

PICTURE PERFECT?: A COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL CONTENT
ANALYSIS
OF WOMEN IN SUPER BOWL COMMERCIALS

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in
partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Sociology.

Chapel Hill
2011

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Abstract

ROBIN MARIE GARY: Picture Perfect?: A Comparative-Historical Content Analysis
of Women in Super Bowl Commercials
(Under the direction of Jacqueline Hagan, Philip Cohen, Trevy McDonald)

This project utilizes qualitative and quantitative content analysis to examine images of women in commercials aired during the NFL Super Bowl over the last 25 years for changes in their portrayals over time and to identify the dominant gender and racial/ethnic stereotypes in women's depictions. I hypothesize increasing instances of *convergence* -- a shift in the appearance of black women from an African-American phenotype to women who appear racially ambiguous, and *replacement* -- black men paired with non-black women or depicted as the only black individual in a multiracial group -- in current media images. I found the dominant images of women have not substantively changed over the past 25 years and found evidence supporting my *convergence* and *replacement* hypotheses. I hope to expand the existing literature on gender and racial stereotyping in media and to lay a foundation for further research.

Dedicated to all those who pushed me to continue my education,
especially my mother.
It's been a long row to hoe.

Acknowledgements

It seems like it has taken me *forever* to finally get to this point, and I know that I have been *hard* to live with on occasion while working on this thesis. Many people have had a part in the completion of this paper, one of whom I have never even met. This paper would never have even been contemplated if my mother hadn't pushed me to go back to school and complete my education. Many thanks, Mom, for your encouragement and patience as I navigate the halls of academia. I'd also like to thank many of the wonderful and inspiring individuals I've had the privilege to meet in those hallowed halls:

From Meredith College, Raleigh, NC:

To Dr. Robin Colby and Dr. Susan Gilbert -- it's not a M.A. in English, but it would never have been written (or at least not nearly as well) if you hadn't taught me to appreciate and properly employ the glory and majesty of the English language.

To Dr. Lori Brown and Dr. Carrie Cokely -- you inspired me to expand my horizons and take up the study of sociology with the hope of not only studying society, but also of making it better. Your examples have been before me encouraging me to go on, particularly when I felt like giving up.

To Dr. Lyn Aubrecht -- you were my first professor when I made the leap and came back to school after so many years. Without your encouragement, I might have

headed right back into the workforce. Thanks for believing in me, but more so for helping me to believe in myself.

From UNC at Chapel Hill:

To Jackie -- you took me under your wing and stepped up as my advisor when I was left bereft, even though my interest in media is not your field. You pushed me to be better and kept me on task. I could not and would not have done this without you!!

To my other thesis committee members, Dr. Philip Cohen and Dr. Trevy McDonald -- thanks for taking on this project and for all of your help and comments. You made this a much better paper than it otherwise would have been.

To Tuneka -- our mutual moan-and-groan sessions on the perils of writing a master's thesis helped me to know I wasn't alone on this sometimes harrowing journey. Thanks for being a such good friend!

For Family:

A special thanks to my sister Pam who let me bounce ideas off her even when she was tired or busy. Your observations and suggestions were really helpful.

To my beautiful nieces, Taryn and Tory, you are a big part of the reason I'm studying these images! Also, don't follow the same path I did. Finish college (and grad school) the first time around. Trust me, it ain't easy going back!

To Lily and Zach -- I really didn't mean to ignore or neglect you while working on this paper. But, hey, at least you got your meals on time.

To Forrest -- I wish you could have read the final paper. I miss you!

Finally, I'd like to offer *huge* thanks to "Dabitch," an art director in Sweden, who created a very thorough online archive of 39 years of Super Bowl commercials.

Without your website, my task would have been so much harder! You're the best.

To all of you, including those I didn't mention, your help, faith, and support was invaluable -- Thank you. I love you. Expect a Miracle.

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INTRODUCTION

"I can put the wash on the line, feed the kids, get dressed, pass out the kisses, and get to work by five of nine cause I'm a woman. . . I can bring home the bacon, fry it up in a pan, and never, never, never, let you forget you're the man cause I'm a woman. . . " If you watched television during the 1970s, you may instantly recognize the preceding lines not as a statement of my abilities, but rather as the lyrics from the commercial for Enjoli perfume manufactured by Charles of the Ritz and marketed as the "eight hour perfume for the 24 hour woman" (Enjoli commercial). You may even be able to picture the woman who starred in the commercial: thin, white, shoulder length blonde hair, and clothed in a succession of outfits from a yellow terrycloth bathrobe, to a grey business suit, and finally to a sequined pink evening gown. My apologies if the rather catchy tune is now running through your head! Yet *that* is the power of media; even many years later you can still sing the jingle and/or recall images from a 30 second television commercial whether you used the advertised product or not. However, commercials do much more than just advertise products; they also inform us on a variety of social issues, including the proper ways to groom, dress, and behave in order to successfully fit into our society. For example, the Enjoli commercial suggests a married woman with children should be able to get up in the morning, do household chores, dispense affection, go to work outside the home, bring home her salary, do more housework, and then give her

husband some special attention all while being impeccably groomed and appropriately garbed.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1979), who studied the images in print advertisements, calls these self expressions and behaviors our *gender display*, which is "the process whereby we perform the roles expected of us by social convention" (Jhally 2009). Like print advertisements, television commercials also "reflect fundamental features of the social structure" and inform men and women not only on the socially acceptable ways to be masculine and feminine, but also on what is considered "desirable and normal" (Goffman 1979; Bartsch 2000; Paek and Shah 2003; Rubin, Fitts, and Becker 2003; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008). Hovland and colleagues (2005) further argue that examining women's representations can provide insights not only into women's expected *gender display* but also their position and power in society (Hovland et al. 2005).

My research is concerned with how women are portrayed in television commercials and whether their representations have changed over time. Television is a powerful mass communications vehicle that influences the values and attitudes of society as a whole (Hovland et al 2005). On average in American homes, the number of televisions is greater than the number of people living in the house, and the typical viewer watches over four hours per day (*USA Today* 2006). In an hour long program, the actual show content is approximately 40 - 48 minutes, which means 12 - 20 minutes of exposure to commercials. A 1988 study determined that the average American saw 37,000 television commercials per year (Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008), while more recent studies found the average

person views more than 3,000 advertisements per day from mass media sources including television, internet, magazines, and billboards (Baker 2005; Pediatrics 2006). That's more than one million ads per year! With the typical television commercial running for about 30 seconds, Taylor and Stern (1997) noted that advertisers use gender and racial stereotypes as a way to convey their messages quickly and clearly.

These media messages reinforce gender norms, promote unrealistic and often impossible to achieve body types, provide sexual scripts, and create an Eurocentric beauty ideal (hooks 1996; Collins 2000; Rubin et al. 2003; Sekayi 2003; Patton 2006; Baker-Sperry 2007; Jung and Peterson 2007; Stokes 2007; Cortese 2008; Schooler 2008). The images in these advertisements also make statements about existing racial and gender attitudes, and many reflect the dominant ideologies of white supremacy and patriarchy (MacKinnon 1989; West 1990; Pieterse 1992; Allen 2001; Hall 2003; Paek and Shah 2003; Sultze 2003; Bailey 2008; Cortese 2008; Hazell and Clarke 2008). The racial ideology embedded in advertisements is relevant since research has shown that minorities are more frequent users of media and tend to take the images more literally than whites (Fujioka 2005; Cortese 2008). Yet, it is not only minority viewers who internalize these subtle and sometimes overt messages about race and gender. While women and men of all races are influenced by media images depicting women, whites and other ethnic groups, who may or may not have any actual contact with minorities shown on television, are likewise influenced by racial depictions (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Hutchinson 1997; Fuller 2001; Bender 2003; Wingood et al. 2003; Baker 2005; Bessenoff 2006;

Cortese 2008; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008; Want 2009). Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) warn that commercials may be even more damaging than television programming: "advertising is a pervasive form of media to which people do not often give conscious attention and therefore its social messages are likely to remain unchallenged/unquestioned."

Cultivation theory posits that media representations create a type of alternate reality and that with consistent exposure to these images, viewers come to accept the alternate reality as valid, thus increasing the potential harmful impact of media depictions on those portrayed in a negative way as well as for those who merely view the images (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Pieterse 1992; Bang and Reece 2003; APA 2007; Schooler 2008). Women, in particular, who are constantly bombarded with advertisements for products claiming to make them more desirable and socially acceptable, are subject to psychological, emotional, and physical problems stemming from their inability to measure up to beauty standards broadcast in media images (Coward 1985; Pipher 1994; Millard and Grant 2006; Poran 2006; APA 2007; Schooler 2008; Want et al. 2009).

Previous content analyses of print and broadcast advertisements have looked at women's representations (Shani et al. 1992; Sultze 2003; Wolin 2003; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008), at the intersection of race and gender with investigations of white, black, and Latina women and comparisons of their portrayals (Rubin et al. 2003; Baker 2005; Millard and Grant 2006; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Schooler 2008), and specifically at Asians depictions in television commercials (Taylor and Stern 1997). In U.S. magazine and television

advertisements there are very few Asian women depicted, and there is not much literature examining the way they are represented (Taylor and Lee 1994). I also did not find much literature that looked specifically at racially ambiguous women in media images although one study and a short documentary did discuss this subject (Hasinoff 2008; Leroy 2010).

In this thesis, I examine the portrayals of white, black, Asian, Latina, and racially ambiguous women in Super Bowl commercials over a 25 year period from 1986 - 2011 to see how they are currently depicted in commercials and to determine if the roles, stereotypes, and presentations of the women have changed over time.

My primary interest in this project is the portrayals of black and racially ambiguous women in the commercials. In my own media use and from my previous research of current media images, I have noticed a shift in the appearance of black women in media depictions from those possessing an African-American phenotype to women who appear racially ambiguous; I call this trend *convergence*. I have also noted a media trend of black men being paired with non-black women or of being the only black individual in a multiracial group of men and women where no black women are present; I call this trend *replacement*. Combining the effects of *convergence* and *replacement* with a previously existent dearth of roles for black women, there seem to be fewer black women who look African-American in current media images (Mask 2009). This project allowed me to test my *convergence* and *replacement* hypotheses with the goal of introducing new concepts to existing sociology and media studies literature on women in television commercials.

Research Questions

In this content analysis I explore the following research questions:

1. What are the dominant female stereotypes in these commercials? How are women most frequently portrayed? (e.g., professionals, athletes, sex objects, housewives, etc.)
2. What are the dominant racial/ethnic and gender stereotypes in these commercials, and do they conform to the those cited in the literature? (e.g., Sista with Attitude, dumb blonde, hot, sexy Latina, submissive Asian geisha, etc.)
3. How do the stereotypes compare across race and ethnicity? Are the women of any one racial/ethnic group presented more often in stereotypical roles than the women of other races?
4. Have the images and stereotypes in these commercials changed from previous years or have they remained consistent?
5. Is there *convergence*? Are racially ambiguous women being cast in these commercials instead of women who possess features consistent with the African-American phenotype? Are racially ambiguous women overrepresented in media images?
6. Is there *replacement*? Are black men in these commercials being paired with non-black women or cast as the only black individual in a multiracial group of men and women?

7. Is the racial and ethnic representation of women from each racial group consistent with their percentage of the U.S. population? Are these media images representative of women in the U.S.?

The remainder of the thesis is organized into four chapters. In Chapter Two I review of some of the theories on advertising and media effects, including cultivation theory, social comparison theory, and expectancy theory to understand how viewers' attitudes, beliefs, values, and sense of personal identity and appearance can be affected by media images. Within this literature review, I discuss some of the media effects that have been found by previous studies including personal and societal problems that have been linked to media images and some of the ways that individuals combat or resist negative media portrayals. After briefly discussing stereotypes in general, I look at gendered and racialized stereotypes for women of each racial and ethnic group, and since my primary interest is in black women, I offer an in-depth discussion of black women in media images, including multiple black female stereotypes and issues with skin color, hair, and the Eurocentric beauty ideal. In Chapter Three, I present my methodological approach for analyzing the women in these commercials. In Chapter Four, I discuss my findings which are organized by decade (except for the 1980s which is limited to four years, 1986 - 1989), and draw on commercials from each decade for illustrative purposes. I organize by decade to: 1) better illustrate change over time, as it is sometimes difficult to see changes from year to year, and 2) limit the length of the paper. My findings are cast in the literature, focusing on the changing characteristics and appearances of women in the commercials, the women's

portrayals/roles, female and racial/ethnic stereotypes, and themes and trends in commercials from each decade. Finally, in Chapter Five, I revisit my seven research questions and discuss them in light of the results of my content analysis and conclude by offering some suggestions to advertisers for improved representation of women in commercials.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Why should we study media portrayals of women? Why should we compare media images of women of different ethnic and racial groups? These questions are relevant because research has consistently found that viewers, especially women, internalize media images and that these depictions, in addition to promoting impossible beauty ideals, often contain negative stereotypes of women of different racial and ethnic groups. Studies on media effects have found links between prevalent media images, especially those with stereotypical portrayals or those promoting an impossible beauty ideal, and negative societal behaviors and attitudes, emotional and psychological problems, physical ailments like bulimia and anorexia, sexual promiscuity and violence, and social, economic, educational, and legal issues (hooks 1996; Collins 2000; Bender 2003; Baker 2005; Stokes 2007; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008; Collins 2009; Burrell 2010).

In this literature review, I will discuss the theories and concepts that have been generated in an attempt to understand the development and consequences of media images of women, examine the nature of female stereotypes in the media, and investigate how media images of women vary by race. Because my primary interest is in the portrayals of black and racially ambiguous women and my hypotheses of *convergence* and *replacement*, I devote the majority of my discussion to black women in media images.

Research on Media Portrayals of Women

Scholars of media studies and sociology have developed concepts and theories to understand media portrayals of women and their effects on viewers. In his study of print advertisements, Goffman (1979) created the terms *commercial realism* to describe the intention of the advertiser to present the world in a way that could be real but which does not necessarily reflect social reality and *the ritualization of subordination* which describes the way female bodies are posed in submissive positions to demonstrate women's social subordination. Both of these concepts can also be applied when analyzing television advertisements featuring women; although they are not posed as they would be for a print advertisement, women can be subordinated by the roles they are cast in; their interaction with men in the commercial; their body positions and physical appearance, including clothing and hair style; and the camera angles used to film them. Two other Goffman (1979) concepts that may apply in my analysis are *licensed withdrawal* where the woman appears psychologically withdrawn from her surroundings and *infantilization* where women are presented in infantile ways, for example, a woman posed with a finger in her mouth or dressed as a little girl, for example, as a sexualized school girl (Goffman 1979). The *ritualization of subordination* may apply in cases where women are presented as submissive or passive sexual objects.

Lorber (1994) does not limit the sexualization of women to printed media, but contends that women are sexualized in *all* media images since, "no matter what role women play, they are sexualized because men look at them as desired or despised objects; the male gaze carries with it the power of action and possession

that is lacking in the female gaze." However, it should be noted that it is not just women who can be sexualized in media images. A recent book by Nicola Rehling (2009), *Extra-Ordinary Men: White Heterosexual Masculinity in Contemporary Popular Cinema*, examines the objectification of white male bodies in films¹. She notes contemporary images have put the white male body on display in ways that were formerly reserved for women -- "as the passive, eroticized, fetishized object of the controlling male gaze" (Rehling 2009). Yet the sexualization of men in media images is nowhere near as prevalent as it is for women, and only certain types of bodies are put on display for the pleasure of the female gaze (Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008; Rehling 2009).

Theories have also been developed to study media effects on women, particularly young girls and minority groups. Cultivation theory posits that girls take media images and messages about women and incorporate them into their own worldview (APA 2007). For example using the Enjoli commercial previously discussed, young girls viewing these images may come to believe that they should be able to easily and cheerfully do it all -- get married, take care of home, husband and family, and work a full time job -- without assistance, just like the Enjoli spokeswoman. The commercial also suggests the need to look well groomed and be properly garbed at all times. These commercial messages about *gender display* are also reinforced by depictions of women in television programs and movies.

¹ Rehling (2009) also notes instances of white male sexualization in print ads and television commercials, particularly Levi's 1985 "Launderette" commercial and Diet Coke's 1994 "Eleven O'Clock Appointment" commercial. See Appendix I for a description of these commercials.

Social learning theory suggests girls learn about "women's expected roles in the world" through the images they see in the media and seek rewards by emulating those images (APA 2007). For example, girls may imitate the behaviors and physical appearances of women they admire from media images, particularly images of women they view as socially successful, and then seek approval from family and peers for their conformity to this media ideal. In the case of sexualized images, this imitation could potentially cause serious problems, not only for young girls who are sexually immature, but also for older girls who may be tempted to become sexually promiscuous in attempts to gain recognition for their impersonation of women in the media (Pipher 1994; Stokes 2007).

As a possible explanation for eating disorders and body dissatisfaction, Want et al. (2009) used social comparison theory which says that when a woman compares herself to media images it is usually an "upward comparison" to someone she perceives as more attractive, and her own self esteem is then injured. They warned long term exposure can increase the likelihood of viewing these media images as "personally relevant ideal standards for appearance" (Want et al. 2009). In her study of adolescent girls, Pipher (1994) called attention to the pressure young girls feel to conform to the feminine beauty standards put out by the media in a culture "rife with girl-hurting 'isms,' such as lookism" where girls are judged solely on their physical appearance; she listed conformity, withdrawal, anger, and depression as the four reactions of female adolescents to this cultural pressure.

Taylor and Lee (1994), in their analysis of Asian Americans in magazine advertisements applied expectancy theory which states, "to the extent that

advertising portrayals build or reinforce expectancies, they may contribute to undue pressure being placed on minority groups" (Taylor and Lee 1994). In the case of Asians who are stereotyped as the "model minority," assimilated, intelligent, and successful, the pressure to live up to or the failure to conform to this stereotype can damage self esteem (Taylor and Lee 1994). Expectancy theory can also be applied to women and girls who view stereotypical media images of idealized women. For example, the majority of women in media images are very thin, many with augmented breasts, dressed in the latest fashions, and presented as socially successful. Women and girls who internalize these images as the way women are expected to be, but who are unable to match their media ideal's physical attributes, fashionable wardrobe, or social success, could feel they have failed to live up to the expected female ideal and damage to self esteem could result, possibly leading to physical manifestations such as eating disorders or self mutilation (Pipher 1994). For minority women and girls who internalize these images, the damage to self esteem could be even greater since the majority of women in media images are white with body types unattainable for many black and Latina women; it's impossible for many minority women to live up to the expected Eurocentric beauty ideals of women presented in media images.

Studies have also found links between media images and societal issues and problems, including sexual violence and restrictive or punitive laws. For example, Bender (2003), linked the current illegal immigration debates and some of the laws and propositions that have been proposed or passed to negative media images and stereotypes of Mexicans. Burrell (2010) explored many social problems in the

African-American community including crime, health concerns, and dysfunctional relationships that can be traced to media images and stereotypes that have their roots in slavery. MacKinnon (1989) linked pornography with rape and the formation of rape laws, written by men, that blame the female victim for her own violation. Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) examined the sexual imagery of women in magazine advertisements and concluded, "the pervasiveness of these images serves to maintain male dominance by designating women's bodies as property." In their study of women in print advertisements they found women were not only sexualized in images, but also were presented as victims in over 70% of the sexualized ads -- either portrayed as physically and emotionally vulnerable or as being overpowered by men -- and these portrayals seemed to deliberately display women as objects to be looked at and possessed by men (Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008).

Minorities may internalize media images, but they also tend to be more resistant to certain negative media depictions of their group. Psychological distance is a concept used to describe the disconnect felt by minority consumers from advertised products (Cortese 2008). Crane (1999) showed photos taken from fashion magazines to both white and black women and found that black participants felt the fashions illustrated were designed for white women and white bodies. One black respondent bluntly stated, "this look is impossible for us to achieve. Genetically, that is not how we are mapped out" (Crane 1999). Studies have also found that black and Latina women tend to define beauty in a way that includes physical appearance along with other attributes such as personality, sense of style,

and hygiene, while white women have a much narrower definition focused on physical appearance (hooks 1994; Collins 2000; Sekayi 2003; Rubin et al. 2003; Patton 2006; Schooler 2008). In fact, Collins (2000) firmly announced, "the controlling images applied to black women are so uniformly negative that they almost necessitate resistance." Education, standpoint theory, Afrocentric theory, self-definition, body ethics, and media literacy are all strategies that have been suggested as ways to combat and challenge societal beauty norms (Pipher 1994; hooks 1994; Collins 2000; Rubin et al. 2003; Sekayi 2003; Patton 2006; Collins 2009). However, I believe more realistic media images may go a long way toward reducing some of the negative repercussions caused by unrealistic Eurocentric beauty standards.

Stereotypes of Women in the Media

The three models of minority representation in media are: equal presentation where all racial and ethnic groups are portrayed in a similar fashion despite any actual differences; social reality where minorities are presented as they are in life with no attempt to mold the images to fit a particular ideology; and cultural attitudes where minorities are presented in the way whites perceive them to be (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Cortese 2008). Based on previous content analyses of media images, the cultural attitudes model seems to be the one most frequently employed, with a liberal use of stereotypical portrayals as a means to perpetuate dominant racial and ethnic ideologies.

Media stereotypes began as a way "to avoid the burdens of complex character development," yet they have since become ubiquitous and insidious

(Ewen and Ewen 2008). Even when stereotypes are recognized as untrue or exaggerated, once they become ingrained in the culture they are difficult to erase; in fact the old stereotypes are often used as a basis for new ones (Pieterse 1992; Baker 2005; Boylorn 2008). Men and women of all races are apt to be stereotyped in media images; however, it is women who are most often portrayed in stereotypical ways, and Millard and Grant (2006) suggested advertisers use stereotypes to create a link in consumers minds between their product and the "typical" woman of beauty.

Studies have found that women of all races are depicted in media images as sexual objects positioned for the male gaze (Coward 1985; MacKinnon 1989; Lorber 1994; Wolin 2003; Baker 2005). However, there is a racial difference in the way this feminine sexuality is illustrated. White women in these images are more likely to demonstrate Goffman's *ritualization of subordination* by being shown in submissive poses or positioned in such a way that the focus of the image is on isolated body parts rather than the face, and they may also exhibit *licensed withdrawal*, appearing unaware of their surroundings; conversely, black women tend to be shown in sexually aggressive or dominant poses while facing the camera, reminiscent of the black female stereotype of the sexually insatiable Jezebel (hooks 1981; Baker 2005; Hazell and Clarke 2008). Black and Latina women are more likely to be portrayed as working class while white women are more often shown as middle or upper class (Bang and Reece 2003; Hazell and Clarke 2008).

Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) has pointed out the that women's subordination is affected not only by gender, but also by race and social class; she calls this intersection of race, class, and gender the "matrix of domination." These

interlocking systems affect women on three levels: the *individual*, "unique personal biography of experiences, values, motivations, and emotions;" *group/community* - your social location (race, class, age, religion, etc.) and how you relate to the world around you; and finally, *social institutions* which are controlled by the dominant group -- in the U.S. this is white, heterosexual men -- and are structured to reflect the dominant group's worldview and interests (Collins 2000). Applying Collins (2000) "matrix of domination" to media images, stereotypes are likely to be gendered, racialized, and subject to social class depictions.

White women in media images

Media representations of women vary by race, ethnicity, and social class. Numerous content analyses of media images have found that white women are sexualized in media images more often than women of other races (Crane 1999; Rubin et al. 2003; Sultze 2003; Baker 2005; Millard and Grant 2006; Cortese 2008; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008). Conversely, they are also presented in higher status occupations and in higher social class settings (Millard and Grant 2006; Hazell and Clarke 2008). In addition, as Millard and Grant (2006) note "white women are still used as the standard icon of beauty and femininity." Thus while white women may suffer body dissatisfaction, eating disorders, and other negative effects to their self esteem from comparison with media images, they do have the advantage of race when compared to minority women who for the most part cannot achieve the Eurocentric beauty ideal.

An example of the simultaneous idealization and sexualization of white women is illustrated by a commercial for GoDaddy.com, an internet company that

hosts websites and provides domain names; since 2005, GoDaddy.com has become a yearly contributor to the Super Bowl commercials. The GoDaddy.com spokesperson, race car driver Danica Patrick, is an attractive white woman with brunette hair and hazel eyes. The commercials are best known for their sexual content, and they always end abruptly with the suggestion that viewers, "See more now at GoDaddy.com," and a warning that the web content is unrated, suggesting even more graphic sexual content to come. In the commercials featuring Patrick, in various settings she meets up with one or more attractive, white women who ask her if they can become spokesmodels for GoDaddy.com and then take off their clothes in order to display their "assets." The 2010 Super Bowl commercial had an apparently nude, towel-draped Patrick receiving a massage from a white, blonde, blue-eyed woman who asks to become a GoDaddy.com girl. When Patrick tells her she may, but only after completing the massage, the woman purrs suggestively, "maybe right after this" and rips off her blouse to reveal the form-fitting GoDaddy.com tank top she's wearing. Here the commercial ends with the invitation to see more at the website.

White women comprise 75.1% of women in the U.S. and 38.2% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). I hypothesize white women are overrepresented in Super Bowl commercials.

Latina women in media images

Like white women, Latina women are subject to sexualization in media images, but unlike white women, Latinas are also more frequently stereotyped, portrayed as low-wage workers with limited English, gang members, or overly

fertile mothers with multiple children; these negative portrayals can have an impact on the self esteem of Latinas who internalize these media images (Bender 2003; Hasinoff 2008; Schooler 2008). Some studies have found a higher level of body satisfaction among Latina women and attribute this to cultural preferences for a larger body type than the thin Eurocentric beauty standards displayed in media images. However, Schooler (2008) found that up to 80% of Latina high school girls had some level of body dissatisfaction, and Rubin, et al. (2003) found that eating disorders among Latinas is equivalent to that of white women.

In addition to body type, the physical appearance of Latina women in current media images is not representative of the entire Latina population. The dominant media portrayal of Latinas "characterized by long straight brown-black hair and just enough oliveness to the skin to make them not ambiguous" (Rubin et al. 2003) excludes many Latina women who long to see realistic representations which include the full spectrum of Latina phenotypes. Latinas are not all olive skinned with dark hair and eyes; like all other ethnicities, there is considerable variation in skin tone, hair color and texture, and eye color. There are fair skinned, blonde Latinas as well as dark skinned Latinas who conform to the African-American phenotype. In fact, many Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are mistakenly identified as black until they declare their ethnic origins. Montalvo and Codina (2001) discussed the legacy of the Spanish in Mexico which established a skin color hierarchy, *la sistema de las castas*, similar to that in the black community, where lighter skin and European features are not only considered more attractive, but also are a key to upward social mobility. Interestingly, they found that lighter skinned Mexican-born

women who come to the U.S. had more frequent bouts of depression than those with darker skin, and suggested that in part this could be due to their feeling the "loss of the social status and cultural mooring that they had been accustomed to in Mexico" (Montalvo and Codina 2001).

Unfortunately the non-representative physical appearance of Latinas in media images is not the only problem Latina women must contend with; they are also faced with stereotypical media depictions of Latinas. A 2010 commercial for the fast food restaurant Taco Bell offers an illustration of one of the dominant Latina women stereotypes. The commercial is set in a white collar office where two men, one white and one black, are on their lunch break when they are confronted by the Latina "sandwich lady," who is addressed as such by the men. She is pushing a handcart filled with premade sandwiches and as she reaches the men, she holds out a sandwich and says in Spanish-accented English, "five fifty" (the price of the sandwich). The men refuse to buy the sandwich, preferring instead their more reasonably priced Taco Bell flatbread sandwiches. The woman again offers the sandwich and repeats the price. When the men ignore her entreaties, she rams them with her handcart, and the commercial ends. The low-wage worker with limited English skills, like Taco Bell's sandwich lady, is one of the stereotypes of Latina women. Others include the sultry, sexy, loose Latina, the fiery, hot-tempered Latina, the barrio-resident gang member or criminal, and the overly fertile mother with multiple children (Bender 2003; Banks 2005). Latina singers Shakira, Jennifer Lopez, and Christina Aguilera capitalize on the sultry, sexy stereotype in their musical performances.

Latina women comprise about 12% of women in the U.S. and about 6.1% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). I hypothesize Latina women are underrepresented in Super Bowl commercials.

Asian women in media images

Asian women, like Latinas, are also subject to stereotyping in media images, but, like white women, they also tend to be overrepresented in media images based on their population in the U.S.. According to the U.S. Census (2000), Asian women comprise only 1.8% of the U.S. population, and this is reflected in the media where images of Asian women are rare compared to women of other racial and ethnic groups. However, Taylor and Stern (1997) found that based on their population in the U.S., Asian women were overrepresented in television commercials during primetime programming at 3.7%. In addition to their few media representations, there is also a dearth of literature on content analyses of Asian women in U.S. media images (Taylor and Lee 1994). A few Asian women have gained widespread media visibility in the U.S., including Lucy Liu, who starred on the long running sitcom *Ally McBeal*, and comedienne Margaret Cho. Liu, who has the thin body type currently in vogue, has been sexualized in some of her media depictions, particularly in her role in the *Charlie's Angels* theatrical movies where she starred with white actresses Cameron Diaz and Drew Barrymore (imdb.com), but she has also been stereotyped in some of her roles. In her content analysis of the television series *Ally McBeal*, Patton (2001) pointed out that the character of Ling Woo, played by Liu, encompassed both the geisha and Dragon Lady stereotypes. In a stand-up comedy performance, Cho discusses Asian female stereotypes and talks about television

producers wanting her to "act more Asian" (Cho 2000). She was also the star of the first television sitcom to have an all Asian cast which was based loosely on her own life (imdb.com).

The major stereotype applied to Asians, male and female, is that of the "model minority," described as hard working, intelligent, well educated, technologically savvy, successful in business, and assimilated into U.S. society (Taylor and Lee 1994; Wong 2001; Paek and Shah 2003). Paek and Shah (2003) found that in magazine advertisements the model minority stereotype was the one most frequently employed with Asians shown primarily in business and academic settings.

In addition to the model minority stereotype, the two main stereotypes of Asian women are the submissive, seductive, exotic and sexually available geisha and the evil, scheming Dragon Lady (Patton 2001; Paek and Shah 2003; Banks 2005). Wong (2001) in response to a newspaper article on interracial dating between white men and Asian women discussed the potential harm that can result from racial-sexual stereotypes, particularly the perception of Asian women as submissive and less domineering than white women. One commercial which seems to reflect this stereotype is a 2009 commercial for Fidelity Investments which showed a married couple lying in bed together and discussing their financial situation. The Asian woman listened quietly and without comment to her white husband as he explained his financial decisions.

Perhaps due to stereotypical portrayals or their lack of representation in media images, Asian women also struggle with the Eurocentric beauty ideal. One of

the most popular plastic surgery procedures for Asian women is blepharoplasty which adds a crease to the eyelids to make them appear more European (Kobrin 2004). This surgery is actually more popular in Asia than in the U.S., but it is nonetheless an indication that the Eurocentric beauty ideal broadcast by the media has an influence on Asian women's self esteem and concerns about physical appearance.

Asian women make up 1.8% of the total U.S. population and 3.6% of women in the U.S. (U.S. Census 2000). Like the results from previous content analyses of Asians in media images (Taylor and Lee 1994; Taylor and Stern 1997), I hypothesize Asian women are overrepresented in Super Bowl commercials.

Black Women in Media Images

Since my primary focus in this analysis is the portrayals of black women, I have expanded this section to discuss multiple issues facing black women in media images including black female stereotypes, the skin color hierarchy in the black community, the struggles of black women with their hair, and their difficulties with the Eurocentric beauty ideal. I begin with a discussion on black female stereotypes.

Black female stereotypes. Like women of other races, black women are sexualized in media images, but unlike women of other racial groups they are also consistently stereotyped in multiple ways (Hasinoff 2008; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008; Burrell 2010; Kretsedemas 2010). There are several stereotypes of black women, many of which have their roots in slavery. In today's media images, the most commonly portrayed stereotypes seem to be the Sista With Attitude and Jezebel (Boylorn 2008). Jezebel is usually a young black (or biracial)

woman with light to medium skin color, long and/or straight hair, European facial features, ample breasts, and skimpy clothing. Jezebel is the seductress, and her role is to provide sex, willingly or unwillingly, for whatever man desires her. Jezebel's overt sexuality has its roots in slavery when slave owners justified the rape of female slaves by imputing an lascivious, animal-like sexuality to black women (hooks 1981; Collins 2000; Baker 2005; Stokes 2007; Hazell & Clarke 2008). Today, Jezebel can be seen gyrating her body, sliding down a stripper pole, or sinuously pressing against her sexual conquests in any rap or hip-hop music video (Malveaux 2008). Boylorn (2008) discussed the Sista With Attitude whose genesis is the Sapphire stereotype born out of slavery; Sapphire was the sulky, lazy, yet fast-talking slave woman who schemed to avoid work, belittled slave men as "no good," was generally a nuisance, and was held up as example of what not to be (hooks 1994; Bogle 2001; Boylorn 2008; Kretsedemas 2010). In her current incarnation, Sista With Attitude is the ghetto-fabulous, slang-talking, eye-head-and-neck-rolling black woman frequently used as comic relief in situation comedies and movies. However, she can appear in any situation and is not always funny -- quite often she is angry. Kretsedemas (2010) examined portrayals of black women in primetime television programs and found that they were often stereotyped; his analysis identified the Angry Black Woman as a stereotype which also emerged from the Sapphire character -- specifically the so-named character Sapphire from the Amos and Andy show which began in the 1920s. While the Angry Black Woman could stand as a stereotype in its own right, I consider it as a legitimate facet of the Sista with Attitude stereotype. Both Boylorn (2008) and Kretsedemas (2010) note the

Sista with Attitude portrayal can and does cut across class lines; lower class, working class, middle class, and upper class black women can be and are depicted as this stereotypical character in television programming and in Hollywood movies. With the advent of reality television programs which feature black women competing for attention and men, fighting and cussing, and generally behaving badly, as illustrated on VH1's *I Love New York* and *Flavor of Love*, Bravo TV's *The Real Housewives of Atlanta*, and NBC's *The Apprentice*, the Sista With Attitude is receiving even more exposure (Kretsedemas 2010; Zook 2010). Zook (2010) remarks, "these days, reality TV is fixated on black women. But only when we act the fool."

The two current dominant black female stereotypes, Sista with Attitude and Jezebel, are featured together in a 2010 commercial for State Farm Insurance. The commercial opens with a young black couple standing on the sidewalk looking at a car accident where the rear end of their car is sitting on the hood of the car behind it. The black woman, with medium brown skin and her hair pulled back in a bun, is ranting at her boyfriend for his poor driving skills: "I told you, you were too close, but nobody ever listens to me! No, no, no, no, no! I mean who does that?" Her speech is punctuated by exaggerated head, hand, and body motions. Her visibly frustrated boyfriend sings the State Farm jingle, and his insurance agent, a Latina woman, magically appears to take care of the damage. The girlfriend then wishes out loud for a new boyfriend, and the man is transformed into a tall, handsome black man with a chiseled, bare chest. The boyfriend, in his new body, then demands a new girlfriend, and the woman is replaced by a tall, very light skinned black woman with long, straight hair flowing past her shoulders, large breasts, and long legs

which are prominently displayed by the tight tank top and shorts she's wearing. The woman, who retains the voice and attitude of the old girlfriend, looks at her new body and says, "Oh, this is what you like?" When her boyfriend enthusiastically agrees, she replies, "Um-hmm, I was perfect the way I was." The characterization of the sassy, nagging black woman is a classic example of the Sista With Attitude, described by Boylorn (2008), while her replacement clearly fits the Jezebel stereotype (Collins 2000; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Kretsedemas 2010).

Although in current media images, Jezebel and Sista with Attitude seem to be the most frequently depicted stereotypes, they are only two in a list of stereotypes that seems to keep expanding as old stereotypes from slavery are updated or new stereotypes split off from existing stereotypes, such as the Angry Black Woman.

Other black female stereotypes include the following characters:

- Mammy, who is most often portrayed as a fat, desexualized, dark skinned, middle aged black woman, both sassy and bossy, who uses endearments such as "honey," "child," and "baby," in place of or in addition to proper names (Collins 2000; Fuller 2001; Kretsedemas 2010). Her role is to care for her white charges with the complete abasement of her own personal needs or concerns. During slavery, mammy worked in the house caring for the master's family, oftentimes serving as a wet nurse for the white children. Aunt Jemima, best known as the Quaker Oats trademark gracing pancake and syrup products, is representative of the Mammy stereotype from the times of slavery. In the black community, the term "Aunt Jemima" goes hand-in-hand with the term "Uncle Tom," both used to symbolize a black woman or man,

respectively, who is perceived to be toadying or acting subserviently to whites. The Pinesol Lady is a good example of a modern day Mammy (Fuller 2001).

- The Welfare Queen was made famous during the Regan years when she became a right-wing code word for those black women supposedly "milking the system" (Collins 2000); this bedraggled black woman neglects her family and societal duties in order to pursue her own interests. Boylorn (2008) believes the Welfare Queen's sexuality, usually represented by multiple sexual partners and numerous children, makes her a variation of the Jezebel stereotype. Yet whether she's an amalgamation of traditional stereotypes or a modern stereotype in her own right, the Welfare Queen makes frequent appearances in television and film. Actress Mo'Nique received several nominations and awards for her portrayal of a Welfare Queen in the 2009 movie *Precious* (imdb.com).
- The Matriarch is the black mother who rules her household with an iron fist. Collins (2000) describes her as an "overly aggressive, unfeminine woman" who so emasculates her husband or lovers they abandon her. She is a "dangerous, deviant, castrating mother" who "fails to conform to the cult of true womanhood" (Collins 2000). The Matriarch also contains facets of the Angry Black Woman.
- The Black Lady is another stereotype that seems to combine characteristics of other black female stereotypes. Collins (2000), notes the educated, professional, successful Black Lady's dedication to hard work is similar to the

mammy's work habits, while her aggressive devotion to her all-consuming career, which leaves her little to no time for viable romantic relationships, is akin to the unfeminine matriarch. The Black Lady is symbolic of the black "superwoman" who can work a full time job, take care of her children, and deal with life's vagaries on her own -- with no man or close friends -- all without breaking down (Boylorn 2008).

As if the list of black female stereotypes is not extensive enough, these stereotypes can blend into one another by combining characteristics. It's entirely possible for a Sista With Attitude character to display the overt sexuality of a Jezebel. Jezebel can possess the characteristics of a Welfare Queen as demonstrated by Halle Berry in her roles as the drug addicted, neglectful mother in *Losing Isaiah* and the sexually insatiable slattern in *Monster's Ball* (imdb.com). Mammy can take on the trappings of a Black Lady with a college education and good job; or the Matriarch can also be a Welfare Queen. However, variation or blending of these stereotypes does not negate the detrimental impact of these media images; if anything, by updating the old and adding new stereotypes the emotional, psychological, societal, educational, and legal damages are multiplied for black women (Pieterse 1992; Fuller 2001; Bender 2003; Bailey 2008; Boylorn 2008; Cortese 2008; Malveaux 2008; Burrell 2010).

Skin color and facial features. "Light, bright, almost white" is an old African-American saying referring to a preferred skin tone. The medium brown skinned girlfriend in the above referenced State Farm commercial was transformed into a light skinned woman who was clearly preferred by the boyfriend. From the days of

slavery in the U.S. when the mulatto children of slaves and their owners were assigned less onerous tasks that took them out of the fields and in some cases gave them access to better living conditions, up to the present day, blacks have shown a preference for lighter skin and European facial features (Collins 2000; Hill 2002; Maddox and Gray 2002; Patton 2006; Poran 2006; Burrell 2010). Whites and other non-blacks also show a preference for lighter skinned blacks as evidenced by mass media's use of blacks with light skin tones in advertisements and programs (Collins 2000; Stepanova and Strube 2009). Within the black community the historical tension between those with lighter skin and those with darker skin is well known, and this color hierarchy has particular importance for black women. Black female novelists from Nella Larsen with *Passing*, to Zora Neale Hurston with *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, to Toni Morrison with *The Bluest Eye* have all chronicled the angst and agonies caused by black women's obsession with skin tone. In 1988, filmmaker Spike Lee's movie *School Daze* included an elaborately staged musical number where light-skinned girls with straight hair, the Wanna-be's, face off against the dark-skinned girls with natural hair, the Jigaboos (Lee 1988). Unfortunately, this conflict over skin color is not just fictional; rather there are real world implications. Hill's (2002) study on perceptions of attractiveness among African-Americans based on skin color found that "women in the lighter groups enjoy statistically significant increases in physical attractiveness scores in comparison with very dark brown women." Perry (2003) noted that darker skinned women in hip hop videos are most often shown as isolated body parts (e.g., breasts and butts), while the faces of light skinned women were featured. The skin color hierarchy

which haunts black women does not seem to be applied to black men in the same way. Hill (2002) found that for black men, skin tone is not as important in the perception of attractiveness as it is for black women; indeed he noted dark skinned black men are often perceived as more sexually attractive than lighter skinned black men. Interestingly, in the State Farm Insurance commercial detailed above, the new boyfriend has the same dark brown skin tone as the original, while the new girlfriend's skin is several shades lighter than the woman she replaces. How far can the obsession with skin color go? A 2009 article in the *Pittsburgh Tribune Review* reports that the wax figure of Michelle Obama in Madam Tussauds' Wax Museum is actually several shades lighter than her true skin tone, and the author exclaims, "what's up with the cafe-au-lait shading?" (Wiltz 2009). Also in 2009, a black Detroit man promoted an event at a nightclub where only black women with fair or light skin were to be given free admission; the party was canceled and the promoter issued an apology (Williams 2009).

Hair. In the Spike Lee movie, the light skinned girls had straight hair, either naturally or chemically straightened, while the dark skinned girls had naturally kinky hair. It is not just skin tone that causes difficulties for black women; hair texture and length -- kinky versus wavy or straight, nappy hair versus good hair, long hair versus short hair -- are also issues black women must contend with. In the early 1900s Madame C.J. Walker became a millionaire when she created a line of products designed to straighten the hair of black women (madamecjwalker.com). From that point onward, the debate over chemically straightened or natural hair for black women has raged, even becoming a political statement during the Black Power

movement in the 1970s (Collins 2000; Rubin et al. 2003; Patton 2006). A black woman's choice of hairstyle can even have economic consequences; in some cases, natural or ethnic hairstyles are considered "unprofessional" in white collar workplaces (Collins 2000; Rubin et al. 2003; Patton 2006). First Lady Michelle Obama's hair has been a subject of media debate almost since her first television close-up (Desmond-Harris 2009). Recently comedian Chris Rock (2010) produced a documentary titled *Good Hair* where he interviewed black women and asked them to define "good hair;" he says he came up with the idea for this project when his young daughter came home one day and asked him, "Daddy, how come I don't have good hair?" What his daughter wanted to know was why her hair wasn't naturally straight and silky like white women's hair. Burrell (2010) noted that Rock's wife, a black woman, wears a weave of long, straight hair which may have contributed to her daughter's confliction over her own hair. Perry (2003) states that with the advent of hair weaves and wigs, most black women in the media today have long hair (shoulder length or longer) although "the average length of black women's natural hair in the U.S. is 4 to 6 inches."

Body shape and the Eurocentric beauty ideal. On top of stereotypes, skin color hierarchies, and issues over hair texture and length, black women also struggle with the Eurocentric beauty ideal broadcast in media images, which encompasses facial features and body type. In her discussion of gender and race, Glenn (2000) notes the social hierarchy which places white women as "the universal female subject" and black women as "invisible both as racial and gendered subjects." Rubin et al. (2003) reports black women's looks "are either denigrated or simply erased from

mainstream cultural imagery." Ouellete (1999) writing about the history of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, notes, "the aspirations of the Cosmo Girl were white, heterosexual, and upper-middle class. . . 'other' women were sometimes acknowledged. . . but they were not presented as models for emulation."

Historically, black women have had their femininity devalued at the same time as white women have been held up as the ideal; black women were workers while white women were wives, mothers, and daughters (hooks 1981; Collins 2000; Hill 2002; Patton 2006; Hazell and Clarke 2008). Patton (2006) states, "beauty is subject to the hegemonic standards of the ruling class." The beauty ideal of white skin, long, straight hair, European facial features, and a thin, almost prepubescent figure, albeit with large breasts, currently in vogue is one that is out of reach for most black women (Poran 2006). In the U.S., lighter complexioned black women with European features and straight or softly curling hair who conform most closely to the Eurocentric beauty standard set by white women have been considered more attractive than those with darker skin, African features, and natural hair (Collins 2000; Hill 2002). Even today, when women with darker skin tones, like black actress Gabrielle Union, are featured in the media, they tend to have long straight hair, European facial features, and the thin body type associated with white women, and despite the seeming gains for darker skinned black women, those with light skin still receive more media exposure (Rubin et al. 2003; Sekayi 2003). Perry (2003) notes that the current beauty standard for black women is "as impossible to achieve as the waif-thin models in *Vogue* magazine are for white women."

The waif-thin bodies of fashion models are nearly impossible for most women, regardless of race, to achieve despite the promises of gyms, diet pills and programs, and personal trainers. However, the beauty standard for women's bodies in the U.S. is a thin, almost prepubescent torso, firm, thin, thighs, shapely butt, and full breasts (Coward 1985). Sekayi (2003) points out that the Commodores' "brick house" with the body measurements 36"-24"-36" would actually wear clothes in sizes 4-6, a far cry from size 14 which is what the average American woman wears (Vesilind 2009). This body type is particularly difficult for black and Latina women to achieve, yet most minority models in magazine advertisements conform to this body standard (Rubin et al. 2003; Patton 2006; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Schooler 2008). Previous studies have reported black women had higher body satisfaction than white women who were thought to be more affected by media images; however, recent studies have shown that black women do feel pressure to conform to the body ideals shown in media images and have equivalent rates of eating disorders and "higher rates of diuretic and laxative abuse" than white women (Rubin et al. 2003; Sekayi 2003; Poran 2006)

Blacks are consistently underrepresented in media images which can increase the impact of the negative and stereotypical portrayals (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Baker 2005; Cortese 2008; Hazell and Clarke 2008). Black women comprise 12.6% of women in the U.S. and about 6.1% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). I hypothesize black women are underrepresented in Super Bowl commercials.

Racially ambiguous women in media images

In a 2010 commercial for Kotex tampons, which used sarcasm to poke fun at other commercials for similar products, the spokesmodel, an attractive young woman with olive toned skin, large brown eyes, and long, straight, dark hair looks earnestly into the camera and delivers the following monologue:

Hi, I'm a believably attractive 18 - 24 year old female. You can relate to me because I'm *racially ambiguous*, and I'm in this tampon commercial because market research shows girls like you love girls like me. Don't all these angles make me seem dynamic? Now I'm going to tell you to buy something: Buy the same tampons I use because I'm wearing white pants, and I have *good hair*, and you wish you could be me. (ubuykotex.com 2010).

While the speech itself is satire, the use of words like "racially ambiguous" and "good hair" shows that advertisers, or at least the ad agency that created this commercial, are aware of the changing demographics in the U.S. and hope to appeal to viewers in multiple racial/ethnic categories by the use of a model whose race cannot be readily identified. Instances of *convergence*, where racially ambiguous women are being used in print and television advertisements and other media images instead of black women, are increasing. The short documentary film *Erasures* looks at this growing phenomena and offers several reasons for the increase including: the assumption of a white consumer, increased attention to the product due to the mystery of the model's race, and the avoidance of any political or cultural connotations which may be connected to models of identifiable racial groups (Leroy 2010). Stepanova and Strube (2009) found that facial physiognomy makes a bigger difference than skin tone when determining racial categories, and the more black the phenotypic characteristics, the more negative the evaluation of that individual. Could this finding account in part for the more frequent use of

racially ambiguous women who tend to fit the Eurocentric beauty standard more closely than black women?

As previously discussed, skin color in the African-American community has been an issue since slavery with lighter skin, especially for women, being perceived as more attractive than dark skin (Hill 2002). The Jezebel stereotype of black women, has links to the literary character referred to as the tragic mulatto, the biracial beauty whose mixed race heritage kept her from fully belonging to either community and often involved her in complicated, unhappy romantic entanglements (Kretsedemas 2010). The tragic mulatto was a staple of African-American literature during the Harlem Renaissance, and two of the better known examples are Janie from Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and Clare from Nella Larsen's *Passing*. This character has also appeared in Hollywood films like *Carmen Jones* played by Dorothy Dandridge and *Imitation of Life* which starred Lana Turner. Actress Halle Berry has played the role of Janie in a television production of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and starred as the title character in HBO's *Introducing Dorothy Dandridge* (imdb.com). Although Berry is most frequently referred to as an African-American actress, she is in fact biracial; her mother is white and her father black, and Berry's light skin, European features, and straight hair do not conform to some of the more common characteristics of the African-American phenotype. Berry and other biracial actresses are often cast as African-American women in media productions. The most likely racial stereotype for biracial women is that of Jezebel. Halle Berry who almost seems to be typecast in these Jezebel roles won an Academy Award for her depiction of a poor black

woman who becomes sexually involved with a white prison guard in the film *Monster's Ball* (imdb.com). Author Renee Romano theorizes that mixed race individuals are often sexualized in media images since until recently "their very presence is usually seen as a sign of illicit sex or was a sign of illicit sex" (Leroy 2010). Hasinoff (2008), notes "mixed race women are considered particularly attractive as an erotic amalgam that has wide market appeal."

The trend of using racially ambiguous women instead of women with an African-American phenotype, *convergence*, is beginning to occur more frequently in broadcast television commercials. If *convergence* becomes the norm for casting when the role calls for a black woman, the implications for black women who already contend with emotional and psychological issues caused by their inability to conform to the Eurocentric beauty ideal could be multiplied, not to mention the further reduced opportunities for black female actresses and models to earn roles in media productions (Hasinoff 2008). When combined with the phenomenon of *replacement*, where black men are increasingly being paired with non-black women in television programs and commercials or shown as the only black person in a multiracial group of men and women, black women with an African-American phenotype could be in danger of not seeing themselves represented in media images at all. If they are indeed present in the current Super Bowl commercials, identifying the trends of *convergence* and *replacement* will introduce two new concepts to the field of media content analysis.

While the racial/ethnic makeup of racially ambiguous individuals cannot be easily determined, the U.S. Census (2000) reports that people of "two or more races"

comprise 2.4% of the U.S. population, split almost evenly with women making up a little over 50% of that number. I use these numbers only as a proxy for racially ambiguous women in my content analysis. It must be acknowledged that not every individual who appears racially ambiguous is the product of parents of "two or more races." For example, there are many black people with two black parents whose physical appearance could be considered racially ambiguous. Therefore, the use of the Census numbers for people of "two or more races" is merely to provide some approximation of the population of bi- and multi- racial individuals in the U.S. and should not be considered as capturing the entire population of those who appear racially ambiguous. Using the Census numbers as a proxy, I estimate racially ambiguous women comprise approximately 2.4% of women in the U.S. and about 1.2% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). Based on these numbers, I hypothesize racially ambiguous women are overrepresented in Super Bowl commercials.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Previous content analyses have looked at advertisements from one period in time, for example magazines from one year; Baker (2005) examined advertisements from multiple magazines published in 2002 including *Cosmopolitan*, *Essence*, *Maxim*, and *Vogue* in a content analysis of portrayals of black and white women. Banks (2005) examined images from popular teen magazines, *Seventeen* and *YM*, from 2003 and analyzed the depictions of white, black, Asian, and Latina women in advertisements. Taylor and Lee (1994) examined the portrayals of Asians in advertisements using the *Advertising Age* 300 from 1992. Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) examined advertisements in 58 popular U.S. magazines from 2002 to see if women were presented as sex objects and/or victims. Other content analyses have looked at advertisements over an extended period of time. In an extensive content analysis examining the portrayals of blacks over 32 years, Humphrey and Schuman (1984) looked at advertisements from *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Ladies Home Journal* from 1950 - 1982. Hazell and Clark (2008) also examined the portrayals of blacks in the magazines *Jet* and *Essence* from 2003 and 2004. Still other content analyses examined portrayals based on gender and/or race in television commercials and programming. Bang and Reece (2003) examined 813 commercials which aired during children's television programming for racial differences in the depictions.

Taylor and Stern (1997) looked at the portrayals of Asians in advertisements during primetime television programming. Shani et al. (1992) looked at the commercials aired during the men's and women's tennis finals during the 1990 U.S. Open to examine gender differences in advertising. Hasinoff (2008) examined race in a single program, the reality show *America's Next Top Model* during the 2006 season. Kretsedemas (2010) also examined the racial depictions in a single television show, ABC's *Ugly Betty*.

In this content analysis, I examine television commercials aired during the NFL Super Bowl over a 25 year period from 1986 - 2011. Although my primary interest is the portrayals of black and racially ambiguous women, I analyze women of all racial and ethnic groups, and compare their portrayals. By formulating my coding protocols based on those of previous content analyses which examined racial and gender portrayals in advertisements, like those cited above, I am able to compare my results to those in existing literature. I hope to make a unique contribution to the existing sociology and media studies literature with my hypotheses of *convergence* and *replacement*. As designed, this project is substantively original, but consistent with the methodologies used in other media content analyses.

This project is based on a content analysis of 834 out of 2,016 Super Bowl commercials from 1986 to 2011 which featured women; the 1,182 commercials not analyzed either had no women present or used other characters such as animals and/or animated or computer generated images. I analyzed the 834 commercials for the women's portrayals, appearance, social class, presentation (e.g., were the

women presented as sex objects), and female and racial/ethnic stereotypes. I also compared the women's portrayals by race. Although my primary interest is the portrayals of black and racially ambiguous women, I analyzed *all* women in these commercials in a comparative and longitudinal content analysis. I have collected data on commercials from each year for 1986 - 2011, but I've decided to present the findings by decade since: 1) there are either no changes or very subtle changes in women's characteristics, appearance, and portrayals within each decade; 2) changes in women's portrayals are easier to identify and discuss by decade; and 3) it keeps this thesis a reasonable length. I do use commercials from each year to illustrate the trends and themes discussed. My coding protocols are based on previous content analyses of media images which allows me to compare my findings to those of other studies on this subject. Unlike other studies of television commercials which analyzed advertisements during a specific time period or a single sporting event in one year, my analysis looks at commercials that are specifically created to air during a particular program over an extended period of time, the NFL Super Bowl.

Why Super Bowl Commercials?

The Super Bowl, played on the last Sunday in January or the first Sunday in February, pits the NFL champions from the NFC and AFC conferences in a battle for the world championship (Super Bowl History 2006; NFL.com 2011). Super Bowl Sunday has achieved the status of a national holiday and is the second largest food consumption day in the U.S. after Thanksgiving (U.S.D.A 2006; Carpenter 2010). The NFL Super Bowl is the premiere sporting event in the U.S. and consistently garners top television ratings (Zap2it.com 2009; Carpenter 2010; Nielsen Wire 2010). In

fact, Super Bowl XLIV in 2010 was the most watched television program in history with 106.5 million viewers in the U.S. and a Nielsen total person rating of 36.5. (Gardner 2010; Nielsen Wire 2010). To put that ratings number into some perspective, consider FOX Network's most popular show *American Idol*, which is also Nielsen's number one top rated television program, garnered a Nielsen total person rating of 7.9 in 2010 (Nielsen Wire 2010). While professional football may be considered a man's sport, its fans include a large number of women. According to Nielsen (2010) approximately 45% of those watching Super Bowl XLIV were women, a number which has increased over the last five years. Nielsen further notes that minority viewership was responsible in large part for the high ratings of the game. Based on Super Bowl numbers for the previous year, Latino viewership increased 9% for a total of 8.3 million viewers, and black viewership went up 4% for a total of 11.2 million viewers; of those minority viewers 44% of Latinos and 48% of blacks were women (Nielsen 2010). In addition, the Super Bowl is broadcast around the world; for the past few years the Super Bowl has been telecast in over 200 countries. With a guaranteed audience of millions of viewers in the U.S. and around the world, is it any wonder that advertisers are willing to pay up to \$3 million dollars for thirty seconds of airtime?

A whole industry has sprung up around Super Bowl commercials from websites which allow viewers to re-watch their favorite commercials, to contests which invite creative viewers to submit their own commercials, to entire television programs which are devoted solely to showcasing Super Bowl commercials from previous years. In 2011 Super Bowl advertisers capitalized on the success of online

social networking sites with tie-ins to sites like Twitter and Facebook (*The Independent* 2011). A story in *The New York Times* on January 20, 2011 noted that although the two teams to play in the 2011 Super Bowl were not yet determined, the advertisers who planned to air spots during the game had already cemented their place in the commercial line up (Elliott 2011). Moreover, the commercials themselves are made available on the internet after the game for viewers to re-watch and vote for their favorites. Many of the commercials are reviewed by news organizations, and some are actually replayed during news shows. All of this circulation insures that the Super Bowl commercials are widely viewed which makes the images of women in these commercials even more important to study and analyze.

I also chose to examine the Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011 because of the many cultural changes in America, particularly for women, during this 25 year period. Since the passage of Title IX in 1972, "which requires gender equity for boys and girls in every educational program that receives federal funding," women are graduating from college at a higher rate than men (AAUW 2008; titleix.info 2011). More women entered the paid labor force, which gave them increased importance as consumers. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, in the 1980s women made up approximately 42.5% of paid workers, while today, 54.4% of women over the age of 16 are employed (bls.gov 2009). More women participate in organized athletics; 41% of high school athletes and 42% of college athletes are women, and professional sports leagues for women have been created in basketball and soccer (titleix.info 2011; wnba.com 2011; womensprosoccer.com

2011). With all of the changes in the status of women over the past 25 years, it might be expected that the way they are portrayed in television advertisements would also change. This longitudinal analysis allows me to identify any changes in women's portrayals over a 25 year period.

Commercial Analysis

I used several methodological strategies to collect my data. First, I recorded Super Bowl XLV, which aired on Sunday, February 6, 2011, using a DVD recorder, allowing me to digitally capture all of the commercials aired during the game. I used the internet to view the Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2010. I analyzed all Super Bowl commercials for products or services which featured live human women who appeared clearly on camera. I excluded all commercials with animated or computer generated characters, those with only animals or other non-human characters, those with no woman present or containing only isolated shots of body parts, commercials for television network programming and theatrical release movie promotions, NFL self- promotions, and public service announcements (PSAs).

In each Super Bowl commercial featuring a woman, I examined the women for race -- white, black, Latina, Asian, or racially ambiguous; physical appearance, including body type, hair color and style, and clothing; role/depiction (e.g., housewife, flight attendant, waitress, girlfriend); presentation (e.g., sex object, submissive, aggressive); and gender and racial stereotypes, discussed previously. Coding for race based on appearance is somewhat subjective; therefore I developed a coding protocol based on a color chart developed for a skin whitening product and the generally acknowledged phenotypes for different racial and ethnic groups. I

used statistics provided by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on healthy body weight to develop a coding protocol for body type. For social class, I developed my own coding protocol based on the type of product advertised, the appearance of the individual including clothing and accessories, the surroundings, and the activities depicted. For the category, sexualization, I used the coding protocol developed by Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) for their content analysis of women as sex objects in magazine advertisements. Finally for my hypotheses of *convergence* and *replacement*, I developed my own coding protocol. These categories are described in more detail below.

Coding

Analysis of race and appearance included skin tone, facial features, hair, and body type. The most common way to categorize skin tone is by using three categories: light/fair, medium and dark. To achieve a level of consistency with the skin tone measurement I used a chart developed for a skin whitening product which also included pictures of women of different racial groups for added clarity [see Appendix II].

Race. Determining the race of an unknown individual can be somewhat subjective; therefore, to reduce the possibility of coding error, I used a combination of facial phenotypes, hair texture, and skin tone [see chart in Appendix II for details]. Women coded as white had light to medium skin tones corresponding to numbers 1 through 5 on the chart and European facial features, e.g., thin, straight nose, small lips. Eye and hair color for white women varies considerably. Women coded as Latina had olive skin tones corresponding to numbers 3 through 5 on the chart, dark

straight hair, and dark eyes. I acknowledge that not all Latinas have olive skin tones and dark hair; some are blonde with fair skin, while others may appear black. However, I am basing my coding protocol on the dominant media portrayals of Latina women which Rubin et al. (2003) describes as "characterized by long straight brown-black hair and just enough oliveness to the skin to make them not ambiguous." Women coded as Asian had fair/light skin tones corresponding to numbers 1 through 3 on the chart, almond shaped eyes, and dark hair. Women coded as black had light brown to dark brown skin corresponding to numbers 8 through 18 on the chart, and facial features had an African-American phenotype, e.g. full lips, wider nose than European. Black women's hair ranged from ethnic braids, dreadlocks, to afros to chemically or naturally straight hair; hair texture ranged from fine and soft to tight and kinky. Women coded as racially ambiguous had fair to light brown skin corresponding to numbers 3 through 6, European facial features, and had non-kinky hair which was either straight or softly curled. European, facial features were defined as a thin, straight nose (no flare to the nostrils), thin lips (shapely but not full), and rounded eyes. Latina and Asian facial features are similar to European's; however, the Asian almond eye shape and eyelid is distinctive. Black facial features included a wide nose and full lips; eye shape ranged from almond to round.

Body Type. Body type was coded as either "model thin" with a body mass index below 18.5, no muscular definition to arms and legs, similar to prepubescent girls and considered underweight (e.g., Kate Moss); "normal" with a body mass index of 18.5 to 24.9, at least some muscular definition to arms and legs, hourglass

body shape with defined bosom, small waist and discernable hips (e.g., Beyonce); "full figured/curvy" with a body mass index of 25 to 29.9, considered overweight, exaggerated hourglass body shape with large breasts and wide hips, (e.g., Queen Latifah); or "obese" with a body mass index over 30 (e.g., Gabourey Sidibe). [see Appendix II for photos of the cited examples]

Social Class. I expected the social class of the women and the product advertised to be closely related. Advertisements for inexpensive low end products would be more likely to use women portrayed as working or middle class while high end products would portray women as middle or upper class. Low end products include items such as cleaning solutions and products, small household appliances, personal toiletries such as deodorant and toothpaste, paper products, and stores such as Walmart or Kmart, etc. High end products include cars like Lexus, BMW or Mercedes, credit cards, major household appliances, jewelry and watches, designer fashions, perfume, and stores such as Macys, Saks Fifth Avenue, or Nordstrom's. Social class was identified by clothing, accessories, surroundings, and activities or occupation. For example, upper class status would be conveyed by designer clothing, furs, and diamond jewelry; by surroundings like a mansion, sailboat, or exotic vacation spot; by high end cars like Lexus, Mercedes or BMW; or by leisure activities like polo, yachting, or attending the opera. Middle class would be conveyed by professional jobs such as businesswoman, medical professional (nurse, dentist, pharmacist), teacher, lawyer, or housewife; by surroundings such as an office, modest suburban home, or beach/poolside; by cars like Honda, Dodge, or Toyota (especially minivans); or by activities like shopping at the mall/supermarket,

dancing at a nightclub, or attending a child's sporting event. Working class would be conveyed by service jobs like cashier, hairstylist, maid, or waitress; by surroundings such as work settings (grocery store, hair salon, diner), an urban city setting, apartment, or park; by plain non-designer clothing with few or no accessories or a uniform; by leisure activities like bowling, backyard barbecues or visiting a local bar.

Sexualization. I coded women as sexualized if they were shown wearing skimpy or extremely revealing clothing (e.g., a bikini, short dress or skirt, cleavage baring blouse or shirt, or short shorts). In some instances, the clothing may be appropriate for the setting, such as women wearing bikinis in a beach scene. For example a 2006 commercial for Nationwide Insurance featured a group of women on the beach where one was surprised by a low flying plane trailing a banner with a marriage proposal. The women were wearing bathing suits, but they were not sexualized by the camera angles and shots or by their behavior; no men were shown in this commercial. However, even if they are appropriately garbed for the setting, women can be sexualized by the camera angles and/or shots (e.g., lingering on the breasts or slowing panning the body), their body positions (e.g., limbs canted awkwardly, head thrown back to expose the throat, or lying submissively under a male gaze), their actions (e.g., seductively eating, caressing their bodies, etc.) or the behavior of the men toward the women, including things like ogling, wolf whistles, or comments about the women's appearance. If the women are not sexualized as described above, they are not coded as such, and I note both sexualized and non-sexualized presentations in my descriptions of the women and their portrayals.

Convergence. I have coded instances of *convergence* as commercials where a racially ambiguous woman is part of a multiracial group of men and women with no black woman present, part of a group of white women and no black women are present, or if the racially ambiguous woman is the only woman featured in the commercial, for example, paired romantically with a black male which is also a condition of *replacement*.

Replacement. Based on my recent research in media, I have identified a trend where black men are increasingly being romantically or socially paired with non-black women or where black men are part of a multiracial group, but there are no black women present. I call this trend *replacement*. I coded situations where a black man is paired with a white, Asian, Latina, or racially ambiguous woman and/or situations where a black man is present as part of a group where no black women are present as instances of *replacement*.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

I now present my findings from the analysis of Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011. For each decade, 1980s (1986 - 1989 only), 1990s, and 2000s, I discuss the composition and appearance of the women in the commercials. My findings for each decade are cast in the literature, focusing on changing female portrayals along the following dimensions: gender roles, sexualization, stereotypes, *convergence, replacement*, and overall themes and trends of the commercials within each decade. Within this discussion, I provide descriptions of some of the commercials for illustrative purposes. Appendix II contains a list of all Super Bowl commercial advertisers by year, and all of the commercials are available on the internet.

1986 - 1989 -- White Out

As the title of this section suggests, white women were present in almost all Super Bowl commercials airing from 1986 - 1989, while appearances by minority women were few and far between. White women were stereotyped in traditional gender roles or sexualized in most years, but the few minority women were not stereotyped or sexualized during this time. Super Bowl commercials from 1988 stood out from the other years as presenting the most realistic depictions of women.

Composition and appearance of female images. As Table 1 shows, women appeared in less than half (34.4%) of the 308 Super Bowl commercials aired during

1986 - 1989, and the overwhelming majority of these women were white women, many of whom were portrayed in traditional gender roles, such as housewives. Minority women were largely absent from these commercials and were most often portrayed as consumers or workers. During the last four years of the 1980s, white women were present in 98% of the 106 commercials featuring women; black women appeared in 16% and Asian women in 2.8%. Contrary to findings from previous content analyses of media images during the same period, black women dominated minority representation and were overrepresented in these commercials, while Asian women were slightly underrepresented (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Taylor and Stark 1997). No Latina or racially ambiguous women were featured in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 1989.

Table 1 "Super Bowl Commercials: 1986 - 1989"

YEAR	1989	1988	1987	1986
TOTAL COMMERCIALS	57	69	87	95
TOTAL with WOMEN	25	27	28	26
White	25	26	28	25
Black	4	6	2	5
Asian	0	1	2	0
Latina	0	0	0	0
Racially Ambiguous	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0

Themes and trends from 1986 - 1989. Traditional gender roles, women at work, the sexualization of women, and the lack of minority women were the major themes in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 1989.

Traditional gender roles. In his analysis of print advertisements, Goffman (1979) found that women were frequently presented in traditional family roles and shown as subordinate to men. Although by the 1980s, about 43% of women were

engaged in paid employment, in Super Bowl commercials aired during 1986 - 1989, white women from largely middle class families were shown in the traditional gender roles of wife, mother, and daughter in about 25% of their depictions, and in many of these commercials women's subordinate status to men was illustrated. For example, a 1988 commercial for Bayer Aspirin shows a woman in a hospital giving birth to her first child as her husband, supportively holding her hand, sits by her bedside. However, the off-screen announcer tells the story not of the impending birth but of the husband's heart attack the year before and how his recovery, aided by use of Bayer aspirin, will allow him to be there to care for his wife and child. The woman's travails in child birth or her potential need for pain relief are never mentioned. A 1989 American Express commercial showed a brother and sister dining in an upscale restaurant; the brother had come to visit his sister to check up on her because "dad was worried about you out here on your own." The woman assures her brother she is doing just fine, but he is not convinced until she pays for their meal with her new credit card. In this commercial, it is suggested that even independent women need to be supervised by the men of the family. White women were also shown as supportive wives and mothers caring for the home and family in a manner reminiscent of 1950s media images. A 1987 commercial for Dow Chemicals featured a nuclear, upper middle class family where the wife helped her teenaged daughter prepare for her first date and then had to reconcile her husband to his "little girl's" new status as young woman. The wife and young son of tennis pro Jimmy Connors cheered him on from the stands in a 1988 commercial for Nestles Crunch, and an elderly wife in a 1987 McDonalds commercial sends her

husband off to his first day of work in his new job and then greets him at the front door as he returns home in triumph. In updated images of home life, a woman took care of the household chores with a little help from her husband and children in a 1989 commercial for Sears, and a young married couple worked together on home improvement in a 1986 Michelob beer commercial. Yet even in the more modern depictions, women were still shown engaging in stereotypical female activities.

Women at work. However, not all of the white women in these commercials were confined to traditional gender roles; about 15% were depicted in paid employment. Commercials from 1986 showed women in some non-traditional jobs like Mitsubishi's air traffic controller, Arrid XX deodorant's show business performer, and Budweiser's scientist, but in the other three years white women at work were primarily portrayed in female dominated occupations such as secretaries, waitresses, and customer service jobs. U.S. Sprint's 1987 commercial showed men climbing telephone poles and laying cable, while women employees were shown answering phones in the customer service center. Once again, like the housewives and mothers, these working women were primarily depicted engaged in stereotypical female roles and activities.

Sexualization. White women were also portrayed in the stereotypical fashion discussed in the literature review -- they were sexualized. My findings corroborate those of previous content analyses of media images which have found that white women are sexualized more often than women of other races (Goffman 1979; Crane 1999; Sultze 2003; Baker 2005; Cortese 2008; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008). In Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 1989, white women were sexualized in 21% of

their appearances, for the most part cast as sexy girlfriends or at least potential girlfriends, but they were also depicted purely as objects of the male gaze. A 1986 Nissan commercial utilized both the girlfriend and object of the male gaze depictions when a construction worker drives to the construction site where his girlfriend is waiting for him. She is shown standing in the construction zone wearing only a midriff baring top and cut-off denim shorts with no protective gear, such as a hard hat, although the men working on the site were appropriately garbed. The camera slowly pans her body so that viewers can appreciate the view in the same way as the men in commercial. A 1986 commercial for Right Guard deodorant showed a blonde woman wearing a little black dress alone in a bar where she was pursued by movie monsters until she finally found "Mr. Right," a human male. A 1987 Van Heusen commercial featured a white woman clothed only in a man's button-down shirt who looks into the camera and says in a seductive voice, "he told me I could have anything I wanted; so I took the shirt right off of his back." Her tone and bearing suggest she got more than just his shirt, especially since she is shown alone in the man's apartment in the morning. Interestingly, a 1989 Michelob Dry commercial sexualized both white women and men showing a white woman with long blonde hair and wearing shorts and a t-shirt lying face-up on the hood of a sports car and taking sensuous pleasure in pouring rain which is drenching her. In the following scene, a white man wearing only jeans stands under running water as the camera slowly pans his body, lingering on his buff chest and arms. The same slow motion camera techniques used to sexualize the woman were used on the man.

Lack of minority women. Unlike white women, black women were not sexualized in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 1989. However, the lack of sexualized depictions of black women could be due to their low numbers in commercials from 1986 - 1989. In addition, unlike findings from previous content analyses of black women in media images, in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 1989, black women were not obviously stereotyped (Cortese 2008; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Kretsedemas 2001) or subject to lower social class depictions than white women in the commercials during this time period (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Collins 2000). In a 1988 Alka Seltzer commercial, a black woman was shown in the traditional gender role of wife and mother as part of a family in need of some relief after pigging out at an all-you-can-eat buffet. Black women were shown at work as secretaries, a day trader, and even a scientist in a 1988 commercial for New York Life Insurance. They joined the fitness craze as joggers for two different products in 1988, and Somalian supermodel Iman made an appearance in a commercial for Diet Slice in 1987. However, almost 30% of total appearances by black women in commercials from 1986 - 1989 were accounted for by Anheuser Busch commercials featuring their wonder-dog Spuds Mackenzie and his female posse, which included two white women and one light skinned black woman. In one instance, Collins (2000) "matrix of domination" appeared to be in effect. A 1986 commercial for Holiday Inn hotels featured a black woman who was identified as the head of housekeeping. She was Mammy come-to-life: dark skinned, obese, and dressed in a crisp, black maid's uniform complete with white apron just as domestic servants from the 1950s and 1960s were garbed. The use of the black women in

this role was not only gendered, racialized, but also portrayed her as occupying a lower social class than the white woman who was featured in the same commercial as the hotel manager; these portrayals illustrate the "matrix of domination" theory of women's subordination (Collins 2000).

Asian women appeared in only three commercials where they were twice shown eating in 1987 in commercials for McDonalds and Cheese, and in 1988 heading out to the local bar in a Michelob commercial. Asian women were not stereotyped or sexualized in commercials during this period. Overall, except for one, *possibly* inadvertent, stereotypical depiction of a black women as Mammy, the few minority women who were featured in these commercials were not stereotyped or sexualized, while white women were subjected to both types of depictions. Finally, in Super Bowl commercials during 1986 - 1989, Latina and racially ambiguous women were completely absent. Why the advertisers chose not to use more minority women in their commercials is not clear, although they may have been assuming a primarily white viewing audience.

1990 -- 1999 Beer, Boobs, and Housewives

The Super Bowl commercials from the 1990s offered many instances of sexualization of women of all races, especially in beer commercials. Racial and female stereotypes were also employed by some advertisers. Racially ambiguous women began appearing in commercials, but Latina women were still largely missing.

Composition and appearance of female images. As Table 2 shows, the percentage of women in Super Bowl commercials during the 1990s increased from

less than 35% in the last four years of the 1980s to approximately 40% of the 761 Super Bowl commercials aired from 1990 - 1999. White women were again overrepresented appearing in 93.7% of the 283 commercials featuring women. Minority women were better represented in the 1990s, appearing in about 33% of Super Bowl commercials during this time period, an increase of almost 15% from commercials aired during 1986 - 1989; black women were present in 20%, Asian women in 7.9%, and racially ambiguous women in 3.3%. Latina women were present in commercials in only three years during this decade, 1990, 1991, and 1994, and were again grossly underrepresented with less than 2% of commercial appearances. The 1990s also included appearances by Arab, African, Indian, and Eskimo women shown in their native lands in less than 1% of commercials.

Table 2 "Super Bowl Commercials: 1990 - 1999"

YEAR	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990
TOTAL COMMERCIALS	113	73	57	61	74	78	79	63	101	62
TOTAL with WOMEN	48	27	28	20	28	35	32	21	39	24
White	45	24	27	17	26	32	30	20	38	24
Black	8	1	11	4	6	10	7	3	8	3
Asian	0	3	4	5	3	3	2	0	1	3
Latina	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	1
Racially Ambiguous	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	0
Other	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1

Themes and trends in the 1990s. The depiction of traditional gender roles continued into the 1990s, along with increased instances of sexualization and some gender twists including instances of male sexualization; the use of racial and female stereotypes and more social class variation, were also illustrated in Super Bowl commercials during the 1990s.

Traditional gender roles. Like the portrayals from the late 1980s, white women were frequently shown in the traditional gender roles of housewife, mother, and daughter, and these depictions increased from about 25% during 1986 - 1989 to 31.7% during the 1990s. The sympathetic, caregiving mother was portrayed in a 1990s Campbell's Soup commercial where a mother comforts her teenage daughter who ended up as a wallflower at her first high school dance. A 1993 commercial for Oldsmobile, which identified individuals by name and occupation, depicted a white woman listed as a "homemaker." In 1998, the comforting mother role was reprised in an AT&T commercial with a mother and her teenaged daughter who had confessed to having a crush on a boy at school and then saw her friends use their cell phones and the internet to spread the rumor. The dutiful daughter was depicted in a 1990 commercial for Chevy with a young woman who purchases a new car and uses it to take her dad on a fishing trip. While these traditional gender roles were most often portrayed by white women, unlike the commercials during the late 1980s, in the 1990s, minority women were also sometimes cast in these roles; Asian and black women were depicted as housewives in four commercials, but racially ambiguous and Latina women were not.

Sexualization. Women were increasingly sexualized in commercials during the 1990s, and as previous content analyses have found, white women dominated these sexualized images, but black, Asian, and racially ambiguous women were also sexualized (Sultze 2003; Baker 2005; Stankiewicz & Rosselli 2008) During 1986 - 1989, women were sexualized in 21% of their depictions, and during the 1990s there was only a modest increase in the percentage to 22%; however, in the 1990s,

the sexualized depictions were more blatant, perhaps due to a lessening of restrictions on broadcast sexualized images or increased audience acceptance of these types of images. Commercials for beer were especially sexualized compared to other products. For example, a 1990 Michelob Dry commercial included a beach scene where a blonde and brunette, both with long flowing hair and wearing bikinis were filmed in slow motion as they ran down the beach, and the camera lingered on their bouncing breasts. Sexualized white and black women were depicted in a 1990s Coors Extra commercial where bikini clad women were magically conjured up as the answer to a man's birthday wish. In a 1993 Miller Genuine Draft commercial, a white woman seated in an empty train car begins caressing herself and running a finger along the tops of her breasts as the connecting door opens, and a man walks in carrying two bottles of beer. The slow motion film technique was also used in the 1999 Victoria's Secret commercial which featured white and black women in revealing lingerie walking the fashion runway; again bouncing breasts were emphasized.

Baker (2005) noted racial differences in the way black and white women are sexualized in media images with white women being portrayed as submissive and black women as aggressive. In the 1990s Super Bowl commercials, I noted skin tone differences; all black women who were sexualized in these images had light skin, conforming to the Jezebel stereotype, while darker skinned women were not sexualized. A 1991 commercial for Dynatrim, a diet aid, illustrated this finding by showing a white woman with long blonde hair wearing a revealing swimsuit, a white woman with long brunette hair wearing a short mini dress, and a black

woman with dark brown skin and short dark hair wearing workout clothes; the white women were presented as already having achieved their desired weight and were displayed as sexually attractive by the camera, while the black woman was not sexualized by her clothing, activity (exercising), or camera angles.

There were two unique instances of sexualization, including one in 1995 for Lee Jeans which used white mannequins instead of humans. Although, my sample excludes commercials where no human women are featured, I included this commercial because it provided a picture perfect illustration of Goffman's *ritualization of subordination*. In the commercial, set in a closed, deserted department store, a male mannequin dons a new pair of Lee jeans, takes the elevator to the floor where lingerie is sold, and the elevator doors open to reveal four white female mannequins dressed in flimsy lingerie lying on couches in sensual, submissive postures or standing with their limbs canted at awkward angles. However, the most interesting depiction of a sexualized woman was in a 1997 Holiday Inn commercial where the camera slowly pans the legs and body of a woman arriving at a class reunion, while the off-screen commentator discusses the cost of some of the woman's cosmetic enhancements and attire (e.g., "breasts \$8,000). The woman makes her way through the crowd, all of whom are staring at her, and stops before one man who peers at her in confusion as he tries to place her. Finally, in a surprising twist, he recognizes her as a male classmate who has undergone a sex change operation. In these sexualized images of women, often the camera's point of view was from that of the "male gaze," and women were depicted as

submissive and subordinate to the men in the commercials (Goffman 1979; Lorber 1994; Sultze 2003; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008).

Yet in the 1990s, men were also sexualized in commercials, and in contrast to the findings of Rehling (2009) who noted white male bodies dominate these types of portrayals, one of the sexualized men was Asian. A 1998 commercial for the Westin hotel chain, featured an attractive Asian male who is shown with a towel wrapped around his waist as he exits the bathroom after taking a shower; the camera slowly pans over his muscular upper body and arms as he ruffles his hair with a hand towel. White men were sexualized in 1995 commercials for Soloflex home gym equipment and Continental Airlines where isolated body parts were slowly displayed on screen in the same way women are often sexualized by camera shots. In the Continental commercial the man was portrayed as submissive as he laid on the beach and the camera panned his body; all three men were presented as objects for the "female gaze" (Lorber 1994).

Stereotypes. In addition to sexualized images, stereotypes were also utilized in Super Bowl commercials during the 1990s, particularly with Asian women who appeared in only 7.9% of commercials during this time, which made these stereotypes even more obvious. Content analyses on Asians in media images have found that the "model minority" is employed with both men and women, while Asian women are often portrayed as the submissive geisha or scheming Dragon Lady (Taylor and Lee 1994; Taylor and Stern 1997; Wong 2000; Patton 2001). Two Pepsi commercials in 1994, cast Asian women as scientists in laboratory settings demonstrating the "model minority" stereotype of intelligent, well educated and

technologically competent Asians. The geisha stereotype was used in a 1996 Miller Lite commercial where two Asian women wearing satin Cheongsam dresses were being held captive by Chinese warlords in a Kung Fu movie, but they were magically rescued by two white men who saw their plight on a television in a local bar. The geisha was also depicted in a 1998 commercial for Iomega Zip which cast an Asian woman as an overly solicitous flight attendant who went down on bended knee to serve the passengers.

However, Asian women were not the only victims of stereotypical portrayals. One black woman was stereotyped as a Sista with Attitude for McDonalds in 1995 where she gave two hapless football fans a hard time when they tried to purchase tickets to a sold out game. White women were stereotyped as mechanically inept damsels in distress in a 1994 Miller Lite commercial, where they were also sexualized by their revealing attire and the camera angles. White women were stereotyped as sexy secretaries with horn rimmed glasses, "arm candy," and hopeful Hollywood starlets. Finally, a Latina woman was featured in a 1994 commercial for Ortega salsa where she was shown feeding chips to her Latino mate in a sensual fashion. She was sexualized by her actions and the camera, and she was also somewhat stereotyped by the product advertised -- e.g., Latinos eat chips and salsa in the same way blacks eat fried chicken.

Social class. Super Bowl commercials during the 1990s also had more variation in social class portrayals than in the commercials from 1986 - 1989. About 8% of 1990s Super Bowl commercials, compared to less than 2% in 1986 - 1989, were upper middle class portrayals, featuring white, black and Asian women in

commercials for cruise lines, automobiles, credit cards, instant coffee, internet websites, and once for Pork. Like commercials during the late 1980s, a little over 2% of 1990s commercials depicted working class portrayals of white, black, and racially ambiguous women as firefighters, saleswomen, lunch room ladies, and auto assembly line workers. The very few portrayals of Latina women were middle class depictions. These findings did not truly match those of previous content analyses which found white women shown in higher social classes than minority women (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Collins 2000; Hazell and Clark 2008). Although there were more white women portrayed as upper middle class, there were also more white women depicted as working class; however, my findings could be due to the high numbers of white women and low numbers of minority women in the 1990s Super Bowl commercials.

2000 - 2011 -- Sex Sells and the Emergence of Convergence and Replacement

In the years from 2000 - 2011, the percentage of racially ambiguous women more than doubled from the previous decade, while the percentages of white and Asian women decreased and the percentage of black women remained constant. The percentage of Latina women also doubled, but even so they were still woefully underrepresented in Super Bowl commercials. The big changes during this period were the increased number of sexualized depictions and the emergence of *convergence and replacement*.

Composition and appearance of female images. Table 3 shows women appeared in about 45% of the 947 Super Bowl commercials aired from 2000 - 2011, a 5% increase from the 1990s. The number of white women decreased slightly to

91.8%, but they were still overrepresented in these commercials. Based on Census (2000) numbers, women of color, except for Latinas, were also overrepresented during this time period. The number of black women in Super Bowl commercials remained consistent with their 1990s levels at 20%; Asian women were featured in 6.1%, and racially ambiguous women appeared in about 7.3% of Super Bowl commercials. Latina women were again overlooked by advertisers and appeared in only 3.75% of Super Bowl commercials from 2000 - 2011. In 2006 African, Spanish, and Japanese women were depicted in their native countries in one commercial, and there was one depiction of a Native American woman, the sole appearance of a Native American in the entire 25 year period.

Table 3 "Super Bowl Commercials: 2000 - 2011"

YEAR	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
TOTAL COMMERCIALS	61	57	57	72	60	72	93	115	72	125	98	65
TOTAL with WOMEN	32	33	23	26	40	35	41	48	31	46	42	29
White	30	32	22	23	36	32	37	44	28	44	37	26
Black	5	6	4	3	12	8	13	12	3	9	7	6
Asian	1	2	1	0	2	2	2	4	1	1	5	5
Latina	1	2	1	2	2	1	3	0	3	1	0	0
Racially Ambiguous	1	2	1	4	2	3	3	3	5	3	4	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Themes and trends in the 2000s. The number of sexualized women in Super Bowl commercials during the 2000s more than doubled from the 1990s, and animals, humor, and gender twists were employed in many of the sexualized depictions. The number of stereotypical portrayals also increased, and instances of *convergence* and *replacement* began to appear in Super Bowl commercials during the 2000s.

Sexualization. A big change in this decade was the increased number of women in sexualized depictions which doubled from 22% in the 1990s to 45% in commercials from 2000 - 2011. Media images in general during this decade became more sexualized. The Parents Television Council (2011) reported that in a sample of television programming from the 2001-2002 season, sexual content appeared in 64% of all TV programs, and the use of sex in advertisements has been documented by numerous recent content analyses (Sultze 2003; Baker 2005; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008). GoDaddy.com began their sexualized advertising in 2005, and *every* commercial not only features women with large breasts barely covered, but also invites viewers to their website to "see more." Real life celebrity sex symbols, Beyonce, Megan Fox, Kim Kardashian, Anna Kournikova, Britney Spears, Halle Berry, and the Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders were sexualized in commercials for cell phones, televisions, workout footwear, soft drinks, and computer and financial companies. One of the most blatant uses of sex was in a 2011 commercial for Skechers Shape-ups, athletic shoes designed to enhance muscle tone. Kardashian is shown in skin-tight, cleavage and midriff baring workout clothes, and she uses highly sexual language. The commercial opens as she is working with a male personal trainer, who is shirtless, and at first it is not clear that the two are involved in an exercise regimen. There are multiple close shots of parts of Kardashian's body including some where she suggestively caresses herself. She purrs to the trainer, "you're the best I've ever had," and then explains that she no longer needs his services since she's gotten her Skechers. The erotic tone of the commercial was blatant and seemed to have little to do with the benefits of the shoes.

Animals, humor, and gender twists. Anheuser Busch continued its trend of having animals show sexual interest in women and vice versa which began in 1987 with their dog, Spuds Mackenzie. In five different commercials for Bud Light during this period, white women were either paired with or propositioned by animals including dogs, a chimp, a cockatoo, and a gorilla. In a sixth Bud Light commercial using animals, a racially ambiguous woman was propositioned by a Chihuahua. Although these commercials are meant to be funny, the pairing of women with animals who sexually proposition them seems to make the sexualization of the women more obvious than when human men are used. Humor was used in some of the sexualized depictions. Doritos put a humorous twist on the femme fatale stereotype in 2001 when a white woman dumps her bag of Doritos into a tennis ball launcher and then prances onto the court. However, as she opens her mouth to catch the corn chip rocketing from the ball launcher, she miscalculates, and the Dorito hits her in the forehead knocking her out. Also in 2001, Pepsi used humor in a commercial with sexualized white women: a man on a crowded subway car populated with some rough and strange looking people, takes a drink of soda and fantasizes about sitting in a hot tub with four white women in bikinis who are pictured on an advertisement above his head. Unfortunately, his fantasy is short lived as the bathing beauties suddenly transform into the people from the subway car.

There were also some unexpected gender twists in Super Bowl commercials from the 2000s. It is not unusual to see an attractive woman ogled and/or pursued by unattractive men in media images, but it is very rare to see the reverse. In a

satire on the sexualization of women, in 2008, Planters Nuts ran a commercial starring a dumpy, overweight, unattractive white woman with red hair, a unibrow, a large facial mole, and badly applied makeup. As she dresses for work, the woman rubs a Planters cashew behind her ears, at her wrists, and in her cleavage instead of using perfume. When she confidently hits the streets, attractive men fall over their feet, crash their bikes, fight each other, and have a series of mishaps all while trying to get close to her. Pepsi also employed a gender twist in its 2005 commercial where a man drinking a Diet Pepsi walks down a city street and is ogled and subjected to wolf whistles by women. Of course, the commercial message is that the women are supposedly attracted by the can of Diet Pepsi, not the man himself.

Racial differences in sexualization as found in previous content analyses were also present during the 2000s (Sultze 2003; Baker 2005; Hasinoff 2008; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008; Kretsedemas 2010). Instances of black women being sexualized in commercials decreased from 19% in the 1990s to 14% in 2000 - 2011. Latina were sexualized in 25% of their appearances, but this high percentage is most likely caused by their low numbers. However, the most dramatic change was the increased sexualization of racially ambiguous women which jumped from 30% in the 1990s to 54.8% from 2000 - 2011, seeming to validate the "unchallenged racial myth" of mixed race people being particularly good looking and also highly sexualized (Hasinoff 2008; Leroy 2010).

Stereotypes. Advertisers increased their use of female and racial/ethnic stereotypes during the 2000s. White women were stereotyped as dumb blondes, sex-starved housewives, nagging housewives, ditzy beauty queens, and sexy femme

fatales. In a 2004 Bud Light commercial a football referee is being verbally lambasted by an irate coach while the off-screen commentators wonder how the referee remains so cool and detached. In the subsequent scene the referee is shown seated in an easy chair as his wife leans into his ear and loudly delivers a continuous monologue of his failings as a husband. An Asian woman was once again stereotyped as the "model minority" when she was depicted as a scientist in a 2004 Cadillac commercial. A Latina was stereotyped as a sexualized party girl wearing a short mini dress and a teased, bouffant hairstyle. Another Latina woman was stereotyped as a hip-hop girl in a 2003 Visa commercial where she was dressed in an oversized football jersey, a backward facing baseball cap, and large hoop earrings. She was portrayed as a gum cracking, brook-no-nonsense sales clerk in a New York City souvenir shop, and her entire role consisted of repeating the word "yo" and pointing to a sign which stated "no personal checks" as she dealt with persistent customers.

Many portrayals by black women were stereotypical with *Sista with Attitude* as the most frequently employed, although some commercials used blended stereotypes like the 2004 Pepsi commercial starring black actress Mo'Nique where she portrays a solicitous Mammy-like diner waitress who is later transformed into a sexually appealing Jezebel-esque character, clad in a flowing white dress. However, the 2011 commercial for Pepsi max which also combined black female stereotypes was the worst offender combining the black stereotypes of the matriarch as a ball-busting harridan and *Sista with Attitude* in one woman (Collins 2000; Boylorn 2008; Kretsedemas 2010). Viewers see a series of vignettes where a black man is

attempting to eat junk food, and his wife violently foils him. She pushes his face into a plate, snatches a burger from his hands and stuffs a bar of soap into his mouth, and kicks him in his shin. Later, she catches up to him when he's sitting on a park bench and drinking a Pepsi Max. He looks at her with apprehension until he realizes that she too is drinking a Pepsi Max. The two sit together in peace until a white, blonde woman in jogging clothes runs past their bench and offers a suggestive hello to the man. His wife, in her fury at his apparent interest in the jogger, throws her can of soda at his head; he ducks and the can knocks out the jogger instead. The husband and wife then run away while the jogger rolls on the ground in pain.

Finally, the sole appearance by a Native American woman in all of the Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011 employed a stereotypical portrayal in a 2006 commercial for GM automobiles and their new hybrid technology. A Native American woman was shown standing in a corn field as she spoke about the advantages to the environment garnered by alternative fuels. Although she was dressed in casual clothes, button up blouse and jeans, this portrayal still played into the stereotype of Native Americans being particularly attuned to the environment through a spiritual connection to the earth itself, not to mention her placement in a corn field. An old commercial from the 1970s made the same implications when it portrayed a man in full Native American regalia traveling through a landscape filled with litter tossed by careless Americans. At the end of the commercial, a close shot tracks a single tear rolling down the man's face as he mourns the damage to the environment.

Convergence and replacement. Although the percentage of black women in commercials remained consistent with their 1990s levels at about 20%, there were still instances of *convergence* and *replacement*. In several instances the sexualized depictions of racially ambiguous women were in Bud Light commercials where they were paired with black comic Cedric the Entertainer demonstrating both *convergence* and *replacement*. In 2010, a Volkswagen commercial showed a black man was driving his pregnant Asian wife around town, while in a Michelob Ultra commercial, a black man is shown flirting and chatting with a white woman. Black women were absent in both of these commercials. In 2003 racially ambiguous women outnumbered black women supporting my *convergence* hypothesis. There were multiple instances of *replacement* in 2004 commercials; in each instance a black man is present in scenes where there are no black women. In a Dunkin Donuts commercial, a black man is shown speculatively eying a white blonde woman and an Asian woman as they pass by his outdoor table; supposedly he is actually attracted by their iced latte drinks. Becks beer depicted a group of friends playing in the surf at a beach party; all of the women are white and bikini clad, and there is one black man in the group. A Sierra Mist commercial shows a black man diving off his balcony into a pitcher of cool water sitting on a table of an outdoor cafe. There are no black women in the scene, rather the tables are filled by two white women and one racially ambiguous woman. The Sierra Mist commercial also supports my *convergence* hypothesis; a racially ambiguous woman is used in place of a woman of color. Microsoft aired a commercial highlighting the use of computers in elementary schools where young blonde girl with long blonde braids

is followed as she goes about her school day, and in one scene she is shown sharing her computer with a young black boy illustrating *replacement*.

Summary of findings

In a 1971 commentary on media images in advertising, journalist Lucy Komisar said, "[Advertising] legitimizes the idealized, stereotyped roles of woman as temptress, wife, mother, and sex object, and portrays women as less intelligent and more dependent than men. It makes women believe their chief role is to please men. . . It makes women feel unfeminine if they are not pretty enough." In the Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011, it seems as if the images have not changed much from those Komisar critiqued in the early 1970s. Women are still stereotyped in traditional gender roles, portrayed as sex objects, and shown as subordinate to men.

The major trends and themes running through commercials from all the decades are: 1) men were featured more than women in all years in Super Bowl commercials although female representation did increase over the decades; 2) traditional female gender roles, such as mother, persist, despite women's changing roles in society and their growing share in the Super Bowl audience; 3) women are being increasingly sexualized in Super Bowl commercials, and the degree of sexualization varies by race and ethnicity of the women, with racially ambiguous women being sexualized most often; 4) the majority of Super Bowl commercials depicted middle class lifestyles, products, and activities, and there was a relationship between social class and body type of the women portrayed;

5) automobiles, beer and soft drinks, and financial services are the most frequent advertisers in Super Bowl commercials airing during 1986 - 2011.

In all years analyzed, men were featured in Super Bowl commercials far more often than women who appeared in only 39.6% of the 2,016 commercials from 1986 through 2011. Although women make up 50.9% of the total U.S. population, as a group they were severely underrepresented in Super Bowl commercials (U.S. Census 2000). However, the percentage of women in these commercials over the last 25 years has increased in each decade. From 1986 - 1989, women were featured in 34.4% of commercials; from 1990 - 1999, that percentage increased to 39.6% and rose to 44.9% for the years 2000 - 2011.

Although the numbers of women in Super Bowl commercials are increasing, in many instances the roles and portrayals have not changed over the years. Traditional female role depictions outweighed non-traditional occupations for women; caregiving and sympathetic housewives and mothers, dutiful daughters, secretaries, flight attendants, saleswomen, business women, and customer service agents were the most frequently shown occupations. Women are still subjected to unnecessary sexualization in commercials for many different products, from canned chili to computers and from automobiles to airlines. Women were sexualized in Super Bowl commercials during 1986 - 1989 - 21% of the time. That number rose to 22% from 1990 - 1999, and jumped to 45% from 2000 - 2011.

There are race differences in how women are sexualized, with racially ambiguous women sexualized most often and Asian women the least often sexualized. Latina women were sexualized in about one-fourth of their portrayals,

but were featured in less than 2% of the total Super Bowl commercials analyzed, which could account for the high percentage of sexualized portrayals by Latinas. The finding of racially ambiguous women being highly sexualized is consistent with previous studies (Hasinoff 2008; Stepanova and Strube 2009; Leroy 2010). White women were depicted wearing the least amount of clothing in sexualized images, often appearing in bikinis or short, tight, revealing clothes; racially ambiguous women were also frequently shown in skimpy clothing.

While almost all advertisers used sex to sell their products, the biggest offenders in using these sexualized portrayals were Anheuser Busch, Pepsi, and GoDaddy.com, which used sex from its very first commercial in 2005. Most problematic are the many sexualized depictions for alcoholic beverages, which given the links between alcohol and sexual assault, should be avoided. Alcohol is known to impair judgment and dull reflexes; it is also the most common date rape drug, with multiple studies finding both victims and perpetrators of date rape admitting to some level of alcohol intoxication (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2003; Butler County, 2004; Illinois, 2007). Overall, women were sexualized in 33.9% of their depictions in Super Bowl commercials, and the instances of sexualization have *increased* over time.

Table 4: "Sexualization by Race in Super Bowl Commercials: 1986 - 2011"

<i>Race</i>	<i>Total # of appearances in commercials</i>	<i>% Sexualized appearances</i>
White	778	22.0%
Black	166	19.0%
Asian	53	8.0%
Latina	21	24.0%
Racially ambiguous	41	41.0%

The majority of the sexualized depictions used white and racially ambiguous women who conformed to the current beauty ideal of a model thin, prepubescent body with disproportionally large breasts, and long thin legs. Black women who were sexualized for the most part had normal physiques, although a few, in particular the Diet Pepsi background singers had the model thin body types described above. Sexualized Asian women were petite and model thin with small breasts. Sexualized Latina women also had normal body types. In other settings such as business/work or when cast as housewives or consumers white women tended to have normal bodies, although some were model thin. There were very few occurrences of obese white women, and often these fat ladies were middle aged and portrayed as working class waitresses or cashiers. One 2007 Doritos commercial cast an obese 20-something white woman, with short dark hair in messy ponytails and wearing glasses, as a uniformed supermarket cashier who commented on the various flavors of Doritos chips the male customer was purchasing. There were no overweight racially ambiguous or Asian women in the commercials; all were either petite and model thin, tall and model thin, or normal. The Latina mother with multiple children in the AOL commercial was full figured. Obese black women appeared in several commercials as consumers, spectators at

sporting events, and in work settings; all of the obese women had medium to dark brown skin; light skinned black women had normal or model thin bodies. Overall, black women in these commercials conformed to the normal body type.

Body type seemed to be related to social class in these commercials. For instance, no women in upper class portrayals were obese; all were either model thin or normal. Working class women were more likely to be full figured or obese, and middle class portrayals had model thin or normal bodies. The overwhelming majority of Super Bowl commercials depicted middle class lifestyles, activities, and products. White, black, and Asian women were depicted as working, middle, and upper class in the commercials, but the majority of their portrayals were middle class. White women were more likely to be portrayed as upper class -- attending the opera, going on luxury vacations, or buying high end products such as Mercedes Benz autos. There were six upper class portrayals of black women, two of Asian women, and one of a Latina woman; no racially ambiguous women were portrayed as upper class. White women were also more likely than women of other races to be depicted as working class, but this can probably be attributed to the high percentage of white women appearing in the commercials. Black women also appeared in working class roles, but were primarily shown as middle class. Asian women had a higher number of working class appearances than black women, but they, too, were primarily shown as middle class. With the exception of one upper class portrayal, Latina women were shown as middle class. One racially ambiguous woman was portrayed as working class, and the rest were portrayed as middle class.

Table 5: "Social Class Portrayals in Super Bowl Commercials: 1986 - 2011"

<i>Social Class</i>	<i>Total # of occurrences in commercials</i>	<i>% Social Class occurrences</i>
Working class	95	11.4%
Middle class	651	78.1%
Upper class	88	10.5%

While I hypothesized that product type would determine the social class depicted in the commercials, this turned out not to be the case. The products advertised most often during the Super Bowl were automobiles, beer/liquor, soft drinks, and financial companies, including credit cards. Computers and internet services began appearing in the late 1990s. Airlines and hotels had commercials appearing in all years between 1986 - 2011. Some of the more unusual items advertised were Cheese and Milk during the late 1980s and Pork during the mid 1990s. The majority of the products and services advertised used middle class depictions in their commercials, even for products I considered low end, such as personal grooming items or toiletries. In one commercial for Gillette razors, the portrayals were upper middle class based on the clothing and activities of the actors. Automobiles such as Lexus and Mercedes Benz used upper middle class depictions in their commercials. Automobiles like Buick and Chrysler primarily used middle class depictions, but both companies had a least one upper middle class portrayal and some working class portrayals showing workers on the auto assembly line. One of the commercials for Pork used an upper middle class depiction, but the other two commercials were middle class depictions. Travel related products such as airlines, cruise lines, and some hotels occasionally used upper middle class portrayals as did some financial services companies for credit cards and investments. However, the

overwhelming majority of commercials used middle class depictions regardless of the product advertised.

Table 6: "Products and Services Advertised in Super Bowl Commercials: 1986 - 2011"

<i>Products Advertised</i>	<i>1986-1989</i>	<i>1990-1999</i>	<i>2000-2001</i>	<i>Total Percentage</i>
Automobiles/tires/maintenance	76	154	199	19.89%
Beer/liquor	38	83	118	11.08%
Clothing/accessories	7	46	22	3.47%
Communications	15	19	38	3.44%
Computers/Internet	14	22	79	5.33%
Delivery services	11	15	10	1.72%
Fast Food/Restaurants	18	51	70	6.44%
Financial	38	62	89	8.76%
Food/candy	10	60	50	5.56%
Medicine (OTC and prescription)	8	36	23	3.20%
Retail stores	6	2	37	2.08%
Soft drinks/non-alcoholic beverages	18	77	85	8.34%
Toiletries/personal grooming	12	33	16	2.91%
Travel	18	46	21	4.06%
Other	43	86	175	14.10%

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION and DISCUSSION

Research Questions Revisited

Below I revisit my research questions based on the results of my content analysis of Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011.

1. *What are the dominant female stereotypes in these commercials? How are women most frequently portrayed?*

Over the 25 year period analyzed, frequently women were **not** the primary actors in the commercials, often being relegated to passive roles in the background or engaged in activities that were not central to the action. In cases where their roles were clearly defined, they were most often cast as housewives, mothers, and daughters. The next most common depiction was that of girlfriend or date where a woman was paired with a man in some type of intimate situation. Women were shown engaged in some type of paid employment in approximately 24% of their appearances, most often in customer service jobs, although they were sometimes shown in non-traditional jobs, such as firefighter, air traffic controller, or airplane pilot. Women were shown engaged in leisure activities such as attending a party, hanging out in bars or at the beach, dining out, or going on vacation in approximately 16.5% of their appearances. However, women most frequently were depicted in ways that had no discernable occupation or purpose, such as being shown as part of a crowd or walking down a busy city street in 24.4% of their

appearances. Female product spokespersons were rare, occurring in only 5% of Super Bowl commercials, and these depictions were most often for over-the-counter medications such as Tylenol. Previous content analyses have found white women portrayed in higher status occupations and higher social class depictions than minority women (Humphrey and Schuman 1984; Collins 2000; Hazell and Clarke 2008). In my analysis, I found that women of all races were primarily shown in middle class depictions. White, black, Asian, and Latina women were all depicted as upper middle class in some commercials, but as previous studies have shown, white women dominated these upper class portrayals. While in some part, this could be due to the high number of white women and the low numbers of minority women depicted in these commercials, I hypothesize that the "matrix of domination" would still have been illustrated even if the numbers were more equal (Collins 2000).

Table 7: "Women's Occupations/Activities in Super Bowl Commercials: 1986 - 2011"

<i>Occupation/Activity</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Wife and/or mother	15.00%
Girlfriend or date	10.20%
Business/office worker	6.00%
Customer service	7.00%
Party, bar, or beach	9.00%
Dining or drinking (non-alcoholic)	4.00%
Vacation	3.50%
Product spokesperson	5.00%
Other occupation/job	5.00%
Medical or science	1.30%
Entertainment/show business	5.00%
Athlete/working out	4.60%
Misc. activity	24.40%

2. *What are the dominant racial/ethnic and gender stereotypes in these commercials, and do they conform to the those cited in the literature?*

White women were stereotyped as "dumb blondes," "nagging wives," and in one case a "gold digger" but were most frequently stereotyped as sexual objects of

desire, including at least two instances where they were characterized as businesslike and repressed before being sexually freed by a man or by the product advertised. A 2002 commercial for CompUSA featured the blonde former Playboy model-turned-actress Jenny McCarthy who told viewers, "people think I'm all looks and no brains," and she then proceeded to play the piano and speak in French in an attempt to disprove the "dumb blonde" stereotype; yet at the same time she highlighted her physical assets by appearing in a low cut tank top and tight leather shorts. The "femme fatale" stereotype, the woman who is sexually aggressive, was also depicted in Super Bowl commercials for products like soft drinks, corn chips, beer, and fast food restaurants. Blondes and brunettes were equally likely to be portrayed as sexualized objects. White women were also depicted as "damsels in distress" needing rescue or assistance to deal with problems like auto repairs or financial matters, and in one instance from a mouse, placed surreptitiously in her apartment by her would-be rescuer.

Black women were frequently portrayed in stereotypical roles, most often as the sassy Sista with Attitude, but other stereotypes such as the Matriarch and Jezebel were also employed. The State Farm Insurance commercial from 2010 utilized both the Sista with Attitude and Jezebel stereotypes in one 30 second commercial, while the Pepsi Max commercial from 2011 combined the Matriarch and Sista with Attitude in one woman and then inserted a white blonde woman who was presented as sexually appealing to the black woman's abused husband. Holiday Inn may have unintentionally presented their black Head Housekeeper as Mammy in their 1986 commercial, but the image certainly conformed to and confirmed a

black female stereotype. The 2001 Snickers commercial presented a black Sista with Attitude who destroys someone else's property simply because she's annoyed. In a 2007 commercial for Sierra Mist, a black woman cast as a hospital aide is so full of attitude as she complains to a white male coworker that she completely neglects the patient whom she is supposed to be attending. Although black women were sexualized in some commercials, by the 2000s they were more likely to be cast in stereotypical fashion than presented as sexually desirable.

Asian women were stereotyped as the model minority, depicted as both intelligent and technologically proficient, when they were cast scientists for Pepsi in 1994 and Cadillac in 2004. They were also depicted as the submissive geisha in both the 1998 commercial for Iomega Zip, as an overly solicitous flight attendant, and in the 1996 commercial for Miller Lite as captured geishas in a Kung Fu movie. The low numbers of Asian women in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011 highlights these stereotypical depictions, particularly since in many cases Asian women were shown only briefly or as part of a group or crowd. The other female Asian stereotype, the Dragon Lady, an evil, scheming, dominant woman was not portrayed in any of the commercials, although in a commercial for prevention of heart disease, an Asian woman was cast as the super villain "diabetes" while the other risk factors were all played by men.

Latina women appeared in very few Super Bowl commercials, but there were some stereotypical depictions: as sexualized video vixens for Nationwide Insurance in 2007 and as an overly fertile mother of a large family for AOL in 2002. The use of a Latina woman in the 1994 Ortega commercial for salsa could also be construed as

stereotyping based on the type of product advertised. However, while it's not a stereotype, the biggest statement made about Latina women was their almost complete absence from Super Bowl commercials during 1986 - 2011.

While it may not yet be an established stereotype of racially ambiguous women, they were frequently presented as sex objects in Super Bowl commercials; 41% of their appearances based on their clothing, presentation, behavior, or the camera angles and shots were sexualized, which is almost twice as often as that of white women who were sexualized in 22% of their appearances.

The stereotypes depicted in the Super Bowl commercials did indeed conform to those cited in the literature. Collins' (2000) matriarch, Boylorn's (2008) Sista with Attitude, Taylor and Lee's (1997) model minority, and Patton's (2001) geisha were all presented in these commercials. The *over*-sexualization of white and racially ambiguous women in these commercials also conforms to findings from previous studies (Sultze 2003; Hasinoff 2008; Stankiewicz and Rosselli 2008; Leroy 2010). The lack of representative images of Latina women also echoes the findings of Rubin and colleagues (2003) and Schooler (2008) who found a lack of realistic depictions of Latina women in U.S. media images.

3. *How do the stereotypes compare across race? Are the women of any one race more often presented in stereotypical roles than the others?*

Overall, women were depicted in stereotypical ways in 15.5% of Super Bowl commercial appearances. Numerically there were more instances of white women being stereotyped than women of other races, but this is due to the overwhelming number of white women depicted in the commercials. Proportionally white women

were the least stereotyped with approximately 10.2% of their portrayals employing stereotypes. The nagging wife/girlfriend, femme fatale, dumb blonde, damsel in distress, sex kitten, brainless beauty queen, the repressed-and-businesslike-woman-with-horn-rimmed-glasses-who-is-a-sexually-insatiable-tigress-underneath-her-stern-exterior, and a gold digger were all portrayed by white women in these commercials. I only included commercials where the stereotypes were obviously employed when counting instances of white women being stereotyped; however, if I also included the good housewife/mother and all instances of sexualization, almost all portrayals by white women could be considered stereotypical. Racially ambiguous women were cast as sex objects, which I count as a stereotype for this group, which proportionally makes them the most stereotyped at 21.9%. Latinas were second at 20.8% and were stereotyped as sex kittens, overly fertile mothers, hip-hop around-the-way-girls, and once by the product advertised; however in this analysis, the percentage of stereotyped portrayals by Latina women is high due to their infrequent appearances in Super Bowl commercials. A larger sample of Latina women in commercials is needed to see if they are indeed stereotyped at the rate of 20%. Black women were stereotyped as Jezebel, Mammy, Matriarch, and most frequently as Sista with Attitude in approximately 17.5% of their appearances. The higher percentage of stereotyped minorities, particularly black women, conforms to findings from previous content analyses of minority women in media images (Collins 2000; Hazell and Clarke 2008; Taylor and Lee 1994; Kretsedemas 2010).

Table 8: "Stereotypical Portrayals by Race in Super Bowl Commercials: 1986 - 2011"

<i>Race</i>	<i>Total # of appearances in commercials</i>	<i>% Stereotyped appearances</i>
Women (all)	834	15.5%
White	778	10.2%
Black	166	17.5%
Asian	53	11.3%
Latina	21	20.8%
Racially ambiguous	41	21.9%

4. *Have the images and stereotypes changed from previous years or have they remained consistent?*

For white women, portrayals as sex objects and wives/mothers, their most frequent roles, have remained the same in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011. Black women are being stereotyped as Sistas with Attitudes more often in commercials from 2000 - 2011 than in previous years, but they were also portrayed as sexualized Jezebels and overbearing Matriarchs. The caregiving Mammy was largely absent from these commercials. The stereotypes for Asian women have remained consistent throughout the years of 1986 - 2011 with depictions employing either the "model minority," intelligent, industrious, technologically savvy women, or the submissive, exotic geisha stereotypes. The few depictions of Latina stereotypes were consistent over time as the overly fertile mother, and the hip-hop around-the-way-girl. Surprisingly, the hot-tempered spitfire, a common Latina stereotype (Bender 2003), was not employed in any of the commercials. Again, the stereotypes depicted, with the exception of the more recent Sista with Attitude, have remained consistent with those from earlier years (Boylorn 2008; Kretsedemas 2010).

5. *Is there convergence? Are racially ambiguous women being cast in these commercials instead of models who possess features consistent with the African-American phenotype? Are racially ambiguous women overrepresented in media images?*

From 1986 - 1989 there were no racially ambiguous women in Super Bowl commercials. In the 1990s commercials, there were ten racially ambiguous women depicted. From 2000 - 2011, the number of racially ambiguous women increased to 31 which was approximately 7.3% of all women in Super Bowl commercials for that time period. In that same period, there were 88 black women depicted comprising approximately 20% of all women in Super Bowl commercials, more than double the number of racially ambiguous women. Overall there were 13 occurrences of *convergence*, only 1.5% of all Super Bowl commercials analyzed. There were four commercials during the 1990s where racially ambiguous women were part of a group of white women and no black woman was depicted: Pepsi in 1993, Budweiser in 1994, Budweiser in 1997, and Pizza Hut in 1998. During the years 2000 - 2011, there were nine instances of *convergence* where racially ambiguous women were the only women of color in groups of white women or in multiracial groups composed of white men and women and non-white men: Bud Light in 2003, Radio Shack in 2003, Anheuser Busch in 2004, Budweiser in 2005, Diet Pepsi in 2005, Pepsi in 2008, Bud Light in 2008, and GoDaddy.com in 2009. In my media research of current images, I have noted numerous instances of *convergence* in television commercials during normal programming, as well as in print and internet advertisements. These current images were the basis for my *convergence*

hypothesis, and although the instances of *convergence* were somewhat low in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011, I believe this media trend is rapidly increasing and more analysis with a larger sample, including print and internet advertisements, is needed. I plan to continue researching this phenomena.

6. *Is there replacement? Are black men in these commercials being paired with non-black women or cast as the only black individual in a multiracial group of men and women?*

As I began coding the Super Bowl commercials for instances of *replacement*, I found a recurring pattern of pairing black men with non-black women and/or the complete exclusion of black women from commercials that include black men as part of multiracial groups in 15 commercials for Anheuser Busch, Bud Light, or Budweiser from 1986 - 2011. Anheuser Busch is the company that manufactures both Bud Light and Budweiser, and it also produces commercials under the parent company for drinking related issues like designated drivers and under age drinking. Black men were romantically paired with racially ambiguous women in five of the commercials, and the other ten included black men as part of multiracial groups, dominated by white men and women, where no black women were shown. In these multiracial group settings, women of color were frequently represented by racially ambiguous women which also fits my *convergence* hypothesis. Budweiser and Bud Light did have some commercials where black men were married to or paired with black women including two Bud Light commercials airing in 2010 and 2011. In addition to Anheuser Busch products, commercials for Michelob Ultra, Visa, 7up, MasterCard, Microsoft, T-Mobile, Pepsi, Jackson Hewitt, FedEx, and Volkswagen also

paired black men with non-black women in romantic or social settings, like parties, barbecues, or in a bar/restaurant. Commercials for A1 Steak Sauce, Dunkin Donuts, Sierra Mist, Radio Shack, Toyota, McDonalds, Holiday Inn, GM, Monster.com, George Foreman Grill, Tylenol, Becks beer, and Subway depicted multiracial groups of men and women which included at least one black man and no black women. However, there were six commercials where a black woman was paired with a white male in social or business settings, but not romantically paired, including: a 1994 commercial for 7up, a 1997 Taco Bell, a 1999 Ford commercial, a 2001 Honda commercial, a 2004 commercial for Toyota, and a 2007 commercial for Sierra Mist. Overall from 1986 - 2011, I found 37 instances of *replacement*, with the majority of cases in the more recent years from 2002 to 2011, which comprises 4.3% of the Super Bowl commercials analyzed. While this low percentage does not necessarily provide overwhelming support for my *replacement* hypothesis, I believe, particularly with the increasing numbers of *replacement* in more recent commercials, it does indicate a trend that should be monitored in the future, not just in television commercials but in all media images.

7. *Is the racial representation of women from each racial group consistent with their percentage of the U.S. population? Are these media images representative of women in the U.S.?*

White women comprise 75.1% of women in the U.S. and 38.2% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). I expected to find white women overrepresented in Super Bowl commercials, and this was indeed the case; white women were vastly overrepresented in these commercials. White women appeared

in 94.5% of commercials over the 25 year period; from 1986 - 1989, they appeared in 98.1%; from 1990 - 1991, they appeared in 93.7%; and from 2000 - 2011, they appeared in 91.7% of commercials.

Black women comprise 12.6% of women in the U.S. and about 6.1% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). I expected to find black women underrepresented in Super Bowl commercials; however, I found instead that they were overrepresented based on their population in the U.S. and their percentage of women in the U.S. In Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011, black women appeared in 18.9%; from 1986 - 1989, they appeared in 16%; from 1990 - 1991, they appeared in 20%; and from 2000 - 2011, they appeared in 21% of commercials.

Asian women make up 1.8% of the total U.S. population and 3.6% of women in the U.S. (U.S. Census 2000). Like the results from previous content analyses of Asians in media images (Taylor and Lee 1994; Taylor and Stern 1997), I expected to find Asian women overrepresented in Super Bowl commercials, and this was confirmed. Asian women appeared in 5.6% of Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011; from 1986 - 1989, they appeared in 2.8%; from 1990 - 1991, they appeared in 7.9%; and from 2000 - 2011, they appeared in 6.1% of commercials. In their 1997 content analysis, Taylor and Stern (1997) found Asian women in U.S. commercials aired during primetime television programming appeared at the rate of 3.7%. In 1997 Super Bowl commercials, Asian women appeared in 14.2% of commercials featuring women!

Latina women comprise about 12% of women in the U.S. and about 6.1% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). I expected to find underrepresentation

of Latinas in Super Bowl commercials; however, I did not expect the numbers to be as low as they were. Latina women appeared in only 1.8% of Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011; from 1986 - 1989, there were no Latinas portrayed in commercials; from 1990 - 1999, they appeared in 1.7%; and from 2000 - 2011, they appeared in 3.8% of commercials. Latinas were grossly underrepresented overall and in each decade. I do not know why more Latinas are not being used in Super Bowl advertisements, but I wonder if Latinas are also being negatively affected by *convergence*, particularly since racially ambiguous women outnumbered Latina women in Super Bowl commercials from 1990 - 2011; both groups were absent from commercials during 1986 - 1989.

It is difficult use the Census numbers to discuss racially ambiguous people since by the very description, their race is unknown. However, to get some idea of the number of racially ambiguous individuals in the U.S., I used the "Two or more races" category to represent my racially ambiguous category in these calculations. I estimated racially ambiguous women comprise approximately 2.4% of women in the U.S. and about 1.2% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census 2000). Based on these numbers, I expected racially ambiguous women to be overrepresented in Super Bowl commercials. In my analysis, racially ambiguous women appeared in 3.5% of commercials from 1986 - 2011; no racially ambiguous women were featured in commercials from 1986 - 1989; they appeared in 3.3% from 1990 - 1999; and from 2000 - 2011, they appeared in 7.2%.

Overall, the depictions of women in Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011 were not representative of women's populations in the U.S. Black, Asian,

white, and racially ambiguous women were overrepresented, and Latinas were vastly underrepresented. The percentage of white women in Super Bowl commercials has decreased over time, perhaps due to advertisers' current attempts to present casts that are more racially representative of the U.S. population. However, the percentages of minority women in these commercials are consistent with the findings from previous content analyses of women in media images (Taylor and Lee 1994; Baker 2005; Schooler 2008). The Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011 presented a skewed view of race and gender in the U.S.

In conclusion, the Super Bowl commercials from 1986 - 2011 in many instances employed *commercial realism* by presenting viewers with images and situations that could be real; they also engaged in the *ritualization of subordination* by presenting women's bodies in ways which highlight and uphold their subordinate status in society by using unnecessarily sexualization in commercials for products that could easily be advertised in other ways (Goffman 1979). It is *possible* that a group of bikini clad women would be willing to serve as the fulfillment of a man's birthday wish, but the involuntary manner in which they were summoned in a Coors Light commercial is both unrealistic and degrading to the women depicted, as was a Doritos commercial where the man used the "power" of his corn chips to rip the clothes off a woman walking down the street. In the case of commercials for alcoholic beverages, their sexualization of women can create dangerous links between sex and alcohol in the minds of viewers which can lead to misunderstanding of social cues and potential sexual violence. Some advertisers, like GoDaddy.com who blatantly sexualize women's bodies as a way to make their

company and/or product memorable in the minds of viewers, run the risk of alienating female viewers and of having their products or services overshadowed by sexualized images. What do large female breasts, inadequately covered, have to do with website hosting? The use of stereotypes based on race and gender, while possibly an aid to quickly telling a story, serve to reinforce social beliefs that can stigmatize the group being stereotyped and which can lead to negative personal, social, and legal consequences. For example, consistently presenting black women as Sistas with Attitudes or white woman as sexually desirable and always available can lead to social misunderstandings and interactions based on *inaccurate* preconceived assumptions. The negative reaction to the 2011 Pepsi Max commercial with the abusive black woman was immediate and had online social networks and blogs buzzing for weeks after it aired (Solomon 2011). Proportionally based on their population in the U.S., in current Super Bowl commercials, the number of women featured is closer to reality, with women appearing in approximately 45% of commercials aired from 2000 - 2011. However, the racial proportions are still skewed with white women vastly overrepresented in approximately 92% of commercials and Latina women grossly underrepresented, appearing in less than 4% of Super Bowl commercials from 2000 - 2011. Although analyzing commercials, which are usually 30 seconds or less in length, may seem to be giving undue importance to something trivial, the reality is media images *do* affect viewers perceptions of society's structure and function. The unrealistic depiction of gender and race can alienate consumers, particularly those in underrepresented or misrepresented groups, and can also lead to negative social

consequences for *all* viewers who through repeated exposure internalize the false messages presented in these commercial images.

DISCUSSION

Based on my findings I'd like to conclude this thesis by offering some recommendations to the advertising industry and suggest areas for future research.

According to Nielsen ratings and research, 48.5 million women watched the 2010 NFL Super Bowl, comprising approximately 45% of total viewers, and the number of female viewers has risen by 17% in the last five years (Nielsen Wire, 2010). Included in the number of female viewers are black and Latina women who account for up to 48% of minority viewers (Nielsen Wire, 2010). While women on average were featured in Super Bowl commercials airing from 1986 - 2011 about 39.6% of the time, it seems like advertisers are squandering a prime opportunity to introduce their products and services to more women. In addition, casting the women in many of these commercials as sex objects risks alienating female consumers. The lack of minority women, especially Latinas, featured in these commercials seems to demonstrate advertisers' unawareness of the audience composition; the low number of appearances by Latina women does not come close to their population in the U.S., nor does it recognize Latinos' status as the fastest growing racial group in the country. With the expensive and elaborate commercials developed for and aired during the Super Bowl, companies hoping for higher profits should remember the increasing number of female NFL fans and market their products with advertisements featuring women of all races in more realistic depictions. Stereotypes, which are often readily recognizable and can eliminate the need for backstories, can also needlessly offend consumers; they should be avoided in Super Bowl *and* all other commercials.

In addition, to avoiding the use of stereotypes, the increasing trend of using racially ambiguous models in place of women of color, *convergence*, should be halted to prevent the absence of black women with dark skin and/or African-American phenotypes from media images. Advertisers may be assuming a white audience or trying to avoid political and cultural connotations associated with individuals of identifiable racial groups, but at this time the world is still made up of people of identifiable racial groups who can *all* benefit from realistic racial depictions instead of stereotypical racial portrayals or ambiguous depictions utilizing *commercial realism*, which is depicting the world in ways that could be real, but which do not necessarily reflect social reality. Also, *replacement*, the pairing of black men with non-black women or having a black man as the only black individual in a multiracial group, should be halted. If the advertisers are concerned about portraying our "assumed" post-racial U.S. society and choose *replacement* as a way to illustrate this, again black women are being unfairly penalized. There is nothing stopping advertisers from pairing black men with black women or from including black women and men as part of a multiracial group in the same way these groups contain both white men and women. In addition black women could be paired with non-black men, both romantically and socially, in some of these commercials to provide balance. There were only six instances out of the 834 Super Bowl commercials featuring women (less than 1%) of pairing a black woman with a non-black man, and all of them were in business or non-intimate social settings. Conversely, there were 40 commercials where *replacement* was depicted, approximately 4.8%, including multiple instances of romantic interest and one mixed race marriage between a black man and pregnant Asian woman. If the pairing of a black individual with a non-black individual is the way advertisers wish to show their acceptance or

embrasure of a post racial society, black women and men should be used equally in these depictions.

Working on this project has suggested some further areas of inquiry. Not all commercials are created equally. Since most, if not the majority, of Super Bowl commercials are *specifically* created to premiere during this event and seem to assume a primarily male audience, the racial composition and physical characteristics of women in the commercials, along with the types of portrayals and products advertised, may be different from those in commercials aired during other types of programs. Future research on race and gender in commercials could examine commercials aired during women's programming, particularly during daytime programs, or examine commercials aired during certain times of the year, for example, during sweeps week when networks compete for ratings. I would expect commercials aired on networks with targeted racial/ethnic audiences to show commercials featuring women and men of the targeted group. For example commercials on BET should have a higher number of blacks in the commercials aired. However, investigation of commercials aired on these types of targeted television networks may also be of interest. In addition, more research on *convergence* and *replacement* needs to be done with larger samples of commercials, and the sample should be expanded to include print and internet advertisements. In my research of other media images, I also noted instances of *convergence* and *replacement* in television programming, and these programs could be analyzed in an attempt to confirm or disprove these current media trends. Finally, it would be very interesting to use the same commercials analyzed in this project to examine the depictions of men.

There are some potential limitations to this study. Identifying stereotypical portrayals *is* a subjective exercise, and the personal biographies of coders may

influence coding results. As a black woman, I could be more alert and sensitive to what I consider stereotypical portrayals of minority women, particularly if those stereotypes are subtle, than a non-black or non-female television viewer (Fuller 2001). In addition, since modern media stereotypes are sometimes blended, it is difficult to create a list that is exhaustive and composed of exclusive characteristics of the stereotypes under review. Bartsch, et al (2000) noted that it is sometimes difficult to measure changes in gender representation because of the slightly different methodology used in previous studies. I attempted to limit this by designing my coding protocols with reference to previous content analyses of media images and portrayals. It is sometimes difficult to determine the race of certain individuals, and this could have affected my coding of race for some women portrayed in Super Bowl commercials. Finally, although the Super Bowl has a large viewing audience, there still are many who do not watch it, and some who may watch the game, but ignore the commercials. However, this is mitigated somewhat by the commercials, which air during the game, being replayed at other times during other broadcast television programs.

Appendix I

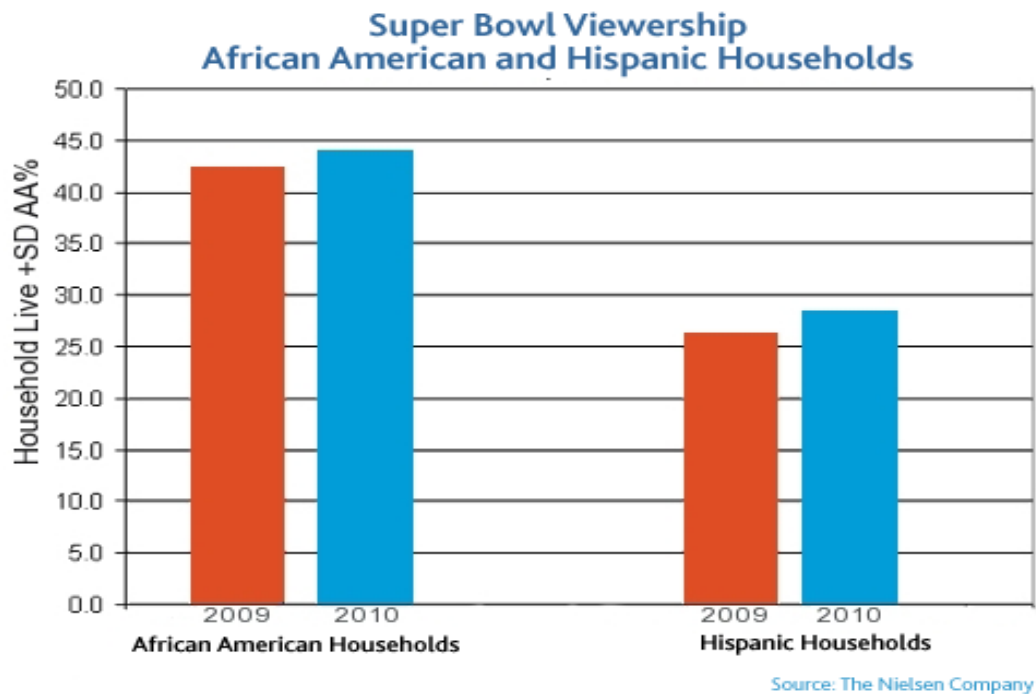
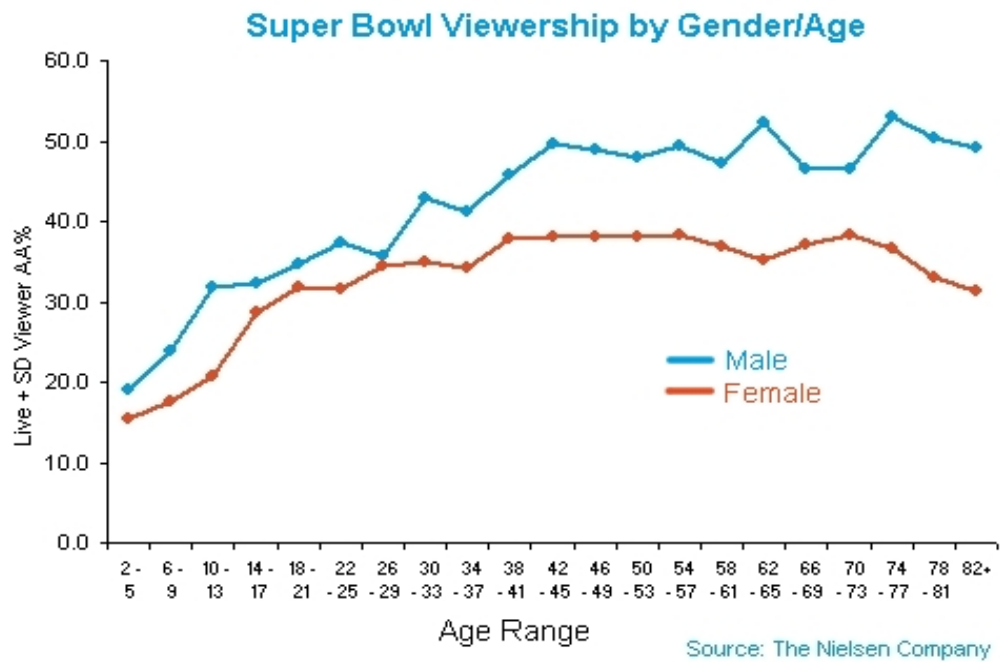
Notes:

1. In her book Rehling (2009) discussed the sexualized white male bodies in advertisements. For example, she points to the Calvin Klein underwear billboard advertisement which featured a white male Olympic athlete with a muscular, tanned torso and two television ads, Levi's "Launderette" from 1985 and Diet Coke's "Eleven O'Clock Appointment" from 1994, all of which eroticized white male bodies. In the Levi's commercial the man strips down to his boxers in a crowded coin-operated laundry in order to wash his jeans and t-shirt while the women present watch him with intense, desire-filled gazes usually seen on the faces of men watching sexualized women. The women in the Diet Coke commercial employ the same intense gaze on the object of their desire. Set in a business office, a stream of professional women pass a female receptionist saying, "I'm here for my 11:30 appointment," and then enter a room with a large window facing the street. Shortly after they enter the room, a muscular, tanned, shirtless white male standing on a window washing platform rises into view outside the window. His head is canted back exposing his throat as he drinks a can of Diet Coke with apparent voluptuous pleasure, and the women devour him with their eyes while licking their lips and making other sensual facial expressions -- one women even seductively places her finger in her mouth as she contemplates the male body on display. Rehling does note, however, the importance of race as this commodified male body is almost always white, albeit with tanned or olive skin "because of the cultural allusions of

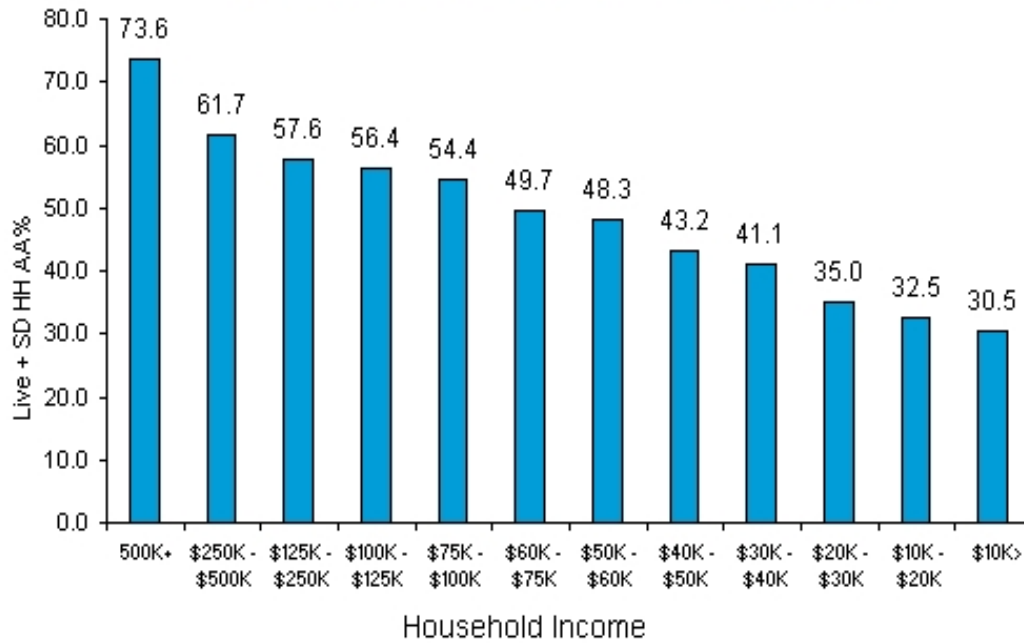
exoticism" (Rehling, 2009). Therefore, male bodies can also be sexualized in media images, but only certain types of bodies are put on display for the pleasure of the "female gaze." I noticed when viewing the Diet Coke and Levi's commercials that although the women looked at the men with desire, their gazes and expressions lacked the power of action usually associated with the "male gaze" (Lorber, 1994). The women appeared to be fantasizing or daydreaming about the men on display, but it did not seem as if any of them planned to attempt direct contact with the men. Yet, the camera angles used to film the men -- slowly panning the body and isolated shots of body parts -- are the same ones used to sexualize women in media images.

Appendix II

Super Bowl 2010 Viewership Information:

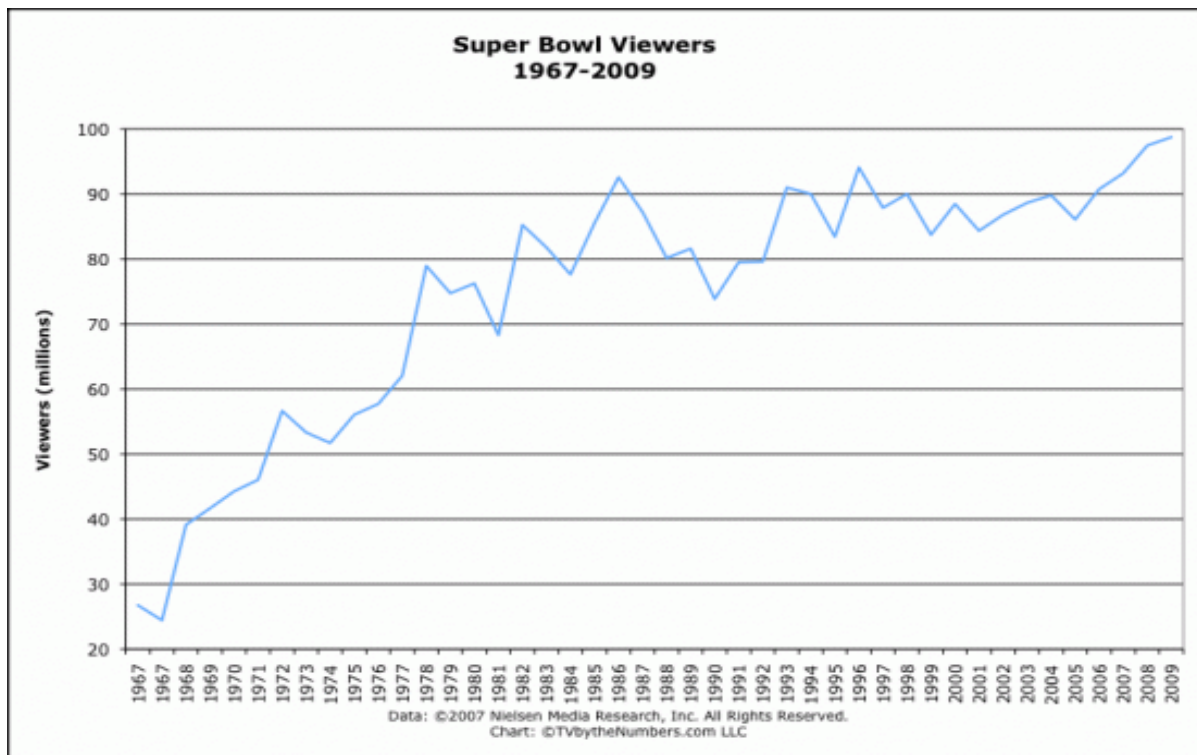


Super Bowl Household Rating by Income Level



Source: The Nielsen Company

Super Bowl 1967-2009 Viewership Info:



Ubuykotex.com "racially ambiguous" commercial model



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QOM4AMV050A>

Skin Color Chart used to determine skin tone and race of women in Super Bowl Commercials

Skin Tone Pigment		SKIN TONE CHART
	Light Pale white; Freckles	18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
	Fair White	
	Medium White to Light Brown	
	Olive Light Brown to Moderate Brown	
	Tan Moderate Brown to Brown	
	Brown Brown	
	Dark Brown Dark Brown	
	Black Very Dark Brown to Black; Deep Pigments	

<<http://www.skin-whitening-product.com/skin-tone-chart.html>>

Body Type Example Photos

"Model Thin" (Kate Moss)



"Normal" (Beyonce)



Body Type Example Photos (continued)

"Full Figured" (Queen Latifah)



"Obese" (Gabourey Sidibe)



CODING PROTOCOL: DESCRIPTION OF BLACK FEMALE STEREOTYPES
<p><u>Mammy</u></p> <p><i>Physical appearance:</i> medium to dark skin color; heavysset to obese w/ large breasts; afro, short hair, or braids/dreadlocks; matronly; wears casual or plain clothes; African features (e.g. broad nose, large lips); middle aged to elderly.</p> <p><i>Characteristics and behavior:</i> uses slang or folksy language; use of endearments in place of or in addition to proper names (e.g. honey, honey-child, baby, etc); desexualized, not presented as attractive to men; nonthreatening/warm; bossy, sassy, and/or loud; exaggerated gestures accompanying words (head or eye rolling, hands on hips, shoulder shaking)</p> <p><i>Real world example:</i> The Pinesol Lady, Aunt Jemima</p>
<p><u>Jezebel</u></p> <p><i>Physical appearance:</i> light to medium skin color; long and/or straight hair; European facial features; exaggerated or emphasized body parts (e.g. big butt, full lips, large breasts); tight, skimpy or revealing clothing; teens to early 40s.</p> <p><i>Characteristics and behavior:</i> sinuous movement/dancing; flirtatious; relationships with men are primarily of sexual nature; dialogues have sexual overtones</p> <p><i>Real world example:</i> Beyonce, Halle Berry</p>
<p><u>Sista with Attitude</u></p> <p><i>Physical appearance:</i> there are no defining or common physical features for this stereotype, although skin color is usually medium to dark; teens to middle age. Any black woman can be cast in this role.</p> <p><i>Characteristics and behavior:</i> Can be single or married (if married, husband is henpecked or deferential); loud/overbearing or bossy; emasculating in interactions with men; domineering, wants to be in charge; scheming; use of threats or ploys; intelligent or street-wise; uses very expressive slang or sassy language; exaggerated body movements with head, neck and/or eye rolling; hands on hips or broad arm gestures when speaking; single or in a bad relationship; often cast as the best-friend of a non-black character</p> <p><i>Real world example:</i> Mo'Nique, Gabourey Sidibe</p>
<p><u>Welfare Mother</u></p> <p><i>Physical appearance:</i> medium to dark skin color; slatternly or unkempt clothing and hair; teens to middle age.</p> <p><i>Characteristics and behavior:</i> neglectful or abusive to children; scheming; uneducated; uses slang and has poor command of proper English; lazy/shuns legitimate employment; bad relationships with men (e.g. multiple "baby daddies"); drug or alcohol abuse</p> <p><i>Real world example:</i> portrayed on multiple <i>Law and Order</i> episodes and nightly news programs</p>
<p><u>Black Lady</u></p> <p><i>Physical appearance:</i> there are no defining or common physical features for this stereotype; teens to middle age. Any black woman can be cast in this role.</p> <p><i>Characteristics and behavior:</i> educated, professional woman; zealously dedicated to her career; aggressive; no or bad relationship with men; unfeminine; intense</p> <p><i>Real world example:</i> Joan on <i>Girlfriends</i></p>

Super Bowl Advertisers by Year

1986

American Express	Diet Coke	GTE	Midway	Right Guard
Ameritech	Discover Card	Hertz	Milk	Sears
Arrid XX	Dominick's	Holiday Inn	Miller Lite	Sports Illustrated
AT&T	Dow	IBM	Minolta	Subaru
Audi	Dry Idea	John Hancock	Mitsubishi	Timex
Becks	Duraline	Johnson Controls	Mobil	Toyota
Blue Cross of Illinois	Eagle Snacks	Marine Banks	NBC	U.S. Army
Bud Light	Embassy Suites	MasterCard	NBC News	U.S. Marines
Budweiser	FedEx	McDonalds	New Coke	United Way
Burger King	First Nationwide	Mercury	Nissan	UPS
Cheese	Ford	Michelin	Northwestern	USAir
Coors	Genesse Beer	Michelob	Pennzoil	Volkswagen
Dean Witter	Gillette	Midas	RC Cola	

1987

American Airlines	Dean Witter	First Interstate	Mercedes	RC Cola
American Express	Denorex	Foot Locker	Merrill Lynch	Saab
AT&T	Diet Coke	Foster's	Michelin	Seiko
Atlantic Financial	Diet Pepsi	GM	Michelob	The Travelers
Becks	Diet Slice	Golden Nugget	Milk	Tropicana
Bud Light	Dodge	Goodyear	Mitsubishi	U.S. Sprint
Budweiser	Dow	GTE	New Jersey Bell	United Airlines
Buick	Dristan	Honda	Pan Am	United Way
CBS	Drug Hotline	IBM	Pennzoil	Van Heusen
Cheese	Dry Idea	Isuzu	Perkins	Volkswagen
Chevy	Dupont	John Hancock	Phillips	Warner Bros.
Citibank	Energizer	Johnson Controls	Radio Shack	
Comfort Inn	Exxon	Kellogg's	Raisin Bran	
Contel	FedEx	McDonalds	Ranier Beer	

1988

Alamo	FedEx	Selsun Blue
Alka Seltzer	Ford	Shearson Lehman
Allstate	Hanes	Stroh's
American Airlines	IBM	Suzuki
Anacin	Jeep	Tengrin
Audi	John Hancock	The Travelers
Bartels & Jaymes	Master Lock	Tylenol
Bayer	McDonalds	UPS
Bud Light	Michelin	Visa
Budweiser	Michelob	Volkswagen
Campbell's	Mitsubishi	Wang
Coldwell Bankers	Nestle Crunch	Yugo
Delta	New York Life	
Denorex	Pan Am	
Diet Coke	Pennzoil	
Diet Pepsi	Pontiac	
Energizer	Roloids	

1989

American Express	Hyundai	The Travelers
Anheuser Busch	Ireland	Toyota
AT&T	Master Lock	Van Heusen
Becks	Mazda	Volkswagen
Budweiser	McDonalds	Volvo
Delta	Mercedes	Whiskas
Diet Coke	Metro Energy	
Diet Pepsi	Michelin	
Dodge	Michelob Dry	
Doritos	Michelob Light	
Dow	NBC	
Dristan	Pennzoil	
FTD	Pepsi	
Gillette	Sears	
GTE	Suzuki	

1990

American Express	FedEx	Panasonic
Budweiser	First Interstate Bank	Pepsi
Buick	Ford	Pontiac
Campbell's	Geo	Right Guard
CBS	Gillette	Rubbermaid
Chrysler	GTE	Subaru
Citibank	Konica	Volkswagen
coAdvil	Master Lock	Wendy's
Coke	MasterCard	Wheaties
Coors	Mazda	Whiskas
Delta	McDonalds	
Denny's	Mercedes	
Diet Coke	Michelob	
Doritos	Milk of Magnesia	
Dow	Mitsubishi	
Exxon	Nissan	

1991

A1	Diet Pepsi	John Hancock	Panasonic
Advil	Dockers	Kellogg's	Pepsi
Alka Seltzer	Dodge	L.A. Gear	Pizza Hut
American Express	Drixoral	Lexus	Power Stick
AT&T	Dynatrim	Magnavox	Reebok
Audi	Eggo	Master Lock	Right Guard
Bell Atlantic	Exxon	MasterCard	Royal Caribbean
Budweiser	FedEx	McDonalds	Selsun Blue
Bugle Boys	Ford	Midas	The Big Red Boat
Car Quest	Gillette	Mylanta	Thrifty
Caress	GTE	NAPA	Tropicana
Chase	Halls	New York	Tylenol
Coca Cola	Head & Shoulders	Nike	United Airlines
Contact	Hertz	Nissan	U.S. Sprint
Continental	Honda	Nynex	Walmart
Diet Dr. Pepper	Honey Bunches of Oats	Old Spice	World League Baseball

1992

Acura	Drug Hotline	McDonalds	Robitussin
Advil	Exxon	Merrill Lynch	Selsun Blue
Alka Seltzer	FedEx	Mitsubishi	Sudafed
American Express	French Toast	Nicoderm	Toyota
BMW	Gillette	Nike	United Airlines
Budweiser	GM	Nuprin	USAir
Bugle Boy	GTE	Nynex	
CBS	Hoover	Old Spice	
Denorex	Hyundai	Oral B	
DHL	Isuzu	Paine Webber	
Diet 7up	Kellogg's	Pepsi	
Diet Pepsi	Master Lock	Reebok	

1993

7up	Ford	Miller Genuine Draft
Advil	Geo	Miller Lite
Allstate	Gillette	Nike
American Express	Gio	Oldsmobile
Aspen for Men	Goodyear	Pepsi
AT&T	GTE	Prodigy
British Airways	Honda	Prudential
Budweiser	Jaguar	RCA
Cadillac	Jeep	Reebok
Cat Chow	Lays	Serta
Chrysler	Lee	ServiStar
Colgate	Lexus	Subaru
Continental Airlines	Lincoln	Subway
Cooper & Lybrand	Little Caesars	Toyota
Crystal Pepsi	Magnavox	USAir
Denorex	Master Lock	
Diet 7up	Mazda	
FedEx	McDonalds	

1994

7up	FedEx	Pepsi
A1	Goodyear	Pizza Hut
Acura	Hardees	Plymouth
Advil	Hertz	Prudential
Alamo	Icehouse Beer	Rayovac
Allstate	Isuzu	Reebok
American Express	Lays	Samsonite
AT&T	Lexus	Saturn
Budweiser	Lipton	Taster's Choice
Campbell's	M&Ms	TGI Friday
Chase	Master Lock	Tinactin
Chevy	Mazda	Toyota
Chrysler	McDonalds	Tri State Ford
Citibank	Miller Genuine Draft	TWA
Converse	Nike	Visa
Diet Mountain Dew	Norwegian Cruise Lines	
Dog Chow	Ocean Spray	
Doritos	Old Spice	
Edge	Ortega	

1995

American Express	Ford	Master Lock	Serta
BMW	Foxwoods Lodge	Mazda	Snickers
Bud Light	Gillette	McDonalds	Soloflex
Budweiser	Goodyear	Nike	Sunoco
Burger King	HBO	No Fear	Taco Bell
Centrum	Honda	Pepsi	Thrifty Car Rental
Continental Airlines	Imodium AD	Pizza Hut	Tinactin
Denorex	Isuzu	Plymouth	Toyota
Dimetapp	Jeep	Pork	Tylenol
Dodge	Lays	PrimeStar	USAir
Doritos	Lee	Principal	Wilson
Exxon	Lexus	Quaker State	
FedEx	Lincoln	Rold Gold	

1996

Baked Lays	MasterCard	Snickers
Breathe Right	McDonalds	Taco Bell
Bud Light	Michelob Light	Taco Johns
Budweiser	Miller Lite	Toyota
Coors Light	Nike	Tylenol
Diet Coke	Nissan	Visa
Dodge	Owens Corning	Yamaha
Doritos	Pepsi	
Dr. Pepper	Pizza Hut	
FedEx	Plymouth	
Ford	Pork	
Kinkos	PrimeStar	
M&Ms	Principal	
Mailboxes, Etc.	Prudential	
Master Lock	Serta	

1997

AT&T	Holiday Inn	Quality Inn
Autobytel	KFC	Schick
Baked Lays	Lotus	Selsun Blue
Breathe Right	Luxottica	Snickers
Bud Light	M&Ms	Surge
Budweiser	MCI	Tabasco
DirecTV	Miller Lite	Taco Bell
Dirt Devil	NFL	Tostitos
Dodge	Oscar Mayer	Tylenol
Drefus	Pepsi	Visa
Eggo	Pizza Hut	
Fila	Pork	
Frosted Flakes	Porsche	

1998

American Express	Dodge	Lipton Brisk	Nokia	Westin
AT&T	Doritos	M&Ms	One America	
Autobytel	FedEx	Mailboxes, Etc.	Oracle	
Bell Atlantic	General Tire	MasterCard	Outpost.com	
Bud Light	Heineken	Michelin	Pepsi	
Budweiser	Holiday Inn	Miller Lite	Pizza Hut	
Cadillac	Hormel	Molson Ice	Pontiac	
California Cheese	IBM	NBC	PrimeStar	
Celebrity Cruise	Infoseek	Network Assoc.	Tommy Hilfiger	
Chrysler	Intel	Neuberger	Touchstone	
Citibank	lomega Zip	New Line Cinema	Tristar	
Coca Cola	Jeep	NFL	Visa	
Continental	Lays	Nike	Volvo	

1999

7up	FedEx	Lexus	Phillips	TWA
Acura	First Union	M&Ms	Pizza Hut	United Airlines
Advil	Ford	MasterCard	Pontiac	Universal
Alamo Car Rental	Fox	McDonalds	Porsche	Victoria's Secret
American Express	Fox Sports	Michelob Light	Progressive	Visa
Blockbuster	Gateway	Micron	Quantas	Volvo
Bud Light	Gillette Mach 3	Midas	Rolling Rock	VW/Beetle
Budweiser	Hertz	Mitsubishi	Saturn	VW/Jetta
Bugle Boy	Home Depot	Monster.com	Schwab.com	Warner Bros.
Chrysler	Honda	Motrin	Sears	Wendy's
Coca Cola	Hot Jobs	Mountain Dew	Selsun Blue	WWF
Columbia	Hyundai	National Car Rental	Siebel	Yahoo!
Cracker Jack	Jack in the Box	Netscape	Siemens	Yellow Pages
Discover	Jackson Hewitt	Neutrogena	Snickers	
Disney	Jeep	New Line Cinema	Southwest Airlines	
Dodge Caravan	Just for Feet	NFL	Sprint	
Dodge Durango	KFC	Oldsmobile	Sun Financial	
Dodge Ram	Kraft	Outback	Taco Bell	
Dr. Pepper	Land Rover	Pepsi One	Toyota	

2000

20th Century Fox	e-1040	Microstrategy	Tabasco
7up	EDS	Monster.com	Tostitos
American Tobacco	Epidemic	Motorola	Tropicana
Autotrader	FedEx	Mountain Dew	Universal
Blockbuster	Ford	NAPA	Visa
BMW	GMC	National Car Rental	Wall Street Journal
Bud Light	Hot Jobs	Netpliance	Web MD
Budweiser	Kia	NFL	WWF
Charles Schwab	Lamisil	On Money	
Chrysler	Last Minute Travel	Our Beginning	
Computer.com	Lifeminders	Oxygen	
Discovery Cove	Lincoln	Pepsi One	
Disney	M&Ms	Phillip Morris	
Dodge	Michelob Light	Pizza Hut	
e-Stamp	Microsoft	Subway	

2001

7up	DirecTV	Maalox	Reebok	Warner Bros.
Accenture	Dodge	MasterCard	Ruffles	Wendy's
Acura	Doritos	McDonalds	Schwab.com	Zales
Air Jordan	Dr. Scholl's	MGM	Snickers	
American Legacy	e-Trade	Monster.com	Southwest Airlines	
American Express	FedEx	Motel 6	Spring Air	
Boomer	Ford	MTV	Staples	
Bud Light	Fujitsu	New Line Cinema	Subway	
Budweiser	George Foreman Grill	NFL	Target	
Chrysler	GMX	Paramount	United Way	
Cingular	Honda	Pepsi	Universal	
Columbia Pictures	Hot Jobs	Pepcid	Verizon	
Denny's	IBM	Phillip Morris	Visa	
Dentyne Ice	Lamisil	Pizza Hut	VW/GTI	
Diet Dr. Pepper	Levi's	Pontiac	VW/Jetta	

2002

3D Pets	e-Trade	Hot Jobs	NFL	Saturn	Victoria's Secret
Air Jordan	EA Sports	H&R Block	Nicorette	Sears	Visa
AOL	FedEx	IBM	Nike	Special K	VW
Best Buy	Foster's	Jeep	Office	Speed	Yahoo!
Blockbuster	Fox	Jolly Ranchers	Depot	Channel	York Peppermint
Bud Light	Frosted Mini	KFC	Orbit	Subway	Patty
Budweiser	Wheats	Levi's	Pepsi	Taco Bell	Youth Smoking
Cadillac	Gateway	Lipton Brisk	Pizza Hut	The Anti	
Charles	Gatorade	M&Ms	Playstation	Drug	
Schwab	GE	McDonalds	Pontiac	Torengo	
Chrysler	GM	Men In Black	Porsche	Toyota	
Circuit City	Goodyear	Michelob	PS2	Truth	
CompUSA	Gran Turismo	Light	Quizno's	Tums	
Dockers	Hardees	Miller High	Radio	Tylenol	
Dodge	Hershey Kisses	Life	Shack	Ultimate TV	
Doritos	Home Depot	MLife	Roche	United Way	
		Monster.com		Universal	

2003

20th Century Fox	Discover Card	MiFico.com	<i>The Osborne's</i>
ABC	Dodge	Monster.com	Trident
AOL	ESPN	NFL	Universal
Arm & Hammer	FedEx	Office Depot	Visa
AT&T	Gatorade	Pepsi	Walt Disney
Bayer	George Foreman Grill	Pepsi Twist	Warner Bros
Bud Light	Hanes	Pizza Hut	Youth Smoking
Budweiser	Honda	Quizno's	
Buena Vista	Hot Jobs	Radio Shack	
Cadillac	H&R Block	Reebok	
Charles Schwab	KFC	Remax	
Cheezit	Lamisil	Sierra Mist	
Chrysler	Levi's	Smirnoff Ice	
Columbia Pictures	MasterCard	Subway	
Coors Light	McDonalds	The Anti Drug	

2004

7up	Centrum	GMC	Microsoft	Shields MRI	Wachovia
Acura	Charmin	Honda	Mitsubishi	Sierra Mist	Walt Disney
Advil	Chevy	H&R Block	Mohegan Sun	Staples	Warner
AIG	Cialis	IBM	Monster.com	Subway	Bros.
Anheuser Busch	Cingular	Jet Blue	NCAA	Taco Bell	Zales
AOL	Columbia	John Kerry	New York	Talbots	
Audi	Dodge	Know HIV	Times	TD	
Bahamas	Dunkin	Lays	Nextel	Waterhouse	
Becks	Donuts	Levitra	NFL	The Anti Drug	
Becks Light	Expedia	Liberty	Night and Day	Tostitos	
Bud Light	FedEx	Travel	Nissan	Touchstone	
Budweiser	Fleet	MasterCard	Pepsi	Toyota	
Cadillac	Florida OJ	Mazda	Phillip Morris	Truth	
California	Ford	McDonalds	Pizza Hut	Universal	
Cheese	Gillette	Mercedes	PS2	Visa	
CBS	GM	Merck	Schick	Volvo	

2005

20th Century Fox	Comcast	Jack in the Box	NFL	Tabasco
Adidas	Degree for Men	Jet Blue	Nissan	The Anti Drug
American Airlines	Diet Pepsi	Las Vegas	O2 Optix	Toyota
Amerquest	DirecTV	Lays	Olympus	Truth
Anheuser Busch	Dunkin Donuts	Lexus	Paramount	Tylenol
Blockbuster Online	Emerald Nuts	Love the Anti Drug	Pepsi	United Way
Bubblicious	FedEx	MasterCard	Pizza Hut	Verizon
Bud Light	Ford	MBNA	Radio Shack	Visa
Budweiser	Fox	McDonalds	Relax the Back	Volvo
Cadillac	GoDaddy.com	Mercedes Benz	Saturn	Walt Disney
Career Builder	Hackensack Medical	MGM	Shields MRI	Warner Bros
Carl's Jr.	Heineken	Michelob	Silestone	
Chase	Honda	Miller Light	Speed Channel	
Cialis	Hyatt	MTV	State Farm	
Columbia	Infiniti	Napster	Subway	

2006

ABC	Disney	Midcontinent	Taco Bell
Allstate	Dove	<i>Mission Impossible</i>	Toyota
American Home Health	Emerald Nuts	Mobile ESPN	United Airlines
Amerquest	FedEx	Motorola	United Way
AT&T	Florida	Nationwide	Universal
Bayer	Ford	New Line Cinema	Vault
Beer Institute	Gillette	NFL	Walt Disney
Blockbuster	GMC	Outback	Warner Bros.
Bud Light	GoDaddy.com	Overstock.com	Westin
Budweiser	Honda	Pizza Hut	World Baseball
Burger King	Hummer	Radio Shack	<i>World's Fastest Indian</i>
Cadillac	Lays	<i>Running Scared</i>	
Career Builder	Magnolia Pictures	Sharpie	
Columbia	MasterCard	Sierra Mist	
Degree	Menards	Sprint	
Diet Pepsi	Michelob	State Farm	

2007

Beat Your Risk	Garmin	Snapple
Blockbuster	GM	Snickers
Bud	GoDaddy.com	Sprint
Bud Light	Honda	Staples
Budweiser	HP	State Farm
Capital One	infoUSA	T Mobile
Career Builder	Michelin	Taco Bell
CBS	Nationwide	Toyota
Chevrolet	NFL	Van Heusen
Coca Cola	NFL Network	
Doritos	Pizza Hut	
e-Trade	Prudential	
Emerald Nuts	Revlon	
FedEx	Schick	
Ford	Sierra Mist	

2008

American Airlines	Dell	ONDCP	UPS
AMP	Doritos	Overstock.com	Victoria's Secret
Amp Energy	e-Trade	Pepsi	Visa
Audi	FedEx	Pepsi Max	Vitamin Water
Bridgestone	Ford	Pizza Hut	<i>Wanted</i>
Bud Light	G2	Planters	
Budweiser	Garmin	Sales Genie	
Cadillac	Gatorade	Sobe	
Career Builder	GM OnStar	Sunsilk	
Cars.com	GMC	T Mobile	
Chevy	GoDaddy.com	Taco Bell	
Claritin	Hyundai	Tide to Go	
Coca Cola	Ice Breakers	Toyota	
Coke	NFL	Under Armour	
Comcast	Nissan	United Way	

2009

<i>Angels and Demons</i>	<i>G.I. Joe</i>	Pepsi Max
Audi	Gatorade	Pepsi/Frito Lay
Bridgestone	GE	Priceline
Bud Light	GoDaddy.com	<i>Race to Witch Mountain</i>
Budweiser	H&R Block	Ronald McDonald House
CareerBuilder.com	Heineken	Sobe
Cars.com	Hulu	Sprint
Cash4Gold	Hyundai	Star Trek
Castrol	Kellogg's	Taco Bell
Cheetos	<i>Land of the Lost</i>	Teleflora
Coca Cola	Marquisjet	<i>The Fast and the Furious</i>
Coke Zero	Miller High Life	Toyota
Denny's	Monster.com	Transformers
Doritos	NFL	USA Network
<i>Duplicity</i>	Pedigree	Vizio
e-Trade	Pepsi	

2010

Audi	Dr. Pepper	Michelob Ultra
Boost Mobile	e-Trade	Monster.com
Bridgestone	EA	Motorola
Bud Light	Emerald Nuts	NFL
Budweiser	FLOTV	<i>Shutter Island</i>
Budweiser 55	Focus on Family	Skechers
CarMax	GoDaddy.com	Snickers
Cars.com	Google	Taco Bell
<i>CBS Late Show</i>	Home Away	Teleflora
Coca Cola	Honda	TruTV
Denny's	Hyundai	TV.com
Dockers	Intel	U.S. Census Bureau
Dodge Charger	KGB	Vizio
Doritos	Kia	Volkswagen
Dove for Men	McDonalds	

2011

Audi	Doritos	NFL
Best Buy	e-Trade	Pepsi Max
BMW	Fox Nascar Daytona 500	Planters
Bridgestone	GoDaddy.com	Skechers
Brisk	Groupon	Snickers
Bud Light	HEB.com	State Farm
Budweiser	Home Away	Stella Artois
Career Builder	Honda	Teleflora
CarMax	<i>House</i>	Volkswagen
Cars.com	Hyundai	Wendy's
Chatter.com	Kia	
Chevrolet	Living Social	
Chevy	Mercedes Benz	
Chrysler	Mini Cooper	
Coca Cola	Motorola	

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