did not take a moral stand and go on a crusade against advertising to children, it should be recognised that children are indisputably influenced by advertising. For example, children are not able to tell the difference between a TV-programme and an advertisement until the age of five (Muehling and Kolbe 1999: 143, John 1999: 5-7, Jennings and Wartela 2007: 161). Another example of children being affected by advertising is brand recognition. Children in kindergarten can already identify brands of adult and children products (Hackley 2010: 238) and by the age of two children are able to ask for specific brands (Thomas 2007: 5). If these findings are combined with Berger's (2011) claim that we see brands as part of ourselves, it is unarguable that advertising and children should indeed be a significant and important object of study.

In addition to the concerns of children being affected and childhood being threatened by advertising, there is a concern for society to take responsibility for the growing future consumers. Children are exposed to consumerism and advertising from a young age: the process of becoming a consumer begins early on. Gunter and Furnham emphasize the role of the parents, suggesting that consumer education should be directed at parents since the parents' example as a consumer is the most influential for the child (Gunter and Furnham 1998: 15-34). On the other hand, Hackley, although admitting that children are in fact affected by advertising, questions whether being exposed to advertising is one aspect of growing up into a consumer and thus should not be banned from children (2010: 238).

Furthermore, the themes of innocence that have been associated with the idea of childhood in the Western cultures are a powerful selling mechanism in advertising. Innocence is almost an obsession, and innocence sells. Faulkner, for example, speaks of "trading on childhood innocence to sell commodities" (Faulkner 2011: 137), Holland argues for "the loss of innocence and of childishness itself" (Holland 2004: 20) and Vänskä claims that by choosing to use a child in an advertisement a company can be assured to catch the eye of the reader (Vänskä 2012: 75). The innocence of

childhood is most often understood to be the opposite of sexuality. There are concerns not only for our media filled modern time "ruining" this innocence with sexually loaded content but also for the sexualisation of children themselves in advertising. Merskin calls this a 'Lolita-effect' and debates over the problematics of children posing in questionable ways possibly being linked with paedophilia: "Similar to content that is regarded as "kiddie porn," sexualized images of girls in advertisements have the potential to contribute to the ongoing and increasing problem of child sexual abuse" (Merskin 2004).

As a summary, children and childhood is frequently seen as something that needs to be protected from advertising. Since the aim of this study is to examine how advertisements represent children, my analysis does not add anything to this specific discussion. On the other hand, as advertising is considered to such an influential part of our culture and society, all the more essential and important it is to study all aspects of it.

2.3 CHILDREN IN ADVERTISEMENTS

The number of studies about how children are visually represented in advertisements aimed at an adult audience that I was able to locate was sparse. There have been, however, numerous studies of how children are represented in advertisements aimed at children. The studies that had similar aim of the present study had their own limitations. In this chapter, these studies will be presented.

In advertisements aimed at children, the representation of a child is quite stereotypical in terms of gender, especially when advertising toys. In advertisements of toys for boys, the boys were represented as active, noisy and even wild, whereas in advertisements of toys for girls the girls were quieter, the actions were slow paced and the general atmosphere was softer. Moreover, in the settings of the advertisements boys tend to be outside, 'adventuring', whereas girls are at home 'nurturing' (Jennings and Wartela 2007: 157-160, Smith 1994, Strasburger, Wilson and Jordan 2009: 49-53, Walsh and Ward 2008: 149-151).

Two studies worth mentioning were a content analysis by Hood, Heinzerling, Chandler and Hausknecht (1995) and an analysis by O'Dell (2008). The analysis by Hood et al. examined advertisements with children on them from 1953 through 1988. However, their study methods were highly quantitative and focused on aspects such as the gender and the ethnical backgrounds of the children. The results of how children are visually represented were narrowed down to only two aspects: what activities children were doing and what products or services were being promoted. How children in fact looked like was merely reviewed by whether the child was represented as a 'miniature adult' or as 'decorative prop'. Moreover, they did not focus on how the images themselves were designed. On the other hand, the analysis by O'Dell focused mostly on the texts found in the advertisements and not on the visual images. Additionally, the analysed advertisements were a series of charity advertisements for a foundation helping the victims of child abuse resulting in the profile of a child based on just one advertising campaign. The focus of O'Dell's study was also on how the negative representations of children, representing the children as damaged, can affect the abuse victims even at an adult age, instead of concentrating on the visual designs of the advertisements. In the present study the aim is to create on one hand, a more versatile, and on the other hand, a more comprehensive picture of how children are visually represented than in the two studies discussed in this paragraph.

The most versatile research on the topic of children in advertisements located was a study of fashion advertisements by Vänskä (2012). The themes of innocence that were touched upon in Chapter 2.2 are also one of the main topics in Vänskä's study. She studies the representations of children and symbolic childhood in fashion advertisements. Her study covers various topics such as heteronormativity (166-169), colours and activities associated with girls (pink, being passive) and with boys (blue, active doers) (93-104) and queer trends (181-203). She accomplishes to create a richly detailed and versatile image of how children are represented in fashion advertisements with example advertisements from the 1970's to 2010. However, even though Vänskä claims that her research data consisting of fashion advertisements can

be seen to represent the values and views of our time (Vänskä 2012: 23), it can be argued that her data sets limitations to her interpretations. The advertisements that she has included in her study as examples include highly provocative which are more or less characteristic to high-end fashion, and all the advertisements are targeted at a distinct audience (readers of fashion magazines). The image of childhood and children surely reflects the choice of source material.

In conclusion, the previous studies of children and childhood in advertisements had either quite different research material or different approaches and focuses than in the present study. Moreover, the research material of this study is mostly more recent than in the other studies and thus reflects the culture and society of today more closely. As the aim of this study is to describe the representations of children more in the terms of structure than, for example, to review implications of representations contributing to the self-images of children, or to discuss the sexualisation of childhood or the loss of innocence, this study has additional contribution to the topic.

2.4 KRESS AND VAN LEEUWEN'S GRAMMAR OF VISUAL DESIGN

Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* was first published in 1996. The second edition, which this study largely builds on, was released in 2006 and a third edition is supposedly published in year 2017. Their aim was, as the title announces, to create a systematic grammar of visual design and to demonstrate how meanings are created through visual traditions and regularities in the image composing in the Western social contexts. In other words, they explain how for example colour, perspective, framing and composition communicate meaning in images.

One of the main arguments presented is that there has been a "semiotic revolution" where the preference has shifted to communicating ideas in new complex visual ways instead of for example expressing things iconically (i.e. "as they are", for example in portraits and graphically unaltered photos). Images have become more coded and they are used in the propagandistic purpose. In other words, there has been "a shift

from uncoded naturalistic representations to stylised, conceptual images which can be seen for example on the covers of magazines" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 29-30). Moreover, the prestige of written text has diminished whereas communicating through images has become increasingly more acceptable, and in some instances even more valued than written texts, like in scientific texts – an image can explain and illustrate. In other words, the semiotic mode of writing is challenged, or even threatened, by visual modes. Therefore, there is a demand for visual literacy and visual theories such as Kress and van Leeuwen's 'Visual Grammar' – it benefits the designers, the readers and the researchers of images.

Kress and van Leeuwen's theory builds greatly on social semiotics, in other words, how meanings are created and communicated in a society that shares mutual codes. They call this the semiotic landscape. The semiotic landscape is characterised, on the one hand, by the range of forms or modes of public communication available in a society and, on the other hand, by the uses and valuations of those forms or modes (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 35). Furthermore, from this follows that signs are never arbitrary but are motivated by intentions of the creators of signs.

There are some main categories in their Visual Grammar that will be made use of in this study. These categories are: firstly, narrative and conceptual representations, secondly, representation and interaction, thirdly, composition, and finally, materiality and colour. Narrative and conceptual representations refer to deciding whether an image is 'telling a story' or 'presenting a thing'. Representation and interaction are about how a viewer of an image relates to the content of the image. Composition includes the participants in an image and how those participants relate to each other. Materiality and colour explain how different choices between material and colour options can convey different meanings. The following section will be dedicated to discussing and explaining these categories in detail. It is to be noted that as images are considered to be texts containing meanings in this study, the viewer and reader of an image refer to the same thing: a person looking at an image.

2.4.1 Narrative and Conceptual Representations

All images or visual structures are either narrative or conceptual representations. If an image is depicting an event or an action it is a narrative representation, whereas in a conceptual representation the participants are presented as static and timeless in terms of class, structure or meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 59, 79).

In **narrative representations** the actions or events are created by vectors, oblique lines. A vector can be for example a gaze, a gesture, a posture, an arrow, an abstract form – anything that points to a direction and forms an oblique line. Kress and van Leeuwen have described different kind of narrative processes based on vectors in images and of these, two types of processes are relevant for this study: **Action process** and **Reactional process**. **Action process** can be further divided into transactional and non-transactional processes**.** In a transactional structure the vector is originated from a participant called the **Actor** and it is pointing to another participant called the **Goal**. An image can also be bidirectional if there are two Actors that act simultaneously as Goals, for example two persons pointing at each other (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 63-64). If the vector is missing a Goal, for example the Actor is forming a vector by pointing at a thing not shown in the image, it is called a non-transactional structure (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 63). In Reactional processes the vector is formed by an eye line, by gaze. The person (or something with eyelike things) looking at something is called the **Reacter** and the object of the gaze is called the **Phenomena**. A reactional process can also be divided into transactional or non-transactional ones: if both the Reacter and Phenomena are present, the image is a transactional one and if the Phenomena is absent from the picture, it is a non-transactional one (ibid: 67). Similarly, if there are two Reacters gazing at each other, the picture is bidirectional.

Conceptual representations can be divided into **Classification**, **Analytical** and **Symbolic** processes (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 79-110). Classification processes aim to display how different elements are related to each other. The relation between different elements can be equal, which is called **covert taxonomy**. In pictures with covert taxonomy, all the elements are equally divided in a picture both horizontally and vertically. If just one element is above other elements, it is called the

superordinate and other elements are its **subordinates**. This is called a **single-levelled taxonomy**. If there are subordinates that have subordinates of their own, in other words there are elements also beneath them, the structure is called a **multi-levelled overt taxonomy**. An element that acts both as a subordinate and as a superordinate can be referred to as an **interordinate**. (Ibid.: 79-87)

Analytical processes, on the other hand, display an image as a **part-whole structure**. There is a **Carrier**, that is the 'whole', and other complimentary elements called **Possessive Attributes**, that are the 'parts' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 87) For example, blueprints have this part-whole structure. A blueprint of a house represents the whole house – the Carrier – with its different rooms, floors, walls and so on – the Possessive Attributes, the parts of the house. If the Carrier is missing, the process is called **unstructured** (ibid: 92-94).

According to Kress and van Leeuwen, symbolic processes have either a **Carrier** with **Symbolic Attributes** -structure or they are **Symbolic Suggestive**. Symbolic Attributes include elements that are obviously symbolic, even though symbolic elements are not naturally always obvious (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 105). The items and objects that are considered to be symbolic depend greatly on a culture. For example, in Christian societies the fish symbol can refer to Jesus, which is a completely irrational connection if one is not familiar with the lore of the Christian religion. Another feature that is characteristic to a Symbolic Attribute is that it is salient and therefore an unmissable element. A Symbolic Attribute can also be made more prominent by it being pointed at by other elements in a way that has no other purpose than to point out and emphasize the Symbolic Attribute. The Symbolic Attribute might just stand out by being completely out of place in the whole, being an unconventional element in its setting. If a human is represented as a Symbolic Attribute, s/he is presented in a way that s/he seems to be doing nothing but 'just being' and to be looked at by the reader. In **Symbolic Suggestive Processes**, on the other hand, only the Carrier is displayed and they emphasize a 'mood' or 'atmosphere' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 105-107). They cannot be analytical and do not have attributes since the details

have been embedded by, for example, using a colour scheme that makes the whole image blurred and the details blend into the image.

It is to be noted that different kinds of processes may occur simultaneously in a single image. Different participants in an image may form different kinds of structures and play more roles than one within one single image. Kress and van Leeuwen point out that there might be 'major' and 'minor' processes in a single image, where these different processes might be, for example, both analytical and narrative in their part, creating major and minor messages (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:107, 109).

2.4.2 Representation and Interaction

Meanings in an image are created also by how the reader of an image relates to the image. Even though the relationship between the creator and the reader of an image might remain vague, there is always a relationship between the reader of an image and the represented object in an image, and the reader interacts with the represented object. This interaction is realized through different methods: an image can be either a demand or an offer image, choosing between different sizes of frames, and the images carrying a certain attitude. How these different methods are carried out and how they affect the relationship between the represented object and the reader is discussed next.

The keyword for demand and offer images is contact: what kind of a contact is created between the reader of an image and the represented participant. In order to an image to be a **demand** image the represented object looks directly at the reader of an image – there is a demand for connection between the reader and the represented object by the gaze (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 117-127)). It is important to note that the represented object has to have eyes (or eyelike things e.g. lightbulb eyes of a robot) to actually perform a gaze. Conversely, in an **offer** image, the represented object in an image does not look at the reader of an image – the represented object offers instead himself or herself to be looked at, reviewed and scrutinized, and allows the reader do it freely (ibid: 119-127). The object's gaze is averted from the reader or there is no gaze

at all (e.g. eyes shut or covered). In other words, the difference between demand and offer images is if the represented participant requires a contact with the reader.

The way how an image is framed plays with different social distances and thereby also affects how the reader of an image relates to the represented object in an image. To put it briefly, the size of the frame means that there is a choice to be made between a **close-up** (the person's shoulders and face are shown, also an extreme close-up, big close-up: only the face is visible), a **medium shot** (medium close shot: the person is cut around the waist, medium shot: at the knees) or a **long shot** (medium long shot: shows the whole human, in a long shot the human covers about half the height of the frame, very long shot: the human body covers less than half of the frame) (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 124-129). These different distances of photo shooting follow the rules of everyday interaction and, more precisely, social distances that people keep from each other. Furthermore, these distances are based on the social relationships between people (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 124-125.) If two persons are standing so close to each other that they can touch, this implies an intimate relationship between the persons. This is called a **close personal/intimate distance.** From this close, the persons can only see each other's faces and perhaps shoulders. At **far personal distance,** persons can reach out and touch each other's fingers and hold conversation about personal topics. Persons see each other from the waist up. If persons are standing slightly farther from each other than in far personal distance, they are at **close social distance.** Discussion topics are impersonal and persons can see each other's whole figures. At **far social distance** discussion topics are formal and impersonal, persons can see the full figures of each other and also the setting around each other. Lastly, **public distance** is a distance kept between people that are strangers to each other and have no exchange with each other and a person can see the full figures of several other persons (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 124-125) In other words, the closer a represented participant is brought to the reader of an image by framing, the shorter is the social distance created by it, and the more intimate relationship between the reader and the represented participant is intended.

By attitude, Kress and van Leeuwen refer to a perspective that is created by choosing a point of view horizontally and vertically. If the represented participant is pictured or photographed horizontally from a **frontal angle**, it invites the reader to be involved. On the other hand, an **oblique angle** aims to create a feeling of detachment between the reader and the represented participant. Furthermore, different power positions can be created with different vertical angles. If the reader's point of view is from a **high angle,** this puts the viewer in a power position whereas a **low angle** does the opposite, the viewer or the represented participant seems to be looking down on the other one. In the same way, equality or neutral power positions are formed by an eye-level viewing angle. (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 133-143)

As a summary, the contact between the viewer and the represented participant is defined by an eye contact, the social distance by the size of frame, and the attitude by the point of view. All of these three, contact, social distance and attitude, do not exclude each other but, on the contrary, coexist.

2.4.3 Composition of the Image

In addition to the relations between represented participants (people, places etc.) in an image and the relations between images and their viewers, the composition of the whole image plays an important part. The composition of the whole deals with elements such as how all the represented participants in an image are related to each other, where they are positioned in the image and which of the participants are most noticeable ones and so on. Moreover, the composition of the whole can be divided into three categories: information value, salience and framing. These three categories will be explained next.

Information value refers to the placement of elements and how the different placements carry different informational values, in other words, left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin. These placements are depended on the reading pattern of a Western reader: from left to right. **Left and right positions** are connected with **given** and **new** information with the given/familiar information on the left side of the

composition and the new/key information on the right side (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:180). The **ideal** information is usually situated on the **top** and the **real** information at the **bottom position** (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 186). If **centre and margin** positioning is used, the centre is the place of independent, nuclear information, on which the information positioned in the margins is depended, and gives additional information of the centre information. This is called centred positioning (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 196). If there is no centre, the picture's composition is called polarized. A visual image can form combinations of these placements at the same time. All in all, the positioning of an element in an image affects the information value of the element in relation to other elements and their respective positioning (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 179-201).

The salience of an element makes the element stand out or blend into the background in an image. As the elements in an image are related to each other, the viewer of an image evaluates the importance of each element and thereby judges their salience. This is done intuitively and cannot be objectively measured. Examples of how an element's salience can be heightened or lowered are by the **use of colours, sharpness of focus, by its size or placement in the image** (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 202).

Framing in a visual image relates to how the elements in the picture are yet again connected or separated from each other. An obvious separating method is the usage of blank spaces or other visual frames between elements, whereas if there are no visual gaps between the elements but they are joined, connected to each other as one, they send a message of unity (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 203). In other words, different elements in an image can be either connected of disconnected from each other. Uniting, in terms of framing, can also be realised through repeating the same shape or colour in different elements in an image. This, again, makes the elements seem more united or connected to each other.

Information value, salience and framing naturally overlap and coexist in images. They are based on the Western tradition on the one hand, and rely on the interpretation of the reader on the other. As Kress and van Leeuwen point out, there are at times no means to predict how an image will be read, for example, from left to right, or by a

wandering gaze, since images are not read like linear written texts (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 204-208). However, since the material of this study consists of advertisements created for the Western audience, the regularities presented in this chapter will be considered effective tools for the analysis.

2.4.4 Material and Colour

Colours and materials naturally mean something, but there is much dispute over what they mean. There is no right answer. Colours and materials have meanings and occasionally also symbolic values that vary between social and historical contexts and cultures (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 217 and 227). For example, white can be the colour of one's wedding dress or a funeral shroud. The sayings "nerves of steel" or a "heart of gold" reveal how these materials are interpreted in our society: steel is durable and hard, gold is rare and desirable. Meaning-making with material will be discussed in detail first in the following paragraphs, followed by the discussion on colour.

In meaning-making with a material, one refers to either the material itself or to material production (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 215). Different materials have different 'meanings', different connotations: some materials are experienced to be prestigious, for example precious metals; some materials cheap, such as plastics; some others modern, for example glass and steel in architecture, and so on. In advertising the material production can be, for example, a radio advertisement, a TV commercial, a pop-up window on a webpage, a printed advertisement in a newspaper, email marketing etc. Different forms of the same advertisement are received and interpreted in different ways.

Kress and van Leeuwen claim that colour can be used in two different levels in creating meanings. Firstly, there is a choice to be made between different colours carrying associations and symbolic values that vary in different sociocultural contexts. Secondly, there is variation between different features of colour. Kress and van Leeuwen call these *distinctive features* (2006: 233). In other words, in making meaning

with a colour, one chooses not only the colour but also a way how to use the colour. The 'how to use' is explained by different scales, which are value, saturation, purity, modulation, differentiation and hue.

Value is the grey scale: the scale from the maximum light or white to the maximum dark or black. (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 233)

Saturation is the scale from the most intensely saturated to its softest to complete desaturation. The most intensely saturated colours are pure colours; softer saturations include pale and pastel colour variations, and completely desaturated colours are black and white. Associations play a key role in how different saturations are experienced. To some people, intensely saturated colours may mean vibrant, lively colours while to others they may come across as vulgar or childish. Accordingly, softer saturations can be interpreted either elegant or dull. (Ibid.: 233)

Purity is the scale from purity to hybridity. Pure colours are considered to be colours that can be labelled with just one word, such as blue, green or brown, whereas hybrid colours are mixtures of 'pure colours', in other words blue-green aka cyan. (Ibid.: 234)

Modulation is the scale where at one end there is a flat colour and on the other end a fully modulated colour. A flat colour presents only one colour in only one shade, and can be found for example in children's books and comic strips. A modulated colour imitates how the colour is seen 'in real life', how the angle of an object, the lighting etc. affects how an object and its colour is observed. In other words, flat colours are abstract colours whereas modulated colours are naturalistic colours. (Ibid.: 234)

Differentiation is the scale from monochrome to using a full palette of different colours. (Ibid: 234-235)

Hue is the scale from blue to red. It refers to how the overall tone of an image is, ranging from cold tones to warm ones. These tones create the contrasts between transparent/opaque, sedative/stimulant, rare/dense, airy/earthy, far/near, light/heavy and wet/dry. (Ibid.: 235)

All in all, besides all of the numerous examples and ways to use a material and colour presented above, it is important to note that material, material production, colour and different features of colour are all made and used by individuals living in their own societies. Thus, the meanings that the creators of signs wish to create cannot easily be predicted and neither can the ways in which the signs are received and interpreted. As stated in the first paragraph of this chapter, there is no right answer.

3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, there are two parts. In the first part the aims and research questions will be introduced. In the second part the discussion will continue to explaining how and where the data for the analysis were collected.

3.1 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study is to try to find a comprehensive way how children are represented visually in advertisements aimed at an adult audience. The presumption is that there is a certain way in which children are represented. There might be roles that are applied to children, assigned places inside advertisements, recurring advertisement topics and so on. Moreover, there is an additional presumption that these ways, roles, etc. have undergone changes throughout the years.

In other words, the research questions in this study are:

> 1) How are children visually represented in advertisements?

> 2) Has the way children are represented in advertisements changed between years 1994, 2004 and 2014?

In order to answer the first research questions, the material of this study will be methodologically examined by applying Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar of visual design that was introduced in Section 2.4. Moreover, the Visual Grammar will be used

to create a categorisation system of my own. These categories will be introduced in Section 3.3.2.

The second research question will be answered firstly, by utilising the findings of the first research question and secondly, by looking into the topics and marketed products of the advertisements.

All in all, the aim of this study is to create a more versatile profile than in the previous studies and, in a way, contribute to the profiles that others have already created.

3.2 DATA SELECTION AND COLLECTION: *TIME* MAGAZINE

As the purpose of this study is to look into children in advertisements to create a comprehensive idea of how children are represented visually in them, I decided to use *Time* Magazine as a primary source. *Time* Magazine was created "so that 'busy men' could stay informed" and it summarised news of the world until 1930s when it started to produce its own news articles. (History of TIME [online]). The articles in *Time* Magazine cover national and international news and reflect the society in which the advertisements have been published. The magazine's cover picture choices and the annual Person of the Year nominations have at times received criticism and debate but overall *Time* Magazine is commonly regarded as a respectful and trustworthy news publisher and it represents prestige media. In short, it can be argued that *Time* Magazine is one of the most established publications of the, and thus a valid source for this thesis.

The advertisements for this study were taken from *Time* Magazine's International EMEA version also known as Atlantic Overseas edition, from the volumes printed in Amsterdam, published in 1994, 2004 and 2014. The selection of these specific volumes was motivated by two matters: firstly, by the aim of achieving a representation of Western culture in which it is possible to apply Visual Grammar, and secondly, by the question of accessibility. Moreover, as the purpose of this study is also to find out if the ways how children are used in advertisements has changed throughout the years,

these three different volumes with a ten-year publication gap between them were chosen. Additionally, *Time* Magazine has been published since year 1923 (History of TIME [online]) and has over 21 million readers worldwide; in addition to the original United States edition there are the European, Asian and South Pacific editions (TIME Media Kit [online]). As it can be argued that *Time* is a well-established magazine and since these issues were easy to gain access to, it was deemed a sensible decision to use them as a primary source.

The magazines that were examined were printed issues instead of online versions, since the digital version available online included only few of the advertisements found in the printed ones. The issues were collected from Jyväskylä University Library's archives and the advertisements were scanned to a digital format from them. Since the printed versions granted an access to the advertisements, the possibility of a page gone missing from an issue or even a whole issue having vanished had to be accepted. Overall, the magazines where in an adequate condition. Moreover, since the aim of this study is to describe the contents of the advertisements, and not to produce statistically significant data, it was deemed a valid decision. Table 1 below summarises the missing issues and their numbers (i.e. the running number of the missing issue, not how many individual issues were missing), the number of double-issues (in a few instances *Time* was published only every other week with a double-issue) and the total number of issues in each volume.

Table 1 Summary of source material

Volume	The number of the missing issue	Number of double-issues	Total number of available issues
1994	28	0	51
2004	9, 10, 40	1	47
2014	32	6	46

It was not known at this point of the present study that I would not be able to add the scanned advertisements as an Appendix due to copyright limitations. The reader of this study might have benefitted from having the option to have a look at the advertisements but on the other hand, since the analysis of the advertisements does

not focus on describing each individual advertisement in detail, the absence of the advertisements is tolerable. The reader of the present study can find a comprehensive list of the advertisements in the Bibliography. With the list, the advertisements can be located from the magazines.

It is to be noted that if the same advertisement appeared more than once in the same magazine or in the same volume it was counted only once. The same principle was applied if the same advertisement appeared in a different size or in a form modified in any other way (for example in black and white instead of in colour). The version that I evaluated to be the most expensive version of the advertisement, was judged out to be the original and intended version and was chosen to be analysed. The reason for this was to ignore the effect of different advertisers' purchase power (i.e. to purchase expensive advertising space). In addition, since the aim was not to find out how much advertising space overall is occupied by advertisements with children on them, but to find examples of advertisements with children and to discover how many such individual advertisements were created to be published within a year, counting a different form of the same advertisement was not sensible. Following the same motive, the advertisements with other represented objects or themes (for example women, the advertised object itself etc.) were not counted, nor was the total number of any kind of advertisements in a volume calculated.

The status of *Time* characterises the advertisements published in it and creates both pros and cons for this study. Firstly, there is the audience of *Time* that creates some limitations to the advertisements. The readers of *Time* are 62% men and 38% women according to the TIME EMEA Reader Profile. 61% of the readers have received an upper education, the average annual household income of the readers is 67,241 euros and the median age is 45 (TIME Media Kit [online]). In other words, when creating an advertisement, an advertiser must have considered the targeted audience; thus the analysed advertisements in this study are generally aimed at the average reader of *Time* Magazine: male, in early middle age, educated and wealthy. On the other hand, it is rather expensive to publish an advertisement in *Time* and it argues for a more widespread audience. For example, in 2017 a full-page run-of-book advertisement in

black and white costs 238,300 U.S. dollars and 366,600 U.S. dollars in colour in the U.S. National Edition (TIME Media Kit [online]). As it is expensive to advertise in *Time,* and creating an advertising campaign is a costly investment, it implies a high probability that these advertisements have been published in other media as well, since the company or fund that ordered the advertisement must be reasonably wealthy and own the resources to do it. In other words, it is likely that these advertisements have been rotated for a larger audience than the readers of *Time* and therefore the outcome of analysing them provides a broader knowledge of advertising in Western societies than just how advertising is in *Time*.

To sum up, *Time* Magazine is a good source to represent the Western society, which is a prerequisite for a material source for the type of analysis that is carried out in this study. Even if the reader profile of *Time* is that of a middle-aged, wealthy male, the cost of advertising in *Time* and the circulation of tens of millions speak for a wider audience. In addition, the audience of these advertisements is a markedly adult one, so it serves the aim of wanting to find out how children are visually represented in advertisements that are not aimed at children.

3.3 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In order to answer the research questions, the analysis is divided into three parts: firstly, there is a discussion of how children are represented in advertisements, secondly, the discussion moves on to explain the findings through Types, and thirdly, the focus is on finding out whether there have been changes throughout the years, either in the Types or in the advertisements in more general terms. The method applied to the first two parts of the analysis is a qualitative content analysis and in the latter part, the method utilised more traditional content analysis. The latter part of the analysis takes advantage of the results gained from the first part. Next it is first explained what a qualitative content analysis is, and secondly a short description follows of how the Types were formed.

3.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

The qualitative content analysis is a method that enables to create a systematic description of data by creating a coding frame. The coding frame is created by assigning segments of the research data to the categories of the coding frame, the coding frame belonging "therefore at the heart of the method" (Schreier 2012: 58). It was decided to be the most useful method for this study firstly, because it reduces the data by focusing on certain, predetermined aspects and, secondly, by reducing the data it enables not only to get a comprehensive idea of this many examples of data but also to examine and describe this amount of material. In other words, it allows a qualitative way to describe a large material base. Moreover, as the purpose of this study is to describe how children are represented in advertisements, not to for example discuss ethics of advertising with children or to examine possible deeper meanings hidden in the images, as is common in more traditional semiotic research, this method was decided to be the most appropriate.

The coding frame of this study is both concept- and data-driven (Schreier 2012: 85 and 87- 90), or, in other words, the coding frame is created working both deductively and inductively (Schreier 2012: 85, 87, Mayring 2000). Concept-driven categories for the coding frame were taken directly from Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar. The data-driven categories, on the other hand, were adapted from Kress and van Leeuwen, but they arose from the material of this study. These data-driven categories are termed Types and will be introduced in Section 3.3.2.

By applying the coding frame to the material results in numeric data, which makes this study also a quantitative one. As stated by Byrne (2016), quantitative research generates numerical data and/or statistics that can be used to generalise results from a sample data. In this study, the numeric data enables discussion and comparison, firstly of all the data, secondly, between the Types and, finally, between the different volumes. However, as the results of the coding frame and the analysis will create semiotic interpretations and meanings based on the Visual Grammar by Kress and van Leeuwen, this study is considered to be both a qualitative and quantitative one.

3.3.2 Introducing the Different Types

As stated in the previous section, building a coding frame requires forming categories so that the material can be divided and thereby diminished into a smaller amount of material, which is easier to handle and discuss. Moreover, it is necessary to define and clarify exactly what these categories are, in order to make the categories plausible and even potentially repeatable by another user of the same coding frame other than the creator of the coding frame himself/herself. This section will focus on discussing how the category of different Types was formed.

After the division of the advertisements into three main groups, all groups were further divided into four subcategories. These four subcategories were formed by taking a closer, yet a preliminary look into the advertisements and their apparent themes and contents, in other words themes that did not request a deeper analysis. These themes and contents were decided to be called Types. The Types were labelled as follows: Demanding type, Active type, Object type and Background type. These Types were derived and adapted from Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar and follow the Visual Grammar's concepts and ideas, but are not directly taken from Kress and van Leeuwen's theory. In other words, Kress and van Leeuwen do not have similar typing of images but these types were created by myself. These Types are one basis of my coding frame and thus need to be carefully explained.

In the Demanding type category, the child is requesting a contact with the reader with a noticeable eye-contact. This Type follows Kress and van Leeuwen's definition of a 'demand image', where an eye contact creates a relationship between the reader of the image and the represented person through direct "visual form of direct address" and "image act" as in the image being used to do something to the reader of the image, here: demanding a relationship with the reader (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 117-118). Otherwise the represented child appears to be passive, despite the outstanding request for eye-contact. In other words, the structure of these Types of advertisements

was of conceptual representations instead of narrative ones (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 45-113).

The Active type represents the child doing something to someone or with someone. The Object type is the opposite of the Active type – the child is either the object of the reader's gaze or the object to someone other's action in the advertisement. Both the Active and Object types are formed by how representation and interaction are realized in an image, more precisely by how and where vectors can be found from an image: if the vectors emanate from the child or vice versa: if the vectors point at the child. These, Active and Object types are based on narrative processes (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 45-78).

In the Background type, the child either blends into the advertisement almost completely and is difficult even to point out or is playing the part of a statist. The Background type is mostly based on the rules of the composition of the whole, which includes information value, salience and framing (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 175-210). In a Background type of an advertisement, the child is in a position that is of less value and/or the child is less salient. At times, the child is framed out of the advertisement's main message and thereby the child is left to the background. The number of each type of advertisements is presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2 The number of advertisements by types

Volume	Demanding	Active	Object	Background	total
1994	5	5	5	4	19
2004	9	5	11	12	37
2014	6	1	12	5	24
total	20	11	28	21	80

As seen from Table 2 above, of all the advertisements 28 were Object type, 21 Background type, 20 Demanding type, and 11 Active type. There was some variation between different volumes, for example there was only one Active type advertisement

in year 2014, whereas in the other volumes there were five examples in both the volumes. A further and more detailed discussion of these findings can be found later in the main analysis, both in Section 4.2 focusing on the analysis of the Types, and later in Section 4.3.2 comparing the differences between the volumes.

4. THE ANALYSIS

The analysis is divided into four parts. In the first part the focus is on presenting how the analysis procedure was carried out. The second part discusses the results gained from the spreadsheets, creating a general representation of a child in advertisements. In the third part the focus is on the Types presented in the previous methodology section 3.3.2, and what is characteristic of them. Finally, in the fourth part, there is a comparison between the three different volumes, in other words, a comparison between the publication years. The comparison in the fourth part will be firstly carried out by looking into the topics of the advertisements, and secondly, by the frequency of the four different Types.

4.1 ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

In this section, the discussion will outline how the analysis procedure was carried out. There are eight steps in a qualitative content analysis that are usually followed. These steps are (Schreier 2012: 6, 2014: 174):

1. Deciding on a research question

2. Selecting material

3. Building a coding frame

4. Dividing the material into units of coding/Segmentation

5. Trial coding

6. Evaluating and modifying the coding frame

7. Main analysis

8. Interpreting and presenting the findings

The first two steps have already been discussed in Sections 3.1 and 3.2: deciding on the research question and selecting the material. The focus in this section is firstly on the segmentation of the advertisements, which will be briefly explained. Then the focus will move on to discuss how the coding frame was created, what the basis of my coding frame was and how the coding frame was tested. The main analysis and discussion of the findings will follow later in the study in Sections 4.2 - 4.4 and in Chapter 5.

As the material of this study was images instead of literary or verbal data, the segmentation was easy to decide on: each image (advertisement) was a unit of its own and no further segmentation was ruled to be necessary or even plausible. In other words, the units of the analysis in this study were the advertisements themselves. However, the advertisements were divided into three main groups according to the year of publication: 1994, 2004 and 2014 in order to reveal the characteristic features of each year and to enable comparison between the publication years. The number of the advertisements with children in them was 19 in 1994, in 2004 the number was 37

and in 2014 it was 24. The difference in the number of advertisements is not significant between the volumes of 1994 and 2014, but the volume of 2004 had nearly twice as many advertisements compared with 1994 and also about 50% more compared with 2014. Altogether there were 80 individual advertisements with a child representation.

In order to get a comprehensive idea of so many advertisements, a coding frame with three separate spreadsheets were created following Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar: Spreadsheet 1.1, Spreadsheet 1.2 and Spreadsheet 1.3. Spreadsheet 1.1 concentrates on representation and interaction, Spreadsheet 1.2 on narrative and conceptual representations and Spreadsheet 1.3 on materiality and colour. To compare the features that might become exposed after having used the coding frame, a column with the different Types was included in each spreadsheet. These Types were introduced in the previous Section 3.3.2. Each advertisement was named with a combination of the year when it was published and a running number. If the advertisement was spread onto several pages, for example advertisement 2004.01.1-01.3, it was entered to the spreadsheet as one advertisement. After the trial coding, Spreadsheets 1.1 and 1.2 were deemed appropriate, whereas Spreadsheet 1.3 about material and colour was decided to be opted out from the focus of this research after serious contemplation. The systematic examination of these elements, including features such as hue, purity and value of colour, would have required not only an unreasonable amount of time but also professional equipment which was not easily accessible. Therefore, they were ruled to be outside the scope of this thesis work. The creation and use of Spreadsheet 1.1 will be explained next and then the discussion will move on to handle Spreadsheet 1.2 similarly.

In Spreadsheet 1.1 the focus is on representation and interaction and how they were realized in each image. This was studied by considering whether an image was either a demand or an offer image (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 117-118, 119-20), how the image was framed (ibid: 124-129), from which angle it was photographed (ibid: 133-135, 140), and also what the position of the child or children was in the images (ibid: 176-210). Each advertisement was individually carefully inspected, inserted into Spreadsheet 1.1 and categorized accordingly. The decisions were made based on how

the child was situated in the whole advertisement, bearing in mind that the whole advertisement is a text containing meanings. In other words, not only the embedded image inside an advertisement was looked at, since the image is a part of the whole advertisement in a same way as is for example the advertisement's title or the advertised company's logo. Moreover, since the aim was to find out how children are used in advertisements, the rulings were made from the point of where and how the child was represented in the advertisements, not where and how other represented participants, for example an adult, were represented. Below, in Table 3, is an extract of Spreadsheet 1.1, the whole Spreadsheet can be found in the Appendices.

Table 3 Extract of Spreadsheet 1.1

Name	Year	Demand/Offer	Size of Frame	Horizontal angle	Vertical angle	Positioning	Type
1994.01	1994	Demand	Medium shot	Frontal	Low	Centre	Object
1994.02	1994	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Active
1994.03	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Active
1994.04	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Back ground
1994.05	1994	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Back ground
1994.06	1994	Offer	Close-up	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Object

The next aim was to determine what kind of narrative and conceptual representations could be interpreted from the advertisements, following Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar. The narrative process categories were: Transactional action, Non-transactional action, Bidirectional action, Transactional reactional, Non-transactional reactional and Bidirectional reactional (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 59-75). As explained in the theory section before, the first three categories refer to an action that can be revealed by looking at the vectors present in an image, and the latter three are about someone/something forming a gaze. Moreover, there were four conceptual categories from Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar that were taken advantage of: Classification process, Analytical process, Carrier with symbolic attributes and

Symbolic suggestive (Ibid: 79-106). The first two categories are about how different objects in images are related to each other and about what parts contribute to forming the whole object. The latter two refer to how symbolic parts make the whole and how things are used symbolically. The aim was to find one category for each advertisement, but as the analysis progressed, it became clear that at times it was impossible to find only one category. Therefore, if there was a strong overlapping of two different categories, the advertisement was ruled to be a combination of the two. Below, in Table 4, is an extract of Spreadsheet 1.2.

Table 4 Extract of Spreadsheet 1.2

Name	Year	Narrative process	Conceptual process	Type
1994.01	1994	Transactional action		Object
1994.02	1994		Symbolic suggestive	Active
1994.03	1994	Transactional action		Active
1994.04	1994	Transactional reactional		Background
1994.05	1994	Non-transactional action		Background
1994.06	1994	Transactional action		Object

After having completed these steps, the material was ready and organised for a deeper analysis and discussion.

4.2 THE TYPICAL CHILD REPRESENTATION

Inserting the data into spreadsheets enabled to rearrange and sort the data based on different criteria, such as year, name, different type and so on. The results are gathered into Tables 5 and 6 below. Firstly, there is an overview and discussion of findings regarding representation and interaction. Secondly, the discussion will present the overview of aspects relating to narrative and conceptual representations. These findings include all the advertisements. In other words, the aim of this section

is to present features that were most common in this data, and how children are represented throughout the whole material: to give a comprehensive idea of what is the typical child representation in an advertisement.

Table 5 Representation and Interaction, results; all volumes included

Representation and Interaction	Number	Percentage
Demand / Offer		
offer	57	71.3%
demand	23	28.8%
Size of frame		
extreme close-up	7	8.8%
close-up	20	25.0%
medium close shot	8	10%
medium shot	6	7.5%
medium long shot	13	16.3%
long shot	8	10.0%
very long shot	18	22.5%
Horizontal angle		
frontal shot	45	56.3%
oblique shot	35	43.8%
Vertical angle		
high angle shot	16	20.0%
neutral shot	60	75.0%
low angle shot	4	5.0%
Positioning		
bottom position	5	6.3%
centre position	15	18.8%
left position	19	23.8%
margin position	7	8.8%
right position	13	16.3%
top position	21	26.3%

Of all the advertisements, 28.8 percent were demand and 71.3 percent were offer images, which means that in most advertisements the child is there to be looked at, not requiring an eye contact with the reader, but leaves the reader alone to observe

the child. In other words, the represented child does not challenge the reader nor invite the reader into a relationship.

There was a large variation in how the child was framed in the advertisements. There were 7 extreme close-ups, 20 close-ups, 8 medium close shots, 6 medium shots, 13 medium long shots, 8 long shots and 18 very long shots. In short, almost half of the advertisements had either close-ups or very long shots of the child, which creates the opposite feelings of attachment between the reader and the represented child. In other words, when keeping in mind that the distances correlate with the social distances we keep from each other, the relationship between the reader and the child was aimed to be either intimate or distant. This is an interesting contradiction. It should not, however, be overlooked that the other sizes of frames were also quite frequently used and that all the different distances were present in the data.

The difference between frontal and oblique shots was not drastic: 35 were oblique shots and 45 frontal shots, in percentages 43.8% and 56.3%. The slight majority was photographed from the frontal angle, which means that the angle is not meant to alienate the reader from the child. A small number of advertisements were challenging to judge if the photograph angle was frontal or oblique, for example if there were several children in the advertisement with some facing the reader and others not. In these situations, the ruling was made based on the overall impression or by how the majority of the children were represented. In other words, if there was not a strong majority, but a general feeling of detachment or invitation to be sensed, the angle was decided to be an oblique or frontal accordingly.

The horizontal angle was judged based on if the photograph was taken from a high, neutral or low angle in relation to the child. Most were neutral shots, which means that the child was neither in the low nor in the high (power) position in relation to the reader. Overall, there were 60 neutral shots (75.0%), 16 high shots (20.0%) and 4 low shots (5.0%). It is noteworthy that a child was put into a power position only four times. Moreover, it can be argued that if a child is photographed or viewed by an adult the outcome is naturally a picture shot from a high angle and thus resulting in a high viewing angle, since an adult is taller than a child. The reason for using high angle

shots might then be that it is either desired to be the 'natural' looking image imitating 'real life' or a conscious decision to highlight the adult-child relationship. As explained in Section 3.2 introducing *Time* Magazine, the reader of *Time* is indeed most likely an adult. Following the same motive, if a child is shot from a neutral or low angle, the outcome might be more that of a staged and posed image, instead of a natural one.

The positioning of the child varied significantly. 21 were in the top position and 19 in the left position, which means that the child is most often in the place of ideal information or the given/familiar information. This suggests that children are represented as things that are either ideal or familiar to the reader, which is an interesting contradiction. On the other hand, this might reveal implications about the intended reader of a specific advertisement: perhaps the target audience for those advertisements with children in the position of familiar information are parents or on the same note: perhaps children in the ideal information position are those that aim to collect money for charity? However, there were 15 centre and 13 right positions, which indicates that they were almost as popular as top and left positions. The centre position is the place of nuclear and independent information and the right position is the place for new and key information. Also 7 margin and 5 bottom positions were used. The margin position is reserved for additional information relating to the information found in the centre of the picture. The bottom position represents real information. All in all, in the advertisements children were situated in all the possible positions, which argues for children being a versatile element in advertising. In other words, there was not just one indisputable conclusion that could be drawn from the positioning.

Table 6 Narrative and Conceptual representations, results; all volumes included

Narrative and Conceptual representations	Number	Percentage
Narrative representations		
Transactional action	10	12.5%
Non-transactional action	1	1.3%
Bidirectional action	3	3.8%
Transactional reactional	3	3.8%
Non-transactional reactional	1	1.3%
Bidirectional reactional	2	2.5%
Total	20	25.0%
Conceptual representations		
Classification process	2	2.5%
Analytical process	8	10.0%
Carrier with symbolic attributes	25	31.3%
Symbolic suggestive	6	7.5%
Total	41	51.3%
Combinations		
Transactional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	6	7.5%
Bidirectional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	3	3.8%
Transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	5	6.3%
Non-transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	4	5.0%
Non-transactional reactional + Symbolic suggestive	1	1.3%
Total	19	23.8%
All representations total	80	100.00%

A little over half (51.3%) of the advertisements had a Conceptual representation construction, whereas 25.0% had constructions of Narrative representations and 23.8% had a combinational structure. Structures with a Conceptual representation refer to structures where things are represented in a static manner, something that is frozen in time. Narrative representations, on the other hand, are structures that represent an action, a clear unfolding of an event. At times, it was impossible to classify an advertisement into just one category since there were two equally

important structures at play at the same time. Moreover, in other advertisements, there was clearly the main structure where the represented child was not involved, but the child was in a structure of its own. In these examples the advertisements were ruled out as having a combination structure.

The most common structure to use was a Carrier with symbolic attributes, with 25 examples. To be exact, 31.3% of the advertisements had this structure. Moreover, this same structure was found in different combinations 18 more times. If the combinations are added to the count, 53.9 percent of all advertisements had some level of part-whole structure with symbolic elements in them. In some advertisements, the child was the symbolic attribute to some other element (for example an adult) and in others the child was the Carrier.

The second most used structure was Transactional action, which means that in most of the advertisements the child (or someone else) was doing something to something or someone. 12.5% of the advertisements had this structure. In other words, the advertisements were representing a happening unfolding or an action with an Actor-Vector-Goal structure. Transactional action structures were combinations with the carrier with symbolic attributes structure in six more examples.

19, that is 23.8% of the advertisements, had qualities of two different categories intertwined. Since there was a strong overlapping, the advertisements were ruled to be a combination of the two and were not included in other categories in order to avoid double counting. This led to five combinations: Transactional action and Carrier with symbolic attributes, Bidirectional action and Carrier with symbolic attributes, Transactional reactional and Carrier with symbolic attributes, Non-transactional reactional and Carrier with symbolic attributes, and finally Non-transactional reactional and Symbolic suggestive. Of these, Transactional action combined with Carrier with symbolic attributes was the most popular one, representing an unfolding happening with an Actor-Vector-Goal structure combined with either the Actor or Goal with symbolic attributes.

As a summary, according to the data of this study, in a typical advertisement with a child representation, the structure is an offer image, a close-up, viewed from a vertically frontal and a horizontally neutral angle, and the placement of a representation of a child can be almost anything. In terms of the narrative, the most used structure was the carrier with symbolic attributes -construction. In other words, the aim in an average advertisement with a child representation is to create a feeling of a close relationship, so that the reader can feel familiarity with the represented child. The child does not challenge the reader, but is looking away. The viewing angle is neutral both horizontally and vertically, and depending on other features in the image, creates a feeling of familiarity or detachment. How the other, less popular choices of structure were used, are better clarified in Section 4.2 when the Types are explained and discussed.

4.3 ANALYSIS BY TYPES

After all the advertisements were inserted into the sheets presented in the methodology section it was possible to sort them out based on different criteria. In order to compare how representation and interaction as well as narrative and conceptual representations were realized in the types mentioned in the chapter introducing the different Types — the Demanding, Active, Object and Background types — the next step was to cross-examine the results with these different types. As explained in Section 3.3.2, 28 examples were deemed to be of the Object type, 21 of the Background type, 20 examples of the Demanding type, and 11 examples of the Active type. Since the different types were formed by taking a preliminary look into the advertisements, the aim of this cross-examination was to test out if the types had an adequate number of regularities and coherencies in order to be labelled as types of their own. The hypotheses of different types will be first explained and then the results will be reviewed and discussed.

4.3.1 The Demanding type

The presumption for the category of the Demanding type was that advertisements of this type would have the child looking at the reader of the image, demanding something from the reader. The assumption was, moreover, that most of the children would be framed in such a way that they would be seen from a close, even intimate distance, enforcing the feeling of a request. In narrative terms, the child would not be supposedly doing much, but, instead, the structure should be more of a part-whole one, for example these types of advertisements would have most likely conceptual representations over narrative ones.

The results for the Demanding type are presented in Tables 7 and 8 below.

Table 7 Realisations of Representation and Interaction in Demanding type advertisements, all volumes included

Demanding type		
Representation and Interaction	Number	Percentage
Demand / Offer		
offer	0	0.0%
demand	20	100.0%
Size of frame		
extreme close-up	3	15.0%
close-up	6	30.0%
medium close shot	4	20.0%
medium shot	3	15.0%
medium long shot	4	20.0%
long shot	0	0.0%
very long shot	0	0.0%
Horizontal angle		
frontal shot	18	90.0%
oblique shot	2	10.0%
Vertical angle		
high angle	5	25.0%
neutral	15	75.0%
low angle	0	0.0%
Positioning		
bottom position	1	5.0%
centre position	2	10.0%
left position	7	35.0%
margin position	0	0.0%
right position	3	15.0%
top position	7	35.0%
All total	20	100%

As expected, all of the Demanding type images were indeed demand images. Since an eye-contact was a prerequisite for an image to fall into this category, there were not any exceptions. In short, the represented children demanded the attention of the

reader by a noticeable eye-contact, inviting the reader to pause and take a closer look at the advertisement.

The framing varied from showing the whole child to showing only the face of a child. The majority, however, represented the child from personal distances. All personal distances, from extreme close-ups to medium shots added together, form 65% of all distances. 30% of the children were shot from an intimate distance and 15% even from a very intimate distance. In other words, these images invite the reader into a very close relationship with them or more precisely, aim to create in them a feeling of one.

Only 10% of the images were shot from an oblique angle and the rest 90% from a frontal angle. Again, the idea of an intimate relationship and an invitation to forming a relationship between the reader and the child is strengthened. Moreover, the majority of the images were shot from a neutral angle, 25% from a high angle. In other words, the reader was put into a power position over the child one fourth of the time, but the child was never in a power position. On the other hand, the children were typically in a neutral power position in relation to the reader, and the aimed relationship was that of equality. The neutral angle and equal power positions strengthen the relationship that has been implied in these design choices throughout.

Left and top positions were the most popular ones with 35% each. The left position is reserved for the given and familiar information and the top position for the ideal information, so in the Demanding type of advertisements the child is mostly represented as something either familiar to the reader or as something considered ideal. As the positioning, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, is characterised by the reading pattern of a Western reader (from left to right), placing the child on the left side catches the attention of the reader. On the other hand, the ideal information placement might argue for the themes of innocence associated with childhood, which were discussed in Section 2.2. In short, childhood is something that is considered to be worth protecting, and thus something ideal. The invitation to create a connection and a relationship between the represented child and the reader is, in other words, either set in motion by the left placement or portrayed as something precious and idealistic by positioning the representation on the top.

Table 8 Realisations of Narrative and Conceptual representations in Demanding type, all volumes included

Demanding type		
Narrative and conceptual representations	Number	Percentage
Narrative processes		
Transactional action	0	0.0%
Non-transactional action	0	0.0%
Bidirectional action	0	0.0%
Transactional reactional	0	0.0%
Non-transactional reactional	0	0.0%
Bidirectional reactional	0	0.0%
Conceptual processes		
Classification process	1	5.0%
Analytical process	1	5.0%
Carrier with symbolic attributes	14	70.0%
Symbolic suggestive	0	0.0%
Combinations		
Transactional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Bidirectional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	2	10.0%
Transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	2	10.0%
Non-transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Non-transactional reactional + Symbolic suggestive	0	0.0%
All total	20	100%

As predicted, with the Demanding type of advertisements, the conceptual structures were popular and in fact, there were no examples of narrative constructions. 70 percent had a carrier with symbolic attributes -structure and 20 percent had a combination construction with a carrier with symbolic attributes -structure. In other words, the children were not doing actively anything but they were represented as remaining motionless and still. Most of the time the child was surrounded by symbolic attributes, for example in a charity campaign promoting for an immunodeficiency foundation, the children are dressed up in costumes and holding items referring to the adulthood and dreams that they might never reach (advertisements 2014.15 and 2014.24). At times the child itself was the symbolic attribute, for example in an

advertisement representing an ill adult with a short cut hair, assumedly the mother, the child is behind the adult's back, resting her hand on the mother's shoulder, emphasising the themes of seriousness, worry, family values and the future (advertisement 2004.35).

As a summary, in the category of the Demanding type the children are represented as demanding a relationship with an eye-contact. The children are framed in a way that implies personal relationship. They are photographed from a frontal and neutral angle, aiming to create a feeling of familiarity and equality. Finally, they are positioned in a familiar and ideal placement in a static manner. It can be argued, that in the Demanding type, all the choices of visual design are made in order to create a feeling of connection between the reader and the represented child.

4.3.2 The Active Type

The hypothesis for the Active type was formed mostly from the narrative representations perspective. In other words, this type of images would include representations of action instead of stasis. The assumption was that a child represented in the advertisements would be either the doer, in other words the child is the Actor in a narrative setting, or the child might also play the part of the Goal. The composition of the images was assumed to show the child mostly wholly, leaving the reader to observe the child and the child's actions from a distance, and not demanding much of an involvement from the reader.

The results for the Active type are listed in Tables 9 and 10 below.

Table 9 The realisations of Representation and Interaction in Active type, all volumes included

Active type		
Representation and Interaction	Number	Percentage
Demand / Offer		
offer	11	100.0%
demand	0	0.0%
Size of frame		
extreme close-up	0	0.0%
close-up	0	0.0%
medium close shot	0	0.0%
medium shot	0	0.0%
medium long shot	4	36.4%
long shot	3	27.3%
very long shot	4	36.4%
Horizontal angle		
frontal shot	4	36.4%
oblique shot	7	63.6%
Vertical angle		
high angle	2	18.2%
neutral	9	81.8%
low angle	0	0.0%
Positioning		
bottom position	1	9.1%
centre position	2	18.2%
left position	3	27.3%
margin position	0	0.0%
right position	3	27.3%
top position	2	18.2%
All total	11	100%

All of the images were offer images. Since there were no demand pictures, the children were represented in a way that the reader of the image can focus on observing what the child is doing. This might strengthen the idea of the child being active in a way

that it is so focused on its task that it does not have the time to be posing unnaturally for the camera.

The Active types were photographed from quite a distance, showing always the whole child. In other words, the child is never brought to an intimate distance in relation to the reader. Again, the child is easy to observe, doing whatever s/he is doing, not challenging the reader of the image to interact on a deeper or intimate level. One could also argue that there is a certain alienating effect of having no intimate distances in the framing. Having photographed the child from quite afar might add to the feeling of a child being a child and the adult reader of the image being an adult, since the adult reader is left to observe from afar, "from the adult life peeking into the life of a child".

Most of the images, 63.6%, were shot from an oblique angle. The child is again alienated from the adult reader by showing them from an oblique angle. Arguably this further emphasizes the child and adult difference: the adult reader is alienated from the world of a child. On the other hand, the difference to frontal shots is not exceedingly strong: in more than one of every third picture, the child was pictured from the frontal angle in order to make the reader feel familiar with the child or children depicted in the advertisement. The clear majority, 81.8%, were neutral shots which means that neither the child nor the reader was put into a power position over the other. However, there were no examples of low angle shots, but 18.2% of the images were shot from a high angle where the adult reader is left to observe the child's activities from a power position.

The positioning of the child varied significantly. Left and right positions were the most popular, both 27.3%; next with 18.2% were centre and top positions. Only 9.1% were situated in the bottom position. In other words, the child was positioned most of the time in either the position of given/familiar information and new/key information or in the position of independent, nuclear information and ideal information. No straightforward conclusions, however, could be drawn from the positioning since the percentual differences were not significant.

Table 10 The realisations of Narrative and conceptual representations in Active type, all volumes included

Active type		
Narrative and conceptual representations	Number	Percentage
Narrative processes		
Transactional action	5	45.5%
Non-transactional action	0	0.0%
Bidirectional action	1	9.1%
Transactional reactional	1	9.1%
Non-transactional reactional	0	0.0%
Bidirectional reactional	0	0.0%
Conceptual processes		
Classification process	0	0.0%
Analytical process	0	0.0%
Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Symbolic suggestive	1	9.1%
Combinations		
Transactional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	2	18.2%
Bidirectional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	1	9.1%
Non-transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Non-transactional reactional + Symbolic suggestive	0	0.0%
All total	11	100%

Of the Active type, the majority (45.5%) belonged to the narrative with transactional action structure, where the child or children were performing an action involved with some other person or an object to their actions. Moreover, the additional 18.2% had a combination structure of transactional action and carrier with symbolic attributes. Combining these figures, 63.7% of all these types of advertisements had some kind of a transactional action structure in them, and if all the advertisements with elements characteristic of narrative processes are added up the percentage sum rises to 81.9%.

As predicted, there were no examples of conceptual process structures, except for one with a symbolic suggestive structure. In that particular example, the advertisement

named 1994.02, the emphasis was so strongly on the mood, with a bluish colour scheme, and the children were out of focus that it was deemed to have a symbolic suggestive structure even if the children in it are clearly in the middle performing an action and therefore being active suggesting an Active Type of an advertisement. In the picture, there are two children skating on an icy lake and the tracks their ice skates leave behind form circles. The advertisement refers to the Winter Olympics and the Olympic Rings are present in the advertisement in both the top left-hand corner and in bottom right-hand corner. The circles on the ice do not mimic the Olympic Rings precisely, but one cannot observe the advertisement without a connotation to the Olympic Rings.

All in all, the message in the Active Type of advertisements seems to be letting children be children and adults shall be adults. The adult-child -relationship and the contrast between childhood and adulthood is created firstly by choosing an offer image. Secondly, the adult reader is distanced from the represented child by the framing of the child into a non-personal distance. Thirdly, most of the time the child is photographed horizontally from an alienating, oblique angle and the vertical neutral angle does not alone succeed in creating a feeling of a relationship. Since the placement of a child was so equally divided, there are no certain conclusion that can be drawn; but it is noteworthy that the left and right positions, in other words the placements for the known and new information, were the most and equally popular, implying that the represented child is either something familiar for the reader or something 'new'. One can speculate that the first ones might be aimed at readers with families and the latter ones to adults without children. Either way, the positioning does not challenge the child-adult –relationship, which seems to be the focus of these Types of advertisements. Lastly, as the children are represented as something active, it can be argued that the idea of active and playful children is emphasised, again strengthening the idea of children being children and thus different from adults.

4.3.3 The Object Type

The presumptions for the Object type of advertisements were that the child is not looking at the reader of the advertisement, the child is not doing anything to anyone, and nor is the Reacter. In other words, the child is in the advertisement just to be looked at, possibly posing for the camera. Moreover, the child might the object of someone else inside the advertisement, with something else pointing to it or doing something to the child. Narratively, the assumption was that transactional reactional constructions would be most common. It was assumed, that the child might be shot from any possible distance and from various angles. All in all, the Object type advertisements were assumed to be quite versatile.

Table 11 The realisations of Representation and Interaction in Object type, all volumes included

Object type		
Representation and Interaction	Number	Percentage
Demand / Offer		
offer	27	96.4%
demand	1	3.6%
Size of frame		
extreme close-up	4	14.3%
close-up	11	39.3%
medium close shot	4	14.3%
medium shot	3	10.7%
medium long shot	2	7.1%
long shot	3	10.7%
very long shot	1	3.6%
Horizontal angle		
frontal shot	15	53.6%
oblique shot	13	46.4%
Vertical angle		
high angle	4	14.3%
neutral	20	71.4%
low angle	4	14.3%
Positioning		
bottom position	1	3.6%
centre position	7	25.0%
left position	5	17.9%
margin position	0	0%
right position	5	17.9%
top position	10	35.7%
All total	28	100%

The vast majority of Object type images, 96.4%, were offer images. Interestingly enough, one of the images was a demand image where the child was looking straight to the reader. In this exception, the advertisement 1994.01, the child is arguably looking at the reader, but then there are so many other elements in the advertisement

(the child is in the middle of other people and from the two separate pictures in the advertisement, the child is present only in one etc.) that the overall impression of the advertisement makes this one an object type. Moreover, the child is the object of two adults in the picture where he is present. As stated in the previous paragraph, one definition of an Object type advertisement was the child being an object of other persons' actions, and accordingly, this advertisement was deemed to fit into this category instead of any other category.

Personal distances were in the majority in Object type advertisements with 78.6% of all, but there was quite a lot of variation, and no single distance proved out to be distinctly more popular than other distances. Nevertheless, it can be argued that frequently the child was represented from a distance that would bring the child so close to the reader that a feeling of an intimate or at least a personal relationship was imitated.

The horizontal angle choices between frontal and oblique were almost even. There were only two examples more of advertisements with a frontal angle shot compared with advertisements with an oblique angle shot. In terms of alienating the reader from the child or making the reader feel more familiar with the child in the picture, there are no absolute conclusions that can be drawn from this category. The only low angle shots found from the whole research data were found from this category. In other words, only in the Object Type the child is put into a power position in relation to the reader of the advertisement. It is a strange contrast while considering the 'object child' to be only there for the reader to scrutinize. True, only four examples of the advertisements in this category carried this feature and the opposite high angle shots were as popular within this type, but nonetheless it is an interesting finding and a contradiction. In the advertisements where the child was put into a power position, however, the child was not represented as resembling a powerful figure. In one, the child was standing on a yacht with two adults, where the power position might have been chosen to emphasise the theme of wealth (advertisement 1994.01). In the second example, the child was in the arms of a firefighter, and thus heightened into a power position, but the firefighter was the actual power figure (advertisement 2004.32). The

last two were both campaigns for charity funds, where the power position of the child could be chosen to make the reader consider his place in the world, or more likely, the position of the disadvantaged children in the world. Neither of the children was acting out as a power figure, but one was happily smiling with a princess outfit on and the other was being fed with a spoon (advertisements 2014.04 and 2014.05). The rest of the advertisements, 71.4%, were shot from a neutral angle, resulting in neutral power positions both for the reader and the depicted child. Neutral angle shots follow the presumed idea of an Object Type advertisement where the child is the object of the reader's observation.

Most often, in 35.7%, the child was positioned in the top position, which refers to ideal information. The next popular position with 25% was the centre position, the place of independent, nuclear information. Both the left and right positions were as popular with 17.9%, the former being the position of new, key information and the latter the position of given familiar information. The bottom position was favoured only in one example advertisement, and the margin position was not found in any of the advertisements. All in all, there was a lot of variation in the positioning and that did not bring about any certain findings or conclusions.

Table 12 The realisations of Narrative and Conceptual representations in Object type, all volumes included

Object type		
Narrative and conceptual representations	Number	Percentage
Narrative processes		
Transactional action	2	7.1%
Non-transactional action	0	0.0%
Bidirectional action	2	7.1%
Transactional reactional	0	0.0%
Non-transactional reactional	0	0.0%
Bidirectional reactional	1	3.6%
Conceptual processes		
Classification process	0	0%
Analytical process	3	10.7%
Carrier with symbolic attributes	5	17.9%
Symbolic suggestive	5	17.9%
Combinations		
Transactional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	2	7.1%
Bidirectional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	1	3.6%
Transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	1	3.6%
Non-transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	4	14.3%
Non-transactional reactional + Symbolic suggestive	1	3.6%
All total	28	100%

In narrative terms, the Object Type of advertisements had a tendency to favour a conceptual process structure over narrative structures. 17.9% of the advertisements had a Narrative process in them whereas 46.4% had Conceptual processes. Moreover, if added up, the advertisements with combination structures and the advertisements with the conceptual process structure and some other structure make up the total of 78.6%. As explained before, Conceptual processes refer to static structures instead of

unfolding events or actions. It can be argued that Conceptual processes are preferred in the Object type category so that the reader can focus on the represented object itself instead of trying to decipher an unfolding action. Moreover, as the assumption with this Object type category was that the child is represented in a way that allows the reader of the image to scrutinize the child in peace, the presumption seems to be proved to be true in this sense.

As a summary, the most popular visual design choices in the Object type of advertisements seem to invite the reader to feel familiar with and feel free to observe the represented child. This invitation is carried out by showing the represented child in an offer image, from a personal distance and from a neutral angle, in a static manner instead of action. The horizontal angle can be either frontal or oblique, either creating a feeling of familiarity or detachment, both letting the reader observe the child in a non-challenging way. Moreover, as the placement of the child in the Object type advertisements was in the position for ideal information, the implication of a child being something observable is strengthened.

4.3.4 The Background Type

In the Background type, the assumption was that the most salient element in the picture is not a child, or nothing in the picture is more salient than any other element in the picture. In other words, the child would be there to play the part of a statist or blend in with other elements. Moreover, to emphasize the background role, it was natural to assume that the child would be photographed from quite far-away, leaving room for other elements to be more salient. In narrative terms, the assumption is that the child is represented in a static manner and in conceptual terms, instead of activity.

Table 13 The realisations of Representation and Interaction in Background type, all volumes included

Background type		
Representation and Interaction	Number	Percentage
Demand / Offer		
offer	20	95.2%
demand	1	4.8%
Size of frame		
extreme close-up	0	0.0%
close-up	3	14.3%
medium close shot	0	0.0%
medium shot	0	0.0%
medium long shot	3	14.3%
long shot	2	9.5%
very long shot	13	61.9%
Horizontal angle		
frontal shot	8	38.1%
oblique shot	13	61.9%
Vertical angle		
high angle	5	23.8%
Neutral	16	76.2%
low angle	0	0.0%
Positioning		
bottom position	2	9.5%
centre position	4	19.0%
left position	4	19.0%
margin position	7	33.3%
right position	2	9.5%
top position	2	9.5%
All total	21	100%

Only one example advertisement depicted the child demanding an eye contact with the viewer and the other 20 were offer images. In other words, 95.2% were offer images. In the one exception, there are several children looking at the viewer of the advertisement, but all of them are in the background, whereas in the centre of the

advertisement there are two adult celebrities making an eye contact with the viewer (advertisement 2014.01). The majority of the children are applauding, whereas the adults are just posing for the camera with wide smiles and holding each other's hands. In other words, the adults are the most salient element in the advertisement instead of the children, leaving the children to be just statists, complementing the adults' poses and presences.

The alienation from the child is emphasized by the photographing distances in this category. More than half, 61.9%, were photographed from very far-away, that is they were very long shots. 85.7% of the advertisement had the child in non-personal distance. Three advertisements were exceptions, where the child was in a close-up. In these advertisements, however, the children were situated in the margins of the advertisements, in small pictures, in their own frames, framed in close-up, but their pictures covered such a small area of the overall advertisement that they were judged out to be in the background. All these three examples were part of the same advertising campaign promoting tourism and travelling in Malaysia, and followed a very similar design: the body of the text in the middle of the advertisement with several small pictures framing the text.

Most advertisements in this category had oblique angle photographs with 61.9% of the total number. It can be argued that if the photographing angle is oblique it is yet again harder to create a feeling of connection with the child, and therefore the child is easier to be left in the background. Moreover, most, 76.2%, were vertically neutral shots with no power positions neither to the reader nor to the child. Ignoring the child in the background is easier if the child is in a neutral power position since the reader is not required to have to pay attention to an atypical power position. In short, in this category the photographing angles resulted in a feeling of detachment with a neutral power position.

As in the previous categories, also in the Background type there was deviation with the positioning of the child. All of the possible positions could be found from these types of advertisements. The most popular position was the margin position with 33.3% of the total. Margin is the position of additional information relating to the

information found in the centre position and thus follows the motive of the represented child being an addition to the more salient elements in the images. On the other hand, the centre position, the place of independent information, and the left position, the place of familiar information, were the next most popular with 19% each. Because of the amount of variation, no straightforward conclusions could be drawn, but the trend is that the child is positioned in the margins. Furthermore, margin placements were only found in the Background Type category and in none of the other categories.

Table 14 The realisations of Narrative and Conceptual representations in Background type, all volumes included

Background type		
Narrative and conceptual representations	Number	Percentage
Narrative processes		
Transactional action	2	9.5%
Non-transactional action	1	4.8%
Bidirectional action	0	0.0%
Transactional reactional	3	14.3%
Non-transactional reactional	0	0.0%
Bidirectional reactional	1	4.8%
Conceptual processes		
Classification process	1	4.8%
Analytical process	4	19.0%
Carrier with symbolic attributes	6	28.6%
Symbolic suggestive	0	0.0%
Combinations		
Transactional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	2	9.5%
Bidirectional action + Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	1	4.8%
Non-transactional reactional + Carrier with symbolic attributes	0	0.0%
Non-transactional reactional + Symbolic suggestive	0	0.0%
All total	21	100%

The assumption in narrative terms for the Background category was that the advertisements would have most often the Carrier with symbolic attributes structure. More specifically, it was assumed that the child would be the symbolic attribute, adding a symbolic value to the main element (Carrier) in the advertisement. These assumptions were found out to be true in a sense that the Carrier with symbolic attributes was the most popular structure within this category with 28.6% of the total. Moreover, if the Combination structures where the Carrier with symbolic attributes is present are added, the percentage rises up to 42.9%. Furthermore, in all of the advertisements with this structure, the child was indeed in the role of a symbolic attribute with the exception of one advertisement. In that one exception the child's part was neither clear nor easy to judge, but the part could be that of an Object or a Reacter. That particular advertisement had a lot of other elements in it, and it was categorized into the Background category since the child in the advertisement is blending into the background, and, at first glance, the child is even quite easy to miss.

A little over half of the advertisements had Conceptual process structures with 52.4%, whereas Narrative process structures were found from 33.4% of the advertisements. In advertisements with Conceptual process structures the child was, as stated in the previous paragraph, a symbolic attribute or part of an Analytical structure — and once part of a Classification process. In those with the Narrative process structures, the child was either doing something with someone, doing something to someone, being an object of some other's doing, or was a Reacter or an object of some other's gaze.

In conclusion, in the Background type category the children were represented in a way that alienates the reader from the child, but, on the other hand, the child is there to add to the advertisement's message or the most salient object. In other words, the reader is not encouraged to pay much attention to the representation of the child, yet the representation has a role to fulfil. This is carried out by representing the child in an offer image, photographed from a long distance and from a horizontally oblique and vertically neutral angle. The placement in the margins, moreover, puts the child

in a position of additional information. In addition, the child was not represented as an active doer, but instead as a passive by-stander in narrative terms.

4.3.5 Summary and Comparison

In this section the focus was on contrasting the findings and characteristics of Types with the average representation of a child discussed in Section 4.2. In short, in a typical advertisement aimed for an adult audience, the child is not looking at the reader but is just there offered to be looked at. The child is framed in a close-up, photographed horizontally from a frontal and vertically from a neutral angle, and the placement of the child varies. The most common structure in narrative terms is the Carrier with symbolic attributes construction. The different Types, the Demanding, Active, Object and the Background type, will all be evaluated separately. Finally, the discussion will move on to evaluating the Typing categorisation altogether.

The Demanding type differed from the average child representation only with the child looking at the viewer, thus being a demand image instead of an offer image. Otherwise the structure of a Demanding type advertisement followed the average construction. However, as an eye-contact is an unquestionably strong invitation for creating a relationship between the represented child and the reader, it is not an insignificant difference. One could argue that there is no need to alter the expected structure in any other way than by making the child look at the reader for an advertisement to stand out, since the eye-contact is an assured eye-catcher.

In comparison with the average child representation, the children in the Active type of advertisements were represented from a distance and not in a close-up. Moreover, the horizontal angle, from which the represented child was photographed, was oblique instead of frontal. These features enable the adult reader to observe the unfolding events from afar and to perceive the whole image. The most distinguishing feature of the Active type was, however, that the child was an active doer. In other words, the construction was narrative and that of a conceptual one. To put it briefly,

all the features aim for creating an image of an active child, whereas the (adult) reader is put into the position of an observer.

The structure of the Object type was different from the average child representation in presenting the child horizontally from an oblique angle. The most unique feature of the Object type was placing the child into a power position over the reader four times. As the hypothesis for the Object type of child representation was that the child is in the advertisement just to be looked at or is the object of another person's activity, the oblique angle does not particularly emphasise or reject the hypothesis. On the other hand, placing the child in a power position was not something that was expected to be found from this category. However, as explained in Section 4.3.4, the represented children that were put into a power position over the reader were not in truth represented as powerful figures. Furthermore, the majority of the Object type advertisements were shot from a neutral angle, which follows the hypothesis of the Object type.

For the Background type the characteristic features were that the child was photographed from a long distance and horizontally from an oblique angle. Both features aim to create a distant relationship between the reader and the represented child, or arguably, not aiming to create a relationship at all. The most distinguishable feature, however, was that the child was placed into the margin position only in this category. As the placement of margins is reserved for additional information, this feature supports the hypothesis for the Background type remarkably well.

In conclusion, the Types arguably have features that are characteristic of them in comparison with the average child representation. However, it is necessary to point out that there was quite a lot of overlapping, especially in the narrative and conceptual aspects of the advertisements. It can be argued that typically there are multiple layers of narration happening at the same time in advertisements. Nonetheless, the advertisements have a tendency to follow these trends and fall into these categories discussed above.

4.4 COMPARISON THROUGHOUT THE YEARS

The second step, after the different types were examined and discussed, was to further examine if the advertisements had changed during the time period in this data and if so, what were the changes. As the aim of this study was not only to examine how children are represented in advertisements, but also to compare whether that way has changed over the years, a comparison of different volumes was also carried out. While the comparison was carried out, the aim was not only to focus on the visual representations and how the images have been built, but to give a more comprehensive idea of the changes throughout the years. Therefore, the comparison was decided to be carried out by firstly utilising the results of the coding frame used in the first part of the analysis. The results from the first part of the analysis in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 gave information about the Types and thus enabled a comparison of the Types between the years. Secondly, the analysis moved on to looking into the advertisers and their advertised products and/or services. In this section, the focus is on explaining how the advertisements were divided by their topics. The introduction of different Types can be found in Section 3.3.2.

The categorisation of the advertisements was done inductively, which means that the categories arose from the data itself (Mayring, 2000). The advertisements were categorised into four different categories according to what kind of products the advertised companies produced, what kind of services were provided or simply put, what was being promoted. These categories were: Technology, Tourism and traveling, Charity and Miscellaneous. These categories were quite naturally formed, since the advertisers that decided to include a child in their advertisements seemed to fit especially into the three first-mentioned categories throughout the years.

To aid the analysis, all the image files of the advertisements were tagged with both the advertiser's name and with the categories they fell into. The Technology category included all technological things ranging from consumer electronics, such as wrist watches, to "technologies of the future" that were not represented in images but were just referred to in the text part of the advertisement. The Tourism and traveling category included promotions by individual countries' tourism agencies and

advertisements by different airlines. The Charity category included promotions for different funds, foundations and non-profit organisations.

The Miscellaneous category included all the other advertisers and advertisement topics that did not fit into the three previous categories, such as promotions for events, financial corporations, and pharmaceutical industry. The Miscellaneous category was not that popular, which might imply that the three other categories were either popular advertising topics in general, or popular advertising topics when advertising with child representations. Moreover, since there were not so many examples that did not fall into the categories of Technology, Tourism and Traveling or Charity, it was deemed sensible not to further categorise the advertisements that were miscellaneous.

As a conclusion, there were four different categories formed into which the topics of the advertisements naturally fell. By applying these categories, the present study gained information of what the advertised topics have been throughout the different volumes. The analysis of these findings can be found in the following section 4.4.1.

4.4.1 Advertisements throughout the years by their topics

The advertisements were categorised into four different categories according to what kind of products or services were being promoted. These categories were: Technology, Tourism and Traveling, Charity and Miscellaneous. These categories were quite naturally formed, since the advertisers that decided to include a child in their advertisements, seemed to fit especially into the three first mentioned categories throughout the years. The categorisation of these topics is explained in more detail in the section above. In this section the focus is firstly on presenting the different companies and funds that were found in the research material, and secondly, on the advertised topics. Then the discussion will continue to describe the changes in topics and the trends of each volume.

In Tables 15, 16 and 17 below are presented all the different advertisers and the categories they fell into. Every advertiser has a short description following in

parentheses, both to identify the motivation for including an advertiser to a certain category and to aid the reader.

Table 15 Advertisers in 1994

1994

Tourism and traveling: Austrian National Tourist Office (national tourism promotion), Thai Airways (airline company), Emirates (airline company), Singapore Airlines (airline company), KLM (airline company)

Technology: Canon (electronics/electronic industry), Siemens (multi-industry, from consumer electronics to construction services), Panasonic (multi-industry, from consumer electronics to industrial devices), Philips (multi-industry, from consumer electronics to healthcare)

Charity: WWF (charitable trust), Unicef (fund), Christian Children's Fund (fund), Project HOPE (humanitarian aid organisation)

Misc: Credit Suisse (financial services)

Table 16 Advertisers in 2004

2004

Tourism and traveling: Royal Jordanian (airline company), Emirates (airline company), Singapore Airlines (airline company), Tourism Malaysia (national tourism promotion), Spain.info/Turespaña (national tourism promotion)

Technology: Canon (electronics/electronic industry), Philips (multi-industry, from consumer electronics to healthcare), Siemens (multi-industry, from consumer electronics to construction services), Nikon (consumer electronics), Toyota (automotive industry), NTT DoCoMo (telecommunications), Hewlett-Packard (compter hardware and software, IT services and consulting)

Charity: Make A Wish (non-profit organisation), The Graaf Sisters Children's Centre (a children's centre for impoverished children), Unicef (fund)

Misc.: Athens Olympics (international sports event), The International Herald Tribune (daily newspaper), World Press Photo (photojournalism organisation), Citigroup (banking, financial services), Sanofi-Synthelabo (pharmaceuticals), Bayer (pharmaceuticals and chemicals)

Table 17 Advertisers in 2014

2014

Tourism and traveling: Turkish Airlines (airline company), Singapore Airlines (airline company)

Technology: Dassault Systemes (software), Cozi (mobile application), Longines (watch manufacturing), Shell (oil and gas industry)

Charity: Jeffrey Modell Foundation (non-profit organisation), World Food Programme (UN Humanitarian Programme), Unicef (fund), Autism Speaks (advocacy organisation), International Rescue Committee (non-profit organisation), The Stuttering Foundation (non-profit charitable organisation), Best Buddies (non-profit organisation), Make A Wish (non-profit organisation)

Misc.: Real Simple (monthly women's magazine), Beyond Sport (non-profit organisation)

As seen from Tables 15, 16 and 17 above, in 1994, there were 14 different advertisers, 21 advertisers in 2004 and 16 advertisers in 2014. It is to be noted, that there are fewer advertisers than there are advertisements, since some advertisers had multiple unique advertisements produced throughout the years. On the other hand, some advertisements had multiple advertisers, in other words there were co-joined promotions from two or more companies, and, at times, the topics advertised did not correlate with the promoting company's usual product. For example, Unicef and Canon had a co-joined advertising campaign, where the emphasized topics were both charity and technology: the textual content of the advertisements focused on the charity work carried out by Unicef, but Canon's logo and products (cameras) were present in the advertisements as well. The number of all the different advertised topics and their relative ratio can be found from Figures 1, 2 and 3.
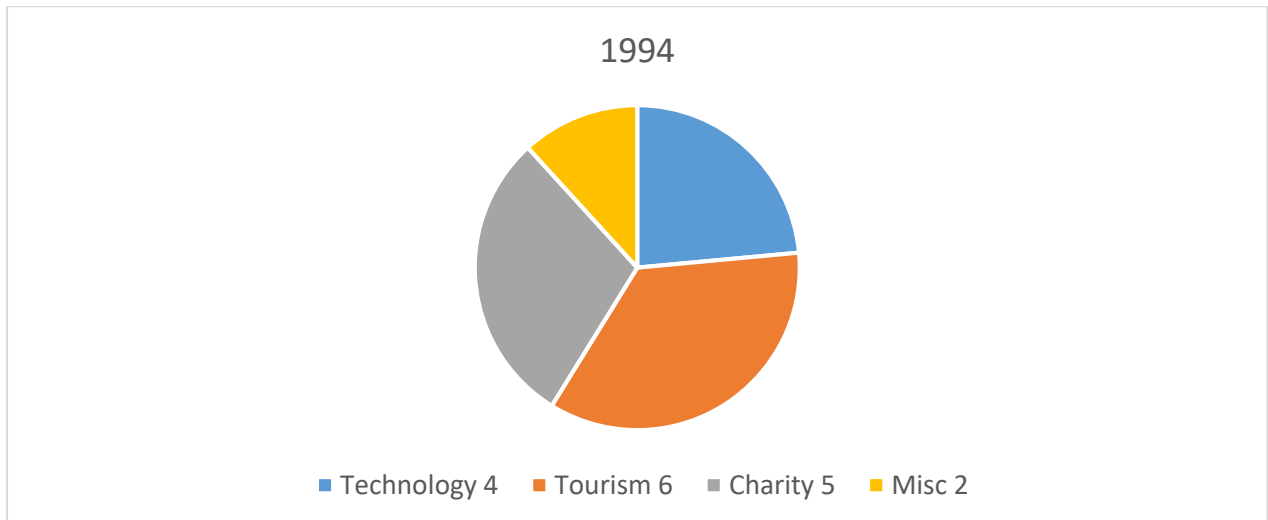
Figure 1 Advertising Topics in 1994

As seen from the figure above, in 1994 the most advertised topic was tourism and traveling. There were six examples of advertisements in this category. The next most popular topics were charity with five examples and technology represented in four examples. In other words, all the topics were almost as popular, the variation of only one or two examples, so there was not a single category that could be claimed to characterise this year. There were only two examples that did not fall into any of these three categories but were labelled as miscellaneous. These advertisements promoted banking and financial services and a system for integrating traffic. In short, 1994 was a year when advertising topics were evenly divided and no single topic was more popular than the others.
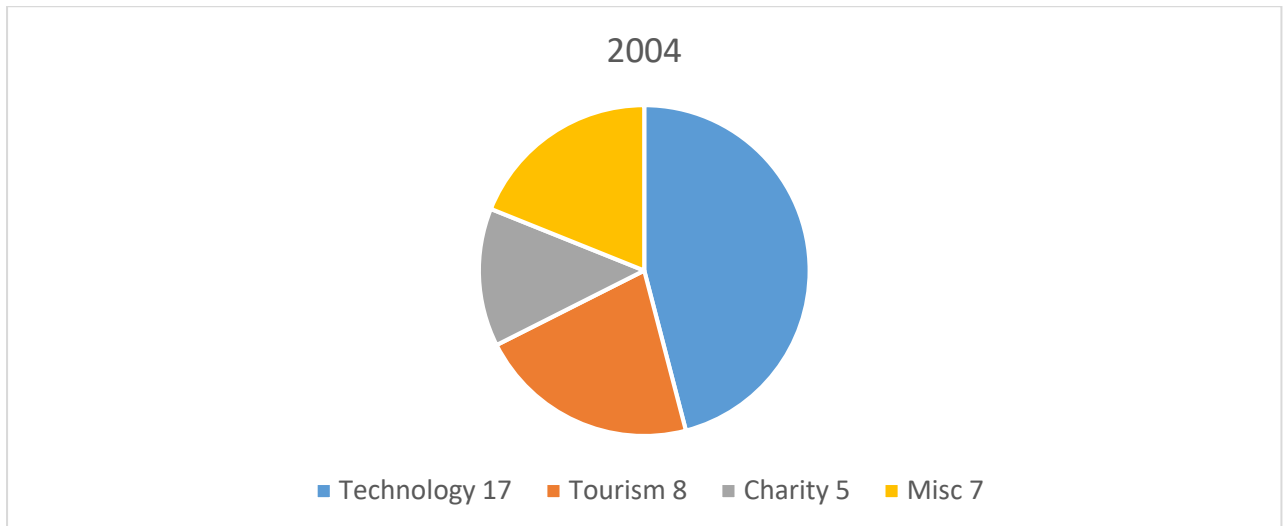
Figure 2 Advertising Topics in 2004

In 2004 the number of advertisements promoting technology was noteworthy. It is hard to speculate what could have been the reason behind this and even harder to find out facts that would support the speculations. Tourism and traveling was the next most popular topic. Surprisingly, the miscellaneous category had quite many examples that year. The topics that fell into the miscellaneous category that year were promoting two different events, an advertisement for banking and financial services, one marketing pharmaceuticals and a promotion for a daily newspaper. Examples of promotions for different charity funds were also present, but they were not as popular as ten years before.
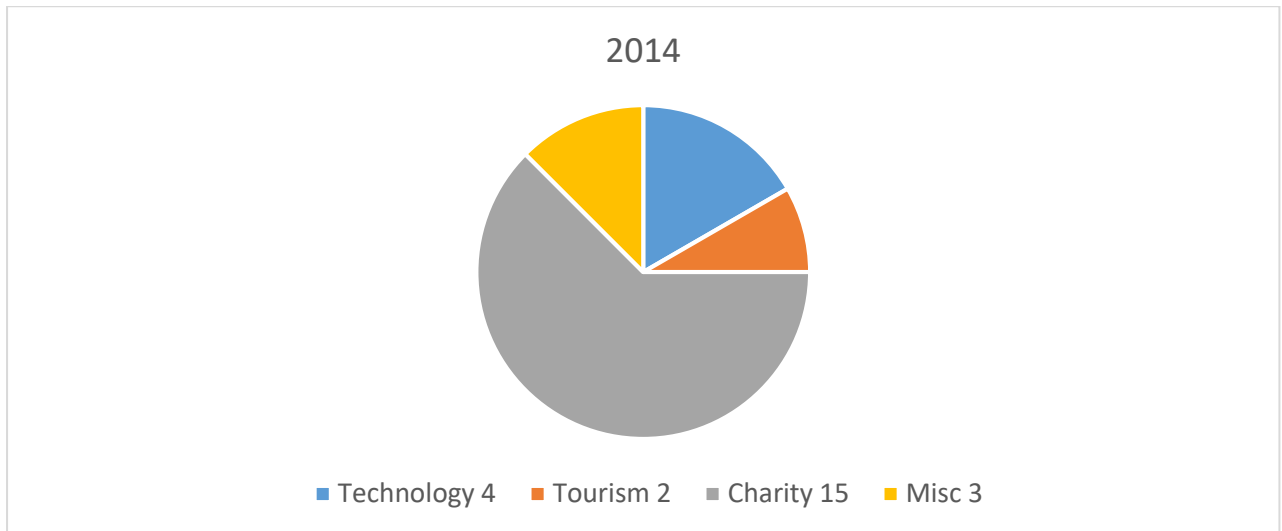
Figure 3 Advertising Topics in 2014

In 2014 there were exceptionally many advertisements promoting charity compared with the other years: there were 15 examples of charity promoting advertisements, which is 62.5% of all the advertisements that year. There were only two examples that did not fit into the other categories but were miscellaneous: an advertisement for a monthly women's magazine and one for a non-profit organisation, which was not categorised into charity because the topic of this advertisement was a publicity event.

It is hard to speculate why each of these advertisement topics have either dropped in popularity or kept on being common, but some general observations on the topics can be made. Firstly, charity and children is a combination that has been examined (see O'Dell 2007). Since children catch the attention of a reader, it is desirable to use a child representation in an advertisement campaign for charity. Secondly, the advertisements promoting technology had repeatedly themes of future in them. The implication usually was that the promoted company had the same potential for growth as this child or the technology would build a better future for the children. Thirdly, tourism and traveling were promoted in a way that appealed to the target audience of *Time*. Airlines and tourism offices wanted to convey that they were a family friendly business or to promote the destination country as appealing to children as well. Moreover, the airlines at times played with the homesickness of a person traveling, implying that by traveling with the airline one would be already home, or that from this airline you can call your loved ones back at home.

As a summary, year 1994 was the year when all the topics were equally common, whereas year 2004 was the year of technology and year 2014 was that of charity topics. Technology has been a prominent topic each year. Tourism and traveling, on the other hand, has dropped dramatically in popularity from one fourth of the advertisements to just two examples by 2014. If in 2004 only 13.5% of the advertisements had charity as a topic, in 1994 one fourth of the advertisements promoted charity and more than half of the advertisements in 2014.

4.4.2 Advertisements throughout the years by their types

As the aims of this study were firstly, to find out how children are represented in advertisements and secondly, whether the trends in advertisements with a child representation have changed throughout the years, a categorisation system named Types was invented. These Types were introduced in Section 3.3.2, and Section 4.2 is dedicated to analysing the Types in depth. In this section the popularity of these Types: The Demanding, the Active, the Object and the Background Type, in each volume will be discussed. All the trends in each volume will be first reviewed in a chronological order. Then the discussion will move on to the development curves of popularity for each Type.

1994

■ Active ■ Background ■ Demanding ■ Object
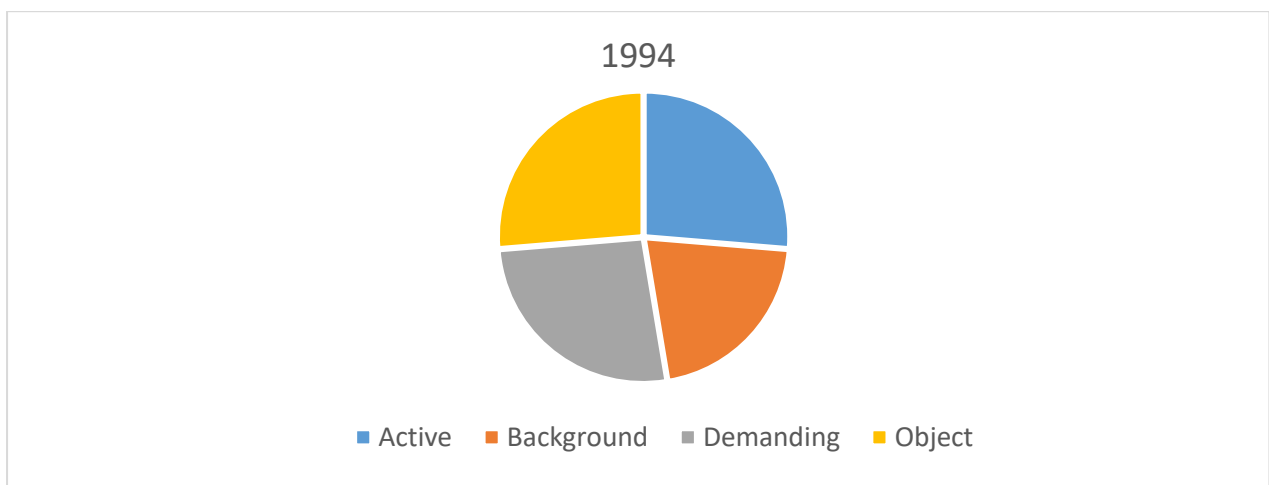
Figure 4 The Distribution of Types in 1994

As shown in Figure 4, all the Types were practically equally popular in 1994. The most popular were the Active, Demand and Object types (26% each) and the next most popular was the Background type. There was in fact only one advertisement fewer of the Background type than of the other Types. In short, it can be argued that all the Types were as popular in year 1994, and therefore the profile of the represented child was at its most versatile this year representing the child as an active doer, as someone demanding the reader's attention, as a familiar object to be observed and as something blending into the background.
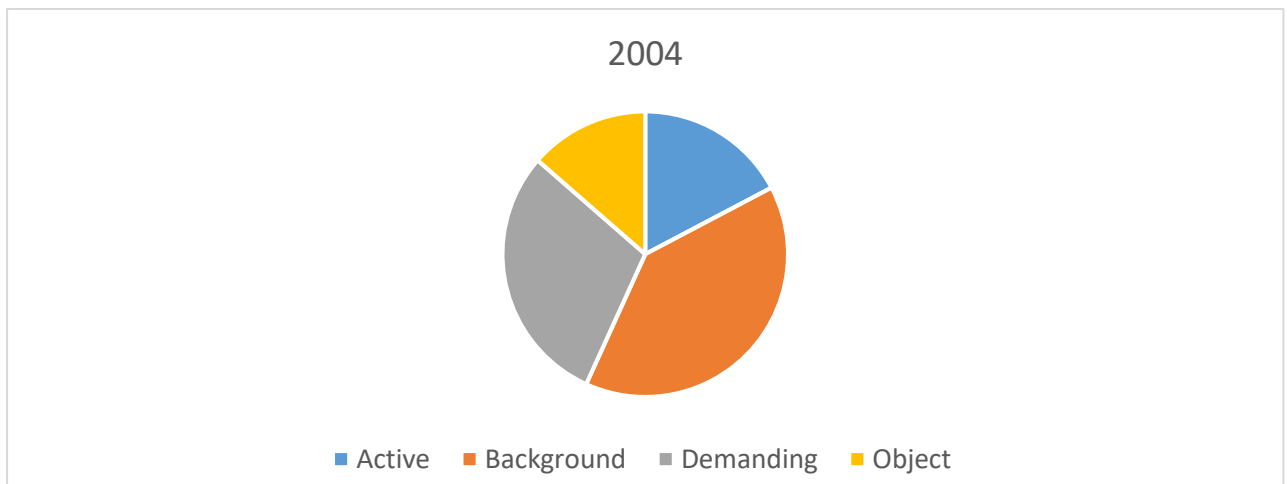
Figure 5 The Distribution of Types in 2004

In 2004, most of the advertisements represented either the Background type (32%) or Demanding type (30%). It is an interesting contrast, since in the Background type of advertisements the children were represented in an alienating way, and in roles that were there to support some other elements in the advertisements, whereas in the Demanding type of advertisements the children demanded for attention and a relationship between the reader and the represented child. In other words, the most popular structures in 2004 were from the opposite ends of Types, resulting in a two-sided profile of a child representation.
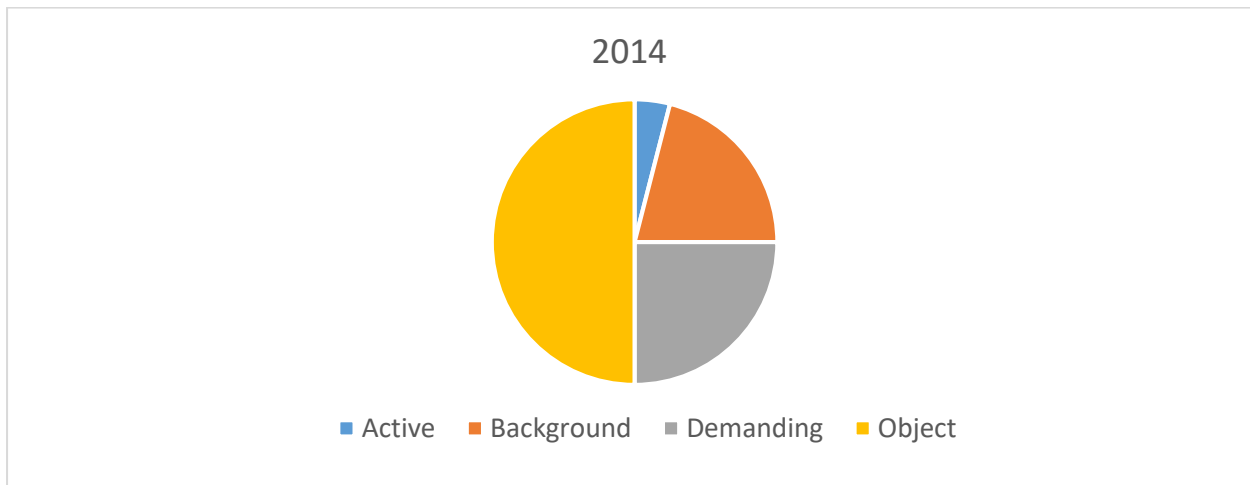
Figure 6 The Distribution of Types in 2014

The Object types were very popular in 2014. Half of the advertisements were of this category, meaning that the children were represented mostly as something familiar for the reader to observe without being challenged. The Demanding and Background types were also popular, so the profile of the represented child was also one challenging the reader and blending into the background. Interestingly, there was only one example of the Active type in year 2014, implying that emphasising childhood and childishness was not a trend.
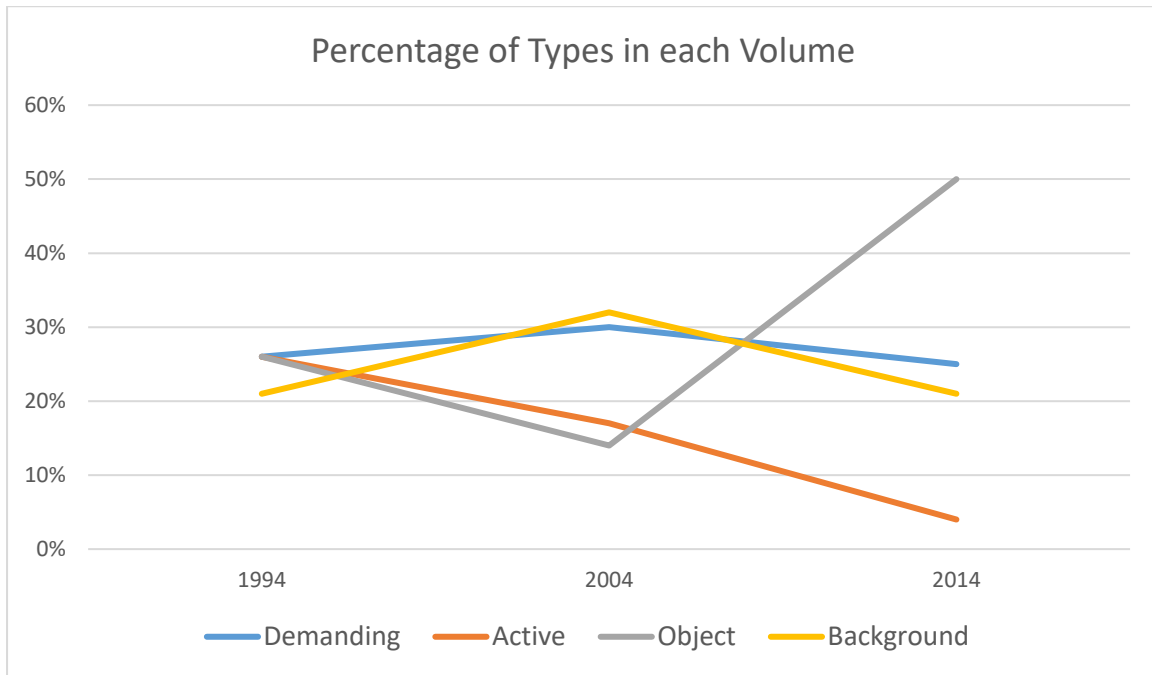
Figure 7 Percentual Differences

The development of popularity for each Type is represented in Figure 7. The Demanding types of advertisements were popular in each volume. In each volume, at least one fourth of the advertisements were of the Demanding type. This indicates that each year the representation of a child was used in a way that challenges the reader into a relationship. The same popularity status applies to the Background types as well. They were common in each volume. This indicates that the represented child was often in the background and was not the eyecatcher of the advertisement. The Active types, on the other hand, were popular in 1994, less popular in 2004, and by 2014 the Active types were rare. According to this development curve, emphasising the different roles of an adult and a child had become less used. The popularity of the Object Types, on the other hand, dropped slightly in 2004 but climbed sharply in 2014. In other words, representing a child as something familiar and easy to observe became increasingly more popular.

As a summary, the representation of a child has not changed in terms of being either a Demanding or a Background type. Instead, the Active type has become rare and the Object type has increased in popularity.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter I shall review the outcome of this study, firstly in relation with the research questions, secondly, in relation with previous research and thirdly, I will discuss the limitations of this study and give suggestions for future research. Finally, there is a final conclusion with closing words and thoughts.

5.1 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY IN RELATION WITH THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The focus of this section is on answering the research questions set to the present study. The research questions were:

1) How are children visually represented in advertisements?

2) Has the way children are represented in advertisements changed between years 1994, 2004 and 2014?

To begin with, I will focus on answering the first research question and elaborate how the conclusions were reached, firstly by applying the grammar of visual design by Kress and van Leeuwen, and secondly, by applying the categorisation system created by me; Types. Then the focus will move on to handling the second research question in terms of the advertised topics. Finally, the second research question will be answered in terms of the popularity of the different Types.

The typical representation of a child in an advertisement was achieved by combining the elements in all of the advertisements in the research data. In terms of the grammar of visual design, the results showed that in a typical advertisement the child is not looking at the reader but offers himself/herself to be looked at. The child was often framed in a close-up and viewed from a horizontally frontal and vertically neutral angle, so the child is represented as someone familiar and neutral by not placing either the child or the reader into a power position over the other. Narratively, the child was frequently represented in a static manner, either adding symbolic values to the advertisement or the child himself accompanied by symbolic elements. The placement

of a child in an advertisement varied significantly and there were no trends to be discovered and thus no conclusions to be drawn of the positioning.

The categorisation system labelled as Types further refined the image of the child representation. There were arguably some aspects that were characteristics of each Type in comparison with the average child representation. The representation of a child utilised an eye-contact to demand a relationship from the reader in the Demanding type of advertisement and the relationship was even aimed to be a close one. The Active types were the advertisements highlighting the differences between the worlds of an adult and that of a child. In the Object type of advertisements, the children were there to be looked at by the reader, and in the Background type the child's role was that of a statist and addition to the more salient elements.

There was some variation in the topics promoted by means of the child representation. Overall, the most common topics were technology, charity as well as tourism and traveling. Technology was a prominent topic in all of the three different volumes. Though there were slightly fewer advertisements having charity as a topic in 2004, in 1994 one fourth of the advertisements promoted charity, as did over half of the advertisements in 2014. The popularity of tourism and traveling, on the other hand, dropped dramatically from one fourth of the advertisements in 1994 to just two examples by 2014. The motivation for these changes remains speculative, but it could be concluded that these certain topics, technology, charity as well as tourism and traveling, were popular in advertisements including a child representation.

 In terms of Types the changes in 20 years were variable. The popularity of the Demanding and Background Types did not change drastically within the analysed time period. On the other hand, the Active type became rare, whereas the Object type of advertisements increased in popularity. These results seem to indicate that throughout the years when advertising with a representation of a child, the child is mostly represented as demanding a relationship with the reader or being a background element. Moreover, emphasising the differences between the worlds of a child and an adult is less popular by the end of the analysed time period, whereas the child is rather represented as an observable object.

In conclusion, the present study has shown that there is indeed a certain way how children are represented and there have been some changes throughout the years. It is to be noted that since the data was quite limited in terms of individual examples per volume, no absolute quantitative conclusions about the changes could be drawn. The typical child representation, however, was based on 80 individual advertisements. In other words, the typical child representation can be considered statistically significant. Moreover, the present study has successfully discussed quantitative features and trends in each volume that were present in this data.

5.2 FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY IN RELATION WITH OTHER RESEARCH

The previous research about children in advertisements is presented in Sections 2.2 and 2.3. In this section I will compare the findings of this study with the previous research. Firstly, the findings of the most common advertisement topics will be discussed. Secondly, there is a comparison in terms of the representation of a child and how that representation has changed. Finally, implications for the innocence of childhood will be reviewed.

The analysis of this study revealed that there are certain topics that are popular when advertising with the child representations: technology, charity and traveling and tourism. On the other hand, according to the study by Hood et al., the most common topics are foods or drinks, or "domestic durables", such as appliances and vehicles (Hood et al. 1995: 185). The reason for such a different result is arguably that the analysed advertisements were aimed at different audiences: in the present study, the audience was the reader of *Time*, in Hood et al.'s study, the audience was the reader of Better Homes and Gardens, McCall's or Glamour. Naturally, the audience profile is much different. Moreover, in other previous studies, the topics of advertisements were from the advertisements aimed at children. In other words, there is no valid reason to compare the results of this study to that by Hood et al.

The average representation of a child in advertisements that was revealed in this present study is in many ways more versatile than in other previous studies, but, on

the other hand, it was also limited in the same ways as in the previous studies. For example, the method of using the Visual Grammar created a more versatile angle on reading and interpreting images than the one used in, for example, Hood et al., where it was only studied whether a child was posing as a "miniature adult" or if the children were "decorative props" (Hood et al 1995: 185). Moreover, the representation achieved in this study is more versatile than in the study by O'Dell (2008) focusing on one advertising campaign of abused children. Furthermore, even if the study by Vänskä is much more versatile than the present study in terms of its terminology, research methods and so on, the results achieved were from one source: fashion magazines. In that respect, our studies suffer from the same bias: the challenge of just one data source.

How the representation of a child in advertisements has changed throughout the years is challenging to compare to previous studies since the studies referred to focused on different aspects and/or were carried out differently. In this study, the children were found out to be both active and left to the background. This finding is similar to the finding by Hood et al: in their data, the children were also active and, in their terms, "decorative props". However, the focus in the present study was not on the gender of the children as it was in the other studies. In other words, similar conclusions, such as "boys are active whereas girls are more passive", cannot be drawn.

The innocence of childhood, which is a common topic when studying children and advertising, was present also in this study, even if it was not a topic of discussion. The children were most of the time represented in the analysed advertisements as objects for the reader's gaze, resulting in the impression of the innocence being there to be looked at. On the other hand, there were no images sexualising the children or representing the children in provocative ways. Childhood was emphasised in other ways, such as pointing out the differences between the worlds of a child and an adult. Unarguably, the readership of *Time* is reflected in these visual choices. As the analysed advertisements were aimed at an adult audience, the present study does not take stand on whether the advertising itself does ruin the innocence of childhood with commercialism.

As a summary, the comparison between the results of the previous studies and the present study indicate that the target audience of advertising has a great effect on how the advertisements are designed and what the promoted topics are. Nearly all the differences and similarities in the results can be explained by the target audience alone.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There were some limitations to this study. Firstly, the number of the advertisements being as high as 80 individual images, it was a challenge to analyse them. The applying of a coding frame diminished the material and produced numeric data for discussion. However, the method did not allow discussing every single advertisement in detail. It was a challenge to decide how deep an analysis to do and how much should be ignored: studying each image meticulously would have been out of the scope of this study. Moreover, the number of advertisements per volume was even lower than that of the whole research data. From this followed that the statistical basis for comparison between the years was scarce and the results were speculative instead of statistically significant. Nevertheless, the combination of qualitative content analysis and the grammar of the visual design was a good combination, since the visual grammar was a ready-made set of rules offering interpretations and not requiring modifications. This combination could be applied to a larger amount of data as well, enabling a statistically significant examination.

Furthermore, there were some challenges in applying the grammar of visual design as well. The requirement is that when using a coding frame and qualitative content analysis, one should be able to make clear-cut decisions, each unit of analysis falling into one well-founded category. Nevertheless, there was some overlapping, especially in the narrative and conceptual representations that were judged. It was at times impossible to judge the most important narrative representation structure and thus the result was that there were combinational structures. Moreover, the challenge of interpreting how colours and other qualities, such as hue, involved in picture

processing are represented is yet to be overcome. Analysing these qualities would have required either further studies or special equipment, which both were beyond the scope of this study.

The analysis might also have benefitted from the actual advertisements, but due to copyright restrictions they were forced to be left out. It is hard to speculate how much the reader would have benefitted from seeing the advertisements, since the analysis did not go into describing each advertisement in detail. It is arguable, however, that especially when there were advertisements that were challenging to analyse, it would have been valuable to show the advertisements themselves. As the author of this study, I would certainly have found it useful to share the images, to visually back up the judgements that were made, and also to give the reader the chance to judge for themselves. The reader of the present study can, of course, visit the local library and gain access to the advertisements.

One aspect that was not predicted to affect the results of this study in such a strong way, was having *Time* Magazine as the data source. The advertised topics, for example, were clearly targeted to the audience of *Time*. On the one hand, the expensiveness of advertising in *Time* implicates that the advertisements have been seen by a wider audience, but on the other hand, there were no means to verify it. A further study suggestion gained from this is that the results of this study should be compared to a data gathered from a more versatile database, including other magazines as well.

Furthermore, there are several other suggestions for future research. Firstly, the same coding frame utilised in this study could be applied to other groups in advertisements, for example adolescents or women, and the results could be compared with the results of this study. Secondly, as the visual grammar is so comprehensive, focusing on just one aspect of it would offer insights to advertising. For example, by studying merely the framing in advertising, the intended feeling of familiarity would become exposed. Thirdly, the categorisation system called Types, which was invented for this study, could be used for further testing. This could be done by applying it to other groups or by having a more versatile study material.

As a conclusion, I have created a successful way of interpreting advertisements. I believe the spreadsheets that were created for this study could be applicable to other printed (Western) advertisements with little or no alterations. There is one merit especially to this method: one can avoid subjectivity since by following the grammar of the Visual Design there is not too much room for individual opinion. For example, whilst going through the data of this study for the first time, the advertisements with the child looking at the reader caught my attention, but after a deeper analysis it became clear that there were in fact fewer such advertisements than there were offer images. The coding frame could be easily broadened to include also the gender, the topic of the advertisement, and so on.

5.4 CLOSING WORDS AND THOUGHTS

Holland claims that there is an image-bank with key images that the media exploits when creating images with children: "These include the wide eyes of the appealing child; the crouched body of the abused child; the structured placing of the child within the family; the ambiguous sexuality of the prepubescent girl; the ignorant child in need of education; the playful child in the home and the violent boys on the streets." (Holland 2004: 4-5) The aim of this study was to achieve a typical image of a child representation in the context of advertising, and to create yet another key image such as those by Holland. According to this study, this key image is: a child that is easy to relate to and is offering himself or herself to be looked at. Representations of a child can be found from advertisements promoting almost anything. Moreover, the way in which the child is represented has changed only slightly in twenty years.

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Time Magazine.

Volume 1994:

Name of the advertisement: No. of issue: Page number

1994.01: No. 3: inside cover page

1994.02: No. 5: 34-35, No. 7: inside cover page (two-page spread)

1994.03: No. 8: 4-5, No. 11: 10, No. 19: 3

1994.04: No. 9: 4-5. No. 10: 22-23, No. 14: 32-33

1994.05: No. 10: inside cover page (two-page spread)

1994.06: No. 1: 5, No. 25: 7

1994.07: No. 16: 13

1994.08: No. 3: 23, No. 17: 63

1994.09: No. 21: 60-61

1994.10: No. 13: 28, No. 14: 53, No. 17: 64-65, No. 18: 10, No. 22: 64-65, No. 33: 49, No. 40: 48-49, 45: inside advertisement section, from page 66 forward

1994.11: No. 23: 15

1994.12: No. 24: 45, No. 25: 43

1994.13: No. 26: 30-31

1994.14: No. 52: 10-11

1994.15: No. 37: 28-29

1994.16: No. 12: inside "Special Advertising Section", No. 14: 8-9, No. 38: 70-71, No. 47: 57

1994.17: No. 42: 30-31, 44: 2-3

1994.18: No. 25: inside "Special Advertising Section", No. 26: back cover, No. 44: 47

1994.19: No. 45: 10-11

Volume 2004

Name of the advertisement: No. of issue: Page number

2004.01.1, 2004.01.2, 2004.01.3: No. 6: 8-11, No. 7: 8-11

2004.02: No. 2: 9, No. 8: 57, No. 52: 12

2004.03: No. 37: 72-73, No. 41: 105

2004.04.1, 2004.04.2, 2004.04.3: No. 32: 5-9

2004.05: No. 39: 76-77, No. 43: 68-69

2004.06.1, 2004.06.2: No. 20: 11, 13

2004.07: No. 43: 56

2004.08: No. 44: 49, No. 51: 26

2004.09: No. 3: back cover, No. 45: 64-65

2004.10: No. 3: 44

2004.11: No. 5: 6, No. 41: 45

2004.12: No 7: back cover

2004.13: No. 11: 20

2004.14: No. 11: 77

2004.15: No. 17: 71

2004.16: No. 17: back cover

2004.17: No. 17: 5, No. 19: back cover

2004.18: No. 19: 26

2004.19: No. 26: 12-13

2004.20: No. 27: 12

2004.21: No. 30: 7

2004.22: No. 32: 11

2004.23: No. 37: 19

2004.24: No. 11: 10, No. 12: 46. No. 36: 7, No. 37: 57, No. 38: 30, No. 39: 37, No. 49: 54

2004.25: No. 39: 13, No. 41: 83, No. 42: 25, No. 43: 7, No. 44: 7, No. 45: 17

2004.26: No. 39: 63, No. 50: 61

2004.27: No. 42: 19

2004.28: No. 43: 47

2004.29: No. 44: inside cover page, two-page spread

2004.30: No. 39: 7, No. 41: 77, No. 42: 21, No. 44: 5, No. 45: 15

2004.31: No. 49: 7

2004.32: No. 50: 41

2004.33: No. 51: 61

2004.34: No. 42: 39, No. 51: 62, No. 52: 103

2004.35: No. 52: back cover

2004.36: No. 52: 5

2004.37: No. 52: 6-7

Volume 2014

Name of the advertisement: No. of issue: Page number

2014.01: No. 22: back cover, No. 24: back cover

2014.02: No. 52: 89

2014.03: No. 2: 29

2014.04: No. 7: 53, No. 8: 47, No. 9 :39, No. 18: 52

2014.05: No. 14: 44: No. 16: 17

2014.06: No. 16: 3

2014.07: No. 16: 11

2014.08: No. 13: 3: No. 16: 49, No. 21: 49, No. 30: 53

2014.09: No. 29: 14, No. 31: 53, No. 35: 51, No. 36: 13, No. 51: 27

2014.10: No. 33: 10-11

2014.11: No. 52: 22-23

2014.12: No. 51: 105

2014.13: No. 20: 47

2014.14: No. 38: 19

2014.15: No. 20: 37, No. 22: 6, No. 23: 53, No. 27: 82, No. 30: inside cover page, No. 33: back cover, No. 35: back cover, No. 39: 55, No. 44: 3, No. 51: 7

2014.16: No. 45: 15, No. 46: 19, No. 48: 99

2014.17: No. 27: 3

2014.18: No. 45: 57, No. 47: 21, No. 48: 21, No. 51: 103

2014.19: No. 51: 3

2014.20: No. 8: 49, No. 9: 47, No. 10: 49: No. 17: 51

2014.21: No. 17: 53

2014.22: No. 20: 4, No. 39: 17

2014.23: No. 10: 46, No. 23: 4

2014.24: No. 18: 99, No. 29: 57, No. 36: 36, No. 40: 11, No. 42: 17

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Name	Year	Demand/Offer	Size of Frame	Horizontal angle	Vertical angle	Positioning	Type
1994.01	1994	Demand	Medium shot	Frontal	Low	Centre	Object
1994.02	1994	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Active
1994.03	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Active
1994.04	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Background
1994.05	1994	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Background
1994.06	1994	Offer	Close-up	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Object
1994.07	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Bottom	Object
1994.08	1994	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Object
1994.09	1994	Demand	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Demand
1994.10	1994	Demand	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Demand
1994.11	1994	Demand	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Demand
1994.12	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Active
1994.13	1994	Offer	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Active
1994.14	1994	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Object
1994.15	1994	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Right	Background
1994.16	1994	Demand	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Demand
1994.17	1994	Offer	Very long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Margin	Background
1994.18	1994	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Active
1994.19	1994	Demand	Medium shot	Frontal	High	Left	Demand
2004.01.1, 01.2, 01.3	2004	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Object
2004.02	2004	Offer	Medium close shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Object
2004.03	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Centre	Background

2004.04.1, 04.2, 04.3	2004	Demand	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Demand
2004.05	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Background
2004.06.1, 06.2	2004	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	High	Right	Object
2004.07	2004	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Background
2004.08	2004	Demand	Extreme close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Demand
2004.09	2004	Offer	Extreme close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Object
2004.10	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	High	Centre	Background
2004.11	2004	Offer	Medium long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Object
2004.12	2004	Offer	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Active
2004.13	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Background
2004.14	2004	Demand	Medium close shot	Frontal	High	Top	Demand
2004.15	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	High	Margin	Background
2004.16	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Background
2004.17	2004	Offer	Medium shot	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Object
2004.18	2004	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	High	Centre	Object
2004.19	2004	Demand	Medium long shot	Frontal	High	Left	Demand
2004.20	2004	Offer	Close-up	Oblique	Neutral	Margin	Background
2004.21	2004	Offer	Long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Active
2004.22	2004	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Margin	Background
2004.23	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Centre	Active
2004.24	2004	Demand	Medium long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Bottom	Demand
2004.25	2004	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Object
2004.26	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	High	Bottom	Background
2004.27	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Margin	Background
2004.28	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	High	Bottom	Active
2004.29	2004	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Background
2004.30	2004	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	High	Top	Active
2004.31	2004	Demand	Medium close shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Demand

2004.32	2004	Offer	Long shot	Oblique	Low	Left	Object
2004.33	2004	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	High	Top	Object
2004.34	2004	Demand	Close-up	Frontal	High	Top	Demand
2004.35	2004	Demand	Medium close shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Demand
2004.36	2004	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Object
2004.37	2004	Demand	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Demand
2014.01	2014	Demand	Medium long shot	Frontal	High	Top	Background
2014.02	2014	Demand	Extreme close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Demand
2014.03	2014	Demand	Medium long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Top	Demand
2014.04	2014	Offer	Medium close shot	Oblique	Low	Top	Object
2014.05	2014	Offer	Medium close shot	Oblique	Low	Top	Object
2014.06	2014	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Left	Active
2014.07	2014	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	Neutral	Margin	Background
2014.08	2014	Demand	Medium shot	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Demand
2014.09	2014	Offer	Extreme close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Object
2014.10	2014	Offer	Extreme close-up	Oblique	High	Top	Object
2014.11	2014	Offer	Very long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Background
2014.12	2014	Offer	Medium long shot	Frontal	Neutral	Margin	Background
2014.13	2014	Offer	Close-up	Oblique	Neutral	Top	Object
2014.14	2014	Offer	Medium shot	Oblique	Neutral	Centre	Object
2014.15	2014	Demand	Medium close shot	Frontal	Neutral	Right	Demand
2014.16	2014	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Top	Object
2014.17	2014	Offer	Very long shot	Oblique	High	Bottom	Background
2014.18	2014	Offer	Close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Object
2014.19	2014	Offer	Medium close shot	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Object
2014.20	2014	Demand	Extreme close-up	Frontal	High	Centre	Demand
2014.21	2014	Demand	Close-up	Oblique	Neutral	Centre	Object
2014.22	2014	Offer	Close-up	Oblique	Neutral	Top	Object

2014.23	2014	Offer	Extreme close-up	Frontal	Neutral	Centre	Object
2014.24	2014	Demand	Medium shot	Frontal	Neutral	Left	Demand

Appendix 2

Name	Year	Narrative process	Conceptual process	Type
1994.01	1994	Transactional action		Object
1994.02	1994		Symbolic suggestive	Active
1994.03	1994	Transactional action		Active
1994.04	1994	Transactional reactional		Background
1994.05	1994	Non-transactional action		Background
1994.06	1994	Transactional action		Object
1994.07	1994	Bidirectional reactional		Object
1994.08	1994		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
1994.09	1994		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
1994.10	1994		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
1994.11	1994		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
1994.12	1994	Non-transactional reactional		Active
1994.13	1994	Transactional action		Active
1994.14	1994	Non-transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
1994.15	1994	Transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
1994.16	1994		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
1994.17	1994		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
1994.18	1994	Transactional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Active
1994.19	1994	Bidirectional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.01.1, 01.2, 01.3	2004	Non-transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2004.02	2004		Symbolic suggestive	Object
2004.03	2004	Transactional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
2004.04.1, 04.2, 04.3	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.05	2004	Transactional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
2004.06.1, 06.2	2004		Symbolic suggestive	Object
2004.07	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
2004.08	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.09	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object

2004.10	2004		Analytical process	Background
2004.11	2004		Symbolic suggestive	Object
2004.12	2004	Transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Active
2004.13	2004	Transactional action		Background
2004.14	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.15	2004	Transactional reactional		Background
2004.16	2004	Bidirectional reactional		Background
2004.17	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2004.18	2004	Transactional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2004.19	2004		Analytical process	Demand
2004.20	2004		Analytical process	Background
2004.21	2004	Transactional action		Active
2004.22	2004		Analytical process	Background
2004.23	2004	Bidirectional action		Active
2004.24	2004	Transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.25	2004		Analytical process	Object
2004.26	2004	Transactional action		Background
2004.27	2004		Analytical process	Background
2004.28	2004	Transactional action		Active
2004.29	2004	Transactional reactional		Background
2004.30	2004	Transactional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Active
2004.31	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.32	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2004.33	2004	Transactional action		Object
2004.34	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.35	2004	Bidirectional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2004.36	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2004.37	2004		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2014.01	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
2014.02	2014		Classification process	Demand
2014.03	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2014.04	2014	Transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2014.05	2014	Non-transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2014.06	2014	Transactional action		Active
2014.07	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background

2014.08	2014	Transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2014.09	2014		Symbolic suggestive	Object
2014.10	2014		Symbolic suggestive	Object
2014.11	2014		Classification process	Background
2014.12	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
2014.13	2014	Non-transactional reactional	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2014.14	2014	Bidirectional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2014.15	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2014.16	2014	Transactional action	Carrier with symbolic attributes	Object
2014.17	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Background
2014.18	2014		Analytical process	Object
2014.19	2014	Bidirectional action		Object
2014.20	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand
2014.21	2014		Analytical process	Object
2014.22	2014	Bidirectional action		Object
2014.23	2014	Non-transactional reactional	Symbolic suggestive	Object
2014.24	2014		Carrier with symbolic attributes	Demand

Appendix 3

Name	Year	Salience	Framing	Colour	Value	Saturation	Purity	Modulation	Differentiation	Hue