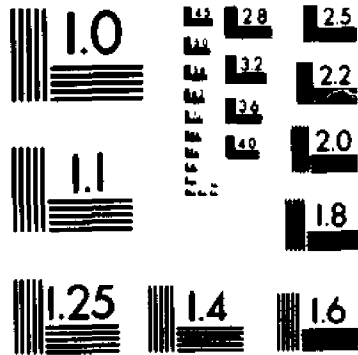
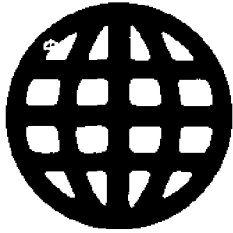


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**CONSUMING CIGARETTES: ON THE SOCIAL MEANINGS OF WORK,
LEISURE, AND PLEASURE IN CIGARETTE MAGAZINE ADVERTISING**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1986

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CONSUMING CIGARETTES :
ON THE SOCIAL MEANINGS OF WORK, LEISURE, AND PLEASURE
IN CIGARETTE MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

by

GODWIN A. BERNARD

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1986

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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1 PREFACE

This dissertation is an epistemological study in two senses. On one level, I am interested in the social meanings embedded in consumption behaviors and how we come to know these behaviors. On a second level, I use epistemological to refer to the underlying process, the interaction between theory and empirical analysis, which led to the findings and conclusions of this study.

I did, however, have some very specific notions about those things which are of interest to me. Primarily, I am interested in the informational content of advertisements, and the ways in which such advertisements are used to provide cues about the performance of social roles. My notion is that analysis of consumption patterns is a major and meaningful process in understanding social behavior and consequent changes in those behaviors. In fact, I assume that the information embedded in advertisements is used by consumers to clarify and define behavior patterns associated with social activities.

An analysis is made of depictions of 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure' in cigarette magazine advertisements. One purpose is to evaluate how often information about such activities is provided in the advertisements. A second is to understand which consumers are depicted as more likely to be engaged in each of these activities. Finally, a third aspect is to

understand how an institution attempts to channel the motivational orientations of consumers by differentially reinforcing specific behavior patterns of consumers with specific rewards and commodities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I want to extend my warmest feelings and deep gratitude to my mother, Mrs. Enid Pitter, for her steady encouragement and, above all, for keeping the faith through many crises.

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From among the academic circle, I acknowledge with gratitude my debt to my adviser, Professor Charles Winick, who, most of all, nurtured my intellectual appreciation of the significance of the institution of advertising, and the many complex issues of which it is the locus. I am grateful to him for never denigrating any attempt by myself or others to consider any phenomenon as sociological, and to explore it in innovative ways. Professor Raymond Franklin encouraged the use of robust qualitative analysis to counterbalance and integrate the drier statistical formulations. Professor Rolf Meyersohn was the first to spur my interest in advertising by including literature on the then 'philistine' institution, as part of an undergraduate course on mass media. I am very grateful to both for their role in my

intellectual development.

Sandra Gonsalves also deserves mention. As my co-author, we were involved in several publications and numerous discussions, the outgrowth of which was the formulation of my dissertation in the general area of the social psychology of consumption. Mr. Dean Harrison has always extended himself and was always able to get all the little things done. Along with that, he was always able to arrive at the the practical solution for any number of ongoing problems. I am deeply indebted to him.

Lastly, I want to extend my deepest gratitude and affection to New York City and its public education systems, without which, 'I just couldn't have done it brother'.

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1 CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

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2 THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

This dissertation deals with the ability of the institution of advertising to differentially reinforce the motivational orientations of people towards 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure' by relating consumption practices to them. My interest is in how advertising attempts to channel such motivations into a consistent and predictable choice pattern between consumable goods and durable commodities through the provision of specific rewards to different demographic groups.

Sociologists do not often examine the underlying process in values formation which may act as motivational spurs to social conduct. They are more often involved in correlational analysis of income levels, educational levels, or occupational levels, than in specifying the actual social conduct of individuals (Garfinkel, 1967; Churchill, 1972).

I evaluate how advertisements on three problematic social conducts, 'work', 'pleasure', and 'leisure', are used in everyday life to organize and report routine activities portrayed by adult models for cigarette consumption, and of the rewards, resources, and commodities associated with them.

My study is related to a set of studies which use content analysis to examine and make inferences about the distribution of specific kinds of rewards to such consumers as blacks, whites, males, and females, in terms

of the modelled behavior depicted for them in advertisements.

The central focus of these studies is to evaluate advertising as a symbolic system, and to define its general role in shaping consciousness and providing a framework for thought and feeling (Schudson, 1984:180). Such studies assume that some people actively construct their social identities from the information content of advertisements (Edell and Staelin, 1983).

An additional assumption is that there are stereotypic images which are propagated by advertising portraying the characteristics of individuals and groups who are considered as socially useful. A good example of this belief is the Time magazine report of an organized black protest against a televised milk advertisement featuring a healthy blonde female proclaiming the virtues of milk as a nutritious food (Time, 1978:63). These activists claim that the association of a food with 'blondness' makes it seem that milk is beneficial only to whites, who appear as being socially useful, and unfairly denigrates blacks, both in terms of beauty and health.

Such behaviors are also associated with certain kinds of rewards and resources. To the extent that these types of social conduct are proffered as routine everyday behaviors among members of specific groups, such routines become reflective of the general social valuation of these groups. This has led to several exploratory studies of mass media to evaluate their content and

impact on specific audiences.

In Dominick and Rauch's (1972) study of 986 advertisements from prime time commercials on television network flagships stations in New York during April, 1971, the variables are product advertised, product user, central person, voiceover narrator, on-camera salesperson, dress, occupation, and the setting.

The principal finding is that 75 percent of all advertisements using women as product users are for products generally found in the kitchen or the bathroom. Eighty seven percent of all the voiceovers are males, as are 32 percent of the on camera salespersons; 56 percent of the females are judged to have an occupation of housewife. Forty three different occupations are coded for males but only 18 for females. The authors claim that 'these advertisements also mirror the restricted range of jobs open to females in real life (p.263). They conclude that despite the presence of the women's movement, females are still presented in a stereotypic fashion. Even those women shown away from home relate to people in a service role as stewardesses or secretaries.

Court and Whipple (1974), confirmed the essentials of Dominick and Rauch's arguments by comparing four studies of women in TV commercials. Across the four studies, 87 to 89 percent of all the voiceovers are males, but the distribution of males is just as dominant in daytime commercials.

McArthur and Resko (1975), investigated television

commercials in the context of social learning theory ,viz., that 'observational learning from live and symbolic models (i.e., films, television, and books) is the first step in the acquisition of sex-typed behavior' (P.209). There are three salient aspects to their study. First, these researchers are interested in the content of the arguments that males and females use when both are salespersons/voiceovers for identical products.

Females do not give any arguments in favor of the product 30 percent of the time. This is true only 6 percent of the time for males (p. 215). Males are depicted as authorities or experts on the product being advertised. Females are usually unknowledgeable product users.

Second, the nature of the rewards differs by sex. Females are found more likely to receive the approval of family and the opposite sex, while males more frequently receive the approval of friends, and social and career advancements.

The third aspect is that a television advertisement provides a manageable unit for analysis. By the age of 17, the average viewer has probably seen some 350,000 commercials. Given the assumption of social learning theory, constant repetition of commercial messages is felt to reinforce specific behavioral orientations.

As shown by Boorstin (1974), the repetition of a message is one of the primary attributes of advertising behavior. It is precisely this advertising function of

repetition which leads to the usefulness of advertisements as documents for analysis of behavioral stimuli. Since repetition is a stable pattern in advertisements, the researcher is able to distinguish the differential reinforcements of rewards, resources, and commodities.

In the Jennings, Geis, and Brown (1980) study, filmed tv commercials are used as stimuli in an experimental design using 52 college women as subjects. There are two kinds of treatments. One presents advertisements showing women in a traditional setting, while the other shows women in nontraditional settings. Results indicate that women who see the nontraditional versions show more independence of judgement (measured on the Asch conformity scale) and also exhibited more self confidence when giving a public speech. Support is provided for their hypothesis that 'commercials function as social cues to trigger and reinforce sex role stereotypes'. They suggest that repeated exposure to non-stereotypic commercials might help produce positive and lasting changes in women.

Lastly and briefly, we report on Poe's (1976) investigation of active women in advertisements. The data consisted of magazine advertisements from the years 1928, 1956, and 1972. Her finding is that despite the rise of the women's movement, the portrayal of women in sports show more variation in 1928 than in either 1956 or 1972.

Social learning theory is the implicit starting point for these studies. I use Weber's behavioral theory of man (Langton,1982), to focus on an analysis of the patterns of differential reinforcement exhibited by the advertiser toward modelled behavior which depicts differences in controlled consumption of durable and non-durable goods. In the next chapter, I review some studies which attempt to provide some interpretation of the kinds of motivational orientations which can either inhibit or help to increase the consumption of goods. Further, I evaluate the impact of some of these orientations toward 'work', 'leisure' and 'pleasure' as socially relevant activities.

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3 CHAPTER II

4 SOME RELEVANT STUDIES

5 ADVERTISING AND SOCIAL CONSUMPTION

Sociologists like Weber (1930), Lynd (1933), and Veblen, (1899), accord great importance to the nature and the pattern of consumption in a society and between social groups.

The existence of values and behaviors allied to consumption is first suggested by Veblen's conception of 'conspicuous consumption' (1899). For him, conspicuous consumption is both an analytical category and a process of differentiation between the moneyed classes and others. It is not sufficient to merely have money or to just spend it; it is necessary to consume 'safaris', 'tiger hunts', 'antiques', or 'art collections' and to be known for doing so.

Lynd (1933:861-862), posits that most activities in modern society are focussed on buying. Buying allows individuals to gain control over resources and commodities. With the growth of consumption as the locus of ancillary activities, the individual came to accept an innovation such as 'installment credit'. It gives immediate control and possession of desirable goods and services (Lynd,1933:861). Saving for a rainy day or postponement of gratification no longer seem worthwhile. Such adjustments appear ably abetted by the growth of another institution, 'advertising'. Its primary function became that of guiding collective consumer oriented behavior toward choices between available goods and

commodities.

More recently Ewen (1976), Key (1976), and Howard and Hulbert (1976), suggest that because it is impossible for most individuals or groups to participate directly in the productive processes, consumption plays an increasing role in allowing a feeling of participation. Schudson (1984:156), points out that 'increasingly, an index for income is visible and available in the status and quality ranking of consumer goods. Material goods became "visible symbols of inner worth" in worlds where few other symbols had permanence or continuity'.

Ewen (1976), in his study of the social history of advertising and the development of the 'consumer', claims that the purchasing of goods on the installment plan is innovated by the owners of productive processes to insure against the collapse of production due to an insufficiency of demand for the surplus.

The role of advertising in the 1920's became that of destroying the puritanical adherence to traditional consumption patterns. Such things as loyalty to 'ethnic foods' is rerouted in order to make mass persuasive appeals through advertising (Ewen, 1976:95; Key, 1976). Eventually, advertising is able to midwife a shift from such traditional consumption patterns to a new and routine acceptance of continual consumption as a morally neutral activity.

5.1 Advertising As Information

Advertising provides information on the search qualities of goods and services. (Kaldor, 1950; Nelson, 1970; 1974). Nelson suggests that search qualities are those which we can know about prior to purchase of a particular good or service. Examples of such qualities would be 'product price', 'product purpose', or 'product form'.

I extend the concept of search in information to the content of the magazine advertisement to include such qualities as 'race', 'sex', and 'manual/non-manual'. We can examine the information content embedded in search qualities and report on repeated patterns which give salience to selected attributes of 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure', and how we come to know about them. I assume that consumers can rely on the values and information content of commodities to make statements about their status aspirations. In other words, I assume that individuals can react to objects and things. They can use the information and values in the commodities to modify their behavior in interaction with other individuals.

6 THEORETICAL NOTIONS

6.1 Work, Self-Control, And Hedonism

Aside from Weber's (1930) seminal work on the 'Protestant Ethic', no investigations of an empirical sort have been located in which a linkage is proposed between self control/hedonism as behavioral motivation types, and patterns of social consumption. In his study of the 'Protestant Ethic', he investigates why members of only some groups get more of those things determined to be socially desirable. Weber analyzes the differences and differential values and behaviors related to money making, work, and the postponement of immediate needs for Protestants and Catholics.

It is his view that Protestants differ from Catholics in terms of their motivations and orientations toward the acquisition of desirable rewards, commodities, and resources. Protestants invariably are found more often in business and economic life. A greater proportion of them are found to have higher educational attainment (Weber, 1930:38).

Weber suggests that the principal explanation of this difference lay in the character of their religious beliefs (p.119). For Protestants, the Reformation eliminates the Church's control over everyday life in areas such as lending money at interest under religious laws dealing with usury. When Protestants broke away from the Catholic church, interest began to fluctuate

because of the interaction between the supply and the demand for money.

The problem of regulating such new social behaviors leads to the development and growth of the Puritan religious doctrine of predestination and grace that contributed to a new kind of social control of individual and group behavior. The belief is that each individual is born into a situation where their rewards and punishment are already determined for their entrance into heaven.

Some are born with 'grace' so they receive rewards. Since no one is certain that they are graced, some tangible means is devised to emphasize their state of grace. Weber's reading is that the acquisition of material goods and commodities became tangible evidence of a state of grace.

The simplest way to gain these material goods is through hard and diligent work efforts, so the concept of work grew in importance. Individuals and groups are now socially evaluated in terms of the resources, rewards, and commodities they controlled or possessed. The intrinsic self worth of an individual is no longer compatible with this trend. It is the external accoutrements which mattered.

Weber defines this relationship between work, reduced consumption, and material possessions, and commodities as 'The Protestant Ethic'. This consists of the adherence to a value orientation of 'diligent work

efforts', 'frugality, 'savings', 'self-reliance', 'self control', and the postponement and immediate consumption of perishable commodities with income gained from work.

The overarching insight, however, is Weber's specification of self-control as a motivational factor in reducing consumption of pleasurable commodities and/or activities, thus making the routine activity of consumption into an extraordinary event. The general consequence is the psychologically freeing effect of increased acquisition of durable goods as a means of ranking social status.

6.2 Values, Resources, And Rewards

To what extent are variations in social conduct determinable by values? Garfinkel (1967), claims that

'values' consist of methods to make practical actions, practical circumstances, common sense knowledge of social structures, and practical sociological reasoning analyzeable; and of discovering the formal properties of commonplace, practical common sense actions, "from within" actual settings, as ongoing accomplishments of those settings' (page viii).

Gutman (1973), discusses and define 'culture' and 'setting' in a manner similar to Garfinkel. Culture, Gutman posits, includes resources that individuals have which provide alternative means to analyze and

rationalize behavior and social structures. 'Setting' is the specific social unit or structure which sets the parameters and limits possible alternatives. Gutman is specifically interested in changes in the social organization of work and leisure given the 'culture' of both native and immigrant white workers in America between 1815-1919.

Nicosia and Mayer (1976), provide a definition of a cultural value by saying that 'there is agreement that the term implies widely held beliefs as well as a general guide for some set of activities' (p.66). Success through individual achievement, freedom of choice, and active use of time are given as some examples of cultural values.

Nicosia and Mayer also provide a definition of an institution as 'a set of specific activities performed by specific people in specific places through time'. They add that 'an institution must find ways to apply its norms. The primary ways are the creation and implementation of specific rewards and sanctions. In a work institution the norm 'be productive' may be supported by the reward of wages proportional to productivity and by the sanction of fines for employees found to be intoxicated' (p.67).

As the authors develop their discussion, many assumptions are made concerning the taken for granted directives of norms and values in institutions. They seem to imply that a value such as 'success through

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differentially reinforced and modelled.

6.3 The Construct Of Social Class

Social class is one of several concepts used to analyze inequality in social, economic, and power formations. It usually refers to a number of people who occupy the same positions in society or within institutions. They are considered more likely to engage in the same pattern of social exchange. Exchanges motivated out of economic concerns are taken by some researchers as the most relevant for behavioral analysis. But we are often just as interested in exchanges of values and of information. Social class then, is considered to be a most important underlying basis which determines the distribution of rewards, resources, and commodities, received by different groups.

Marx uses class consciousness to refer to a situation where members of a particular group realize that their interests in how the distribution of socially valued products affected them, are markedly different from, and may very well clash with, the vested interests of another group in the same allocation process.

False consciousness defines the possibility that members of a collectivity may lack sufficient information to value the distribution process, or to attempt

modifications favorable to themselves (Bendix and Lipset, 1966).

Weber (1946) attempted a reformulation and refinement of Marx's class concept by suggesting the use of the market as an independent factor in the distribution process between owners of land and capital and owners of only labor power.

Weber had urged the use of a multiple indicators measure of class. That is, of 'class, 'status' and 'power'. But as demonstrated by Kluegel, Singleton, and Starnes (1977):

those who perceive the concept of social class through Weberian lens, only nominally follow his dictum on the use of multidimensional indicators of class. They fail to make the subtle distinction between 'class' and 'status consciousness'. Instead, they use requested social class identification by respondents to substitute for both of these constructs (Kluegel et al,1977).

Bottomore (1966) seems to suggest that social scientists know that 'class' exists 'out there'. But an equally plausible statement could be made about 'status'. The problem for social thinkers is that it is easier for them to locate status than class in the sense of some crucial values orientations which are reversed for the two groups. In fact, one writer (Beit-Hallahmi, 1979), suggests that because of the ubiquity of so many

instruments of mass communications, the dominant values concerning social behaviors have spread throughout the society and among all groups, so that class can be considered only as a heuristic device to organize the structural properties of group behavior. Consequently, proxies using a dichotomous specification for class simply cannot be used in normative investigations which requests information about occupational and/or income levels.

If Weber's notion of multidimensional indicators is so infrequently applied in empirical studies, why isn't Marx's concept of subjective social class more readily used? Wright and Perrone (1977) observe that Marxist class categories are difficult to operationalize. They note that most analyses of class structures in American social science are multivariate analysis of the causes and effects of inequality, and focus on cross-sectional analyses of individuals who achieve particular levels of income and/or occupational prestige.

For Marxists, class is rooted in the relational aspects of the mode and organization of social production, which includes workers, managers, and owners. Wright and Perrone (1977) point out that

to say that classes constitute positions implies ...that there are 'empty places' in the social structure which are filled by individuals. The analysis of class must be understood primarily as the analysis of such empty places, and only secondarily of the actual

individuals who fill them. In Marxian analysis, the investigator begins with the social organization of exchange and production, locates the common class positions, and then specifies the relationships of one class to another.

Because of the density of this approach, there has been a dearth of empirical investigation employing original Marxian categories.

The inability to develop measures for social class remains problematic. It has usually led to requests for self-reports of social class standing which correlate with income levels. Although it can be assumed that income derives from work, the nature or meaning of work itself is rarely, if ever, investigated. Further, such analysis normally focus on the individual as the major behavioral unit. No accounting is attempted for the effects of institutional blockages or stimuli.

6.4 Status Attainment Models

Kahl (1965) is among the first to assess the relation between social class and achievement. He assumes that middle class individuals emphasize accomplishment, striving, and ambition to do better. He cites data showing that although achieving success may be a common goal to which individuals in the society

grativate, it is the lower class individuals who finds the acquisition of money, security, and a home problematic. They direct energies in trying to attain them but take fewer risks than the middle class individuals. The latter class risks gaining big results since they are more concerned with intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation. Middle class individuals take material success for granted allowing them the opportunity to concentrate on other aspects of their career.

Kahl (1965) presents data from his own study, on the relationship of social class to occupation. The six item Occupational Primacy Scale is administered to a white sample of 209 males. This scale purports to be a measure of achievement values ranking occupational success ahead of alternative success orientations.

His findings indicated a strong but negative correlation between social class rank, and occupational primacy ($r = -.46$). An even stronger relationship between this scale and education ($r = -.56$) is found.

When occupational prestige is used instead of social class, a curvilinear relationship results. This is interpreted by Kahl (1965) to be 'an expression of ambition in the middle of the hierarchy where success is feasible, of relaxed and secure acceptance of their position by those at the top, and of apathetic withdrawal among those at the bottom who feel that striving will not lead to success and therefore is not worth the effort'

(p.672).

Hyman (1966) argues that individuals have differential access to the desired resources in the society. Some individuals and groups can pass along a headstart to their offsprings by purchasing education and specialized training. Nevertheless, Hyman believes that if one holds these variables constant, subtle sociopsychological factors aligned with different social class standing, still have a dampening effect on the achievement motive for lower class individuals and groups.

He cites assumed lower class value orientations which place less emphasis on the traditional mainstream success goals; increased awareness of the lack of opportunity to achieve success; and less emphasis on the achievement of career objectives which would in turn be instrumental for success.

Hyman (1966) presents findings from his research indicating differential preference and emphasis by different classes for college education. In each case, lower class individuals are less likely to accentuate college education as essential to their socioeconomic advancement.

Similarly, lower class parents are found less likely to emphasize college education as important and demonstrate less preference for college education as compared to other alternatives.

Pearlin and Kohn (1966), in their crosscultural

study, present additional evidence on social class value structures. They examine American and Italian lower and middle class value orientations. Support is received for the proposition that middle class parents highly value self-direction for their children more than lower class parents.

Working class parents are more likely to value conformity to external sources of obedience. A further claim is made, that self-direction and conformity distill the difference between middle and working class respectively.

Kohn and Schooler (1969) suggest that differences in parental social class attitudes towards their children's value orientation also hold for fathers. Subjects rated a 13 item scale on characteristics they perceive to be desirable in themselves, and made judgements about occupational conditions that they deem favorable. Differences between lower and middle class individuals were found to be reflected in the patterns of endorsement of the items.

The latter group attached more importance to how interesting the job is, the amount of on the job autonomy available, and the opportunity to utilize their abilities. The working class individual is characterized by his greater preoccupation with financial remuneration and fringe benefits, punitive supervisory conditions, job security, working hours, and how tiring the job is. Furthermore, working class individuals prefer not to be

pressured by the work load.

Featherman (1971) explores the relationship between ethnicity and achievement. His panel sample is composed of ethnic and religious subgroups of white males. Three indexes of motivational orientation are constructed for use with the sample.

These consist of the Primary Work Orientation Index (WO), reflecting a positive valuation of the work or job context; Material Orientation (MO) -emphasizing the attitude toward material prosperity and economic rewards which could be attained through on the job work; and Subjective Achievement Evaluation (SA) -an index of the conscious psychological effects of past and present socioeconomic achievements.

Respondents' level of education, occupational prestige ranking, and income are utilized as indicators of career attainments. Jews are found to achieve higher occupational prestige, acquire more years of schooling, and to earn more. Religion and ethnicity are found to have statistically significant effects on educational attainment. Neither, however, has any significant effects on occupation or income.

Jews, like Anglos, score highly in what has been called "the Protestant Ethic", a measure of intrinsic motivation. However, Jews, unlike Anglo-Saxons, also respond favorably to extrinsic work reward. On the SA index, Anglo-Saxons are found to have the highest average scores. The religio-ethnic groups are differentiated on

achievement-related motivations. However, later career achievements are found to correlate more strongly with earlier career attainments than with any of the achievement indexes. Featherman (1971) concludes that achievement-related motivations play a modest role in post career attainments.

In his later study, using the same panel data sample, Featherman (1972) notes that although a relationship exists between social class, education, and achievement orientations, these do not account for as much of the later career achievement variance, as does earlier career achievement. He concludes that the point in the life cycle at which achievement is measured determines the strength of the relationship between social class, education, and achievement.

Goldman (1973) also addresses the issue of the problem of motivation in occupational attainment. He begins by reviewing two formulations of occupational mobility. The first perceives the individual as entering a stratified occupational system and internally impelled to achieve those positions most desirably remunerated.

The alternative viewpoint, 'limited success', views the individual as finding desirable those positions which offer security, are not too difficult to achieve, but are less highly ranked than those which require more striving and ambition. He suggests that both perspectives incorporate a bipolar dimension, upward and downward career anchorage.

Some individuals more highly value top level positions and develop the impetus to pursue this objective all their occupational lives. This kind of drive reflects upward career anchorage. Others accentuate as a value, the occupational progress already made, beginning with the point of entry into the occupational hierarchy. Goldman analyzes data collected in a 1966 survey of 489 male middle managers and specialists from seven business firms from manufacturing, lumber and paper, paintmaking, and others.

The Career Orientation Anchorage Scale (COAS), along with the Central Life Interest Scale (CLI), are administered to the sample at the same time. The COAS is a six item Guttman scale, thought to reflect patterns of upward and downward career orientation. The CLI contains a battery of eight questions, each intended to tap four sectors of behavior: in informal personal relations; in general life experience; in formal organizations; and in technical environments. The respondents are asked to demonstrate their preference for each behavioral sector in terms of a work or a non-work setting. They could choose to say that they were indifferent to any of the two settings.

Goldman's findings are that close to two thirds of those who chose the work setting also classify themselves as upward anchored. Among those who are ambivalent or downward anchored, only 40 percent indicate a preference for a work setting. Neither scale measured actual

mobility behavior, merely self-reported attitudes to work. The statistically residual category labelled 'ambivalent responses' comprised approximately 43 percent of all responses, an indication that the COAS scale is suspect as an unambiguous measure of career orientation.

In the CLI scale slightly more than 40 percent of the responses fall into the ambivalent category. Nevertheless, Goldman does conclude with some insightful statements. First, he suggests that individuals who are upwardly mobile may be given cues that upward mobility is possible or likely, and thus work might become more highly accentuated. Secondly, the upwardly anchored may have already have some value adherence to work as a central life interest. Thirdly, the upwardly anchored individual work commitment may have an instrumental basis in that the individual's goal is to attain high office in the work environment.

6.5 The Manual Non-Manual Dichotomy

The manual nonmanual approach attempts to specify class boundaries. Glenn and Alston (1968) feel that the manual-nonmanual cleavage saliently characterizes the difference between working and middle class. Using data from 20 Gallup polls and three NORC surveys conducted between 1953 and 1965, they classify 113 selected

responses into 17 topics. Among the topics are issues such as foreign affairs; drinking attitude and behavior ; reading habits ; and civil liberties. They claim that responses to these questions are a good indirect measure of cultural differences between occupational groupings.

A detailed procedure is used to compute "cultural scores"; and an individual's score could range from a possible zero to one hundred. The result of this analysis is twofold. Skilled workers are found to be more like manual workers than lower echelon clerical and sales workers. Farmers are found to fit comfortably into the manual category than the non-manual, in terms of their scores. The authors conclude that their research gives added support to the manual nonmanual dichotomy as an appropriate operationalizable concept.

Some doubt is cast on the use of a cultural score continuum to adequately demonstrate the existence of the bounded class concept. Continuums, it would appear, reflect differences in degree of adherence to particular cultural issues, and not the difference in kind that a bounded class concept predicts.

Gagliani (1981), although an economist, deals with some aspects of social class not normally examined by sociologists. The actual physical environment of work, the concept of supervision, the subjection of manual workers to discipline and to work measurement practices, are emphasized by him (p.267).

He provides us with some singular insights on the

issue of why the analysis of females distorts the findings of why some people get more desirable things and rewards than others. Females, like blacks, are newcomers to the managerial and professional job markets. They are more likely to be found in entry positions and lower paying jobs. This, of course, will create a skewed distribution of income for females. But his crucial observation is to demonstrate that it is the non-manual class which has class consciousness and can pass on its favored position intra- and inter-generationally.

While Gagliani argues elegantly and forcibly for the manual-nonmanual framework, Graetz (1983) disclaims a dichotomous class perspective. He opts instead for a fluidity in class sentiments, (measured by subjective class placements) whether the researcher is investigating a supposedly dichotomous class structure or a graded hierarchical structure.

Graetz critiques class self-placement by presenting longitudinal data which show instability in successive class placements in an Australian sample (p.81). Of interest to us is the fact that even in his sample, upper class individuals touted self-control, individual motivation and drive for themselves; but lack of thinking, and preparedness to stay in one job and just earn a living were cited by the average blue collar and white collar workers. So even inadvertently, some sociopsychological differentiation emerges from Graetz's Australian sample.

Vanneman and Pampel (1977) also address the issue of the validity of a manual/non-manual dichotomy to distinguish between working and middle class value orientations. In criticizing the status continuum model, they propound the use of the manual nonmanual dichotomy as a succinct way to demonstrate the existence of bounded classes. This notion of distinct and bounded social classes emphasizes the nature of class to be a categorical division.

6.6 Race, Sex, And Achievement

A basic problem of the previous studies is that they succumb to the bias of excluding blacks and women. Treiman and Terrell (1975) studied the relationship between race, sex, and achievement. The sample consists of 1649 white and black female respondents whose ages ranged from 30 to 44, and a male sample of 675 whites and 539 non-whites, primarily blacks. All respondents are employed and separate analysis are executed for the races.

It is found that for both races, "educational attainment is the overwhelming determinant of occupational status...". The social origin and educational attainment of black females are more strongly associated with occupational achievement than they are

for black males. When a comparison is made between groups, the findings are that : " overall, whites of both sexes gained entry into more desirable jobs than blacks; but that for women 'discrimination does not extend to the status of work open to them, nor to the qualifications demanded'" (p.182).

Rosenfeld (1980) investigated the effects of race and sex on career attainments. Analyzing data from the National Longitudinal surveys on labor market experience, Rosenfeld presented results for some 1500 non-whites and 3500 whites. White males are found to have the highest per hour wage, followed by non-white males. White female hourly wages are next in line and non-white females are lowest. Women and non-white males differed in their career trajectory from white males. However, the career trajectory of both male groups are similar; and the pattern for non-white and white women followed a similar pattern.

Rosenfeld (1980) claims that status is race determined. If racial differences are controlled for, then sex determines status achievements. That is, whites as a group achieve more than non-whites as a group. But within each respective group, however, women have the highest status when measured in terms of socioeconomic index at point of entry into the job market.

That finding differs from Treiman and Terrell's (1975), since it means that women have to have higher qualifications than males in order to occupy entry

positions or to hold or achieve similar positions in the occupational structure. It implies that institutional blockages may militate against occupational and career achievements by non-whites and women.

Wolf and Fligsten (1979) specify authority in terms of the positions men and women occupy in institutions. They define authority as legitimated control over the work process of others (p.236). The authors are interested in the exercise and distribution of authority in institutions. They suggest that restriction of females from positions of authority may be due to the behaviors and policies of employers. Employers may restrict females from such positions because of their attitudes about women's ability to perform in supervisory positions (p.236).

6.7 The Protestant Ethic (PE) Scale

I have evaluated the use and the utility of the concept of 'social class'. Additionally, I have indicated that the dichotomy of 'self-control/hedonism' appears to distill the difference between two kinds of individuals. At other times I have provided evidence for a similar effect for the manual/non-manual dichotomy.

These two kinds are respectively, individuals who are intrinsically motivated to set and pursue goals and

consequently have on the job autonomy, and those whose on the job work and behavior are controlled through external supervision, work assignments, and the use of the time clock.

The concepts of self-control/hedonism, and manual/non-manual, are both defined in terms of the work environment, or to values orientations toward work. Indeed, specific values orientations towards work have often been used to segment working class from middle class (Pearlin and Kohn, 1966; Featherman, 1972; Goldman, 1973). There are three types of evidence advanced to support a strong link between work orientations and reported social class standing. First, there are theoretical notions such as those espoused by Marx and Weber. Second, opinion surveys support the view that a central life interest of those who report themselves as middle class, uphold the values of success and achievement through diligent and conscientious work effort (Hyman, 1966, Graetz, 1982). Third, studies of an empirical sort show strong statistical correlations between self-reported social class standing, work orientations, and occupational levels.

What has been lacking in the sociological literature is an approach which consistently evaluates 'social class' across contexts and settings, for replication of similar dimensions. Sociologists have not found a way to measure the concept of 'social class' as a dispositional variable.

There are, however, measures of a dispositional sort developed by social psychologists. In fact, three different measures of Weber's Protestant Ethic construct are currently in use. They are all developed from factor analysis procedures (Blood, 1969; Wollack et al, 1971; Mirels and Garrett, 1971). The primary intent is to use these measures to segment individuals according to their endorsement patterns for the work, deferred gratification, and pleasure seeking items. Indeed, such scales are all constructed around each of the commonly accepted values ascribed to Weber's Protestant Ethic construct.

Much normative data has been gathered on sex (Stake, 1983), race and ethnicity (Gonsalves and Bernard, 1983; 1985B), and cross-cultural samples (Heaven, 1980). Aside from validating the construct of a PE scale, attempts have been made at correlating this scale with other scales (Gonsalves and Bernard, 1985A), and with self-reported social class standing (Gonsalves and Bernard, 1983).

In an unpublished paper, Bernard (1983), underscores the nature of the PE scale as a dispositional variable. He relates the PE scale to reported social class standing and coupon clipping behavior which is used as a measure of frugality. The author assumes that if the PE is in fact a dispositional variable, then it should not merely correlate with social class standing, but should sufficiently segment lower/working class from middle

class individuals on specific measures of consumption behavior. He assumes that whenever social class correlates (significantly statistically) with another variable, the signs of correlation are in opposite directions for the two social classes when controlling for degree of adherence to PE values. The results of the analysis confirm these assumptions.

But it is its purported ability to predict work values which gives interest to the PE scale. Researchers are interested in the degree to which work values are accentuated in different segments of populations and the extent to which normatively assigned differences (i.e. scores in specific standard deviation ranges) in endorsement patterns are associated with work orientations.

Merrens and Garrett (1975) attempt to demonstrate the predictive ability of the PE scale to differentiate work values. They assign subjects on the basis of PE scores to perform manual work tasks in an experimental setting. The specific task is to put X's in circles using the subjects nonpreferred hand; subjects are asked to complete 250 of these tasks, but are free to vary their time. Results show statistical differences. Two specific findings are suggested by the researchers: high PE endorsers exhibit more willingness to put in extra time on the task; and such endorsers are also found to produce significantly more output. These results give some confirmation to the concepts of on the job autonomy,

and the active use of time.

Stake (1983) is interested in the relationship of PE endorsement to work reward endorsement, and in the importance of sex differences. Subjects are asked to allocate rewards to pairs of workers (naives) after watching them work. At the end of that time period, subjects are given information on the time it takes each member of the pair to complete a task, and how much they produce. The subjects themselves have been previously given tasks to do and have been timed.

Results of the study show that the high PE endorsers are more likely to reward on the basis of worker controlled inputs, i.e, time (p.412). Male subjects are found more likely to endorse low pay as a work motivator. 'Low PE subjects are found more likely to agree that low bonus pay could motivate harder work than high PE subjects' (p.416).

We can conclude that there is support for the belief that the PE as a dispositional measure of 'social class', is also a measure of work orientations. I assume that the work/pleasure dichotomy reflects the self-control/hedonism dichotomy and also measures 'intrinsic motivation/external control'. IF these dichotomies are intersubstitutable, can it be supposed that the 'work/pleasure' orientations of an individual is sufficient to estimate his or her social class standing?

If it can be established that different patterns of work and value orientations exist in the modelled

behavior of one group more so than that of another, then it is possible to suggest that the work/pleasure orientations of an individual is sufficient to estimate his social class standing.

The most striking aspect of the studies presented in this review, is the lack of any clear attempt to address and formulate some behavioral model of why working class and middle class individuals should come to hold these differential values orientations. Following Weber (1930), and Langton (1982), the simplest answer appears to be that how behaviors are differentially rewarded with resources and commodities will determine the extent to which specific patterns of behaviors are consistently emulated.

It has been shown that whatever their differences in conceptualizing social class, the work environment remains a constant. However, defined by proxies, work is the basic engine of analysis of self-perceptions, value orientations, and exchanges of values and information. The key then becomes whether values and information are exchanged within set parameters (a bounded class concept) or along a continuum (the individual attainment model).

7 CHAPTER III

8 METHODS OF THE STUDY

9 DATA

Content analysis of print advertisements is chosen as the best method of examining the kinds of goods and commodities which are assumed to be allocated to consumers exhibiting specific behaviors in the areas of work, leisure, and pleasure. Most studies in the literature use income as a measure of the existing allocation pattern, and indirectly as a measure of individual social status. What individuals do with income once they receive it is not usually of concern. By using advertisements, I am able to focus more directly on the goods and commodities which are the more visible signs of social status. I consider 'consumer goods ...to be an index and a language that place a person in symbolically significant ways to the national culture (Schudson, 1984:156).

Print advertisements about national brands of consumer goods represent an efficient way of getting information on selected characteristics of both consumers and advertisers. Such information includes measurable depictions of race, sex, and work activities. Each of these has been shown to be a proxy for social class in the literature review. The information content of advertising specifies the activities associated with the active use of time and 'helps people to recognize what external signs have currency and helps them to move in social circles they may not otherwise have access to or

knowledge about (Schudson, 1984:239).

The data are print advertisements selected from SRDS (Standard Rate and Data Service) 1984 audited national magazines with circulations of at least 200,000. These magazines include Ebony (1,659,529), Jet (871,595), Essence (700,637), Cosmopolitan (3,038,400), Playboy (4,209,324), Penthouse (3,500,275), Time (4,615,594), Newsweek (3,038,832), Black Enterprise (241,500), Esquire (764,321), Players (200,645), Vogue (1,196,088), Sports Illustrated (3,730,275), People (2,831,474), Self (1,134,697), New York Magazine (447,211), Forbes (725,727), and the New York Times Sunday Magazine (1,593,107). The selection includes a subdivision into those whose content is aimed either at black audiences or white ones. Ebony, Jet, Essence, Black Enterprise, Players, fall into the former category, while the rest fall into the latter. Print advertisements depicting adults, male and female engaging in cigarette consumption, are drawn from a minimum of three issues. Table 1 shows the magazine sample distribution.

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TABLE 1
Frequency Distribution of Magazine Sample

MEDIA	NUMBER OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
BLACK ENTRPRISE	43	5.584
COSMOPOLITAN	97	12.597
DOLLARS N CENTS	1	0.130
EBONY MAGAZINE	87	11.299
ESQUIRE MAGAZINE	22	2.857
ESSENSE MAGAZINE	74	9.610
FORBES MAGAZINE	1	0.130
JET MAGAZINE	7	0.909
NEW YORK MAGAZINE	2	0.260
NEW YORK TIMES	75	9.740
NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE	103	13.377
PENTHOUSE MAGAZINE	38	4.935
PEOPLE MAGAZINE	1	0.130
PLAYBOY MAGAZINE	29	3.766
PLAYERS MAGAZINE	8	1.039
SELF MAGAZINE	15	1.948
SPORTS ILLUSTRATED	19	2.468
TIME MAGAZINE	92	11.948
US NEWS/WORLD REPORT	20	2.597
VOGUE MAGAZINE	36	4.675
	-----	-----
	770	100.00%

9.1 The Nature Of The Advertisements Drawn

We can address the scope of the sample in the following ways:

- (a). Only advertisements in which persons are a central feature of the advertisements are selected.
- (b). Only the person depicted as the smoker is coded. If two or more persons are shown smoking then for each advertisement which fit this situation, the person on the left is coded then for the next advertisement the person on the right, and so forth.

In dealing with the nature of the self-control/hedonism dichotomy, we have to examine a behavior pattern in which hedonistic patterns of consumption are embedded. Only advertisements in which the immediate consumption of the product is expected are relevant. In such cases, if behaviors are depicted in the advertisements which dissuade, or modify immediate consumption for need gratification, it is attributable to non-hedonistic behavior .

Advertisements in which the consumption of cigarettes is depicted portray hedonistic patterns of consumption. Cigarettes, if not consumed, become stale. Furthermore, these advertisements are meant to persuade consumption of cigarettes.

9.2 Coding The Advertisements

These advertisements portray the proclivities of one group to engage in hedonistic consumption patterns more than others. Other groups highly accentuate behaviors which exhibit moderation and self control in consumption. In line with this, and in terms of Weber's (1946) conceptualization of status groups, I want to code the following categories: (1) physical differentiation ; (2) psychological differentiation; (3) the magnitude of consumption.

9.3 Physical Differentiation

The primary method of getting physical differentiation is to code the visual evidence of race and sex in the advertisements. Since advertisements provide information on search qualities, mouths held fully open are coded in this category.

9.4 Psychological Aspects Of Consumption

No attempt is made to impute any state of psychological functioning. I code a maximum of two categories by selecting for inclusion into the sample, the first two nouns, or adjectives or verbs or combinations of the three in the descriptive statement. For example, in a particular Newport advertisement promotion, the descriptive statement is "taste the spirit" taste the refreshment". Two categories are formed. One category is coded 'spirit', while the other is coded as 'refreshment'. In the few examples where no descriptive statement is found, the slogan is substituted and the same procedure repeated.

9.5 The Magnitude Of Consumption

Differences in the magnitude of consumption are measured in two very direct ways from the advertisements. All advertisements contained the tar and nicotine content of the particular brand. These are coded exactly as they

appear in the advertisement for each advertisement in the sample. Additional measures of consumption are provided using figures on cigarette consumption and advertiser expenditures. Thus for 18 of the top 20 selling brands, figures are available for the years 1978 through 1980.

These statistics included the total number of cigarettes sold in millions, total magazine and radio advertising expenditures, advertising cost per thousand cigarettes sold, and advertising cost per carton of cigarettes, along with the rank of the most efficient advertiser. With the inclusion of such data, inferences which are suspected to be tautological, can no longer be considered as such. The figures on advertising expenditures are a good check on the informational contents coded as proxies, since they are independent of each other.

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10 PROCEDURE

Categories such as race and sex are all categories which can be coded from information provided in the content of the advertisement. Circulation volume, subscription base of magazine, price per page for four color advertisements, size of magazine page are all characteristics which do not necessitate the specific use of content analysis.

10.1 Selecting The Sample

A total of 770 unique advertisements are drawn from 20 nationally audited magazines. The selection covers an eight year period from 1977 through 1984. It includes, within each brand, at least two promotion campaigns. The requirement of using only those advertisements for which advertising statistics are available on advertising expenditures, investments, and total sales of cigarettes, reduce the total to 629 usable advertisements. These advertisements form a sample containing a distribution of advertisements for 18 of the top 20 selling brands. Table 2 shows the distribution of the modified magazine sample.

TABLE 2
Distribution of Modified Magazine Sample

MEDIA	NUMBER OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
BLACK ENTRPRISE	40	6.359
COSMOPOLITAN	80	12.719
DOLLARS N CENTS	1	0.159
EBONY MAGAZINE	70	11.129
ESQUIRE MAGAZINE	21	3.339
ESSENSE MAGAZINE	59	9.380
JET MAGAZINE	6	0.954
NEW YORK MAGAZINE	2	0.318
NEW YORK TIMES	43	6.836
NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE	90	14.308
PENTHOUSE MAGAZINE	32	5.087
PLAYBOY MAGAZINE	24	3.816
PLAYERS MAGAZINE	6	0.954
SELF MAGAZINE	14	2.226
SPORTS ILLUSTRATED	13	2.067
TIME MAGAZINE	84	13.355
US NEWS/WORLD REPORT	17	2.703
VOGUE MAGAZINE	27	4.293
	-----	-----
	629	100.00%

One hundred eighty three individuals are identified as blacks and 449 as whites. Three hundred fifty three are males and 276 are females. Four hundred and fifty individuals are shown with a lighted cigarette, or actually smoking, or with cigarette pursed in the lips and about to light the cigarette.

Since for each advertisement only one person is coded, variables are created to keep count of the total number of persons in each advertisement, the total number of female smokers, male smokers, and the combined total of female and male depicted as smoking.

Forty seven percent (296) of the advertisements depict the female either singly or with one male only.

Fifty three percent (329) depict the male singly or with one female. Twenty six percent (162) of the advertisements show no males while 43 percent of them show no female presence. Twenty percent show the male smoker with two or more male and female figures present, but only 9 percent show the female smoker present with other male or female figures. Table 3 below shows the percent distribution of magazine advertisements having a given tar content in the unweighted sample.

TABLE 3

Unweighted Percent Distribution of Tar Content

TAR IN MILLIGRAMS	PERCENT OF MAGAZINES WITH GIVEN TAR CONTENT
2	0.636
3	0.159
4	0.477
5	2.703
6	2.226
7	0.954
8	8.903
9	19.555
10	5.246
11	15.421
12	3.339
13	3.975
14	1.908
15	7.949
16	6.836
17	10.652
18	2.544
19	2.862
20	3.657

10.2 Coding Pictorial And Verbal Images

To develop categories for the variable representing activities, a statement describing the advertisement is written for each advertisement in turn. All statements which described similar events whether in the same promotion, or a different promotion within the same brand, or for different promotions across brands, are coded into the same category using a dummy coding scheme. The numerical code 1 represented the presence of an outcome of interest; zero represented all the other categories.

Such a coding scheme represents the binomial distribution and provides meaningful statistics of mean,

standard deviation, and standard error. Six activity categories are coded as the central pictorial focus. 'Leisure' included activities such as: golfing on the fairways, dining out in a restaurant requiring formal dress, horseback riding in the countryside, etc. The two activities coded for 'smoking' included: a model smoking, and models holding a lighted cigarette as the only or primary focus of the advertisement.

'Ruggedness', is a coded pictorial category for the Marlboro and Camel man. In these advertisements, I interpret 'Ruggedness' as equivalent to 'Self-Reliance'. 'Pleasure' is characteristic of those advertisements in which a screaming man and woman, or screaming men and women, are engaged in some horseplay such as: piling up in a picture taking booth, throwing snowballs at one another, hosing each other with water, and other such hikinks.

The primary activity for the single female is to pose in lush coutures, while holding a cigarette demurely. Indeed, each advertisement bears an identifying label giving the name of the designer. Such advertisements are coded, 'femininity'. Three kinds of modelled activities are coded as 'work': manual tasks consists of welding, construction, and lumbering. Professional and technical tasks include: captaining a ship, deep sea diving, engineering, sportscasting, and newspaper publishing, etc. The third type of task included: recording engineer, music-making, fashion

designing, and artistic endeavors.

'leisure1' and 'leisure2', represent the primary and secondary verbal images which are the counterparts of the pictorial depiction of 'leisure'. 'Smoking1' and 'smoking2', 'pleasure1' and 'pleasure2', bear the same relationship to the pictorial depictions of 'smoking' and 'pleasure', as the leisure variables above. 'Taste1' and 'taste2', 'self-reliant1' and 'self-reliant2', are similarly defined, except that neither pair has a counterpart in the pictorial measures. Table 4 shows the distribution for each of the labeled categories.

TABLE 4
 Weighted Distribution of Pictorial Variables
 For the Overall Sample

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LEISURE	889	0.22384702	0.41705537
SMOKING	889	0.11023622	0.31336026
RUGGEDNESS	889	0.08886389	0.28470736
PLEASURE	889	0.22159730	0.41555527
FEMININITY	889	0.17210349	0.38717272
WORK	889	0.1833528	0.38717272

LEISURE= pictorial depiction of leisure activities

SMOKING= pictorial depiction of smoking

RUGGEDNESS= pictorial depiction of self-reliant
activities

PLEASURE= pictorial depiction of pleasurable
activities

FEMININITY= pictorial depiction of courted female

WORK= pictorial depiction of manual, non-manual,
activities

The same procedure outlined for the pictorial categories is used in the coding of the two verbal image variables.

11 SAMPLE WEIGHTS

As can be seen from the data presented above, the coded sample of sex and race is skewed toward males and whites. A crosstabulation is executed using the two variables and weights are constructed to equalize the numbers of black females, black males, and white females to the white male total. Table 5 shows the weighted distributions. The normal pattern used in the analysis

is to weight the sample when executing any statistical analysis.

TABLE 5

Distribution of Sample Weights by Race and Sex

WEIGHT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
1	278	44.197
1.625731	171	27.186
2.78	100	15.898
3.475	80	12.719
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TOTAL	629	100.00

These figures represent the sample weights for white males, black males, black females and white females respectively.

11.1 Independent Variables

The major independent variable in the study is the advertiser. This variable is easily identifiable since each document contained a name and trademark.

Three sets of advertising investment variables are available for the years 1978-1980, making a total of nine separate variables. One set of these represents total advertisement investments by year; the second set

represents advertising costs per thousand cigarettes sold; the third is the advertising cost per carton of cigarettes sold and is used to rank advertiser efficiency. These variables are closely tied to the degree of commitment and support for their own values shown by advertisers.

Three measures are used as dependent variables. The total number of cigarettes sold in millions by brand is a direct measure of consumer endorsement of advertiser values. Figures are available from 1978-1980 and a mean overall measure is computed from the three years for use in the analysis.

Total paid magazine subscription is used as an indirect measure of the general consumer's commitment to a particular lifestyle and values orientation. A second indirect measure of consumer commitment to specific lifestyles and values is total newstand magazine sales. The figures for total paid subscription and total newstand magazine sales are available for 1984. Race and Sex are used as control independent variables in the overall analysis and as proxies for social class.

The six activity variables along with the 10 primary verbal image variables, and the nine secondary verbal image variables, reflect measures of differential lifestyles, rewards, resources, and commodities associated with purported cigarette consumption. These variables on a whole, represent intervening variables.

11.2 Dependent Variables

Tar content is used as the dependent variable and represent the target commodity to be consumed.

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12 CHAPTER IV

13 WORK, LEISURE, PLEASURE

14 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyze advertising and its presentation of smoking. I also examine the kinds of values, rewards, resources, and commodities which it proffers as rationalizable and analyzeable behaviors.

In learning about such behaviors, we learn some of the ways individuals relate to social organizations and how central work, leisure, and pleasure orientations are in determining the distributions of goods and commodities. This argument is partially based on Boorstin's notion of the role of advertising and its' relationship to democracy. He makes the rather strong statement that:

if we consider democracy as a set of institutions which aim to make everything available to everybody, it would not be an overstatement to describe advertising as the characteristic rhetoric of democracy (1974:13).

In line with Boorstin's insightful statement, we want to see who gets what by analyzing advertisements for the activities portrayed. The assumption is that the social conduct depicted by the models, are reflective of those values characteristic of both intrinsically motivated individuals, and of those individuals whose conduct require externally imposed control

14.1 Notions Of Work, Leisure, And Pleasure

Weber emphasized the 'work/leisure' dichotomy as central. He also accentuated a 'work/pleasure' dichotomy. A question therefore, is whether leisure and pleasure are the same things and therefore interchangeable; or whether they are opposing and spell out antagonistic orientations to the PE values orientation.

A careful reading of Weber (1930), indicates that leisure reflects accepted rational behavior if activities are scheduled for specific purposes.

As we have seen, this asceticism turned with all its force against one thing; the spontaneous enjoyment of life and all it had to offer. ...Sport is accepted if it offered a rational purpose, that of recreation necessary for physical efficiency. But as a means of spontaneous expression of undisciplined impulses, it is under suspicion; and in so far as it became purely a means of enjoyment, or awakened pride, raw instincts or the irrational gambling instincts, it is of course strictly condemned. Impulsive enjoyment of life ... leads away from work (p. 166-167).

Leisure for Weber is complementary to work; pleasure is antagonistic and is the true partner in the dichotomy. Means and Kendall zero order correlations are presented for the overall sample and for samples of race and sex groupings. Table 6 presents the means for selected variables from the overall sample.

TABLE 6
 Selected Means for Pictorial and Verbal
 Categories for the Overall Weighted Sample

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LEISURE	889	0.2238470	0.4170554
SMOKING	889	0.1102362	0.3133603
RUGGEDNESS	889	0.0888639	0.2847074
PLEASURE	889	0.2215973	0.4155553
FEMININITY	889	0.1721035	0.3776828
WORK	889	0.1833521	0.3871727
SMOKING1	889	0.1237345	0.3294638
LEISURE1	889	0.1484814	0.3557767
SENSATION1	889	0.1349831	0.3418979
SELF-RELIANT1	889	0.2373453	0.4256952
TASTE1	889	0.1079865	0.3105381
FEMININITY1	889	0.1316085	0.3382550
SCHEDULE	889	0.0303712	0.1717031
SELF-RELIANT2	889	0.0911136	0.2879326
SENSATION2	889	0.1957255	0.3969815

LEISURE= pictorial depiction of leisure activities
 SMOKING= pictorial depiction of smoking
 RUGGEDNESS= pictorial depiction of self-reliant activities
 PLEASURE= pictorial depiction of pleasurable activities
 FEMININITY= pictorial depiction of coutured female
 WORK= pictorial depiction of manual, non-manual, activities
 SMOKING1= primary verbal imagery of smoking
 LEISURE1= primary verbal imagery of leisure
 SENSATION1= primary verbal imagery of foodlike intake
 SELF-RELIANT1= primary verbal imagery of self-reliance
 TASTE1= primary verbal imagery of cigarette content
 FEMININITY= primary verbal imagery of coutured female
 SCHEDULE= slogan of time management behavior
 SENSATION2=secondary verbal imagery of food intake
 SELF-RELIANT2=secondary verbal imagery of self-reliance

The means reflect three measures of 'work', 'leisure' and 'pleasure'. The pictorial variables are the coded dummy categories of the visually depicted behaviors of the models. Variables ending with the numeral '1' represent the primary verbal depiction of the models behavior; those ending with the numeral '2' represent the secondary verbal depiction of the models behavior. Leisure and pleasure separately account for 22 percent of the advertisements (and 44 percent of the total), while work with 18 percent is some 4 percent smaller in distribution. Sensation1 is 13 percent of the distribution; leisure1, is 15 percent; and Self-reliant1, is some 24 percent. For the third measure of the work/leisure dichotomy, 'leisure2' is some 9 percent, 'pleasure2' is some 28 percent, and 'self/reliant2' just 9 percent. Only three percent of the advertisements presented verbal depictions of activities as scheduled.

Among the three measures the 'leisure' variables are correlated with each other, the 'work' variables with each other, and the 'pleasure' variables with each other. So there is consistency across variables within similar dimensions. Scheduled activities are related to leisure activities; self-reliance to work. White male models are depicted in association with work and self-reliant activities more often than black male and other models. On the other hand, black males are more likely to be modelled in pleasure seeking activities. Smoking as a category of activity, is not associated with the verbal

image of smoking, but rather that of the verbal images of sensation. In the overall sample, a moderate correlation exists between total number of persons depicted in an activity and models depicted in pleasure seeking activities ($r=.51$). White males are, however, depicted in work or self-reliant activities, and their modeled behavior is negatively correlated to total number of persons in the advertisement ($r=-.12$). Black modelling behavior is, however, related to total number of persons in the advertisement ($r=.219$).

14.1.1 Components Of Work

All the modelled activities relating to work represent skilled, professional, and technical activities. Even those relating to the arts, such as playing music. The lowest level of skill involves trucking; a more difficult skill level involves unspecified construction tasks, and able-bodied seamen in some merchant marine duty. A still higher level depicts the operating of heavy machinery and skills such as welding and riveting. The last and highest level skill are reflected in surveying, piloting small aircrafts, and captaining freighters and other merchant vessels.

These last three perhaps are most likely to necessitate more than several years of formal training at a university level. This may also be the case for what

may be depicted as a foreman or inventory engineer in advertisements featuring lumbering operations.

A second set of the work related activities depicts the self employed professional and or performer. These include models depicted as painters, ceramicists, architects, sportscasters/journalists, deep sea divers, and musicians. Among these are also small scale owner managed shops for newspaper publishing, garment designing, and boat building.

In terms of the race of the models, blacks are depicted only as musicians and in public employment service as small aircraft pilots and weathermen, as shown by their insignias. Only one brand featured advertisements (Kent) which may be considered as modelling behavior in the corporate executive mold.

These advertisements feature a single male actor, with graying temples, smoking; he is semi-undressed and holding a tennis racquet. The salient features, however, are the surrounding symbols. The model is always in a locker room, and mostly shown as seated; in the foreground is his valise; and in the background, on a mannequin, is his suit jacket and repp tie. He is smoking a cigarette which ranks among the lowest in tar and nicotine content.

14.1.2 Components Of Leisure

Although there are no specific quantitative measures of time in the data, the advertisements reflecting leisure activities all had distinctive time frames in both their pictorial and verbal measurements.

A high proportion of the advertisements represent an intimate setting where a well dressed couple is having lunch or dinner, at a restaurant or other public space away from home. Time is reflected in the setting of dates for places and events. It is also noticeable that many of the models are equipped with watches.

Leisure activities commonly focus on the kinds of commodities which models possess or control. These commodities which are mostly durables, include roller skates, bicycles, and motorcycles at one extreme. At the other extreme are luxury apartments, country homes, and sailboats. In between there are furs, paintings, sculpture, horses, and sportscars. there is always a coupling off of the models.

Leisure advertisements depict activities for mature individuals who are capable of showing and sharing responsibilities. Leisure is also the behavior engaged in by persons who are infatuated with such sports and exercises as jogging, rod and reel fishing, and cross country and downhill skiing. Mature individuals are apparently fond of alfresco dining, either in the city or small outdoors lunching in the countryside.

14.1.3 Components Of Pleasure

The principal component of behavior depicted as pleasure seems undeniable to be a 'screaming woman' or a 'screaming woman and man engaging in some spur of the moment activity'. This usually involves spraying water on each other, or throwing snowballs, or some such hijinks. Indeed, many activities seem to imitate childrens' pranks like jumping fireplugs, piling up in a phone or picture taking booth or whistling at passing girls or men.

Everything is fun: even when the activity is indeterminate, there is still laughter. Often no activity at all is presented except for a focus on models vigorous open mouth laughter. One of the largest correlations which emerged for the overall sample is between the number of models with open mouths and the pictorial depiction of pleasure ($r=.61$). Males are slightly more likely to be depicted with an open mouth ($r=.54$) than females ($r=.51$).

We turn now to examine 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure', controlling for the effects of 'race' and 'sex'.

15 THE EFFECTS OF RACE AND SEX

Two inferences are suggested about differences in modelled behavior between black and white males. First, a possible relation exists between black modelled behavior and the verbal imagery of 'sensation'. Second, black males seem to lack a work 'biography'. Whites, on the other hand, are depicted in a work environment accentuated by the imagery of self/reliance. In Table 7, I have listed the means, standard deviations and numbers of the three groups of variables being examined.

TABLE 7

Weighted Distribution of Selected Pictorial and
Verbal Image Variables for Black Males

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LEISURE	240	0.16250000	0.36967983
SMOKING	240	0.17500000	0.38076118
RUGGEDNESS	240	0	0
PLEASURE	240	0.40000000	0.49092177
WORK	240	0.22500000	0.41845502
SMOKING1	240	0.21250000	0.40993162
LEISURE1	240	0.13750000	0.34509413
SENSATION1	240	0.31250000	0.46448108
SELF-RELIANT1	240	0.23750000	0.42644046
SELF-RELIANT2	240	0.08750000	0.28315689
LEISURE2	240	0.22500000	0.41845502
TASTE2	240	0.12500000	0.33141007
SMOKING2	240	0.01250000	0.11133462
PLEASURE2	240	0.05000000	0.21840042
SENSATION2	240	0.40000000	0.49092177
TAR	240	13.86250000	4.43571587
NICOTINE	240	1.02500000	0.27784286
NUMBER OF MODELS	240	2.20000000	1.30078830

LEISURE= pictorial depiction of leisure activities

SMOKING= pictorial depiction of smoking

RUGGEDNESS= pictorial depiction of self-reliant
activities

PLEASURE= pictorial depiction of pleasurable
activities

FEMININITY= pictorial depiction of coutured female

WORK= pictorial depiction of manual, non-manual,
activities

SMOKING1= primary verbal imagery of smoking

LEISURE1= primary verbal imagery of leisure

SENSATION1= primary verbal imagery of foodlike intake

SELF-RELIANT1= primary verbal imagery of self-reliance

TASTE1= primary verbal imagery of cigarette content

FEMININITY= primary verbal imagery of coutured female

SCHEDULE= slogan of time management behavior

SENSATION2=secondary verbal imagery of food intake

SELF-RELIANT2=secondary verbal imagery of self-reliance

15.1 Modelling Black Male Behavior

For black male models, pictorial depiction of pleasure and the two verbal depictions of 'sensation', have the largest means. But both the verbal image of 'self-reliant1' and the pictorial depiction of 'work' show fairly large means.

Due to the fact that this is a weighted sample with each observation multiplied $n * \text{weight variable}$, only those variables having means of .10 and bigger are selected for analysis.

'Work', as a modelled black male behavior, shows a strong moderate and positive relationship to average annual cigarette sales ($r=.54$), but a moderate and negative relation emerged with 'pleasure' ($r=-.44$); and moderate negative relations also resulted for 'number of open mouths' ($r=-.44$), 'advertising cost per thousand cigarettes sold' ($r=-.42$), 'cost per carton sold' ($r=-.42$), 'total number of lighted cigarettes' ($r=-.42$), 'number of males with lighted cigarettes' ($r=-.40$), and 'sum of the tar content on all lighted cigarettes' ($r=-.40$).

The conclusion for 'work' activity seems to be that the depiction of black male models in a work arena may positively effect total sales of cigarettes. I find that for modelled black male behavior, the 'work' 'pleasure' dichotomy seems confirmed on the basis of the negative correlation ($r=-.44$). That is, given the notion of

self-control discussed, engagement in pleasurable activities takes away from engagement in work activities. All of the above correlations are statistically significant ($p=.0001$).

An examination of the actual components of the work shows only two spheres of competency; musicmaking, and small aircraft piloting. Both spheres reflect stereotypic images. Piloting represents a skilled technical and professional occupation. But since the portrayed occupation reflects government service, it suggests perhaps (unfairly) lack of initiative and feeding at the public trough.

No relationship is found between 'work' and 'self-reliant1'. 'Self-reliant1' is related to 'total average annual investment from all sources' ($r=.55$), total number of models in the advertisement ($r=.53$), 'total paid magazine subscription' ($r=.29$), 'total newstand magazine sales' ($r=.28$), and somewhat moderately and negatively related to 'sensation1' ($r=-.38$).

The marginal yet positive correlation between 'self-reliant1' and the two magazine sales variables, give some support to my suggestion that these two variables represent indirect measures of consumer endorsement of values propagated by the institution of advertising. But the negative relationship between 'self-reliant1' and 'sensation1' is a much more significant relation.

This relationship summarizes the discussion

concerning intrinsically motivated individuals and individuals upon whom external control is imposed. As implied in the analysis of the overall sample, food may be one way to motivate (or control) some kinds of social conduct. 'Self-reliant1' is positively associated with 'total annual average investments from all sources'. And it has been emphasized repeatedly that a presumed PE value orientation is success through individual achievement and diligent work effort (Stake, 1983). Yet we have also seen that no relationship exists between 'self-reliant' and 'work' in black male modelled behavior.

Smoking correlates with 'sensation1' ($r=.61$), and with 'sensation2' ($r=.43$). Further, 'smoking' shows a slight moderate relationship with 'average annual sales' ($r=.30$), while exhibiting a strong moderate correlation with 'cost per thousand cigarettes sold' ($r=-.52$).

In addition, it is found that the primary and secondary images of 'sensation' correlate moderately strongly ($r=.50$) with each other. Sensation1 shows a somewhat moderate correlation with 'average annual sales' ($r=.38$), and a strong negative correlation with 'cost per thousand cigarettes sold' ($r=-.66$). Sensation2 correlates negatively with 'cost per thousand cigarettes sold' ($r=-.42$), but positively with 'total average annual investments from all sources' ($r=.40$).

'Sensation1' correlates negatively and moderately with 'total paid magazine subscription' ($r=-.32$), with

'newstand magazine sales' ($r=-.39$), and the primary image, 'self-reliant1' ($r=-.38$).

It seems that the 'sensation' continuum may represent some type of food intake or substitute in modelled black male behavior. As such, this imagery of food appears to positively effect 'average annual sales of cigarettes'.

The imagery coded for the 'sensation' variables include 'sensation', 'satisfaction', 'satisfied', 'alive', 'revive', 'cool' 'cooler', 'mild', 'mildside' 'smooth', 'silksmooth', and many variants of 'refreshment'. Keep in mind that both images of 'sensation' show fairly moderate to strong correlations with the pictorial depiction of 'smoking', which is clearly an oral activity.

Further, Boorstin (1974), has suggested that words in advertisement exhibit a strong correspondence to American folk talk. Consider 'cool' which is typical black slang. Not only are the top black (male) sports figures known to be 'cool', but they are defined in two ways. They are known to have ice water in their veins; and more traditionally, they are known for their ability to keep everything inside, including pressure.

Given the above discussion concerning both the work biography of the models and of the 'sensation' variables, perhaps smoking as a means of food intake, is a salient aspect of modelled black social conduct. If this suggestion holds, then it might follow that blacks

receive less remuneration from work since it might be perceived that the price of food is much less than the price of acquiring durable commodities. The pictorial portrayal of 'leisure' correlates strongly with the primary verbal image, 'leisure1' ($r=.61$). It shows a slight moderate and negative correlation with 'sensation2' ($r=-.36$). This latter relationship is actually quite suggestive.

'Leisure' as modelled, shows two general activities, dining out and relaxation. In both cases, smoking is a complementary activity. Both activities involve edibles and perishables. Therefore, the negative correlation between 'leisure' and 'sensation2' might be interpreted to mean that the eating of actual food is substitutable for the symbolic ingestion of food.

'Pleasure' as a modelled behavior is strongly and positively associated with the 'total number of models with open mouths' ($r=.65$), 'number of females with open mouths' ($r=.58$), 'total number of models' ($r=.48$), and the secondary verbal image, 'pleasure2' ($r=.42$). It is found to be positively correlated with 'smoking' ($r=.45$), and 'cost of advertising per thousand cigarettes sold' ($r=.41$); but somewhat moderate and negatively associated with 'work' ($r=-.44$), and negatively and fairly strongly with average annual sales of cigarettes' ($r=-.58$).

I have proposed earlier that the three advertising cost variables reflect the degree to which the advertiser is committed to a particular value orientation. On the

other hand, I have also suggested that 'annual average sales of cigarettes' measures the degree to which the real life consumer endorses some of those values.

In the modelled behavior of 'pleasure' the advertiser shows a moderate amount of commitment to 'pleasure' as a salient attribute of black male behavior. It is seen, however, that this pleasure orientation is not endorsed by the real life consumer. So the persistence of the image of blacks as hedonistic pleasure seekers bear noting. Advertisers and marketers in general, are assumed to watch the 'bottom line' carefully. Yet here they appear oblivious to the saliently negatively modelled image and predicted negative sales.

15.2 Modelling White Male Behavior

The means and standard deviations for the 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure' variables are presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Weighted Distribution of Selected Pictorial and
Verbal Image Variables for white Males

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LEISURE	278	0.1546763	0.3622479
SMOKING	278	0.1043165	0.3062220
RUGGEDNESS	278	0.2805755	0.4500907
PLEASURE	278	0.0755396	0.2647366
FEMININITY	278	0.0215827	0.1455787
WORK	278	0.3633094	0.4818202
LEISURE1	278	0.0755396	0.2647366
SENSATION1	278	0.0503597	0.2190805
SELF-RELIANT1	278	0.4496403	0.4983546
TASTE1	278	0.1726619	0.3786363
SELF-RELIANT2	278	0.1906475	0.3935201
SENSATION2	278	0.1007194	0.3014996
TAR	278	12.0611511	3.9582480
NICOTINE	278	0.8744604	0.2378352
NUMBER OF MODELS	278	1.5935252	0.9782257
TASTE2	278	0.2661871	0.4427603
LOWTAR	278	0.2194245	0.4146031

LEISURE= pictorial depiction of leisure activities

SMOKING= pictorial depiction of smoking

RUGGEDNESS= pictorial depiction of self-reliant
activities

PLEASURE= pictorial depiction of pleasurable
activities

FEMININITY= pictorial depiction of coutured female

WORK= pictorial depiction of manual, non-manual,
activities

SMOKING1= primary verbal imagery of smoking

LEISURE1= primary verbal imagery of leisure

SENSATION1= primary verbal imagery of foodlike intake

SELF-RELIANT1= primary verbal imagery of self-reliance

TASTE1= primary verbal imagery of cigarette content

FEMININITY= primary verbal imagery of coutured female

SCHEDULE= slogan of time management behavior

SENSATION2=secondary verbal imagery of food intake

SELF-RELIANT2=secondary verbal imagery of self-reliance

TASTE2= secondary verbal imagery of cigarette content

LOWTAR= slogan of low tar content of cigarette

TAR= tar distribution in milligrams per cigarette

NUMBER OF MODELS= number of models depicted per
advertisement

An examination of these means show that the two largest are 'self-reliant1' ($X=.45$), and 'work' ($X=.36$). Unlike the distribution of means for modelled black male behavior, the 'taste' and 'lotar' variables predominate over the 'sensation' variables. Where black male modelled behavior can be rank by size of means as 'pleasure', 'sensation', 'work', white male modelled behavior is rank ordered as 'self-reliant1', 'work', and 'taste'.

'Work' as a modelled activity shows a moderate and positive relationship to 'total annual average advertisement investments from all sources' ($r=.40$), and to the verbal image 'self-reliant1' ($r=.34$). 'work' is negatively associated with 'leisure' ($r=-.32$), and with the activity of 'Ruggedness' ($r=-.47$).

This latter variable is associated with two particular brands of cigarettes, 'Marlboro' and 'Camel'. Both feature the lone white male adventurer in the outdoors, with competency in a self-sufficient way of life. Considering that cowboying as a way of life has been obsolescent for almost a century, it would seem surprising that such portrayals sell cigarettes. However, 'Ruggedness' is positively correlated with 'total average annual sales of cigarettes' ($r=.31$), and with 'lotar' content' ($r=.33$).

'Ruggedness' represents a source of escapism from the regimen of contemporary work settings. The 'Marlboro' and 'Camel' men are located in rural

environments, uncontaminated by a peopled existence, and free of the exigencies of time schedules and constraints.

The Marlboro man is a steward of the land, living a slow paced life among free roaming cattle and herds of horses. The Camel man is modern contemporary man. He is an adventuresome sort with the instincts to challenge the wilderness and use its products to aid him in his conquests of such uncharted places. It is apparently of no importance that society quartermasters his supply train with every tool and equipment needed to get him in and out of any wilderness.

These models are always white males; and they are for the most part, smokers. Smoking is almost always done as a break from some activity or at the completion of an activity. It appears to allow for a sense of well being and for the time to take stock of what has been done, what additional things need doing, and what new directions to strike out in.

The image of 'tar' is associated positively with the image of 'taste' ($r=.47$), positively and moderately associated with 'total annual average sales of cigarettes' ($r=.33$), and with smoking ($r=.32$).

The secondary image, 'taste2' is negatively associated with 'lotar content' ($r=-.32$), while the primary image, 'taste1' is moderately and negatively associated with 'self-reliant1' ($r=-.41$). We may infer that a dependence on 'tar' takes away from the ability to be self-reliant. Yet 'lotar content' is also negatively

associated with 'work' ($r=-.29$). This would imply that greater 'tar content' is positively associated with 'work'. However, no positive correlations emerge between 'work' and any of the tar or nicotine variables.

To further evaluate this non-relationship, an examination of the components of 'work' is made. I have already mentioned the distribution of work activities for white male models. The only additional observations to be made are first, that a large within group segment (39 percent) represents blue collar manual and skilled operatives work. Secondly, smoking is always an ancillary activity for this segment.

We had mentioned in an earlier part of this chapter that for white male models, leisure activities are organized around the kinds of goods and services they possess or appear to have control over. In Table 8, 15 percent of modelled behavior depicts leisure activities and associated goods and commodities.

Such commodities and goods includes skiis, tennis equipment, horses, sailboats, and luxury suites and appartments, along with bicycles, roller skates, and motorcycles. These encourage an atmosphere of relaxation more so than pleasure or even recreation. Certainly, the middle age white male on the fairways with the golfing clubs, is prototypical of participation in a white middle class leisure activity. It is even more so the quintessential image than 'sweaty' tennis where you are always fighting for each point.

Blue collar type activities, like bowling, seem pointedly absent from the depicted leisure activities. In the depiction of modelled white male behavior, 'work' ($X=.36$), and the imagery of escapism, i.e, Ruggedness ($X=.28$), are juxtaposed as the salient and distinguishing features. These activities also seem to be counterparts of each other.

15.3 Modelling Black Female Behavior

What then are the effects of being female on the depiction of 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure'? In Table 9 the means for black females are displayed.

TABLE 9

Weighted Distribution of Selected Pictorial and
Verbal Image Variables for black Females

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LEISURE	200	0.3100000	0.46365383
SMOKING	200	0.0400000	0.19645092
RUGGEDNESS	200	0	0
PLEASURE	200	0.2700000	0.44507354
FEMININITY	200	0.3800000	0.48660448
WORK	200	0	0
SMOKING1	200	0.1300000	0.33714736
LEISURE1	200	0.2200000	0.41528582
SENSATION1	200	0.1200000	0.32577700
SELF-RELIANT1	200	0.0800000	0.27197399
SELF-RELIANT2	200	0	0
FEMININITY1	200	0.3300000	0.47139268
SENSATION2	200	0.1400000	0.34785777
TAR	200	12.1300000	3.91788837
NICOTINE	200	0.8990000	0.26806397
NUMBER OF MODELS	200	1.9300000	1.59304392
LEISURE2	200	0.5200000	0.50085354
TASTE2	200	0.0300000	0.17101530
SMOKING2	200	0	0
PLEASURE2	200	0.1500000	0.35796746
LOTAR2	200	0.1000000	0.30075282

LEISURE= pictorial depiction of leisure activities

SMOKING= pictorial depiction of smoking

RUGGEDNESS= pictorial depiction of self-reliant
activities

PLEASURE= pictorial depiction of pleasurable
activities

FEMININITY= pictorial depiction of coutured female

WORK= pictorial depiction of manual, non-manual,
activities

SMOKING1= primary verbal imagery of smoking

LEISURE1= primary verbal imagery of leisure

SENSATION1= primary verbal imagery of foodlike intake

SELF-RELIANT1= primary verbal imagery of self-reliance

TASTE1= primary verbal imagery of cigarette content

FEMININITY= primary verbal imagery of coutured female

SCHEDULE= slogan of time management behavior

SENSATION2=secondary verbal imagery of food intake

SELF-RELIANT2=secondary verbal imagery of self-reliance

TASTE2= secondary verbal imagery of cigarette content

LOWTAR= slogan of low tar content of cigarette

TAR= tar distribution in milligrams per cigarette

NUMBER OF MODELS= number of models depicted per
advertisement

Only three activities are salient in black female modelled behavior. 'Femininity' ($X=.38$), 'leisure' ($X=.31$), and 'pleasure' ($X=.27$). This ranking holds up for each of the two verbal images also. The world of work is apparently alien to black females since the mean for that activity is zero. As in the black male portrayals, food intake appears prominent in black female portrayals. Sensation1 ($x=12.0$), sensation2 ($x=14.0$), and smoking1 ($x=13.0$), all have more than 10 percent of the advertisements.

Inspection of the Kendall correlations gives further support to the saliency of 'femininity' as characteristic of black female modelled behavior. As expected, it correlates positively and very strongly with femininity1 ($r=.90$), and moderately strong with femininity2 ($r=.55$), and strongly with advertising cost per carton ($r=.80$). But it correlates negatively with total number of persons in ad ($r=-.61$) and the leisure variables. An examination of these advertisements show a gorgeously handsome female, clothed in luxurious fashions and holding (never smoking) a lighted cigarette. There is no background and therefore no activities.

Leisure correlates moderately with leisure1 ($r=.58$), and with leisure2 ($r=.63$). Total annual advertisement investment is extremely strongly correlated with total annual average sales ($r=.96$), and both correlate moderately strongly with leisure ($r=.52$; and $r=.50$), respectively. Neither of the other two leisure variables

correlates meaningfully with the other variables.

Sensation1 correlates positively with both total annual advertisement investments and total annual sales of cigarettes ($r=.40$), respectively. It correlates positively with lotar intake ($r=.29$), leisure activity ($r=.28$), but negatively with femininity1 ($r=-.29$). As in black male modelled behavior, advertising dollars keyed to food intake, result in a payoff in sales to the advertiser. This relationship holds even more strongly when the measure is 'sensation2'. In these cases, the relationship with total annual advertisement investments is ($r=.52$), and with total annual sales of cigarettes ($r=.53$). All the other correlations for sensation2 parallel those for 'sensation1', but with larger coefficients. the pattern of the intercorrelations seems to suggest that modelled black female behavior is presented as overly compartmentalized.

The depiction of pleasure as an activity gives additional support to what has already been reported to be characteristic of it. Thus it correlates with number of open mouths ($r=.58$) and total number of persons ($r=.63$); it correlates in the expected direction with feminity1 ($r=-.48$), but surprisingly, it correlates negatively and moderately strongly with per carton advertisement cost ($r=-.52$). Apparently, the more the advertiser spends per carton on investment, the less likely he is to depict black female models as engaging in pleasure activities. Per carton cost has already been

shown to be strongly and positively correlated with femininity ($r=.80$). And pleasure and femininity show a moderately strong negative correlation ($r=-.48$).

The verbal images of 'femininity' are coded from the statement, "you've come a long way baby". for the black female model in particular, she has come a long way from slavery and not much else. Her present depiction is to be shown 'posing in couture with cigarette'. There is both a certain hagiography and asexuality involved at a subliminal level. In contrast, her white counterpart, although also shown in couture, is often portrayed in sportswear. Importantly, however, there is always a background insert which puts in context where the white model 'is coming from' and one might logically suspect, perhaps 'where she is going', as well.

15.4 Modelling White Female Behavior

The major differences in the distributions of the two female groups are a decrease in the mean for pleasure ($X=.15$), and an increase in the mean for smoking ($X=.11$). These distributions are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Weighted Distribution of Selected Pictorial and
Verbal Image Variables for white Females

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
LEISURE	171	0.3216374	0.4684765
SMOKING	171	0.1111111	0.3151926
RUGGEDNESS	171	0.0058480	0.0764719
PLEASURE	171	0.1520468	0.3601208
FEMININITY	171	0.3625731	0.4821549
WORK	171	0.0467836	0.2117953
SMOKING1	171	0.0818713	0.2749738
LEISURE1	171	0.1988304	0.4002923
SENSATION1	171	0.0409357	0.1987231
SELF-RELIANT1	171	0.0760234	0.2658139
TASTE1	171	0.2105263	0.4088798
FEMININITY1	171	0.2982456	0.4588315
SENSATION2	171	0.1286550	0.3358010
TAR	171	11.2456140	3.7539659
NICOTINE	171	0.8309942	0.2226278
NUMBER OF MODELS	171	1.7134503	1.3216724
LEISURE2	171	0.4152047	0.4942045
PLEASURE	171	0.1345029	0.3421939
LOWTAR	171	0.1461988	0.3543430

LEISURE= pictorial depiction of leisure activities

SMOKING= pictorial depiction of smoking

RUGGEDNESS= pictorial depiction of self-reliant
activities

PLEASURE= pictorial depiction of pleasurable
activities

FEMININITY= pictorial depiction of coutured female

WORK= pictorial depiction of manual, non-manual,
activities

SMOKING1= primary verbal imagery of smoking

LEISURE1= primary verbal imagery of leisure

SENSATION1= primary verbal imagery of foodlike intake

SELF-RELIANT1= primary verbal imagery of self-reliance

TASTE1= primary verbal imagery of cigarette content

FEMININITY= primary verbal imagery of coutured female

SCHEDULE= slogan of time management behavior

SENSATION2=secondary verbal imagery of food intake

SELF-RELIANT2=secondary verbal imagery of self-reliance

The correlations between the femininity variables, for the white sample, parallel those of black female behavior. However, where femininity is strongly correlated with per carton advertisement cost in the black female advertisements, only a moderate relationship emerges in the white sample ($r=.39$).

The same payoff pattern is also recognizable between leisure and total average annual sales of cigarettes ($r=.52$) and total annual average advertisement investments ($r=.38$), as in the black female sample. Investments in the depiction of leisure do relate positively to sales. Examination of the coded leisure activities show that they are almost exactly the same for both female samples. These involve the following: a lone female posing in fashion wear with a lighted cigarette, or seated at a breakfast table, or strolling, bicycling with a male, or dining with a male, or paired off in a festive setting in a well furnished private house location.

As in all the previous cases, correlations with pleasure confirm the stated contours of this modelled activity. But a weaker relationship emerges in its correlation with smoking1 ($r=.41$) than in the black sample. Smoking activity (Smoking) is related both to tastel ($r=.41$), and to 'sensation1' ($r=.36$). In this sample, 'sensation' correlates only with those variables reflecting parameters of 'pleasure. It is not the salient attribute that it is for black female modelled

behavior.

For the white male sample, 'self-reliant1' (X=45), and 'work' (X=36), show the largest means. The means of both black and white female modelled behavior, show strong similarities, however. For the latter groups, 'pleasure2', followed by femininity, and femininity1, have the largest means.

The mean for black female models 'work' activity is zero, while that of white female models is just .04. This seems to support both Gagliani's (1982), and Rosenfeld's (1980), suggestions concerning the difficulty of female entry into the work arena.

There are several reasons for accentuating such modelling. Boorstin (1974), has pointed out the nature of repetition in advertising. He claims that advertising should be studied as a model for epistemology, how we come to know about the things we do.

Krugman (1965), proposes that repetition in advertising 'will permit significant alterations in the structure of our perception of a brand or product, but in ways which may fall short of persuasion or of attitude change. One way we do this is by shifting the relative salience of attributes suggested to us by advertising as we organize our perception of brands and products' (p.353). Garfinkel's 'documentary method' is another way to examine select attributes. Take for example that any two persons are engaged in a conversation. Garfinkel would argue that:

many of the expressions are such that their sense cannot be decided by an auditor unless he knows or assumes something about the biography and the purposes of the speaker, the circumstances of the utterances, the previous course of the conversation, or the particular relationship of actual or potential interaction that exists between user and auditor. The expressions do not have a sense that remains identical through the changing occasions of their use (p.40).

In other words, there are patterns or 'biographies' which we use to set the parameters for behaviors which define the everyday world. At any one moment, we are not aware of the course of conversation nor of the behavioral component of an activity. We first act as voyeurs or auditors then fill in the blanks with some documents we have in memory for immediate access.

In examining the world of work for the overall sample we are not provided with a biography for blacks and other white nonmale models engagement in the arena of manual work.

16 CHAPTER V

17 CONSUMING CIGARETTES

18 THE MAGNITUDE OF CONSUMPTION

Cigarette tar content is the numerical figure provided in the advertisements by the advertiser, and represents an objective quantifiable measure, rather than inferred content (Edell and Staelin,1983:49).

Why is an examination of cigarette tar content of importance? Aside from the fact that it has been established that a strong positive association exists between cigarette smoking and cancer, I want to look at the ways in which advertisers perceive 'how people employ products to influence how they appear to others in given situations' (Solomon,1983:327). In doing so I will look at the differences in the magnitude of consumption and further examine the degree to which tar content is associated with 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure'.

The variable, 'tar content', combines three variables in a multiplicative manner. Firstly, I add together the total number of lighted cigarettes held or smoked by each male and female model, and multiply this number by the tar content in milligrams for each cigarette. This made up the first measure of tar content. The second measure, total tar content, consisted of tar content multiplied by the total number of cigarettes, lighted and unlighted, in each advertisement. This is done since I had observed that whenever the tar content of the brand advertised is equal to or less than 13 milligrams of tar, the total number of

cigarettes displayed in any advertisement increased. This is especially true for the 'lights' brand of cigarettes. Each advertisement is also a sample of the advertiser. 'Work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure', are inferred as examples of values the advertiser holds about his audience. Advertising expenditures is used as a measure of the degree to which the advertiser is committed to these values. As a consequence, the sample is weighted by the value of the advertising cost per carton.

Two kinds of analyses are performed. In the first instance, the total amount of tar consumed by each race for the year groupings, 1977-1979, 1980-1981, and 1982-1984, are plotted for 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure', for both sexes. In the second instance, the tar distribution for each race is examined for 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure', for each type of cigarette within the sexes. In terms of contingency analysis, the analysis presented is considered as a crosstabulation with two levels of control and one with three levels of control respectively.

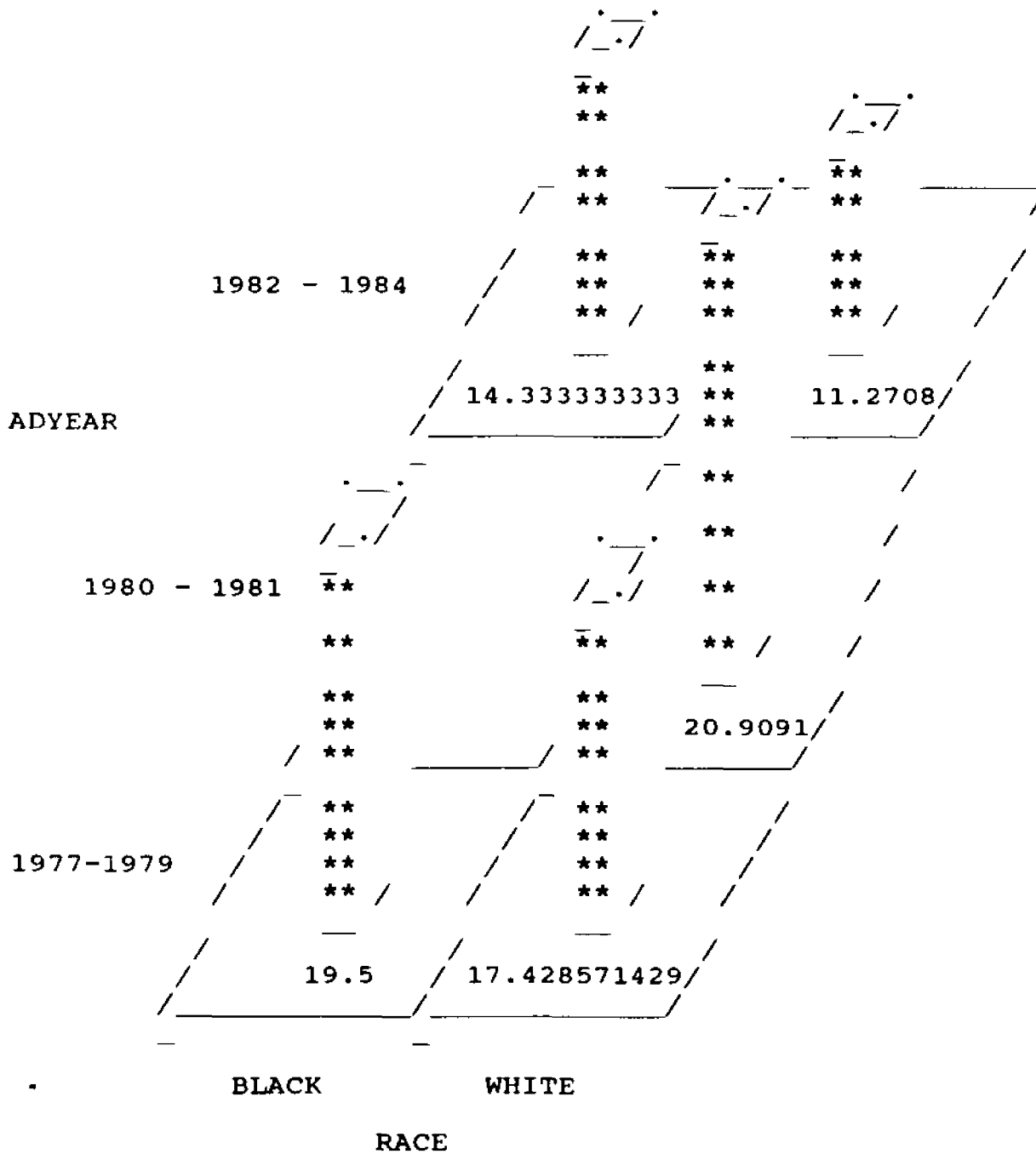
The tables in this chapter present the contents of a crosstabulation cell represented as the graph of a high rise apartment block. The numbers in each cell represent the average tar content in milligrams (mgs) for all the advertisements for that year grouping. The figures to the left and outside of the graph are the relevant year groupings from which the advertisements are selected.

19 MALE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Let us begin by examining the tar distribution displayed in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Males by Race for Work Activity



19.1 Work

Figure 1 displays the distribution of tar for black and white male models. We know from previous analysis that a greater proportion of white male modelled behavior depicts work (36 percent) than does black male modelled behavior (23 percent). So it is expected that the distribution of tar should be greater in advertisements modelling white male behavior. However, this proves not to be the case. The mean for blacks ($X=19.5$; $n=6$), is about 2 mgs higher than for whites ($X=17.4$; $n=14$). No data appear for blacks in the 1980-1981 period. Whites, however, show an average of 3 mgs increase in tar content ($X=20.9$; $n=11$). In the 1982-1984 period, blacks with a mean tar content of 14.3 mgs ($n=9$), maintain a 3 mgs tar difference over whites ($X=11.2$; $n=48$).

One reason for this is that there is an overall decline in total advertisement expenditures (Advertising Age 3:22:1982). It can still be inferred that even in times when advertisement investments decline there is a commitment to 'work' as a valued white behavior. This is shown by the large positive differences in the numbers of white models over blacks engaged in the behavior. This inference still holds even if advertisements of this nature are just being introduced in this time period.

Figure 1 shows that the mean tar content for black male modelled advertisements is slightly higher than for the white counterpart for which there are data. In the

before 1980 category, the mean level of tar for the black models mainly reflects skilled work; specifically, the individuals coded are small aircraft pilots. His white counterpart modelled work of a manual sort--lumbering, construction, etc.

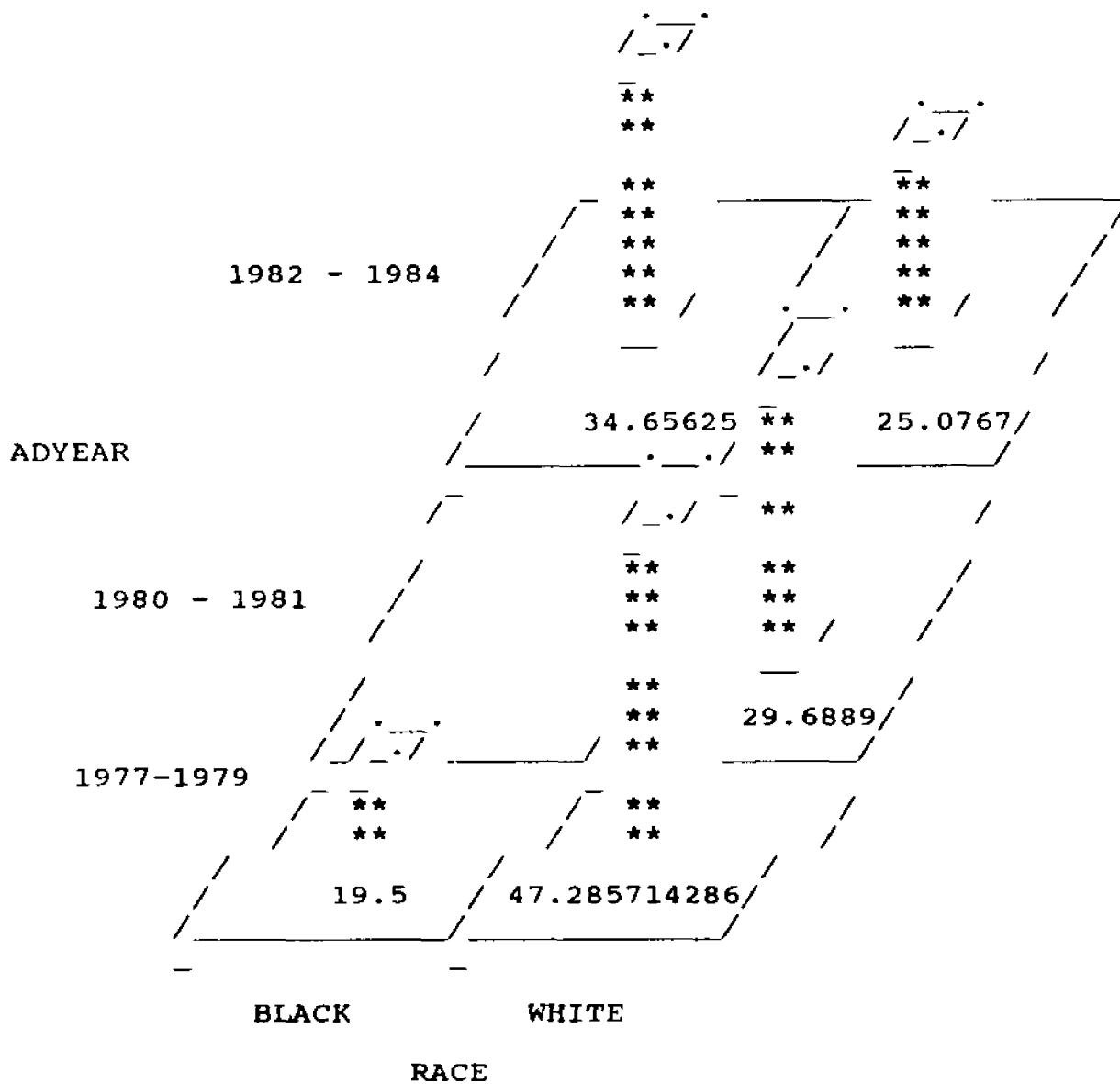
The mean levels are high for both samples. Additional inspection shows two noticeable features in the 1980-1981 category. There are data only for the white sample. And the mean tar level shows an increase over the previous one.

It is harder to explain the lack of data for black models in the 1980-1981 period. If a salient feature of 'work', is manual tasks, then blacks are not depicted in such activities.

Drugs are often used as social control mechanisms. We can infer that high tar content is a technique to control and routinize expected behaviors in an institutional setting. Remember that this measure represents the total tar content times the number of cigarettes displayed divided by the total number of models shown. This distribution is shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Males by Race for Work Activity



In the 1982-1984 period, blacks consume on the average 34.6 mgs of tar, while whites are shown as consuming some 25 mgs. In the 1980-1981 period, whites are depicted as consuming some 4.5 mgs more than in the later period ($x=29.6$ mgs), while there are no data for black consumption. Strikingly, in the 1977-1979 period, whites are depicted as consuming on the average 47.3 mgs of tar. Blacks, on the average, consume only 19.5 mgs of tar.

The black 1977-1979 figures remain unchanged in the two figures presented so far. This is despite the fact that some of the criteria variables have changed. There is thus a constancy attributed to black behavior on the part of the advertiser during this period.

Note that while white models are shown to have a declining rate of tar consumption, going from a high of 47.3 mgs in 1977-1979 to a figure of 25 mgs in 1982-1994, the reverse holds for black models. Whites are shown to have a 22 milligrams decline in average tar consumed, while the black models show a 15 milligram tar increase. In a negative sense, the rewards for this kind of positive behavior are reduced levels of tar intake, a known hazardous substance. The reverse holds for the black sample. For each period with data for comparison, the Mean Tar content remains appreciably higher than for the white sample.

The period 1982-1984 reflects a change in 'work activities' coded. These new advertisements promote a

pattern of individual achievement. Consequently, these models engage in 'work' which are professional/technical and management related. The decrements in tar content for this period is thus due to the promotion of the 'lights' brand of cigarettes. The latter normally have a tar content of less than 10 milligrams of tar. It is of course, my assumption that individuals, regardless of race or sex, will be depicted as consuming greater quantities of 'tar' whenever their 'work' is manual in nature.

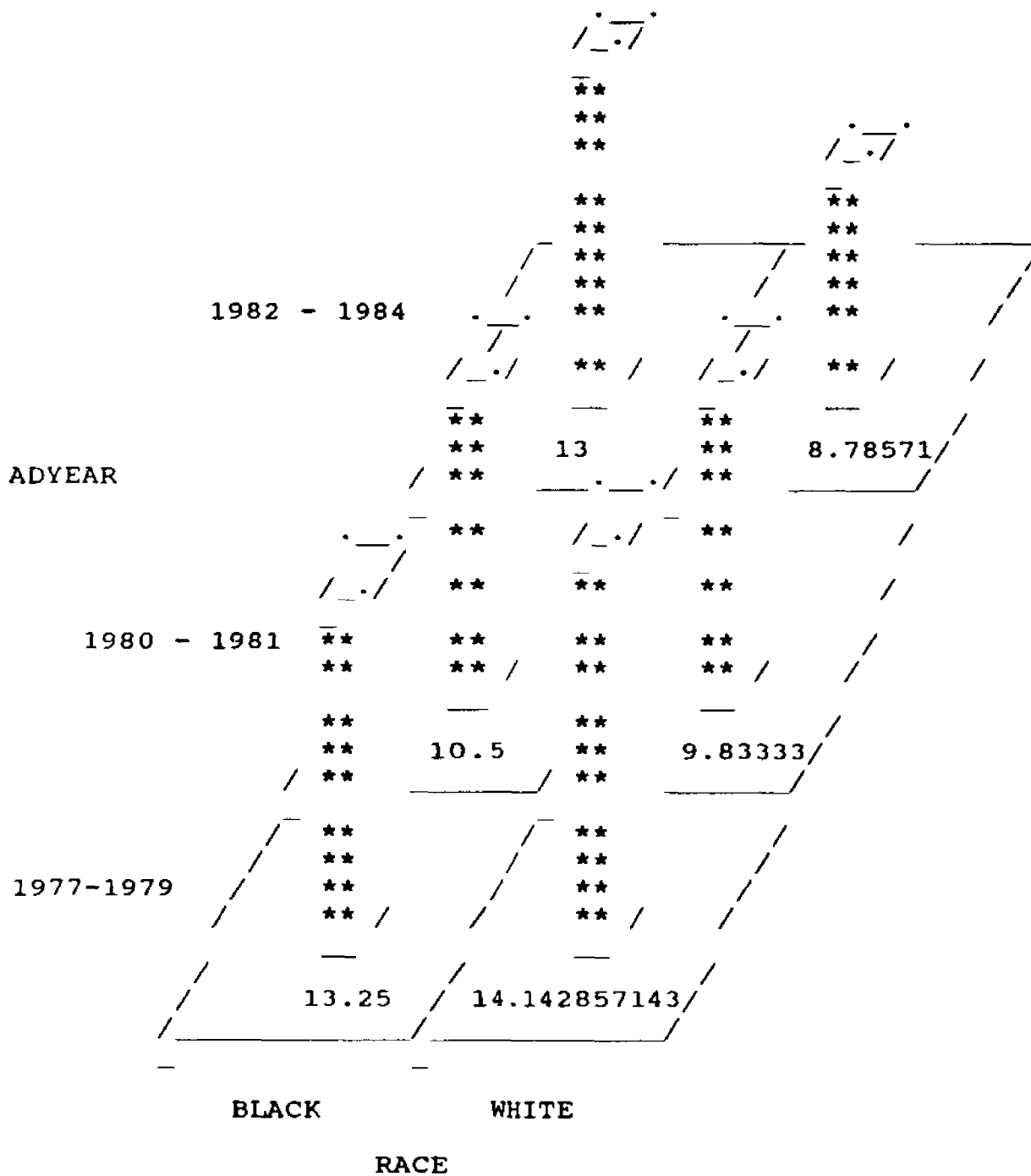
19.2 Leisure

Examination of Figure 3 leads us to think that a similar relation exist like that for the mean tar distribution for 'work'. That is, for each category for which there are data, the black sample means tend to be slightly higher, but not significantly so, than the white sample means. The exception is for the white sample means for 1982-1984.

The mean tar level for the black sample is exactly at 13 milligrams, the cutoff point alluded to earlier. The mean tar level for the white sample is however, well within the 'light' range ($X=8.7$). The respective means for the 1980-1981 period are ($X=10.5$; $X=9.8$); and for the 1977-1979 period, ($X=13.3$; $X=14.1$).

FIGURE 3

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Males by Race for Leisure Activities

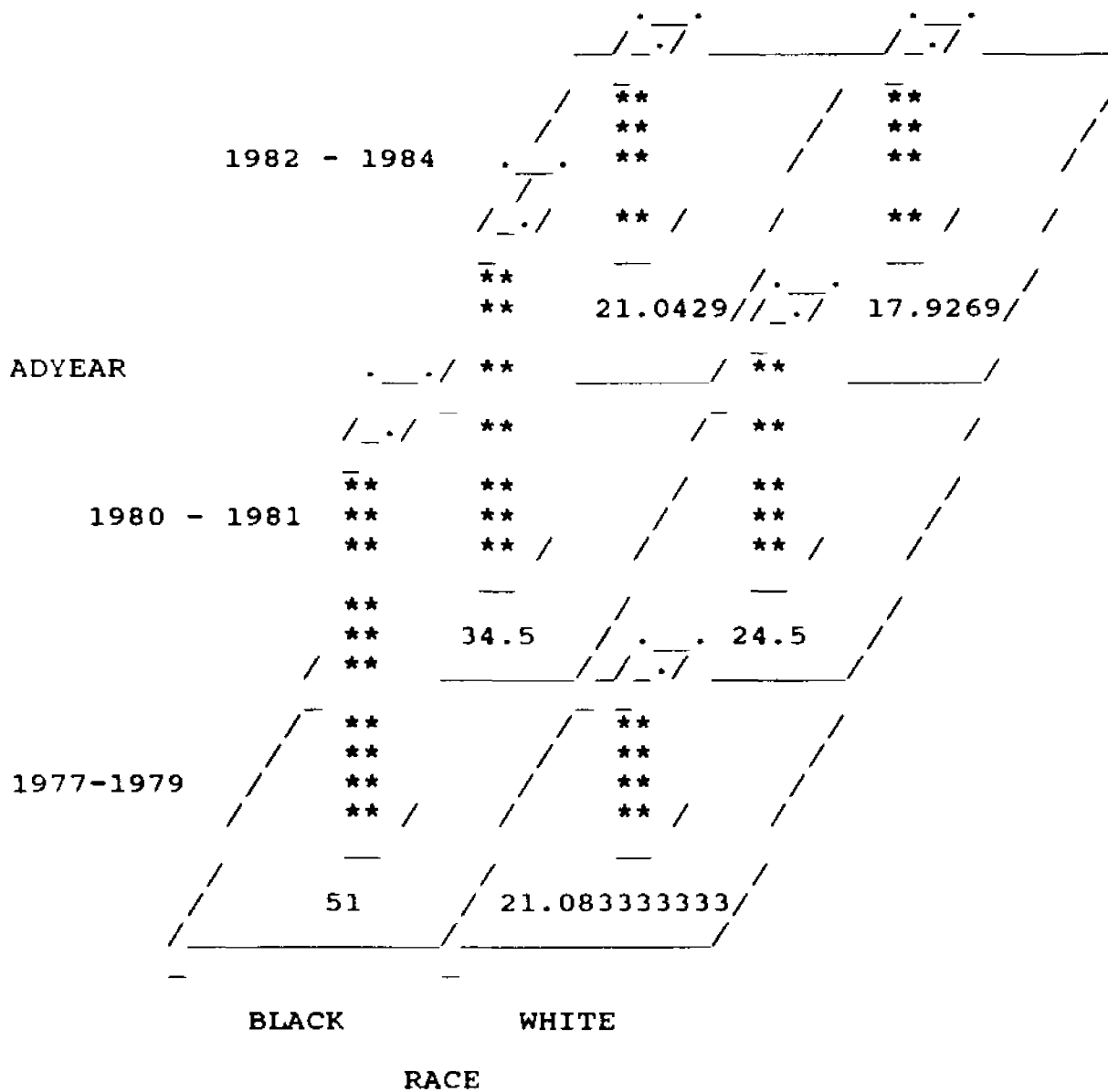


It has been discussed that some characteristics of 'leisure' are the scheduling of time, and organized recreational time use. At first glance, given that the models in the white sample are always more likely to be shown engaging in organized activities, the lower mean level would represent differences in self-control. Or it may represent the social evaluation of whites as more likely to exhibit social control in consumption.

In Figure 4 the means for blacks and whites respectively, are: (X=21; X=18) for the 1982-1984 period; means of (X=34.5; X=24.5) for the 1980-1981 period; and finally, means of (X=51; X=21) for the 1977-1979 period. On inspection of Figure 4, it can be argued that the black sample has shown marked decrements in tar over these time periods. Perhaps as black social conduct more nearly approximates white modelled behavior in specific contexts, the more likely they are to be offered similar rewards.

FIGURE 4

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Males by Race for Leisure Activities



In Figure 4, the most noticeable feature is the consistency of the differences between black and white male 'leisure' activity for each of the three advertising year groupings. Approximately 16 percent of the advertisements in both race categories reflect behavior modelling 'leisure' as an activity. If we add a third level of control we are able to see the breakdown for each cigarette type.

In the black male advertisements, menthol with 272 milligrams of tar and 'lights' with 608 milligrams of tar account for the entire distribution for the years 1982-1984, and before 1980. 'lights' alone account for the total distribution for 1980-1981. The fact that menthol accounts for some 30 percent of the distribution of tar gives some support for the imagery of 'sensation' as discussed earlier in Chapter 4. I had noted then that 'leisure' activities are partially modelled around edibles and perishables. There is a possible substitution effect between the depiction of eating as an aspect of 'leisure' and the verbal imagery of 'sensation'.

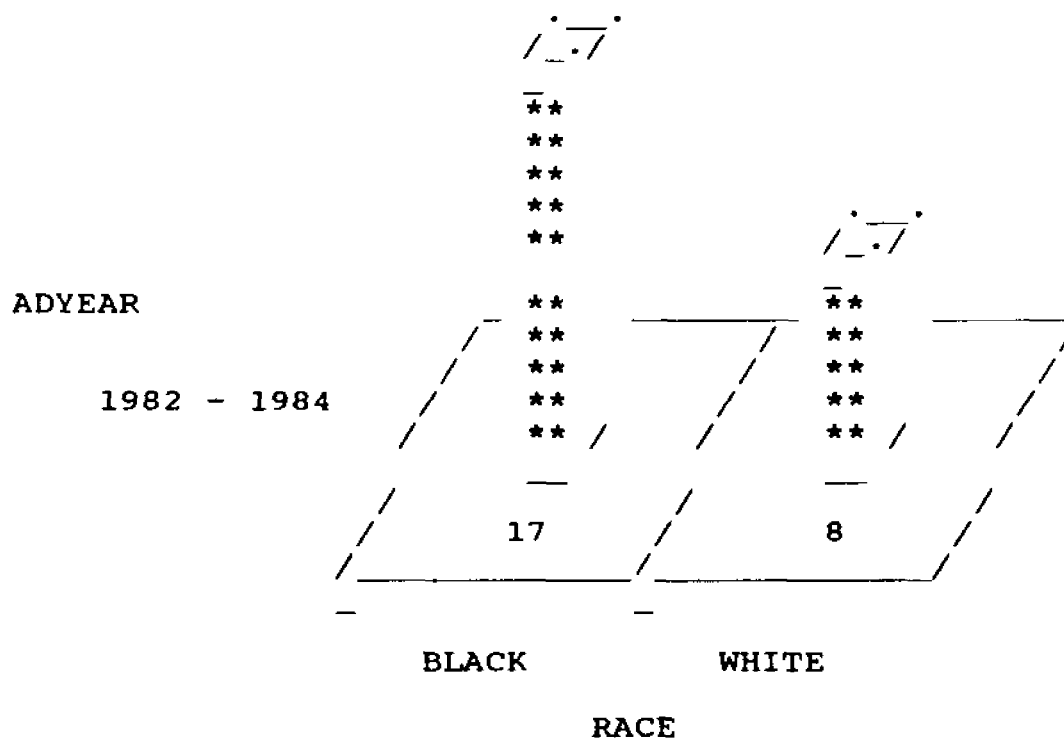
The concept of 'lights' suggest a lowering of food intake. More to the point, the fact that twice as much of the distribution of tar comes from 'lights' reveals what Key (1976), speaks of as subliminal exploitation. Subliminal refers to the masking behavior the advertiser uses as he proffers a packaged solution to the problem of oral dependence. But in offering this solution he hooks

you at a deeper level since you end up using more and more of the product while the package tells you that you are getting less and less.

The distribution of tar content between 'menthol' and 'lights' in the white advertisements almost exactly parallels that of the black advertisements. Since this is a weighted sample and the numbers are almost equal between the white and black advertisements, we can assume that the lowered amounts of tar at each level of the control variable, cigarette type, and for each of the year groupings, suggests the depiction of self-control in consumption in white modelled male behavior. An analysis is made using only professional and technical modelled activities for 'menthol' and 'lights' brands. The result for 'menthol' is shown in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5

Distribution of Tar Means for Professional/Technical Activities by Menthols for Males by Race



No decrements ensue for blacks ($X=17$ mgs), with only a slight fall in the white sample mean ($X=8$) for the 1982-1984 period. This suggests that the taken for granted assumptions that a high income from a prestigious occupation can be translated into material acquisitions does not hold. Blacks with an average of 9 mgs more tar, seem to still be rewarded with a foodlike substitute. Overall, the specificity of the pattern of tar distribution for 'leisure' activities

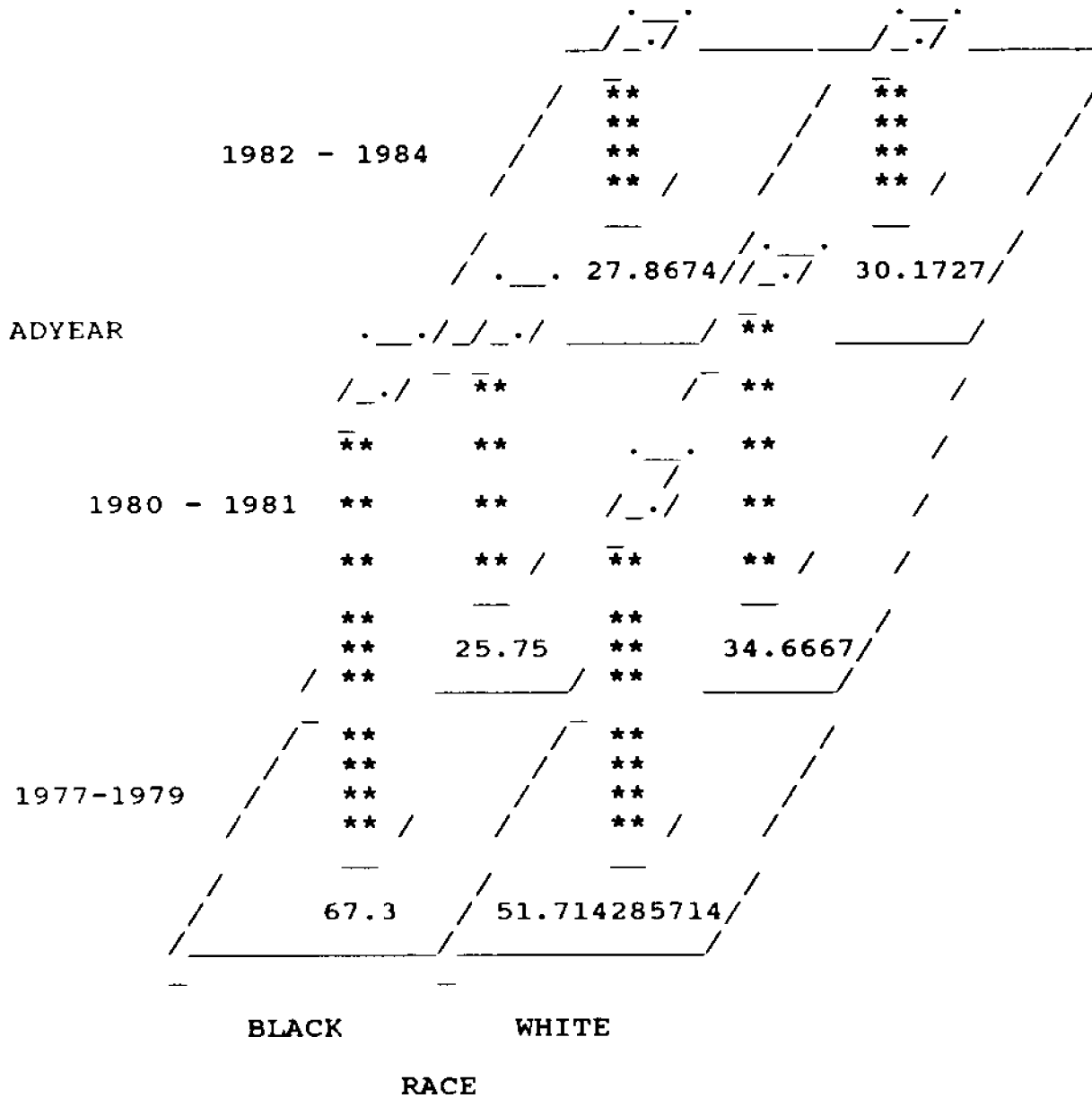
reflects an allocation process where rewards to black models are more nearly equivalent to those for whites. Here I mean rewards in the negative sense referred to above. This does not hold for other measures of social exchange. There is still a disproportionate distribution of resources and commodities to white models.

19.3 Pleasure

As in the case of 'work' and 'leisure' the general trend of tax decrements over time is upheld in Figure 6. Here the means for blacks and whites respectively are: (X=28; X=30) for the 1982-1984 period; for the 1980-1981 period, (X=26; X=35); and in the 1977-1979 period, (X=67; X=52).

FIGURE 6

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Males by Race for Pleasure Activity



And as usual, the mean tar distribution supports the tendency of the black sample means to be slightly higher than the white ones. The exception is again in the 1982-1984 category where the white sample mean is appreciably larger than the black one. The fall in the black sample mean is characteristically emphasized. 'Pleasure', which all along has been assumed to be in the domain of black male modelled behavior, is instead firmly held by the white male sample.

20 FEMALE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

20.1 Work

Examination of the advertisements modelling white female behavior shows that 'work' represents self-employed activities like 'pottery', 'painting', and 'fabric designing'.

Music making, pottery, painting, fashion designing, are all forms of artistic expressions. Some commonly accepted assumptions about such activities are that they are spontaneous, insightful, or even impulsive; but they perhaps are not necessarily considered as work. Work appears to be an activity which is scripted. According to Abelson (1976), 'scripts' are a coherent sequence of events expected by the individual involving him either as a participant or an observer. The idea is that much interaction is governed by learned assumptions regarding the course the interaction should take' (p.33).

20.2 Leisure

In examining leisure, black female tar distributions are found to be slightly higher than white female mean tar distributions. The exception for this case is that the means are almost identical for the 1980-1981 category ($X=11.4$; $X=11.6$, respectively). For the 1982-1984 period, the respective means are ($X=10.8$; $X=7.8$). And in the pre-1980 period these means are ($X=12$; $X=10.5$). As in the male sample the mean tar distribution is well within the 'light' range in tar content for this period.

The pattern still holds when the dependent variable is 'mean total tar content.'

FIGURE 7

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Females by Race for Leisure Activities

ADYEAR	RACE	Mean Tar Content
1982 - 1984	BLACK	25.5214
	WHITE	20.8
1980 - 1981	BLACK	29.5
	WHITE	38.15
1977-1979	BLACK	39.5
	WHITE	28.1

The means for blacks and whites, respectively are ($X=25.5$; $X=20.8$), for the 1982-1984 period, and ($X=39.5$; $X=28$) for the pre-1980 period. But the exception is again the 1980-1981 period where the white female sample mean is considerably larger ($X=38.1$), than the black sample mean ($X=29.5$). In comparing the female sample means with the male sample means, we find that male mean tar content is slightly larger except in the case of the 1980-1981 period.

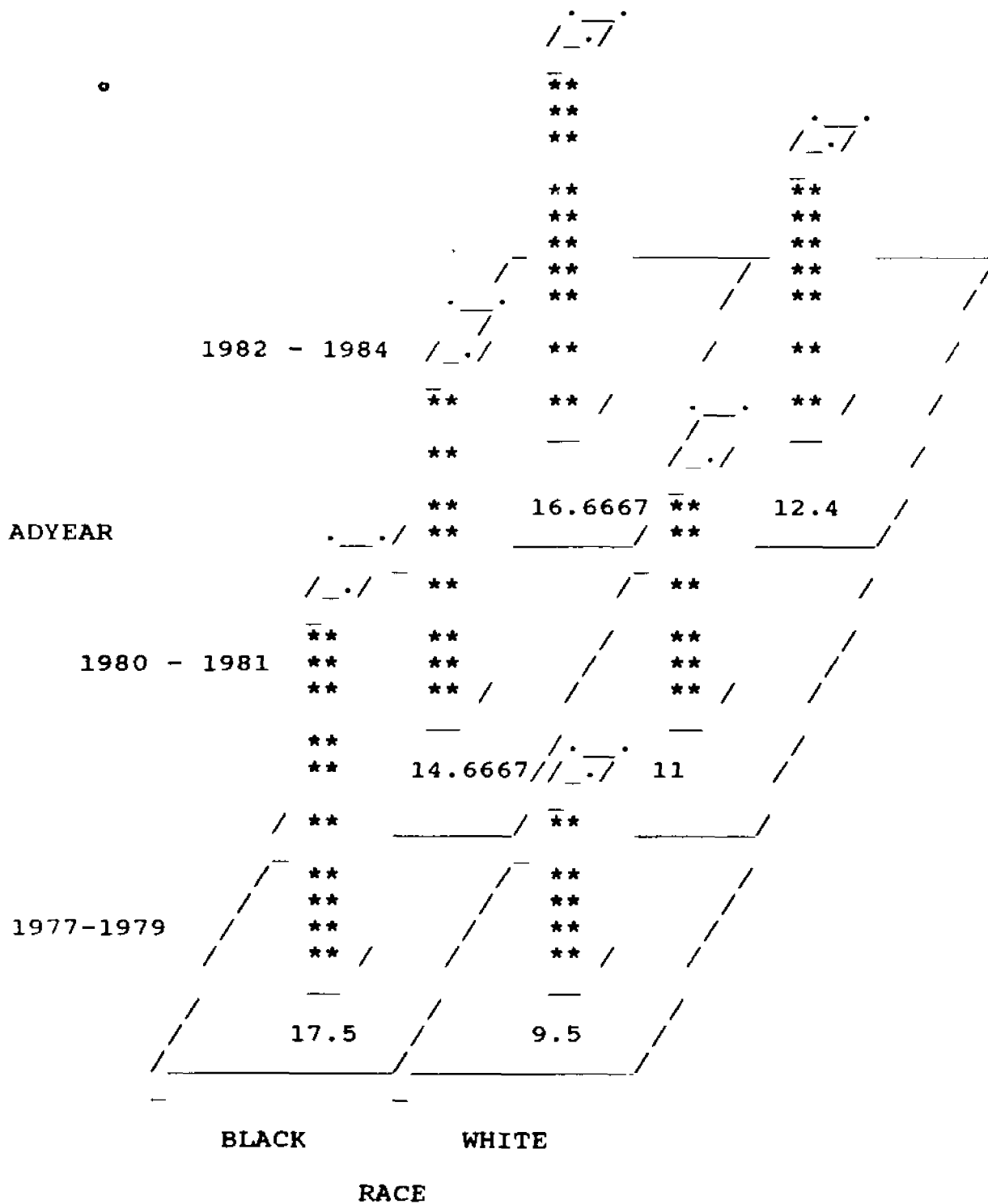
When the dependent variable is mean total tar content, however, both female sample means are larger than that for the white male sample (see Figure 3). Females therefore, appear to occupy a niche somewhere between the white male and the black male (see Figure 4). But the white female is closer to the white male in tar consumption pattern.

20.3 Pleasure

The distribution for mean tar content for 'pleasure' is shown in Figure 8. Inspection of the distributions shows that both the black male and female samples have the same starting point in terms of mean tar content in the before 1980 category. Black female mean tar content is larger than the corresponding ones for white females at each category year level.

FIGURE 8

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Females by Race for Pleasure Activity



For the 1982-1984 period black female sample means are larger than the black male models sample means. This mean also appears to be statistically significant in difference also. When comparisons are made using 'mean total tar content' as the dependent variable, the black female before 1980 mean is absolutely the largest. Consequently, for the next two categories, black female means approximate those of the white male models. In terms of the presentation of 'pleasure', therefore, the overall mean levels of the black female sample and the white male sample, parallel each other.

20.4 Femininity

Inspection of the distribution of mean tar content by femininity, shows that both female samples appear to begin on an even footing in mean tar content. Decrements ($x=8.8$; $x=10$) ensue for both samples in the 1980-1981 period. But increases occur in the 1982-1984 period for blacks ($x=10.4$), while decreases ensue for whites ($X=8.6$). The before 1980 tar level is somewhat above the cutoff point of 13 milligrams tar ($X=-14.5$; $X=14.2$, for blacks and whites, respectively. This time period also represents the beginnings of advertising campaigns to position women's brands to women. Inspection of means when using total tar content as the dependent variable indicates a different trend. This is shown in Figure 9.

FIGURE 9

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for females by race for femininity

ADYEAR	BLACK	WHITE
1982 - 1984	** ** ** ** 33.4783	** ** ** ** 43.5923
1980 - 1981	** ** ** ** 46.6667	** ** ** ** 52.5556
1977-1979	** ** ** ** 45.666666667	** ** ** ** 28.185185185

Initially, the black female mean is appreciably larger ($X=45.7$) than the white one ($X=28$) for the before 1980 category. It increases slightly in the 1980-1981 period ($X=46.7$). But the most dramatic surge comes for the white female sample mean ($X=52.5$), which nearly doubles in this period. Both sample means fall an average of 10 milligrams ($X=33.5$; $X=43.6$), respectively. But the resulting mean for the white sample is nearly as high as the before 1980 black sample mean.

The commonest explanation is probably that suggested by the Kendall correlations. Essentially, white female models are more often depicted as smokers than black female models. To make up for the 'light' brands, a larger number of cigarettes are normally displayed for white female models. In these advertisements, only a single female is depicted.

As we come to the end of this section of the analysis, several salient features are emphasized. Firstly, the absence of a female 'work' category make 'work' an activity that is well ensconced within the male domain. This in turn, may suggest why females must have higher qualifications than males (Rosenfeld, 1980; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; Gagliani, 1982). They may lack a work biography in an even more absolute sense than black males.

Secondly, self-control in consumption seems to be associated with managerial and/or organized and scheduled work patterns implemented by the individual himself. If

tar content represents the magnitude of consumption, then such individuals are rewarded with decrements of tar.

Thirdly, simply engaging in leisure appears to have rewards over and above the recreation it offers black male models. The similarity in the distribution of mean and total tar levels indicates that in this context at least, black male models are evaluated like white ones, in terms of the allocation of tar content, but not in terms of durables or commodities.

Finally, Femininity appears as the female counterpart to the male world of work. Neither female sample models are found to be depicted in any activity except for posing with a lighted cigarette in fashion of a luxurios nature. However, advertisements featuring male and female models show women engaged in a variety of activities.

21 CHAPTER VI

22 ADVERTISER EFFECTS

23 ADVERTISER INVESTMENTS

23.1 Work

Does advertiser investment costs reflect the degree of commitment of the advertiser to specific values?

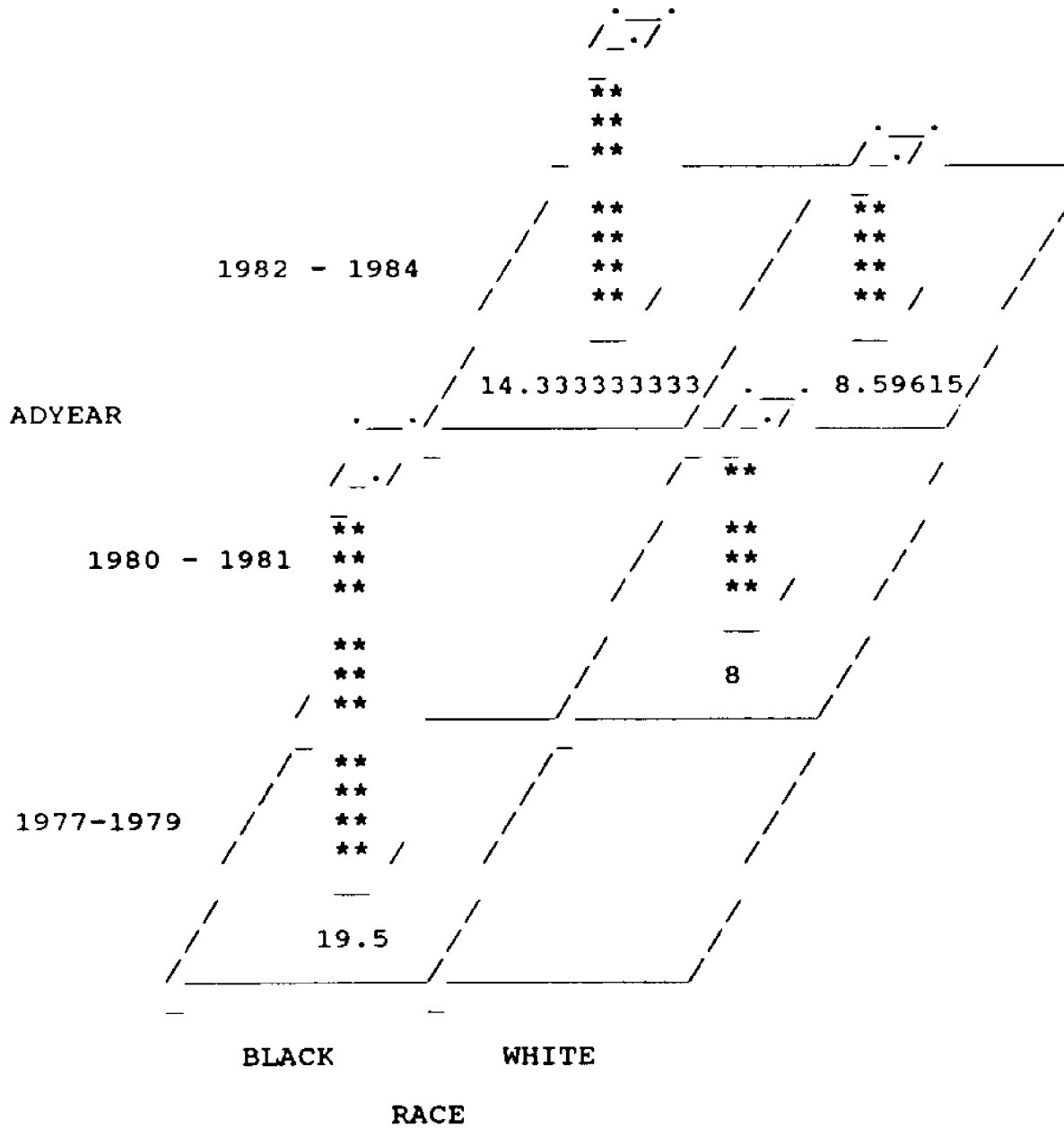
Three kinds of outcomes are possible and have actually emerged from the analysis. These are increases in the size of the means; decreases in the size of the means; or no changes in means at all. As usual the analysis will begin with the evaluation of 'work', followed by evaluations of 'leisure' and pleasure. Advertisement cost per carton is used as a weighting variable in this section of the analysis. I choose it from among the other investment variables since it is the variable used within the industry to rank order advertisers in terms of their ratio of total advertising investments to total sales of cigarettes.

24 MALE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Examination of the male samples (Figure 10) indicates that black mean tar content ($X=14.3$) remains unchanged from previous analysis using a non weighted sample. There are however, two specific changes in the white sample. Firstly, there are no data for the pre-1980 period; secondly, mean tar content for the 1980-1981 ($X=8$) and 1982-1984 periods ($X=8.6$) have fallen appreciably.

FIGURE 10

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Males by Race Weighted by Cost per Carton



Data from each of the periods form a meaningful pattern. In the pre-1980 period, the absence of a mean for the white sample suggests that white male models are so highly evaluated that no tar is provided. This, however is absurd. An alternative account is that the period under study establishes a trend from a transition period between 1980-1981 to 1982-1984 where this trend represents a movement toward 'light'.

Advertising statistics show that advertiser investments fell significantly during the 1980-1981 period. But more significantly, this trend toward 'lightness', demonstrates changes in the portrayal of white male model behavior in specific work contexts. The trend is toward depictions of managerial and small scale entrepreneurial activities- architects, small newspaper publishing, and fashion designing. Mean tar content, therefore, is differentially allocated in terms of specific work related contexts. We can conclude that a division exists between manual work contexts and non-manual managerial and professional contexts.

Black male models show no changes in the work environment. The constants in the work environment remained music making and public sector skilled activities. The public sector participation of the black models is identifiable by the insignia and title on the badges worn by the models. Mean tar content in the black male sample for 1982-1984 period is unchanged. This provides additional evidence that although there is some

movement from higher tar content in the black male sample, these decrements did not represent a change in advertiser policy.

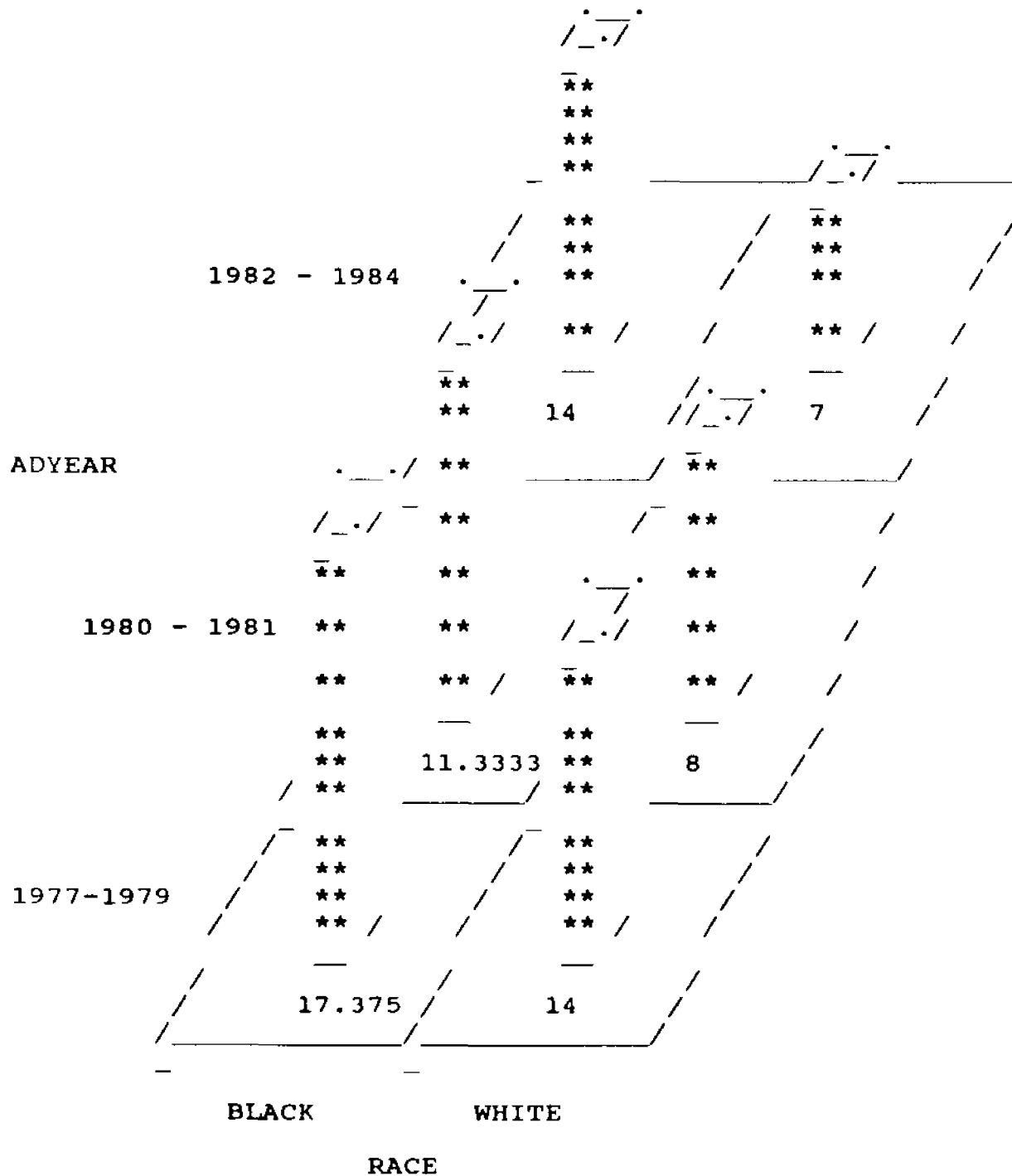
24.1 Leisure

As is the case with 'work', data for the comparison male samples reproduce the disparities between black male model behavior and white male model behavior. Figure 11 below dramatizes these differences. In addition, it juxtaposes some of the salient attributes of black male model behavior. When comparing the two samples period by period, we note that across the periods, white male models show a consistent pattern of decrements in mean tar content. Both samples show decrements in the 1980-1981 ($X=11.3$; $X=8$, respectively) period from the previous era. However, while these decrements persist for the white male sample, there is an actual upsurge in mean tar content for the black male sample.

Return once again to the 1980-1981 period. I conclude that the decrement in mean tar content for the black male sample is an artifact of the previously mentioned general fall in advertiser investments. In the white male sample, it reflects the advertiser commitment to lower tar content for white male models and the continuation of the trend to 'light' for white male models. This trend is shown in Figure 11.

FIGURE 11

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Males by Race by Smoking Weighed by Cost per Carton



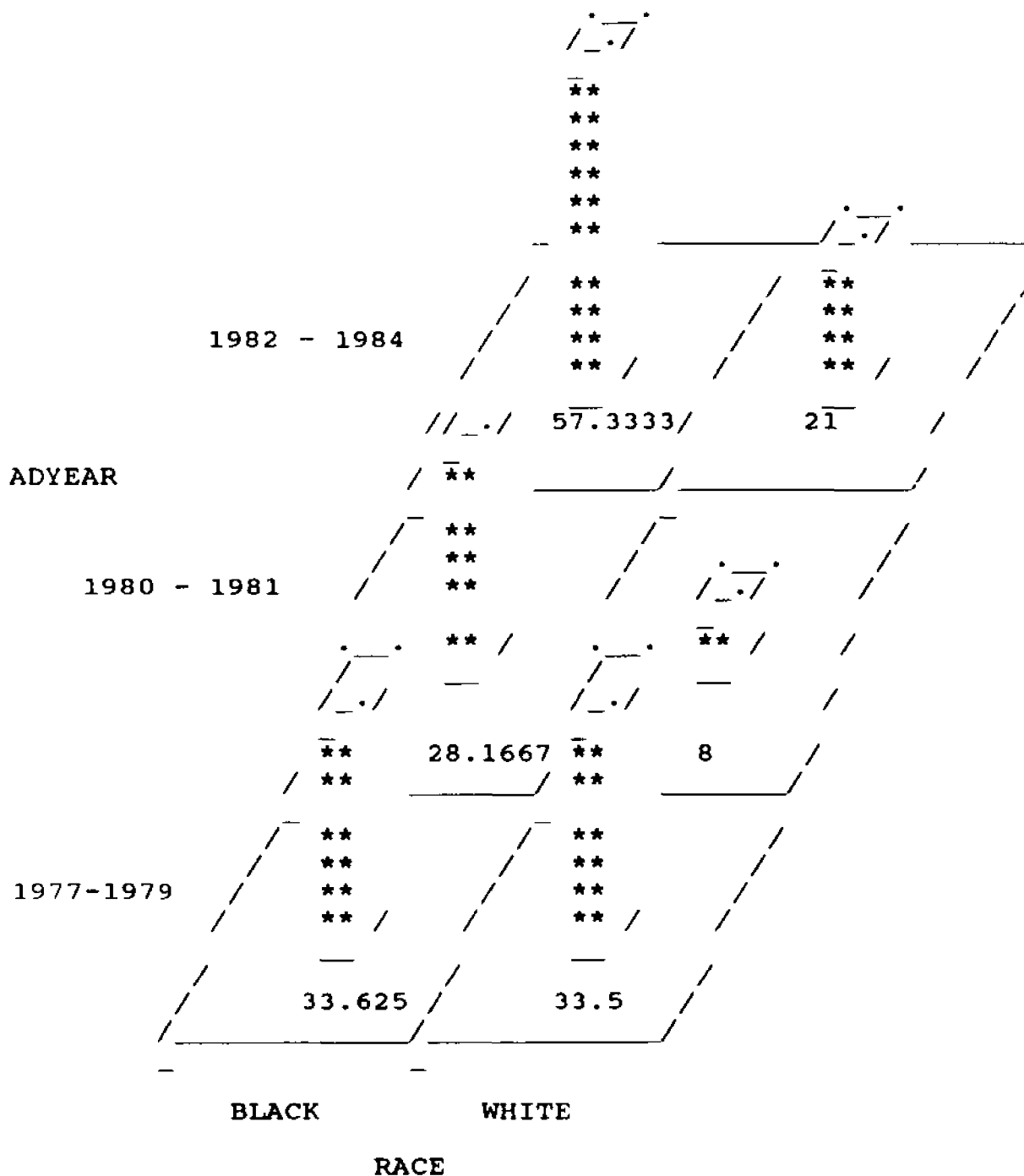
I have already focussed on the relationship between black male model behavior among 'sensation', 'leisure' and 'smoking'. In that instance, I had espoused the notion that the negative correlation ($r=-.36$) of leisure and 'sensation' is meaningful in terms of a substitution in consumption pattern between the two. This is, in effect, due to the fact that black male models leisure activity often depicted dining out, or the consumption of edibles and/or perishables.

Additionally, 'sensation2' and smoking2 are positively correlated ($r=.43$). The consistently high levels of tar in the black male sample are shown to exist regardless of the fact of sample weighting. This gives added support to my notion that a salient attribute propagated in black male model behavior is 'food intake'. This notion seems to appear as a consistent pattern of the data across several kinds of activities analyzed.

The data displayed for smoking in Figure 12 heighten the reader's awareness of such differences.

FIGURE 12

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Males by Race for Smoking Weighted
by Cost per Carton



Making allowances for advertiser investment decreases in the 1980-1981 period, it can still be seen

that the trend in white male sample is a downward plunge in mean tar content. A similar trend is shown for the black male sample. Yet the differences in mean tar content between the samples for each period fully underscores the nature of these disparities.

In the pre-1980 and 1980-1981 periods, the difference in mean tar content is approximately 3 milligrams. But in the 1982-1984 period this difference amounted to 7 milligrams. More importantly, the data show that the mean tar content for the male black sample is twice that of the white male sample. From the pre-1980 through the 1982-1984 period, mean tar content in the white male sample fell 50 percent. In this same time frame, mean tar content in the black male sample fell only some 18 percent. It cannot simply be argued that since the mean tar content in the black male sample is high to begin with, that concomitant decreases would take place at a slower rate. The 14 milligram mean tar content for the white male sample is above the cutoff point of 13 milligrams tar. More relevant would be the question of why the mean tar content in the black sample is at such high levels. My notion is, of course, that these differences represent meaningful allocation patterns of social control sanctions. And further, that black male models are depicted as receiving some sort of food. Figure 12 dramatically pictures this situation.

Although both samples have similar means in the pre-1980 period, ($X=33.5$), the differences are quite

vivid between blacks ($X=28$) and Whites ($X=8$) in the 1980-1981 period. Recall again that in this period, there is a decline in advertiser investments. It can be assumed that for the advertiser, investments will be made only for those things which are most likely to be profitable.

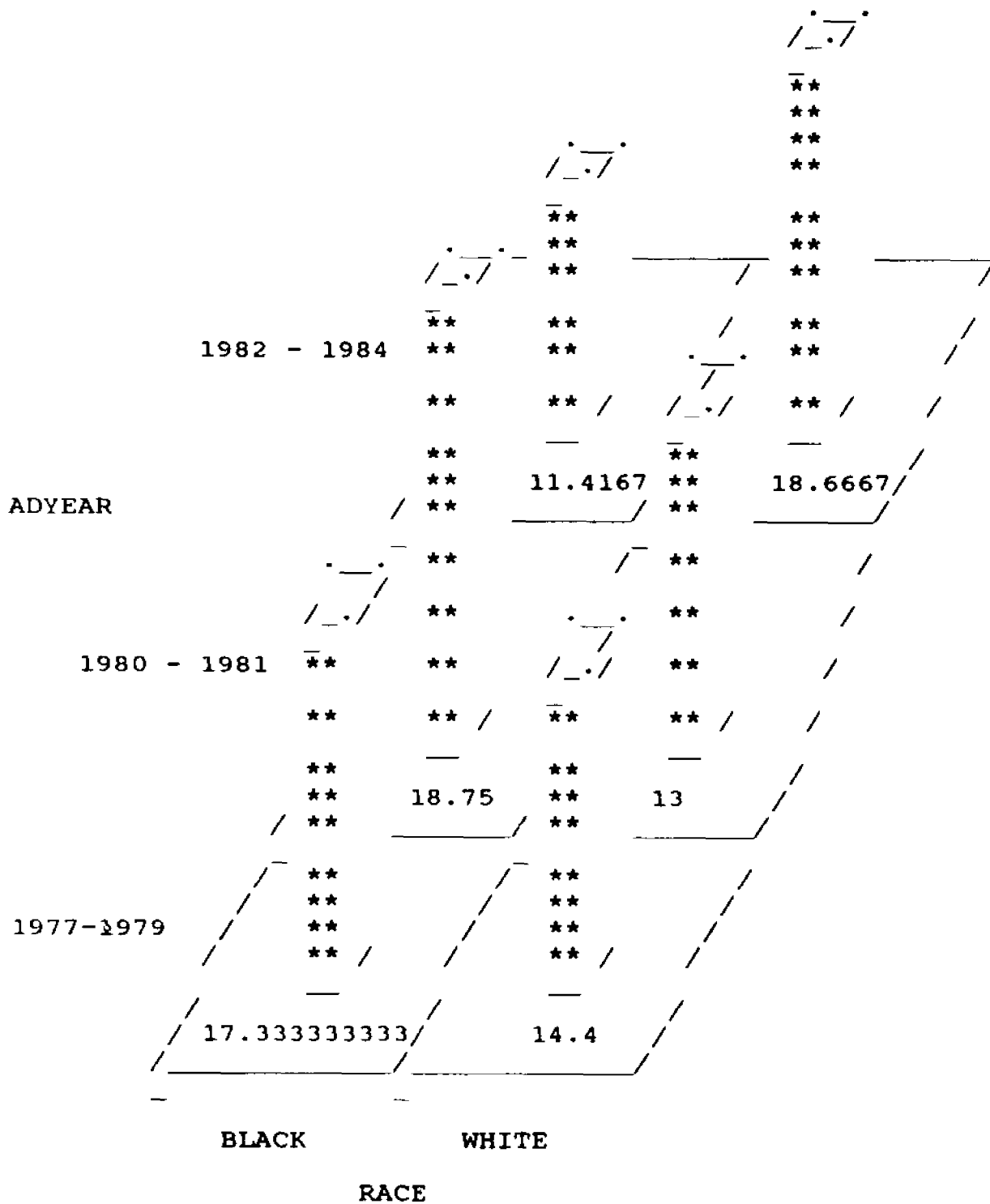
In this period, the black mean is three and a half times (3.5) as large as the white sample mean. I had already shown earlier that for the black sample, there is a substitution effect between eating/dining and smoking ($r=-.36$). So this pattern in black male modelled behavior is further supported. This is especially interesting if we are to view black behavior in terms of 'how the body feels', that is, in terms of the 'sensation' and 'pleasure' imageries.

24.2 Pleasure

In Figure 13, the mean tar content of the black male sample is higher than that for the white male sample in the pre-1980 ($X=17.3$; $X=14.4$) period. But for one of the few times, the mean tar content of the black male sample ($X=18.8$) exceeds that for the white male sample ($X=13$) in the 1980-1981 period. This is followed, however by a downsurge in the mean tar content for the black male sample in the 1982-1984 period.

FIGURE 13

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Males by Race for Pleasure
Weighted by Cost per Carton

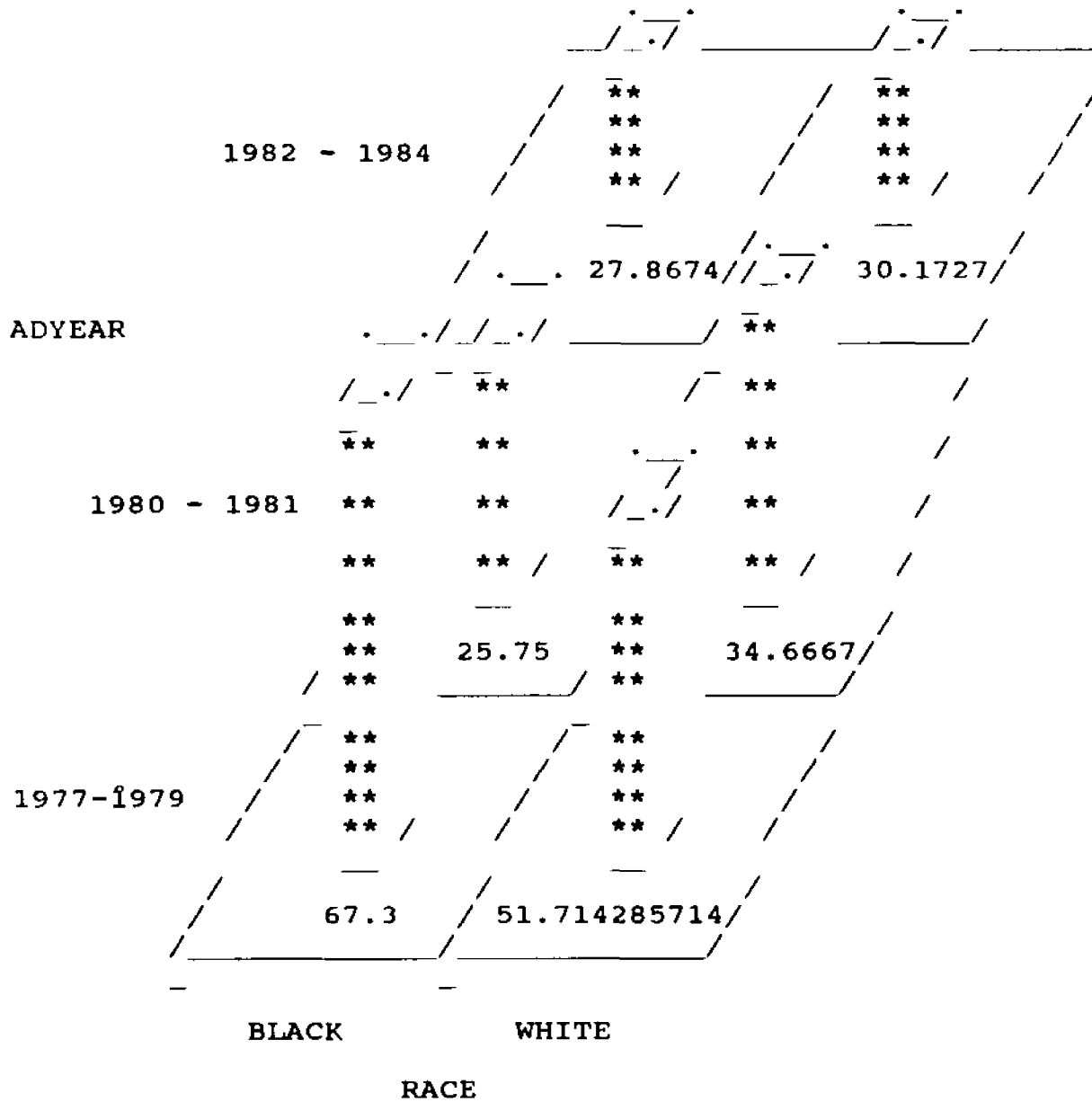


In this table, the results indicate that the mean tar content for the white male sample actually exceeds that of the black male sample significantly for 1982-1994. What accounts for these unexpected outcomes? A check of the actual print advertisements shows that the tar distribution for these advertisements are specific to the advertiser. Each advertiser appears to have a niche. Further, in these advertisements, few models are actually depicted with cigarettes.

The data displayed in Figure 13 above represent mean tar content only for those advertisements in which a model is coded as holding or smoking a lighted cigarette. So the results, although surprising, are not unexpected. To check the accuracy of this assertion, an inspection is made of the distribution of mean total tar content. These data are displayed in Figure 14 below.

FIGURE 14

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Males by Race for Pleasure Weighted
by Cost per Carton



The data for the period of interest, 1982-1984, do still indicate that mean total tar content for the white male sample is still about 2 milligrams more than the mean total tar content for the black male sample ($x=28$). Following Hamilton (1972), it is perhaps the niche in which each advertiser attempts to fit their product which accounts for differences in sample means. Since these samples are weighted by advertising cost per carton, then the extent to which the product is fitted to the consumer provides for a lowering in cost per carton. This in turn suggests that the black consumer is somehow vulnerable to advertising effects, and is a more reachable target. It is seen that the mean for 'pleasure' shows the largest mean in the black male sample ($X=40$). The vulnerability of some groups such as blacks has also been suggested independently by Schudson (1984).

25 FEMALE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

25.1 Leisure

Comparisons for the two samples indicate that the distribution for the black female sample to the white female sample paralleled those of the black male sample to the white male sample. The female patterns are shown in Figure 15.

FIGURE 15

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Females by Race for Leisure Weighted
by Cost per Carton

ADYEAR	BLACK	WHITE
1982 - 1984	10.8333	7.38889
1980 - 1981	11.4286	11.6
1977-1979	13.666666667	10.541666667

The data in Figure 15 exhibit no essential differences between the two samples in 1980-1981 period ($X=11.6$; $X=11.4$). But there is a 3.5 milligram difference in the before 1980 and 1982-1984 period. This distribution remains undisturbed when the dependent variable is mean total tar content.

The outcomes for 'lightness' in tar for the white female sample and white male sample give additional confirmation to a pattern explored earlier. In examining 'leisure' activities for the differences in rewards, resources, and commodities, I have indicated that a differential allocation pattern exists. White male models are depicted in association with durable goods and commodities; black male models with perishables and edibles like cigarettes. This in turn leads to the idea that 'leisure' activities, managerial/professional' activities and 'light' or low tar content cigarette are relevant for evaluating the allocation of rewards and resources to white male models.

25.2 Pleasure

Pleasure activities are described primarily as 'screaming man and woman in hijinks'. Yet several divergent trends are noticeable from the data in Figure 13 and Figure 15. White female models, as compared to black female models, exhibit a higher rate of decrease in tar content over time. White female models are also

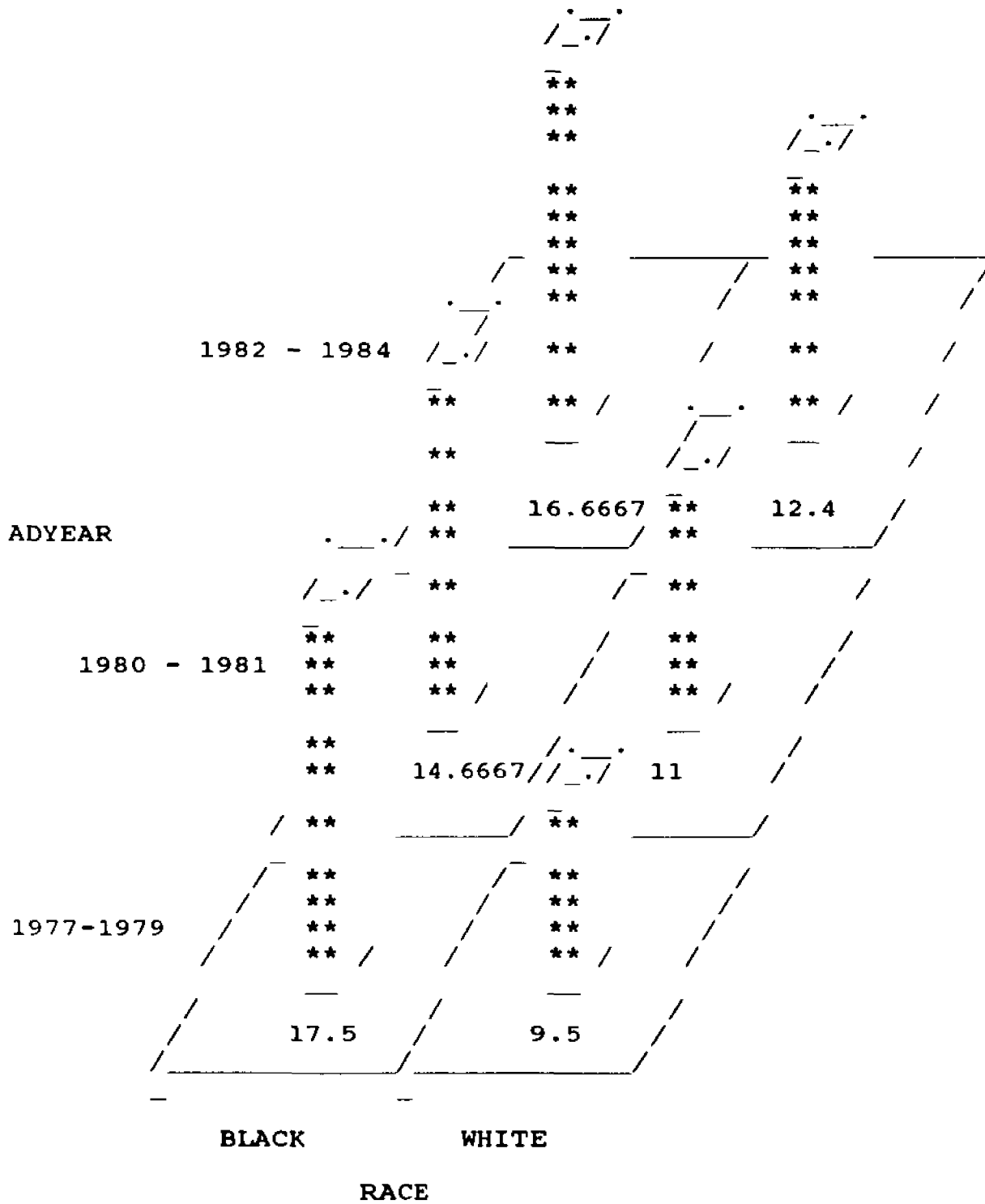
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FIGURE 16

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Females by Race for Pleasure
Weighted by Cost per Carton



For the 1982-1984 period, black female models mean tar content ($X=16.6$) appears to be statistically significant and higher than that of white female models ($X=12.4$), or black male models ($X=11.4$), but somewhat below the white male models ($X=18.6$).

Analysis of the data using mean total tar content as the dependent variable, indicated that only a single trend existed. This trend consists of decreases in mean total tar content for all four samples over time. Mean total tar content for the black male sample is well above those for the white male sample in the pre-1980 period. Each sample shows significant decreases in mean total tar content for the 1980-1981 period. But as usual, it should be kept in mind that this period is a function of decreases in advertiser investments.

At the same time, however, the 1980-1981 period might be the truest indicator of of the actual commitment of the advertiser to the values being propagated. Evaluation of this data will be performed in the section on advertiser effects.

25.3 Femininity

Inspection of the mean tar content reveals that both samples have identical means of 14.5 milligrams for the pre-1980 period. Decreases ensued in the 1980-1981 period with lower mean tar content (8.8) for the black female sample compared to a mean tar content of (10.4)

for the white female sample. Increases appear in the 1982-1984 period with the black female sample having a mean tar content of (10.4) while the white female sample had the lower mean tar content of (8.7).

Given the results of analysis from such researchers as Rosenfeld (1980), and Wolf and Fligsten (1981), the similarities in means between the two samples seem ambiguous. Their conclusions are that white females needed higher qualifications than anyone else to hold the same positions. But a lower tar content for the white female sample in the 1982-1984 period does not support this assumption. However, the higher mean tar content for white female sample in the 1980-1981 period does give some support to their viewpoint.

Neither female sample has a 'work biography', so the overall allocation of equal rewards seem justifiable. My assumption is that the more socially usefull individuals and/or groups are evaluated as being, the lower the tar content they receive. To clarify the results, an examination of Figure 17 is made. It revealed unexpected differences in distributions of mean total tar content.

FIGURE 17

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Females by Race for Femininity
Weighted by Cost per Carton

ADYEAR	BLACK	WHITE
1982 - 1984	33.4783	44.251
1980 - 1981	46.6667	50.0526
1977-1979	45.666666667	27.596153846

The black female sample mean is appreciably higher in the pre-1980 period ($X=45.7$; $X=27.6$), respectively. A slight increase ensues in the 1980-1981 period ($X=46.7$). A much more dramatic fall is observed ($X=33.5$) for the 1982-1984 period. The reverse holds for the white female sample. A rapid jump takes hold ($X=50$) in the 1980-1981 period, resulting in a mean tar content four milligrams larger than in the black sample. The onset of a slight moderate fall is observable in the 1982-1984 period ($X=44$). Still the white female sample mean tar content is well above that for the female black sample for this period.

What can we assume about the 1980-1981 period as an indicator of advertiser's commitment to specific values? Juxtaposing the data for this period for the two dependent variables, mean tar content and mean total tar content, indicates no real changes in means distribution. Indeed for the period, Figure 17 is an almost exact monotonic function of the figures presented for mean tar content above. If higher mean tar content represent greater levels of disapproval, then the advertiser shows more favorable approval to black female models. Examination of the 1982-1984 data, reveals even more dramatic evidence of disapproval of white female model behavior.

Note the significant difference in mean total tar content between the two samples in this period. This is contrary to my assumption about social evaluation of

behaviors. The question is why does this difference exist? A return to the actual coded advertisements supplies an answer. In these advertisements, both females are coded as 'posing in couture with cigarette'. White females are much more likely to be depicted in trousers. Secondly, their advertisements contain an inset depicting a scene in which a turn of the century female suffered, or is socially restricted by some male authority. Such authority could be either her husband or some adult male figure.

In contrast, black female models have no such inset, but we can provide a picture of her as a domestic laborer, free or slave. In any event, it reflects total subservience to authority. Female white models show a more independent bent by taking guerrilla actions to evade or circumvent the arbitrariness of male authority.

But it is perhaps the very saliency of this independent mindedness of the white female models that is found troublesome. Remember that Rosenfeld (1980) concludes that white females need the higher qualifications to hold the same positions as white males, black males and black females. In essence, the disproportionate difference in mean tar content may very well reflect an attempt at disciplining the female at a subliminal level. That is, high levels of tar are associated with rebelliousness and masculinity. But this holds on the conscious level.

Is the white female then being given a double dare?

If so, she is being told: be a man by showing how rebellious you are. But (and this is the subliminal aspect) if you are really a man then prove it by taking the risk of smoking higher tar content cigarettes. After all, men when they are boys engaged in a lot of activities-crossing train tracks, jumping between roofs and others, which lead directly to some deaths. So you too must risk death.

An alternative explanation is provided by Brunswick based on data from a longitudinal sample of black females. She too finds that females smoked higher tar content cigarettes than males. Additional questioning of the subjects demonstrated that most of them came from the south, were severely restricted in the scope of their social life, and that only cigarette smoking was permitted. For such females, smoking is akin to an attitude towards social freedom. Apparently, the more and stronger tar content cigarette smoked, the more relevant the imagery of social freedom for females in this sample.+

26 DIRECT ADVERTISER EFFECTS

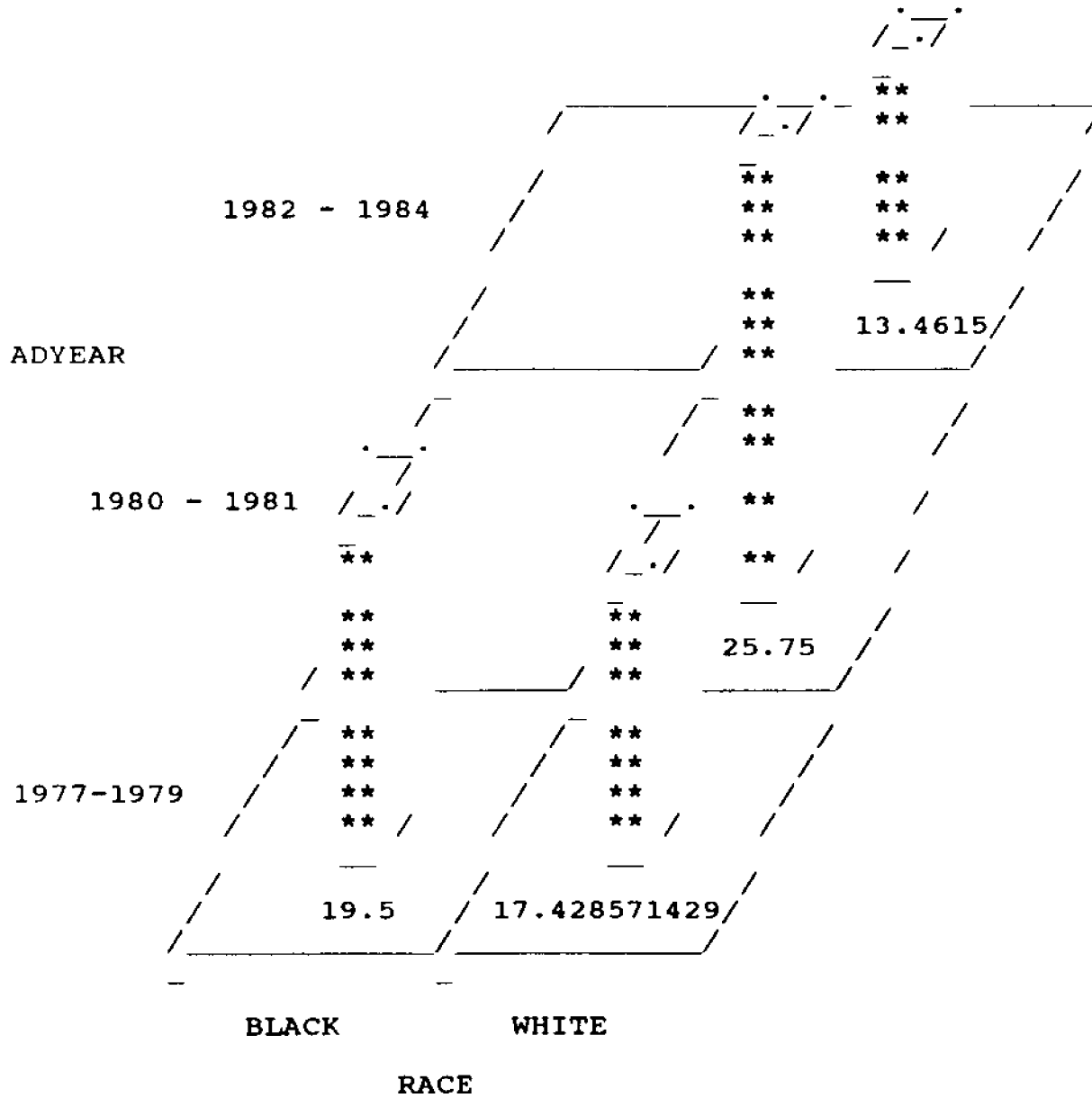
What are the direct effects of the advertiser on mean tar content and mean total tar content? Figure 18 provides data on changes in the distribution of means for

+ Ann Brunswick, personal communication about her longitudinal study of a Harlem cigarette smoking sample.

both, for a single advertiser at a time.

FIGURE 18

Distribution of Mean Tar Content
for Males by Race by Advertiser
Weighted by Cost per Carton



When controlling for the direct effects of the advertiser, there are essentially no observable changes in the distribution of mean tar content and mean total tar content. The reasons for this are easily ascertainable. R.J. Reynolds and Philip Morris dominate the cigarette market. Each has the simple strategy of creating a similar brand for every new differentiated brand that a competitor introduces. This kind of dominance by the two advertisers mean that they have a niche (Hamilton, 1972) for each brand produced and are represented in every market. They are also likely to be the single largest advertiser in each market in which they have a brand.

The pre-1980 black male sample mean tar content remains unchanged. Importantly, there are data for the white male sample for this period. Indeed, the mean tar content is quite close to that of the black male sample. In the overall sample, there is no mean tar content for the white male sample. The obvious reason has to do with the calculation of the weighted mean. No other advertiser had advertisements depicting work activity. Consequently, division by the summed sample tar content by the total number of cases resulted in a figure less than zero.

The 1980-1981 period which has so far been used as a barometer of advertiser's commitment to values, shows an increase in mean tar content for the white male sample. This is also a period in which advertisements depicting

manual work tasks predominated. The 1982-1984 period shows a significant decrease in mean tar content. This serves to confirm not only the trend to 'lightness', but also the presentation of 'work' in a management and professional context.

No mean is shown for black male models in this period in the R.J.Reynolds advertisements. The mean tar content data comes from the Brown and Williamson advertisements which promoted musicmaking as primarily a black male model behavior. There are actually R.J.Reynolds, specifically 'Winstons' advertisements, depicting black skilled models for these periods. But again it can be supposed that the calculation of the weighted mean resulted in a score less than zero.

Figure 19 presents even more dramatic data on the effect of advertiser dominance of specific niches. This Figure is almost an exact duplicate of Figure 17.

FIGURE 19

Distribution of Mean Total Tar Content
for Females by Race by Advertiser
Weighted by Cost per Carton

ADYEAR	BLACK	WHITE
1977-1979	45.666666667	28.869565217
1980 - 1981	46.6667	61.875
1982 - 1984	33.4783	48.2

Due to the dominance of specific advertisers in particular market niches, controlling for the effects of a specific advertiser has been shown to have absolutely no effects on the mean tar content or mean total tar content distribution already analyzed.

27 CHAPTER VII

28 CONCLUSION

A previous assumption is that social meanings are embedded in consumption patterns. I have pointed out that the pattern of consumption has symbolic references which are used by the consumer to self evaluate and project specific images and values of social usefulness.

A central focus is to evaluate the extent to which specific values about 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure', are propagated by the advertiser as cues to knowledge and events that the consumer did not have access to.

Two major outcomes emerge. I find that although the specific activities engaged in by blacks did not mostly correlate positively with sales (the bottom line for advertisers), these modelled behaviors are dominant, especially for black males. Secondly, an examination of the distribution of rewards for 'work', 'leisure', and 'pleasure' shows that those engaged in manual work tasks are the most likely to get rewards of high tar content intake even when controlling for the effects of race.

This finding suggests strong strands of social control exerted over the workplace. Those models depicted as engaging in manual work tasks are usually participating physically in some ongoing activity. The 'skipper' of a vessel is depicted as 'pointing out', or 'giving instructions' about some task. This notion of social control over the work tasks of manual workers seem to give credence to the construct of the 'manual/non-manual' dichotomy as the dominant one in segmenting individuals and groups into those exhibiting

'self-control' orientations, and those receiving some form of external supervision and control (Gagliani, 1983; Rosenfeld, 1980).

In doing this analysis, I had several opportunities to communicate my ideas with other students and interested persons. One major criticism emerged. It took the form of the question: what do you mean that you are analyzing advertisements? Those guys are smart! They have all sorts of data on every group and segment. If models are depicted as smoking high tar cigarettes, or as pleasure seekers, then that's what their research shows.

My response to these comments are severalfold. The belief that advertisements reflect a one to one correspondence between research results and the transformation of those findings into an advertisement is simply not a closed issue. To quote the saying: 'there's many a slip twixt the cup and the lip'. So what is the evidence in favor of my position? Firstly, I can point to the fact that advertisers are constantly 'repositioning' their product. Clearly, if advertising tools are so refined, then the content of the advertisements should be better approximations of consumer behavior than they failed to be. So why the need for repositioning? It could be that the underlying needs of consumers are constantly undergoing dynamic change. But this assumes that advertisers are mostly interested in what peoples' needs are rather than what

peoples' need should be.

I would argue for a different reason. This is that in the very process of creating the advertisement some interaction takes place. And this interaction is the result of the values commitment which the advertiser embeds as the characteristic of the commodity consumed. Let's think about this for a moment. Every normally, competent member of a culture knows what cigarettes are and what the activity of smoking is. They also know that smoking cigarettes is a health hazard. So the tar and nicotine levels may be relevant information to have in an advertisement.

Throughout this study my question has been: why is it necessary to depict so many other activities in an advertisement? How much of the information in the advertisement is what the consumer needs to know about himself, about the commodity, about the advertiser, and about other consumers? Information on all four sorts of things are available in an advertisement. One method to find out about such things is through 'misclassification' studies.

Such studies normally take a sample of heavy smokers and request them to match up 'advertiser image' with 'advertisement image'. The proportion of times that one brand is (mis) classified as another brand is then calculated. These studies emphasize the extent to which targeted consumer segments are not being reached (Keon, 1983). They also point out that the commodity itself has

characteristics independent from its use as a product. Just note again the use of the word 'image'.

A second criticism is what I call the 'naive consumer syndrome'. How can I say that such and such an advertisement show 'leisure', or 'work', or 'pleasure'? The challenge posed is that the content of the advertisement is ambiguous. It also suggests that only the advertiser knows what the advertisement's intent is. This criticism is demonstrably ridiculous. No advertiser is going to spend millions of dollars on advertising his brand (which they do) on the assumption that the individual consumer will not know how to interpret it.

Normally competent individuals spend lifetimes decoding and interpreting the nuances and ambiguities of much more complex communications with little difficulty. There are no apparent reasons why the content of an advertisement should elude them. The real question is what consumers make of the information characteristics of an advertisement and what uses they make of the commodity once they have bought it.

In this dissertation, I make the assumption that there are no problems of interpretation concerning an information base in advertisement content. My claim is rather that the use made of the information content to analyze everyday activities is itself an extraordinary event and worthy of study. Given that the tendency of advertising is toward repetition and saliency of certain characteristics. These are then used as analyzable

things and/or events to socially evaluate individuals and groups. It is in this sense that I evaluate the social meanings of 'work', 'leisure' and 'pleasure'.

Boorstin describes one of the characteristics of advertising as ubiquity. He suggests, that it is perhaps the single feature which most distinguishes advertising as a product from any other product or commodity. Most products are packaged in only limited forms. An advertisement can be verbal, pictorial, physical, subliminal, or all four things at once. Ubiquity refers to the all pervasive presence of advertisements, all about and around the individual in every conceivable environment. When combined with the repetition factor, it some content of the advertisement becomes juxtaposed.

I chose advertisements from at least two promotions for the same brand to control for the effects of saliency. Allowing advertisement content to vary across several modelled behaviors increases the possibility that some other factor can explain observed changes. I use several promotions from the same brand for race and sex groupings. Straightforward contingency analysis like the sort presented in chapters four through six, should show the direct effect of a factor or its intervening effects. But reasonable evidence has been provided to demonstrate that black male behavior differs substantially from white male modelled behavior. This also holds for differences between females, although to a lesser extent.

Yet given that the predominant value orientation in

this culture is 'to make a buck', that is, to make a profit through cost-benefit analysis, it seems surprising how little evidence emerged for a correlation between advertisement content and cigarette sales. Advertising mostly perpetuates preexisting socially sanctioned values. This version of the reflexive hypothesis holds that this institution has no values of its own to perpetuate.

Using the bottom line as the best single measure of advertising effectiveness and performance, my analysis suggests that advertising is often ineffective. What it does seem to do is to attend inordinately to the specific types of behaviors and activities modelled. Only a single case is coded as having blacks and whites modelling the same behaviors in the same advertisement. But the real issue remains: why do blacks receive different rewards and commodities than whites even when they are portrayed as engaging in the same behavior? The simplest answer appears to be that they are not usually shown as exhibiting self-control in consumption. I assume this to mean that black behavior is hedonistically oriented.

Given the emphasis placed on work as a socially valued behavior, then those who lack a work biography, for whatever reasons, will be shortchanged by the allocation process. More thought needs to be given to the articulation of this aspect of black behavior.

Since rewards, resources, and commodities, are more

likely to be distributed to persons and/or groups who exhibit self-control in consumption, then the nature of the environment in which exchanges of values and information take place becomes paramount in the process of differentially reinforcing specific behaviors. I have emphasized that the degree to which Black male modelled behavior approximated white male modelled leisure and or non-manual work activities, they are more likely to be rewarded similarly for some types (tar content) of rewards. Two problems however, intrude. These problems relate to the specific environment in which scripts providing values and information content are embedded.

The first is accentuated when we recognize that only one interracial advertisement is found in the sample. This makes it difficult to conceive just how the introduction or exchange of values and information necessary to promote development and/or attitudinal orientations towards self-control in consumption can be achieved.

The second problem compounds the first. Essentially, this analysis has shown that rewards, resources, and commodities, are distributed in terms of the bounded class concept (Vanneman and Pampel, 1977; Gagliani, 1982). In terms of my analysis, allocation of rewards of a positive sort are more likely to be distributed to persons depicted as modelling non-manual and/or leisure behaviors. Others who engage in manual and/or hedonistic behaviors, tend to receive minimum

levels of positive reinforcement. But when they did receive large amounts of rewards, such rewards are invariably foodlike in nature.

At the moment, only one suggestion appears substantial. It is related to my notion that subscription to specific magazines reflects some degree of acknowledgement, if not quite a predisposition to accept the values and information content promoted by the advertiser.

To the extent, therefore, that specific magazine (advertisement) content is suffused with values and information about self-control orientations, then one could assume that some critical level of socialization is provided by the scripted content. There is one piece of information which gives saliency to this suggestion.

In providing the statistical correlation between 'pleasure' and total annual sales ($r=-.58$), and between 'work' and total annual cigarette sales ($r=.54$), I point out that the advertiser promotes 'pleasure' as a salient black modelled behavior. But such depictions are found to be negatively correlated to cigarette sales. On the other hand, black male modelled work behavior is positively related to cigarette sales. Work behavior is, however, not promoted nearly to the extent that modelled 'pleasure' activities are promoted.

It now seems on reflection, that an intuitive explanation of this phenomenon is possible. A contention stated in the preface is that the consumer makes use of

o
the values and information content of scripted communications such as magazine advertisements. The payoff to the advertiser whose scripts contain information and values on self-control (work and self-reliance) is an increase in sales. the payoff to the consumer is a method for rationalizing routine activities as analyzable but extraordinary events.

o Overall, I conclude that several of Weber's insights, and in particular his concept of a behavioral model of motivation, which emphasizes differential reinforcement as the primary instrumental method of regulating and effectuating social control, are upheld (Weber,1930;Langton;1982). In an allocation process where different groups are provided with different kinds of rewards, resources, and commodities, rather than differential increments of the same kinds of rewards, resources, and commodities, then the acquisition of the values and information needed becomes crucial for those persons for whom they are extraordinary events.

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