

# GENDER ADVERTISEMENTS

by ERVING GOFFMAN

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# Gender Commercials

I Reproduced in this paper are some commercial still photographs—ads—featuring human subjects. In addition, some use is made of news shots of “actual” persons, that is, of models who are being pictured in their own capacity. My assumption is that anyone whose picture appears in media print has almost certainly cooperated in the process and therefore—like a professional model—has placed this appearance in the public domain, foregoing the protection from social analysis that persons, at least living ones, can strongly claim regarding pictures taken for home consumption.

The pictures reproduced were selected at will from newspapers and current popular magazines easy to hand—at least to my hand.<sup>1</sup> They were chosen to fit into sets, each set to allow the displaying, delineating, or mocking up of a discrete theme bearing on gender, especially female gender, and arranged with malice within each set to the same end. Each set of pictures is accompanied informally by some verbal text.

II Some comments first concerning how pictures can and can't be used in social analysis. My claim is that the themes that can be delineated through pictures have a very mixed ontological status and that any attempt to legislate as to the order of fact represented in these themes is likely to be optimistic:

(1) The student of commercial pictures can draw a random sample from a magazine's particular issue, or from a defined period of issue, or from a specified list of magazines, and disclaim characterizing other issues, periods, or magazines, even more so other sources of pictures, such as newsprint, postcards, and the like, not even to mention actual life itself. Specifiable representativeness, then, is a way that a collection of pictures could qualify<sup>2</sup>—and a way the pictures about to be analyzed do not. (Of course, findings based on a systematic sample very often get their weight from the fact that the reader can be trusted to generalize the findings beyond their stated universe, statistical warrant for which would require another study, which, if done, would induce a still broader overgeneralization, and so on, but that is another matter.) Observe that this sort of representativeness pertains to pictures as such and doesn't tell us what we very often want to know, namely, what aspects of

real-life pictures provide us a fair image of, and what social effect commercial picturing has upon the life that is purportedly pictured—a limitation also of the purposely selected pictures displayed here.

(2) Since there is little constraint on what I elect to identify as a theme (a “genderism”), or which pictures I bring together in order to display what is thus identified, or on the way I order the stills within a given series, it could be taken that anything could be depicted that I can manage to suggest through what appears to be common to a few pictures. Success here requires nothing more than a small amount of perversity and wit and a large batch of pictures to choose from. The larger the initial collection, the more surely the analyst can find confirming examples of what he thinks he has found in one picture or would in any case like to depict—a case of representativeness declining as the data base increases. So effective depiction of a theme cannot in itself prove anything about what is found in pictures or, of course, in the world. Indeed, something like the method I use is employed by artful compilers of photographic funny books, camera pranksters who match gesticulatory pictures of famous citizens against animals and plants apparently engaged in similarly characterizable postures, or who superimpose ballooned thoughts and statements, these formulated to define the situation as it never was in actual life, committing the protagonists to responses of a wildly scurilous kind. So, too, the texts accompanying the pictures are cast in the style of generalization-by-pronouncement found in the writings of freelance body linguists, strayed ethologists, and lesser journalists.

(3) The particular matters I want to consider raise three distinct and general methodological questions that should not be confused: discovery, presentation, and proof. Only the first two will here be at issue, these two allowing me to exploit without a major research investment the very special advantages of working with photographs, which advantages are as follows:

(i) There is a class of behavioral practices—what might be called “small behaviors”—whose physical forms are fairly well codified even though the social implications or meaning of the acts may have vague elements, and which are realized in their entirety, from beginning to end, in a brief period of time and a small space. These behavioral events can be recorded and their image made retrievable by means of audio and video tapes and camera. (Tape and film, unlike a still, provide not only a recoverable image of an actual instance of the activity in question, but also an appreciable collection of these records. More important, audio and video recordings of very small behaviors facilitate micro-functional study, that is, an examination of the role of a bit of behavior in the stream which precedes, co-occurs, and follows.) The coincidence of a subject matter and a recording technology places the student in an entirely novel relation to his data, forming the practical basis for microanalysis. This special research situation should not be confused with the use of recording technology to document a news story, provide a feel for a community, limn in the contours of a relationship, depict the history of a nation, or any other matter whose meaning is not linked to a fixed physical form which can be realized in the round in a recordable space and time.

(ii) Pictures from any source are now cheap and easy to

<sup>1</sup> And to that of a fellow student, Michi Ishida.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent example, see Robinson (1976).

reproduce in uniform slide form. A collection allows for easy arranging and rearranging, a search and mock-up, trial and error juggling, something between cryptography and doing jigsaw puzzles, a remarkable aid both to uncovering patterns and finding examples, whether mere illustrations or actual instance records.

(iii) The student can exploit the vast social competency of the eye and the impressive consensus sustained by viewers. Behavioral configurations which he has insufficient literary skill to summon up through words alone, he can yet unambiguously introduce into consideration. His verbal glosses can serve as a means to direct the eye to what is to be seen, instead of having to serve as a full rendition of what is at issue. The notion of a "merely subjective response" can then be academically upgraded; for clearly part of what one refrains from studying because the only approach is through verbal vagaries has a specific nature and is precisely perceived, the vagary being a characteristic of one's literary incapacity, not one's data.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) A set of pictorial examples (whether illustrations or instance records) of a common theme provides more than a device for making sure that the pattern in question will be clear to the viewer. Often one or two examples would suffice for that. Nor does the size of the set relate to the traditional sampling notion of showing how prevalent were cases of a particular kind in the sample and (by extension) in the sampled universe. Something else is involved. Different pictorial examples of a single theme bring different contextual backgrounds into the same array, highlighting untold disparities even while exhibiting the same design. It is the depth and breadth of these contextual differences which somehow provide a sense of structure, a sense of a single organization underlying mere surface differences, which sense is not generated simply by reference to the numerical size of the set relative to the size of the sample. Whereas in traditional methods the differences between items that are to be counted as instances of the same thing are an embarrassment, and are so in the degree of their difference, in pictorial pattern analysis the opposite is the case, the casting together of these apparent differences being what the analysis is all about. Indeed, something is to be learned even when an advertiser in effect performs analysis backwards, that is, starts with the same models and the same sales pitch and then searches out different possible scenes as vehicles for them and it—all this in the hope of building product interest through a mixture of repetition and novelty. For in

<sup>3</sup>The ear as well as the eye provides an impressive competency, and here phoneticians (and lately those interested in conversational analysis) have made an exemplary effort to formulate notation systems that can be printed on paper yet avoid the limitations of ordinary orthography, thus providing a bridge between sounds and publications. The problem is that although trained students can produce the same transcription of a given spate of sound, the formulation they produce will equally apply to expressions which they would hear as significantly different. Given a recording to listen to, a linguist's transcription can serve as a very adequate means of directing the ear's attention to a particular sound and with that the full competency of the ear can be academically exploited. But written transcriptions without recordings do not solve the problem. (Nor, I believe, does it help much to package a tape in the jacket of a book, along with encouragement of do-it-yourself analysis.) The printing of the analysis of videotape records presents still greater problems.

purposely setting out to ring changes on a set theme, the advertiser must nonetheless satisfy scene-production requirements such as propriety, understandability, and so forth, thereby necessarily demonstrating that, and how, different ingredients can be choreographed to "express" the same theme. Here, certainly, it is entirely an artifact of how advertisements are assembled that a set of them will exhibit a common underlying pattern, and here the student is only uncovering what was purposely implanted to this end in the first place. But how the advertiser succeeds in finding different guises for his stereotypes still instructs in the matter of how the materials of real scenes can be selected and shaped to provide a desired reading.

(4) The pictures I have un-randomly collected of gender-relevant behavior can be used to jog one's consideration of three matters: the gender behavioral styles found in actual life, the ways in which advertisements might present a slanted view thereof, and the scene-production rules specific to the photographic frame. Although my primary interest is actual gender behavior, the pictures are accompanied by textual glosses that raise questions of any order that might be stimulated by the pictures. In any case, what will mostly be shown and discussed is advertisers' views of how women can be profitably pictured. My unsubstantiated generalizations have the slight saving grace that they mostly refer to the way gender is pictured, not the way it is actually performed.

(5) By and large, I did not look for pictures that exhibited what seemed to me to be common to the two sexes, whether just in pictures or in reality as well. Nor for pictures that dealt with sex differences which I assumed were widely and well-understood. The vast amount of what is—at least to me—unremarkable in advertisements is thus vastly underrepresented. (Something of the same bias actually informs every ethnography; it is differences from one's own world and unexpected similarities that get recorded.) *But given these limitations, once a genderism was identified as one worth mocking-up, almost all sex role exceptions and reversals I came across were selected.* It is to be added that although the advertising business is focused (in the U.S.A.) in New York, and although models and photographers are drawn from a very special population indeed, their product is treated as nothing-out-of-the-ordinary by viewers, something "only natural." In brief, although the pictures shown here cannot be taken as representative of gender behavior in real life or even representative of advertisements in general or particular publication sources in particular, one can probably make a significant negative statement about them, namely, that as pictures they are not perceived as peculiar and unnatural. Also, in the case of each still, by imagining the sexes switched and imagining the appearance of what results, one can jar oneself into awareness of stereotypes. By keeping this switching task in mind, the reader can generate his own glosses and obtain a cue to the possible merit of mine.

(6) A further caveat. Advertisements overwhelmingly and candidly present make-believe scenes, the subjects or figures depicted being quite different from the professional models who pose the action. Obviously, then, a statement about, say, how nurses are presented in ads is to be taken as a shorthand way of saying how models dressed like nurses and set in a mock-up of a medical scene are pictured. (A fee could persuade a real nurse to pose in an ad about nursing or

allow a "caught" photograph of her in action to be used, but ordinarily advertising agencies find that a real nurse in a real hospital unsatisfactorily typifies her kind.) I will on occasion employ this simplification, speaking of the subjects of a picture as though they were instantiations, namely, recorded images of the real thing. The complication is that posing for an ad almost invariably involves a carryover of sex, female models appearing as female figures, and male models as males. (So, too, there is a carryover of broad ranges of age-grade.) It follows that any discussion of the treatment of gender in ads happens to strike where a sense is to be found in which model and subject are one. In statements about sex-stereotyping, then, there is special warrant for falling back upon simplified reference. An advertiser's contrived scene featuring a "nurse" does not present us with a photographic record of a nurse, that is, an actual picture of a real nurse, but nonetheless presents us with one of a real woman, at least in the common sense meaning of "real."<sup>4</sup> After the studio session is over, the model does not go on being a "nurse," but she does continue to be a "woman."

(7) Finally, a word about the arrangement of pictures in each series and other details. In general, subject matter proceeds from children to adults and from actual pictures to overtly contrived commercial ones. (An implication is thus implanted that ritualized behavioral practices found in a variety of contexts in real life come to be employed in a "hyper-ritualized" form in ads featuring women.) Depictions disconfirming the arrangements argued here, i.e., depictions of sex role reversals, are placed at the very ends of the series to which they belong and are marked off with a special border. It should also be noted that throughout females in a "feminine" stance will be seen to take up this position relative to another woman, not merely relative to a man, strongly suggesting that gender stereotypes—at least photographic ones—involve a two-slot format, the important issue being to fill the slots with role differentiated subjects, not necessarily with subjects of opposing sexual identity.

The pictures themselves have all been reproduced in black and white for reasons of cost. Although it would have been somewhat more accurate to reproduce the color ones in color, I feel that not much has been lost. Each picture has been numbered. Except for the final letter (denoting order in the series), the number corresponds to the one appearing before the relevant verbal text; the text itself immediately precedes the series of illustrations to which it refers. Pictures as well as text have been footnoted, and pictures as well as text appear in footnotes. The photographs have been arranged to be "read" from top to bottom, column to column, across the page.

III Having considered reasons why my selection of commercial pictures need not be taken seriously, I want to consider some reasons why they should.

The task of the advertiser is to favorably dispose viewers to his product, his means, by and large, to show a sparkling version of that product in the context of glamorous events.

The implication is that if you buy the one, you are on the way to realizing the other—and you should want to. Interestingly, a classy young lady is likely to be in the picture adding her approval of the product and herself to its ambience, whether the product be floor mops, insecticides, orthopedic chairs, roofing materials, credit cards, vacuum pumps, or Lear jets. But all of this is only advertising and has little to do with actual life. So goes the critical view of these exploitive arts. Which view is itself naive, failing to appreciate what actual life has to do with.

Whatever point a print advertiser wants to make about his product, he must suffer the constraints of his medium in making it. He must present something that will be meaningful, easily so, yet all he has space to work with will be type and one or two still photographs, typically containing protagonists whose words (if any seem to be spoken) are unavailable. And although textual material outside of the picture brackets will provide a reading of "what is happening," this is commonly a somewhat duplicated version; the picture itself is designed to tell its little story without much textual assistance.

How can stills present the world when in the world persons are engaged in courses of action, in doings through time (not frozen posturings), where sound is almost as important as sight, and smell and touch figure as well? Moreover, in the world, we can know the individuals before us personally, something unlikely of pictures used in advertising.

Some of the solutions to this problem are obvious. A scene can be simulated in which figures are captured in those acts which stereotypically epitomize the sequence from which they are taken—presumably because these acts are identified as happening only in the course of, and momentarily during, an extended action. Thus viewers are led to read backward and forward in sequence time from the moment of vision.<sup>5</sup> Another solution is to draw on scenes that are themselves silent and static in real life: sleeping, pensive poses, window shopping, and, importantly, the off-angle fixed looks through which we are taken to convey our overall alignment to what another person—one not looking at us directly—is saying or doing. Another solution is to position the characters in the picture microecologically so that their placement relative to one another will provide an index of mapping of their presumed social position relative to one another. And, of course, there is the use of scenes and characters which have come to be stereotypically identified with a particular kind of activity by the widest range of viewers, thus ensuring instantaneous recognizability. Incidentally, advertisers overwhelmingly select positive, approved typifications (perhaps so their product will be associated with a good world as opposed to being dissociated from a bad one), so that what we see are idealized characters using ideal facilities to realize ideal ends—while, of course, microecologically arranged to index ideal relationships. Finally, advertisers can use celebrities as models, for although these personages are not known personally they are known about.

<sup>4</sup>Qualifications regarding the phrase "real woman" are presented in Goffman (1974:284-285).

<sup>5</sup>A point suggested to me some years ago by David Sudnow (see Sudnow 1972).

Interestingly, it is not merely commercial advertisers who have recourse to these pictorial methods. Governments and nonprofit organizations employ the same devices in order to convey a message through pages, posters, and billboards; so do radical groups and so do private persons with photography as a hobby or a calling. (It is rather wrong, alas, to say that only advertisers advertise. Indeed, even those concerned to oppose commercial versions of the world must pictorialize their arguments through images which are selected according to much the same principles as those employed by the enemy.)

I want to argue now that the job the advertiser has of dramatizing the value of his product is not unlike the job a society has of infusing its social situations with ceremonial and with ritual signs facilitating the orientation of participants to one another. Both must use the limited "visual" resources available in social situations to tell a story; both must transform otherwise opaque goings-on into easily readable form. And both rely on the same basic devices: intention-displays, microecological mapping of social structure, approved typifications, and the gestural externalization of what can be taken to be inner response. (Thus, just as a Coca-Cola ad might feature a well-dressed, happy looking family at a posh beach resort, so a real family of modest means and plain dress might step up their level of spending during ten days of summer vacation, indeed, confirming that a self-realizing display is involved by making sure to photograph themselves onstage as a well-dressed family at a posh summer resort.) This is not to deny, of course, that the displays presented in stills are not a special selection from displays in general. Advertisers, by and large, must limit themselves to soundless, scentless appearances and one-shot moments of time, whereas actual ritual need not be restricted in these particular ways.

Which raises the issue of "social situations," defining these as arrangements in which persons are physically present to one another. Stills may, and often do, contain a solitary figure, ostensibly not in a social situation at all. But if the scene is to be read by the viewer, then the subject must give appearances and engage in doings that are informative, and these informings are just what we employ in actual social situations in order to establish our own stories and learn about the stories established by others. Solitary or not, figures in stills implicitly address themselves to us, the viewers, locating us close at hand through our being allowed to see what we can see of them, thus generating a social situation in effect. And indeed, the photographer often clinches matters by requiring solitary subjects to simulate a

gestural response to a phantom hovering near the camera, a forcible reminder of the place we the viewers are supposed to inhabit. Observe, the solitary subject not only "externalizes" information that will give us an understanding of what it is that can be taken to be going on, but also quite systematically fails to exhibit taboo and unflattering self-involving behavior, even though these are just the sort of acts that are likely to occur when the actor is assured he is alone. (So perhaps a byproduct of commercial realism will be the reinforcement of censored versions of solitary conduct.)

When one looks, then, at the presentation of gender in advertisements, attention should be directed not merely to uncovering advertisers' stereotypes concerning the differences between the sexes—significant as these stereotypes might be. Nor only examine these stereotypes for what they might tell us about the gender patterns prevalent in our society at large. Rather one should, at least in part, attend to how those who compose (and pose for) pictures can choreograph the materials available in social situations in order to achieve their end, namely, the presentation of a scene that is meaningful, whose meaning can be read at a flash. For behind these artful efforts one may be able to discern how mutually present bodies, along with nonhuman materials, can be shaped into expression. And in seeing what picture-makers can make of situational materials, one can begin to see what we ourselves might be engaging in doing. Behind infinitely varied scenic configurations, one might be able to discern a single ritual idiom; behind a multitude of surface differences, a small number of structural forms.

Let me admit that these arguments about the relation of ritual to commercial pictures might seem to be a way of making the best of a bad thing, namely, using easily available ads to talk about actual gender behavior. But I am not interested here in behavior in general, only in the displays that individuals manage to inject into social situations, and surely this is part of what advertisers try to inject into the scenes they compose around the product and then photograph. Commercial pictures are in the main entirely posed, "mere pictures," at best "realistic." But, of course, the reality they presumably reflect distortedly is itself, in important ways, artificial. For the actuality here at issue is how social situations are employed as the scenic resource for constructing visually accessible, instantaneous portraits of our claimed human nature. Posed pictures can therefore turn out to be more substantial than one might have thought, being for students of a community's ritual idiom something like what a written text is for students of its spoken language.

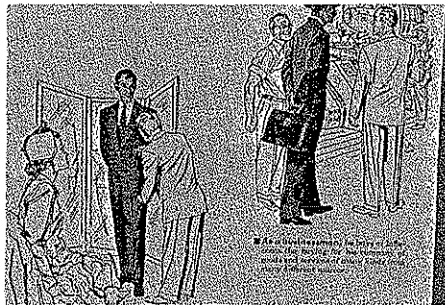
I RELATIVE SIZE

I-1 One way in which social weight—power, authority, rank, office, renown—is echoed expressively in social situations is through relative size, especially height. This congruence is somewhat facilitated among males through occupational selection favoring size—a form of circularity, since selection often occurs in social situations where size can be an influence. In the case of interaction between parents and their young children, biology itself assures that social weight will be indexed by the physical kind.

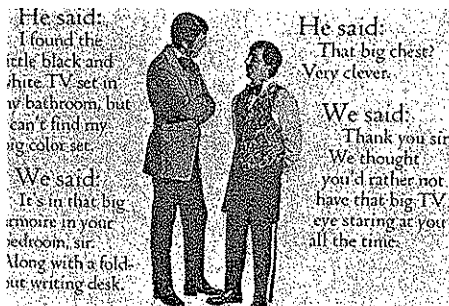
In social interaction between the sexes, biological dimorphism underlies the probability that the male's usual superiority of status over the female will be expressible in his greater girth and height. Selective mating then enters to ensure that very nearly every couple will exhibit a height difference in the expected direction, transforming what would otherwise be a statistical tendency into a near certitude. Even in the case of mere clusters of persons maintaining talk, various forms of occupational, associational, and situational selection markedly increase the biologically grounded possibility that every male participant will be bigger than every female participant.

Now it seems that what biology and social selection facilitate, picture posing rigorously completes:

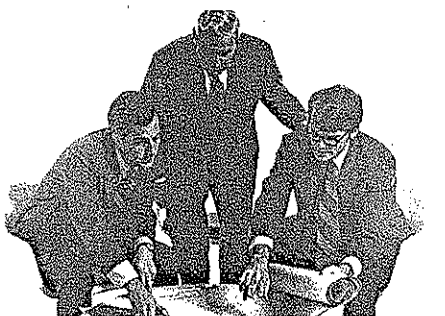
Indeed, so thoroughly is it assumed that differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight that relative size can be routinely used as a means of ensuring that the picture's story will be understandable at a glance:



I-1 b



I-1 c



I-1 d

I-2 And here exceptions seem to prove the rule. For on the very few occasions when women are pictured taller than men, the men seem almost always to be not only subordinated in social class status, but also thoroughly costumed as craft-bound servitors who—it might appear—can be safely treated totally in the circumscribed terms of their modest trade:



I-2 a



I-2 b

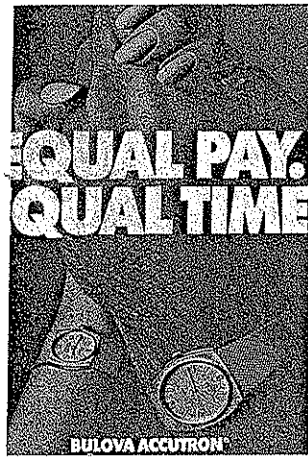


I-2 c



I-1 a

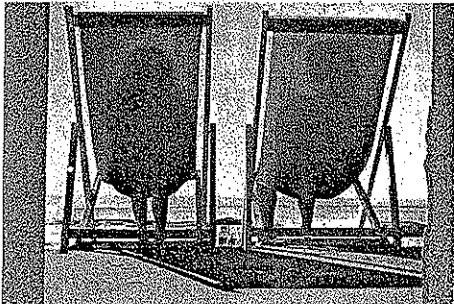
I-3 The theme of relative size is sometimes employed as a basis for symbolization, that is, designing a picture whose every detail speaks to a single thematic issue:



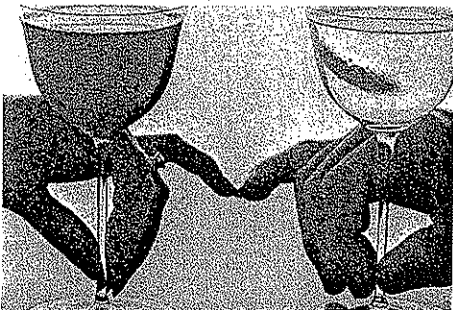
I-3 d



I-3 a



I-3 b



I-3 c

## II THE FEMININE TOUCH<sup>6</sup>



II-1 Women, more than men, are pictured using their fingers and hands to trace the outlines of an object or to cradle it or to caress its surface (the latter sometimes under the guise of guiding it), or to effect a "just barely touching" of the kind that might be significant between two electrically charged bodies. This ritualistic touching is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind that grasps, manipulates, or holds:



II-1 a



II-1 b

(continued)

<sup>6</sup>Here and elsewhere in connection with the role of fingers (see VI-2 and VI-3, pp. 125-126), I draw directly on observations made by Michi Ishida, to whom I give thanks.



What has happened to women has now happened to perfums  
II-1 c



II-1 g



girl asleep on a guy's shoulder isn't so unusual. A girl asleep  
The Unbelievable Mighty Fashion Tease  
II-1 k



This oral contraceptive  
contains 50 mcg. estrogen and  
0.5 mg. progesterone

II-1 d



TRY SOMETHING BETTER

II-1 h



II-1 l



ANDREA inv  
WASH 'N WE  
Eyelash

introduce  
Easy Care—Easy Wear Eyelash  
the remarkable drop-on, most intricate lash that's self-  
self-renewing, floating light, virtually indestructible.  
The most practical thing that's happened to be-  
ladies to keep them beautiful, since ANDREA made

II-1 e

what a good time  
or all the good things of a Kent



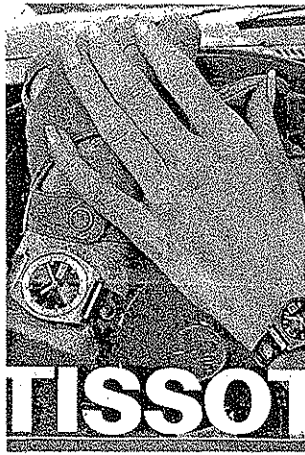
II-1 f



alcolico al punto giust  
profumato di natu  
deciso e morbid  
**Jägermeister**  
e per lui un magnific  
aperitivo; robust  
per lei un ottim  
digestivo; gentil  
per tutti sempr  
quel che ci vuo

Jägermeister

II-1 f



TISSOT

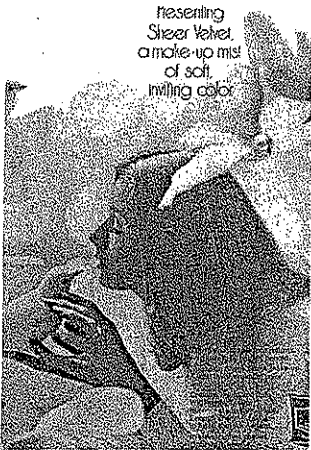
II-1 i



11-2 Because nothing very prehensile is involved in these ritualistic touchings, the face can be used instead of a hand:



11-2 a



Presenting  
Sheer Velvet  
a make-up mist  
of soft,  
inviting color

11-2 b

11-3 Self-touching can also be involved, readable as conveying a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing:



11-3 a



11-3 b



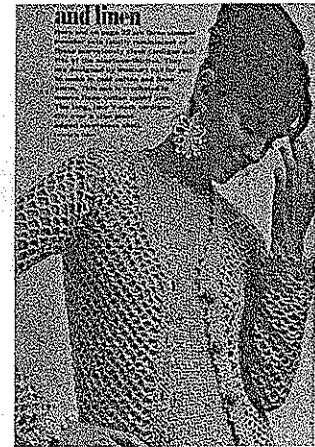
11-3 c



11-3 d



11-3 e



11-3 f



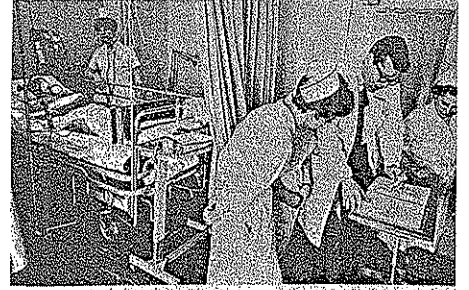
11-3 g

### III FUNCTION RANKING

In our society when a man and a woman collaborate face-to-face in an undertaking, the man—it would seem—is likely to perform the executive role, providing only that one can be fashioned. This arrangement seems widely represented in advertisements, in part, no doubt, to facilitate interpretability at a glance.



III-1 c



III-1 g

III-1 This hierarchy of functions is pictured within an occupational frame.<sup>7</sup>



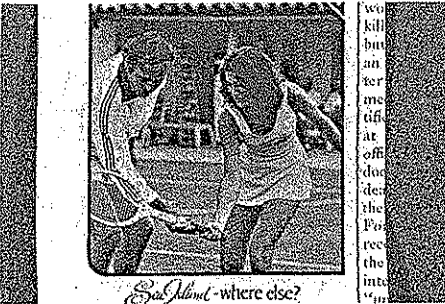
III-1 a



III-1 d

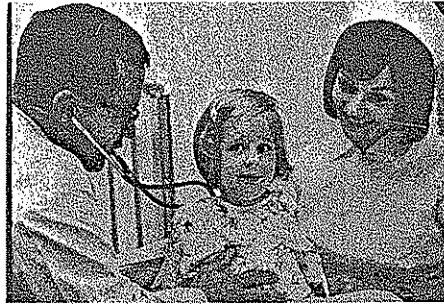


III-1 h



Sea Island - where else?

III-1 b

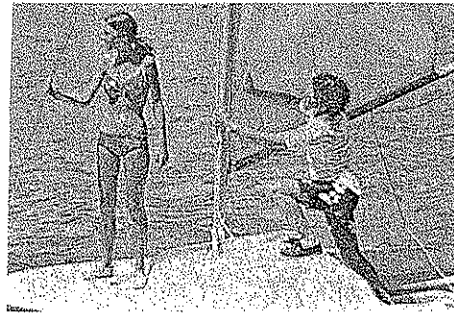


III-1 e



III-1 f

<sup>7</sup>The irony has been noted that an appreciable amount of the advertising aimed at selling supplies for women's household work employs males in the depicted role of instructing professionals or employs a male celebrity to tout the efficacy of the product (see Komisar 1972:307).



III-2 d



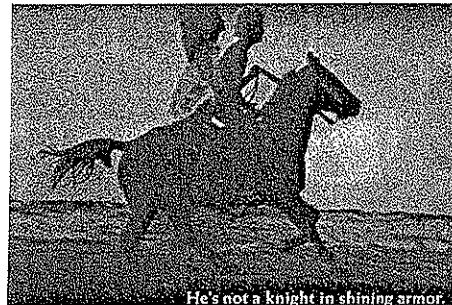
III-2 g

III-2 It is also pictured outside of occupational specialization:

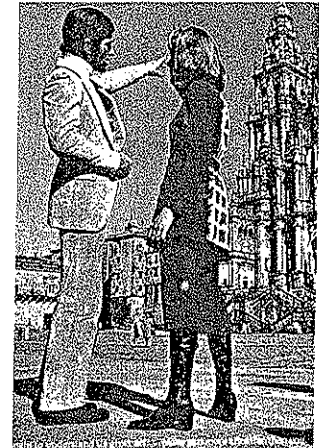


The Faces of Virginia

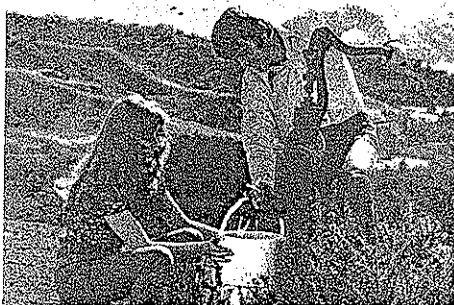
III-2 a



III-2 e



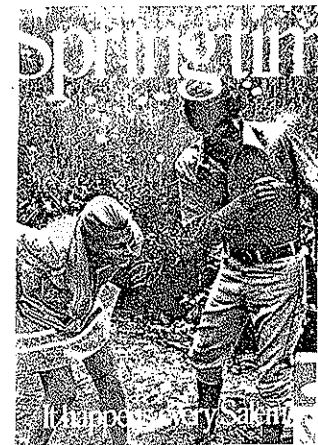
III-2 h



III-2 b



III-2 f<sup>8</sup>



III-2 i



III-2 c

<sup>8</sup>Chalfen (1975:94) reports that in his American sample: "The male head of household used the camera most of the time. In a few cases, a teenage son, who was learning about cameras and filmmaking, took over this responsibility."



III-2 j

(continued)

111-4 All instruction seems to involve some sort of subordination of the instructed and deference for the instructor. These expressive features of the learning situation are reinforced by the linking of learning to age-grade subordination throughout most of the individual's learning career. In our society, one form of learning seems especially associated with child status, the "kinaesthetic" form,<sup>10</sup> involving a molding physical contact between instructor and instructed. Men seem to be pictured instructing women in this way more than the reverse:



111-4 d

<sup>10</sup>The notion of kinaesthetic learning derives from Bateson and Mead (1942:85-86). This book brilliantly pioneered in the use of pictures for study of what can be neatly pictured. The work stimulated a whole generation of anthropologists to take pictures. However, very little analysis was—and perhaps could be—made of what these students collected. Somehow a confusion occurred between human interest and the analytical kind. Dandy movies and stills were brought home of wonderful people and fascinating events, but to little avail. Much respect and affection was shown the natives and little of either for the analytical use that can be made of pictures.

111-3 Function ranking is also pictured among children, albeit apparently with the understanding that although the little actors are themselves perfectly serious, their activity itself is not, being rather something that touchingly strikes an anticipatory note. In brief, "cuteness" is involved.<sup>9</sup>



111-3 d

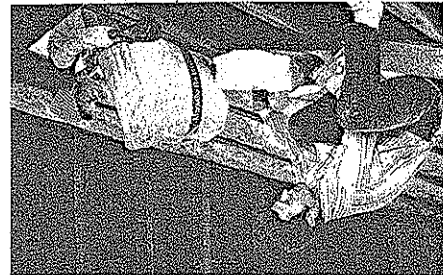


111-3 b

<sup>9</sup>A useful study of gender stereotypes in the illustrations of children's books is provided by Weitzman et al. (1972), for which I am methodologically grateful.



111-2 k



111-2 l

Kelsum' pup save you hundreds of dollars  
on first hair with Kelsum' hair cream



111-2 m

III-5 Whenever an adult receives body-addressed help or service from another, the resulting action is likely to involve collaboration of hands. The recipient guides the action and/or takes over at its terminal phases. (Examples: passing the salt or helping someone on with his coat.) In this way, presumably, the recipient's sense of autonomy is preserved. It is also preserved, of course, by his acquiring those skills through which he can efficiently tend to his own bodily needs. Infants and children, however, must suffer their hands being bypassed while an adult gets on with the job of looking after them.<sup>11</sup> It is understandable, then, that when adults are pictured in real scenes being spoon fed, they are pictured guying the action in some way, presumably so the self projected by the act of being fed will not be taken as a reflection of the real one.

It appears that women are more commonly pictured receiving this kind of help\* from men than giving it to them, and are not depicted markedly guying their response:



Centre de l'ordi.

III-5 e



III-5 b



III-5 f



Wilkins and the Lindsays: Surprise

III-5 a



III-5 c



Découvrez la vraie de

III-5 d

<sup>11</sup> Admittedly there is the popular notion that members of the aristocratically inclined classes traditionally engaged personal servants to obtain body-connected care that members of the middle classes would want to provide for themselves, ashamedness here being a support of democracy. Of course, correlated with personal servicing was the non-person treatment of those who provided it.

III-6 Which raises the questions of how males are pictured when in the domains of the traditional authority and competence of females—the kitchen, the nursery, and the living room when it is being cleaned. One answer, borrowed from life and possibly underrepresented, is to picture the male engaged in no contributing role at all, in this way avoiding either subordination or contamination with a “female” task:



He was  
seen  
and  
taken  
around  
With  
the  
Bester  
project  
But  
sh  
Low  
from  
the  
pedal's  
adjust  
height  
You  
adjust  
upright  
attach

we  
got  
Sears  
last  
8  
me  
eye

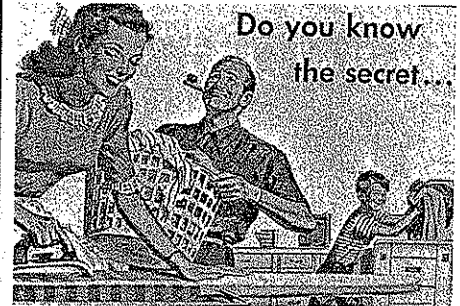
Se  
Ker  
Dew

III-6 d

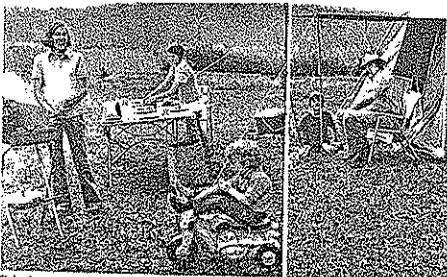
III-7 Another answer, I think, is to present the man as ludicrous or childlike, unrealistically so, as if perhaps in making him candidly unreal the competency image of real males could be preserved.



III-6 a

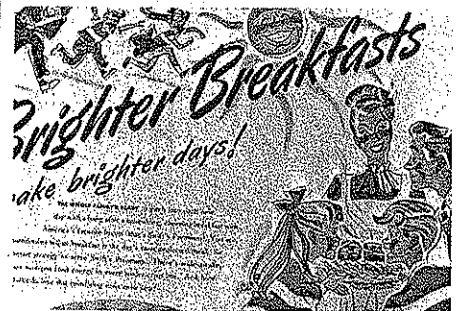


III-7 a

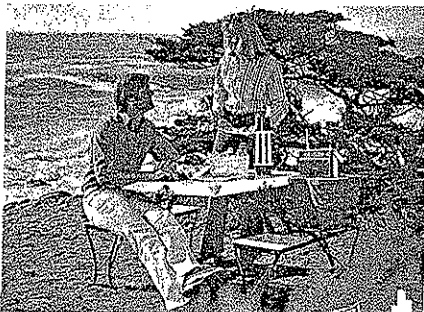


This is one of the best things  
made in America

III-6 b



III-7 b



III-6 c

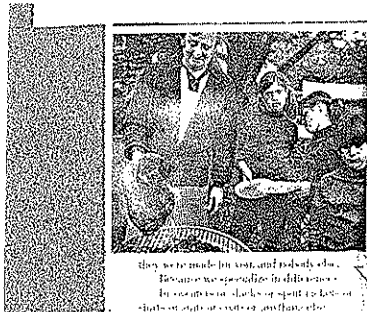


III-7 c

(continued)



III-7 d



they were made for war, and nobody else.  
Because we specialize in different  
In our own little spots of light in the  
dark of night or even in daylight.

III-7 h

III-8 A subtler technique is to allow the male to pursue the alien activity under the direct appraising scrutiny of she who can do the deed properly, as though the doing were itself by way of being a lark or a dare, a smile on the face of the doer or the watcher attesting to the essentially unserious essayed character of the undertaking.<sup>12</sup>



III-7 e



III-7 j



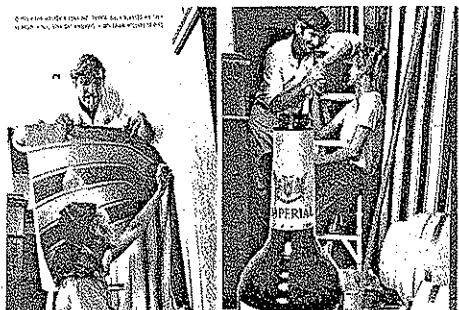
III-8 a

(continued)

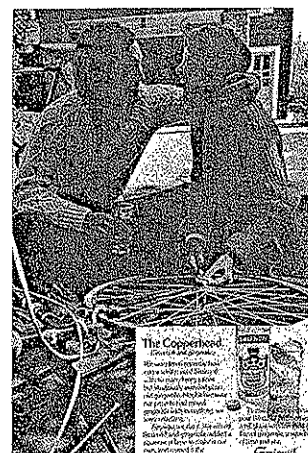


III-7 f

<sup>12</sup>Correspondingly, when females are pictured engaged in a traditionally male task, a male may (as it were) parenthesize the activity, looking on appraisingly, condescendingly, or with wonder:



III-7 g



III-8 fn a



III-8 b

#### IV THE FAMILY

The nuclear family as a basic unit of social organization is well adapted to the requirements of pictorial representation. All of the members of almost any actual family can be contained easily within the same close picture, and, properly positioned, a visual representation of the members can nicely serve as a symbolization of the family's social structure.



IV a



IV-1 a



IV-1 b



IV-1 c

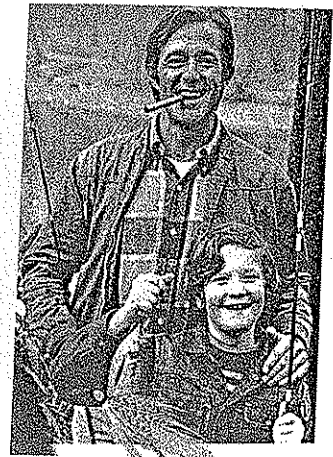
(continued)





IV-1 d

IV-2 Although in commercial scenes a unity is symbolized between fathers and sons and between mothers and daughters, there is a suggestion that different types of unity might be involved. In a word, there is a tendency for women to be pictured as more akin to their daughters (and to themselves in younger years) than is the case with men. Boys, as it were, have to push their way into manhood, and problematic effort is involved:



IV-2 d



IV-2 a

Girls merely have to unfold:



**"Lights-Camera-Action"**

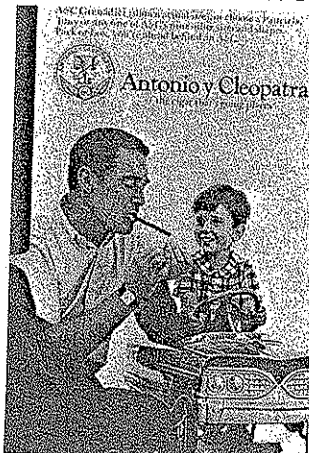
Progressive Pictures, Inc. (A.M.P.) presents a picture play for a first time. The camera is designed especially to "uncover" and "uncover" the picture. And the picture is a real one, every bit of it, from the model to the very back of the...

IV-2 b



**Can it be true?  
Panties more comfortable than wearing nothing!**

IV-2 e



IV-2 c



IV-2 f

(continued)



IV-2 g



IV-2 k

IV-3 Often the father (or in his absence, a son) stands a little outside the physical circle of the other members of the family, as if to express a relationship whose protectiveness is linked with, perhaps even requires, distance:



IV-2 h



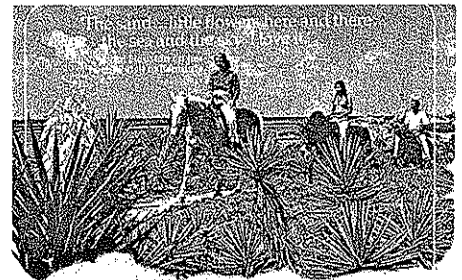
IV-2 i



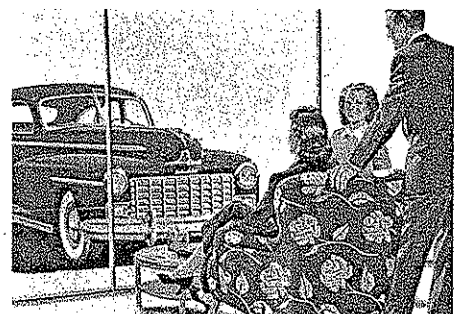
IV-2 j



IV-3 a



IV-3 b



IV-3 c

(continued)



IV-3 d



IV-3 f



IV-3 h



IV-3 e<sup>13</sup>



IV-3 g

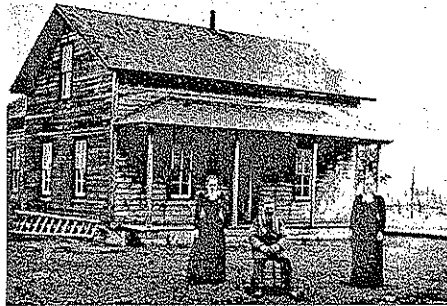


Detail of cover de-  
signed by Lesley. Les no

IV-3 i

(continued)

<sup>13</sup> An interesting contrast is to be found in turn-of-the-century portrait poses of couples, wherein the effect was often achieved of displaying the man as the central figure and the woman as backup support, somewhat in the manner of a chief lieutenant. I cite from Lesly (1973):



IV-3 fn b



IV-3 fn d



IV-3 fn a



IV-3 fn c



IV-3 fn e

Perhaps the contrast between past and current portraits less betokens a change in underlying social organization than in conventions of expression within the picture format.

"ARE ELECTRIC TOILES  
to stop going up?"

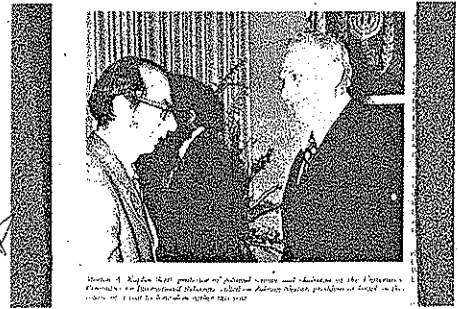
When one  
is going up  
costs that big  
heiric rates,  
it's happening  
example, the  
generally  
pensions leave  
such for fuel,  
I have been  
revised.  
curious  
I've forecast  
annual  
plants. This  
will be  
net effect  
since 1972  
will be  
billions to  
to find better  
recovered  
of the along  
a history of  
over that.



IV-3 j

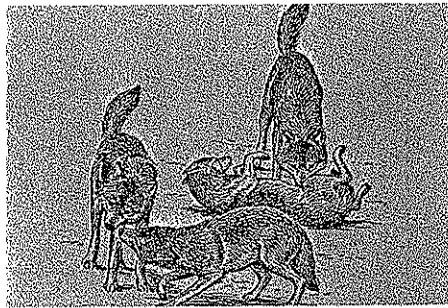
V THE RITUALIZATION OF SUB-  
ORDINATION

V-1 A classic stereotype of deference is that of lowering oneself physically in some form or other of prostration. Correspondingly, holding the body erect and the head high is stereotypically a mark of unashamedness, superiority, and disdain. Advertisers draw on (and endorse) the claimed universality of the theme:



Richard A. Kaplan, left, president of political science and chairman of the National Science Foundation, and John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 1954.

V-1 d



V-1 a

There are many in the world who are not so fortunate as to be able to afford the luxury of a dog. In fact, many people who are not so fortunate as to be able to afford the luxury of a dog are often found in the same situation as the dog in the photograph above.



Richard A. Kaplan, left, president of political science and chairman of the National Science Foundation, and John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 1954.

V-1 e



V-1 b



Mrs. Tom Jackson, with the Bing Crosby's. The woman's deference is by Welle and Jean Louis.

V-1 f

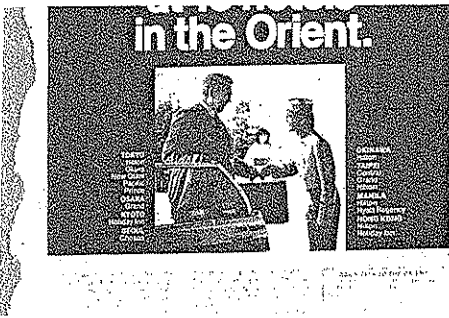


V-1 c

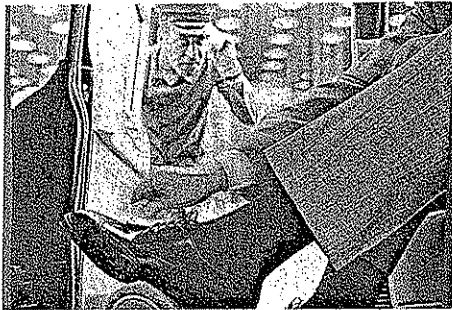


V-1 g

(continued)



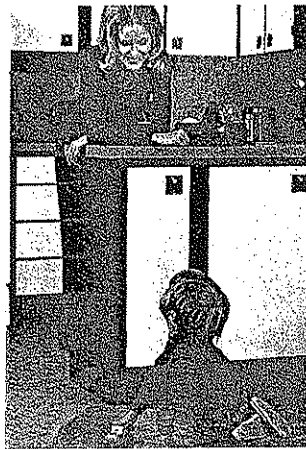
V-1 h



V-1 i



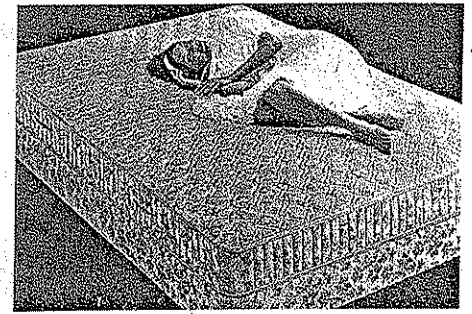
V-1 j



V-2 a



V-2 b



V-2 c



V-2 d



V-2 e



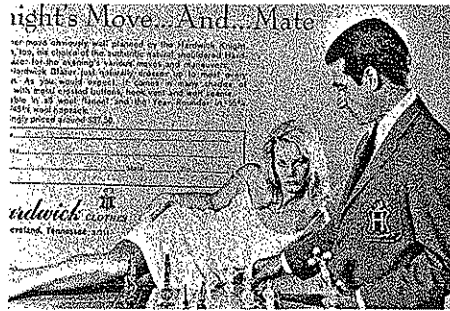
V-2 f

V-2 Beds and floors provide places in social situations where incumbent persons will be lower than anyone sitting on a chair or standing. Floors also are associated with the less-clean, less pure, less exalted parts of a room—for example, the place to keep dogs, baskets of soiled clothes, street footwear, and the like. And a recumbent position is one from which physical defense of oneself can least well be initiated and therefore one which renders one very dependent on the benignness of the surround. (Of course, lying on the floor or on a sofa or bed seems also to be a conventionalized expression of sexual-availability.) The point here is that it appears that children and women are pictured on floors and beds more than are men.

(continued)

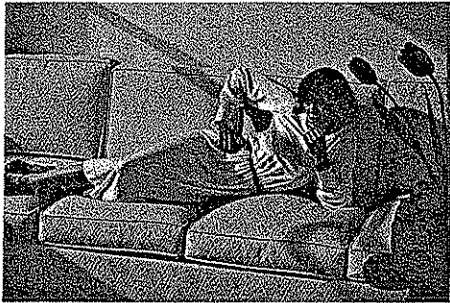


V-2 g

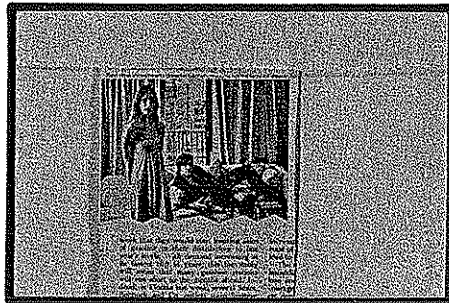


V-2 k

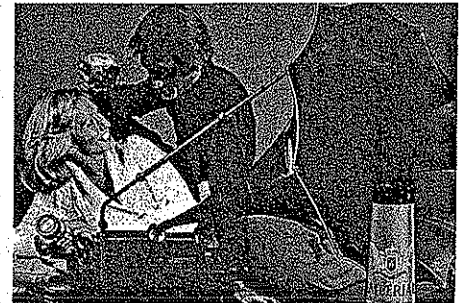
V-3 Although less so than in some, elevation seems to be employed indicatively in our society, high physical place symbolizing high social place. (Courtrooms provide an example.) In contrived scenes in advertisements, men tend to be located higher than women, thus allowing elevation to be exploited as a delineative resource.<sup>14</sup> A certain amount of contortion may be required. Note, this arrangement is supported by the understanding in our society that courtesy obliges men to favor women with first claim on whatever is available by way of a seat. ↘



V-2 h



V-2 l



V-3 a



Maria Böhner, German model, advertisement for the Beautiful People

The Girl Who Has Everything Plus

V-2 j



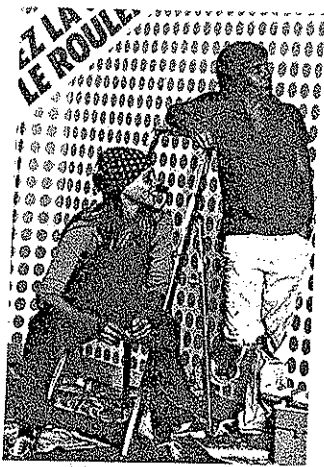
V-3 b

(continued)

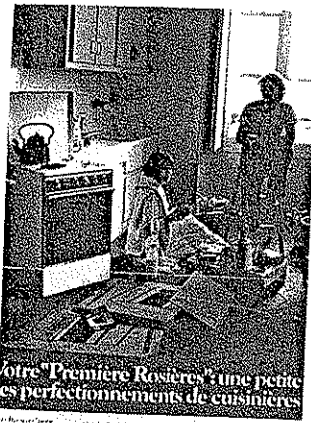


V-2 j

<sup>14</sup> In such pictures as I have of actual scenes, the same tendency holds.



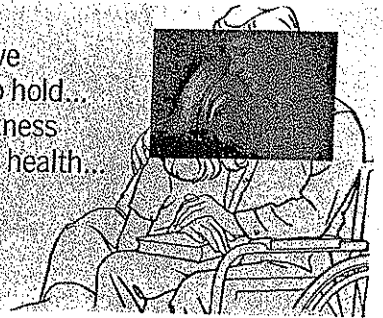
V-3 c



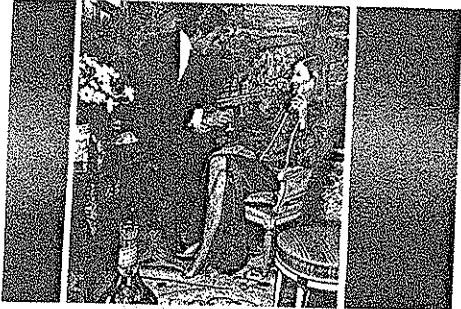
voire "Première Rosières" : une petite  
les perfectionnements de cuisiniers

V-3 g

To have  
and to hold...  
in sickness  
and in health...



V-3 k



V-3 d



t fresh with Belair.  
le right touch of menthol

V-3 h



Who to wear on Sunday  
when you won't be home till Monday.

Happy Legs

V-3 l

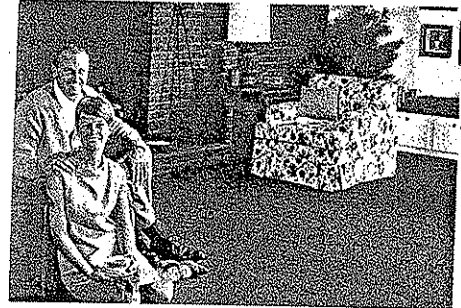


V-3 e



When Greg saw his red Sherwin Williams, he knew there was a Santa Claus.

V-3 i

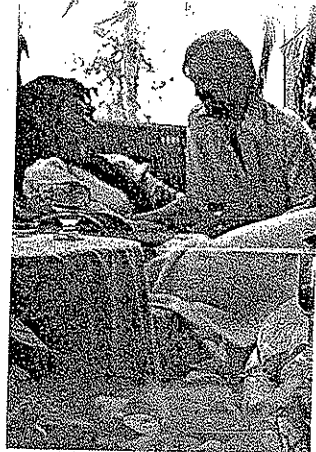


V-3 m

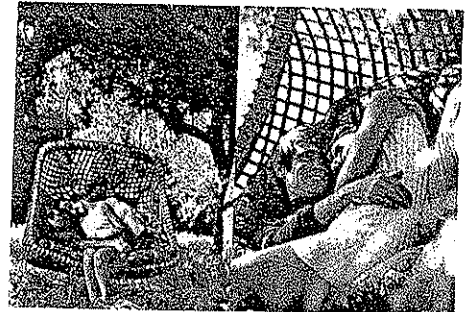
to lunch.



V-3 f



V-3 j



V-3 n

(continued)

**EDUCATION**

**Is Back**

...and they have followed...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...

**UCSA frat party: An outdoor beer fest...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...**

V-3 o



V-3 s



V-3 w



V-3 p



V-3 t



V-3 x



V-3 q

...and they have followed...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...  
...of the 1960s, students...  
...the gap at the University...

**Seagram's 7 Crown**

V-3 u

**Pando: 200**

V-3 y

**Seagram's 7 Crown.**  
It fits right into your world.

V-3 r

**The New Agency**

V-3 v

**Jointreat...the art of finger**

**Jointreat**

V-3 z

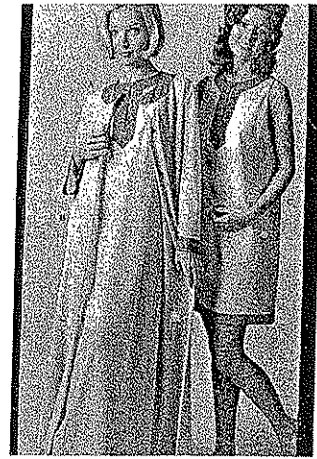
(continued)





V-3 aa

V<sup>11</sup>  
 V-4 Women frequently, men very infrequently, are posed in a display of the "bashful knee bend." Whatever else, the knee bend can be read as a foregoing-of full effort to be prepared and on the ready in the current social situation, for the position adds a moment to any effort to fight or flee. Once again one finds a posture that seems to presuppose the goodwill of anyone in the surround who could offer harm. Observe—as will be seen throughout—that a sex-typed subject is not so much involved as a format for constructing a picture. One female in a picture may perform the gesture and another serve as the support that allows the performance. So a two-role formula is at issue, not necessarily two sexes:



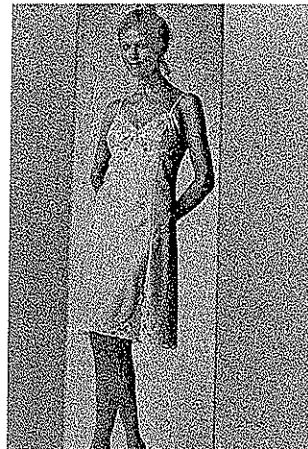
V-4 c



V-4 d



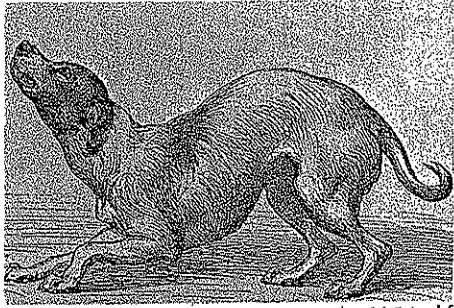
V-4 a



V-4 b

V-5 Having somewhat the same distribution in ads as the knee bend are canting postures. Although a distinction can be made between body cant and head cant, the consequences seem to be much the same. The level of the head is lowered relative to that of others, including, indirectly, the viewer of the picture. The resulting configurations can be read as an acceptance of subordination, an expression of ingratiation, submissiveness, and appeasement.

V-5 i Body cant:



V-5 i a<sup>15</sup>



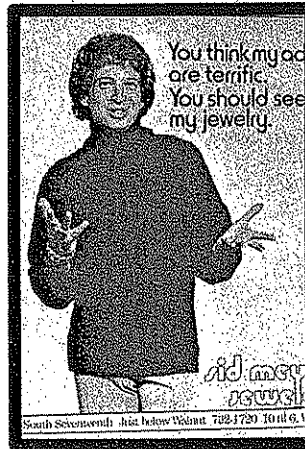
V-5 i b



V-5 i c



V-5 i d

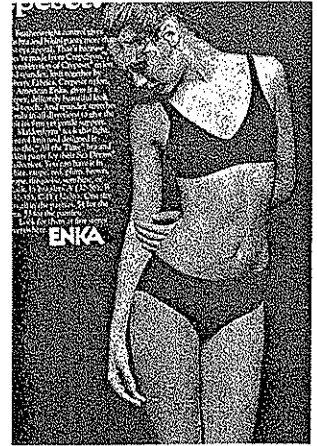


V-5 i e



V-5 i f

V-5 ii Head cant:



V-5 ii a



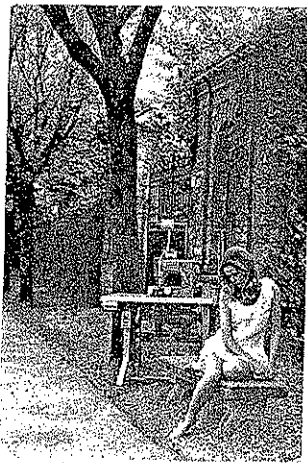
V-5 ii b



V-5 ii c

(continued)

<sup>15</sup>From Darwin (1872:53, Fig. 6).



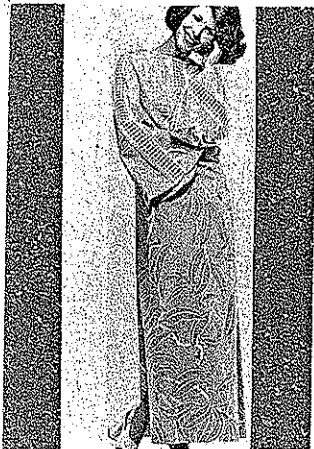
V-5 ii d



V-5 ii h



V-5 ii e

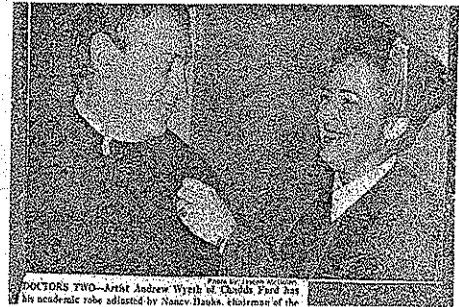


V-5 ii f



V-5 ii g

V-6 Smiles, it can be argued, often function as ritualistic mollifiers, signaling that nothing agonistic is intended, or invited; that the meaning of the other's act has been understood and found acceptable; that indeed, the other is approved and appreciated. Those who warily keep an eye on the movements of a potential aggressor may find themselves automatically smiling should their gaze be "caught" by its object, who in turn may find little cause to smile back. In addition, a responding smile (even more so an appreciative laugh) following very rapidly on the heels of a speaker's sally can imply that the respondent belongs, by knowledgeability, at least, to the speaker's circle. All of these smiles, then, seem more the offering of an inferior than a superior. In any case, it appears that in cross-sexed encounters in American society, women smile more, and more expansively, than men,<sup>16</sup> which arrangement appears to be carried over into advertisements, perhaps with little conscious intent.

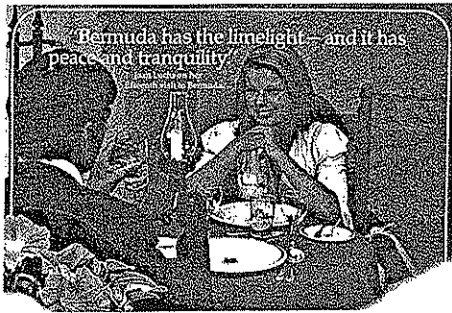


DOCTORS TWO—Artist Andrew Wyeth of Charles Ford has his academic robe adjusted by Nancy Banks, chairman of the

V-6 a

(continued)

<sup>16</sup> See the comments in Weisstein (1973:49).



V-6 b

V-7 Given the subordinated and indulged position of children in regard to adults, it would appear that to present oneself in puerish-styling is to encourage the corresponding treatment. How much of this guise is found in real life is an open question; but found it is in advertisements.



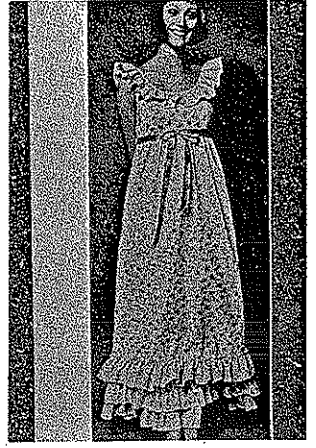
V-7 d



V-6 c



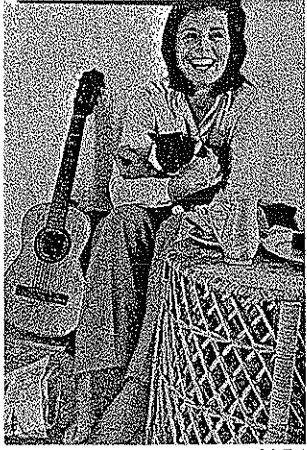
V-7 a



V-7 e



V-6 d



V-7 b



V-7 f

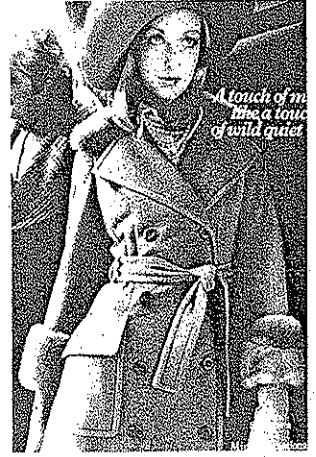


V-6 e



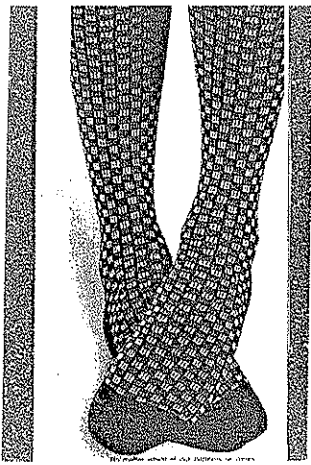
atch your woman a snowflak

V-7 c



V-7 g

(continued)



V-7 h



V-7 i

of Lycra polyester is a possible knock that makes it a little multiple easy-care. However, it will be something entirely different.



V-7 l



V-7 m



V-8 a



V-7 j



V-7 n

Zarles braudil Zarles  
... Servus

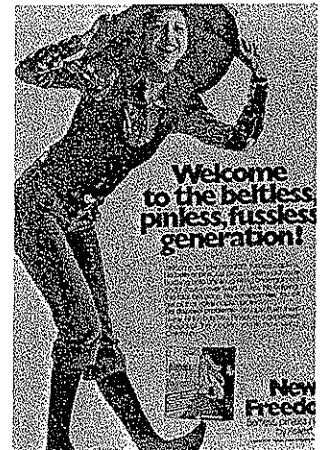


V-8 b



V-7 k

Imprevu. Because it never



V-8 c

(continued)



V-8 d



V-8 h



V-8 e



V-8 i



V-8 f



V-8 j



V-8 g

V-9 The special unseriousness involved in childlike guises and clowning suggests a readiness to be present in a social situation garbed and styled in a manner to which one isn't deeply or irrevocably committed. Perhaps reflected here is a readiness to try out various guises and to appear at various times in different ones.

In any case, in advertisements, at least, there seems to be an unanticipated difference between men and women. Men are displayed in formal, business, and informal gear, and although it seems understood that the same individual will at different times appear in all these guises, each guise seems to afford him something he is totally serious about, and deeply identified with, as though wearing a skin, not a costume. Even in the case of the cowboy garb that urban males affect recreationally, little sense that one's whole appearance is a lark would seem to be present. Women in ads seem to have a different relationship to their clothing and to the gestures worn with it. Within each broad category (formal, business, informal) there are choices which are considerably different one from another, and the sense is that one may as well try out various possibilities to see what comes of it. As though life were a series of costume balls. Thus, one can occasionally mock one's own appearance, for identification is not deep. It might be argued, then, that the costume-like character of female garb in advertisements locates women as less seriously present in social situations than men, the self presented through get-ups being itself in a way an unserious thing. Observe that the extension of this argument to real life need not involve a paradox. It is a common view that women spend much more of their time and concern in shopping for clothes and preparing for appearances than do men; and that women set considerable store on the appreciative or depreciative response they produce thereby. But, of course, so does an actor in a part he will never play again. A concern over carrying an appearance off does not necessarily imply a deep and abiding identification with that appearance. (This argument fits with the fact that women's styles change much more rapidly than do men's.)

(continued)



V-9 a

QUEEN CASUALS for girls who know the name



V-9 e



V-9 b

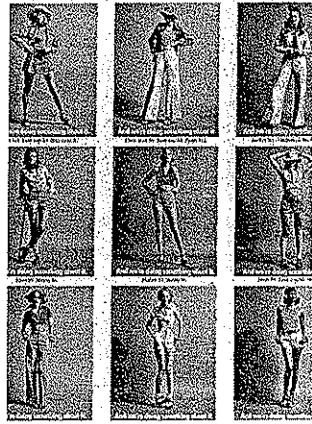


V-9 f



V-9 c

WEND TOO MUCH FOR CLOTH

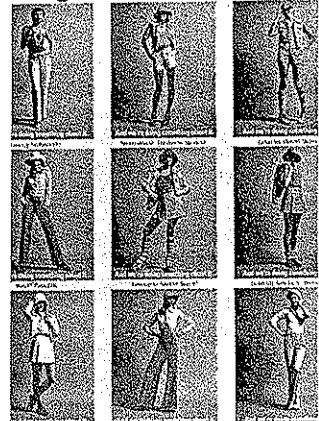


V-9 g



V-9 d

FRANGIER THINKS AMERICA



V-9 h

V-10 Adults play (mock assault) games with children. (Games such as chase-and-capture and grab-and-squeeze.) The child is playfully treated like a prey under attack by a predator. Certain materials (pillows, sprays of water, light beach balls) provide missiles that can strike but not hurt. Other materials provide a medium into which the captured body can be thrown safely—beds, snow banks, pools, arms. Now it turns out that men play these games with women, the latter collaborating through a display of attempts to escape and through cries of alarm, fear, and appeasement. (Figure dancing provides occasion for an institutionalized example, the partners who are swung off their feet never being men.) Of course, underneath this show a man may be engaged in a deeper one, the suggestion of what he could do if he got serious about it. In part because mock assault is "fun" and more likely in holiday scenes than in work scenes, it is much represented in advertisements:



V-10 a



V-10 b

(continued)



V-10 c

In love with the little rinky jacket.



V-10 g



V-10 k



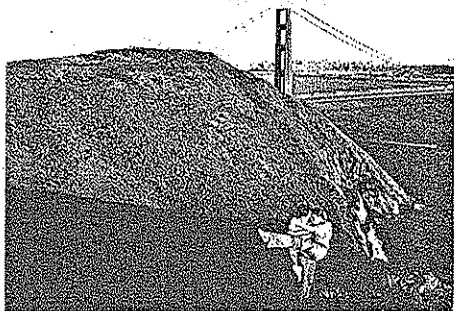
V-10 d



V-10 h



V-10 l



V-10 e



V-10 i



V-10 m



V-10 f



V-10 j



V-10 n

(continued)





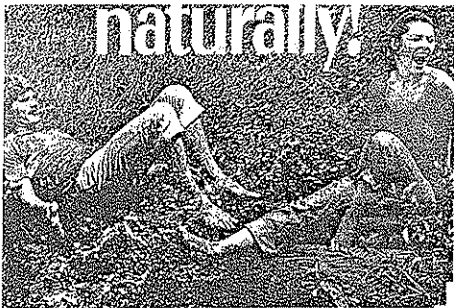
V-10 o



V-10 s



V-10 p



V-10 q



V-10 r

V-11 A male pictured with a female sometimes appears to employ an extended arm, in effect marking the boundary of his social property and guarding it against encroachment. A suggestion is that this miniature border patrol is especially found when the female at the same time is engaged in a pursuit which accords her authority.



V-11 a



V-11 b



V-11 c



V-12 i c

V-12 There seem to be four main behavioral arrangements of pairs of persons which provide what is taken to be a physical expression that the two are a "with," that is, together as a social unit with respect to the social situation in which they are located. (In all four cases, note, the work these dyadic tie-signs do in defining the relationship between figures in a picture would seem to be much the same as the work they do in real social situations.)

V-12 i First, a matter of microecology: sitting or standing close and alongside, with or without touching. This arrangement is symmetrical in physical character and social implication, no differentiation of role or rank being in itself conveyed:



V-12 i a



V-12 i b

V-12 ii The "arm lock" is the basic tie-sign in Western societies for marking that a woman is under the protective custody of the accompanying man. Although most commonly sustained between husband and wife, no sexual or legal link is necessarily advertised through it; father and grown daughter, man and best friend's wife may also employ it. The sign is asymmetric both in terms of its physical configuration and what it indicates. However nominally, the woman shows herself to be receiving support, and both the man's hands are free for whatever instrumental tasks may arise:



V-12 ii a



V-12 ii b



V-12 ii c

(continued)

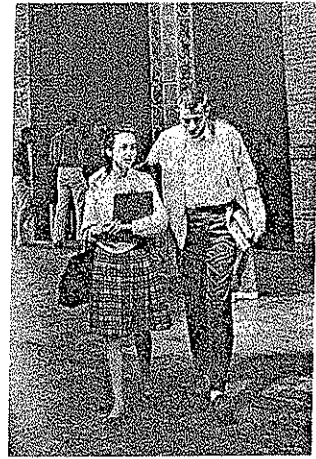


Industries: the homemaking people?

...the man is wearing a dark suit and tie, and the woman is wearing a light-colored dress with a dark pattern. They are standing in what appears to be an office or a formal setting. The man is looking towards the woman, and she is looking towards the camera.

V-12 ii d

V-12 iii The "shoulder hold" is an asymmetrical configuration more or less requiring that the person holding be taller than the person held, and that the held person accept direction and constraint. Typically the arrangement seems to be dyadically irreversible. When employed by a cross-sexed adult pair, the sign seems to be taken to indicate sexually-potential proprietaryship.



V-12 iii d



V-12 iii a

...the man is wearing a dark suit and tie, and the woman is wearing a light-colored dress with a dark pattern. They are standing in what appears to be an office or a formal setting. The man is looking towards the woman, and she is looking towards the camera.



The Elbridge street scene? Was participation the issue?

...the man is wearing a dark suit and tie, and the woman is wearing a light-colored dress with a dark pattern. They are standing in what appears to be an office or a formal setting. The man is looking towards the woman, and she is looking towards the camera.

V-12 iii e



V-12 iii b



V-12 iii f



V-12 iii c



V-12 iii g

V-12 iv Finally, hand-holding. When employed between adult male and female, hand-holding appears to be taken to indicate a sexually potential, exclusive relationship.<sup>17</sup> A relatively symmetrical tie-sign presumably expressing relative equality. Physical asymmetry is to be detected in the tendency for the male to hold the female hand, this allowing the indication that he is presumably free to let go quickly should an emergency arise and free to guide and direct. The physical fact that the back of his hand is likely to be facing what is upcoming can faintly symbolize protectiveness:

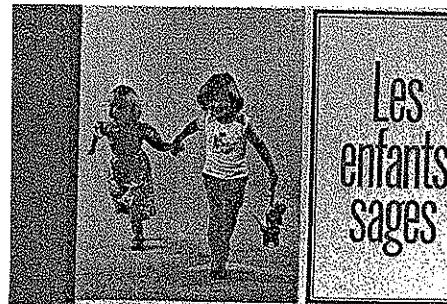


V-12 iv f

The directing potential of hand-holding can be made apparent in ads:



V-12 iv a



V-12 iv c

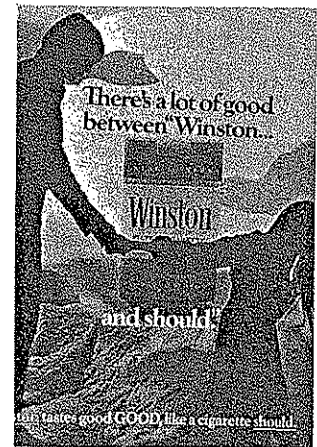
So also another theme, that of the male providing a safe tether:



V-12 iv b



V-12 iv d



V-12 iv g



V-12 iv e



V-12 iv h

<sup>17</sup> Tie-signs in general and hand-holding in particular are considered in Goffman (1971:188-237).

**VI LICENSED WITHDRAWAL**

Women, more than men, it seems, are pictured engaged in involvements which remove them psychologically from the social situation at large, leaving them unoriented in it and to it, and presumably, therefore, dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others who are (or might come to be) present.

**VI-1** When emotional response causes an individual to lose control of his facial posture, that is, to "flood out," he can partly conceal the lapse by turning away from the others present or by covering his face, especially his mouth, with his hands. Ritualization of the kind associated with the young is involved, for the act cannot conceal that something is being concealed, and furthermore requires momentary blindness to everything around oneself—this being a particularly empty and maladaptive response when the withdrawal is itself a response to a real threat.

**VI-1 i Remorse:**



VI-1 i a



VI-1 i b



VI-1 i c



VI-1 i f



VI-1 i d

**VI-1 ii Fear:**



VI-1 i c



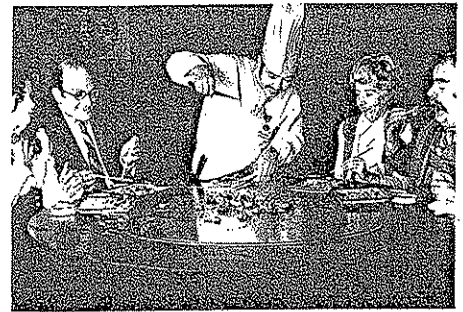
VI-1 ii a



VI-1 ii b



VI-1 ii c



VI-1 ii d

(continued)

VI-1 iii Shyness:



VI-1 ii e



VI-1 iii a

True Confessions  
of an Olivetti girl.

(or, How a change  
in typewriters  
changed my life)



VI-1 iii e

You've come a long way



**VIRGIN  
SLIM**

Slimmer than the fat of apples



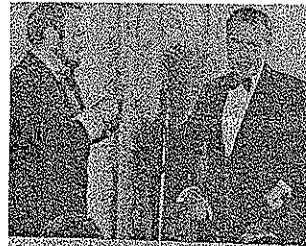
VI-1 iii f



VI-1 ii f



VI-1 iii b



VI-1 iii c



VI-1 iv d



VI-1 iii d

VI-1 iv Laughter...



EADY! AIM! TEE HEE!

VI-1 iv a



VI-1 iv e



VI-1 iv b

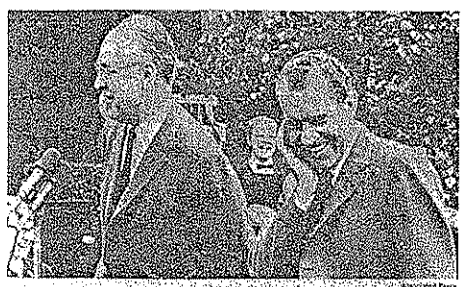


VI-1 iv f

VI-2 Just as covering the mouth with the hand can be an attenuation of covering the face, so a finger brought to the mouth can be an attenuation of covering it with the hand. But here another ritualization seems more common: the attenuation of sucking or biting the finger. The impression is given that somehow a stream of anxiety, rumination, or whatever, has been split off from the main course of attention and is being sustained in a dissociated, unthinking fashion. In any case, the face is partly covered as though one could see but not be seen and were therefore free to engage hand and face outside the stream of face-to-face address:

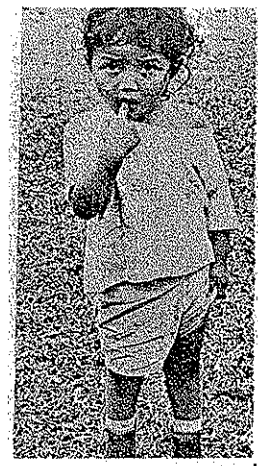


VI-2 a



Richard Nixon laughing at a remark by Anatoly A. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador, during a performance by the University of Zimbabwe band in the White House Rose Garden.

VI-1 iv c



VI-2 b

(continued)



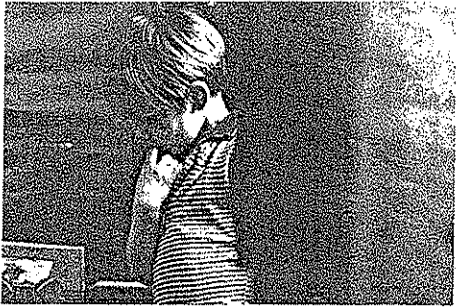
VI-2 c



VI-2 g



VI-2 k



VI-2 d



VI-2 h



VI-2 l



VI-2 e



VI-2 i



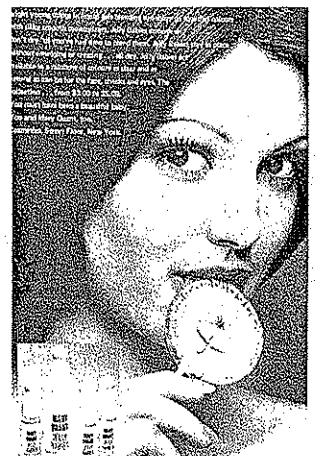
VI-2 m



VI-2 f



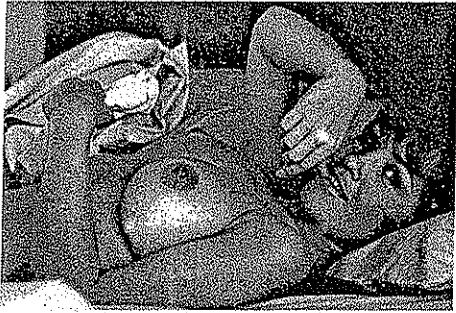
VI-2 j



VI-2 n

(continued)





VI-2 o

VI-3 Finger-to-finger position appears to carry the same dissociated self-communication as is expressed in finger-to-mouth gestures but in a still more attenuated form. Displacement from mouth is a thinkable possibility.



VI-3 d



VI-3 a



VI-3 e



VI-3 b

THE  
 Some of t  
 colors ar  
 only and  
 outlin as  
 this page  
 and green  
 black, lila  
 white, shi  
 black, whi  
 Empire, h  
 facade, h  
 Wood  
 Sings for  
 Sander in  
 Cassette  
 pink and  
 grey and



VI-3 f



VI-3 c



VI-3 g

(continued)



VI-5 l



VI-5 m



VI-5 n



VI-5 o

VI-6 In real social situations and in pictured ones, the individual can withdraw his gaze from the scene at large (with the dependency and trust that this implies) and lock it in such a way as to give the impression of having only minor dissociated concern with what is thus seen, even as his mind has wandered from everything in the situation; psychologically, he is "away." (Doodling and middle distance looks are examples, although it should be kept in mind that these two practices can also figure in another arrangement, the one in which the individual aurally attends to what is being said by another while making it apparent that nothing he can see is competing for attention.)



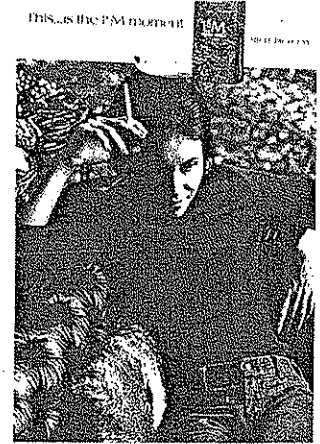
VI-6 a



VI-6 b



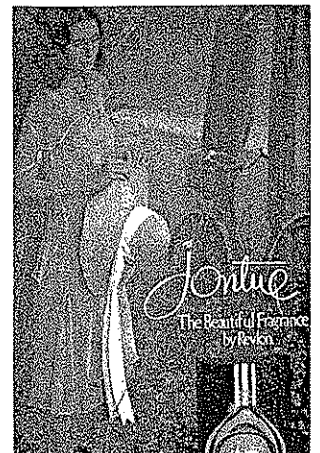
VI-6 c



VI-6 d



VI-6 e



VI-6 f

(continued)

An interesting object on which to lock an away look is the hands, for this focus not only can convey some sort of self-enclosure, but also can require a downward turning of the head, submissiveness being a possible consequent interpretation:



VI-6 g



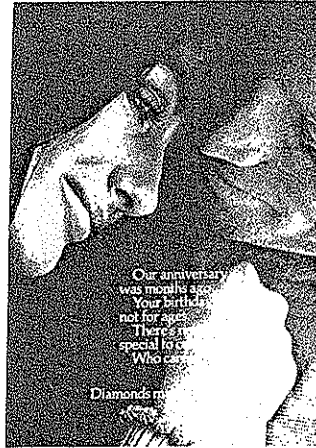
VI-6 h



VI-6 i

VI-7 In advertisements women are shown mentally drifting from the physical scene around them (that is, going "away") while in close physical touch with a male, as though his aliveness to the surround and his readiness to cope with anything that might present itself were enough for both of them. (At the same time, the male may well wear a wary, monitoring look.) Thus, "anchored drifts." Various points of visual focus are found.

VI-7 i Middle distance:



VI-7 i a



VI-7 i b



VI-7 i c



VI-7 i d



VI-7 i e



VI-7 i f



VI-7 i g

(continued)



VI-7 i h



VI-7 i i



VI-7 i j



VI-7 i m



VI-7 i j



VI-7 i n



VI-7 i k

VI-7 ii Small objects:



VI-7 ii a

JOD-NATURED WHISKY



VI-7 ii b



VI-7 ii c

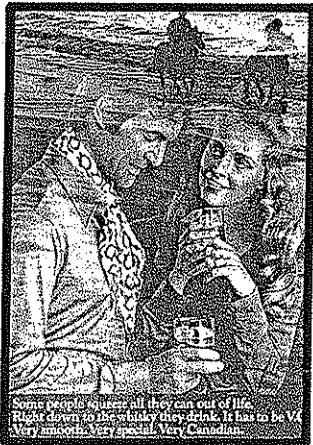
(continued)



VI-7 ii d

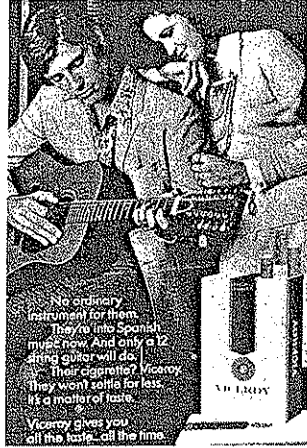


VI-7 ii e



VI-7 ii f (see also VI-5 f)

VI-7 iii A twistable part of the male's clothing...



VI-7 iii a



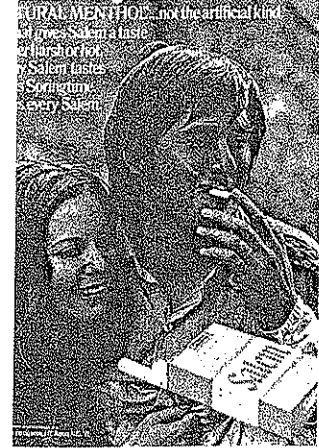
VI-7 iii b



VI-7 iii c



VI-7 iii d



VI-7 iii e

**VI-8** Maintaining a telephone conversation necessarily means some withdrawal of attention from the immediate scene at hand, with attendant lack of orientation to, and readiness for, events that might occur therein. This can be controlled by limiting the length of calls and one's involvement in what is talked about. In advertisements, women are sometimes shown luxuriating in a call, immersing themselves in a dreamy and presumably prolonged way.



VI-8 a



VI-8 b



VI-8 c

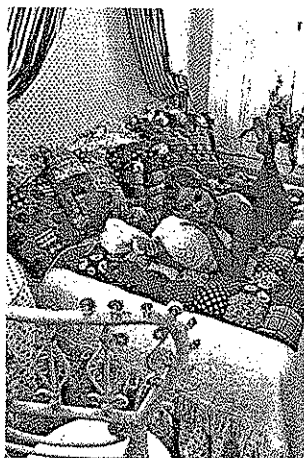
**VI-9** In advertisements, women are not only posed lying on the floor or in a bed, but also at the same time bending their legs as though that part of the body were being employed in a dissociated way, as in doodling, except here the dissociated behavior is large scale, as might therefore be the attention it withdraws from the scene at large:



VI-9 a

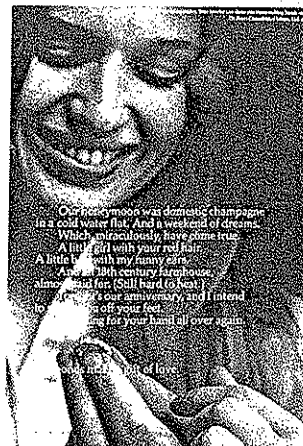


VI-9 b



VI-9 c

**VI-10** It has already been remarked that in ads women, more than men, appear to withdraw themselves from the social situation at hand through involvements, including emotional response. Significant here are the responses of pleasure, delight, laughter, and glee—states of being transported by happiness. Perhaps the implication is that a woman—like a child with an ice cream cone—can find some sort of final satisfaction in goals that can be fully realized in the present.<sup>20</sup> In consequence, a consummatory “flooding out”:



(continued)

VI-10 a

<sup>20</sup> A similar argument is suggested by Komisar (1972:306-307):

If television commercials are to be believed, most American women go into uncontrollable ecstasies at the sight and smell of tables and cabinets that have been lovingly caressed with long-lasting, satin-finish, lemon-scented, spray-on furniture polish. Or they glow with rapture at the blinding whiteness of their wash—and the green-eyed envy of their neighbors. The housewife in the Johnson's Wax commercial hugs the dining room table because the shine is so wonderful; then she polishes herself into a corner and has to jump over the furniture to get out. Bold detergent shows one woman in deep depression because her wash is not as bright as her neighbor's.

Observe that in advertisements, instead of our being shown a woman's flood of pleasure upon receipt of a present from a man, we may be shown the scene that might have just preceded that one, namely, the “Guess What?” scene, wherein the man holds something beyond the vision of the woman (sometimes by obliging her to cover her eyes) and teasingly invites her to guess what her life is about to be enriched by, the prospect of which is seen to throw her into a state of joyous torment. Another version has the giver spring the surprise without warning, in consequence of which the recipient momentarily loses all self-control, breaking into a flutter of pleasure. These teasing uses of indulgence are, of course, commonly employed by parents in connection with their children, and are to be considered alongside of another playful threat to equilibrium, one already touched on, namely, mock assault.

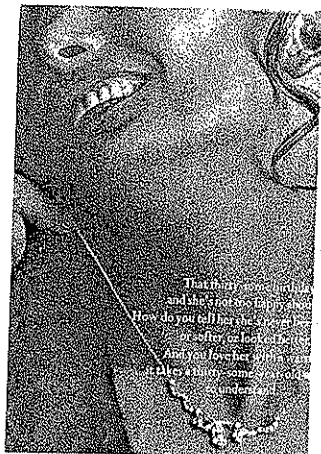


VI-10 b



VI-10 f

A corollary is that when a male and female are pictured in a euphoric state, the female is likely to be exhibiting a more expansive expression than is the male, which in turn fits with the argument already made and illustrated that in our society women smile more than men—both in real scenes and in commercially contrived ones:



VI-10 c



VI-10 g

Who needs that kind of

1230 Ave. of the Americas New York, 22nd and Market Streets, Phila.

Why After Six's intro-



duce Owner's Protection

after Six

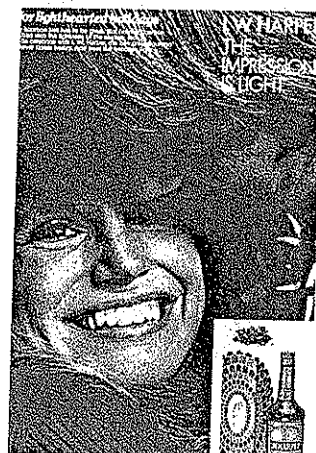
VI-10 j



VI-10 d



VI-10 h



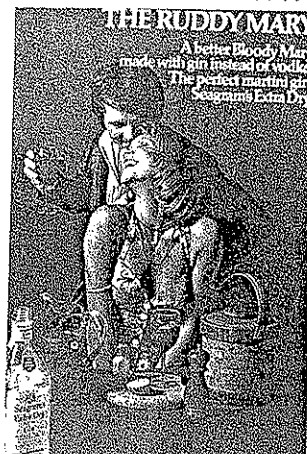
VI-10 k



VI-10 e



VI-10 i

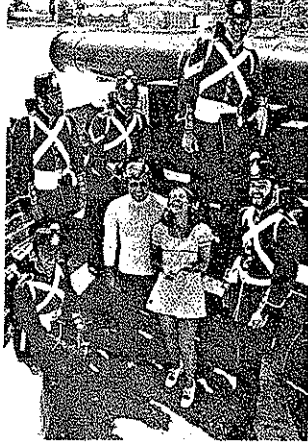


VI-10 l

(continued)



VI-10 m



VI-10 n



VI-10 o

VI-11 It is possible to look in on a social situation from a distance or from behind a one-way panel—a “participation shield”—and be little seen oneself, in which case one can, in effect, partake of the events but not be exposed to scrutiny or address. A splitting up thus results between some of the gains and some of the costs of face-to-face interaction. I might note that when one’s participation is thus shielded, simultaneous maintenance of dissociated side involvements would seem to be facilitated, since these could hardly intrude between oneself and one’s availability to the others in the situation—one not being available at all.



VI-11 a

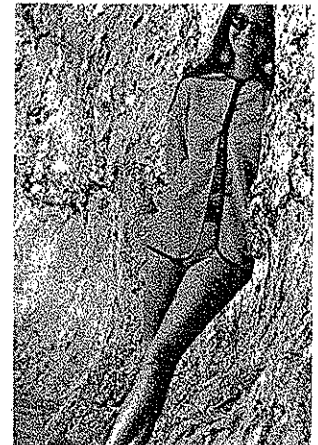
VI-11 i At the edge:



Love's A Little Cover is a subtle smooth makeup that covers so well, you'll look fresh and soft even in doubt.

VI-11 i a

A ritualization of participation shielding occurs when one presents oneself as if on the edge of the situation or otherwise shielded from it physically, when in fact one is quite accessible to those in it. Still further ritualization is found in commercial posings.



VI-11 i b

(continued)





VI-11 i c<sup>21</sup>

VI-11 ii From behind objects:



VI-11 ii a



VI-11 ii b



VI-11 ii c



Frases con  
koffer asesores e  
benéficos para  
de los hijos de  
Libre elección  
less, om de choice  
All our access  
increasingly stan. Do  
spokous Christof  
Still, all a fat  
to part of your de  
noting toward it

VI-11 ii d

<sup>21</sup> Contrast this picture of hedged participation with one that is formally similar but suggesting no protective participation:



VI-11 i fn c

VI-11 iii From behind animals:



VI-11 iii a



VI-11 iii b



VI-11 iii c

VI-11 iv From behind a person (with the consequent opportunity to overlay distance with a differentiating expression, in the extreme, collusive betrayal of one's shield)

The past is only a beginning



VI-11 iv a

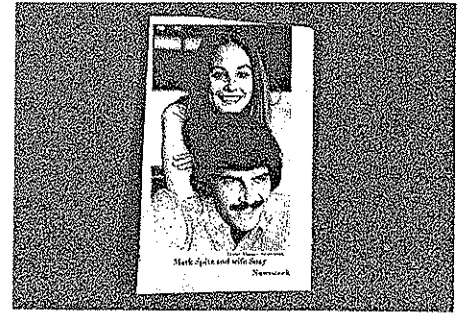


VI-11 iv b



Diana Rigg and Menachem Guelten

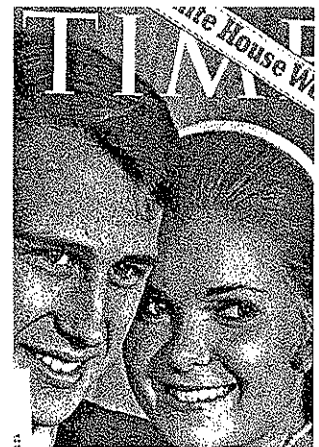
VI-11 iv c



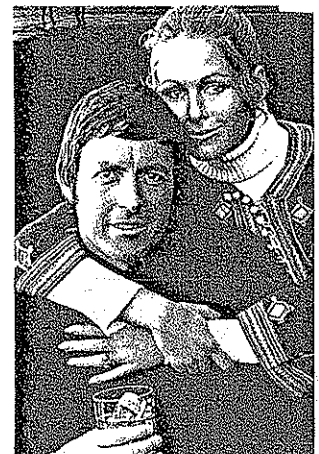
VI-11 iv d



VI-11 iv e



VI-11 iv f



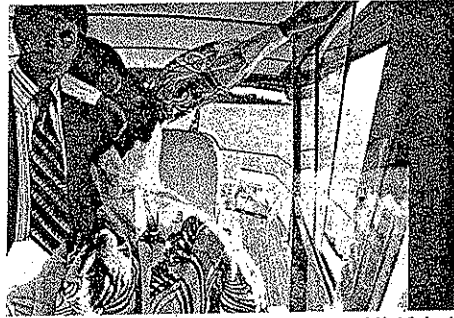
VI-11 iv g

(continued)

So smooth, it's the fastest-growing  
Light Whiskey in America.



VI-11 iv h



VI-11 iv i



VI-11 iv p

The young lady in this photo provides an excellent  
demonstration of eye orientation.



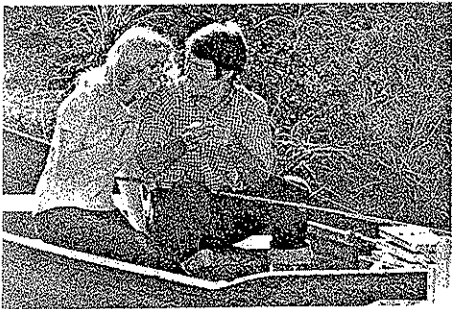
VI-11 iv j



VI-11 iv m



VI-11 iv q



VI-11 iv j



VI-11 iv n



sure you could get a perfectly good  
sit in your own back yard.

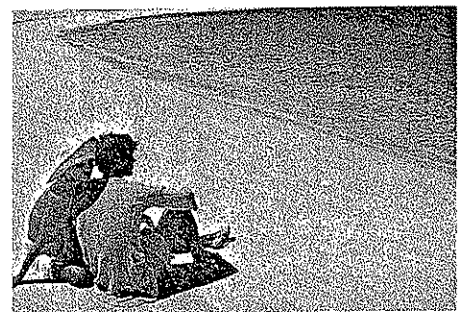
VI-11 iv r



VI-11 iv k



VI-11 iv o



VI-11 iv s

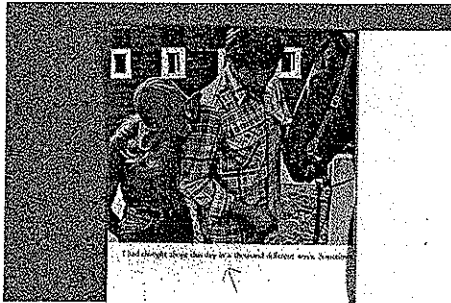
(continued)



VI-11 iv t



VI-11 iv x



VI-11 iv u



VI-11 iv y<sup>22</sup>



VI-11 iv v



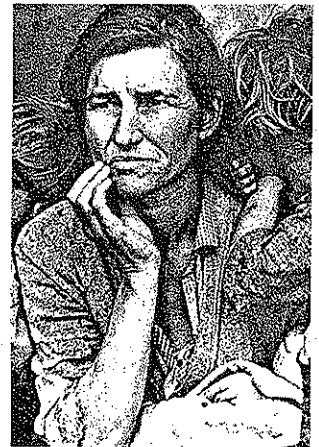
VI-11 iv z



VI-11 iv w

VI-12 Snuggling: among primates the very young turn, or are turned, into their mothers' bodies for comfort and protection, sometimes further cut off from the surrounding situation by enclosure within her arms. Perhaps the suckling position is the prototype, although for a child any adult in a parental role seems qualified as something to snuggle into.<sup>23</sup> As the child grows up, the insulation this practice objectively provides from the surrounding scene decreases progressively; eventually the withdrawal achieved this way can only be ritualistic. Whatever the biological roots of this snuggling practice, it is a resource in the formulating of commercial pictures.

VI-12 i Children:



VI-12 i a

(continued)

<sup>22</sup> It should not be assumed that mere physical placement is involved here. Men are routinely pictured in a rear position in a manner implying anything but coyness and dependence (see, for example, the pictures in IV-3 and V-11). As typical in these matters, the same verbal description of relative "physical" position could be equally applied to cover radically different effects. For the effective reading of his text, the writer depends upon effective viewing by his readers—words here serving to point, not specify.

<sup>23</sup> An ethological position on these postures is presented in Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1972:120-124). I am very grateful to Professor Eibl-Eibesfeldt for permission to reprint these three pictures (V-7 a, VI-1 iii a, and VI-1 iii b) from *Love and Hate*.



VI-12 i b



VI-12 i f

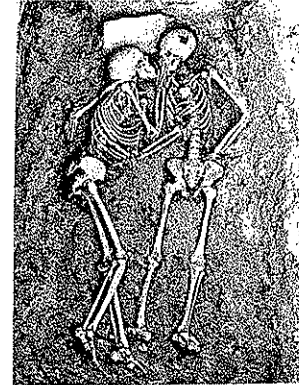
VI-12 ii Adults, lying:



VI-12 i c



VI-12 i g



The Hasaniu lovers  
A male skeleton (left) and a female skeleton (right) found with evidence of their love life in the grave quarters of a tomb at the Robert H. Taylor, P.

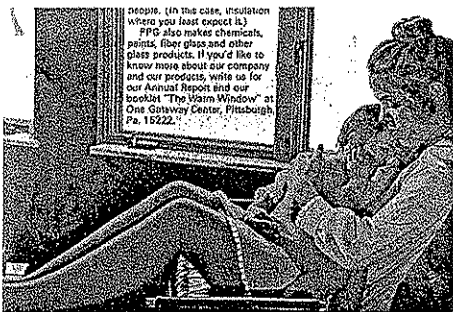
VI-12 ii a



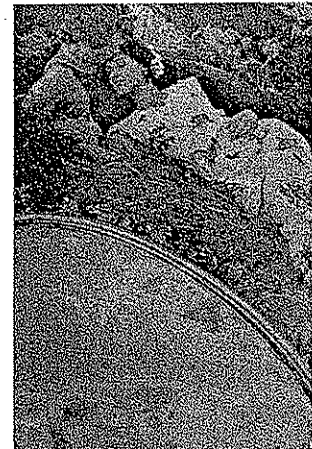
VI-12 i d



VI-12 ii b



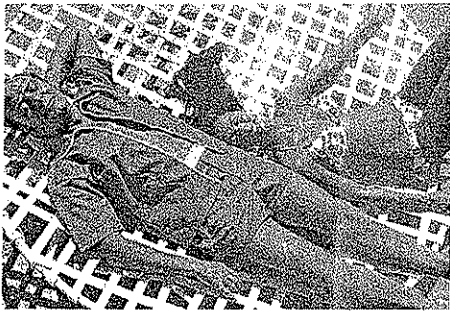
VI-12 i e



VI-12 ii c

(continued)

VI-12 iii Sitting:



VI-12 ii d

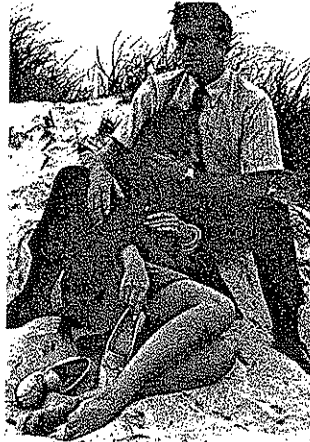


reflecting the wave of American cultural change,

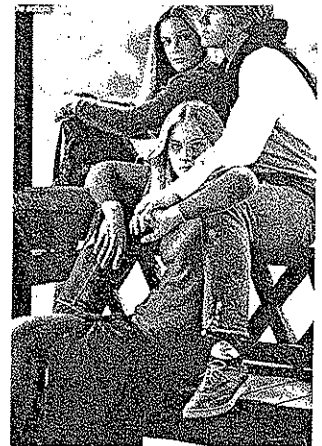
VI-12 iii a



VI-12 iii e



VI-12 iii b



VI-12 iii f



VI-12 iii c



VI-12 iii g



He uses the same line on everyone.

VI-12 iii d



VI-12 iii h

(continued)

leep ary.



VI-12 iii /



VI-12 iii m



VI-12 iii j



VI-12 iii n

VI-12 iv One sitting, one standing:



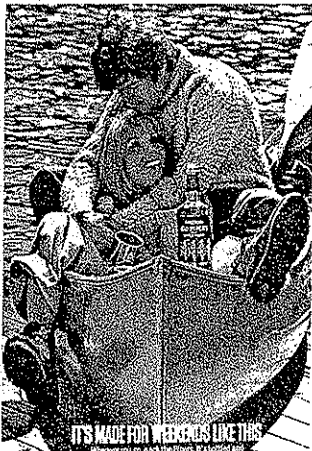
VI-12 iv a



VI-12 iii k



VI-12 iv b



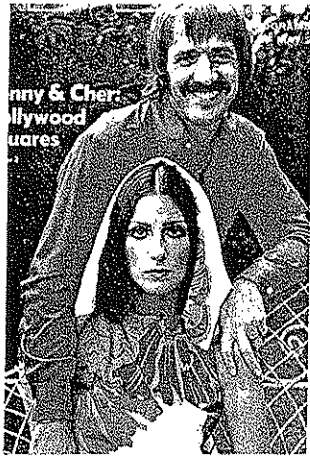
VI-12 iii /



**Wool. It's got life.**

VI-12 iv c

(continued)



VI-12 iv d



VI-12 iv e



VI-12 iv f

VI-12 v Standing:



VI-12 v a



VI-12 v b



VI-12 v c



VI-12 v d



VI-12 v e

Joie de vivre au soleil du Portu



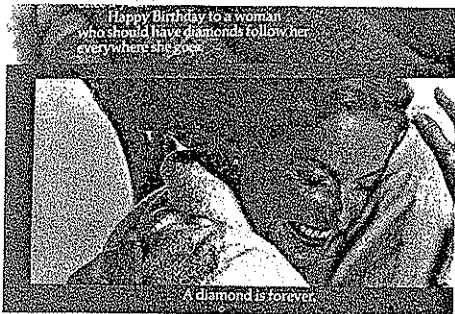
VI-12 v f



VI-12 v g

(continued)





VI-12 v h

blue shirt isn't what it used to be.

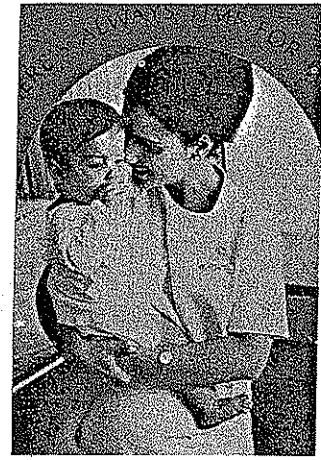


VI-12 v i



VI-12 v j

VI-13 Nuzzling—apparently an attenuated form of snuggling—involves employment of the face and especially the nose as a sort of surrogate or substitute for tucking in the whole body. Nuzzling, then, would seem to constitute a form of partial withdrawal from full availability to the situation at large. What one finds, in pictures at least, is that women nuzzle children but men apparently do not. Indeed, women are sometimes pictured nuzzling objects. And, of course, women are pictured nuzzling men.



VI-13 d



VI-13 a



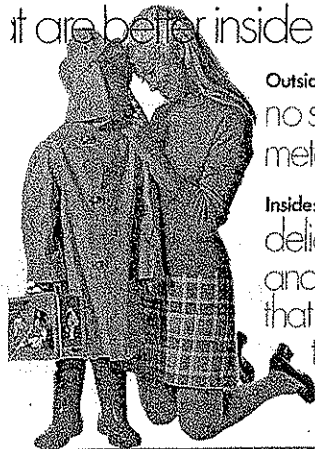
VI-13 e



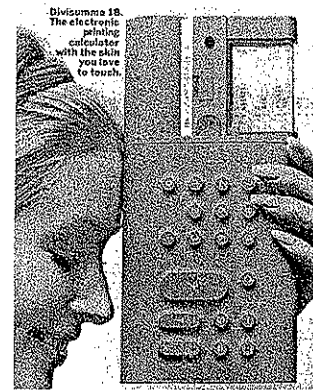
VI-13 b



VI-13 f

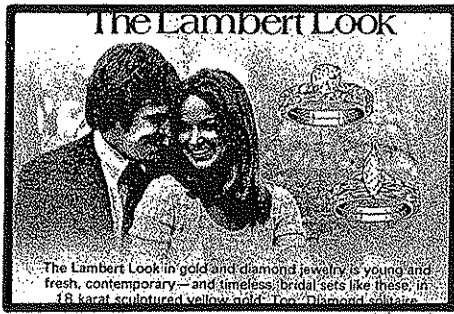


VI-13 c



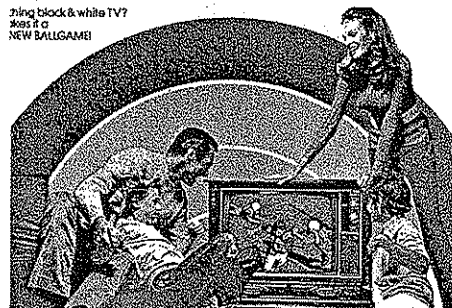
VI-13 g

(continued)



VI-13 h

VI-14 The process whereby an individual snuggles into another seems anything but impersonal, and yet is (I feel) related to something that has an impersonal cast, namely, the use of another's body as if it were something that could be used at will, without apparent reference to its possessor, as an object to lean on or rest one's limbs on, in short, as a physical resource, not a socially responsive one. In many cases, note, such leaning use of another seems to be an attenuated, very ritualized, form of snuggling. Note also that a non-sexual implication is present in the contact, and that, in advertisements at least, women (much as do children with respect to adults) apparently have license to use more of a man's body in this utilitarian way than the reverse. The assumption seems to be that a woman is less likely to have sexual intent than a man, and that her use of his body is therefore less suspect than his use of hers. (Of course, an added factor is the understanding that he will be able to bear her weight much easier than she his.) Note, the configurations here considered involve individuals in a personal relationship; typically a sexually potential one. Among the less close, the license to touch follows a different pattern. Men can punctuate their verbal interaction with women by showing support, protectiveness, good will, and parent-like affection, through the laying on of the hand, a license apparently less available to women (and other subordinates) in their dealings with men (see Henley 1973).



VI-14 a



VI-14 b

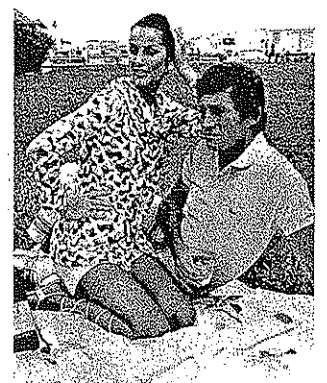


VI-14 c



VI-14 d

*Elle Fifth Avenue*



VI-14 e

(continued)



It's coming-out time for you

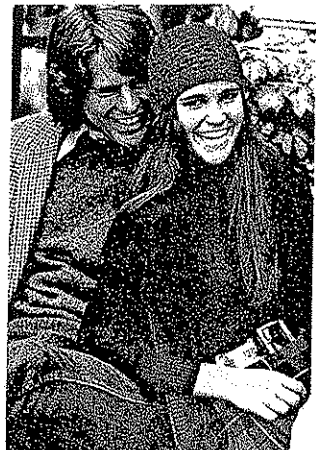
VI-14 f



VI-14 g



VI-14 h

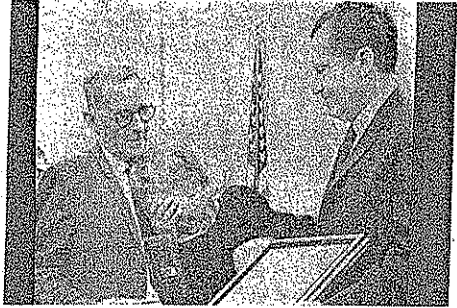


VI-14 i



VI-14 j

VI-15 A very standardized two-person asymmetrical configuration observable in real life and often in pictures is the "grief embrace." All combinations of sex are found in the two roles, except, apparently, that women are not pictured providing this sort of comfort to men.<sup>24</sup> Whether in life or in pictures, one is provided here with a nice example of formalization—the reduction of multiple configurations to a rather set ritualistic maneuver:



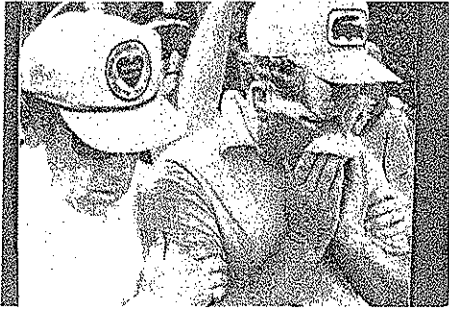
VI-15 a



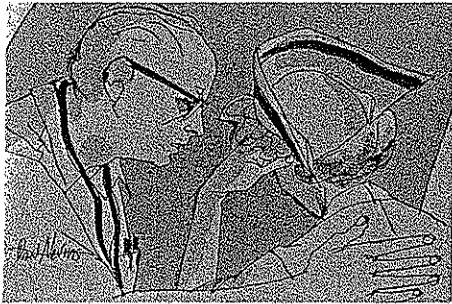
VI-15 b

(continued)

<sup>24</sup> This distribution is not, I think, the basic one in our society. For there are many ritual practices of a supportive, bonding kind that women can extend to women or men, that men can extend to women, but that men can't extend to men. Kissing and terms of endearment such as "honey," "dear," "love," are examples. Indeed, a wide range of supportive practices may have a common, natural social history, beginning as something adults extend to children and then moving on through the following sequence of accretions: women-to-women, women-to-men, men-to-women, men-to-men.



VI-15 c



VI-15 d

VI-16 The grief embrace appears to manifest itself in an attenuated, hyper-ritualized form, namely, arm support given as evidence of some sort of commendation or moral approval. Again, in commercial pictures, women do not seem to be shown giving this support to men.



VI-16 a



VI-16 b



VI-16 c



RE SCHREIBER, a graduate of Purdue, and a Volunteer in Foreignship.

VI-16 d

But you've told him plenty.



On the subject of drinking, it's not only what you say, it's how you act.

VI-16 e



VI-16 f



VI-16 g

(continued)



Did you know that  
the Queen of England  
parted bone china  
for wedding table  
a Shree Aymatoy?  
Oh yes, it does.  
When the president's  
higher ranked crystal  
the close Waterford.

VI-16 h

**V** Under display have been "natural" expressions of gender insofar as these can be represented in commercial advertising through visually accessible behavioral style. I believe that upon examination these expressions turn out to be illustrations of ritual-like bits of behavior which portray an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each other, accomplishing this in part by indicating, again ideally, the alignment of the actor in the social situation.

Commercial photographs, of course, involve carefully performed poses presented in the style of being "only natural." But it is argued that actual gender expressions are artful poses, too.

From the perspective of ritual, then, what is the difference between the scenes depicted in advertisements and scenes from actual life? One answer might be "hyper-ritualization." The standardization, exaggeration, and simplification that characterize rituals in general are in commercial posings found to an extended degree, often rekeyed as babyishness, mockery, and other forms of unseriousness.

Another answer is found in the process of editing. A commercial photograph is a ritualization of social ideals with all the occasions and senses in which the ideal is not exhibited having been cut away, edited out of what is made available. In ordinary life we conspire to provide the same kind of "natural" expressions, but we can only do this by means of behavioral style or at particular junctures in our course of activity—moments of ceremony, occasions for giving sympathy, sudden access to friends, and similar junctures in the daily round, as determined by a schedule we know little about as yet. So both in advertisements and life we are interested in colorful poses, in externalization; but in life we are, in addition, stuck with a considerable amount of dull footage. Nonetheless, whether we pose for a picture or execute an actual ritual action, what we are presenting is a commercial, an ideal representation under the auspices of its characterizing the way things really are. When a man in real life lights a cigarette for a woman, the presupposition is that females are worthy objects, physically limited in some way, and that they should be helped out in all their transitions. But this "natural" expression of the relation between the sexes, this little interpersonal ritual, may be no more an actual reflection of the relationship between the sexes than is the couple pictured in the cigarette ad a representative couple. Natural expressions are commercials performed to sell a version of the world under conditions no less questionable and treacherous than the ones that advertisers face.

By and large, advertisers do not create the ritualized expressions they employ; they seem to draw upon the same corpus of displays, the same ritual idiom, that is the resource of all of us who participate in social situations, and to the same end: the rendering of glimpsed action readable. If anything, advertisers conventionalize our conventions, stylize what is already a stylization, make frivolous use of what is already something considerably cut off from contextual controls. Their hype is hyper-ritualization.

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