"The world's worst cleaning lady":

the portrayal of gender in commercials targeted at American NHL audiences

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Mainontaan suhtaudutaan usein melko välinpitämättömästi, eikä sen vaikutusta yhteiskuntaan ja maailmankuvaamme välttämättä huomata. Mainonnan rooli vallitsevien arvojen ja ihanteiden rakentajana ja ylläpitäjänä on kuitenkin merkittävä, sillä mainonnan avulla on mahdollista tavoittaa suuri määrä ihmisiä hyvin pienessä ajassa. Kohdemainonnan avulla mainonnan viestit kohdistetaan tietylle kuluttajaryhmälle, mikä mahdollistaa mainonnan tehokkaan räätälöinnin vastaamaan kohderyhmän arvoja ja maailmankuvaa.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli selvittää, millaista nais- ja mieskuvaa amerikkalaisille jääkiekon katsojille suunnattu kohdemainonta välittää. Aineisto koostui 107 mainoksesta, jotka esiintyivät kolmen jääkiekkoliiga NHL:n (National Hockey League) ottelun mainoskatkojen aikana maaliskuussa 2014. Yhteensä mainokset sisälsivät 70 naishahmoa ja 160 mieshahmoa, jotka täyttivät koodaamiselle asetut kriteerit. Tutkimuksen tärkeimpänä työkaluna käytettiin laadullista ja määrällistä sisällönanalyysiä. Mainokset ja niissä esiintyvät hahmot analysoitiin hyödyntäen 22 kategoriaa, jotka muotoiltiin käyttäen pohjana Gillyn (1988) koodikehystä. Tulosten raportoinnissa nämä 22 kategoriaa jaettiin seuraavien kahdeksan pääotsikon alle: 1) tuotekategoriat, 2) henkilöhahmojen näkyvyys ja mainoksen taustaselostus, 3) roolit, 4) ulkonäkö ja demografiset tekijät, 5) siviilisääty ja seksuaalinen suuntautuminen, 6) työllisyys, 7) miljöö ja 8) apu ja neuvo.

Tässä tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että amerikkalaiselle jääkiekkoyleisölle suunnatun mainonnan välittämä kuva naisista on melko yksipuolista, kun taas miesten kuvaamisessa on havaittavissa enemmän monipuolisuutta. Mainokset sisälsivät huomattavasti enemmän mies- kuin naishahmoja ja esitetyistä mainoksista kävi ilmi, että niiden oletettu kohderyhmä on lähinnä mieskatsojat. Verrattaessa tutkimuksen tuloksia NHL:n katsojaryhmän demografisiin piirteisiin huomattiin, mainosten kuvaamat sukupuoli-, etnisvvsettä ikä-, toimeentulojakaumat vastasivat hyvin NHL:n todellisen katsojakunnan piirteitä. Tutkimuksen tulokset tukivat monelta osin aiempia sukupuolta televisiomainonnassa tarkastelleita tutkimuksia. Yhtäläisyydet tämän ja aiempien tutkimusten tuloksissa osoittavat, että vaikka sukupuolen kuvaus televisiomainonnassa on muuttunut jonkin verran viime vuosien ja vuosikymmenien aikana, on naisten ja miesten kuvaaminen edelleen melko perinteistä ja osittain stereotypioiden sävyttämää.

Asiasanat - Keywords target advertising, gender, ice hockey, qualitative content analysis

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1 INTRODUCTION

Advertising, and especially television advertising, is often considered the inevitable evil that people are unwillingly exposed to while watching their favorite soap operas or sports broadcasts. It is easy to think that the sole purpose of advertising is to irritate people or to sell people products which they have no interest in. However, in the midst of this kind of general attitude the complexity of advertising is often forgotten. Advertisements are generally the outcomes of long and committed creative and mental work which, unlike many people may think, have a designed agenda. Instead of senselessly bombarding audiences with the same commercials, advertisers carefully choose the target groups at whom they decide to target their products. Moreover, advertising is an influential tool that not only reflects the predominant values in the society but also constructs the society and the way people see themselves.

In the present study I have combined advertising, a target of my interest, with another theme I find fascinating, namely ice hockey. The idea for the topic of this thesis has come to me gradually: while watching National Hockey League (NHL) games I have come to notice that the commercials broadcast during the commercial breaks are quite clearly targeted at male audiences. Advertised products include cars, technological devices, male beauty products and other products that are stereotypically considered to interest men. Although I am familiar with the concept of target advertising it has still surprised me how clearly the advertising addresses male audiences instead of female audiences. Inspired by this observation, I decided to take this phenomenon under scrutiny in my thesis and examine how men and women are portrayed in commercials targeted at American ice hockey audiences.

Television advertising and the portrayal of gender in advertising are by no means new areas of research. Instead, they are both widely researched areas, and studies have focused on how men and women are portrayed in advertising across different media (e.g. Allan & Coltrane 1996; An & Kim 2007; Furnham &

Mak 1999; Wiles et al. 1995; Wolin 2003). However, no studies have been conducted on commercials targeted solely at ice hockey audiences and on how they portray gender. Although the status of ice hockey in the United States is not as strong as the status of many other sports, its popularity among viewers has risen in the past years and in 2013, for example, the six Stanley Cup final games broadcasted on the American television channels NBC and NBCSN had an average of 5.76 million viewers (NBC Sports Group 2013). Moreover, the NHL audience consists to a large extent of young and middle-aged affluent white men (Nielsen 2014a) which is a very tempting consumer group in the eyes of advertisers. Thus, examining how gender is portrayed in commercials targeted at ice hockey audiences can offer interesting and important insights into how gender issues are seen among these influential consumers who have plenty of buying power and a possibility to influence the society.

The present study investigates commercials broadcast during three NHL games in March 2014 and attempts to find out how men and women are portrayed in commercials targeted at ice hockey audiences in the United States. As its analytic method, this study uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to content analysis. Qualitative content analysis, or QCA, regardless of the word qualitative, does not focus solely on qualitative analysis but includes the possibility to count words and other manifest content in order to find out repetitive occurrences in the data, which is a typical trait of quantitative content analysis. However, as the purpose of this thesis is not just to concentrate on content visible to a naked eye but to also interpret the commercials and their messages, QCA is a suitable method of analysis.

The thesis consists of seven chapters. In the three chapters following the introduction chapter I will present the theoretical background for the thesis, focusing on the concept of advertising, previous studies done on gender and advertising, and finally the advertising business in the United States and the characteristics of American ice hockey audiences. After presenting the theoretical background, I will introduce the design of the present study by

discussing its aims and research questions, data and data collection, as well as its methodological approach. In chapter six the results of the qualitative content analysis will be presented. Finally, in chapter seven, the findings and their implications will be discussed further, after which I will address the limitations regarding the study and suggest possible topics for further research.

2 ADVERTISING

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the concept of advertising and to take a closer look at the power it can have over consumers. As the data of the present study consists of television commercials targeted at ice hockey audiences in the United States, the concepts of television advertising and target advertising will also be discussed in this chapter.

2.1 The nature of advertising

Advertising has a rather disputed reputation. On the one hand, advertising is often used to sell goods and services by creating images and messages that make people feel insufficient and unhappy with their lives. On the other hand, however, advertising can also be used to spread information about important issues, such as the disadvantages of smoking or obesity which are problematic themes around the world. Furthermore, as Cook (2001: 1-2) points out, the fact that the nature of advertising is to a great extent about monetary gain turns some people against it, whereas others are intrigued by its inventive and creative characteristics (Cook 2001: 1-2). However, no matter how the attitudes towards advertising differ, it is undeniably a substantial genre in almost all societies today (Cook 2001: 8). (Karhu 2012: 7-8)

The most central function of advertising is to introduce goods, services and even ideas to consumers, and to persuade publics to purchase and consume these. In other words, advertisements aspire to draw people's attention to the advertised objects. As Berger (2011: 1) points out, even the term *advertising* refers to its most central function, as it is derived from a Latin word *advertere* of which the English translation is "to pay attention to". Furthermore, according to Cook (2001: 10), the persuasive nature of advertising may even be the most important factor that distinguishes it from other related genres (cited in Karhu 2012: 8).

Considering the importance of advertising's persuasive nature, it would not be far-fetched to assume the persuasiveness to be apparent and straightforward. Nevertheless, this is very seldom the truth. In fact, advertising is very seldom completely transparent. Instead, advertisers use different techniques, such as appealing to one's emotions, in order to make the messages as efficient as possible, yet subtle. However, this has not always been the trend but the subtlety of advertising has, in fact, become increasingly more popular in the recent years and decades, and today advertising is considerably less conspicuous than it was in the 1950s and 1960s when advertising was remarkably upfront (Cook 2001: 2). (Karhu 2012: 8).

The range of different kinds of advertisements today is very wide and they may vary remarkably. Some include a lot of textual characteristics and give the visual components a lot less attention. Some, on the other hand, are extremely visual relying only on the power of the images they portray. However, as Cook (2001: 5) points out, "an ad is an interaction of elements". In other words, the effectiveness of an advertisement is always based on the co-operation of the different elements in the commercial. (Karhu 2012: 8).

Furthermore, according to Danesi and Perron (1999: 278), "advertising is a social text, promoting lifestyle and shaping worldview". This statement about advertising encloses an aspect of advertising that is often forgotten by the audiences: advertising not only reflects the culture but it also affects the way consumers see and experience the world (Berger 2011: 21). Thus, it is important to take into account that, although the most important and obvious mission of advertising is to sell and raise awareness of products and services, advertising has an enormous power in influencing consumers' perceptions and worldviews.

2.2 Television advertising

Television watching is a popular pastime in many contemporary societies. The number of different program genres on television is high and it is rather easy for everyone to find something to watch at all times during the day. In the United States, for example, an average American watches five hours of television per day (Nielsen 2014b). One of the major television genres viewers are exposed to daily is, of course, television advertising. Nielsen (2014b) reports that in 2013, 14.15 minutes of each hour of network television programming consisted of commercials. Considering that an average American spends five hours per day watching television, she is thus exposed to roughly 70 minutes of television advertising each day.

Despite the increasing popularity of online and other forms of advertising, television advertising still reaches the vastest number of viewers around the world today (Jin & Lutz 2013). Jin and Lutz (2013) point out that, when asking consumers what they considered the most typical type of advertising, the answer was most often television advertising. Even though new, and perhaps more imaginative, forms of advertising have emerged in recent years, television advertising has maintained its popular status mainly due to the many advantages it has compared to, for example, radio or print advertisements. One of the many advantages of television as an advertising medium is the possibility of story-telling which it offers to advertisers (Burtenshaw et al. 2006: 47, as cited in Karhu 2012: 9). Television commercials are often in the form of a short film which can act as a very influential factor when trying to persuade the audience to pay attention to commercials. Television commercials can also, as Cook (2001: 6) points out, consist of various different components which gives the advertisement creators various possibilities to realize their ideas. Television commercials are, in other words, multimodal advertisements that may include audio, visual and textual elements simultaneously. This gives them an opportunity for more diverse and creative advertising than, for example, print advertisements are capable of portraying. (Karhu 2012: 9).

In addition to its creative abilities, one of the strengths of television advertising lies in its capacity to offer viewers more personal experiences than other forms of advertising are capable of offering. It can reach the audience with practically a face-to-face contact and thus give the relationship between the advertisement and the viewer an intimate touch (Rajput & Vasishth 2008: 56). It can almost be compared to personal salesmanship since the distance the possible consumer has with the advertised product can feel like a very short one (Rajput & Vasishth 2008: 56). (Karhu 2012: 9).

2.3 Target advertising

Advertising through mass media can reach a vast amount of people in a very short time. However, instead of targeting advertisements to all possible audiences, marketers often choose a specific target audience to whom they address the advertising. As Marconi (2000: 5) notes, "a mass market today is not everyone in society, but everyone in a specific group *within* a society, and there can be many such groups". Due to the variety of audiences, it is impossible for advertisers to find a product or service that everyone would take interest in. (Karhu 2012: 9).

Defining the target audience as accurately and carefully as possible is crucial in order for marketers to succeed in getting their products through to the attention of people. Only by knowing the characteristics of the target audience marketers can tailor their advertisements to suit the audiences' interests (Smilansky 2009: 60). In addition to awakening people's interest, advertisers have to take into consideration aspects of the audiences' everyday lives. Exclusively by finding the elements in advertisements relevant to their desires and lifestyles the target audiences will develop their interest in the advertised products (Smilansky 2009: 61). (Karhu 2012: 9-10). According to Zhang and Gelb (1996), consumers tend to be responsive to advertising messages which indicate apprehension towards their culture as they are in accordance with the values and life views the consumers live by.

Similarly to advertising in general, target marketing aims at reaching audiences through commercials which are seldom completely straightforward. Instead, advertisements are created by, for instance, using images and signs with which advertisers hope to convey the desired message to the recipients. In other words, instead of directly pointing out the idea of the commercial, advertisers appeal to audiences' ability to use their previous knowledge and understanding of the world in order to comprehend the idea of the commercial. This method puts into action Hall's (1997: 25) theory of the constructionist approach to representation, according to which things mean nothing on their own but people construct meanings through using different representational systems and in this way give their surroundings a meaning. With respect to advertising, Gill (2007: 50) explains this as follows: "advertisements do not work by imposing meanings upon us or by manipulating us in some crude way. They create structures of meaning which sell products not for their use value, their functional value as objects, but in terms of ourselves as social beings". Consequently, it can be pointed out that advertisements do not directly suggest people what they should be like but they do, however, influence the construction of people's identities by creating ideal representations of people and society. Such ideal representations are often constructed by depicting very attractive people who are either portrayed as users of the advertised products or only used to create positive mental images of the product. They can, thus, be seen to act as role models to the readers of advertisements who may desire to become like them. (Karhu 2012: 10).

3 GENDER IN ADVERTISING

3.1 Television advertising and gender

Gender plays a major role in the world of advertising. Jhally (1990: 135) suggests that gender may even be the social resource that advertisers choose to use most often when planning and creating advertising messages. Advertisers define various reasons for why they consider gender to be a very effective segmentation strategy. According to Darley and Smith (1995), the reasons include the following three points: "1) gender is easily identifiable, 2) gender segments are accessible since most media provide this information), and 3) gender segments are large enough to be profitable".

The depictions of women and men in advertisements tend to differ from each other greatly and are often very stereotypical (Sheehan 2004: 91). Feasey (2008: 138) thinks this is partially due to the shortness of television commercials. She explains that, since advertisements only have a short time to convey the message, they often tend to "condense and concentrate stereotypical images from society at large". As I previously mentioned in Chapter 2, television and television advertising have a rather significant role in constructing the image viewers have about themselves and about the surrounding cultures. Thus, studying how television advertising depicts gender and influences different audiences is a worthy field of study.

3.2 Previous research on gender in television advertising

The portrayal of gender in television advertising is a widely researched area. According to Prieler & Centeno (2013), the first studies on gender in television advertising were conducted in the United States already in the 1970s, and it has since become a very popular topic in the field of media research. Prominent areas of focus have been the existence of gender stereotypes in television

commercials (Furnham & Farragher 2000; Knoll et al. 2011), the change in the depiction of males and females in television advertising during recent decades (Allan & Coltrane 1996; Wolin 2003; Bretl & Cantor 1988) and the portrayal of women in television commercials (Dominick & Rauch 1972; Courtney & Whipple 1974). Furthermore, research in this field is often cross-cultural and comparisons between different countries are common (Gilly 1988; Khairullah & Khairullah 2009; Paek et al. 2011). The United States, particularly, has been strongly involved in many studies done on cross-cultural advertising (Al-Olayan & Karande 2000: 69).

Although various studies show that the portrayal of gender in advertising has changed in the recent decades, (e.g. Furnham & Skae 1997; Allan & Coltrane 1996), differing opinions exist amidst researchers about whether the portrayal of women and men has become more equal recently or whether the field is in fact still characterized with predominantly stereotypical images of men and women. Ganahl et al. (2003), for example, point out that stereotypes and conventional roles are still very strongly present in many commercials, and are further supported by the findings of Milner and Higgs (2004) which suggest that contemporary commercials tend to portray women in an even more stereotypical and traditional manner than commercials from previous years. The study by Wolin (2003), on the other hand, implies that there has indeed been a decrease in the stereotypical depiction of women and men in the recent decades and that contemporary advertising tends to prefer realism over stereotypes. It is important to notice, however, that the context of the commercial can influence the way women and men are portrayed. Leppard et al. (1993), for example, point out that often the portrayal of females seems to be more stereotypical in advertisements which appear on publications targeted mainly at male audiences than in advertisements targeted at a more general audience.

Despite the differing views among researchers, various similarities can be noticed when examining the results of previous studies on gender and television advertising. One of the most prominent findings on which many researchers agree (e.g. Dominick & Rauch 1972; Furnham & Farragher 2000; Bretl & Cantor 1988; Courtney & Whipple 1974) is the dominance of male voice-overs in television commercials. Bretl & Cantor (1988), for example, examined and summarized the studies done on gender in advertising between 1971 and 1986 and found that in roughly 90 % of the commercials the sex of the voice-over, or *narrator* as they describe it, was male. Moreover, many studies have also discovered that advertisements often portray women as younger than men (e.g. Dominick & Rauch 1972; Milner & Collins 2000), as more likely married than men (e.g. Schneider & Schneider 1979), and also less likely employed than men (Schneider & Schneider 1979; Bretl & Cantor 1988). Furthermore, in commercials portraying women in work situations they have been found predominantly in service occupations (Dominick & Rauch 1972).

Furthermore, although many previous studies have focused on the portrayal of gender in advertising in general or in advertising targeted at female audiences, studies have also been conducted on the portrayal of gender in commercials targeted at male audiences. Craig (1992), Gentry & Harrison (2010) and Kaufman (1999), for example, have studied the portrayal of gender in male targeted commercials. All of these studies focused their research on commercials shown during sports programming as they assumed those to have more male than female viewers. Craig (1992) found that commercials shown on weekend afternoons during sports broadcasts portrayed significantly more celebrities, professionals and workers than those commercials targeted at either females or to a more general audience. Craig (1992) also found significant differences between the product categories advertised to men and other audiences. The commercials shown during weekend afternoon sports broadcasts consisted largely of automotive commercials and business product and service commercials, whereas the commercials targeted mainly at female audiences included predominantly products related to "body", "food", and "home". Furthermore, Craig (1992) points out that the commercials targeted at male audiences portray stereotypical masculine characters emphasizing, among

others, physical strength, competitiveness, and daring. Gentry & Harrison (2010), in turn, found that in commercials targeted at men, male characters were very rarely portrayed as fathers or as doing housework. Gentry and Harrison (2010) also found that the commercials they analyzed for their study emphasized two male representations: "the stoically macho man" and the "horse's ass". "The stoically macho man" was a stereotypical example of a masculine man who works hard, provides for his family, handles masculine tasks at home, but is still portrayed as spending very little time with his family. "The horse's ass", on the other hand, was an immature man who failed to do anything right and was made fun of by his family and friends.

4 ADVERTISING AND ICE HOCKEY IN THE U.S.

4.1 Advertising business in the U.S.

According to Baudot (1989, cited in Khairullah & Khairullah 2002: 50), the United States is the "advertising capital of the world". In 2007 the U.S. advertising expenditures climbed up to \$148,99 billion, which was more than ever before in the American advertising history (Sivulka 2012: 368). Similarly to advertising business in general, the amount of money spent in American television advertising has also risen steadily in the recent years. In 2013 the sum spent in television advertising was \$78 billion, whereas in 2009 it was \$14 billion less totaling in \$64 billion (Nielsen 2014b). The dominant role the U.S. has had in the advertising business over the past decades has, however, diminished in the recent years and both marketing and advertising have become global businesses which play an important role all over the world (Sivulka 2012: 368).

All cultures have distinctive value systems and it is possible to observe notable differences between different cultures and nations (Gilly 1988). Americans, for example, can, according to Bakhtari (1995), be described as informal, direct, competitive, high achievers, independent and individualistic, questioners and punctual. As discussed in Section 2.3.2, advertisements in all media have a tendency to rely on these cultural values and beliefs when targeting different audience groups. As to American cultural values, researchers have found various values that recur in American television advertisements. Cheng & Schweitzer (1996), for example, examined the cultural values reflected in Chinese and American television commercials and discovered that the values dominating the American television commercials were "enjoyment", "individualism", "economy", "modernity" and "youth". Caillat and Mueller (1996), in turn, studied British and American beer commercials in order to find out the types of cultural values reflected in them. As regards to the American

commercials, their main goal was to discover if the commercials portrayed three values that they associated with the American culture: 1) individualism/independence, 2) modernity/newness, and 3) achievement. The findings of their study did indeed show that these three values were predominantly present in the American commercials they had chosen for their study. In addition, Mueller (1987) discovered that American television commercials relied more on hard-sell appeals than, for example, Japanese commercials which were found to prefer a soft selling tactic.

Furthermore, advertising lives along the changes in the society. In the past 10 years advertisers in the U.S. have become increasingly interested in the young, affluent men who pay attention to fashion but still maintain their masculine style (Sivulka 2012: 378). In addition to these young *metrosexuals*, marketers have also realized the importance of the so-called "New Affluent" people whose influence in the consumer markets is enormous. Sivulka (2012: 381) describes them as 35-54-year-old people whose households earn a minimum of \$125,000 per year, are interested in social media and appreciate traditional values instead of fame and glory.

4.2 American ice hockey audience

National Hockey League (NHL) ranks sixth in the United States when asked adult sport fans about their favorite sports leagues, beaten in popularity by such sports as college football and auto racing (Rovell 2014). However, even though NHL is still an underdog when compared to other major sports leagues in the United States, its popularity has risen in recent years and it thus reaches bigger audiences today than before (Kline 2014).

According to a recent study by Nielsen (2014a), NHL has the most affluent audience among all sports audiences in the United States. The study points out that "53% of the NHL's viewing audience for nationally televised regular season games in 2013 came from households earning over \$75K, compared to

only 27 percent of its audience ten seasons ago". Moreover, the study also points out that one third of the NHL's viewers earn over \$100 000 dollars per year. As the high percentage of affluent viewers suggests, the NHL viewers tend to be well educated. In fact, according to a study by Experian Simmons (2009), people who are at least a little bit interested in the NHL are more likely to have attended college and acquired a college degree than those not at all interested in the NHL.

Furthermore, another prominent factor characterizing the NHL audience is its one-sidedness as regards to race. Whereas, for example, basketball and football are actively followed in the United States by people from various different ethnic backgrounds, the NHL has the least diverse audience (Paulsen 2014a). During the 2012-2013 season, for example, 55 percent to 61 percent of the viewers of the NBA (National Basketball Association) finals were either of African American, Hispanic or Asian background, whereas the percentage of these ethnicities following the NHL Stanley Cup final games was only from 6 to 13 in each game. Instead, the vast majority, that is 92%, of the NHL audience consisted of white viewers. The unevenness of the ethnic backgrounds of the NHL audience is further demonstrated in the NHL demo profile from season 2012-2013 (Figure 1) formulated by Nielsen (2014a).

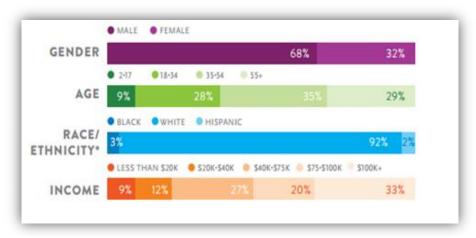


Figure 1. NHL Demo Profile (2012-2013 Regular Season) Source: Nielsen (2014a)

Moreover, as the NHL demo profile above suggests, NHL, as most other sports leagues, has significantly more male viewers than female viewers. Only

approximately one third of the viewers are female. Furthermore, Figures 2 and 3 provide information on the age division of the viewers following the NHL Stanley Cup Final in 2013. As demonstrated by the Figures, the majority of the male viewers following the NHL finals in 2013 were 35-54-year-olds whereas the majority of the female viewers were 55 years old or older (Paulsen 2014b).

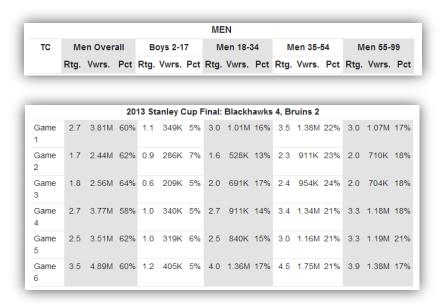


Figure 2. Age division among the male viewers of the Stanley Cup Finals in 2013 (Source: Paulsen 2014b)



Figure 3. Age division among the female viewers of the Stanley Cup Finals in 2013 (Source: Paulsen 2014b)

In sum, based on the statistics provided by Nielsen (2014a) and Paulsen (2014a & 2014b), the NHL audience seems to differ rather plenty from the audiences of other major sports leagues in the United States, mainly with regards to race diversity and income level. As demonstrated by Figures 1 and 2, the NHL audience comprises to a large extent of white, affluent middle-aged men. These "New Affluent" men, as described by Sivulka (2012: 381), are of advertisers' interest as their contribution to consumer markets is considered extremely important due to their significant purchasing power. This suggests that investing in advertising targeted at NHL audiences could be of great benefit to advertisers, as it would allow them to reach a very potential consumer group in a very effective way.

5 DESIGN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In this section the aims and the research questions of the present study will first be presented, followed by an introduction of the data and the means of collecting the data. Finally, the methodological foundations will be discussed, focusing on qualitative content analysis which is the main method of analysis in this study.

5.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of the present study is to discover how men and women are depicted in television commercials targeted at American ice hockey audiences. Thus, the main research question is as follows:

 How are women and men portrayed in television commercials targeted at American ice hockey audiences?

In order to answer the main research question in a thorough manner, the following two additional questions will be used as supporting questions:

- Are there differences in how men and women are portrayed? If so, what kind?
- Are there similarities in how men and women are portrayed? If so, what kind?

5.2 Data and data collection

The data of the present study consist of 107 individual television commercials that aired during three different National Hockey League games in March 2014 on the American television channels NBC and NBCSN. The commercials were recorded via *Viaplay* which is an online live streaming service. The exact information on the games is presented in Table 1.

The games in question were selected for the reason that they aired on national American networks and had thus the opportunity to be reached by all Americans. NHL games are also broadcast on local television channels but this would have narrowed down the possible audience to regard only a small

Table 1. Games of the study

Game	Date of broadcast	Channel	Overall number of commercials (including the ones not included in the analysis)
Game 1: New York Rangers vs. Detroit Red Wings	9 Mar 2014	NBC	Altogether 65 commercials
Game 2: St Louis Blues vs. Chicago Blackhawks	19 Mar 2014	NBS Sports Network	Altogether 85 commercials
Game 3: Minnesota Wild vs. Detroit Red Wings	24 Mar 2014	NBC Sports Network	Altogether 86 commercials

portion of Americans and since the aim of this study is to analyze commercials targeted at all Americans interested in ice hockey the games airing on local channels were thus not taken into consideration.

The first game between New York Rangers and Detroit Red Wings took place on Sunday, 9 March 2014. During the regular NHL season, NBC broadcasts NHL games on Sunday afternoons and, since this particular game aired during the time of recording in March, it was chosen for the analysis. Furthermore, NBC Sports Network broadcasts national ice hockey games mainly on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Wednesday's broadcast carries a title Wednesday Night Rivalry and it is one of the most popular NHL broadcasts in the United States. During the season 2012-2013, for example, seven of the top eight NHL broadcasts were Wednesday Night Rivalries (Ozanian 2013). Thus, the two other games, St Louis Blues vs. Chicago Blackhawks and Minnesota Wild vs. Detroit Red Wings, were chosen for the analysis as they were the Wednesday Night Rivalries that took place during the recording in March and were thus assumed to reach a vast audience.

Altogether the three games included 191 commercials which, considering the scope of the present study, offered enough data for the analysis and there was thus no need for gathering more data. As the main interest of the present study is to examine the characters portrayed in product and service commercials targeted at NHL audiences, the commercials advertising television shows, movies, and NBC's and NBCSN's own broadcasts were excluded from the analysis. In addition, some of the commercials aired more than once but multiple airings were discarded and each commercial was coded only once. This was because many of the commercials airing multiple times advertised the NHL's sponsors' services and products and the reason for their frequent occurrence was most likely the sponsorship. For example, the commercial airing most times, that is 12 times, was a credit card commercial by *Discover Financial Services* (Picture 1). The company has been an official sponsor of the NHL since 2010 and its current sponsorship contract will last until 2016 (Klayman 2010; Dreier 2011).



Picture 1. Discover Card 1a

Considering the vast number of characters the 107 commercials included it would have been nearly impossible to include everyone in the analysis. Thus, using the study by Dominick and Rauch (1972) as an inspiration, some restrictions were set to limit the number of characters chosen for further analysis. Firstly, only the people who appeared in the commercial for more than three seconds were counted in. However, exceptions were made in two cases: 1) should a character have a line of three or more words, they were counted in even if their appearance in the commercial was shorter than three seconds, and 2) those characters who appeared only in the background and whose features

were not clearly shown were not included in the analysis even if they appeared on screen for longer than three seconds. Secondly, only characters of 15 years old or older were counted in as characters younger than that are still children and thus not suitable for the purposes of the present thesis.

5.3 Methods of analysis

5.3.1 Qualitative content analysis

Advertising, like other media content as well, is characterized by various phenomena, such as messages, context and medium (Shoemaker & Reese 1996: 10), due to which its analysis can be difficult if one does not follow a systematic line of analysis. One of the common methods used for systematic analysis of advertising is qualitative content analysis which is also the main method of analysis of the present study. Content analysis is often falsely considered merely a quantitative method. It is, however, important to remember that content analysis can also be qualitative of its nature. As Schreier (2012: 2) points out, quantitative content analysis is valid when the data analyzed includes highly standardized meanings. However, since the purpose of the present study is not just to count, but rather to interpret the data, qualitative content analysis is the preferred method of analysis. Qualitative content analysis has become a widely used method in the recent years due to its interpretive nature. Whereas quantitative content analysis is often criticized of merely counting words and other visible content in texts, qualitative content analysis also does this but then goes further to find deeper meanings from the texts (Zhang & Wildemuth 2014). As Zhang and Wildemuth (2014) phrase it: "It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner".

One of the central procedures in qualitative content analysis is the categorization of the data into different units of analysis based on themes and ideas that rise from the data. According to Mayring (2000), there are two central approaches to qualitative content analysis category development: inductive

category development and deductive category development. When developing the coding categories in an inductive way, one diligently goes through the data and looks for possible themes and ideas that occur repetitively, which s/he then uses to structure the coding categories. In the case of deductive category development, then, instead of constructing the categories solely based on the data at hand, one can utilize previous theories and researches to form suitable coding categories (Zhang & Wildemuth 2014).

In the present thesis, I have combined the inductive and deductive approaches as I have used the coding frame constructed by Gilly (1988, Appendix 1) as the basis for my coding. However, after making observations about my data, I made a few modifications to Gilly's frame in order for it to better suit the purposes of this study. Thus, the development of the categories was a mix of deductive and inductive approaches in the sense that I used the study by Gilly as the basis for my coding frame, but finalized the frame only after carefully going through the data and picking out essential categories. The actual process of analyzing the data has been presented in the following chapter.

5.3.2 Analysis procedure

When carrying out the qualitative content analysis of the data I followed the eight steps suggested by Zhang and Wildemuth (2014). The steps are presented in Figure 4. The analysis started off by preparing the data. The desired data were acquired by first recording all the commercials broadcast during the three chosen games, of which those commercials which were not considered to be essential to the present study were then eliminated. Thus, the commercials chosen for further analysis were defined as the units of analysis. After defining the units of analysis, the coding scheme was structured (Table 3). The scheme was constructed by using the frame by Gilly (1988, Appendix 1) as the basis but some modifications were later made to it based on the observations made after carefully going through the data. After finishing the coding frame, it was applied to a small sample of the data in order to confirm its suitability. Some deficiencies emerged so the frame was modified according to these findings

after which it was once again applied to a small sample of data. This time the frame worked well and was thus applied to the whole data. In other words, in the case of each commercial respectively, all the characters fulfilling the coding requirements were first identified, after which each commercial and character was coded by carefully following the coding frame. The findings were documented in an Excel table (Appendix 2). After coding the whole data, the consistency of the coding was assessed by revising the data once again. Once the consistency of the coding had been assessed, the results were carefully examined and reported on.

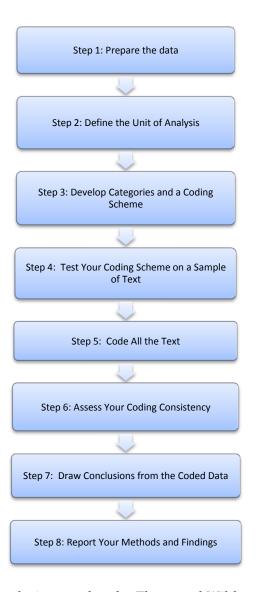


Figure 4. Analysis procedure by Zhang and Wildemuth (2014)

Table 2. Coding frame of the present thesis (adapted from Gilly (1988))

Category	Explanation
Product name (coded for each commercial)	The brand name of the product / service
Product (coded for each commercial)	To which of the following product categories does the
	product / service belong to:
	1) Alcoholic beverages
	2) Beauty products and cosmetics
	3) Cars
	4) Car accessories (e.g. oil, tires)
	5) Clothing and sporting goods
	6) Financial matters (e.g. insurances, credit cards)
	7) Food and non-alcoholic beverages
	8) Hobby-related
	9) Drugs and medicines
	10) Places
	11) Services
	12) Technology-related
Product user (coded for each commercial)	Who is the product user: 1) male, 2) female, 3)both, 4)
,	N/A.
Voice-over (coded for each commercial)	Sex of the possible voice-over: 1) male, 2) female, 3) N/A
,	(no voice-over)
Setting (coded for each character)	Primary setting of the character: 1) occupational setting, 2)
0 (20 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 1	outdoors, 3) private residence, 4) restaurant, 5) store, 6)
	car, 7) sport venue, 8) other
Function (coded for each character)	Function of the character: 1) key or 2) supporting
Sex (coded for each character)	Sex of the character: 1) male or 2) female
Age (coded for each character)	To which age group does the character belong: 1) 10-20, 2)
Age (coded for each character)	21-35, 3) 36-50, 4) 51-65, 5) 66 and older
Body type (coded for each character)	Is the character portrayed as: 1) ectomorph (thin or fairly
body type (coded for each character)	thin), 2) mesomorph (body builder type, very muscular)
Au c	or 3) endomorph (fairly overweighed or overweighed)
Attractiveness (coded for each character)	To which attractiveness group does the character belong:
	1) 1 (not attractive), 2) 2 (conventionally attractive), 3) 3
	(exceptionally attractive)
Clothing style (coded for each character)	The character is dressed in a following style: 1) casual, 2)
	festive, 3) outdoor, 4) sport, 5) swimsuit / underwear, 6)
	uniform, 7) work / career, 8) other
Race (coded for each character)	What race does the character represent: 1) Asian, 2) black,
26 11 16 11 11	3) Latin, 4) white
Marital status (coded for each character)	The characters' marital status is as follows: 1) married or
	engaged, 2) no indication of marriage, 3) not identified
Sexuality (coded for each character)	The sexuality of the character is: 1) heterosexual, 2)
	homosexual, 3) not identified
Employment (coded for each character)	The characters' employment status as follows: 1) work
Employment (coded for each character)	
	situation, 2) non-work situation but seems to be employed, 3) without indication of employment
Occumation (so dod for so sh -1	
Occupation (coded for each character)	If a character is portrayed as employed, what is their
	occupation: 1) blue collar, 2) entertainer, 3) military
	employee, 4) pink collar, 5) professional, 6) professional
0.1 / 1.16 . 1.1	athlete, 7) white collar or 8) other
Spokesperson (coded for each character)	Does the character act as a spokesperson: 1) yes or 2) no
Credibility if spokesperson (coded for each character)	Should the character act as a spokesperson, is he / she 1)
	an authority or 2) a product user
Help (coded for each character)	Is the character either a 1)recipient, 2) provider or 3)
	neither of help
Advice (coded for each character)	Is the character either a 1) receiver, 2) giver or 3) neither of
•	advice
Role (coded for each character)	What is the character's primary role? 1) child, 2) friend /
,	colleague, 3) parent, 4) partner, 5) real life celebrity, 6)
	sibling, 7) employee, 8) other
Activity (coded for each character)	Is the character engaged in physical activity or inactive?
J ()	F-3

6 RESULTS OF THE QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

In this section the results of the qualitative content analysis will be presented. The categories have been divided into eight main categories which will all be presented respectively. In the case of each variable, I will first describe the results of the coding procedure using tables and verbal explanation, after which I will extract examples from the data in order to better exemplify the typical findings and also to point out possible abnormalities.

6.1. Product categories

The data of the present thesis consisted of 107 individual commercials which fulfilled the requirements set for coding. Table 3 below demonstrates how the commercials were divided on the basis of the product category of each commercial.

Table 3. The number of commercials in different product categories

Product category	Number of commercials
Alcoholic beverages	15 (14%)
Beauty products	2 (1,9%)
Car accessories	8 (7,5%)
Cars	21 (19,6%)
Clothing and sporting goods	6 (5,6%)
Drugs and medicines	4 (3,7%)
Financial matters	22 (20,6%)
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	13 (12,1%)
Hobby-related	3 (2,8%)
Places	2 (1,9%)
Services	9 (8,4%)
Technology-related	2 (1,9%)
Total number of commercials	107

The two largest product categories were *cars* and *financial matters* that together covered 39,9% of the 107 commercials. The third largest category was that of alcoholic beverages which included 14% of the commercials, followed by food and non-alcoholic beverages (12,1%), services (8,4%), car accessories (7,5%) and clothing and sporting goods (5,6%). The categories with least commercials were

drugs and medicines (3,7%), hobby-related (2,8%), technology-related (1,9%), places (1,9%) and beauty products (1,9%).

Altogether the commercials coded for the present thesis included 230 characters that fulfilled the coding requirements set. Of these 230 characters 70 were women and 160 were men. How the characters were divided between different product categories can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Gender representation in each product category

Product category	Females	Males
Alcoholic beverages	9 (31%)	20 (69%)
Beauty products	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Cars	13 (40,6%)	19 (59,4%)
Car accessories	5 (41,7%)	7 (58,3%)
Clothing and sporting goods	1 (14,3%)	6 (85,7%)
Financial matters	17 (34%)	33 (66%)
Food and non-alcoholic	9 (30%)	21 (70%)
beverages		
Hobby related	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Drugs and medicines	4 (50%)	4 (50%)
Places	2 (18,2%)	9 (81,8%)
Services	7 (17,5%)	33 (82,5%)
Technology	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
Total	70	160

As Table 4 demonstrates, commercials from most product categories included both female and male characters. However, in commercials advertising beauty products and hobby-related products the coded characters only included males. Furthermore, in all the product categories, except for the ones advertising technology-related products, and drugs and medicines, male characters outnumbered female characters rather clearly. The only category in which female characters outnumbered male characters was that of technology-related products.

One of the product categories to portray significantly more male than female characters was the services category. In this category, 33 out of the 40 characters portrayed were men whereas only seven of the characters were women. The dominance of male characters in the *services* category is well portrayed in a commercial by the live streaming service *NHL GameCenter* (Picture 2) in which

four male characters that have fulfilled the coding requirements are portrayed as opposed to that of zero women. In the commercial a youngish man is portrayed in a hospital visiting his father who has very recently had a hernia surgery. The son is frustrated because his father had scheduled the surgery for the same day as the NHL team Washington Capitals was in town and he was thus forced to miss the game and stay with his father in the hospital. At the end of the commercial, two Washington Capitals players are portrayed as spokespeople for the advertised service as they provide the viewer further information about the *NHL GameCenter*.



Picture 2. NHL GameCenter 1

Furthermore, taking into account that men are considered to form the majority of sports audiences, it is perhaps no surprise that all beauty products advertised in the commercials of this study were targeted at men. The number of commercials advertising beauty products was, however, very low as only two out of 107 commercials belonged to this category. One of the two commercials advertising beauty products was the commercial by *Just for Men* hair dye (Picture 3). Similarly to the other beauty product commercial, namely that of *Gillette Body*, the characters coded for the *Just for Men* commercial include exclusively male characters who are portrayed as self-confident, good-looking and conscious about their appearance. As the commercial have a bushy but tidy beard. The men are portrayed on different occasions, such as surfing, boxing and doing manual work implying that being engaged in a physical activity is typical for men using *Just for Men* hair dye. The male dominance in this commercial clearly targeted at men is, of course, rather logical as the

purpose is to show what all men can look like if they choose to use *Just for Men* products.



Picture 3. Just for Men

A perhaps more surprising finding resulted in the category of technologyrelated commercials as it turned out to be the only product category to portray more female than male characters. Technology is often associated more likely with men than women, which is why it would not have been illogical to assume male characters to outnumber female characters in this product category, too. However, similarly to the beauty product category, only two of the 107 commercials were categorized as technology-related commercials so the number of coded characters in the technology-related commercials was not large. On the contrary, the number of coded characters was rather low as altogether only five characters were found to be eligible for coding: three women and two men. Four of these characters appear in a commercial by the technology store BestBuy (Picture 4), in which two young men and two young women who filled the requirements for coding are portrayed as salespeople at a BestBuy store. The fifth person in the commercial only appeared on screen for a very short time and was thus not included in the analysis. In the commercial, the characters are familiarizing themselves with laptops they sell at the store in order to serve their customers better. So, although this was the only product category to portray more female than male characters, the difference was rather small and cannot thus be described as significant.



Picture 4. BestBuy

6.2 Character visibility and voice-over

Advertisers may have plenty of different tactics with which they aim at reaching the target audiences as effectively as possible. For example, the commercials targeted at solely female viewers or solely male viewers may vary rather plenty with regards to the gender of key players or voice-overs, just to name a few. Thus, in this chapter the questions of characters' visibility in the commercials, as well as the gender of voice-overs will be examined. The first two chapters of this section examine two out of the four variables which were coded for each commercial, namely the product user and the voice-over. The last two chapters present the results of two out of the 18 variables coded for each character, namely the function of the character in the commercial and the possible role of a spokesperson.

6.2.1 Product user

In the case of each individual commercial, the sex of the main user of the advertised product was identified as either male, female, both or N/A. The option N/A (not available) was used when no characters appeared in the commercial or none of the characters appearing in the commercial were portrayed using the product. The results of this category are shown in Table 5. The used products included tangible products, such as food, cars and technological devices, but also different services, such as financial and entertainment services.

Table 5. Sex of the main product user.

User	Number of users
Both	38 (35,5%)
Female	5 (4,7%)
Male	40 (37,4%)
N/A	24 (22,4%)
Total	107

Of the 107 commercials men were portrayed as the only product users in 37,4% of the commercials, both women and men in 35,5% of the commercials, only women in 4,7% of the commercials, and 22,4% featured no product users. Thus, significantly more commercials portrayed men as the only product users. Furthermore, the product category to include most commercials with solely male product users was that of financial matters which covered 25% of all commercials portraying only male users. As to female characters, then, car commercials together with food and non-alcoholic drink commercials both respectively covered 40% of the commercials portraying solely female product users. Among commercials portraying both female and male product users, car commercials were the most common category with 21% of the commercials belonging to the category of car commercials.

The commercial by a bank holding company *Capital One* provides an example of a financial matter commercial in which men are portrayed as the product users (Picture 5). This commercial features two former professional basketball players, Charles Barkley and Greg Anthony, at a basketball game. The announcer informs the audience about a car that has lights on and describes the car rather elaborately. Anthony recognizes that the announcer is describing Barkley's car but Barkley does not want to admit it is his, as the car is described as having Charles Barkley DVDs on its passenger seat and a bumper sticker that says "Turbo". Finally he stands up and says: "I'm gonna go get some drinks with my *Capital One Venture Card*" to which Anthony replies with a question: "Forgetting something, Sir Charles?", and hands Barkley the car keys indicating that he knows Barkley is indeed going to his car to turn off the lights. Although in some commercials the use of the advertised products was quite subtle and

the name of the product was not necessarily uttered aloud, in this commercial Barkley mentions the name of the advertised product out loud and thus avows himself as a user of the card.



Picture 5. Capital One Venture Card.

Moreover, an example of a commercial portraying both a female and a male character is provided by the car manufacturer *FIAT* (Picture 6). In this commercial by *FIAT*, a famous rap artist Kanye West is shown sitting in a car driven by a young beautiful woman. They drive around a desert and find two men who seem to have gotten lost and are very exhausted and thirsty. West offers the two men some water but the men think he is a mirage and laugh at him in disbelief. Finally, West and his female friend drive away and leave the two men laughing. In this commercial, neither West nor his friend directly mention the name *FIAT* and thus do not acknowledge out loud that they are users of a *FIAT* car. However, here the viewer is expected to make the association between the advertised product and the car they are driving regardless of no one mentioning it in particular.



Picture 6. FIAT

6.2.2. Voice-over

Another variable coded for each commercial was the sex of the voice-over. The voice-over was marked as either male, female, both or N/A. Those voice-overs whose speakers could be identified as being physically present in the commercials were not counted in even if their voice acted as a voice-over later on in the commercial. Thus, only those voice-overs whose sources could not be seen in the commercial were counted in as voice-overs. How often men and women were presented as voice-overs can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Gender of voice-over

Voice-over	n/% (of all voice-overs)
Female	4 (4,3%)
Male	89 (95,7%)
N/A	14 commercials featured no voice-over
Total	107

As demonstrated by Table 6, out of 107 commercials, 89 commercials had a male voice-over while only four commercials featured a female voice-over. Thus, as 14 commercials featured no voice-over, the percentage of male voice-overs was 95,7% while for female voice-overs it was only 4,3% of all commercials with a voice-over.

Male voice-overs were found in commercials from all the product categories and were not considered more typical in some product categories than in others. One of the commercials featuring a male voice-over was, for example, the commercial advertising a satellite service provider *DirecTV* (Picture 7) in which a middle-aged man is portrayed watching cable television. The television channel does not work and the man becomes tense which causes him insomnia. Due to not being able to sleep during the night, he falls asleep while driving during the day, ends up eating poisonous berries and chasing after butterflies, while ignoring a group of gangsters who are in the middle of a secret meeting. The male voice-over acts as the narrator in the commercial telling the viewer what the man is doing. At the end of the commercial the male voice-over concludes: "Don't chase imaginary butterflies into something highly illegal. Get

rid of cable and upgrade to *DirecTV*. Call 1800-directv." The tone of the male voice-over is throughout the commercial rather stable but with such a tone that it creates tension to the commercial as the different actions take place and the male character faces his adventures.



Picture 7. DirecTV

Furthermore, of those four commercials that featured a female voice-over, all portrayed at least one female character. Thus, none of the commercials portraying solely male characters featured a female voice-over. One of the four commercials featuring a female voice-over was the commercial by a financial service provider *Chase* (Picture 8). In this commercial, a man is portrayed in one of the rooms of his house at five different stages of his life. The purpose of the room changes throughout his life from a study to a baby's room, from a baby's room to a young girl's room, from a young girl's room to a teenager's room, and finally from a teenager's room back to being a study. The man in the commercial is portrayed as a caring father, who spends time with his daughter and is there for her as she gets older. Once his daughter grows up and moves out he finally has the time to get back to writing the novel he started before he had children. As the purpose of the commercial is to advertise the financial services provided by Chase, the commercial seems to suggest that in this family it is the father who is seen as the main provider and caretaker in the family. The caring and gentle feeling of the commercial is emphasized by the tranquil but cheerful piano music and the female voice-over who instead of stating hard facts about the company and its services, appeals to the viewer by creating mental images of what Chase can help one achieve: "So you can start writing the great American novel. So you can happily let life get in the way...while planning for tomorrow. So you can *finish* the great American novel. Thanking for the life you have, investing for the life you want. *Chase*, so you can."



Picture 8. Chase

6.2.3. Key role vs. supporting role

In the case of each character it was decided whether the character had a key or a supporting role in the commercial. If a commercial only portrayed one character, it was rather easy to characterize him/her as a key role player. If, however, a commercial featured more than just one person, the key and supporting role players were defined on the basis of their importance in the commercial, meaning that the people with most screen time or most lines were defined as key players, whereas characters with less significant roles were defined as supporting players. Consequently, a commercial could have featured more than just one key player, and in the case of some commercials no key players were identified as all characters played a rather insignificant role. How the functions were divided among female characters and among male characters, can be seen in Table 7. Furthermore, altogether 72 commercials featured key role players and 43 commercials featured supporting role players. Tables 8 and 9 show the number of commercials, in which the key or supporting roles were played by solely male characters, solely female characters, or by both sexes.

As demonstrated by Table 7, just slightly over a half of both female and male characters were portrayed in key roles, as 51,5% of women and 51,9% of men

featured as key role players. Similarly, just slightly under a half of both female and male characters were portrayed in supporting roles as 48,6% of female characters and 48,1% of male characters featured as supporting role players. Thus, no significant differences occurred in the case of this variable.

Table 7. Division of key and supporting roles among female and male characters.

Role	Female	Male
Key role	36 (51,4%)	83 (51,9%)
Supporting role	34 (48,6%)	77 (48,1%)
Total	70	160

In a commercial by the meat and cold cut production company Oscar Mayer (Picture 9), male characters are portrayed in both key and supporting roles, whereas female characters only play supporting roles. In this commercial, a young athletic man plays the key role, as he is present in all scenes and is portrayed as the product user. He is first portrayed training at a gym where his male friends do various strange training exercises even though they do not even know how these exercises are supposed to effect their bodies. Next, the man is portrayed signing up for a hot yoga class and while he is filling out the sign-up form a lady presently participating in the class is portrayed fainting due to the hotness of the room. After leaving the yoga studio, the man is shown walking outside when another man runs by him with a parachute on his back trying to get into the air. In the last scene the man is at a juice bar with his friend who orders a strange looking smoothie and has no idea what it includes. The only thing that matters to him is that it is rich in protein. After seeing this, the man playing the key role reaches for his pocket and takes out a little snack package which includes meat, cheese and nuts, simultaneously messaging that he has no need for the kinds of crazy trends his friends do because the snack package by Oscar Mayer is all he needs in a simple but nutritious form. In addition to the male character playing portrayed in a key role, the commercial portrays four characters that fill the requirements for coding. Of these four characters two are women and two are men. Both of the women are depicted in supporting roles as they are present in only scene each and their contribution to the commercial

is thus rather minor. Moreover, they are both portrayed in service occupations, as one of them is a receptionist at the yoga studio and the other is a barista in the juice bar, so they do not participate in the creation of the commercial's message as strongly as the male character portrayed in the key role. The two men, then, are also portrayed in supporting roles. Both of the men playing supporting roles are portrayed as friends to the man in the key role, and all three are depicted as athletic and in good physical shape. The two men playing supporting roles are defined as supporting actors as, similarly to the female characters, they are present in only one scene each and their contribution to the commercial is thus not as major as is the man's playing the key role.



Picture 9. Oscar Mayer

Table 8. Division of commercials portraying solely male characters, solely female characters or both sexes as key characters.

Gender of key player(s)	Number of commercials
Male	45 (42,1%)
Female	14 (13,1%)
Both	13 (12,1%)
No key players	35 (32,7%)
Total	107

Table 9. Division of commercials portraying solely male characters, solely female characters or both sexes as supporting characters.

Gender of supporting player (s)	Number of commercials
Male	17 (15,9%)
Female	9 (8,4%)
Both	17 (15,9%)
No supporting players	64 (59,8%)
Total	107

Unlike the division of key and supporting roles among women and men, the division of commercials based on the sex of the key role player showed significant differences in the number of commercials featuring solely female characters and solely male characters. Of the 72 commercials featuring either one or many key role players, 45 featured solely male characters in key roles, whereas only 14 commercials featured solely female key players. 13 commercials portrayed both sexes as key role players. Thus, the percentage of commercials dominated by male key actors was as high as 42,1% whereas only 13,1% of the commercials portrayed female characters as the sole key players. Moreover, 12,1% of all the commercials portrayed both women and men as key players.

In the case of supporting roles, the differences were not as significant as in the case of key roles, although male characters were portrayed as the only supporting actors in almost twice as many commercials as female characters. The percentage of commercials featuring solely male supporting actors was 15,9 compared to that of women who featured as the only supporting actors in only 8,4% of the commercials. However, the percentage of commercials featuring both women and men as supporting actors was also 15,9 which means that male characters were not as dominant as supporting actors, as they were as key actors. Here, however, it is also good to note that the vast majority of the coded commercials featured no supporting actors as the percentage of commercials including no supporting actors was as high as 59,8.

One of the commercials to feature solely male key players is the commercial by a financial service provider *Discover Financial Services* (Picture 10 & Picture 11). As mentioned in Chapter 5.1, this was the commercial to air most times during the three games used as the data for this study. In the commercial, a youngish man is shown returning to his home while at the same time talking on the phone with a *Discover Financial Services'* customer servant. Both of the men are considered key players as the commercial is constructed around their phone conversation and they both have thus rather many lines and plenty of screen

time. Furthermore, the characters look very much alike which emphasizes their equal status in the commercial. This similarity in their appearance seems to refer to the following slogan of *Discover Financial Services* which is uttered out loud by a male voice-over at the end of the commercial: "At *Discover*, we treat you like you'd treat you".



Picture 10. Discover Card 1b



Picture 11. Discover Card 1c

6.2.4 Spokespeople – authorities or product users?

In the case of each character it was also defined whether or not s/he acted as a spokesperson in the commercial. In this study a spokesperson was defined as someone who provided the viewer with information about the product and did it by addressing their words directly at the camera, or at an interviewer. Thus, characters discussing a product and sharing product information to other characters in the commercial were not defined as spokespeople. The results of this category are presented in Table 10.

As regards to the characters acting as spokespeople in the commercials, no significant differences could be noticed in the percentages of male and female

characters. Of 160 male characters 27 acted as spokespeople which means 16,9% of all the male characters. As to female characters, 13 out of 70 characters were portrayed as spokespeople which means 18,6% of all female characters. Thus, female characters were slightly more likely portrayed as spokespeople than male characters.

Table 10. Division between spokespeople and non-spokespeople among women and men respectively

Spokesperson	Female	Male
Yes	13 (18,6%)	27 (16,9%)
No	57 (81,4%)	133 (83,1%)
Total	70	160

Furthermore, if a character was categorized as a spokesperson, s/he was further defined as either a product user or an authority. Product users included those characters who talked about their own experiences, whereas authorities included, for example, salespeople and customer servants. The results of this category are demonstrated in Table 11.

Table 11. Distribution of spokespeople into product users and authorities.

Credibility if spokesperson	Female	Male
Product user	8 (61,5%)	17 (63%)
Authority	5 (38,5%)	10 (37%)
Total	13	27

As Table 11 demonstrates, no major differences between men and women occurred as 63% of male spokespeople and 61,5% of female spokespeople were portrayed as product users, and 38,5% and 37% as authorities. It was thus significantly more common for the characters to perform as product users than authorities. This result is further exemplified in a commercial by the computer software *MyCleanPC* (Picture 12 & Picture 13) in which both a female and a male character are portrayed as spokespeople for the same product. These two elderly characters tell the camera about their *MyCleanPC* user experiences and share thus their knowledge as product users. Furthermore, as the younger generation is generally considered more familiar with information technology than the older generations, the age of the characters in this commercial offers a

slight surprise. Perhaps the purpose of the commercial is to suggest that with the help of *MyCleanPC.com* using computers becomes easier even for elderly consumers.



Picture 12. MyCleanPC 1a



Picture 13. MyCleanPC 1b

Another example of a commercial portraying a spokesperson is provided by the car rental service *Enterprise rent-a-car* (Picture 14). In this commercial a female employee is portrayed as a spokesperson as she provides the viewer information about the services of her company. She indicates her professional relationship to *Enterprise rent-a-car* in her speech: "At *Enterprise rent-a-car*, we love weekends." The statement suggests that the female character speaks on behalf of the whole company, as she uses the word "we" instead of "I". By speaking as an employee of the company, the female character takes an instructional role instead of speaking of her own user experiences, and her role as a spokesperson can thus be described as authoritative instead of a product user.



Picture 14. Enterprise rent-a-car 1

6.3 Roles

The role in which a character is portrayed can tell a great deal about the purposes of the advertisers. The different roles women and men are given in television commercials can easily strengthen the prevalent stereotypes but they can also challenge the traditional ways in which women and men have for long been depicted. In order to find out the types of roles women and men were portrayed in the commercials of this study, eight roles were derived from the data based on which the categorizations were made. Table 12 below shows the eight different roles and the results of the categorization. Although most characters could be described with an explicit role, some were described with the role "other" which included, for example, customers, passersby, criminals and interviewees.

Table 12. Roles

Role	Number of female characters	Number of male characters
Child	2 (2,9%)	1 (0,6%)
Friend / Colleague	19 (27,1%)	51 (31,9%)
Parent	7 (10%)	6 (3,8%)
Partner	9 (12,9%)	9 (5,6%)
Real life celebrity	2 (2,9%)	19 (11,9%)
Sibling	1 (1,4%)	1 (0,6%)
Employee	18 (25,7%)	32 (20%)
Other	12 (17,1%)	41 (25,6%)
Total	70	160

As demonstrated by Table 12, friend / colleague, employee and other were the roles used most often to describe both female and male characters. Child and

sibling, on the contrary, were the roles least often used to describe female and male characters. One of the reasons for the rare representation of the role child is perhaps the fact that children were not included in the analysis, and adult characters were very seldom portrayed with their parents. Furthermore, women were somewhat more often portrayed as parents or partners than men. 10% of women were portrayed as parents and 12,9% were portrayed as partners, whereas the percentages for men in these roles were only 3,8 and 5,6. Men, on the other hand, were substantially more often portrayed as real life celebrities than women.

Although friend / colleague was the most common role for both women and men, interesting observations were made with respect to how the friendships were depicted. In the commercials portraying male friendships it was rather common for the men to be in groups, instead of in the company of just another person, as can be seen in the commercial by a telecommunications company Sprint (Picture 15). In this commercial a group of ten friends are used as an example of a Framily, which, according to the Sprint website (Sprint 2014), is the blend of "family + friends + other people you know". At the beginning of the commercial only the four men in the middle are in the picture. As one of them has drumsticks in his hands and another holds a bass it seems that they are in fact a band. As they start thinking of people whom they could possibly add to their *Framily*, they easily come up with possible people, and the rest of the men gradually appear in the picture. Based on the ease of their name dropping it seems that, instead of a small closed group of friends, the men actually have a very wide group of friends with whom they stay in touch with. Moreover, the commercial suggests that not all of them are necessarily best friends but rather good pals who like to spend time together, as they refer to some of the men as sound guy, roadies and Sketchy Jeff, instead of using their real names.



Picture 15. Sprint

Another commercial providing an example of a male friend group is the commercial by Visit Las Vegas (Picture 16). This commercial portrays a group of five young men running around a casino in Las Vegas and celebrating wildly while singing "Ole, Ole, Ole" and holding on to a trophy that resembles a football trophy of some kind. Other people around them want to celebrate with them and it seems they believe the men are celebrities. At the end of the commercial the five men are shown walking down the hotel aisle tired and exhausted from partying the whole night. The man currently carrying the trophy places it on one of the tables in the aisle and puts flowers in it, revealing the viewer of the commercial that they had not, in fact, won anything but were just pretending. In this commercial the group of friends seems closer than in the Sprint commercial as they clearly know each other well and have decided to come to Las Vegas together to have a good time. They put their arms around each others' shoulders and after a long night return to their hotel rooms helping one another to make it all the way to the room, showing a brotherly attitude and behavior.



Picture 16. Visit Las Vegas 1

Interestingly, no such friend groups as the ones discussed above were found among female characters. In the commercials where female characters were described as friends they were usually portrayed with either one other female or as a member of a friend group which included both women and men, as can be seen in the commercial by *Lexus* (Picture 17). Here, two young women and two young men are shown spending time together and no indication is given of whether the commercial includes any romantic relationships between the characters or whether they are all just friends. However, the characters are shown playing boules, swimming and enjoying their time together like any other group of friends.



Picture 17. Lexus 1

Similarly to the role friend, the role employee was also well represented among both women and men. Whereas the second most typical role among male characters was that of other, among female characters it was indeed that of employee. Female characters were, in fact, portrayed as employees more often than male characters as 25,7% of the female characters were described as employees and only 20% of the male characters belonged primarily to this role group. An example of a commercial portraying a female employee is provided by the financial services company *Edward Jones* (Picture 18). In this commercial a married couple is portrayed walking through the town. As they walk they notice how people are so concentrated on their cell phones that they do not pay any attention to the other people around them. The couple seems worried because of this phenomenon and shake their heads in disbelief. At the end of the commercial they enter the office of an *Edward Jones* employee with whom they have scheduled an appointment. The female employee turns off her cell

phone and puts it in the drawer of her desk making the couple look at each other approvingly. This little gesture she makes signals that she is there to listen to her customers and that there is nothing that would be more important to her at that very moment.



Picture 18. Edward Jones 1

Furthermore, as pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, men were more often than women portrayed as real life celebrities. Mostly, the characters described as real life celebrities were either entertainers or professional athletes, such as basketball players and ice hockey players. One of the commercials portraying an ice hockey player in a prominent role is the commercial by NHL GameCenter (Picture 19), a mobile service designed for live streaming of NHL games. In this commercial a well-known ice hockey player Dustin Brown is portrayed as a spokesperson for the NHL GameCenter service. He is portrayed wearing his ice hockey gear including the jersey of his team Los Angeles Kings. Here, Brown is portrayed as an authority as he is a well-known athlete whom many ice hockey fans look up to, and who describes the service with appropriate terms: "Download NHL GameCenter and gain free premium upgrade only on Verizon. Enjoy exclusives like live national games and Inside the Glass". Portraying a known ice hockey player in a commercial advertising a service for the NHL fans seems logical as he is likely expected to be known by the target group of the commercial and his influence on the viewers is perhaps thus bigger than it would be should he be unknown to the audience.



Picture 19. NHL GameCenter 2a

6.4 Appearance and demographic characteristics

As the purpose of the present study is to analyze how women and men are portrayed in commercials, it is of major importance to pay careful attention to the appearance of the characters, as well as to their demographic characteristics, instead of concentrating only on their roles and the technical issues regarding the commercials. Thus, in order to accurately describe the characters, the following variables were used and found answers to: 1) age, 2) race, 3) body type, 4) attractiveness, 5) clothing style, and 6) physical activity. The results are presented in the following chapters.

6.4.1 Age

The characters were divided into five different groups based on their age: 1) 10-20, 2) 21-35, 3) 36-50, 4) 51-65, and 5) 66 and older. Table 13 below demonstrates how the different age groups were represented. Those characters whose ages could not be identified were either shown from behind or their faces were covered with something that made the evaluation of age impossible.

Table 13. Age group representation.

Age	Female	Male
10-20	1 (1,4%)	1 (0,6%)
21-35	44 (62,9%)	62 (38,8%)
36-50	20 (28,6%)	61 (38,1%)
51-65	4 (5,7%)	22 (13,8%)
66 and older	0 (0%)	9 (5,6%)
Not identified	1 (1,4%)	5 (3,1%)
Total	70	160

As Table 13 shows, the age group 21-35 was the largest group among both men and women. In the men's case, however, the age group 36-50 was almost the same size as the group of 21-35 with only one less representative, whereas among women the age group of 36-50 had significantly fewer representatives than the age group of 21-35. Furthermore, the age group of 51-65-year-olds was significantly smaller among women than among men with 5,7% of women belonging to this group as opposed to that of 13,8% of men. Finally, no female characters of 66 years or older appeared in the commercials, while 5,6% of men belonged to this group.

As becomes evident when examining the results, the vast majority of both female and male characters belonged to the age groups of either 21-35 or 36-50 suggesting that most characters portrayed in the commercials were either young or middle-aged. However, what is quite significant is that over 61% of the women belonged to the group of 21-35, whereas only 38,8% of men were portrayed as belonging to this age group. Thus, it seems that women were significantly more often portrayed as young than men were.



Picture 20. Wendy's

An example of a commercial portraying young women is provided by the fast-food chain *Wendy's* (Picture 20). In the commercial two young women in their 20s are on a lunch break and one of them accidentally starts eating her friend's salad. Once the salad's real owner points this out to her, the woman starts to avariciously eat the salad as it is so delicious that she cannot stop eating it. The women in the commercial are portrayed as pretty, perky and also health

conscious as they both have chosen a salad instead of all the other fast-food options that *Wendy's* is known for, such as hamburgers and french fries.

A commercial by the insurance company *Progressive* (Picture 21), in turn, offers an example of a commercial portraying male characters of 36-50 years old. In this commercial Flo, an employee for *Progressive*, delivers packages directly to the people who have ordered them, and does it in very imaginative ways, as can be seen in Picture 21 where Flo is hanging from the roof while delivering a package to a male office worker. This commercial includes three men aged 36-50, of whom two are portrayed in the screenshot below and one appears in the first scene of the commercial. The man in the first scene is portrayed as sitting on a couch at home, when Flo suddenly surprises him by entering the room through the chimney. The other two, then, are portrayed at the workplace but the exact nature of their job is not told to the viewer.



Picture 21. Progressive 1a

Furthermore, as mentioned, no female characters of 66 years or older appeared in the commercials of this study, and only few of the male characters were elderly or very old. One of the commercials portraying an older man, however, was a commercial by the fast-food chain *McDonald's* (Picture 22). In this commercial a basketball player has organized a party at his mansion and goes out to get breakfast while all the guests are still sleeping. His butler wakes everyone up and the guests start leaving the house one by one. The last person to leave is an old man wearing a basketball jersey whose existence surprises the basketball player. The old man stretches his limbs and leaves the house while accepting the coffee he is offered. He does not look at all uncomfortable and

seems to think there is nothing odd in him having been at this party although he is probably at least 50 years older than most of the guests. The baffled look on the basketball player's and his butler's faces shows, however, that it is not common for people that old to attend parties. Although this commercial differs from the majority of the commercials coded for this study in that it portrays an elderly character, it does not do it, however, in a conventional way. Instead of portraying this old man in an environment more common for elderly people, the commercial portrays him as if he was one of the young adults living a carefree life and enjoying the same things as younger people do. It is as if the commercial suggests that even though one gets older s/he does not have to start acting like it.



Picture 22. McDonald's 1

6.4.2 Race

Four major ethnicity groups were derived from the data and the characters were coded according to them. These ethnicity groups include: 1) Asians, 2) blacks, 3) Latin, 4) whites. The results are shown in Table 14.

As Table 14 indicates, white characters represented the ethnic majority as 80% of the female characters and 72,5% of the male characters comprised of white people. The second largest ethnicity group was blacks who, with respect to women, covered 10% of the female characters and with respect to men, 16,3% of the male characters. Characters of Asian or Latin origin were represented significantly less often, as only 2,9% of the female characters were of Asian origin and 7,1% of Latin origin, and with respect to men, characters of both Latin and Asian origin covered only 5,6% of the characters each. No major

differences were identified between women and men as regards to ethnicity, although slight variation could be noticed in the percentages.

Table 14. Representation of ethnicities among women and men.

Ethnicity	Female	Male
Asian	2 (2,9%)	9 (5,6%)
Black	7 (10%)	26 (16,3%)
Latin	5 (7,1 %)	9 (5,6%)
White	56 (80%)	116 (72,5%)
Total	70	160

The representation of different ethnicities is rather well realized in a commercial by the financial service company *USAA*. In the commercial different characters tell how they have earned the *USAA* insurance, and are then portrayed with their loved ones. The commercial does reflect the general division of ethnicities demonstrated in Table 14, as it portrays various white characters (Picture 23). However, in addition to the white characters the commercial also portrays a multiethnic family, as demonstrated in Picture 24.



Picture 23. USAA 1a



Picture 24. USAA 1b

Moreover, as demonstrated by the present data, female characters of Asian origin were the least represented group among all the coded characters. Only two of the 230 characters, that is 0,9%, were identified with both of these two characteristics. The two characters did not appear in the same commercial, but featured in two different commercials, of which one was a commercial by the car rental service Enterprise rent-a-car (Picture 25). In the commercial, various Enterprise rent-a-car employees are portrayed talking directly to the camera about how well the company's services suit the needs of the NHL fans. The last person to talk to the camera is the female character portrayed in Picture 25, who pretends to pass the car keys to the viewer and concludes the message of the commercial with the phrase "That's the Enterprise way". When examining closely the characters in the commercial, the appearance of this female character of Asian origin does not seem coincidental but rather calculated. That is to say, in addition to this specific character the characters in the commercial include four white male characters, a black male and a Latin female. Thus, the commercial represents various ethnicities and portrays both female and male characters, which suggests that characters may have been chosen to the commercial based on their demographic characteristics.



Picture 25. Enterprise rent-a-car 2

6.4.3 Body type

Based on the types of their bodies, the characters were divided into three different categories first defined by an American psychologist William H. Sheldon: 1) ectomorphs, 2) mesomorphs, and 3) endomorphs (Sheldon 1940, cited in Rafter 2007: 811). The term *ectomorph* was used to describe those body

types that were thin with no overweight and not much brawn. *Mesomorph*, then, was used to refer to very muscular and trained body types, whereas *endomorph* was used to describe those body types that were somewhat overweight or clearly obese. The results are presented in Table 15 below.

Table 15. Body types.

Body type	Female	Male
Ectomorph	65 (92,9%)	106 (66,3%)
Mesomorph	0 (0%)	23 (14,4%)
Endomorph	2 (2,9%)	29 (18,1%)
Not identified	3 (4,3%)	2 (1,3%)
Total	70	160

Male characters showed more variety in their body types than female characters, although among both sexes the ectomorph body type was the most common type. The percentage of ectomorph female characters was significantly high as 92,9% of all female characters belonged to this body type group. The majority of male characters also represented the ectomorph type as 66,3% of all male characters had the ectomorph body type, which, although a high percentage, was still significantly lower than the percentage of ectomorph female characters. Furthermore, none of the female characters were portrayed as having a mesomorph body type, whereas 14,4% of male characters belonged to this body type group. Moreover, the number of endomorph characters was very low among female characters as only 2,9% of the female characters were portrayed as having a round body. Endomorphs were more common among male characters as 18,1% of all male characters were portrayed as endomorphs.

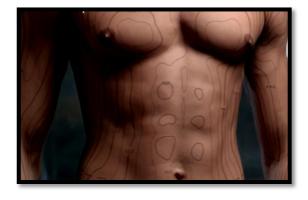
Since ectomorph characters were present in most commercials, picking out examples from the data is very easy. A commercial by *Toyota*, for example, features two female and two male characters who all represent the ectomorph body type. In this commercial a married couple comes to a *Toyota* dealership to buy a car. They are greeted by a female customer servant and a well-known stock car racer Matt Kenseth. As can be seen in Picture 26, none of the characters in the commercial are overweight, nor do they have very muscular bodies. Instead, the shapes of their bodies and faces suggest that they are rather

normal weight and represent thus the vast majority of all the coded characters as regards to body type.



Picture 26. Toyota

As demonstrated by the results, unlike in the case of ectomorph and endomorph body types, mesomorph body types were found solely among male characters. Mesomorph male bodies were most often found in commercials featuring well-known athletes, commercials advertising men's beauty products and commercials advertising food and non-alcoholic beverages. The only commercial portraying a bare upper mesomorph body was the commercial by *Gillette Body* (Picture 27) in which a bare male torso is compared to the ground in a following way: "A man's body isn't flat like a paved road. It's terrain, rugged, and uneven". This statement is emphasized by the marks drawn on the torso which resemble reliefs often found on a map. At the end of the commercial a young, good-looking man with a mesomorph body is pictured on a beach playing beach volley and having a good time.



Picture 27. Gillette Body 1a

An extreme opposite to the body type depicted in the Gillette commercial is portrayed in a commercial advertising *Visit Las Vegas* (Picture 28). In this commercial an overweight man is shown getting out of a sports car in a hurry with his tie untied and his jacket hanging on his arm. It seems that he is almost late for work and the reason for that is that he just got back from Las Vegas. The man is sweaty and exhausted and seems overwhelmingly embarrassed as he is greeted by his peers who look at him with astonishment. Unlike the commercial by *Gillette Body* in which the male body was portrayed as beautiful and healthy, this *Visit Las Vegas* commercial portrays the male body in a less complimentary manner. Instead of portraying the man with the endomorph body type in a flattering light, he is portrayed as somewhat wretched and to some extent even endearing, as the situation he is depicted in makes it rather easy for one to feel sorry for him.



Picture 28. Visit Las Vegas 2a

Furthermore, as shown by the results, only two of the 107 commercials portrayed women with endomorph bodies. In one of these two commercials the body of the female character was not shown properly and it was thus slightly difficult to decide whether her body in fact could be described as endomorph. However, based on the roundness of her face she was categorized as having an endomorph body. The only female character, however, whose body type could clearly be defined as endomorph, was the woman playing a clerk in a commercial by the auto insurance company *Geico* (Picture 29). In this example commercial a human-like pig comes to get his driver's license and receives service from a female clerk. The clerk is rather blunt and matter-of-fact giving

no time for small talk and trying to do her job as effectively as possible, while keeping a strict face throughout the whole interaction. This female character is clearly overweight and represents thus the vast minority among the female characters coded for this study.



Picture 29. Geico 1

6.4.4 Attractiveness

Evaluating the characters' attractiveness proved to be very difficult since one's attractiveness is of course in the eyes of the viewer. However, in this thesis one's attractiveness had to do not only with one's outlooks but also with the context in which the characters were portrayed. That is, people in everyday situations, no matter how beautiful or handsome they were, were almost without an exception categorized in the group 2. Furthermore, in commercials where outlooks played an important role and were undoubtedly given a lot of attention, the characters were often placed in the group number three. The results of this category are shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Attractiveness.

Attractiveness	Female	Male
1 (not attractive)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
2 (conventionally attractive)	52 (74,3%)	143 (89,4%)
3 (exceptionally attractive)	17 (24,3%)	12 (7,5%)
Not identified	1 (1,4%)	5 (3,1%)
Total	70	160

As Table 16 demonstrates, none of the characters were placed in the attractiveness group 1, as all characters were either conventionally attractive or extremely attractive. Most female and male characters were instead placed in

the attractiveness group 2, meaning that they were conventionally attractive and most likely portrayed in mundane situations, such as running errands, cleaning, working and exercising. Moreover, 24,3% of the female characters and 7,5% of the male characters were placed in the attractiveness group 3, which implies that a significantly larger portion of female characters than of male characters were characterized as exceptionally attractive.

A commercial by *Subway* (Picture 30) portrays a young woman and a young man at a science fair where another young man is introducing a new machine called Bio Duplicator. As the context is work-like and rather mundane, the characters are examples of the attractiveness category 2, and described thus as conventionally attractive.



Picture 30. Subway 1

In the commercial by *Dos Equis* beer (Picture 31), on the other hand, the context is more intimate and the outlooks of the characters seem to be of great importance to the commercial. The two young beautiful women and the elderly charming man in this commercial are all exceptionally attractive as they are shown in a very attractive light and have clearly paid attention to their outlooks. The intimate feeling in the commercial is created by dark colors and smooth background music, and is further emphasized by the man in the middle: "There are some things that mattresses aren't supposed to remember". This statement not only emphasizes the intimate feeling of the commercial but creates a rather strong sexual tension implying of the possible intentions between the characters. Although the young women in this commercial are typical examples of the female characters categorized as exceptionally beautiful

in this study, the elderly man is a rare exception on the men's side, as he is the only man of 66 years or older who was categorized in the attractiveness group 3.



Picture 31. Dos Equis 1

6.4.5 Clothing style

Seven different clothing styles were identified from the data, and the clothing style of each character was coded. The different styles can be seen in Table 17 together with the results of the coding. When coding the clothing style of the characters it was important to take into account also the context of the commercial. This is because male characters, for example, were portrayed wearing a suit in a work situation but also in festive situations, so the type of clothing was defined based on the context of each case respectively.

Table 17. Clothing style

Type of clothing	Female	Male
Casual	40 (57,1%)	81 (50,6%)
Festive	4 (5,7%)	11 (6,9%)
Outdoor	1 (1,4%)	8 (5%)
Sport	5 (7,1%)	15 (9,4%)
Swimsuit	1 (1,4%)	2 (1,3%)
Uniform	10 (14,3%)	12 (7,5%)
Work / career	9 (12,9%)	30 (18,8%)
Not identified	0 (0%)	1 (0,6%)
Total	70	160

As Table 17 above demonstrates, the casual clothing style was the most popular style among both female and male characters. Over half of all the characters

were depicted as casually dressed, that is, wearing jeans, casual dresses, t-shirts, sweaters and such. The percentage of characters wearing clothes related to work situations was also rather prominent as 27,2% of the female characters and 26,3% of the male characters were portrayed as wearing either a uniform or other kind of work clothing, such as a suit or a dress and a jacket. Festive clothing style was likewise approximately as popular among women as among men, as 5,7% of the female characters were portrayed wearing festive clothing, such as a little black dress or other kind of evening dress, and 6,9% of the male characters were portrayed in smart casual clothing or a festive suit. Furthermore, only one female and two male characters were portrayed in a swimsuit and no characters were portrayed in underwear.

No major significances occurred between women and men's clothing style. However, men were somewhat more likely depicted in sport and outdoor clothing than women with 14,4% of men wearing such clothes as opposed to that of 8,5% of females wearing sport and outdoor clothing. Moreover, although men and women were almost as often portrayed in clothing related to work, women were portrayed wearing a uniform more often than men as the percentage of women dressed in a uniform was 14,3 and the percentage of men wearing a uniform was only 7,5.



Picture 32. Hot Pockets

The commercial by a microwavable food brand *Hot Pockets* (Picture 32) offers an example of a situation where all characters are dressed in casual clothing. In the commercial, a young man enters his apartment with his sister and introduces the sister to his roommate who is currently eating a *Hot Pocket*. As the situation

in question is very casual and the characters are rather young the jeans, sweaters and t-shirts they are portrayed wearing suit the style of the commercial very well.

Another example of a commercial portraying casually dressed characters is provided by an online golfing service *GolfNow.com* (Picture 33). In this commercial the context differs to some extent from the context seen in the *Hot Pockets* commercial. Although, similarly to the *Hot Pockets* commercial, the occasion seems to be casual, the *GolfNow.com* commercial takes place in a public restaurant instead of a private residence which gives the commercial a slightly more official nuance. Furthermore, whereas the characters in the *Hot Pockets* commercial are all rather young, the *GolfNow.com* commercial portrays two men with a rather large age difference, which can also be noticed in the characters' clothing style. Albeit being in the same situation, the younger man is dressed in a casual t-shirt whereas the elderly man is wearing a tweed jacket and a hat. However, considering the casual occasion of the commercial, the clothing style of both men can be described as casual.



Picture 33. GolfNow.com

Whereas the casual clothing style was found to be the most common clothing style among the characters, perhaps somewhat surprisingly none of the characters were portrayed wearing underwear, and only three characters of whom two were men and one was a woman were portrayed in swimsuits. Of the characters wearing swimsuits the male characters are portrayed as active while the only female character is portrayed as sitting in a deck chair and

relaxing on the beach (Picture 34). Moreover, both of the male characters are portrayed together with young women, as the man in the commercial of *Dos Equis* beer (Picture 35) is shown diving a pearl necklace to a young woman who then looks at him with gratitude, and the man in a *Gillette Body* commercial (Picture 36) is shown playing beach volley on the beach and getting a sudden hug from a pretty young woman. The woman in the *Progressive* commercial, however, is pictured together with her son and thus she is being portrayed mainly as a mother.



Picture 34. Progressive 1b



Picture 35. Dos Equis 2



Picture 36. Gillette Body 1b.1

¹The female character only appeared for a brief moment and based on the exclusion criteria was thus not included in the analysis

6.4.6 Physical activity

In addition to the external and demographic characteristics, the characters were also divided into two groups based on the level of their physical activity. Should the character have been physically active, s/he was described as engaged in physical activity. However, if the character showed no signs of physical activity, or if the activity was barely noticeable, the character was described as inactive. The physical activity among both included, for example, doing sports, cleaning, waiting tables in a hurry and other kinds of activities which may cause the people carrying out these activities to sweat or get out of breath. However, if the character was portrayed, for example, walking very slowly s/he was described as inactive. Table 18 demonstrates the number of characters portrayed as engaged in a physical activity, and the number of characters portrayed as inactive.

Table 18. Physical activity

Activity	Female	Male
Engaged in physical activity	17 (24,3%)	45 (28,1%)
Inactive	53 (75,7%)	115 (71,9%)
Total	70	160

As Table 18 shows, there were no significant differences in the percentages of female and male characters portrayed as physically active. 24,3% of female characters and 28,1% of male characters were portrayed as engaged in some sort of physical activity, whereas 75,7% of women and 71,9% of men were portrayed as inactive.

Although no significant differences occurred in the percentages of physically active female and male characters, the types of activities the characters were portrayed in differed rather notably between women and men. Of the 17 female characters portrayed as physically active, only five (29,4%) were portrayed as actually doing some sort of sports, whereas the number of men portrayed as doing sports was 22 (48,9%). Instead of sporting activities, most females were portrayed as playing with children, waiting tables in a bar, cleaning and

carrying moving boxes, or driving a motor vehicle, such as a race car or a motorcycle.

One of the commercials to portray a female character engaged in a physical activity other than sports is the commercial by *Honda* (Picture 37). In this commercial a mother is portrayed driving a family car while two children are sitting in the backseat. The floor of the car is covered with litter, such as dust bunnies, gummy bears and curly fries, and as soon as the family gets home the mother takes out the built-in vacuum cleaner and starts vacuuming the car floor. Albeit the rather low-speed tempo the mother has when vacuuming the floor, she can be described as engaged in physical activity as it takes her a while to get the floor clean.



Picture 37. Honda 1

With regards to men, then, almost half of the characters portrayed as engaged in physical activity where shown doing some sorts of sports. The different sports included, for example, ice hockey, running and table tennis. One of the most popular activities, however, was that of snowboarding which altogether six male characters were portrayed as engaged in. One of these six characters is portrayed in the commercial by *Mazda* (Picture 38), in which a well-known snowboarding pioneer Tom Sims is portrayed snowboarding. Similarly to the commercial by *Honda*, the advertised product in this commercial is a car. However, the approach of the commercial is quite different: whereas the commercial by *Honda* emphasized the easiness of the *Honda* as a family car, the

Mazda commercial emphasizes the "uncompromising creativity" that was applied when planning the new *Mazda CX-5*.



Picture 38. Mazda.

6.5 Marital status and sexuality

Marital status and sexual orientation are factors which most likely influence one's behavior and perception of the world in a significant manner. Thus, in order to find out how advertisers have taken these two factors into consideration in advertising targeted at ice hockey audiences, the marital status and sexual orientation of all characters was paid attention to in the coding process.

6.5.1 Marital status

As it is impossible to know for sure one's marital status without asking them, ground rules had to be made in order to decide how to define the characters' marital status. Thus, in this thesis, if the character was portrayed as having a ring in their left ring finger they were assumed to be engaged or married. If, however, the character was portrayed without a ring in their left ring finger, they were assumed to be not married or engaged. Furthermore, if the hand of the character could not be seen, their marital status could not be identified. Since the most common finger for one's engagement ring or wedding ring in the United States, and in other Western countries also, is the left ring finger, the decision on one's marital status was based on this general knowledge.

Table 19. Marital status

Marital status	Female	Male
Married or engaged	13 (18,6%)	23 (14,4%)
No indication of marriage	19 (27,1%)	55 (34,4%)
Not identified	38 (54,3%)	82 (51,3%)
Total	70	160

As can be seen in Table 19 above, no significant differences occurred between the female characters and the male characters as regards to their marital status. Female characters were, however, somewhat more likely portrayed as either married or engaged than male characters, as 18,6% of the female characters were portrayed as married, whereas the percentage of married male characters was 14,4. Moreover, male characters were slightly more likely portrayed as having no indication of marriage, and among both genders the marital status could not be identified in the case of over half of the characters due to their hands not being visible to the viewer.

In a commercial by the car manufacturer Lexus, an attractive middle-aged woman is portrayed getting into a car, while a man is shown holding the door open for her (Picture 39). The woman is dressed casually but classically and she has a big shiny ring in her left finger, which implies that she is married. Her elaborate style and the expensive looking accessories suggest that she is also rather wealthy. The face of the man is at no point shown to the viewer despite of his continuous presence in the commercial. His right hand, however, is shown handling the gear stick while he is portrayed driving the car, and at the end of the commercial he is portrayed from behind as he is shown leaving the car together with the woman playing the key role in the commercial. The commercial thus implies that he is the husband of the woman in the commercial, albeit that his left hand is not shown at any point of the commercial and the viewer is left without proof of whether the man in question is indeed the woman's husband. Regardless of the truth, however, the image this commercial conveys of wealthy women and men is quite traditional as the wife's only role in the commercial is to sit in the car while her assumed husband holds the door open for her and then moves on to drive the car.



Picture 39. Lexus 2

A commercial by another car manufacturer, *Cadillac*, then, provides an example of a male character who shows no indication of marriage or engagement (Picture 40). This middle-aged man is portrayed walking by a playground where a group of young children are playing. As he passes them, he talks to the camera: "It's funny. Everyone I know wishes they could go back and feel younger. Sound familiar?" The man then gets into a car where he continues: "Then test drive one of these", and starts the car. In the case of this male character no indication of marriage or engagement is indeed given as he does not wear a ring nor mentions a possible wife or a fiancée. Instead, he is portrayed as an independent man who seems to fight aging with fast cars and the excitement that they bring.



Picture 40. Cadillac

Furthermore, although no significant differences occurred in the percentages of married women and married men, the results of the coding showed that commercials from different product categories tended to portray married characters in significantly differing numbers. The results are shown in Table 20.

Table 20. Percentages of different marital statuses in each product category (married / non-married / not identified)

Product category	Female	Male
Alcoholic beverages	0% / 33,3% / 66,7%	5% / 45% / 50%
Beauty products	No female characters	0% / 100% / 0%
Cars	30,8% / 15,4% / 53,8%	15,8% / 47,4% / 36,8%
Car accessories	20% / 0% / 80%	0% / 28,6% / 71,4%
Clothing and sporting	0% / 100% / 0%	0% / 16,7% / 83,3%
goods		
Financial matters	23,5% / 23,5% / 52,9%*	51,5% / 9,1% / 39,4%
Food and non-alcoholic	0% / 66,7% / 33,3%	4,8% / 42,9% / 52,4%*
beverages		
Hobby-related	No female characters	0% / 100% / 0%
Drugs and medicines	25% / 25% / 50%	25% / 25% / 50%
Places	0% / 0% / 100%	0% / 66,7% / 33,3%
Services	28,6% / 28,6% / 42,9%*	3% / 27,3% / 69,7%
Technology-related	33,3% / 0% / 67,7%	0% / 0% / 100%

As shown by Table 20, financial commercials included significantly more married male characters than the commercials in any other product category. 51,5% of the men in financial commercials where portrayed as married, whereas the second most married male characters were found in commercials advertising drugs and medicines where the percentage was only 25%. Furthermore, commercials advertising beauty products, car accessories, clothing and sporting goods, hobby-related matters, places and technology-related products portrayed no married male characters. On women's side, then, car commercials featured most married female characters with 30,8% of the female characters portrayed as married. Moreover, commercials advertising alcoholic beverages, clothing and sporting goods, food and non-alcoholic beverages, and places portrayed no married female characters.

One of the financial commercials to provide an example of married male characters is the commercial by a financial service company E*Trade. In this commercial, two middle-aged men, a customer and an E*Trade employee, are portrayed discussing the services of E*Trade. Both men are dressed in suits and the context of the commercial suggests that they both have knowledge on financial matters. Although the commercial in no way directly acknowledges

the marital status of the characters, the wedding rings in the men's left ring fingers suggest that they are indeed both married.



Picture 41. E*Trade

Unlike in the case of financial matter commercials, the commercials advertising places portrayed no married characters. Altogether 11 characters were portrayed in the two commercials advertising a place, and interestingly both of these two commercials advertised Las Vegas. One of the characters to appear in a commercial by *Visit Las Vegas* is portrayed in Picture 42. Here, a man gets home and absent-mindedly browses through his mail. As he lifts his head he sees a buffalo standing in his living room. He then slowly backs up to the front door and utters the name "Alex", with which he refers to a friend of his who seems to be the one to blame for the buffalo's existence. Similarly to the other characters in the *Visit Las Vegas* commercials, the man in this commercial shows no indication of marriage as he does not wear a wedding ring nor gives other signals of his possible marriage or engagement. Rather, he is portrayed as a man who is suggested to have had such good time in Las Vegas that some things have escaped from his memory.



Picture 42. Visit Las Vegas 2b

6.5.2 Sexual orientation

The characters were divided into three different groups based on their sexual orientation: 1) heterosexuals, 2) homosexuals, or 3) not identified. However, as it is not possible to tell one's sexual orientation only by looking at them, this proved to be a very difficult variable to code. Consequently, the sexual orientation could only be solved in the case of those characters who were portrayed either in romantic situations or with a family. The results of this variable are shown in Table 21.

Table 21. Sexual orientation.

Sexuality	Female	Male
Heterosexual	14 (20%)	13 (8,1%)
Homosexual	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Not identified	56 (80%)	147 (91,9%)
Total	70	160

As Table 21 demonstrates, the data provided very little information on the characters' sexual orientation, due to which the sexual orientation could not be identified in the case of 80% of the female characters and 91,9% of the male characters. Furthermore, of those female and male characters whose sexual orientation could be defined all were defined as heterosexuals and no signs of homosexuality were thus given in the case of any of the characters in the present study.



Picture 43. USAA 2

An example of a commercial portraying heterosexual characters is provided by the financial service company *USAA* (Picture 43). In the commercial a young couple is portrayed kissing after the man has come from serving in the military.

The kiss the couple exchanges is quite passionate which suggests that the relationship between the two is romantic of nature. Thus, based on this evidence it seems rather safe to say that the characters are heterosexually oriented.

In the commercial by *Geico* (Picture 44), then, a father is portrayed sitting in a living room with his son. The two are having a casual conversation and at no point does either of them mention a possible mother or a wife, nor a husband. Although based on the prevalent stereotypes it would be easy to assume that the man is heterosexual as he has a son and seems to be married, no actual evidence of his sexual orientation is given. Many states in contemporary America allow couples of the same sex to get married and adopt children or have children via surrogacy, so the man in this commercial may also be homosexual. Thus, as the commercial provides no definite evidence of the man's sexual orientation, it cannot be defined.



Picture 44. Geico 2

6.6 Employment

A few decades ago it was not uncommon for women to be unemployed and work as stay-at-home mothers, and for men to be the breadwinners in the family. Today, however, women are increasingly found in work life and may hold very high positions. In order to find out how the question of employment is taken into account in the commercials targeted at American NHL audiences, the employment status of each character was coded on the basis of whether they were 1) in a work situation, 2) in a non-work situation but seemed to be

employed, or 3) without any indication of employment. Characters categorized as being in a non-work situation, but seeming to be employed were, for example, those who were commuting, athletes who were not doing sports in the commercial, but were known to be employed, real life celebrities portrayed in a role different from their real fields, and those whose occupation was mentioned in the commercial but was not portrayed doing that in the commercial. The results of this category are shown in Table 22.

Table 22. Employment status.

Employment status	Female	Male
Work situation	17 (24,3%)	38 (23,8%)
Non-work situation but	6 (8,6%)	36 (22,5%)
seems to be employed		
Without indication of	47 (67,1%)	86 (53,8%)
employment		
Total	70	160

As seen in Table 22, the percentages of female and male characters portrayed in a work situation were almost identical with 24,3% of the female characters and 23,8% of the male characters portrayed in a work situation. However, as the percentage of employed male characters in a non-work situation (22,5%) was significantly higher than the percentage of employed female characters in a non-work situation (8,6%), the total percentage of the employed male characters (46,9%) was considerably higher than the percentage of employed female characters (32,9%). Furthermore, 67,1% of the female characters were portrayed without any indication of employment as the percentage of male characters without indication of employment was 53,8%.

A commercial by the telecommunications provider *AT&T* provides an example of a situation in which both female and male characters are portrayed at a work situation (Picture 45). Although no specific information is given on the type of work they do, the setting of the commercial and the tasks the characters are portrayed doing suggest that this is a work place and the characters are indeed engaged in a work situation.



Picture 45. AT&T

A commercial by the fast-food chain McDonald's, in turn, offers an example of an employed male character in a non-work situation (Picture 46). Similarly to many other commercials including an employed male character portrayed in a non-work situation in the data of this study, this commercial also features a professional athlete, namely the basketball player LeBron James. In the commercial, LeBron James is shown entering an "undisclosed McDonald's location" which is filled with professional athletes from various sports fields. Although James is perhaps expected to be recognized by most viewers as he is currently one of the best basketball players in the world, the commercial also takes into account those viewers who do not know him as can be noticed in the following line by the male voice-over of the commercial: "They welcome their newest member: LeBron James. What does one serve the best basketball player in the world? The new Bacon Clubhouse Sandwich, of course". However, although James is best known for his basketball career, this commercial does not portray him as playing basketball or at any other work-related occasion, but rather as engaged in a free time activity. Thus, he can be defined as an employed character portrayed in a non-work situation.



Picture 46. McDonald's 2

Moreover, in order to find out the nature of the occupations the characters were portrayed in, the characters who were portrayed in a work-situation or in a non-work situation were then divided into eight groups based on the type of their occupation. The groups were as follows: 1) blue-collar, 2) entertainer, 3) military employee, 4) pink-collar (e.g. service workers such as waitresses and call center employees), 5) professional, 6) professional athlete, 7) white-collar, and 8) other. The results are shown in Table 23.

Table 23. Occupations.

Occupation	Female	Male
Blue-collar	2 (8,7%)	13 (17,3%)
Entertainer	2 (8,7%)	14 (18,7%)
Military employee	0 (0%)	3 (4%)
Pink-collar	14 (60,9%)	14 (18,7%)
Professional	2 (8,7%)	7 (9,3%)
Professional athlete	0 (0%)	10 (13,3%)
White-collar	3 (13%)	7 (9,3%)
Other	0 (0%)	7 (9,3%)

As demonstrated by Table 23, rather significant differences occurred between female and male characters as regards to the types of occupations they were portrayed in. Among male characters, none of the occupation categories was significantly more represented than others, and all occupation categories had at least three representatives. Blue-collar workers, entertainers and pink-collar workers formed the top three among male characters as 17,3% of all employed male characters were portrayed in blue-collar occupations, 18,7% as entertainers, and 18,7% in pink-collar occupations. The occupation category with fourth most male representatives was that of professional athletes (13,3%), followed by professionals, white-collar workers and "other" category representatives which each formed 9,3% of the total number of employed male characters. The fewest male characters were found in the military employee category which formed 4% of the total number.

Among female characters, then, one of the occupation categories was significantly more represented than any of the other categories as 60,9% of all employed female characters were portrayed in pink-collar occupations. The

category with second most representatives was that of white-collar occupations, which included 13% of all employed female characters. Blue-collar workers, entertainers and professionals each included 8,7% of all employed female characters, and finally, no female characters were portrayed as military employees or professional athletes.

Furthermore, among female pink-collar workers, waitressing was one of the most common occupations as 35,7% of the female characters portrayed in a pink-collar occupation were waitresses. In addition to waitressing, the female pink-collar workers identified from the data worked as salespeople, office clerks and receptionists. One of the commercials to portray a female character in a pink-collar occupation is the commercial advertising *Coors Light* beer (Picture 47). In the commercial a woman is portrayed as a waitress working in a busy bar. The only task she is portrayed doing is handing a bucket full of beer bottles to the female and male customers sitting on the other side of the counter.



Picture 47. Coors Light 1

A commercial by the insurance company *Allstate* (Picture 48), in turn, portrays a male character in a pink-collar occupation, as the man in the commercial is portrayed working as a housekeeper. Housekeeping is stereotypically considered a women's job which the man seems to acknowledge as he calls himself "the world's worst cleaning lady". The man breaks almost everything he touches and hurts himself various times while cleaning the house, and it soon becomes clear to the viewer that he is indeed a lousy housekeeper. Although the commercial portrays a male housekeeper and thus fights to some extent against the stereotypical depictions of housekeepers, the way the man is

portrayed implies that the commercial's purpose is not to break this stereotype but to rather enforce it by pointing out how poor men are at housekeeping.



Picture 48. Allstate

Furthermore, as demonstrated by the results, no female characters were portrayed as professional athletes whereas 13,3% of all employed male characters represented this occupation. Considering that the target group of the commercials used as the data in this study is formed by viewers interested in National Hockey League, it is perhaps no surprise that half of the portrayed professional male athletes were indeed NHL players. One of the commercials to portray an NHL player is the commercial by an ibuprofen brand Advil which features the New York Rangers goalkeeper Henrik Lundqvist (Picture 49). In the commercial Lundqvist is portrayed standing in front of a goal while an enormous rhino starts approaching him. Here the rhino acts as a metaphor for all the shots Lundqvist is exposed to during an NHL season. In the commercial Lundqvist avows himself as a user of *Advil* in the following manner: "Why do I use fast acting Advil? Because every season I face the combined power and speed of this (refers to the rhino). Fast acting *Advil* gets me back on game fast." Although the commercial does not give a realistic image of an ice hockey practice or game, it does portray Lunqvist in his real occupation, that is, as a professional athlete.



Picture 49. Advil

6.7 Setting

The characters were portrayed in various different settings depending on the context and the purpose of the commercial in question. In case a character was portrayed in more than one setting, the setting in which s/he was portrayed for the longest time was counted as the primary setting. In order to define the primary setting in the case of each character, the settings were divided into eight categories. The categories together with the results are shown in Table 24 below.

Table 24. Settings.

Setting	Female	Male
Car	7 (10%)	5 (3,1%)
Occupational setting	8 (11,4%)	12 (7,5%)
Outdoors	23 (32,9%)	62 (38,8%)
Private residence	7 (10%)	20 (12,5%)
Restaurant	8 (11,4%)	8 (5%)
Sport venue	3 (4,3%)	9 (5,6%)
Store	5 (7,1%)	8 (5%)
Other	9 (12,9%)	36 (22,5%)
Total	70	160

As Table 24 suggests, the results between women and men were rather similar, although some differences did occur. Both sexes were portrayed most often outdoors, as 32,9% of women and 38,8% of men were placed in this category. Of the eight predestined settings, women were more likely than men portrayed in a car (10% vs. 3,1%), in an occupational setting (11,4% vs. 7,5%), in a restaurant (11,4% vs. 5%) and in a store (7,1% vs. 5%). Men, on the other hand, were more often portrayed outdoors (32,9% vs. 38,8%), in a private residence (10% vs.

12,5%), in a sport venue (4,3% vs. 5,6%) or in other unspecified settings (12,9% vs. 22,5%), which included, for example, airports, hospitals and venues built specifically for the commercial in question.

An example of a commercial depicting the typicality of outdoors as a setting is provided by the sporting-goods chain *Sports Authority* (Picture 50). In this commercial a group of athletic young men and women of various ethnicities are portrayed running outside. The characters in the commercials are portrayed laughing and teasing each other kindly while at same time enjoying their run. The whole commercial took place outdoors and thus the primary setting was easy to define in the case of each coded character.



Picture 50. Sports Authority

Furthermore, cars are stereotypically considered to be more to men's interest than to women's interest. However, perhaps somewhat surprisingly this assumption was not supported by the findings of this study as demonstrated by the results. On the contrary, women were 6,9% more likely portrayed in cars than men. The commercials by *Honda*, for example, often featured female characters as either driving a car or as passengers, as can be seen in Pictures 51 and 52 below. In the first example (Picture 51), a woman is portrayed driving the car while a male passenger is sitting next to her. In the second example (Picture 52), both the driver and the passenger are women and they are portrayed as having fun in the car.



Picture 51. Honda 2a



Picture 52. Honda 2b

Another commercial to portray a woman in a car is the commercial by *Mercedes Benz* in which a female character is shown participating in a demolition derby (Picture 53). Other participants are men with intense eyes and big mustaches whose cars spew fire and who drive around recklessly. This commercial seems at first to praise female drivers as the woman driving the Mercedes Benz is the only participant who survives the derby without any damage to her car. However, at the end of the commercial the male voice-over describes the car in the following way: "It's almost like it couldn't crash even if it tried". As it is a rather common stereotype that women are worse drivers than men, this particular statement makes one wonder if the purpose of this commercial is to indicate that the *Mercedes Benz 2014 M-class* is such an easy car to drive that even women can drive it. If so, it is then quite evident that this commercial enforces that prevalent stereotype.



Picture 53. Mercedes Benz

6.8 Help and advice

This chapter addresses the questions of giving and receiving advice and help. As asking for help or advice can be rather difficult for some, but easy for others the extent to which people receive help or advice can provide information on, for example, the level of their pride, independence and inability. Thus, in order to examine how the questions of help and advice were present in the commercials of this study, each character was defined either as a recipient of help or advice, giver of help or advice, or as neither of these. The results for the help category are presented and discussed in chapter 6.8.1, and the results for the advice category in chapter 6.8.2.

6.8.1 Help

Table 25. Receiving and giving help.

Role	Female	Male
Help recipient	11 (15,7%)	11 (6,9%)
Help provider	7 (10%)	16 (10%)
Neither	52 (74,3%)	133 (83,1%)
Total	70	160

As Table 25 shows, it was rather uncommon for both female and male characters to either receive or provide help as 74,3% of the female characters and 83,1% of the male characters were portrayed as neither help recipients nor providers. However, 15,1% of the female characters and 6,9% of the male characters were portrayed as help recipients which suggests that women were rather prominently more often portrayed as help recipients than men.

Moreover, both sexes were equally often portrayed as help providers as 10% of women and 10% of men were placed this category.

A commercial by the live streaming service *NHL GameCenter* provides an example of a commercial in which characters from both sexes are portrayed as help providers (Picture 54). In the commercial two male characters and one female character are portrayed as helping their male friend to move. The female character seems enthusiastic and happy to help her friend, but the male characters feel differently. Instead of helping their friend they would like to be in front of the TV watching an NHL game which they now are forced to miss. The act of helping a friend is thus depicted as unpleasant to which they only said yes because the asker was their friend.



Picture 54. NHL GameCenter 2b

Another commercial to portray the act of help providing is the commercial by *Coors Light* beer (Picture 55). However, this commercial differs from the previous example in that here the recipient of help is a woman and the help is provided by one man only. The commercial portrays a young female waitress working in a busy bar and a male climber who helps the woman by fetching ice cold beers from the snowy mountains and by bringing them to the waitress who can then serve them to customers. Once the man gets to the bar, he opens the bottles with a pickaxe. He has no time to relax as the woman places a new order right away. The man accepts the request and leaves for another adventure. Although both characters work in order to keep the customers happy, the woman is nonetheless portrayed as a receiver of help since without the man she would not be able to do her job. The man, on the other hand, is depicted in dangerous circumstances climbing the snowy mountains and

putting his life in danger when helping the woman. Thus, the way the man and the woman are depicted in this commercial is rather stereotypical as the woman is portrayed in a need and the man is portrayed as a fearless adventurer who, despite the possible dangers, faces extreme conditions in order to help the woman. However, although the commercial suggests that the woman is in need of help, she is by no means portrayed as helpless or weak but rather as a strong character as suggested by the choice of her words: "I need two more for table 12". Here, she does not directly ask for help but rather states what she needs and expects the man to do it.



Picture 55. Coors Light 2

6.8.2 Advice

When coding the characters' relationship to advice giving and receiving, all possible pieces of advice were counted in. In other words, regardless of whether the advice was given to someone in the commercial by another character, or to, for example, the television viewer by the commercial's spokesperson they were considered pieces of advice.

Table 26. Receiving and giving advice

Role	Female	Male
Advice receiver	3 (4,3%)	10 (6,3%)
Advice giver	10 (14,3%)	18 (11,3%)
Neither	57 (81,4%)	132 (82,5%)
Total	70	160

As to giving and receiving advice, no significant differences occurred between female and male characters. Similarly to the help category, the vast majority of both female and male characters were portrayed as neither an advice receiver nor an advice giver. Moreover, male characters were portrayed as advice receivers slightly more often than female characters (6,3% vs. 4,3%), whereas female characters were portrayed as advice givers slightly more often than male characters (14,3% vs. 11,3%).

The majority of the characters portrayed as advice givers were either salespeople or some other company representatives, who provided possible buyers and customers information on the products and services. One of the commercials to portray a company representative as an advice giver is the commercial by the insurance company *Progressive* (Picture 56). In this commercial Flo, a female character often found in *Progressive* commercials, is portrayed riding a motorcycle beside a male motorist. At first Flo praises the man's motorcycle after which she starts telling him about the insurance services Progressive has to offer: "I just wanna let you know..." After this first sentence the scene changes and Flo is portrayed with two other male motorists to whom she continues telling about *Progressive's* offerings: "...you can save a ton by switching to *Progressive*. Just like Squirrel here." After a while the scene once again changes and Flo is portrayed with yet another motorist: "We offer great discounts, like 'Responsible driver', 'Paid in full', and 'Homeowners'..." Finally, she is portrayed parking her motorcycle on a beautiful lookout near a motorist couple who are in the middle of a romantic moment. Flo ends her speech: "...making us number one in motorcycle insurance. Isn't this romantic?" to which the male motorist answers: "It was..." implying that Flo has ruined their moment.



Picture 56. Progressive 2

Furthermore, whereas characters offering advice consisted mostly of company representatives and salespeople, the advice receivers, then, consisted mainly of customers of different stores and service providers. However, one of the commercials to portray an advice recipient other than a customer was the commercial by the sporting-goods store *Dick's Sporting Goods* (Picture 57). In the commercial a young boy is portrayed playing baseball. He has very recently lost his grandfather who, based on his sadness, was very dear to him. The game is almost over and the boy's team has a chance to win when the coach of the team approaches him: "You wanna finish? Go finish your game. Go finish for your grandfather right now." This statement by the coach resembles a fatherly request but at the same time acts as a piece of advice giving the boy an important reason to play as well as possible and in that way commemorate his grandfather.



Picture 57. Dick's Sporting Goods

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study focused on examining the portrayal of women and men in television commercials targeted at American ice hockey audiences. Gender in advertising has been the focus of many previous studies and thus the topic is by no means brand new and untouched. However, although commercials targeted at sports audiences in general have received the interest of some scholars, no previous studies could be found on how gender is portrayed in advertising targeted particularly at American ice hockey audiences. Thus, the aim of this study was to fill that gap. The data of the study consisted of altogether 107 commercials which aired during three National Hockey League games in March 2014. The analysis was carried out by using qualitative content analysis which enabled the data to be studied systematically but also left room for further qualitative interpretation. Using the coding frame by Gilly (1988) as the basis, 22 categories were structured in order to carry out a thorough analysis. Although the coding frame followed to a large extent the frame by Gilly, some modifications were made to it in order for it to better suit the purposes of this study. In Chapter 6 the 22 categories were divided under eight main headings: 1) product categories, 2) authority and product usage, 3) roles, 4) appearance, 5) marital status and sexual orientation, 6) employment, 7) setting and 8) help and advice. In this chapter I will first discuss the primary results of the analysis and their implications. I will then address the limitations of the study, after which I will conclude the chapter by suggesting possible topics for further research in the area of target advertising and gender.

7.1 Findings and implications

7.1.1 Diversity of the portrayal

When examining the results of this study it may at first seem as if no major differences occurred in the portrayal of women and men. With regards to the demographic and appearance related factors, both sexes were mainly portrayed as white, young, thin and conventionally attractive. In addition, the most common roles among both sexes included friend and employee, and the most common setting for both sexes to be portrayed in was outdoors. Furthermore, it was quite uncommon for both sexes to be portrayed as married or physically active. However, when examining the results more closely, it becomes apparent that various differences did in fact exist between the portrayal of female and male characters of this study.

Firstly, although the age group of 21-35 was the largest age group among both women and men, women were generally speaking portrayed as significantly younger than men. Among men the age group of 36-50 was approximately the same size as the age group of 21-35, and whereas 19,4% of the male characters were over 51 years old, among female characters the percentage of characters in this age group was only 5,7. These results are in congruence with the findings of Dominick and Rauch (1972) and Milner & Collins (2000) who also respectively pointed out in their studies that television advertising tends to portray women as younger than men. As the advertising they analyzed in their researches was targeted at both women and men, it can be suggested that the portrayal of women as younger than men in television advertising is a common phenomenon despite the assumed target group. Furthermore, considering that the studies by Dominick & Rauch and Milner & Collins are from 1972 and 2000, it seems evident that no major changes have taken place as regards to characters' age during the past 40 years.

Secondly, albeit female and male characters were both mainly portrayed as thin and conventionally attractive, rather significant differences could be noticed with regards to these two categories. Unlike male characters, female characters showed virtually no variation in their body types as only two of the 67 female characters whose body type could be identified had an endomorph body and none of the characters had a mesomorph body. The portrayed female characters were thus almost without an exception thin and proportionate, whereas male characters were significantly more often portrayed as somewhat overweight or

very muscular. Furthermore, in addition to being portrayed as thinner than men, women were also more often than men portrayed as exceptionally attractive: only 7,5% of the male characters were identified as exceptionally attractive whereas the percentage of exceptionally attractive female characters was 24,3. These two results related to the characters' appearance suggest that the portrayal of male characters in the data of this study was more authentic than the portrayal of female characters. Whereas the portrayal of women as regards to their appearance seemed rather one-sided, the portrayal of men proved to be more diverse. As there is almost the equal amount of variation in the way people in real life look as there are people in the world, it can indeed be suggested that the portrayal of men in the commercials of this study reflected the real life better than the portrayal of female characters. As thinness, youth and external beauty are often considered highly desired characteristics, the portrayal of women in the commercials of this study could thus be suggested to be even rather ideal. However, regardless of being more diverse than the portrayal of women, it is, of course, good to note that the portrayal of men in the data of this study is still far from complete authenticity, considering that, for example, one third of the American adults are in fact obese (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014) whereas the percentages of overweight people portrayed in this study do not come even close to that.

Thirdly, perhaps rather surprisingly being portrayed as a parent or a romantic partner was not particularly common among either gender. However, similarly to the findings of Schneider & Schneider (1979), women in this study were portrayed primarily as partners more often than men. Here, however, it is important to note that in numbers women and men were in fact portrayed as partners equally often as the role of partner could only be identified in the case of those characters who were portrayed together with their partners. However, due to the smaller number of female characters appearing in this study, the percentage of women portrayed primarily as partners proved to be 7,3% bigger than that of male characters. The higher percentage of female characters portrayed primarily as partners does, nevertheless, suggest that no major

changes have occurred with regards to this category in the past 35 years and that it is still today more common for women to be portrayed with their spouses in television advertising than for men. Moreover, similarly to the role of a partner, women were also more often portrayed primarily as parents than men. In fact, being portrayed primarily as a parent proved to be very uncommon among men as only 3,8% of the male characters were identified as fathers. This finding is similar to that of Gentry & Harrison (2010), who found that male targeted commercials tend to portray men very rarely as parents.

Finally, very interesting results occurred also when examining the categories related to employment. As discussed in chapter three, many previous studies have found that television advertising tends to portray women significantly less often as employed than men (e.g. Schneider & Schneider 1979; Bretl & Cantor 1988). However, the results of this study suggest that this is not completely true in the case of the characters coded for the present study. In fact, women were portrayed as employees somewhat more often than men which suggests that the role of employee was indeed more common among women than men. Women were also slightly more likely portrayed in a work situation than men which also supports the claim that no significant differences occurred in the percentage of employed female and male characters. However, as the percentage of male characters portrayed as employed but in a non-work situation was higher than that of women, the total percentage of men portrayed as employed proved to be higher than the total percentage of women portrayed as employed. Thus, the results of this category provide evidence of an improvement in the portrayal of women in work life but at the same time still tend to portray men more often as employed than women.

Another interesting finding related to employment regards the high percentage of women portrayed in pink-collar occupations. As the results of this study show, over 60% of the employed female characters were portrayed in service occupations. Unlike the results reporting about the percentages of employed female and male characters, this result is in close congruence with the findings

of various previous studies. Dominick and Rauch (1972), for example, found that already in the 1970s women portrayed as employed were mainly found in service occupations. The high percentage of female characters found in service occupations in the present study thus suggests that the situation has not changed in the past 40 years but that women in today's television advertising are still significantly more often portrayed in service occupations than men. It is good to note, however, that pink-collar occupations were the most common occupations found among the male characters of this study as well, but in a significantly lesser manner. The results of this category do not surprise me; in fact, I find them to rather well reflect the actual gender division among pinkcollar occupations. According to my experience, employees working in service occupations, such as receptionists, maids and waitresses are very often women. Thus, to me it seems that the unchanged portrayal of women as pink-collar workers in television advertising reflects rather well the actual situation in the society and suggests that no major changes have occurred in the society as regards to the gender division in service occupations during the past four decades.

7.1.2 Emerging roles

When examining the characters of this study, three roles can be found to emerge from the data. First of these roles is that of a middle-aged white man interested in financial matters. As shown by the results, financial commercials together with service commercials included most male characters. The majority of the characters in financial commercials, that is 54,5%, belonged to the age group of 36-50 whereas only 9,1% of the male characters to appear in financial commercials belonged to the age group 21-35. When reflecting this age division to the overall age division of the male characters in this study it is rather clear that financial commercials featured more middle-aged and elderly characters than the commercials in average. Furthermore, as noted earlier, financial commercials also featured significantly more married men than any other product category, as over 50% of the characters were found to be married.

Based on the age and the marital status of the male characters in financial commercials, it could be suggested that financial commercials tend to emphasize maturity and responsibility as important characteristics. The high percentage of married characters implies that men in financial commercials are seen as reliable and not afraid of commitment, which I believe, are both desired characteristics in the world of finance. Moreover, the dominance of male characters as regards to the number of characters in financial commercials implies that perhaps advertisers still today consider men to be the breadwinners who provide for their family and ensure the financial security.

The second character type to emerge from the data is that of a young, unmarried man enjoying the company of his friends. Interestingly, only 4,8% of the male characters in the age group of 21-35 were portrayed as married. Instead, they were either portrayed as not married or no indication of their marital status was given. As discussed in Chapter 6.3, men, and particularly young men, were often portrayed as spending time with a large group of friends and in fact in the case of 63% of the men aged 21-35 the primary role identified for them was indeed the role of friend. The low percentage of married men together with the high percentage of men identified as friends suggests that the commercials of this study tended to emphasize the freedom and the importance of friends in the lives of young men. Furthermore, as watching sports together with friends is a typical pastime for young men, portraying young men in commercials with large friend groups is likely an effective strategy when trying to get young male viewers to identify with the characters portrayed in the commercials.

The third role is the only clear role found among female characters. Perhaps due to the significantly smaller number of female characters than male characters in the data, differentiating emerging roles among female characters proved to be somewhat more difficult than among male characters. Consequently, only one clear role could be extracted from the data, namely that of a young female service worker. As shown by the results, the vast majority of

the employed women were portrayed in pink-collar occupations and an even vaster majority of women were portrayed as young. Of all the pink-collar workers, 44,4% were women aged 21-35. This was also the largest demographic group found among all pink-collar workers.

7.1.3 Male dominance

The finding which I found the most interesting was how well the results of this study reflect the characteristics of ice hockey viewers presented in the Nielsen report (Nielsen 2014a) discussed in Chapter four. Although the report by Nielsen does not make a distinction between women and men when examining the age, ethnicity and income of the NHL viewers in 2013, the results provide a general guideline of the typical characteristics of the NHL viewers. As the results of this study show, approximately two thirds of the characters coded for the study consisted of men, whereas one third consisted of women. The report by Nielsen, then, pointed out that in 2013 the NHL audience showed a similar gender division, as 68% of the viewers were men and 32% were women. Furthermore, as to ethnicity, the vast majority of the characters portrayed in the data of this study were white, which was also reported as the dominant ethnicity in the Nielsen report. In both of these studies other ethnicities were very minorly represented. Moreover, the characters that belonged to the age group of 21-35 represented the majority in the present study. Among the female characters this was the dominant age group, whereas among male characters the age group of 36-50 consisted of approximately as many characters as the age group of 21-35. As reported by Nielsen, a slight majority of the NHL viewers in 2013 were 35-54 years old. Finally, according to the report by Nielsen, the majority of the NHL viewers in 2013 earned more than \$100,000 per year, suggesting that American ice hockey viewers are generally speaking rather wealthy. As the income of the characters in this study could not be solved, it is not possible to make a direct comparison between these two researches. However, the commercials to air most times were financial commercials portraying characters engaged in making financial decisions or discussing financial matters which suggests that matters related to finance were of interest to various characters in the data.

As discussed in Chapter 2.3, it is crucial for advertisers to take into account the characteristics, wants and needs of the target groups when targeting advertising to specific audiences. If audiences are approached with messages that have no relevance in their lives, the influence of the commercials will not be as effective as in the case of those commercials with which audiences can identify. Based on the close congruence of the results of the present study and the study by Nielsen, it seems safe to say that commercials broadcast during the three ice hockey games chosen for this study were not randomly selected but rather the result of careful and encompassing research. The extent to which the commercials reflect the cultural and demographic factors of the NHL's viewers described in the Nielsen report shows that advertisers have taken into account the background of the assumed target group and formulated the advertising to match their values and lives. In other words, it seems that advertisers do indeed pay close attention to audience researches and utilize their results notably in the advertising planning processes. However, considering that the majority of the female viewers following the NHL are over 55 years old, it seems surprising that the portrayal of elderly female characters in the commercials targeted at ice hockey audiences is very minor. In my view this supports well the assumption that, although one third of the NHL viewers consists of females, the advertising is indeed targeted mainly at male viewers.

Considering that male characters formed the significant majority of the characters coded for this study it is no surprise that they are present in more commercials than female characters. However, male dominance could also be noticed in the case of voice-overs, product users and key role players which are all essential factors when trying to influence the visions consumers create about advertised products. Male characters were found to outnumber female characters rather clearly in the case of all these categories, but the category to provide the clearest evidence of male dominance was the category of voice-

over. As pointed out by Bretl and Cantor (1988), male voice-overs dominated television advertising already in the 1970s and 1980s, and based on the results of this study, this has not changed in the recent decades. One possible explanation for the dominance of male voice-overs is given by Whipple and McManamon (2002) who suggest that the attitude people have toward male or female targeted products is influenced by the gender of the voice-over. In other words, should the products be targeted at male consumers, featuring a male voice-over in the commercial would influence male consumers more positively than featuring a female voice-over. Thus, as the majority of the commercials of the present study seem to be targeted at men, the dominance of men as voiceovers seems justifiable. Based on the results of this study it also seems safe to suggest that using female voice-overs in commercials trying to appeal to viewers' emotions could be an effective tactic as was seen in the case of the Chase (Picture 8) commercial. Nevertheless, based on the dominance of men in these three categories, it seems evident that advertisers consider male characters to be more authoritative and credible when targeting male dominated audiences. I think one of the possible reasons for this draws again from the importance of planning in target marketing. When the male audiences see and hear other men using and talking about the products in the commercials, it enables them to better imagine and identify themselves as product users than if the products were advertised by female characters only.

Another finding to support the assumption that the commercials targeted at American ice hockey audiences are mainly targeted at men has to do with the types of products advertised in the commercials. Similarly to the findings by Craig (1992), the typical product categories advertised in the data of this study included financial commercials, car commercials and service commercials. These similarities in the types of products targeted at male audiences suggest that no major changes have occurred in recent decades as far as the stance advertisers have towards sports audiences is concerned. These results imply that sports are continuously considered to tempt more male viewers than female viewers.

Furthermore, although defining the characters' sexual orientation proved to be difficult, to me it is very interesting that no signs of homosexuality were shown in any of the commercials. Of course, this result may be similar to commercials targeted at other audiences as well, since heterosexuality is the prevalent sexual orientation in the society. However, I believe this could also have to do with the context of the commercials of this study. Although the general attitude towards homosexuality has become more liberal in recent years, it is rather widely known that homosexuality is still today a taboo in the sports circles, and particularly among male athletes (Demers 2006; Borden 2013). Especially in the case of team sports homosexuality has been a taboo topic and, in fact, it was not until in 2013 that the first professional male athlete to compete in the major sports leagues in the United States revealed his homosexuality publicly (Pengelly 2013). Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that team sports, such as ice hockey and football, are considered extremely tough sports which are played by masculine and strong men. Homosexuals, on the other hand, are stereotypically thought of as being rather feminine which may partially explain why homosexuality has been such a taboo among the team sports (Butterworth 2006). This suggestion is to some extent supported by Craig (1992), who found male targeted commercials to primarily portray stereotypical physically strong masculine characters.

Another interesting result which, I believe, could also be explained with the masculinity and fierceness related to ice hockey and other team sports has to do with the low number of beauty product commercials and other commercials related to one's appearance. As the results of this study show, only two of the 107 commercials advertised beauty products, which to me seems like a very low number. In my view this suggests that advertisers do not consider ice hockey audiences to be the most favorable target group for products related to cosmetic care and fashion. Thus, the results imply that instead of targeting the young metrosexuals, as described by Sivulka (2012: 378) in Chapter four, the advertisers rely on more masculine and traditional male depictions which are perhaps considered to more efficiently appeal to the viewers of ice hockey.

7.2 Limitations of the study

Considering the extent of the results of the present study, I feel that the research question posed in Chapter four has been answered in a thorough manner. However, when evaluating the results, it is important to take into account that although they are the outcome of careful and diligent coding, there has only been one coder. Thus, should there have been another coder in addition to myself, the results may look somewhat different as some of the categories proved to be very difficult to code and gave room for subjectivity as regards to interpretation. Particularly in the case of those categories where the coding was based to some extent on personal evaluation instead of facts the results may have looked different had they been a combined outcome of the results of two or more coders. Such categories include, for example, age, physical attractiveness and body type.

Another decision that proved somewhat difficult to make had to with the characters' elimination. As most commercials included various characters, the total number of characters appearing in the commercials of this data felt too large regarding the scope of this study. In addition, some characters only had very little screen time or were portrayed in such roles that their importance in the commercial was a minor one, and including such characters in the analysis felt thus unnecessary. For this reason, I decided to limit the number of characters included in the analysis. However, deciding the factors based on which the eliminations were made proved slightly difficult as they had to be systematically followed in the case of each individual commercial.

Furthermore, as I now look back to the data of this study I wish that I had chosen the three games from three different television channels, instead of choosing two from the same channel and one from another channel. I believe that would have offered more variety in the commercials as there was now plenty of overlapping and some commercials aired various times. However, as the purpose was to examine commercials that had a possibility to reach all

Americans interested in ice hockey, the two chosen channels, namely NBC and NBCSN, filled this requirement and were thus chosen as the source channels.

7.3 Conclusion

The present study has offered information on how women and men are portrayed in television advertising targeted at the NHL audiences in the United States. As the study concentrated on television advertising targeted at a rather narrow group of viewers, the results received in this study may not apply to commercials targeted at other consumer groups. Thus, in order to study whether differences exist in the portrayal of gender between commercials targeted at viewers of different genres, the results of this study could be utilized and compared with other audience groups in further studies. Furthermore, as the audiences of different sports may also vary a great deal as regards to demographic and social factors, it would be interesting to conduct a comparative analysis between commercials targeted at audiences of different sports. In this way it could be studied whether the results of this study reflect the general view advertisers have of audiences interested in sports, or whether the results of this study are typical of ice hockey audiences only.

Finally, although one third of the NHL viewers in the United States are women, the results of the study indicated that the advertising targeted at ice hockey viewers is in fact targeted mainly at men. Upon this a question arises whether advertisers should take the female viewers better into consideration in commercials targeted at the NHL audiences. As demonstrated by the results, the commercials coded for this study provided a rather one-sided portrayal of women, whereas the portrayal of men proved to be more diverse. Thus, modifying the portrayal of women to more accurately reflect the reality may enable the female viewers to better identify with the characters in the commercials. However, here arises another question: do advertisers in fact wish to reach female viewers, or is it more important to only appeal to the desires

and wants of male viewers by utilizing the rather one-sided and even ideal image of women conveyed by the commercials?

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Chocolate Milk

Claritin D 1

Claritin D 2

Coors Light 1

Coors Light 2

Coors Light 3

Coors Light 4

Coors Light 5

Dick's Sporting Goods

DirecTV

Discover Card

Dodge Dart

Dos Equis 1

Dos Equis 2

Duluth Trading Co

Edward Jones 1

Edward Jones 2

Edward Jones 3

Enterprise rent-a-car 1

Enterprise rent-a-car 2

E*Trade 1

E*Trade 2

FIAT 1

FIAT 2

Ford F-150

Ford Mustang

Geico 1

Geico 2

Geico 3

Geico 4

Geico 5

Geico 6

Gillette Body

GolfNow

Golfsmith 1

Golfsmith 2

Honda 1

Honda 2

Honda 3

Honda 4

Hot Pockets

Jack Daniel's

Jaguar

Jeep Grand Cherokee

Just for Men

Lexus 1

Lexus 2

Lexus 3

Lexus 4

LifeLock

Lincoln 1

Lincoln 2

M&M's 1

M&M's 2

Mazda

McDonald's 1

McDonald's 2

Meineke 1

Meineke 2

Mercedes-Benz

Miller Lite 1

Miller Lite 2

Mobil 1

MyCleanPC.com 1

MyCleanPC.com 2

NHL GameCenter 1

NHL GameCenter 2

Ortho

Oscar Mayer

Pep Boys 1

Pep Boys 2

Pep Boys 3

Prilosec

Progressive 1

Progressive 2

Red Lobster

Samsung Galaxy S4

Scottrade 1

Scottrade 2

Sports Authority 1

Sports Authority 2

Sprint

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APPENDIX 1: Coding frame by Gilly (1988)

	Operational Definition	Source
/ariables Coded for Product	Each Commercial What is the product category being advertised? (See Table 1 for categories.) Interrater reliability = 80%.	Schneider and Schneider (1979)
Product user	Who is the product advertised used by primarily—(1) females, (2) males, or (3) either sex? Interrater reliability = 86%.	Silverstein and Silverstein (1974
Voiceover	The voice of the off-camera announcer is (1) female, (2) male, (3) chorus, or (4) no voiceover, Interrater reliability = 87%.	Dominick and Rauch (1972)
Setting	What is the setting/location of the advertisement—(1) private residence, (2) store/restaurant, (3) occupational setting, (4) outdoors, or (5) other? Interrater reliability = 67%.	McArthur and Resko (1975)
Variables Coded for	Each Character	
Sex	What is the character's sex?	All
Age	Approximately what is the character's portrayed age?	Schneider and Schneider (1979)
Marital status	The character's portrayed marital status is (1) married, (2) not married, or (3) not identified.	Schneider and Schneider (1979)
Employment	The character is portrayed (1) in a work situation, (2) in a nonwork situation but appears to be employed, or (3) without indication of employment.	Schneider and Schneider (1979)
Occupation	If employed, the portrayed occupation is (1) professional/high level business executive, (2) entertainer/professional athlete, (3) middle-level business, semiprofessional, (4) nonprofessional, white collar, (5) blue collar, or (6) other.	Courtney and Lockeretz (1971)
Spokesperson	Does the character serve as on-camera spokesperson for the product?	Schneider and Schneider (1979)
Credibility	If a spokesperson, is the character credible because she is (1) a product user or (2) an authority?	McArthur and Resko (1975)
Help	Is the character (1) a recipient of help, (2) a provider of help, or (3) neither?	Silverstein and Silverstein (1974)
Advice	Is the character (1) a receiver of advice, (2) a giver of advice, or (3) neither?	Silverstein and Silverstein (1974)
Role	In what role is the character primarily portrayed—(1) spouse/boyfriend/girlfriend, (2) parent, (3) homemaker, (4) worker, (5) real life celebrity, (6) interviewer or narrator, or (7) other?	McArthur and Resko (1975)
Activity	Is the character portrayed as (1) engaged in physical activity or sport or (2) inactive?	Poe (1976)
Frustration	The character appears to be (1) frustrated or (2) not frustrated.	Silverstein and Silverstein (1974)

APPENDIX 2: Results of the coding process

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Product	name	- L	1	Alletate	Anda	AT&T	AT&T	AT&T	AT&T	AT&T	AT&T	BestBuy	BestBuy	BestBuy	BestBuy	Bud Light 1	Bud Light 2	Bud Light 2	Bud Light 3	Bud Light 3	Bud Light 3	Bud Light 3	Budweiser	Budweiser	Budweiser	Cadillac	Capital One	Capital One	Captain Mo	Chase	Chase	Chocolate	Claritin-D 1	Claritin-D1	Claritin-D1	Claritin	Claritin-D2	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Coors Light	Dick's Sport	Dick's Sport	Dick's Sport	Direct TV

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inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	n/a	e inactive	engaged in	inactive	e inactive	einactive	e inactive	n/a	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	engaged in	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	inactive	e engaged in	e engaged in	e inactive	e engaged in	e engaged in	e inactive	n/a	n/a	inactive	inactive	inactive	e inactive	e inactive	e/u	e engaged in	e engaged in	inactive	inactive	e engaged in	einactive	e inactive	colle engaged in	e engaged in	n/a	e inactive	inactive
other	other	other	other	employee	n/a	friend/colle inactive	other	employee	friend / colle inactive	friend / colle inactive	friend / colle inactive	n/a	employee	partner	partner	partner	partner	employee	employee	other	other	employee	employee	employee	employee	emplovee	emplovee	employee	employee	other	other	employee	friend/coll	friend/coll	real life cele inactive	friend/coll	friend/coll	real life cele inactive	n/a	e/u	employee	employee	employee	friend / colle inactive	friend/colle inactive	n/a	friend/coll	friend/coll	parent	other	friend/coll	friend / colle inactive	friend / colle inactive	friend/coll	friend/coll	e/u	friend/colle inactive	other
neither	neither	neither	receiver	giver	e/u	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	n/a	giver	receiver	receiver	receiver	receiver	giver	giver	receiver	giver	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	giver	receiver	receiver	giver	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	e/u	e/u	giver	giver	neither	neither	neither	e/u	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	giver	receiver	neither	neither	n/a	neither	neither
neither	neither	neither	recipient	provider	e/u	neither	provider	recipient	neither	neither	neither	n/a	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	e/u	e/u	provider	provider	provider	neither	neither	e/u	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	neither	e/u	neither	neither
e/u	e/u	n/a	e/u	e/u	e/u	user	e/u	n/a	user	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	authority	authority	authority	authority	authority	authority	authority	authority	n/a	e/u	n/a	e/u	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	e/u	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	e/u	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	e/u	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	e/u	e/u
9	9	2	00	01 1	n/a	yes	9	ar no	yes	2	2	e/u	nalno	2	2	9	2	nalno	nal no	92	r yes		r yes						nalno	9	01	nalno	2	92	er no	00	00	er no	n/a	e/u	01	00 1	01	9	01	e/u	2	2	92	2	9	2	92	92	2	e/u	00	2
work situatic other	work situatic other	work situativ other	without indi n/a	work situativ pink-colla	n/a n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	work situati(blue-colla	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	n/a n/a	work situatic profession	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	work situativ profession	work situativ profession	without indi n/a	non-work bu pink-colla	non-work bu pink-colla	non-work bu pink-colla	non-work bu pink-colla	work situativ pink-colla	non-work bu pink-colla	work situativ pink-colla	non-work bu pink-colla	work situatic profession	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	work situatic profession	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	non-work bu entertain	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	non-work bu entertain	n/a n/a	n/a n/a	work situatic pink-colla	work situatic pink-colla	work situatic pink-colla	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	n/a n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	without indi n/a	e/u e/u	without indi n/a	without indi n/a
not identifie not identifie work situatic other	not identifie not identifie work situativ other	not identifie not identifie work situatio other	no indicatior not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie work situativ pink-collar	n/a n/a	no indication heterosexus without indi n/a	no indication heterosexus without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie work situativ blue-collar	no indication heterosexua without indi∙n/a	not identifie heterosexua without indi n/a	not identifie heterosexua without indi n/a	-/u =/u	ried or e not identifie	married or e heterosexua without indi n/a	married or e heterosexue without indi n/a	married or e heterosexus without indi n/a	married or e heterosexua without indi n/a	married or e not identifie work situativ professional no	married or e not identifie work situativ professional no	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	married or e not identifie non-work bu pink-collar	not identifie not identifie work situativ pink-collar	not identifie not identifie non-work bu pink-collar	not identifie not identifie work situative pink-collar	not identifie not identifie non-work bu pink-collar	married or e not identifie work situativ professional	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	married or e not identifie without indi n/a	married or e not identifie work situati(professional no	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	no indication not identifie non-work bu entertainer	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	no indication not identifie non-work bu entertainer	ı e/u e/u	u/a u/a	not identifie not identifie work situati(pink-collar	married or e not identifie work situati(pink-collar	married or e not identifie work situativ pink-collar	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	n/a n/a	identifie not identifie	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	married or e not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	no indication heterosexus without indi-n/a	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	ı e/u e/u	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a			
white	white	white	white	white	n/a	latin	latin	white	latin	latin	latin	n/a	white	white	white	white	white	white	- black	white	white	latin	white	white	caree white	white	caree black	asian	white	white	white	white	white	white	black	white	white	black	n/a	e/u	black	black	white	white	white	n/a	white	black	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	n/a	black	white
2 casual	2 casual	2 casual	2 casual	2 casual	e/u	3 casual	2 swimsuit	2 uniform	3 casual	3 festive	3 festive	n/a	2 work/caree white	2 casual	2 casual	2 casual	2 casual	2 work/caree white	2 work/caree black	2 casual	2 work/caree white	2 work/caree latin	2 work/caree white	2 work/caree white	2 work/care	2 work/caree white	2 work/care	2 work/caree asian	not identifie work / caree white	not identifie work / caree white	2 work/caree white	2 work/caree white	2 casual	2 casual	2 festive	2 casual	2 casual	2 festive	e/u	e/u	2 uniform	2 uniform	2 uniform	2 casual	2 casual	n/a	2 sport	2 sport	2 casual	2 work/caree	3 swimsuit	2 casual	2 casual	not identifie casual	not identifie casual	e/u	2 casual	2 casual
ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	e/u e/u	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	e/u e/u	morph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	endomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	mesomorph	not identifie	not identifie endomorph not		ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	endomorph	mesomorph	ectomorph	endomorph	mesomorph	e/u e/u	e/u e/u	endomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph	e/u e/u	morph	ectomorph	ectomorph	endomorph	mesomorph	ectomorph	ectomorph			e/u e/u	ectomorph	not identifie
36-50	51-65	36-50	36-50	36-50	e/u	<- 99	36-50	51-65	<- 69	21-35	21-35	n/a	51-65	51-65	51-65	36-50	36-50	51-65	51-65	36-50	36-50	21-35	21-35	36-50	21-35	36-50	21-35	21-35	not ident	not ident	51-65	51-65	36-50	36-50	36-50	36-50	36-50	36-50	e/u	e/u	51-65	51-65	21-35	21-35	36-50	e/u	36-50	36-50	36-50	36-50	21-35	36-50	€5 ->	not ident	not ident	e/u	36-50	21-35
supporting male		supporting male	male	male	n/a	male	supporting male	orting male	male	supporting female			male	supporting male			female	female	male	male	female	female	male	male	male	male	male	female	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	e/u	e/u	female	male	orting male	orting female	supporting female	e/u	female	female	male	supporting male		male	male	male	male	e/u		supporting female
		outdoors suppo	private resic key	occupationa key	e/u e/u	outdoors key	outdoors suppo	outdoors supporting	restaurant key	restaurant suppo			pationa	other suppo				occupationa key	private resic key	private resic key	outdoors key	outdoors key	sport venue key	sport venue key	store key	venue	store key	venue	occupationa key	occupationa key	occupationa key	occupationa key	outdoors key	outdoors key	outdoors key	outdoors key	outdoors key	outdoors key	e/u e/u	e/u e/u	occupationa key	store key	store supporting	restaurant supporting	restaurant suppo	e/u e/u	tvenue	sport venue key	private resic key	other suppo	S S			outdoors key		e/u e/u	doors	car suppo
male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	n/a	n/a	n/a	alem	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	male	n/a	e/u	male	male	male	male	male
services	services	Direct TV services male	Discover Car financial ma male	Discover Car financial ma male	Dodge Dart cars n/a	Dos Equis 1 alcoholic be both	Dos Equis 1 alcoholic berboth	Dos Equis 1 alcoholic ber both	Dos Equis 2 alcoholic ber both	Dos Equis 2 alcoholic be both		Duluth Tradi clothing and male	Edward Jone financial ma both	Edward Jone financial ma both	Edward Jone financial ma both	Edward Jone financial ma both	Edward Jone financial ma both	Edward Jone financial ma both	Edward Jone financial ma male	Edward Jone financial ma male	Enterprise recar accessor n/a	Enterprise recar accessor both	Enterprise recar accessor both	Enterprise recar accessor both	Enterprise re car accessor both	Enterprise recar accessor both	Enterorise recaraccessor both	Enterprise recar accessor both	E*Trade 1 financial ma male	E*Trade 1 financial ma male		E*Trade 2 financial ma male	Fiat 1 cars male	Fiat 1 cars male	Fiat 1 cars male	Fiat 2 cars both	Fiat 2 cars both	Fiat 2 cars both	Ford F-150 cars male	Ford Mustan cars male	Geico 1 financial ma n/a	Geico 2 financial ma n/a	Geico 2 financial ma n/a	Geico 3 financial ma n/a	Geico 3 financial ma n/a	Geico 4 financial ma n/a				Geico 6 financial ma n/a		GolfNow hobby-relatemale	GolfNow hobby-relatemale	Golfsmith 1 clothing and male	Golfsmith 1 clothing and male	h 2	cars	Honda 1 cars both

ithout indi n/a no n/a no n/a nowork bu entertainen no n/a nowork bu entertainen no n/a	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	black white white asian asian white	casual	2 casual 2 casual not identifie casual		36-50 21-35 not identifie	male		sup	outdoors supp	outdoors	outdoors	
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ertainer no	married or a not identifie without indian/a	white asian asian white white	casual	not identifie		ectomorph		-	71.35 alem	21.35	car supporting male 21.35	male car supporting male 21.35	hoth male or 21.25
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ertainer no	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	asian white	casna	2	Г	ectomorph	21-35 ectomorph		female	supporting female	outdoors supporting female	male outdoors supporting female	both male outdoors supporting female
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ithout indi n/a no n/a	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	ď	ectomorph	21-35 ectomol	21-35 ec	male 21-35 ec	male 21-35 ec	male 21-35 ec	male private resid supporting male 21-35 ec	private resic supporting male 21-35 ec
ithout indi n/a no n/a	no indicatior not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	E	rph	ectomorph		21-35	female 21-35	21-35	female 21-35	male private resid key female 21-35	private resic key female 21-35
9	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	orph	ectomorph		21-35	male 21-35	c supporting male 21-35	private resid supporting male 21-35	male private resid supporting male 21-35	male private resid supporting male 21-35
9	not identifie not identifie non-work bu entertainer	white	festive	2	orph	ectomorph		51-65	male 51-65	key male 51-65	restaurant key male 51-65	male restaurant key male 51-65	male restaurant key male 51-65
00	ndication not identifie	white	festive	7	endomorph	endo	ı,	51-65	porting male 51-65	aurant supporting male 51-65	restaurant supporting male 51-65	male restaurant supporting male 51-65	olic be male restaurant supporting male 51-65
n/a		n/a	e/u	n/a		5 G	n/a =/u	n/a		n/a r/c	n/a n/a n/a n/a	a/u a/u a/u a/u	male n/a n/a n/a n/a // n/a
2	a/n ibai tuodtim aititaabi taa situabai aa	white	0 10	2	actomorph	0 1	u	21.25	mya mala 21.35	nya majarahan majarahan 21.25	olim mitrocom mobile	alum mitocoma modello alum	male miles and m
2 2	no indication not identifie work situativ blue-collar	white	casual	, m	mesomorph	E		21-35	male 21-35	supporting male 21-35	outdoors supporting male 21-35	male outdoors supporting male 21-35	male outdoors supporting male 21-35
00	married or e heterosexu∈ without indi n/a	white	casual	m	ectomorph	ecto		e 36-50	female 36-50	key female 36-50	car key female 36-50	male car key female 36-50	male car key female 36-50
ithout indi n/a no n/a	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual		ectomorph	ector		21-35	male 21-35	male 21-35	key male 21-35	outdoors key male 21-35	male outdoors key male 21-35
	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	m	ectomorph	ecton		21-35		key female 21-35	outdoors key female 21-35	male outdoors key female 21-35	male outdoors key female 21-35
2	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	black	casual	m	mesomorph	meso		21-35	21-35	key male 21-35	outdoors key male 21-35	male outdoors key male 21-35	male outdoors key male 21-35
2	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	black	casual	m	orph	ectomorph	21-35 ectom	21-35	female 21-35	loons key female 21-35	outdoors key female 21-35	n male outdoors key female 21-35	male outdoors key female 21-35
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2	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white		2	d .	ectomorph		21-35	key temale 21-35	e resid key temale 21-35	private resid key female 21-35	ale male private resickey temale 21-35	ces female male private residkey female 21-35
ithout indicate yes authority	no indication not identifie without indicate	ee white	work / caree white	200	ectomorph	ecto	35-50 ector	36-50		formula 21-35	key male 36-50	other key male 36-50	male other key male 35-50
2 0	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	ectomorph	ecto		51-65	male 51-65	ors key male 51-65	outdoors key male 51-65	n/a outdoors key male 51-65	and normale n/a outdoors key male 51-65
2	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	ectomorph	ecto		36-50	porting male 36-50	supporting male 36-50	outdoors supporting male 36-50	n/a outdoors supporting male 36-50	n/a outdoors supporting male 36-50
OU	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	endomorph	endo	36-50 endo	36-50	male 36-50	male 36-50	outdoors supporting male 36-50	n/a outdoors supporting male 36-50	outdoors supporting male 36-50
e/u	e/u e/u e/u	e/u	e/u	n/a		P u		e/u		n/a n/a	e/u e/u e/u	e/u e/u e/u e/u	n/a n/a n/a
00	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	outdoor	2	ectomorph	ecto		36-50	male 36-50	ors key male 36-50	outdoors key male 36-50	male outdoors key male 36-50	male outdoors key male 36-50
00	not identifie not identifie non-work bu professional	black	casual	2	mesomorph	Ë		21-35	male 21-35	male 21-35	other key male 21-35	male other key male 21-35	male other key male 21-35
9	no indication not identifie work situativ pink-collar	white	uniform	2	ectomorph	Ü		e 21-35	female 21-35	female 21-35	other supporting female 21-35	male other supporting female 21-35	male other supporting female 21-35
	married or e not identifie work situativ pink-collar	ee white	ē	2	ectomorph	ü		e5 ÷	male 65.>	porting male 65->	private resid supporting male 65->	male private resid supporting male 65->	male private resid supporting male 65->
on-work bu professional no n/a	no indication not identifie non-work bu professional no	Diack	casual	7	mesomorph	Ĕ	21-35 me	21-35	male 21-35	male 21-35	male 21-35	male private residikey male 21-35	private resic key male 21-35
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ithout individual n/a no n/a	not identified not identified without individual	White	casual	7 6	mesomorph	E E	21-55 mes	21.35	male 21-35	21.35	male 21-35	male private resid supporting male 21-55	private residenting male 21-55
2 8	and control and the second of	Mehito	00000	,	actomorph	1		65.50	CC-12 pioni	CC-12 olem	private region engine male	male private registrating male	male private registrating male
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2/u 2/u	e/u	n/a	e/u	n/a		P		e/u	-/u =/u	2/:: a/u =/u	e/u e/u e/u	male n/a n/a n/a	male n/a n/a n/a
2	ried or e not identifie	latin	casual	m	not identifie	noti	50	21-35	female 21-35	doors key female 21-35	outdoors key female 21-35	le male outdoors key female 21-35	le male outdoors key female 21-35
u/a	e/u e/u	e/u	n/a	n/a		e/u	n/a n/a	e/u	e/u e/u	e/u e/u	e/u e/u e/u	male n/a n/a n/a	e/u e/u e/u
e/u e/u	e/u	e/u	e/u	n/a		e/u		e/u	e/u e/u	e/u e/u	e/u e/u e/u	male n/a n/a	male n/a n/a
	ndication not identifie	white	sport	2		ectomorph	2	21-35	male 21-35	ate resid key male 21-35	private resid key male 21-35	e n/a private resic key male 21-35	e n/a private resic key male 21-35
	no indication not identifie non-work bu professional yes	white	sport	2	orph	endomorph		36-50	male 36-50	male 36-50	private resic key male 36-50	n/a private resid key male 36-50	n/a private resid key male 36-50
ithout indi n/a yes authority	no indication not identifie without indi n/a		work/caree	2	hdron	endomorph	51-65 endon	51-65	male 51-65	male 51-65	e other key male 51-65	male other key male 51-65	male other key male 51-65
ves	married or e not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	horon	ectomorph		e 21-35	female 21-35	key female 21-35	other key female 21-35	male other key female 21-35	both male other key female 21-35
yes	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	ectomorph	ecto		51-65	male 51-65	key male 51-65	other key male 51-65	male other key male 51-65	both male other key male 51-65
yes	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	black	casual	2	mesomorph	Ĕ		51-65	male 51-65	key male 51-65	other key male 51-65	male other key male 51-65	both male other key male 51-65
, ses	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	2	ectomorph	ď		e 51-65	female 51-65	e resickev female 51-65	private resigkey female 51-65	male private resid key female 51-65	both male private residkey female 51-65
50%	solding and the solding soldin	white	in the second		dunnan	í à		65.5	CO-10 plant	CO-10 plant	private registration male AS.	male private registrary male ASC	hoth male private registracy male 55.5
yes	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	white	casual	7 0	ectomorph	ŭ i		65-5	male 65-7	male 65-7	private resigney male 65-2	male private residikey male 65->	both male private resid key male 65-3
ithout indi n/a yes user	not identifie not identifie without individa	white	casual	2	endomorph	u d	36-50 ert	36-50	male 51-65	male 51-65	eresigkey male 51-65	private residikey male 31-65	male private resigney male 51-55
2 2	not identifie not identifie without indin/a	white	Casulal	2	endomorph	1 6		55.5	male 65.3	Supporting male 65.5	other supporting male 65.5	n/a other supporting male 65.5	male n/a other supporting male 65.3
	not identifie not identifie non-work bu professional yes	white	sport	2	horph	meson		21-35	male 21-35	key male 21-35	other key male 21-35	n/a other key male 21-35	male n/a other key male 21-35
on-work bu professional yes authority	not identifie not identifie non-w	white	ų	g	2 spo.	mesomorph 2 spor	mesomorph 2	21-35 mesomorph 2	21-35 mesomorph 2	key male 21-35 mesomorph 2	key male 21-35 mesomorph 2	n/a other key male 21-35 mesomorph 2	male n/a other key male 21-35 mesomorph 2

USAA 1	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	key	female	36-50	ectomorph	2 casual	white	married or e heterosexua without indi n/a	yes	user	neither	neither	parent	inactive
USAA 1	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	supporting	male	65 →	endomorph	2 casual	white	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	2	e/u	neither	neither	parent	inactive
USAA 1	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	supporting	male	51-65	ectomorph	2 casual	white	married or e not identifie without indi n/a	00	n/a	neither	neither	parent	inactive
USAA 1	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	supporting male	male	36-50	endomorph	2 casual	white	married or e heterosexua without indi n/a	00	e/u	neither	neither	parent	inactive
USAA 2	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	key	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 uniform	black	not identifie not identifie work situati(military emp no	tary emp no	e/u	neither	neither	employee	inactive
USAA 2	financial ma both	oth	male	private resic key	ic key	female	21-35	endomorph	2 casual	latin	not identifie heterosexua without indi n/a	yes	user	neither	neither	partner	inactive
USAA 2	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	supporting	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 uniform	white	married or e heterosexua non-work bu military emp no	tary emp no	e/u	neither	neither	partner	inactive
USAA 2	financial ma both	oth	male	outdoors	outdoors supporting female	female	21-35	ectomorph	2 uniform	white	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	00	e/u	neither	neither	child	inactive
Vegas 1	places b	both	male	private resiv	private resid supporting female	female	36-50	ectomorph	2 casual	white	not identifie heterosexus without indi n/a	00	e/u	neither	neither	partner	inactive
Vegas 1	places	both	male	outdoors	supporting male	male	36-50	not identifie	2 n/a	black	not identifie not identifie without indi n/a	2	e/u	neither	neither	partner	inactive
Vegas 1	places	both	male	outdoors	supporting male	male	36-50	endomorph	2 work/ca	work/caree white	not identifie not identifie non-work bu white-collar no	te-collar no	n/a	neither	neither	friend/col	friend/colle inactive
Vegas 1	places	both	male	outdoors	supporting	male	36-50	ectomorph	2 work/ca	work/caree white	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	2	e/u	neither	neither	other	inactive
Vegas 2	places b	both	n/a	other	supporting male	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 casual	white	not identifie heterosexus without indi n/a	00	e/u	neither	neither	partner	inactive
Vegas 2	places	both	n/a	other	supporting female	female	21-35	ectomorph	3 festive	white	not identifie heterosexua without indi n/a	00	e/u	neither	neither	partner	inactive
Vegas 2	places b	both	n/a	other	key	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 festive	latin	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	00	e/u	neither	neither	friend/col	friend / colle engaged in p
Vegas 2	places	both	n/a	other	supporting	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 festive	latin	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	2	e/u	neither	neither	friend/col	friend / colle engaged in p
Vegas 2	places	both	n/a	other	supporting male	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 festive	latin	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	00	n/a	neither	neither	friend/col	friend / colle engaged in p
Vegas 2	places	both	n/a	other	supporting male	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 festive	latin	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	2	e/u	neither	neither	friend/col	friend / colle engaged in p
Vegas 2	places	both	e/u	other	supporting male	male	21-35	ectomorph	2 festive	latin	no indicatior not identifie without indi n/a	2	e/u	neither	neither	friend/col	friend / colle engaged in p
Wendy's	food and nor female	emale	male	restaurant	key	female	21-35	ectomorph	2 casual	white	no indication not identifie without indi n/a	02	n/a	neither	receiver	friend/col	friend/colle inactive
Wendy's	food and nor female	amale	male	restaurant	kev	female	21-35	ectomorph	2 casual	white	no indication not identifie without indivin/a	2	e/u	neither	Piver	friend / col	friend / colle inactive