The Portrayal of the Image of Women in Cosmetic Advertisements

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Abstract : The purpose of this study is (1) to investigate how women's visual images in cosmetic magazine advertisements have changed over time and (2) to examine whether women's images in advertisements have changed in regards to the symbolic ambiguity of dress and appearance styles according to the time period. Social identity theory was used as the theoretical framework to understand the change of gender identity and physical appearance. The two magazines of *Vogue and Working Woman* were selected for the years of 1981, 1991, and 2001. The findings of the study showed that women's make-up colors portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from artificial to natural over 20 years and messages in cosmetics magazine advertisement changed from a focus on attractiveness to a focus on skin-care and health. However, appearance styles of women in the advertisements analyzed were predominantly more feminine than masculine for the entire time period studied.

Key Words : image of women, cosmetics, advertising, magazines

I. Introduction

During the first half of the 20th century, western dress codes developed into controlled and well-discriminated dress symbols used for gender identity and appearance management (Paff & Lakner, 1997). The meaning of dress was concrete and standardized in relation to gender roles.

Since the late 20th century, however, appearance cues such as dress and hair style that had been considered as either masculine or feminine began to change (Schreier, 1989), resulting in a less definite meaning of dress and standardization as had existed earlier (Paff & Lakner, 1997). Researchers have tried to understand these changes in dress and appearance style in relation to the postmodern era when a great variety and pluralism in clothing and fashion became accepted (e.g., Davis, 1992). In other words, postmodern dress and appearance have become so diverse and individualized that their meaning has become gender ambiguous. As a result, attributes of dress previously perceived as indicative of feminine or masculine role behaviors do not necessarily convey such messages in the postmodern context (Paff & Lakner, 1997).

The examination of mass media is one of the most significant methods used to understand social and cultural ideas throughout history because media reflects the existent lifestyle and social patterns (e.g., Brown, 1981; Cunningham, 1992). The visual images provided by media can have a formidable impact on attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors (Kang, 1997). In particular, the field of clothing and beauty product sales in relation to commodities is the most visible way to recognize the potency of advertising (Thompson, 2000). Therefore, how men and women are portrayed in advertising is an important criterion which affects the

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way individuals of a time period change their appearances to fit the gender role expectations. Thus, the purpose of this study is (1) to investigate how women's visual images in cosmetic magazine advertisements have changed over time and (2) to examine whether women's images in advertisements have changed in regards to the symbolic ambiguity of dress and appearance styles according to the time period. The following basic and essential starting questions were used to guide this research: (1) Over the last 20 years, did women's make-up colors portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements change from artificial to natural? (2) Over the last 20 years, did women's appearance and hair styles portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements change from feminine to masculine or androgynous? (3) Over the last 20 years, did the message in cosmetics magazine advertisements change from a focus on attractiveness to a focus on skin-care and health?

II. Review of Literature

1. Gender Identity

Women's fashion of today is littered with gender ambiguity and ambivalence. From the early 1990s women widely pursued business and professional careers. Gender ambivalences in dress became prevalent and ambivalent orientations toward gender identification played a significant role in Western dress (Davis, 1992). In other words, as western dress codes operated to blur gender and identity, cross-gender signals became more common. For example, during the late 1980s, renowned designers such as Giorgio Armani and Ralph Lauren created more masculine styles for women (Davis, 1992), and Jean-Paul Gautier in his ready-to wear clothing dismantled the notion of masculine styling by producing skirts as an option for heterosexual men (Rubinstein, 2001).

Historically, female attire has been designed to make women attractive to men (Rubinstein, 2001), sexual allure, domesticity, child bearing, subordinate status, and expressive display were signals of femaleness, where occupation, supporting a family, authority, and the exercise of instrumental capacities signed maleness (Davis, 1992). Visual distinction between genders is common in most parts of the world, and wearing sex-specific attire is seen as the natural order of things (Rubinstein, 2001).

The female's initial use of cosmetics in early adolescence can be seen as a rite of passage into sexual maturation and a sex-specific behavior in the service of feminine identity development (Cash et al., 1985). Accord-ing to Cash et al. (1985), the women who reported more makeup use identified somewhat more profeminist and egalitarian, suggesting a counters-tereotypic relationship. Likewise, in a person-perception study which manipulated facial cosmetics use, Graham and Jouhar (1981) found that the presence of makeup led to stronger attributions of femininity and attrac-tiveness. Women who felt the need to wear their customary makeup regardless of a particular situation also espouse a more traditional view of womanhood (Cash et al., 1985).

The distinction of male and female dress is mainly signified by the shape, color, and fabric of clothing as well as by the two basic clothing forms of skirt and pants (Rubinstein, 2001). In particular, angular or vertical lines, straight silhouette, heavy, rough, stiff, and coarse textures, large distinct and bold prints, and dark or dull colors have been classified as masculine. On the other hand, curved or horizontal lines, rounded silhouette, smooth and lightweight textures, patterned fabrics, and light colors have been considered feminine (Patt & Lakner, 1997).

Some authors determined that men's clothing has typically been more roomy while women's clothing has been more body conforming (Workman & Johnson, 1993). Therefore, short hair, toned-down make up, trousers, male style of suits and shirts, loose fitting wool garments, ties, and suspenders are considered as an androgynous look for women as opposed to a gender specific meaning (Davis, 1992).

2. Women Image in Magazine Advertisements

Modern advertising depends on images. Images are symbols which convey meanings just as efficiently as verbal symbols. Likewise, visual images functions as symbols that create multi-leveled meanings that require decoding to be understood (Kang, 1997). According to Hall (1997), the concept of "shared meanings" in advertisements places its emphasis on cultural practices.

In magazine advertising, the predominant image of women has been portrayed as weak, childish, dependent, domestic, irrational, subordinate creatures, who produce of children and little else in comparison with men. In addition, among the stereotypes typically employed in advertising by the media are the ideas that women do unimportant things and that a woman's place is in the home (Kang, 1997). Sullivan and O'Connor (1988) found that there was a 60% increase in advertisements in which women were portrayed in purely decorative roles. They also claimed that being sexy and alluring is the woman's role in advertising. For example, Solely and Reed (1998) found that female models were more likely to be portrayed as nude in 1984 advertisements. Likewise, Ferguson, Kreshel, and Tinkham (1990) found a 52% increase in the number of women portrayed as sex objects between 1973 and 1987. Sexton and Haberman (1974) measured the extent to which women were presented as sex objects in 1,827 advertisements in *Good Housekeeping, Look, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated*, and *TV Guide* between 1961 and 1971. They concluded that there was a 15% increase in the use of women as sex objects over this ten year period.

Several researchers pointed out that there has also been an increase in the use of men as sex objects. However, most studies dominantly suggested that women's images in magazine advertising in the 1990s became more sexually explicit and provocative (Thompson, 2000), and a study of comparisons between 250 ads in 1978 and 250 in 1991 revealed that women in 1991 were more often portrayed as sex symbols. Paff

and Lakner (1997) analyzed 375 ads in *Good housekeeping* and *Vogue* between 1950 and 1994 and found that women were still characterized in predominantly feminine roles and that their dress was more feminine than masculine over the period of the study.

3. Cosmetic Use and Attitudes toward Cosmetics

Historically women in western culture have used cosmetics to gain advantages of privilege. Use of cosmetics provides a powerful and simple way to modify appearance and the messages sent by that appearance (Graham & Jouhar, 1983; Workman & Johnson, 1991). In other words, physical beauty has traditionally carried more prestige and advantages than other personal and social attributes (Brownmiller, 1984; Freedman, 1986).

Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen, and Galumbeck (1989) examined the effects of self-applied cosmetics on judgments of women's physical attractiveness. The researchers found the correlation between amount of cosmetics worn and physical attractiveness. For example, males and females judged a woman less physically attractive when cosmetics were absent. Similarly, Cox and Glick (1986) examined how several average looking women were perceived socially when cosmetics free versus how they were perceived after a professional make-over. They found that although the cosmetic manipulation produced no reliable effects on perceived attractiveness, raters' judgments of the amount of cosmetics correlated positively with attributions of physical attractiveness, femininity, and sexiness.

Individuals often actively control and modify their physical appearance and physical aesthetics across situations (Cash *et al.*, 1989). Such grooming variations between and within persons indeed influence perceived physical attractiveness as well as inferred personality characteristics (e.g., Brown, Cash, Noels, 1986; Solomon, 1985). In the early 1950s, Mckeachie (1952) found that the use of cosmetics affected first impressions of a

woman's personality. Especially, young women wearing lipstick were classified as more frivolous, less careful, and more interested in males (Graham & Jouhar, 1983).

Following Mckeachie (1952) study, Hamid (1972) found that the presence or absence of cosmetics significantly affected subjects' ratings of such traits as conventional, friendly, neat, religious, self-confident, snobbish, and sophisticated (Workman & Johnson, 1991). Cash *et al.* (1985) examined individual differences in the quantity of cosmetics used and the relationship of cosmetics use with sex role identity, sex role attitudes, and social self-esteem among female college students. They found higher-quantity cosmetics users were more feminine, more profeminist in attitudes, and more internal in locus of control for achievement success than were lower quantity users. Therefore, these studies suggest that use of cosmetics is positively correlated with physical attractiveness, femininity, and interest in the opposite sex.

In recent years, the meaning of using cosmetics has been gradually changed by several researchers. Rudd (1997) conducted a study of cosmetics consumption and use among women. In the research, Rudd concluded that using cosmetic products among women is a ritualized activity, and should be understood by social comparison with others and media image. In addition, Rudd (1997) suggested that women use cosmetics to improve their individual identity construction and cultural power. Other writers maintain that the use of cosmetics is a basic economic and emotional necessity. To become part of society and to get a job, a woman must look her best. Thus cosmetics use would depend upon the personal's impression-management goals and beliefs concerning her ability to control social outcomes by managing her physical appearance (Cash *et al.*, 1985).

Research Hypotheses:

Based on the literature, the following hypotheses were formulated.

H1. Women's make-up colors portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from artificial to natural over 20 years.

H2. Women's appearance and hair styles portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from feminine to masculine and androgynous over 20 years.

H3. Messages in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from a focus on attractiveness to a focus on self-improvement over 20 years.

III. Theoretical Framework

Social identity theory was used as the theoretical framework for this study to understand the change of gender identity and physical appearance. The social identity theory is an integrated theoretical perspective on the relationship between self-concept and group behavior, which contains a number of distinct and dynamically interrelated conceptual components (Hogg & Abrans, 1999). Tajfel (1982) first defined the social identity theory as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership (p.292)," or how self is conceptualized in intergroup contexts.

The basic idea of social identity theory is that a social category such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, and age provides a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept. Thus, when a specific social identity becomes the salient basis for self-regulation in a particular context, self- perception and conduct become ingroup stereotypical and normative, perceptions of relevant outgroup members become outgroup stereotypical, and intergroup behavior acquires to varying degrees depending on the nature of relations between the groups. In addition to being motivated by self-enhancement, social identity process is also motivated by a need to reduce subjective uncertainty about one's perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors, and ultimately one's self-concept and place within the social world.

Manipulation of the intergroup social comparative context can be a powerful way to change organizational identities, attitudes, motives, goals, and practices.

The meanings associated with appearance symbols emerge from social interactions with others (Kaiser, 1990a). In addition, advertising also plays a significant role to affect societal standard and values (Klassen *et al.*, 1993) because the images conveyed by advertising have become so persuasive that they organize our experiences and understandings (Kang, 1997). In particular, visual images of men and women depicted in advertisements can be criteria to establish individual's social identity regarding acceptable values, attitudes, and behaviors (Klassen *et al.*, 1993). Therefore, advertisements are a very important tool for women to establish ingroup stereotypical perceptions, and these women's behavior can be understood within social identity theory.

IV. Method

1. Sample and Procedure

This study involves an analysis of 256 facial cosmetic magazine advertisements published in *Vogue* and *Working Woman* for sample. To compare styles during the three periods of time, first year of each period was selected (i.e., 1981, 1991, and 2001). The combined advertisements by years were 94 for 1981, 91 for 1991, and 71 for 2001. Two magazines, *Vogue and Working Woman,* were chosen since each represents a different genre of magazine, has a different audience appeal, and has dissimilar attitudes about the appropriate portrayal of women. *Working Woman* is one of the most popular national business magazine for business woman and less traditional women's magazine (Paff & Lakner, 1997), and *Vogue* was on the list of 100 bestselling U.S. magazines focusing on the fashion and beauty and had high index numbers on female readers (Kang, 1997). Thus, the two magazines represent a variety of female audience.

The two magazines of *Vogue and Working Woman* were selected for the years of 1981, 1991, and 2001. Six issues per year (odd months) were analyzed. In each issue chosen, all half and full-page advertisements in both magazines were collected and repeated ads were not selected for the sample because the range of the advertisements was important for this study. For example, more than one ad of Revlon using the same visuals was not selected. To determine internal consistency or stability of measuring over time, a reliability check was done on the advertisement coded by three of the women. If there were disagreement as to placement of the advertisement in a particular category, the majority decision prevailed.

2. Instrument Development and Data Analysis

Total numbers and percentages of each category were calculated to examine the change of women's image including make-up colors, appearance, hair styles, and content messages. Chi-square analysis in the proportions of categories across three time periods were also used whether a significant difference or association exists between factors and time intervals. All analyses are based on an alpha lever of .001. Analysis was conducted on the proportion of advertisements in the two magazines combined and on the proportion of advertisements in each separate magazine.

As part of this study, content analysis categories used to measure appearance styles were operationalized by use of 3 point ordinal scales referring to dress characteristics that Workman and Johnson (1993) identified as being associated with Western ideals of masculinity and femininity. A rating of 1 was used to represent masculine variations of dress elements and a rating of 3 was used to represent feminine variation. A rating of 2 was used to represent androgynous variations of dress characteristics represented both male and female characteristics (Figure 1).

The categories of hair styles were divided into 3

Gender Orientation of Dress Key: 1=masculine, 2=neutral, 3=feminine	
Line - angular 1 2 3 curved	Color - dark 1 2 3 light
Fabrics - stiff 1 2 3 supple - coarse 1 2 3 smooth - heavy 1 2 3 lightweight	Silhouette - straight 1 2 3 rounded Fit - roomy 1 2 3 body-conforming

<Figure 1> Content analysis categories.

groups according to hair length. Long straight or/and curly, pony tail, and bun style was considered as long, medium straight or/and curly, and bob style was considered as medium, and short straight or/and curly were considered as short.

Categories corresponding to the type of make-up were based on artificial, neutral, and natural make-up according to the quantity of cosmetics used and the harmonies or associations of cosmetics colors used. For example, a woman portrayed in magazines worn higher-quantity cosmetics and complimentary colors was considered as artificial make-up. In contrast, a woman

portrayed in magazines worn lower-quantity cosmetics and analogous colors was considered as natural make-up. In addition, a part of body such as lips, legs, breast showed in magazines was considered as others.

V. Results and Discussion

1. Women's Make-up Colors

Table 1 shows total numbers, percentages, and chi-square analysis for the women's make-up colors. There were significant differences between 1981 and 1991 in terms of both artificial make-up and natural make-up factors in the two magazines. In *vogue*, the proportion of artificial make up decreased from 48.6% to 21.1%, and 10.7%, but the proportion of natural make-up increased from 1.4% in 1981 to 56.3% in 1991. On the other hand, there were substantial associations between 1991 and 2001 in the natural make-up factor. Likewise, the

<Table 1> Women's make-up colors

Make-up (MU) colors	Vogue						Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001		1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Artificial MU	34	48.6	15	21.1	8	10.7	14	58	4	20	'	'
Neutral MU	4	5.7	7	9.9	5	6.7	1	4.2	8	40	1	16.7
Natural MU	1	1.4	40	56.3	39	52	0	0	4	20	3	50
Show products	11	15.7	8	11.3	12	16	8	33	4	20	2	33.3
Others	20	28.6	1	4	1	1.3	1	4.2	0	0	0	0
Column totals	70	100	71	100	65	100	24	100	20	100	6	100

$$X^2 = 89.776 \ (d.f. = 4, p < .001)$$

Make-up (MU) colors	Vogue + Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Artificial MU	48	51.1	19	20.9	8	11.3
Neutral MU	5	5.3	15	16.5	6	8.5
Natural MU	1	1.1	44	48.4	42	59.1
Show products	19	20.2	12	13.2	14	19.7
Others	21	22.3	1	1.1	1	1.4
Column totals	94	100	91	100	71	100

$$X^2 = 111.029 \ (d.f. = 8, p < .001)$$

proportion of artificial make-up decreased from 58% to 20% to 0%, and the proportion of the natural make-up increased to 50% in Working Woman. Therefore, there were not significant differences in the neutral make-up factor in the two magazines. Overall, Chi-square values (x^2) indicated that there were significant associations between these types of women's make-up and during these periods of time in both magazines. Relatively the numbers of advertisement in Working Woman were a little bit small to compare and calculate chi-square, thus identifying significance was invalid.

2. Women's Appearance and Hair Styles

In the proportion of women's appearance styles, as shown in Table 2, only fabrics were significant in both

magazines. Feminine variations of dress elements including curved line, rounded silhouette, and supple, smooth, and lightweight were dominant during all three periods of time. Masculine variations of dress elements, on the other hand, were slightly increased in 1991 in terms of angular line, straight silhouette, and roomy fit. Chi square statistic x^2 indicated that there were substantial associations between styles of appearance and time intervals for both magazines.

Overall, the analyses of result indicate that there was not a direct relationship between gender identity assumed by the women in the advertisements and their dress. In particular, these findings were not consistent with Kaiser (1990a) and Morgado's (1996) observations that the blurring of gender categories associated with postmodern culture may be reflected in the finding that the dress of women in magazine advertisements has

<Table 2> Women's appearance

Women's appearance	Vogue						Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001		1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Line												
Angular	1	16.7	8	32	0	0	0	0	1	8.3	0	0
Medium	2	33.3	6	24	5	45.5	4	44.4	4	33.3	0	0
Curved	3	50	11	44	6	54.5	5	55.6	7	58.3	3	100
Fabrics												
Stiff, coarse, and heavy	3	14.3	11	14.7	2	6.1	0	0	7	18.9	0	0
Medium	1	4.8	36	48	14	42.4	10	41.7	19	51.4	1	11.1
Supple, smooth, and lightweight	17	80.8	28	37.3	17	51.5	14	58.3	11	29.7	8	88.9
Color												
Dark	2	28.6	7	28	1	0.1	0	0	3	23.1	0	0
Medium	2	28.6	7	28	2	18.2	2	33.3	3	23.1	1	33.3
Light	3	42.9	11	44	8	72.7	6	75	7	53.8	2	66.7
Silhouette												
Straight	3	30	9	36	3	27.2	0	0	5	38.5	0	0
Medium	1	10	6	24	5	45.5	2	33.3	5	38.5	0	0
Rounded	6	60	10	40	3	27.3	6	75	3	23.1	3	100
Fit												
Roomy	3	30	5	20	3	27	1	12.5	8	61.5	0	0
Medium	3	30	9	36	4	36.4	5	62.5	2	15.4	1	33.3
Body-conforming	4	40	11	44	4	36.4	2	25	3	23.1	2	66.7

$$X^2 = 30.045 \ (d.f. = 28, p < .001)$$

<Table 2> continued

Women's appearance	Vogue + Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Line						
Angular	1	6.25	9	24.3	0	0
Medium	6	37.5	10	27	5	35.7
Curved	9	56.3	18	48.6	9	64.3
Fabrics						
Stiff, coarse, and heavy	3	4.1	18	16.1	2	4.8
Medium	11	15.1	55	49.1	15	35.7
Supple, smooth, and lightweight	31	42.5	39	34.8	25	59.5
Color						
Dark	2	16.7	10	20.8	1	7.1
Medium	4	33.3	10	20.8	3	21.4
Light	9	75	18	37.5	10	71
Silhouette						
Straight	3	16.7	14	36.8	3	21.4
Medium	3	16.7	11	28.9	5	35.7
Rounded	12	66.7	13	34.2	6	42.9
Fit						
Roomy	4	22.2	13	34.2	3	21.4
Medium	8	44.4	11	28.9	5	35.7
Body-conforming	6	33.3	14	36.8	6	42.9

$$X^2 = 37.441 \ (d.f. = 28, p < .001)$$

<Table 3> Women's hair styles

Women's hair styles	Vogue						Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001		1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Long	24	53.3	23	40.4	28	60.9	9	56.3	11	64.7	1	25
Medium	9	20	5	8.8	0	0	3	18.8	0	0	0	0
Short	0	0	19	33.3	5	10.9	0	0	5	29.4	1	25
Showing face	12	26.7	10	17.5	13	28.3	4	25	1	5.9	2	50
Column Totals	45	100	57	100	46	100	16	100	17	100	4	100

$$X^2 = 31.763 \ (d.f. = 6, p < .001)$$

Women's hair styles	Vogue + Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Long	33	54.1	34	45.9	29	58
Medium	12	19.7	5	6.8	0	0
Short	0	0	24	32.4	6	12
Showing face	16	26.2	11	14.9	15	30
Column Totals	61	100	74	100	50	100

$$X^2 = 39.236 \ (d.f. = 6, p < .001)$$

<Table 4> Messages in Cosmetics Magazine Advertisements

Messages in cosmetics magazine advertisements	Vogue Years						Working Woman Years					
	1981		1991		2001		1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical attractiveness												
Beautiful, Chic, Allure, Pretty	37	40.2	12	15.8	9	12.7	11	40.7	3	13.0	0	0
Soft, Smooth, Lustrous, Shine	14	15.2	18	23.7	12	16.9	4	14.8	9	39.1	1	16.7
Sexy	0	0	4	5.3	4	5.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Natural beauty	5	5.4	6	7.9	10	14.1	1	3.7	4	17.4	0	0
Skin care & health												
Aging controlling	22	23.9	17	22.4	11	15.5	4	14.8	2	8.7	2	33.3
Preventing & improving skin	3	3.3	6	7.9	0	0	3	11.1	2	8.7	1	16.7
Energizing, health looking skin	3	3.3	4	5.3	10	14.1	0	0	2	8.7	0	0
Light weight make-up	0	0	9	11.8	4	5.6	0	0	1	4.3	1	16.7
Vitamin A, B, C, E	0	0	0	0	6	8.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dermatologist review	8	8.7	0	0	5	7.0	4	14.8	0	0	1	16.7

$$X^2 = 72.087 \ (d.f. = 28, p < .001)$$

Messages in cosmetics magazine advertisements	Vogue + Working Woman					
	1981		1991		2001	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical Attractiveness						
Beautiful, Chic, Allure, Pretty	48	40.3	15	15.5	9	11.7
Soft, Smooth, Lustrous, Shine	18	15.1	27	27.8	13	16.9
Sexy	0	0	4	4.1	4	5.2
Natural beauty	6	5.0	10	10.3	10	13
Total	72	60.5	56	57.7	36	46.8
Skin care & health						
Aging controlling	26	21.8	19	19.6	13	16.9
Preventing & improving skin	6	5.9	6	6.2	1	1.3
Energizing, health looking skin	3	2.5	6	6.2	10	13
Light weight make-up	0	0	10	10.3	5	6.5
Vitamin A, B, C, E	0	0	0	0	6	7.8
Dermatologist review	12	10.1	0	0	6	7.8
Total	47	39.5	41	42.3	41	53.2

$$X^2 = 83.229 \ (d.f. = 28, p < .001)$$

become increasingly masculine since the 1950s.

Table 3 shows total numbers, percentages, and chi-square analysis for the types of hair styles in both *Vogue* and *Working Woman*. The proportion of short hair styles was relatively increased in 1991, but the proportion of long hair styles was dominant for all three periods in *Vogue*. In particular, the proportion of medium hair styles dramatically decreased from 20% in 1981 to 8.8% in 1991 and 0% in 2001. On the other hand, the proportion of long hair styles was dramatically decreased from 56.3% in 1981 to 25% in 2001, although it increased a little to 64.7% in 1991 in *Working Woman*. However, the numbers of advertisements in *Working Woman* were not enough to support changes of hair styles.

During all three periods of time, long hair styles were the most dominant styles consistently. On the other hand, short hair styles were the most prominent styles in 1991, but they slightly decreased from 32.4% in 1991 to 12% in 2001. Overall, chi square statistic x^2 indicated that there were significant differences between categories of hair style and the time intervals for both magazines.

3. Messages in Cosmetics Magazine Advertisements

Table 4 shows total numbers, percentages, and chi-square analysis for content analysis of messages in cosmetics magazine advertisements. There were significant associations between two different types of categories and the time intervals in *Vogue*, and when the information for the two magazines was combined. However, relatively whole numbers of the data in *Working Woman* were not big enough to estimate significances. Among the proportion of physical attractiveness, the message of beauty represented as chic, allure, and pretty dramatically decreased in each separate magazine. In contrast, messages connected with aging controlling were slightly decreased when two magazines were combined. Content messages related to vitamin A, B, C, and D were currently obtained in 2001. Overall,

chi square statistic x^2 indicated that there were significant differences between the two different messages and time intervals for the two magazines.

VI. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate how women's visual images in cosmetic magazine advertisements have changed and to examine whether women's images in advertisements have changed to the symbolic ambiguity of dress and appearance styles according to time periods. Based on the review of literature, it was hypothesized that women's make-up colors portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from artificial to natural over 20 years. This result was supported in the analysis. In other words, women's make-up changed from artificial to natural distinctively. Based on the review of literature that higher-quantity cosmetics users were more feminine, more profeminist in attitudes, and more internal in locus of control for achievement success than were lower quantity users, therefore, women portrayed in advertisements was not positively correlated with femininity and physical attractiveness.

The second hypothesis, women's appearance and hair styles portrayed in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from feminine to masculine and androgynous over 20 years, was not supported in this analysis. Women's appearance in the advertisements analyzed was predominantly more feminine than masculine for the entire time period studied. Similarly, hair styles did not change from feminine to masculine. Apparently, hair length is the most frequent body modification that contributes to the social construction of gender identity (Paff & Lakner, 1997). However, women's hair length in the advertisements analyzed was predominantly feminine in gender identity for all years included in this study. These findings are consistent with Paff and Lakner's (1997) observations that women were characterized by predominantly feminine roles and their dress was more

feminine than masculine over the period of the study between 1950 and 1994.

It was also hypothesized that the message in cosmetics magazine advertisements changed from a focus on attractiveness to a focus on self-improvement over 20 years. The findings of the study significantly supported this hypothesis. In other words, there were significant associations between two different types of categories and time intervals. For example, 'it's good for you to look beautiful' was the dominant message in 1981, but it changed to keep a fresh young looking and functional explanations about cosmetic products. These changed messages about using cosmetics were explained by Rudd (1997) and Cash et al.'s (1985) studies. These two researchers suggested that women use cosmetics to improve individual identity construction and to control personal and social outcomes by managing physical appearances.

Overall, this research showed that few changes have been made in the images of women in cosmetic magazine advertisements between 1991 and 2001, while there were apparent changes between 1981 and 1991. These findings indicate that the images of women in 2001 advertisements did not significantly change from the images found in 1991 advertisements. In particular, most of the women depicted in the advertisements were more feminine than masculine. These findings support those of previous content analyses of magazine advertisements (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Courtney & Whipple, 1983).

Idealized media images automatically establish social identity because the way women are depicted in advertisements will continue to shape societal values regarding the appropriate images for women within the society (Klassen et al., 1993). The findings from Paff and Lakner's (1997) study indicated that advertisements from Good Housekeeping and Vogue have not reflected an accurate image of society, but rather an outdated and distorted image of social reality. Likewise, the results from this study indicate that cosmetic advertising magazines still reflected traditional feminine images in terms of appearance and hair styles. In reality, however,

dress styles for both men and women are now more diverse than ever before (Kaiser, 1990b), as gender identity continues to be obscured in the context of the postmodern era. Therefore, it would be interesting for future researches to replicate this study with the women portrayed in the apparel advertisements to examine how women's visual images in the advertisements have changed. Perhaps researchers could find more precise associations between gender identity and women's dress. Furthermore, I suggest content analysis of dress and gender roles of men in advertisements to investigate whether advertisements reflect accurate and realistic images of men or not. From the findings, researchers could compare similarities or differences with the images of women in advertisements.

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