

Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Ciências Sociais

Isabelle Voogt

**Women in the Media:
A sociological analysis of gender
advertisements in a Dutch women's
magazine**



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A sociological analysis of gender
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Master Thesis in Sociology Field of specialization:
Culture and lifestyles

Work performed under the guidance of
Professor Ana Maria Brandão

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É AUTORIZADA A REPRODUÇÃO PARCIAL DESTA TESE APENAS PARA EFEITOS DE INVESTIGAÇÃO, MEDIANTE DECLARAÇÃO ESCRITA DO INTERESSADO, QUE A TAL SE COMPROMETE;

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Summary:

This thesis regarding gender representations analyzes the portrayal of women in the Dutch women's magazine *Libelle* in 1938 and 1981 through analyses of themes found in images and in text and an analysis of the portrayal of women according to the dimensions of sociologist Erving Goffman (1979). Societies are dynamic and therefore continuously changing (Lowe & Puxty, 1990), but other studies regarding gender representations have already shown that the way men and women are portrayed in the media has often been found to be inaccurate, especially regarding women (McArthur & Resko, 1975, Burgess, Stermer & Burgess, 2007). Even though it appears that the representation of women in the media has become more accurate over time, there are also signs that only slight changes have taken place and that inaccurate portrayals of women in the media still exist (Kang, 1997). It seems as if magazines are sensitive to changes in society but they adjust slowly, possibly due to economic constraints (Demarest & Garner, 1992). For this research, Dutch magazine *Libelle* was chosen, as it is a highly read women's magazine in the Netherlands since 1934. This made it possible to examine images of several decades ago; in 1938, before the Second World War reached the Netherlands and after the second wave of feminism in 1981. To narrow the research down, two publications of both years were chosen for the analysis. For the research, the method of case study and the technique of content analysis were used to collect and analyze the data. The goal of this research was to see how and to which extent the society influenced the content of the magazine and the representation of women in it. The results show similarities and differences between the content and portrayal of women in 1938 and 1981, some of which could and some of which could not be linked to the Dutch society at that time. The analysis according to Goffman's dimensions showed more images with women in stereotypical roles in 1981 than in 1938. Overall, the results confirm the claim of Kang (1997) who argued that advertisements have not changed much and that more recent magazines show even more women in stereotypical roles than less recent magazine. It also confirms the claim of Demarest and Garner (1992) that magazines do respond to changes in society, but seem to adjust slowly.

Resumo:

Esta tese relativa às representações de género analisa a forma como as mulheres são retratadas na revista Holandesa *Libelle* em 1938 e 1981 através da observação dos temas encontrados em imagens e texto, usando as dimensões identificadas pelo sociólogo Erving Goffman (1979). As sociedades são dinâmicas e, por isso, estão em constante mudança (Lowe & Puxty, 1990), mas outros estudos relativos às representações de género mostraram que a forma como os homens e as mulheres são retratados nos meios de comunicação social é frequentemente inexacta, especialmente no que respeita às mulheres (McArthur & Resko, 1975, Burgess, Stermer & Burgess, 2007). Embora pareça que a representação das mulheres nos meios de comunicação social se tem tornado mais correcta com o tempo, há também sinais de que ocorreram apenas pequenas mudanças e que ainda persistem representações inexactas destas (Kang, 1997). Parece que, apesar de os meios de comunicação social serem sensíveis às mudanças sociais, ajustam-se lentamente, possivelmente devido a constrangimentos económicos (Demarest & Garner, 1992). Nesta investigação, foi escolhida a revista Holandesa *Libelle*, uma vez que se trata de uma revista para mulheres muito lida na Holanda desde 1934. Isto tornou possível examinar imagens de há várias décadas: de 1938, antes de a II Guerra Mundial ter atingido a Holanda, e depois da segunda vaga do feminismo, em 1981. Para delimitar a investigação, foram analisadas duas edições dos dois anos indicados. Foram usados o estudo de casos e a técnica da análise de conteúdo para a recolha e análise dos dados. O objectivo desta investigação era o de ver como e até que ponto a sociedade influenciava o conteúdo da revista e a forma como as mulheres eram aí representadas. Os resultados mostram similaridades e diferenças entre o conteúdo e a forma como as mulheres eram retratadas em 1938 e 1981, algumas das quais podiam – e outras não – estar ligadas à sociedade Holandesa da época. A análise, de acordo com as dimensões de Goffman, mostra mais imagens de mulheres em papéis estereotipados em 1981 do que em 1938. No geral, os resultados confirmam a tese de Kang (1997), que defendeu que os anúncios não mudaram muito e que as revistas mais recentes ainda mostram mais mulheres em papéis estereotipados do que as menos recentes. Também confirmam a tese de Demarest e Garner (1992) segundo a qual as revistas respondem às mudanças sociais, mas parecem ajustar-se lentamente a estas.

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Introduction

"Whoever controls the media, controls the mind."

(Jim Morrison, 1943-1971)

The previous quotation is one way to describe the great influence of the mass media on people in a society. In the last 50 years, the media's influence has grown significantly with the advance of technology. First, there was the telegraph; then, the newspaper, the radio, magazines, television; and now, the internet. Nowadays, we live in a society that depends greatly on the information and communication provided through the mass media for daily activities such as work, entertainment, health care, education, personal relationships and many more. We have grown so used to them that we can no longer imagine how we could live our lives without them. They make our life easier in many ways and offer us a variety of possibilities and endless entertainment. We have put our trust in the media as an authority to provide us with the information we are looking for. However, we are not always aware of the fact that mass media shape our assumptions, perceptions, values, beliefs and decisions in a significant way (Habiba, 2008). We are constantly exposed to thousands of images and the messages they carry with them. We base our decision to buy something, or not, upon the image we have obtained of the product through all the information that the media have given us. Besides that, they also play an important role in the opinions we have. However, the media do not always give us all the information we would need to be able to create a realistic or objective opinion. If a person is portrayed in a negative manner in the media, the chance is small that we will think positively about that person. This way, mass media can have a great impact on public opinion.

Goldman (1992) points out that within the mass media advertising is a major social and economical institution that provides us socially constructed ways of seeing and making sense of our world. The advertising industry is subject to competition, accumulation and profits. In order to keep on existing, the industry has to generate sufficient profits for manufacturers by maintaining current markets and developing new ones (Carilli & Campbell, 2005). Women play a significant role in this marketing process. Women make a remarkable contribution to society by facilitating a continuing increase in consumption (Carilli & Campbell, 2005).

Within most households, the woman is the one responsible for buying household products and food. In order to convince women to buy certain goods, advertisements show women in a certain role, a role that is idealized. It makes women believe that they should follow the example of the woman portrayed in the advertisements, because that is what society expects from them. These portrayals of women in advertisements are often unrealistic stereotype roles, at times even so unrealistic that they are practically impossible for women to live up to. The way women are portrayed in the media is an important focus of studies regarding gender representations. Gender representation is a phenomenon that is subject to change (Gill, 2007), and therefore one that continues to be an interesting phenomenon to study.

The concept of representation, in general, is rather complex and abstract. It refers to the construction of aspects of 'reality' in any medium, regarding people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. We find these representations in speech, as well as in still or moving images. Representations are culture-specific; codes and conventions available in a culture shape and restrict what can be said about any aspect of reality. Also, representations are subject to interpretation. Every culture can interpret an object in a different way, due to the fact that every culture has its own symbols and codes with its own meaning (Molin, 2007). Since representations in the media influence our opinions and beliefs, gender representations become an important and interesting type of representation to study when we want to learn more about the expected roles of men and women in a society. The gender representations we are exposed to, tell us how a man or woman should look and behave. Therefore, they have a significant influence on how we live our lives. The fact that such representations affect all of us and in such a big way, consciously and unconsciously, made me interested in studying and researching this specific topic.

The aim of this research was to answer the following question: "*How have women been represented in the media*"? Since this question was too broad, it was necessary to narrow its focus, by first choosing a particular medium. The medium of choice became a Dutch women's magazine called *Libelle*. *Libelle* is a widely read women's magazine in the Netherlands and Belgium, which has been published since April 1934. It is a weekly magazine for women between 30 and 55 years old. The magazine has always discussed a diversity of topics, such as family, beauty, fashion and gastronomy (Sanoma Media, n.d.).

The analysis was then narrowed down to two particular time periods that were expected to offer interesting and relevant information regarding the representation of women and the changes occurred in society. The time periods were chosen upon the extent of documentation of the magazine available, and upon relevant events that took place in Dutch society during the existence of the magazine. The two time periods chosen were 1938 and 1981. The first time period, 1938, was chosen because it was just before the II World War reached the Netherlands, when the Dutch household was still very traditional and conservative (Blom, 1993). The second time period, 1981, was chosen because it was after the second wave of feminism took place. The two time periods are 43 years apart, which is quite some time, enough time for a society to go through different changes.

What I wanted to achieve mainly with this research was to see how women are portrayed in the magazine of *Libelle* and to see if I could find a relation between the way they are represented and the society at that time.

This thesis is organized in three chapters. We begin the first chapter with an introduction in the first paragraph. In the second paragraph, we discuss the concept of gender, gender roles and how these concepts are connected to society. We clarify the difference between the concept of 'sex' and 'gender' and explain how each society and culture gives its own meaning to gender roles. We also discuss male domination and how it maintains traditional gender roles. This will help to understand the importance of gender and the influences it has on our lives. Then, we focus on media and advertising. We discuss the famous work of sociologist Erving Goffman (1922-1982) called 'gender advertisements', which was published in 1979. With his study regarding gender advertisements, he created six dimensions, six ways in which women are portrayed in stereotypical roles (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005). We discuss these dimensions and chapter 2, will explain – among other things – why Goffman's dimensions were used for this research. We then discuss gender representations and women's magazines. We explain why women's magazines are still a relevant source for studies regarding gender representations, more particularly the way women are portrayed in the magazines. This will help to understand why a women's magazine was chosen as a source for this study.

We also discuss some other studies that have been done in the past regarding this subject. It is important to know this in order to be able to compare previous studies to this one and to learn more about what is already known about this subject but also to see if this study can add new insight.

Finally, we discuss the role of Dutch women between the 1930s and 1980s in the Netherlands. This is important because it will help us to see if what we see in the magazine in 1938 and 1981 can be translated back to what the role of women was in the Dutch society at that time.

Chapter 2 discusses the methodology and techniques that were used for this research. It explains why the case study was chosen, but also exactly what it signifies and what its advantages and disadvantages are. We discuss how a content analysis has been made. Furthermore, we explain why Dutch women's magazine *Libelle* was chosen for this research and how the three different analyses were executed.

In chapter 3, you will find the results of the three analyses that were done. The first analysis is the analysis that was based upon the images within the magazine and how they were divided into categories. This analysis will show us the share of images that each category had in each of the four publications, after which each category and the results are explained separately. It also explains how these categories were expressed within the magazine, if there were any similarities or differences between the images of each category in 1938 and 1981 and how we can explain this in relation to the Dutch society at that time. The second analysis is based upon the dimensions of Goffman, which help to see if, and how, women are portrayed in stereotypical roles in images in *Libelle*. The main results will be discussed first, after which we discuss the results more thoroughly when we go through each dimension separately. Ultimately, we discuss the third analysis, which was based upon the global textual content of each publication. This way we can see which themes played an important role in the textual content of the magazine and if the popularity of the themes differs in textual and visual content.

Finally, a conclusion will follow. In the conclusion, you will find a small review of the theme of this research, the central question of this research and what we have learned from the research done by others. We look back at the objectives of this research, whether they were achieved or not and why.

Also, we look back at which methodology was chosen for this research and if it turned out to be the right choice. Finally, we discuss the research results and which conclusions have been made from those results. We will also discuss what went well and what did not go well during this research. Based upon that information, suggestions for future research are made.

Chapter 1 - The relation between society and the portrayal of women

As has been mentioned in the introduction, our central question during this research was: *'How have women been portrayed in Dutch women's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'* But this central question is followed by two other relevant sub questions. These questions are: *'What are the differences and similarities regarding the content of Dutch women's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'* and *'How can the content and the portrayals of women in Dutch women's magazine Libelle can be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time?'*

To be able to answer these questions, we first need to know more about the concepts of 'gender' and 'gender representation', which are important concepts that are closely connected to the portrayal of women in the media. In the next paragraph, called 'the concept of gender and development of gender roles', we discuss these concepts and other concepts such as 'gender socialization', 'gender roles' and 'male domination'. We explain how men and women are expected to behave differently and how these differences lead to different roles for men and women. We also discuss why famous sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) believed that these different roles for men and women are a form of 'symbolic violence' and how he claimed that institutions maintain the existence of male dominance, as he believed that women are still being suppressed by men, creating 'gender differences'.

Subsequently, we discuss 'Gender and the media', which explains the influential role of the mass media on the gender expectations and gender roles within society. In this part of the text, the research of sociologist Goffman regarding gender advertisements plays a crucial role, as one of the analyses for this research has been based upon the six dimensions he developed regarding the portrayal of women as a result of his research in 1979. In 'Gender representations in women's magazines', we explain the relevance of women's magazines for studies regarding gender representations and, therefore, offer some insight on the reason why a women's magazine was chosen as the source for this research. We demonstrate the different types of women's magazines and their characteristics.

Furthermore, we discuss the negative effects that women's magazines can have on their readers, due to the often contradictory messages and ideologies that the magazines create in their content. Finally, the results of other studies regarding the representation of women in women's magazines will be discussed.

The discussion about 'The role of Dutch women between the 1930s and the 1980s' plays an important role in the process of answering the two sub questions of this research. The development and changes that the Dutch society went through during that time period and what the position of women was within society will give an idea of what to expect in the content of *Libelle* in 1938 and 1981. Of course, the two sub questions, as well as the central question of this research, can only be adequately answered after we have also discussed the results of this research, but the following paragraphs are crucial to be able to understand those results.

1.1. The concept of gender and the development of gender roles in society

Gender is a concept often confused with the concept of sex. However, the concept of 'gender' is usually considered to be more complex than the concept of sex. Simone de Beauvoir (1949, cit. in Butler, 2007), a famous philosopher and feminist once said: "One is not born a woman, but rather becomes one". This suggests that gender and sex are distinguishable, that gender is part of a gradually acquired identity (Butler, 1986). An individual does not need to do anything in order to acquire his or her sex; it is a classification that society makes based upon biological and anatomical characteristics. In other words: a person's sex is based on his/her body, and especially on his/her genitals. Thus, for most people their sex is a characteristic that endures all their life. Gender is a less stable and given characteristic. Gender is a social distinction made by society (Holmes, 2007). Each society defines what it considers to be 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Both genders have a certain role. These roles are known as gender roles. Gender roles consist of behaviours, activities and attitudes that are considered typical of and for men and women. These gender roles give us an image of what is expected of us being a man or a woman. Each society gives its own meaning to these gender roles, as each society has its own culture with its own values and beliefs. Thus, what is considered to be masculine in one culture can be considered as feminine in another culture (Wood, 2009).

The way we are expected to behave in terms of gender starts on an early age, through the process of socialization (Martin & Ruble, 2004). Gender role socialization is a complex process involving an individual's family, culture and education. Through this process, children learn about the 'appropriate' feminine and masculine behaviours. The socialization process shapes the individual not only cognitively; it also creates social reality and imposes male-female differences on every aspect of human experience. Gender roles and expectations are deeply embedded in social, political and economic institutions, which help to shape gender-based inequalities such as unequal career possibilities and pay (Lafky, Duffy, Steinmaus & Berkowitz, 1996). These gender roles and gender expectations are more apparent than we are usually aware of. Gender socialization starts as soon as we are born; parents expect the behaviour of a boy to be different from the behaviour of a girl. Of girls it is expected that, one day, they will become wives and mothers and that they will take care of the household and children, while boys are expected to provide their family with financial security, making the woman financially dependent on her partner (Habiba, 2008).

It is also expected for women to share common interests, traits and desires that are different from the common interests, traits and desires of men. It is almost impossible to avoid the influence of the gender roles that each society has created. Language, colours, clothes, toys and other product, almost everything is adjusted and focused on one particular gender. For example: products for boys and men are often coloured in blue, while products for girls and women are often coloured in pink, as it is expected that boys like blue and girls like pink.

Gender roles are part of what Bourdieu (2001) describes as 'symbolic violence': the kind of violence that goes unnoticed and is almost invisible to its victims. Symbolic violence can consist of values, opinions and norms that can discriminate us without us realizing it. And, in our society, it is linked to the unconscious acceptance of male domination. Symbolic violence is passed on through communication and knowledge, or better said, lack of knowledge (idem). Bourdieu presented his work regarding male domination in 1998. Although his research was based upon a peasant culture in North-Africa during the 1960s, Bourdieu believed that the male domination that he had been researching was the same kind of male domination that can be found in modern society. With 'male domination' Bourdieu refers to the persistent inequality between men and women and the fact that women are still being suppressed by men, only less visibly than before. Bourdieu believes this is still possible because many of the inequalities between men and women are defended upon natural, biological differences, as if we simply have to accept men and women are 'naturally' different and therefore cannot be equal at all levels. According to his work, male domination is so rooted in our collective unconscious that we do not even notice it. It is so suited to our expectations that it is hard for us to change. According to Bourdieu, institutions play a big role in the persistence of male domination and gender differences. They are the ones that spread knowledge and beliefs. If we want to change the situation, something has to change first within those institutions.

According to Pinto-Coelho and Mota-Ribeiro (2006a), one of the reasons male domination and gender differences still exist, is due to the fact that men still have more access and power within important institutions. They state that one of the obstacles is that many institutions are structured according to a patriarchal principle of gender, which privileges men and is based upon attitudes that differentiate women from men in a negative way. Men, therefore, are awarded access to the resources required to maintain male domination (Pinto-Coelho & Mota-Ribeiro, 2006a).

One important conclusion that we can make based upon this information is that the society and culture we live in determine the gender expectations we are (unconsciously) exposed to everyday. According to Bourdieu (2001) and according to Pinto-Coelho and Mota-Ribeiro (2006a), institutions play an important role in that process and in the persistence of male domination. In the next paragraph we take a look at one of those institutions: the media. It will explain why the mass media is such an influential institution and how it is related to gender representations. Also, it will discuss a research done by Goffman, in 1979, regarding gender advertisements, which plays an important role in this research.

1.2. Gender advertisements in the media and Goffman 's dimensions

Gender expectations and gender roles are conveyed, among others, through the information and images provided by the mass media, which not only encourage us to buy products, but also influence our attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour (Kang, 1997). The media send out messages about gender roles, about the way men and women are expected to be, about their appropriate behaviour. Thus, they contribute to form an ideal image of how a men or woman should be (Lindner, 2004). Since the media reflect the values, opinions and beliefs of a society, the gender roles that are typical for one society will also be reflected within the media.

The media is inextricably linked to advertising, since advertisers know that mass media offers the opportunity to reach a large group of people simultaneously. Every day we are exposed to thousands of advertisements, through television, internet, newspapers, radio, and magazines. Goldman (1992) has claimed that advertising is a major social and economic institution that provides us with socially constructed ways of perceiving and making sense of our world. Advertising is rarely objective, as advertisers are always competing with each other and will always try to convince the viewer that their product is the best one, better than the others. Such a claim may or may not be true, making it difficult for the viewer, listener or readers to evaluate (Gottlieb, 1992). Besides the commercial side to advertising, it can also serve as a great way to raise awareness regarding important news, events and non-profit institutions.

Since advertising is such a powerful tool within the media, it is not surprising that advertisements have become an interesting and relevant source for research, including research regarding gender and advertisements. One of the most noteworthy studies regarding gender and advertisements has been done by the well-known sociologist Erving Goffman. In 1979, Goffman presented his work, 'Gender Advertisements', in which he analyzed and described the differences between the representation of men and women in media advertisements. He noticed that the advertisements showed an infantilization and subservience of women towards men. In his work, he described six dimensions that demonstrate differences between men and women: relative size, the feminine touch, function ranking, the family, the ritualization of subordination and licensed withdrawal (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005).

The dimension 'relative size' refers to the differences in height or body size between men and women. In advertisements, men are usually presented taller or larger than women. When a woman is presented larger and/or taller than the man, it is usually to indicate she is in a higher position and/or social status.

Another difference Goffman noted was the touch of men and women in advertisements: whereas men seem to grasp objects, women only caress or lightly touch objects (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005). This difference refers to the dimension of 'feminine touch'.

Another dimension, 'function ranking', refers to the tasks of men and women in advertisements. Goffman pointed out that men are usually cast in the roles of leaders or executors, while women play the secondary roles of assistant or supporter. Whenever a man was presented within a feminine role, it was usually to point out that that man was not a 'real' man.

When it comes to the dimension of family, Goffman noticed the close relationship between mother and daughter and between father and son are more visible in advertisements than close relationships between mother and son or between father and daughter (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005). However, the relationship between father and son usually appeared more distant and less emotional than the relationship between mother and daughter.

The tendency for women to be presented in a lower position or pose relates to the dimension of 'ritualization of subordination'. It was noticed that women were often found on spatially lower positions than men. For example, if a man was to be seated on a chair, the woman would be seated on the floor. Besides that, women were also found to play a submissive role by making submissive gestures and acting less seriously (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005). Also, women appeared to be physically protected by men, by holding onto a man's arm, or by being protectively held by the man.

The last dimension Goffman mentioned was 'licensed withdrawal', which refers to the demonstration of women in advertisements that seemed to be able to withdraw themselves from the situation they were placed in. The woman would be gazing off as if she was somewhere else in her mind, preoccupied and not completely present in the situation (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005).

Also, women were found to be hiding themselves, retreating themselves behind objects as if they are withdrawing from the scene. This way of posing can create a feeling of distance, absence and even superiority (Bell & Milic, 2002, Pinto-Coelho & Mota-Ribeiro, 2006b). Also, it can create the impression that the woman is not playing an active role in the image, but rather a decorative role, as if she is there only as an ornament in the image (Mota-Ribeiro, 2003).

Goffman's work regarding gender advertisements has showed us that advertisements – as well as images in general – often contain a lot more messages than what we are usually aware of. Advertisements and the media in general contribute to the development of gender expectations and gender roles (Lindner, 2004). Since women are the main purchasers of consumer goods, they are the main target group of advertisers (Reventos, 1998). It is, therefore, not surprising that women's magazines are the perfect way for advertisers to advertise their goods and get the attention of their female target-group. In the next paragraph, we discuss women's magazines, which still form one of the most popular media to this day and which have been particularly relevant for studies regarding the portrayal of women. Also, other studies regarding the portrayal of women in women's magazine will be discussed.

1.3. Gender representations in women 's magazines

Magazines are a strongly established type of medium and maintain an important position within the mass media despite other popular media such as television and internet (Magazines.nl, 2012). A magazine can tell us a lot about the knowledge, opinions and attitudes of a society at a certain time (Aerts, 1996). Magazines only sell when they answer to the need and desires of the readers and the advertisers, so magazines are pressured to reflect what is important to the readers and to the advertisers. Women 's magazines are no exception. It is unlikely to find any other type of medium that can tell us so much about women as a women 's magazine. Besides the opinions and interest of women, they can tell us about which beauty ideals, fashion trends, health trends and other trends are popular at a particular time (Hülsken, 2005).

Nowadays, there are generally three types of women 's magazines. The first type of women 's magazine is the weekly, relatively cheap and more traditional magazine, such as *Libelle*, but also *Margriet*, *Flair* and *Viva*. Then, there are also the monthly, more expensive and luxurious magazines that are usually called 'glossy magazines', such as *Elle*, *Marie-Claire* and *Cosmopolitan*. These glossy magazines are printed on high quality, shiny paper. Finally, there are feminist magazines, of which *Opzij* is best known in the Netherlands. There are also 'gossip' magazines, but these are actually not really typical women 's magazines, since their focus is usually on celebrities, male or female. They are, however, read mostly by women (Hülsken, 2005). The first two types of magazines have most in common regarding their content. In most of these women 's magazines, we can find fashion editorials, columns, letters from readers, advertisements and, of course, articles regarding family, beauty, relationships, food and celebrities (Hülsken, 2005). The focus of the glossy magazines is usually more on beauty, fashion and celebrities, with many brand advertisements and images. The glossy magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* are more likely to be constructed around the femininity that is based upon sexual relationships, beauty and career success (Barker, 2012). The more traditional magazines are usually not printed on high quality, shiny paper. They have a more general content, showing a little bit of everything. This type of magazines, such as *Libelle*, are more likely to be constructed around the femininity that is based upon traditions, the pleasures and challenges of being a homemaker and the success of being a wife and a mother (Barker, 2012).

Even though there are many types of women's magazines, there are some things that almost all women's magazines have in common. For example, they tend to address readers as equals, or even friends, to create an intimate tone. Also, they are constructed around the shared pleasures and labours of 'femininity', and use a language of individualism, with an emphasis on personal solutions at the expense of collective social or political struggle (Gill, 2007, Barker, 2012).

According to Winship (1987), women's magazines offer survival skills to women to cope with dilemmas of femininity at particular moments in time. Yet, it seems that women's magazines have the tendency to send out contradictory messages. Winship (1987) has argued that they do not contain a single coherent ideal of womanhood, but rather create different type of ideologies of femininity throughout the magazine, which leads to inconsistent messages. For example, in one part of the magazine beautiful skin is attributed to the use of certain products, whereas in another part of the magazine beautiful skin is attributed to genetics (Barker, 2012, Gill, 2007). Conflicting messages regarding topics such as skin care might not even be that disturbing, but one can imagine that when it concerns topics such as health, psychological advice and career guidance, such conflicting messages become more confusing and alarming. They can create an ideology and expectations that are unrealistic and impossible to achieve. Ideologies regarding the body, but also regarding career success and relationships. Several studies have already revealed the negative effects of such unrealistic ideologies and expectations. Effects such as body dissatisfaction – which subsequently can lead to depression and eating disorders –, but also a low self-esteem, in general (Tiggemann & McGill, 2004, Park, 2005, Stice, Spangler & Stewart Agras, 2001).

Earlier studies regarding the portrayal of women in the media demonstrated that the mass media, more specifically the advertisements, have showed women in traditional roles such as the role of a mother, a housewife and beauty and sexual orientated roles. These roles were not representative compared to the roles women had in society. In a study of Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) the content of eight general interest magazines in 1958 were analyzed. It revealed that women were mostly shown as housewives in decorative roles and idle situations, or as low-income earners with limited purchasing power. In 1971 (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971) and 1972 (Wagner & Banos, 1973), it became clear, through similar research, that despite the influence of women's movements, women were still being portrayed in stereotypical roles.

Women were hardly found fulfilling roles outside home, especially as professionals, and were never depicted venturing outside home alone or with other women. Instead, they were portrayed as if they were protected by men. Women were regarded by men as sex objects and/or domestic adjuncts. Women were mostly found in advertisements for domestic products, such as cleaning products, drugs, clothing and home appliances. Men, on the other hand, were shown in advertisements for cars, travel, alcoholic beverages, cigarettes and banks.

Several years later, another study was done by Sullivan and O'Connor (1988) who compared print advertisements of 1983 to advertisements of the 1950s and 1970s. Several magazines with broad appeal were selected for the research. It revealed that advertisements in 1983 were more accurate than the advertisements of the 1950s and 1970s. The advertisements in 1983 gave a better reflection of the diversity of women's social and occupational roles. Women were more often showed employed and in higher positions. They appeared to be more independent and gender roles seemed more equal. However, this trend toward equal gender roles was counteracted by an increase in women portrayed in decorative and sexual roles. So, even though progress was made for one part, there was also a setback on the other part. It is possible that such setback was a response to the fact that women were gaining more power and becoming more influential, which became a threat to men's domination in society.

A more recent research by Kilbourne (1990) revealed that people show significantly negative attitudes toward women after being exposed to advertisements that portray women in stereotypical roles. This result shows that there is reason to believe that the way women are depicted in the media has an influence on people's ideas about women and their roles. According to a research conducted by Demarest and Garner (1992) about the role of women in women's magazines during a period of 30 years, there is a correspondence between changes in society and the way women are represented in women's magazines. During that research, two women's magazines were analyzed between 1954 and 1982. The research results showed a gradual decline in the number of themes in which women were portrayed as wives, mothers and homemakers. More recent magazines appeared to be less traditional than magazines that had already been around for some time.

However, according to a research by Kang (1997), magazine advertisements have not changed much since 1979. The research was based upon random advertisements between 1979 and 1991. The author used Goffman's dimensions in the analysis. Remarkably, the magazine advertisements in 1991 showed more stereotyping of women in Goffman's categories of licensed withdrawal and body display than the advertisements in 1979. According to this research, it seems that only superficial changes are reflected, while the underlying gender ideology remained unchanged. This seems to contradict the previously mentioned research in some ways, which point out to a slight, but steady positive change over time. Perhaps this is because they have not analyzed the same advertisements and magazines. Also, Kang's research used Goffman's dimensions as a main concept, and the other researchers have not done so. Goffman's dimensions are not always obvious, especially if one is not looking for them. It could be possible that a woman has indeed been portrayed in a more realistic role in recent years, for example working outside the home, but that there are still signs of Goffman's dimensions that have remained unchanged.

Since women's magazines are still a popular and powerful medium, they continue to be a relevant source for research regarding the portrayal of women. The content of the magazines apparently have a great effect on our opinions and attitudes, as Killbourne (1990) claims that people show a negative attitude towards women after being exposed to portrayals of women in stereotypical roles. Also, the content of the magazines, which often consists of contradictory messages (Barker, 2012), can have negative effects on the body image and self-esteem of their female readers (Tiggeman & McGill, 2004, Park, 2005, Stice, Spangler & Stewart Agras, 2001).

The results of earlier studies have shown a contradiction: for one part, it seems that the portrayal of women in women's magazines has become more accurate over time (Sullivan & O'Conner, 1988, Demarest & Garner, 1992), but, for another part, it seems that inaccurate portrayals of women continue to exist although they are not always obvious at first (Kang, 1997). Demarest and Garner (1992) do believe that magazines are sensitive to changes in society but that the content of the magazines adjusts slowly to these changes, possibly due to economic restraints. However, since magazines only sell when they fulfil the needs and desires of their readers and advertisers, they are pressured to reflect whatever preoccupies their readers and advertisers. That is why we can still assume that a magazine can tell us about the knowledge, opinions and attitudes of a society at a certain time (Aerts, 1996).

In the next section, we will have a look at the Dutch society between the 1930s and 1980s and the role of the Dutch woman at that time. This will eventually help us to answer the second sub question of this research: *'How can the portrayals of women in women 's magazine Libelle can be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time?'*

1.4. The role of Dutch women between the 1930s and the 1980s

The I World War caused many changes for all countries involved, including the Netherlands. It contributed to the emancipation of the Dutch woman. At the time of war, women left their homes to take over the jobs that were normally done by men. Women had suddenly gained a new sort of freedom. Women were seen smoking, doing sports and riding bicycles. They wore more comfortable clothes and were able to receive more education than before (Schaap, 2011). Also, since 1919, they had gained the right to vote. This new freedom did not last long. After the I World War, many changes in politics, but also on technical and economical levels took place within the Dutch society. The beginning of the 1930s became known as the 'crisis years', or 'big depression', in the aftermath of the huge economic crisis in 1929. Unemployment rates were very high and this eventually led women back to becoming housewives (Schaap, 2011).

In 1936, a book called 'The Dutch Household book' was published for the first time. It was meant for young married couples and was a product of cooperation across the borders of compartmentalization. It became a great success. In 1939, the first publication of 30.000 copies was sold out. The book consisted of practical advice regarding all kinds of subjects, but especially to health and child rearing. In the book, as well as in the Dutch society at that time, the concept of a 'harmonious' family played a key role (Blom, 1993). The man, woman and children all had their own role in such a family. The household was seen as the first and foremost responsibility of the woman, as well as the care of her husband and children. This was also the reason why the home was where she ought to be. The man was the boss of the family and its breadwinner. Children were to obey their parents as long as they lived under their roof (Blom, 1993). Order, authority, sense of position, national sentiment, labour, thrift and other moral rules were a few of the most important concepts defended within the family. There was also the concept of self-development, but this came with many limitations.

For example, if there were any self-development opportunities for the woman, they were only found within the home and family life, as her role as a housewife was still seen as more important than anything else (Blom, 1993). In order to prepare young girls for this role, there were special institutions with the goal to educate and prepare them for their future as a housewife.

There they learned about health, cooking, cleaning and all sorts of handwork. Young boys would go to vocational schools, where they were prepared for a certain profession (Blom, 1993). The economic crisis that started in 1929 had still not subsided. The poor economic conditions in the Netherlands and other parts of Europe only got a break until the breakout of the II World War (Den Bakker, 2008).

The attack of the Germans on the Netherlands and the quick fall of the Dutch army in 1940 had an enormous impact on the Dutch society, as well as during the years that followed. From being a neutral colonial power, the Netherlands were turned into a small country without any colonies and a part of Western alliances. The first years after the II World War were dominated by reconstruction and special legal procedures, as well as the decolonization (Blom, 1993). During the II World War, many Dutch men were forced to leave their homes, either because they were detained by the Germans or because they had to fight for the freedom of their country. This meant that the national production almost stopped completely. In order to prevent this from happening, women were once again forced to take over the jobs that were normally occupied by men. The working conditions were tough, since it was an exceptional crisis situation (Blom, 1993). Even though this crisis situation caused more equality between men and women regarding labour, it was only temporary. As soon as the men returned, the women were laid off from their jobs and had to return to their traditional role of being a care taker at home (Maho, 2009). Many of the morals that existed before the war returned afterwards, to the displeasure of small groups of people that believed that changes needed to be made. However, it was believed by many that holding on to the concept and importance of the 'harmonious' family and traditional morals would be the only way the country would get back on its feet (Blom, 1993).

The economical growth that followed eventually in the 1950s caused the unemployment to almost disappear while offering more space to social and cultural facilities, as well as overall wealth. The restrictive (labour) ethics weakened and the amount of free time increased. The level of education increased, even for girls. The youth, with more money and time than their parents had when they were young, were permitted to lead a different lifestyle. It was the beginning of youth cultures, groups of young people with their own style that was reflected by their clothes and music. The roles that girls and boys played, even within those groups, were still quite traditional (Blom, 1993).

At the same time, the government helped to create a better health system, which later on would be the beginning of what is now known as a 'welfare state'. Social work became an important concept and social sciences became more and more subjects of the future, which would help to improve the society. The society gained a new dimension. Besides teachers and doctors, there were now social workers, psychologists and sociologists that played an important role within the society (Blom, 1993).

In the 1960s, the secularization process and the increasing attention for individualization continued. There grew a strong desire for renewal. A big change within the Dutch household was that it went from a 'command household' to a 'negotiation household' (Blom, 1993). At the same time, the birth rate decreased due to the increasing use of anti-conception methods. The introduction of the famous anti-conception pill in 1963 played a big role in that. Moral prohibitions regarding religion became less important. Sex before marriage became less and less of a taboo (Blom, 1993). Because of all these changes, women gained more possibilities to make changes for themselves. Halfway the 1960s was the beginning of a second wave feminism. In the Netherlands, this second wave of feminism started off in 1965 due to the controversial publication of 'The second sex' by Simone de Beauvoir, which was published for the first time in the Netherlands that year (Opzij, 2010). Women were looking more and more for possibilities to develop themselves as individuals and realized that in order to do that they needed to have the same rights and possibilities as men did. Being unmarried and/or having children became a choice. Separated education for boys and girls became less popular and women were being more often accepted for jobs (Blom, 1993). However, regardless of these changes, there was still a great sense of traditionalism within the Dutch society at that time. Many women still chose to be housewives instead of working on their own career (Blom, 1993). Perhaps more women were fine with that because within the household the housewife had gone through some positive changes.

In 1967, the article 'Het onbehagen bij de vrouw' (Women's discontent), by Joke Kool-Smit, appeared and it became one of the most important provocations during the second wave of feminism in the Netherlands. The article described how women only had the same rights on paper, but that in real life they were still at disadvantage when compared to men.

It also described the struggle of being a mother and working outside the home, due to lack of part-time jobs, day care centres for children and unequal salaries for men and women. (Kool-Smit, 1967). Many women – mostly middle-class women – recognized these feelings of discontent and frustration. Several movements for equal rights for men and women started to appear, but only a few became successful. The organization ‘Man Vrouw Maatschappij’ (Man Woman Society), which was founded by Joke Kool Smit and Hedy D’ancona, tried to make a change in 1968. The main goal of this organization was to create more opportunities for working mothers. Its members were – besides a few men – mostly women in their thirties with an average, or higher than average education (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2011). In 1969, the women’s movement ‘Dolle Mina’s’ was founded, which consisted mostly of young women, but also some men. The name of the movement derived from Wilhelmina Drucker (1847-1925), a well known feminist in her time. The movement gained a lot of publicity due to their playful actions. They used the media to raise attention to topics such as abortion, childcare and anti-conception (Opzij, 2010, Bakker, van Beek & Peperkamp, 2008).

In the seventies, a few important changes were made. The year of 1975 was named ‘International Women’s Year’ by the United Nations. It was then that a law for equal salaries for men and women was passed. In 1951, the International Labour Organisation had already taken the initiative to create such a law, but it was only in 1975 that the law became official in the Netherlands (Opzij, 2010). The period between 1976 and 1985 was called ‘The Decade of Women’. In 1979, gender discrimination became officially banned when the United Nations adopted the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), also described as an international bill of rights for women (Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], n.d.). A year later, in 1980, a Dutch law called ‘Wet gelijke behandeling van mannen en vrouwen’ (equal treatment of men and women law) became official (Overheid.nl, n.d).

During the eighties, a lot of things had changed, at least on paper. The new laws were not always respected in daily life and so progress towards real equality in reality was slow. Due to two oil crises in the seventies, the world trade had decreased and the Dutch economy took a big hit. An economical recession followed with high numbers of unemployment. Jobs were hard to find and the potential labour force grew bigger due to the baby boom that took place in the ten years after the II World War.

Unemployment forced many women to be housewives again. It was only in the second half of the eighties that the unemployment slowly decreased (Stegeman & Visser, 2010). The Dutch household was being introduced to loads of new electronic products. The first computer games and Walkman made it easier for children to entertain themselves and it also made some of the household tasks a little easier and less time-consuming (Open Universiteit, 2012). At the time, the available childcare was increasing, which made it possible again for women to start looking for a job. In the end of the eighties, almost 45% of the Dutch women had a part-time job (Open Universiteit, 2012).

One conclusion we can make regarding the role of the woman in the Netherlands between the 1930s and 1980s is that the economic situation, as well as the I World War and the II World War have been very influential. During the wars and during economic success, women got the opportunity to break out of their regular role of a housewife and gaining some freedom (Schaap, 2011). We can also conclude that such changes were usually temporarily, as the women were forced to return to their role of being a housewife during post-war periods and during poor economic conditions (Schaap, 2011). However, the efforts that have been made by women's movements in the end of the sixties and during the seventies have been able to help improve the position of the woman in the Netherlands, at least on paper.

The reasons why this research has focused on the years 1938 and 1981 was due to the fact that 1938 was the period before the Netherlands got involved in the II World War. The Dutch household was very traditional at that time (Blom, 1993) and so it seemed an interesting time period for this research regarding the portrayal of women to compare it with a more modern time period several years later. The second time period was chosen due to the fact that, at that time, the second wave of feminism had affected the Netherlands. Since this research focuses on women, it seemed only logical to pay attention to such an important time period and its effects. Of course, there could have been more interesting time periods, but it was unfortunately not possible to analyse them all. For that more time and more people would have been needed, but even then it would have probably made the research too unwieldy.

When these two time periods were chosen, it had already been decided that this research would focus on a Dutch women's magazine. Knowing that women's magazines are still a strongly established medium, despite television and internet, and the fact that women's magazines form an important medium for advertisers make them a particularly relevant source for researching the portrayal of women. But since most of such research has been done in the last few decades, it seemed more challenging and interesting to take this research a bit further back in time, when there was not so much knowledge and awareness regarding the portrayal of women in the media as there is nowadays. The fact that this research was focused on going back in time was another reason why using women's magazine for this research seemed more logical than choosing for example the medium television. It is usually easier to find written documents than a television recording, for example.

In the Netherlands, there are two women's magazines that have been around for quite some time and that are still popular magazines to this day: *Libelle* and *Margriet*. *Libelle* was founded in 1934 and *Margriet* in 1938 and have similar characteristics. The reason *Libelle* was chosen instead of *Margriet* is because it has been around for a bit longer and because it has a higher range than *Margriet* (Sanoma Media, n.d.). Also, with a current target-group between 28 and 55 years old, the target-group of *Libelle* is a bit wider than the target-group of *Margriet*, which is currently between 30 and 55 years old (Sanoma Media, n.d.).

The objective of this research was to see how and to which extent the society influenced the content of the magazine *Libelle* and the portrayal of women in it. This objective would be achieved by answering the three questions that have played a central role in this research:

1. *'How have women been portrayed in Dutch women's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'*
2. *'What are the differences and similarities regarding the content in Dutch women's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'*
3. *'How can the content and the portrayals of women in Dutch women's magazine Libelle can be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time?'*

In the next chapter, we discuss the research was executed. We also explain which method and technique were chosen for this research and why.

Chapter 2 - A case study of a women ' s magazine

This research is a case-study. Qualitative case-study research brings understanding to a complex issue, or object, and can add valuable information to what is already known through previous research. It facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Case-studies can be used to provide description, test theory or generate theory. The method of case study has been – and still is – criticized by some, who claim that one cannot generalize from a single case, and therefore making it an unfit method to contribute to scientific development. It is also claimed that case study is very sensitive to bias, since the data are usually collected and interpreted by a single person. Also, since it is a single case study, some claim it can lack vital information in order to make any cause-effect conclusions.

Even though these claims are not unrealistic and point out some possible disadvantages of this method, it does not mean that it is an unfit method for a sociological research. It is a method that complements other methods, which have other advantages and disadvantages. They all contribute their part to the development of (social) science (Flyvbjerg, 2006). One of the reasons that the method of case study was chosen for this research is because the main goal of this research was not to create statistics, or confirm hypotheses, but to describe and explain the results. It would not even have been possible to work with statistics in the first place, since we could only analyse four publications out of many. We were limited due to the time available and the time it would take to analyze all the publications present. But even if there would have been more time available, it would have been practically impossible to analyse all the publications due to their extensive size and the fact that this research involved only one researcher.

Case study is the ideal method when there is only a limited number of research material available, since it is supposed to focus on a single case or a small amount of cases. Yin (1993) has identified some specific types of case studies: Exploratory, Explanatory, and Descriptive. According to Yin, an explanatory case study consists of an accurate interpretation of the facts of the case, some consideration of alternative explanations of these facts and, finally, a conclusion based on the explanation that appears most congruent with the facts (Yin, 1981). That is exactly what this research is about. This research takes into account the facts of what is already known regarding the portrayal of women in the media, as well as the facts that come out of the research itself.

The goal was to try to explain the results the best way possible through what is known about the subject and the Dutch society at that time. Another characteristic of explanatory case study is that the researcher has little to no control over the phenomenon that is being studied (Yin, 1981). This research seeks whether there is a relation between society and the way women are portrayed within a women's magazine at a certain time, and if so, to which extent. There is no control over the object that is being analysed in this research, as this case consists of four historic publications of a women's magazine. There is only control in how the analyses are carried out.

During this research, the focus was on the well-read Dutch weekly women's magazine *Libelle* that was founded in 1934 and that is still being published in the Netherlands and also Belgium. The choice to analyse a women's magazine for this research is because women's magazines have been – and still are – a powerful medium (Magazines.nl, 2012). It is unlikely to find any other type of medium that can tell us as much about women as a women's magazine. An important reason why *Libelle* magazine was chosen is because it has been published since 1934, giving the possibility to go several decades back in time. This way, it was possible to analyze the magazine in different decades and, therefore, also different historical moments, as a society never stops changing. Another reason why this particular magazine was chosen is because it has always had a high range and still has the highest range of all the women's magazines in the Netherlands (Sanoma Media, n.d.). Nowadays, the magazine is focused on a target-group of women between 28 and 55 years old. The fact that the magazine still exists, proves that it has survived many phases within the Dutch society. There is another Dutch women's magazine that has been around for a long time: *Margriet*. This magazine was founded in 1938, 4 years later than *Libelle*. Even though *Margriet* has also survived throughout all these years and is quite similar in content, *Libelle* has always been a bit more popular than *Margriet*, with a higher range and more copies being sold (Sanoma Media, n.d.) Therefore, *Libelle* was chosen over *Margriet*.

During the II World War, the production of the magazine *Libelle* was temporarily stopped, but started again in November 1945. At that time, the magazine also started being published in Belgium. In 1946, the magazine was taken over by a catholic publisher, called 'de Spaarnestad'. Gradually, the magazine was being published in colours and the number of pages started increasing as well, since there was no longer a lack of paper.

In the beginning of the 1960s, the content of the magazine was gradually divided into different themes such as fashion, practical information regarding several topics (health, cooking and gymnastics), movies, literature, television and radio. In 1964, a merge took place between the publisher and the 'VerenigdeNederlandseUitgevers' (United Dutch Publishers).

In 1970, there was another merge with another women's magazine called 'Goednieuwsvoordevrouw' (Good news for the woman). The magazine became more emancipated and modern. In 1990, another merge took place when *Libelle* took over another women's magazine. The content and lay-out was revised in order to adapt to its readers. In 2001, Finish publisher 'Sanoma Media' bought the magazine for 1,25 billion Euros. The production and publishing of the magazine in the Netherlands and Belgium is now completely separated. The name of the magazine derives from the Latin word 'Libellus', which means little book or document.

Since the long existence of *Libelle* offered the opportunity to go many years back in time, and since much research regarding the portrayal of women has taken place during the past few decades, it seemed interesting to use the opportunity to go many years back in time. The first year that was chosen for analysis was 1938, before the II World War reached the Netherlands; the second one was 1981, which encompasses the second wave of feminism in the Netherlands, which, according to Opzij (2010), took place between 1965 and 1985.

By choosing two particular publishing years, the research became more specific and less broad. Because there is a significant amount of time between the years chosen for analysis, this also offered a perspective on two possibly very different moments of the Dutch society. There was an expectation to be able to notice the influence of historical changes regarding the way women were portrayed in the magazine. At the same time, it was also taken into account that it would be possible to find some permanencies, for example, that certain themes would play an important role in both time periods. It could have been interesting to analyze even more time periods, but in this case it would not have been possible due to the amount of work it would take within the limited time available to do this research. Also, it would have possibly made the research too broad and unwieldy.

The magazine used for this research, *Libelle*, has always been a weekly magazine, which means that there were 52 publications of the magazine each year. This would have been impossible to analyze in the amount of time available. It was therefore necessary to narrow the analysis further down to four publications in total, two of each year. These four publications would offer enough material to work with.

The choice for the two publications of both years was first made upon the availability of publications. Eventually, publication numbers 26 and 52 were chosen for both years. Publications number 26 and 52 were more or less six months apart from each other, offering a more global image regarding the content of the magazine during that specific year. It also meant that the two publications would be representing two different seasons: summer and winter. This could also be of importance to the content of the magazine, for example to the fashion content, but possibly also to the magazine, in general. For example, it is known that more people struggle with depressions in winter than in summer, as well as with their physical health (Harvard Medical School, 2004). This could very well have an influence on the content of a magazine, for example on the amount of attention being paid to health.

During this research, the collected data was analysed through the technique of content analysis. Content analysis consists of a systematic interpretation of texts and images, not necessarily from an author's or reader's perspective (Krippendorf, 2004). Weber (1990, p. 5) once said that "Social scientists who must make sense of historical documents, newspaper stories, political speeches, open-ended interviews, diplomatic messages, psychological diaries or official publications – to name a few – will find the technique indispensable". The main idea of content analysis is to classify the text or images into (much fewer) content categories. It can be used in a quantitative or qualitative way. A quantitative content analysis focuses more on frequency and finding patterns. The results usually lead to statistical information. It is also deductive, as it is usually used to test a hypothesis or theory. Qualitative content analysis focuses more on the characteristics and the contextual meaning of the text or images. It is mainly inductive, grounding the examination of topics and themes, as well as inferences drawn from them, in the data (Zhang & Wildemuth 2008).

Zhang and Wildemuth (idem, p. 11) said: “Through careful data preparation, coding, and interpretation, the results of qualitative content analysis can support the development of new theories and models, as well as validating existing theories and providing thick descriptions of particular settings or phenomena”. As mentioned earlier, this research was not focused on creating new theories but indeed on adding new information to what already is known through earlier research. The goal was not to create statistics or testing hypotheses, but to discover the underlying message of the content of the magazine. Therefore, a qualitative approach seemed most appropriate. However, we were also interested in the frequencies of images and themes in order to see which themes or which type of images were more present than others within the magazine. This would help us to interpret and explain the results better and more extensively. However, even though the approach to this research eventually became a combination of qualitative and quantitative approach, it was not our intention to make any generalizing assumptions based upon the results, to create statistics or theories.

After the categories were set up during the first analysis, the share of each category was determined for each publication based upon the frequency of images in that particular category. This way, it became clear how important a category was within a particular publication and it became possible to compare these numbers of each publication to see if certain categories increased or decreased in popularity. This would help us to see which topics were important at the time and how we could relate that to the portrayal of women and to the society at that time.

During the second analysis, the analysis regarding Goffman’s dimensions, a frequency analysis was made for the same reasons. However, even though these frequency analyses were made, there was no intention in creating any theories or statistics based upon them.

In the beginning of the research, the plan was to analyze both text and images, but soon after this appeared to lead to an excessive amount of work considering the time available for the research. So, only images were chosen for the analysis. The images were analyzed in order to obtain more information on how women were represented.

The images were first placed into the following categories: beauty and fashion, family, creative and practical, gastronomy, household products, travel and culture, health and hygiene, work and finance, sports, home and other. The categories have been mainly distinguished based upon the nature of the images within the magazine. But, concurrently, certain categories that were found through the analysis of the images were also found in the text or were even part of the fixed content of the magazine. In total, eleven categories were made, some of which were more present than others. The categories that were found were: beauty and fashion, family, creative and practical, gastronomy, other products, travel and culture, health and hygiene, work and finance, sport, home and other. 'Beauty and fashion' includes images regarding appearance. 'Family' includes images regarding interactions and/or relationships between couples and parents and children. The categories 'creative and practical' refers to images regarding handwork and homemade products such as, for example, patterns to make clothes and decorations. Because it often includes clothing, this category is quite strongly connected to the theme of beauty and fashion. 'Gastronomy' refers to images regarding food and beverages. The category 'other products' includes the images of products that did not belong to any of the other themes. It involves products such as cars, clocks, camera's and vacuum cleaners. 'Travel and culture' involves the images regarding travelling, other countries and cultures. 'Health and hygiene' includes images regarding health products and products for personal hygiene. This concerns, for example, advertisements regarding vitamin supplements, medicines, hygiene pads for women and toothpaste. The theme 'work and finance' concerns images regarding jobs, education and banking. This could be, for example, an advertisement about a job or course or an advertisement of a particular bank. The category 'sports' concerns images that are related to sports and physical exercise. The category 'home' includes images regarding homes and interior decoration. The last category, 'other', is a residual category that includes images that were not suitable for any of the previous mentioned categories.

As one can expect, not all images clearly fit a certain category, especially if one looks only at the image. Sometimes, it was necessary to understand the message behind the image in order to assign the image to the appropriate theme. For example, an advertisement about toothpaste can be assigned to the theme 'beauty and fashion' if the advertisement is emphasizing the importance of beautiful teeth rather than healthy teeth.

If the advertisement is emphasizing the importance of healthy teeth, the image belongs more likely to the theme of 'health and hygiene'. The difficulty of this was to decide which theme would be more appropriate, based upon the image only. Therefore, it was sometimes necessary to include also the text corresponding to the image, in order to get a better idea of the purpose of the product and on which theme the emphasis was laid on by the advertiser. However, some images do not include text and/or can be interpreted in different ways. In these cases, the image was assigned to the 'other' category. For example, an advertisement for sunscreen lotion can send out a message that the sunscreen is to protect the skin, but that it eventually also gives a beautiful tan. In that case, we can relate this image to 'health and hygiene' as well as 'beauty and fashion' as it involves health and beauty at the same time.

The second analysis was based upon Goffman's (1979) framework, consisting of six dimensions: relative size, the feminine touch, function ranking, the family, the ritualization of subordination and licensed withdrawal. Also, an analysis of the overall content was done, during which the topics of the advertisements and the articles of each publication were analyzed as well as the fixed content such as weekly columns and themes.

Finally, the results of the analyses from both 1938 and 1981 were compared. While comparing the publications of 1938 and 1981, attention was also being paid to other noticeable differences. The coding for this analysis was the following one:

1. Relative size

The man in the image is taller than the woman; the height is compared.

(male is taller = 1, male is not taller = 0)

2. Family

Relationship between mother and daughter and father and son are more visible and emphasized than relationships between mother and son, father and daughter.

(yes = 1, no = 0)

3. Feminine touch

The woman in the image is using her hands and fingers to raise attention to the object or body she is touching, in a careful, almost caressing way.

(yes = 1, no = 0)

4. Ritualization of subordination

The woman in the image is placed in a spatial lower position than the man and/or playing a submissive role to the man.

(yes = 1, no = 0)

5. Function ranking

The man in the image plays a bigger/higher role in the situation than the woman. The man is the instructor, and/or has the superior role, the woman is only assisting, serving. Or the man has an active role.

(yes = 1, no = 0)

6. Licensed withdrawal

The woman in the image is covering parts of the face behind an object or behind her hand, gazes off in another direction as if not mentally present within the situation. The woman is physically withdrawn from the situation.

(yes = 1, no = 0)

The structure of the magazine in 1938 and 1981 was different. In 1938, the magazine did not have a clear structure and index yet. In 1981, there was an index with several regular and irregular topics. Also, the cover pages in both years are different. In 1938, the cover would not show much of the content of the magazine. In 1981, the cover page offers a glimpse of the content through headlines and pictures. Even though the structure of the magazine was different in 1938 and 1981, the themes and topics appeared to be quite similar. Themes such as beauty and fashion, creativity and decoration, food and beverages, travelling and family were found in both time periods. Only in 1981 they are more clearly mentioned. But also topics such as interviews, columns, and letters from readers appear both in 1938 and 1981. The amount of images in the magazine is a bit different in 1938 and 1981.

The average number of images of the publications was 98,5 pages in 1938 and 140,5 in 1981. The number of pages was also different for each publication, with an average of 76 pages in 1938 and of 106 pages in 1981. Knowing that these irregularities would make it a bit difficult to compare the four publications with each other, it became obvious that in order to be able to compare the results, percentages would have to be included within the research results. This way, it became easier to compare the results and get a more representative image of each publication.

This research has been a challenge for me personally. Not ever before did I have to write a thesis, at least not such an elaborate one as this one. I had never done any research regarding this subject and I did not know much about it when I started this research. Also, having no experience with the method of case study and little experience with the technique of content analysis made things extra challenging. However, I do feel like I have learned a lot, especially since I started with zero experience and almost no knowledge regarding the subject.

The main difficulty I had using the method of case study is that I felt it had the tendency to become vague and unwieldy easily. I do not know if I would choose a different method if I would have to choose again, because I do think the method was appropriate for this research. Another difficulty I had was that while doing the analyses, I was not always sure of my own judgement. Since I was doing the analyses by myself, I sometimes wondered if I could be objective enough. It would have been helpful if I would have had the judgement of other persons in order to get different perspectives. The technique of content analysis itself seemed a logical choice from the beginning and I would not have chosen another technique if I could. The most challenging analysis was the analysis regarding Goffman's dimensions, since it was not always easy to decide which images fit the criteria and which didn't. The other analyses were a little less difficult because it was easier to decide whether the images fitted a certain description, or not.

If I would change something if I had the chance to do this research over again, it would possibly be to prepare myself better. Like I mentioned, I went into this research not knowing much about the subject, nor about the research methods and techniques available. I would probably take more time to learn about those things before actually setting up the research. Now, I feel like many things became clear only after starting the research and that made it difficult to consider other options and be prepared for what was coming.

However, I doubt that I would have chosen another approach to this research, because I do believe the approach was appropriate, but that my lack of experience and knowledge made it challenging to carry out. I do think I chose the right method, technique and also the right medium for this research. I felt it was a unique opportunity to analyse a women's magazine that has been published for so many years now. I am not sure if I would choose the same time periods that I chose for this research. After completing a research, it is always easier to think that other choices could have been better, but you only learn about those other possibilities during the research. I believe the time periods that were chosen offer interesting information, but this does not mean that other time periods would not have been just as interesting or relevant. If I could, I would have analyzed more time periods. But perhaps in the future those other time periods can be analyzed as well.

In the next chapter, chapter 3, the results of the research will be demonstrated and discussed. First, we discuss the analysis of the categories that we found in the magazine: beauty and fashion, family, creative and practical, gastronomy, household products, travel and culture, health and hygiene, work and finance, sports, home and other. The analysis of the categories shows us more about the content of the magazine, specifically for each of the four publications. This way, we can see which themes played an important role and whether their share in the magazine increased or decreased when comparing the publications of 1938 and 1981. The images of both years were compared with each other within each category to see if and how the images have changed over time. With the help of some of those images, we discuss the differences and/or similarities between the images in 1938 and 1981 and if we can relate those to the Dutch society at that time. Next, we move on to the results of the analysis regarding Goffman's dimensions. This analysis complements the analysis of the categories because it is strictly focused on the portrayal of women. The different dimensions are discussed with the examples of some images from 1938 and 1981 to see if there are similarities or differences.

The third analysis is an analysis of the subject of the advertisements only and of the articles of each publication. This analysis did not play a major role in the research but was still helpful to see what types of advertisements and articles appeared in which publication. This helped to see which topics were relevant besides the categories from the first analysis. The results are discussed shortly.

Chapter 3 - A content analysis of a women ' s magazine

The objective of this research was to see how women are portrayed in women ' s magazine *Libelle* in 1938 and 1981 and how these portrayals can be related to the Dutch society at that time. Another objective was to see what the content of the magazine looked like in 1938 and 1981 in order to see which themes played a relevant role. Based upon these objectives three analyses were made that will help us answer the central questions of this research:

1. *'How have women been portrayed in Dutch women ' s magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'*
2. *'What are the differences and similarities regarding the content of Dutch women ' s magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'*
3. *'How can the content and the portrayals of women in Dutch women ' s magazine Libelle can be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time?'*

The first analysis is focused on the categories that were made based upon the themes found in the magazine. The results show the share of each category of each publication. Also, the images of 1938 and 1981 were compared in each category to see how the images have changed (or remained the same) over time. This analysis will help to answer question two.

The second analysis is focused on the dimensions that Goffman once made regarding the portrayal of women in advertisements. The analysis discusses the six dimensions and in which frequency they were found within each publication. Also, it shows images that demonstrate the dimensions. This analysis will help us to answer the first question.

The third analysis is a small extra analysis that is not as relevant as the first two analyses but helps to get a better idea of the themes of the advertisements and the themes of the written articles of each publication. It helps to spot any differences or similarities in the content of the magazine and therefore contributes to answering question two.

All the results together, combined with the theoretical information from chapter one will eventually lead to answering question three. The answers to the questions and the most important results will be discussed in the conclusion, which follows after this third chapter.

3.1. Analysis of categories

This analysis focused on the categories that were created based upon the themes that were found within the publications. There are eleven categories: 'beauty and fashion', 'family', 'creative and practical', 'gastronomy', 'household products', 'travel and culture', 'health and personal hygiene', 'work and finance', 'sports', 'home' and 'others' (a residual category).

The content of the analysed images in the category 'beauty and fashion' consisted of products that promised women that the product would help them look better, more beautiful. The category 'gastronomy' consisted of everything related to food and drinks. Images related to products for the household were assigned to the category 'household products'. These were products such as a picture camera, vacuum cleaner, flowers, clocks, and so on. The category 'family' contained images regarding family and relationships, such as images of family member, children and couples. All images regarding jobs and finances, such as bank advertisements, were attributed to the category 'work and finances'. The category 'creative and practical' relates to images regarding tips and tricks and things that could be handmade by the reader. The category 'travel and culture' consisted of images regarding travelling, other countries and cultures. All images regarding health and personal hygiene products such as toothpaste, deodorant, perfume, soap and hygiene pads, but also supplements, psychological books and products to lose weight, were assigned to the category of 'health and personal hygiene'. The category 'home' concerned images regarding homes and interior decoration. All images regarding sports and physical activities were assigned to the category 'sports'.

All images (not only advertisements) within the magazine were included in this analysis. Each image was assigned to one of the categories, a category that was most appropriate for the image. Whenever it was not clear in which category a image belonged, or whenever an image was visually unclear, the image was assigned to the category 'others', which was the residual category. After assigning each image to a particular category, a table was made (table 1) showing how many images were found in each category. This gave a better idea of the share that each category had in each publication. It shows which categories were most popular and whether there were any differences in that between 1938 and 1981.

Since each publication had a different amount of pages and images, it was necessary to include percentages instead of numbers of frequency only. This way it would become easier to compare the publications with each other. This frequency analysis helps to get a better idea of the content of each publication and the possible changes and/or similarities between 1938 and 1981.

Besides the frequency analysis of the categories, there was also an analysis of the images. The images of 1938 and 1981 were compared in each category to see, for example, if and how the images regarding beauty and fashion had changed over time. There could be changes in size, quality, the use of text or, even more interesting, changes in the way women were portrayed and the message that the images send out. Any of these changes were taken into consideration. The results of this analysis will be discussed according to each category, with a few images serving as examples. First, we will discuss tables 1 and 2 on the next pages, after which we will discuss the analysis.

Table 1 - Categories in numbers and percentages

Category	Magazine nr. 26 1938	Magazine nr. 52 1938	Magazine nr. 26 1981	Magazine nr. 52 1981	Averages of each category:	Total of all publications:
Beauty & Fashion	20 images (19,6%)	19 images (20,0%)	22 images (15,5%)	14 images (10,0%)	18,8 images 16,3%	75 images 15,7%
Family	5 images (4,9%)	6 images (6,3%)	29 images (20,4%)	14 images (10,0%)	13,5 images 10,4%	54 images 11,3%
Creative & Practical	12 images (11,7%)	11 images (11,6%)	12 images (8,5%)	16 images (11,5%)	12,8 images 10,8%	51 images 10,7%
Gastronomy	18 images (17,6%)	27 images (28,4%)	13 images (9,2%)	15 images (10,8%)	18,3 images 16,5%	73 images 15,3%
Household products	10 images (9,8%)	4 images (4,2%)	24 images (16,9%)	12 images (8,6%)	10,5 images 9,9%	42 images 8,8%
Travel & Culture	12 images (11,7%)	7 images (7,4%)	8 images (5,6%)	22 images (15,8%)	12,3 images 10,1%	49 images 10,3%
Health & Personal hygiene	10 images (9,8%)	5 images (5,3%)	7 images (4,9%)	3 images (2,2%)	6,3 images 5,6%	25 images 5,2%
Work & Finance	0 image (0,0%)	0 images (0,0%)	1 image (0,7%)	2 images (1,4%)	0,8 images 0,5%	3 images 0,6%
Sports	2 images (2,0%)	3 images (3,2%)	0 images (0,0%)	0 images (0,0%)	1,3 images 1,3%	5 images 1,0%
Home	0 images (0,0%)	0 images (0,0%)	8 images (5,6%)	11 images (7,9%)	4,8 images 3,4%	19 images 4,0%
Others (residual category)	13 images (12,7%)	13 images (13,7%)	18 images (12,7%)	30 images (21,6%)	18,5 images 15,2%	74 images 15,5%
Total amount of images per publication:	102 images 100%	95 images 100%	142 images 100%	139 images 100%	119,5 images in average	478 images 100%
Total amount of pages per publication:	74 pages 100%	78 pages 100%	98 pages 100%	114 pages 100%	91 pages in average	364 pages 100%

Legend:

The lowest percentages within the category are displayed in red, while the highest percentages within the category are displayed in green. The percentages and average amount of images were all rounded to one decimal. Note that the percentages of each category are based upon the total of images of that particular publication. The column 'total' refers to the total amount of images of that category and the percentages are based upon the total amount of images of all publications.

The main results will be discussed here, but a more thorough discussion and explanation of these results will follow later. As we can see from table 1, the category 'beauty and fashion' had the biggest share in images in total, with 15,7% out of the total of 478 images. The category had an average of 16,3%. However, we also see that the amount of images in this category have decreased from a maximum of 20,0% in number 52 in 1938 to a minimum of 10,0% in number 52 in 1981.

Another prominent category in the magazine was the category 'gastronomy', which took up 15,3% out of the total of 478 images and had an average of 16,5%. The category was most present in number 52 in 1938, with 28,4% and least present in number 26 of 1981, with only 9,2%. After that the category gained back some ground in number 52 of 1981, with 10,8%, but was not as popular anymore as in number 26 and 52 of 1938, which have an average of 23,0% together as opposed to the average of 10,0% of 1981.

The residual category 'others' took up 15,5% of the total of 478 images. However, since this category does not represent one particular theme, it is not as meaningful as the other categories. This category, along with 'beauty and fashion' and 'gastronomy' are in the highest ranking group that consists of 15,0% or more of the total of 478 images.

Besides the categories mentioned so far, we see that there are three categories that are less prominent than 'beauty and fashion' and 'gastronomy' but that still maintain a significant position within the magazine. They are in the group of 10,0% to 15,0% of the total of 478 images. These categories are: 'family', 'creative and practical' and 'travel and culture'. The three categories together take up an average of 10,7% of the total of 478 images. The category 'family' was least present in number 26 of 1938, with only 4,9%, and most present in number 26 of 1981 with 20,4%. Even though this number decreased in number 52 of 1981 to 10,0%, we see that this category was overall more present in 1981 than in 1938. In 1938 the average of this category was 5,6% as opposed to an average of 15,2% in 1981.

The category 'creative and practical' was least present in number 26 of 1981, with only 8,5%. In number 26 of 1938 this category was at its maximum with 11,7%. However, number 52 of 1938 and number 52 of 1981 do not stay far behind with 11,6% and 11,5%. This category has been most stable overall.

The category 'travel and culture' was most present in number 52 of 1981, with 15,8% and least present in number 26 of 1981 with 5,6%. In 1938 the category had an average of 9,6%, in 1981 this average was 10,7%, which is not far apart from each other. However, since both the minimum and the maximum of this category were in 1981, it is difficult to say whether there is a certain trend in popularity.

The next two categories are some of the least prominent, but they are not at the bottom of the list. They are in the group of 5,0% to 10,0% with the category 'household products' taking up 8,8% of the total 478 images and the category 'health and personal hygiene' taking up 5,2% of the total 478 images. The category 'household product' reached its lowest point in number 52 of 1938 with 4,2%, and its highest point in number 26 of 1981 with 16,9%. The average in 1938 was 7,0% as opposed to 12,8% in 1981. So, even though the category decreased in popularity again in number 52 of 1981, the average presence of 1981 is still significantly higher than in 1938. The category 'health and hygiene' was least present in number 52 of 1981 and most present in number 26 of 1938. The share of this category within the magazine decreases over time. In 1938 the category had an average share in the magazine of 7,8%, as opposed to 3,6% in 1981.

The last three categories belong to the group with the lowest ranking: less than 5,0% of the total of 478 images. These categories are: 'home', 'sports' and 'work and finances'. The category 'home' takes up 4,0% of the total of 478 images. In 1938 this category was not even present in the magazine. The category 'sports', on the contrary, was present in 1938 but not at all in 1981. The category took up 1,0% of the total of 478 images. The last category, 'work and finances' was the category with the lowest numbers of all, taking up only 0,6% of the total of 478 images. It was only present within the magazine in 1981.

Next, table 2 shows the average percentages of both years according to theme. This way we can see more clearly which themes were more present in 1938 than in 1981.

Table 2 - Comparing presence of themes in 1938 and 1981

Rank	1938		1981	
	Themes and percentages		Themes and percentages	
1.	Gastronomy	23,0%	Family	15,2%
2.	Beauty and fashion	19,8%	Beauty and fashion	12,8%
			Household products	12,8%
3.	Creative and practical	11,7%	Travel and culture	10,7%
4.	Travel and culture	9,6%	Creative and practical	10,0%
			Gastronomy	10,0%
5.	Health and personal hygiene	7,6%	Home	6,8%
6.	Household products	7,0%	Health and personal hygiene	3,6%
7.	Family	5,6%	Work and finance	1,1%
8.	Sports	2,6%	Sports	0,0%
9.	Work and finance	0,0%	-	
	Home	0,0%		
10.	-		-	

Legend :

The percentages and average amount of images were all rounded to one decimal.

The percentages are based upon the percentages of table 1. They show the average percentages per theme of both years.

We can see that the theme 'beauty and fashion' remained a stable second place in both years, pointing out that it was an important theme in both years. For the rest, the top three of both years looks rather different. In 1938, the themes 'gastronomy' and 'creative and practical' were very important, whereas in 1981 'family', 'household products' and 'travel and culture' were the most important themes besides 'beauty and fashion'.

Now that we have seen and discussed the main results of the frequency analysis of the categories, we move on to a more thorough analysis of each one of the categories. Besides explaining the results that have been mentioned regarding the frequencies of the categories, we will discuss how images of each category looked like in 1938 and in 1981. Any noticeable changes will be mentioned and explained.

The content of the analysed images in the category 'beauty and fashion' mostly consisted of products that promise women that the product can help them look better, more beautiful. There were also pages where fashion items are shown and where advice is being given regarding their appearance. The advertisements in this category were often about white teeth, face creams, hair products, weight loss, clothing brands, and so on. While analysing the *Libelles* of 1938 and 1981, such content was found in both years. This category was one of the two most prominent categories in the magazine overall. It had the biggest share in images in total, with 15,7% out of the total of 478 images. The category had an average of 16,3% images per publication. However, we also saw (in table 1) that the amount of images in this category has decreased from a maximum of 20,0% in number 52 in 1938 to a minimum of 10,0% in number 52 in 1981. The average in 1938 was 19,8% as opposed to 12,6% in 1981 and so it seems as if the category became less important over time. However, even though the presence of this category decreased in 1981, it still remained one of the two most prominent categories in the magazine in both years.

Appearance has long been an important aspect in many cultures, and it was once associated with other aspects that were once very important within certain societies, such as virtue, fertility and optimal reproduction and social status (Khoo, 2009, Grammer, Fink, Møller & Thornhill, 2003). It is possible that those associations have never disappeared completely. Several studies have shown the benefits that are connected to an attractive appearance. Good looking people are more likely to get a job, higher salary or promotion than less attractive people (Kitzen, 2006).

Also, good looking people are more likely to be helped by strangers, more often 'win' arguments or get away with things that less attractive people would not get away with as easily (Kitzen, 2006). Another important benefit of an attractive appearance is that good looking people often have less difficulty finding a (attractive) partner (Kitzen, 2006). It is therefore not strange that beauty is something that has always been strived for and always played an important role in society.

The importance of appearance has also been linked to the economy, which could be another explanation for the importance of this category within the magazine in 1938, as well as in 1981 could be the economic situation in the Netherlands, which was not good in both 1938 and 1981. The period between 1929 and 1940 is often referred to as 'the crisis years' or 'the great depression'. Unemployment rates were very high and this eventually led the women back to becoming housewives (Schaap, 2011).

The poor economic situation only changed due to the breakout of the II World War (Den Bakker, 2008). In the seventies, the world trade had decreased due to two oil-crises and the Dutch economy took a big hit. An economical recession that followed came with high numbers of unemployment. Meanwhile, the potential labour force grew bigger due to the baby boom that took place in the ten years after the II World War. The unemployment forced many women to be housewives again. Only in the second half of the eighties did the unemployment slowly decrease (Stegeman & Visser, 2010). The reason why economy could have played an important role regarding this category is because research has shown that women tend to spend more time and attention on their appearance in times of a weak economy (Hill, Rodeheffer, Griskevicius, Durante & White, 2012). Economic recession increases the desire of women to buy beauty products and the desire for a relationship with a partner with financial security (Hill, Rodeheffer, Griskevicius, Durante & White, 2012).

There are several theories about why being beautiful has usually been more important for women than for men. Like previously mentioned, beauty has been associated with fertility. It is claimed that the appearance of a woman is closely connected to her fertility and that this connection between appearance and fertility is less accurate for men (Gottschall, 2007). Women generally lose their ability to reproduce more quickly than men and so the concept of youth and looking youthful is more important for women than for men when it comes to reproduction (Gottschall, 2007). Another aspect that has been claimed to play an important role is that women naturally have a higher parental investment than men (Gottschall, 2007).

For most mothers, the minimal costs of reproducing are a gestation of nine months, followed by a long period of lactation and long years of rearing effort. Because of this, women tend to pay more attention to the aspect of parental investment than men when it comes to choosing a partner. Because this aspect is less relevant to men when choosing a partner, they are more free to base their choice upon other aspects, such as physical attractiveness (Gottschall, 2007)

Next we will discuss two particular images (images 1.1 and 1.2) within this category that are interesting due to the message they send out to the reader.



It seems that, in 1938, the importance of beauty and fashion was often more expressed within the magazine. Not only were there more images regarding beauty and fashion in 1938, but it also seemed to be more important to look 'good', especially for the sake of men. Image 1.1 and 1.2 are examples of this.

Image 1.1 shows a small comic strip regarding an advertisement about a face cream. The advertisement shows two women. One woman asks the other woman why her skin is looking so fresh and youthful. The other woman replies by saying that she uses a face cream from Vinolia, the brand that made the advertisement.

The other woman starts using the cream as well and the last image shows us that, a little while after she started using the cream, she greets a man (a man she apparently already knew) who compliments her looks and asks her out for lunch. This makes it seem that the cream improved her skin and therefore made her more attractive for men than before. This is one example of how a few advertisements shows that women can become more attractive for men when they use a certain beauty product.

The importance of looking good (also for the sake of men) seemed higher in 1938 than in 1981. This can be explained through the fact that the economic situation in 1938 was more dreadful than in 1981. The level of overall prosperity was much higher in 1981 than in 1938 (Den Bakker, 2008).

Probably, women were more dependent on men financially in 1938, since at that time almost no women had a paid job. In 1981, despite the high rates of unemployment, it was more normal for women to work outside of the home. So maybe looking good was a way for women in 1938 to get (and keep) the attention of men with a favourable financial status. Perhaps beauty and fashion were also a way for women at the time to show their wealth, and thus their social status.

The next two images (image 1.3 and 1.4) show an image of 1939 and 1981, both come from an article about fashion.



When we look at the images, we see that there is a difference in how the women are posing in the pictures. In 1938 (image 1.3.), the poses are often more static, more cautious. Also the images often do not contain a background, making it unclear whether the women are inside or outside the house. In 1981, we see more images of women that are not really posing but moving, as if they do not know that they are being photographed (image 1.4).

They also seem to smile more and seem more relaxed than the women pictured in image 1.3. This difference in pose mostly counts for this category, since images of women smiling and women in more dynamic poses were found also in 1938 but more in other categories. Perhaps the postures of women in 1938 were more static because women at the time spend more time at home being a housewife than in 1981. Inside the house it would not be logical to find a woman running, like we see the women in image 1.2 running outside. So perhaps these static poses reflect the fact that women in 1938 were less likely to be outside the home, engaging in outdoor activity, than in 1981.

Gastronomy is the second category of the two most prominent categories overall, taking up 15,3% out of the total of 478 images and an average of 16,5% images per publication. The category was most present in number 52 in 1938, with 28,4% and least present in number 26 of 1981, with only 9,2%. In 1938 the category had an average share of 23%, in 1981 this was 10,0%. So it seems as if this category, just like the category 'Beauty and fashion' became less present within the magazine in 1981 but remained one of the two most prominent categories in the magazine.

One explanation for the fewer amount of images in 1981 can be that the images in 1981 became bigger, just like what possibly has happened in other categories. Sometimes, the images would even take up a whole page or two. So, the frequency of the images went down, but the images increased in size and therefore still appeared prominent as they took up much more space. When we compare the images of 1938 and 1981, we do not see many differences in the images themselves. The images that were found were related to advertisements and articles regarding food and beverage.

Below there are two examples (image 2.1 and image 2.2):



One thing that was noticed during the analysis is that, in 1981, more attention seemed to be given to the decoration that comes with gastronomy, for example, how to make the table look pretty. The appearance and presentation of food seems to be more emphasized. In 1938, it seems to be more about a practical approach to gastronomy, for example, how to quickly prepare food for unexpected guests. Obviously these differences are more present in the text than in the images, which only show us food and beverages and not so much the idea behind it. The fact that gastronomy played a big role in the magazine in 1938 as well as in 1981 shows that being able to cook well was considered to be important for a woman at all times.

The category 'household products' is one of the less prominent categories, but not yet at the bottom of the list. This category consists of images of products such as a picture camera, vacuum cleaner, flowers, clocks, and so on. The category took up 8,8% of the total 478 images. The category reached its minimum in number 52 of 1938 with 4,2%, and its maximum in number 26 of 1981 with 16,9%. The average in 1938 was 7,0% as opposed to 12,8% in 1981.

So, even though the category decreased in popularity again in number 52 of 1981, the average presence of 1981 is still significantly higher than in 1938. One logical explanation for this is the more advanced technology in 1981 compared to 1938. In the years before 1981, the Dutch household had been introduced to loads of new electronic products (Open Universiteit, 2012). For the advertisers of such electronic products there was no better place to advertise than in a women's magazine, since most of the electronic products were made to make the household easier and less time-consuming for women. Below, we see two advertisements (image 3.1 and 3.2) of household products, one from 1938 and one from 1981.

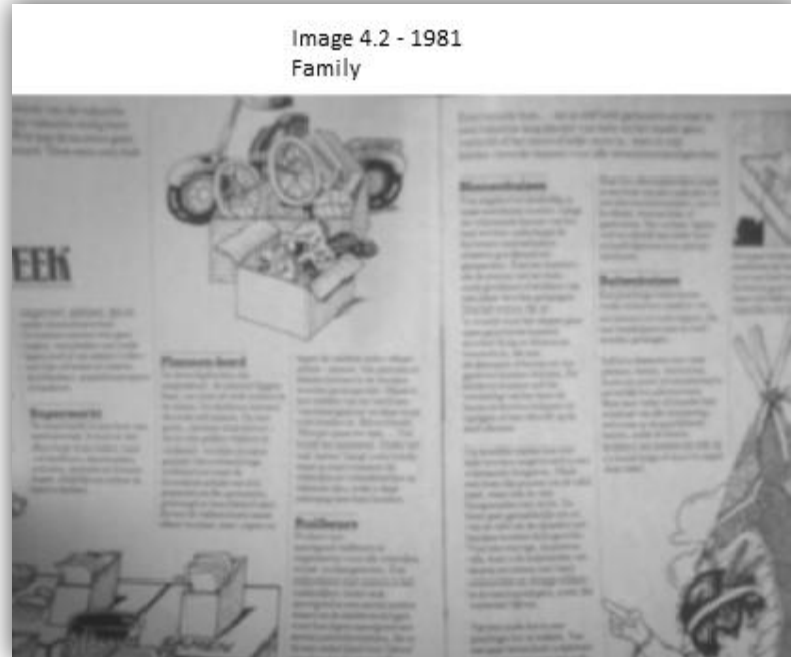


As could be expected, the images do not show many differences. The biggest difference is probably that such advertisement took up more space in 1981, where they would sometimes take up a whole page. Also, there is more use of (large) higher quality images, instead of the smaller and often bad quality images used in the advertisements in 1938. Of course, this also has to do with the development of technology.

The category 'family' contains images that are related to family and relationships, images of family members, children and couples. This category was least present in number 26 of 1938, with only 4,9% of the images per publication, and most present in number 26 of 1981 with 20,4%. Even though this number decreased in number 52 of 1981 to 10,0%, we see that this category was overall more present in 1981 than in 1938. In 1938 the average of this category was 5,6% as opposed to an average of 15,2% in 1981.

One of the first things that were noticed during the analysis was that number 26 of 1981 had an extra attachment added to magazine regarding children. The attachment contained ideas of entertainment for children during the summer holidays. In number 52 of 1981, it was noticed that children were more included in images that were related to holiday specials. For example, in a special about clothes for Christmas and New Year's Eve, there were more images of children than in 1938. Below there are two images that were found in this category (image 4.1 and 4.2).





When we look at the two images, we can see that the image of 1981 (image 4.2) seems to be more child-friendly than the image of 1938 (image 4.1). The illustrations of 1981 are more playful than the pictures of 1938. It is as if the drawings of the image of 1981 are made to show children what is written in the article.

It is difficult to say why family was a more present theme in 1981 than in 1938. One would expect the theme would have played a more important or equally important role in 1938, when most women were housewives and the roles of men and women were still mostly responsible for the children (Blom, 1993). Perhaps, the increased attention for the theme in 1981 was a way of the magazine and/or advertisers to remind women about the importance of family and their responsibilities as mothers or to encourage women to combine their role as mothers with the role of being an independent working woman.

The category 'work and finances' relates to the images found regarding jobs and banks. Only a few of such images were found, all of them in 1981. This category is the least presented in the magazine overall, with only 0,6% of the total of 478 images. In number 26 of 1981 there was only one image (0,7%) and in number 52 of that same year there were two images (1,4%). Even though these percentages are extremely low, at least it is an improvement from being a non-existent category in 1938.

Unfortunately, due to the fact there were no images of this category in 1938, it is not possible to compare both years within this category. However, the next image (image 5.1) is worth mentioning.



The image (image 5.1) shows an advertisement about knowing your rights as an employee. The image shows us a woman working in constructions. The title reads: 'What is such a lady doing in the constructions?'. It emphasizes the fact that it is not common to find women working in the construction sector, even in 1981. At the same time, it shows that even though it might not be common, it is possible for women to work in the construction sector if they choose to. It is an advertisement that emphasizes (equal) rights. This advertisement shows relations with the second wave of feminism in the Netherlands, which started halfway the 1960s and lasted until the 1980s (Opzij, 2010). Women were looking more and more for possibilities to develop themselves as individuals. Being unmarried and/or having children became a choice. separated education for boys and girls became less popular and women got more chances to get a paid job (Blom, 1993). However, regardless of these changes, there was still a great sense of traditionalism within the Dutch society at that time (Blom, 1993).

Maybe this is the reason that this advertisement shows a double message. The feminism is expressed in the way the advertisements stressed equal rights and the traditionalism is expressed in the title that suggest women usually do not belong in the construction.

The reason that there were no images of this category found in 1938 is possibly because in 1938 the economic situation caused a lot of unemployment and so especially women were forced to stay at home (Den Bakker, 2008, Schaap, 2011). Also, the Dutch society at the time was very traditional and it was not normal for women to be working outside the home (Blom, 1993). Even if there were any self-development opportunities women, they were only found within the home and family life, as her role as a housewife was still seen as more important than anything else (Blom, 1993). The economic situation in 1981 was not ideal either, but less disastrous as in 1938 (Den Bakker, 2008). Also, due to the women's movements in the 1960s and 1970s and the changes in law that were made in the 1970s and 1980s regarding the equal treatment of men and women, women in 1981 had more rights than in 1938. And so the image (image 5.1) is a reflection of 1981, a time period in which there was more attention for equal treatment of men and women than in 1938.

The category 'creative and practical' became a fixed topic throughout the years. In 1981, it was part of the fixed content. The images in this category were related to articles about tips and tricks and things that can be handmade by the reader. This category was least present in number 26 of 1981, with only 8,5% images in the publication. It was most present in number 26 of 1938 with a maximum with 11,7%. However, number 52 of 1938 and number 52 of 1981 did not stay far behind with 11,6% and 11,5%. This category has been most stable overall. Apparently, it was quite important in both 1938 and in 1981 for women to be able to fix and create clothes, decorations and other things for the house. Perhaps being creative like that was a way for women to save money for other purposes.

It was noticed that, in 1938, the images were usually related to patterns for making clothes and other sorts of textiles. In 1981, the images were more diverse, not just patterns but also images of practical household items, for example. An example of this can be seen in images 6.1 and 6.2.



Image 6.1 shows an article about knitting a piece of clothing. Such articles were very common in the publications of 1938. In 1981 such articles were found too, but there was more attention for other creative and practical segments besides knitting clothes. In image 6.2 we see a page from 1981 on which several practical tips are being given regarding all kinds of topics. The images from both years did not contain any distinct differences. The only difference is that in 1981 there were more decoration-like images: images that did not have a particular purpose of showing anything but that were probably used to make the lay-out of the magazine more attractive.

The category 'travel and culture' consists of images that were part of articles and topics about travelling, other countries and cultures. It was most present in number 52 of 1981, with 15,8% of the images within that publication and least present in number 26 of 1981 with 5,6%. In 1938, the category had an average of 9,6%, in 1981 this average was 10,7%, which is not far apart from each other. However, since both the minimum and the maximum of this category were in 1981, it is difficult to say whether there is a certain trend in popularity. Either way, the category always had its own part within the magazine, since there was a special article dedicated to this category in each publication.

In number 52 of 1981, there was a special piece about women from Poland; in number 26 of 1981, there was a special piece about China; in number 52 of 1938, there was a special piece about Indians and the Island of Java; and in number 26 of 1938, there was special about holidays in the Netherlands and East Europe. Therefore, it seems that travelling and other cultures have always had a significant role within the magazine. The next two images (image 7.1 and 7.2) are images from this category in 1938 and 1981.



As can be seen, there are no particular differences between the image of 1938 and 1981. The only difference is that the images in 1981 were often larger and of better quality than the images in 1938.

There is no clear reason why 'travel and culture' was such an important theme. During a time of economical crisis (Schaap, 2011), most families must have not been able to visit other countries for holidays and women at the time were housewives, not spending much time on other things than the household. There were also many women at the time that did not get the chance to follow an education or develop themselves in some other way outside of the home, and so it is not clear why other countries and cultures were a fixed content within the magazine at that time (Blom, 1993).

Maybe these articles were meant more for upper class women, who perhaps did have the opportunity to travel abroad. In 1981, it is more understandable that the theme was present, as there was more wealth, despite the economical crisis, and more women were going to school and working and thus such knowledge must have become more relevant (Blom, 1993).

The category 'health and personal hygiene' relates to images regarding products that contribute to the health of the body and mind but also to personal hygiene products, such as toothpaste, deodorant, perfume, soap and hygiene pads, but also supplements, psychological books and products to lose weight. The category was at its minimum in number 52 of 1981, with 2,2% and at its maximum in number 26 of 1938, with 9,8%. The share of this category within the magazine decreased over time. In 1938 the category had an average share in the magazine of 7,8%, as opposed to 3,6% in 1981. This does not necessarily mean that health and personal hygiene became less important over time, as we do not know how much text was dedicated to this category. However, it could be possible that it became less important because of better general health care and/or knowledge of health in the eighties. The medical care and knowledge was already improving in the 1930s, but evolved further due to new technology and knowledge (Garssen, Kardaun & Deerenberg, 2006). Below there are two images (Image 8.1 and 8.2) from this category, one from 1938 and one from 1981:

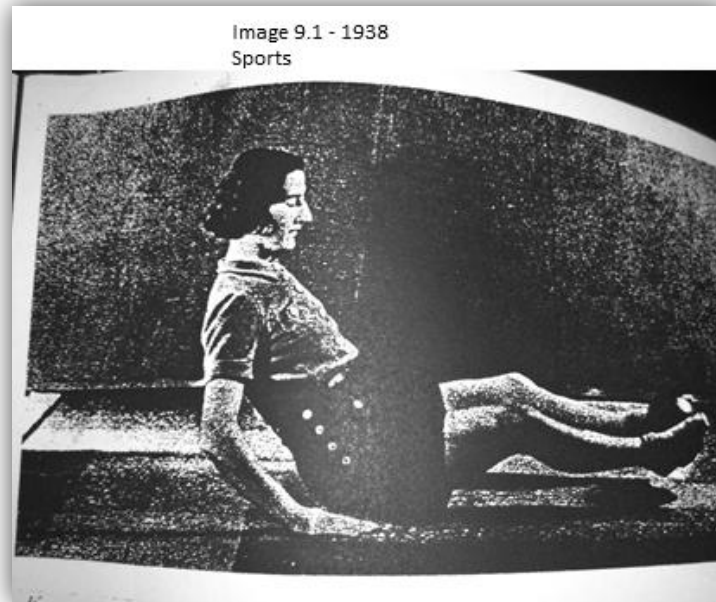


The first image (8.1) shows an advertisement for a drink that helps to fight exhaustion in the morning. It is some sort of energy drink. The second image (8.2) shows an advertisement about another magazine. It seems like a psychological magazine, of which this edition discusses several topics such as jealousy, relationships, vaginismus and differences between men and women. It says it is a magazine for relationships, health and sexuality. As can be seen, there are no significant visual differences between the image of 1938 and 1981. However, the second image contains topics such as sexuality, something that was not found in the publications of 1938. The image from 1981 reflects the increased attention for sexuality at the time. The anti-conception pill, which was introduced in the Netherlands in the beginning of the 1960s, played an important part in that. It gave women the possibility to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancies and made it possible for couples to enjoy sex without having to worry about getting pregnant (Van Rossem, 2006, Aletta, Instituut voor vrouwengeschiedenis, n.d). The women's movements also contributed to breaking the taboo's of sexuality by discussing topics such as the pill but also abortion, which was legalized in the Netherlands in 1984 (Historiek, 2009).

Even though more advertisements and images regarding health and personal hygiene were found in 1938 than in 1981, there were several health products that were found in both years. Products such as toothpaste, shampoo, creams, supplements and laxatives were found in both 1938 as in 1981. Only the frequency of images containing such products was higher in 1938 than in 1981. Despite the fewer images related to this category in 1981, there were a few articles in 1981 that discussed health topics. It is still a bit surprising however that such an important topic as health was not part of the fixed content in 1981, like other categories such as beauty and fashion, gastronomy, creative and practical were. It seems as if there would have been enough space within the magazine to include a topic such as health, since there was also space for several columns, horoscopes, puzzles, and so on.

The category of 'sports' includes all images regarding sports and physical activities. The category took up 1,0% of the total of 478 images. The images found in this category were all from 1938, where they belonged to a few articles regarding sports and exercise. None of this was found in 1981, which is quite surprising since over the years the government and health institutions have stressed the importance of sports.

In the 1970s, the Dutch government started stimulating sports and exercise by supporting provinces, municipalities and national sports organisations through the help of the 'Sport en Spel' foundation (Sport and game). Unfortunately it is not possible to compare images from 1938 and 1981, since there were no images in 1981. However, one example of the images that were found in 1938 can be seen next.



The fact that the category sports was present in the magazine in 1938 is not very surprising. Since 1920, the vision on sports within the Netherlands changed, with influences from England and Germany (Koninklijke Nederlandse Gymnastiek Unie [KNGU], 2008). It was no longer just a way to relax; it was also something people could learn from. Schools started to pay more attention to sports and the government helped to improve the sports accommodations (KNGU, 2008). It was also then that a special school was made where people could learn to become a sports instructor. The emergence of sport associations and accommodations made an important social phenomenon visible.

Most sport associations were founded by groups of like-minded people, people with the same background, social environment, religion or beliefs (KNGU, 2008). After the II World War, this social division in the Dutch society did become less and less apparent. In the 1960s, the secularization process and the increasing attention for individualization continued (Blom, 1993).

This also made the sports world in the Netherlands more democratic, since religion and social environment were no longer determining which people could join a particular sports association. The differences between elite sports and sports for the working class became smaller and smaller. Sports became available to everyone (KNGU, 2008).

The fact that sports have been an important form of leisure business since the 1920s and the fact that the sports world has become bigger, more democratic and more commercialized over the years (KNGU, 2008) makes it even more surprising that sports did not get more attention within the magazine in 1981.

The category 'home' concerns images regarding homes and interior decoration. In 1981, several images of this category were found. Images such as the images below (image 10.1 and 10.2). No images of this category were found in 1938. In 1981, interior decoration and homes became a small part of the magazine's fixed content, due to the fact that the category was often discussed within the theme 'creative and practical'. There was also a column called 'at your home', a special section about the house of a certain person. Somehow, it is a bit surprising that the home got more attention within the magazine in 1981 than in 1938 since most women in 1938 were housewives (Maho, 2009; Blom, 1993). More women were housewives in 1938 than in 1981. Therefore, it would have made sense that the house would play a significant role in the lives of women in 1938, or at least just as much as in 1981.



The main conclusions of this analysis are that the themes 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy' and 'family' have been the top three themes overall within the magazines regarding the images. The themes 'home', 'sports' and 'work and finance' have been least present within the magazine overall. The theme 'beauty and fashion' has been the only theme that remained in the top three of most present themes in images within *Libelle* magazine, ranking at the second place in 1938 as well as 1981. In 1938, the theme 'gastronomy' ranked highest in presence, and the theme 'creative and practical' ended at the third place. In 1981, the theme 'family' ranked highest. The theme 'household products' shared a second place with 'beauty and fashion' and 'travel and culture' ended at the third place. Overall, the themes that were most present were 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy' and 'family'. In 1938, there was more attention for the theme 'sports' than in 1981, where no images of sports were found. In 1981, however, more images regarding 'home' and 'work and finance' were found than in 1938, when these themes were not present at all. We also notice that the content of 1981 was larger but -more importantly- offered more variety than the content of 1938. There was also more openness regarding topics such as sexuality, relationships, marital problems and other personal issues that were not discussed in 1938. This has probably been the result of the second wave of feminism that urged people to break these taboos.

3.2. Goffman's six dimensions of gender advertisements

In the analysis of the images, the focus was on the six dimensions that Goffman (1979) found in his analysis of gender advertisements: relative size, feminine touch, function ranking, family and ritualization of subordination. There were not many images including men, and so it was not always possible to analyse all six dimensions proposed by the author as some of them focus on the comparison between men and women. The publications did not include a lot of individual pictures of men either, and most of them were not useable as they did not show enough to do an analysis of all dimensions. If there is only a picture of a face, it is not possible to analyse the posture and activity of the individual. Even though there were not that many images to work with, it was still interesting to compare the images that were available. We will discuss each dimension and the images found related to it, but first we will discuss the following two tables (table 3 and table 4). The first one shows the frequency of Goffman's dimensions in each publication and the second one shows the frequency of images including men and/or children.

Table 3 – Goffman's dimensions					
	1938 Nr. 26	1938 Nr. 52	1981 Nr. 26	1981 Nr. 52	
Dimension	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Total
Relative size	4 images 12,5%	4 images 13,8%	4 images 17,4%	3 images 16,7%	15 images 14,7%
Family	2 images 6,3%	1 image 3,4%	2 images 8,7%	0 images 0,0%	5 images 4,9%
Feminine touch	5 images 15,6%	6 images 20,7%	1 image 4,3%	3 images 16,7%	15 images 14,7%
Ritualization of subordination	2 images 6,3%	0 images 0,0%	2 images 8,7%	2 images 11,1%	6 images 5,9%
Function ranking	0 images 0,0%	0 images 0,0%	1 image 4,3%	3 images 16,7%	4 images 3,9%
Licensed withdrawal	19 images 59,4%	18 images 62,1%	13 images 56,5%	7 images 38,9%	57 images 55,9%
Total	32 images	29 images	23 images	18 images	102 images (100%)
Average per year	1938		1981		
Relative size	13,2%		17,1%		
Family	4,9%		8,7%		
Feminine touch	18,2%		10,5%		
Ritualization of subordination	6,3%		9,9%		
Function ranking	0,0%		10,5%		
Licensed withdrawal	60,8%		47,7%		

Legend:

The percentages and average amount of images were all rounded to one decimal.

Note that the percentages of each category are based upon the total of images of that particular publication. The column 'total' refers to the total amount of images of that category and the percentages are based upon the total amount of images of all publications.

In table 3, we see that the dimension of 'licensed withdrawal' was by far the most common dimension within the magazine with a total of 57 images, followed by 'feminine touch' and 'relative size' with each 15 images in total. The dimension of 'ritualization of subordination' followed with 6 images in total, 'family' with 5 images in total and at last, 'function ranking' with only 4 images in total.

We also notice that four out of the six dimensions increased in presence in 1981, compared to 1938. One would expect to see this number decrease rather than increase, as in 1981 equality of men and women had more attention due to the effort of women's movements than in 1938, when men and women had traditional, stereotypical roles within the family (Blom, 1993, Opzij, 2010). These results show resemblance to what Kang (1997) revealed in his study about magazine advertisements, for which he also used the dimensions of Goffman. According to Kang (1997), the advertisements had not changed much since 1979; in fact, the magazine advertisements in 1991 showed more stereotyping of women in Goffman's category of licensed withdrawal but also in the dimension Kang added: body display (nudity). In this case, the categories that have increased in presence are: relative size, family, ritualization of subordination and licensed withdrawal and so the differences are even bigger. Next, we look at table 4, on the next page, which shows the amount of images in the publications that included men and children.

Table 4 - Images including men and children					
Images including people	1938 Nr. 26	1938 Nr. 52	1981 Nr. 26	1981 Nr. 52	
	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Total per category
Including men	9 images (14,3%)	20 images (31,3%)	11 images (13,9%)	21 images (33,3%)	61 images (22,7%)
Including children	10 images (15,9%)	9 images (14,0%)	27 images (34,2%)	17 images (27,0%)	63 images (23,4%)
Only women	44 images (69,8%)	35 images (54,7%)	41 images (51,9%)	25 images (39,7%)	145 images (53,9%)
Total per publication	63 images	64 images	79 images	63 images	269 images (100%)

Legend:

The green coloured percentages represent the highest numbers of the category, as the red coloured percentages represent the lowest numbers of the category. The percentages and average amount of images were all rounded to one decimal. Note that the percentages of each category are based upon the total of images of that particular publication. The column 'total' refers to the total amount of images of that category and the percentages are based upon the total amount of images of all publications.

When we look at table 4, we can confirm a few things. First of all, we see that in number 26 of 1938, both men and children were not much represented within the images in the magazine. Most images showed only women. In number 52 of that same year, children were even less represented, while men were more represented. The images of only women decreased. In 1981, we see that, in number 26, the representation of children within the images has doubled compared to 1938. And even though later that year, in number 52, this number decreased a bit, they were still more present in 1981 compared to 1938. Since the amount of images including people did not change much over time, we can assume there is a reason why children have become more present within the magazine, at least when it comes to the content of the images. Children were more often found in fashion specials in 1981, posing together with a woman that would have the role of their mother in the photo shoot. Also, in number 26 of 1981 there was a special part of the magazine dedicated to parents and children, in which summer activities were discussed.

The number of men within the images in the magazine dropped suddenly in number 26 of 1981, but then increased again to a record-high percentage in number 52 of the same year. It is not easy to take any real conclusions from these numbers as they are not offering a fully representative image. Either way, it is still surprising that in the images that included women and children, men were practically never there. A good example of this is the earlier mentioned fashion photo shots of women and children together, as a family, but without any signs of a father figure.

Next, we will discuss the results of the analysis according to the six dimensions of Goffman. Each dimension will be discussed separately. We begin with the dimension of 'relative size'. Although the four publications of the magazine did not include a lot of images with both men and women, those that did include them often showed a taller, bigger man and a smaller woman. No significant differences were found between 1938 and 1981. However, we will discuss two of the images we found in this category.



Above we see two images related to 'relative size'. The first image, of 1938 (image 11.1), shows a man and woman standing, both gazing off in the same direction. In this picture, it is perhaps not very clear but the woman is leaning towards the man, as if she wants to be protected. In the second image (image 11.2), we see a couple standing under an umbrella, which the woman is holding. The man has his arm protectively around her. Yet, the fact that the woman is holding the umbrella also makes it seem as if she is protecting the man, in this case from the rain. In both pictures, the men are taller. The first image is a realistic image as it is a real picture, so the man really is taller than the woman. However, the second picture is a drawn image, which means that the person drawing it could have chosen for any kind of length for both the man and the woman in the picture. As we can see, he/she decided to draw a man who is taller than the woman.

The main difference between the two images is perhaps that, in the first image, the woman seems to be willing to be protected and the man, while in the second image there seems to be a smaller difference between the man and the woman. The woman does not show us any signs that she is looking for protection, even though the man has his arm around her.

Besides that, it is her that is holding the umbrella, protecting them both from the rain. This makes it seem as if they have a more equal role in this image, despite the fact that the man is taller.

Height and size have always been associated to power and dominance. Some believe that this is a natural consequence of biological characteristics; others believe it is a socially constructed phenomenon (Butera, 2008). When we look at the images, in which both couples include a taller man and shorter woman, it is questionable whether the men in both images have the same amount of 'power' in these images. Like mentioned before, the power between the man and woman in the second image (image 11.2) seems more equal as the woman is holding the umbrella and therefore protecting the man from the rain. Since feminism was very much present in the Dutch society in 1981, this image could signify that even though men were still considered to be 'naturally' taller than women, this did not give men necessarily more power than the shorter woman.

The next dimension we will discuss is the dimension of family, which, according to Goffman, is based upon his claim that the close relationship between mother and daughter and between father and son is more visible in advertisements than close relationships between mother and son or between father and daughter (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005). During the analysis, no indication of closer relationships between mothers and daughters or fathers and sons has been found. There were a few images in which mothers were only shown with daughters, but there were also a few images showing mothers with sons only. Also, the images did not offer enough information to assume anything about the relationship. The images from 1938 and 1981 did not show any significant differences. Also, the images did not reveal much about the relationship between the mother and daughter. Several images of mothers and sons were found, so it is difficult to say that the relationship between mothers and daughters is more emphasized than the relationship between mothers and sons. We will discuss the images of mothers and daughters as well as images of mothers with their sons. Next we will discuss two images of a mother and a daughter, one from 1938 and another from 1981.



The images are not much different from each other. The only differences we can see is that in the first image (image 12.1) the hands of both mother and daughter touch and they seem to look at each other. In the other image (image 12.2), the daughter seems to work on something, maybe she is drawing or maybe she is doing her homework, as her mother looks on. However, these differences do not tell us enough about their relationships. However, it would not be completely illogical to assume that women feel more connected to their daughters, just like men feel more connected with their sons (Starrels, 1994). It is believed that the mother-daughter relationship is more intense than the mother-son relationship due to the fact that the mother is not only responsible for the primary care of her children, but also for the socialization of her daughter(s). She is a caretaker for both her son(s) and daughter(s) but she has an extra role being a role model to her daughter.

However, even though mothers are the role models for their daughters, and fathers are the role models for their sons, this does not mean that the relationship between mother and son or father and daughter is less strong. According to one research, mothers report being just as close to their sons as to their daughters, while fathers report being closer to their sons (Starrels, 1994).

Yet, another study shows that married parents have the same amount of affection for their adolescent sons and daughters, regardless of their relationship with each child (McHale, Crouter & Tucker 2003). Below we see two images of mothers with their sons (image 12.3 and 12.4):



There is not a real difference between the images of the mothers with their daughters and the images of the mothers with their sons. As far as we can tell, it seems they all have a good relationship. There are no signs that the mothers are closer to their daughters than they are closer to their sons or vice versa. Only the first image of the mother with her son (image 12.3) shows some distance between the mother and son because there is no eye contact, but this does not mean they do not have a good relationship. One thing that we did notice is that the images of the mothers and their sons show signs of ritualization of subordination, which is why these two images will also be discussed when we talk about that dimension later.

There is another image (image 12.5) worth discussing, which can be seen below:



The image is an advertisement from 1938. At first sight, it seems as if the advertisement is about a mother and a daughter, since they are pictured in the advertisement, but the text shows a letter from a concerned father about his daughter. The father writes a letter about his nine year old daughter who was feeling nervous and looking pale and not doing well at school. He explains how he and his wife decided to give their daughter 'Sanatogen', which is apparently a health supplement. He tells how happy he is with the great results of the supplements. Of course, we do not know whether this letter was real or whether it was just used for the advertisement, but the fact that they used a father writing the letter about his daughter, and not a mother, is quite surprising since the Dutch families in 1938 were quite conservative and traditional. The man was responsible for the income and the woman was responsible for the children (Blom, 1993).

The third dimension we discuss is the dimension of 'feminine touch'. This dimension indicates the difference between the touch of men and women in advertisements, in which men seem to grasp objects, women only caress or lightly touch objects (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005).

When looking for images that showed the 'feminine touch', the focus was on images in which the woman would use her hands, her touch to draw attention to an object. Not that many images like that were found, hence the low number in the table. However, we did notice that in the majority of the images of women, they were shown in elegant poises, sometimes even static. The poises seemed deliberate, forethoughtful, as if they knew exactly what to do and how. The hands were often placed with caution, giving the impression that they were giving a gentle, soft touch. We can see this in the images below (images 13.1 and 13.2):



The main difference found between 1938 (image 13.1) and 1981 (image 13.2) is that, in 1938, the poises of the women seem more static and passive, whereas in 1981 women are also shown in dynamic poises, as if they were moving while the picture was being taken. The women in 1981 seem more playful than in 1938.

Other than that, no significant differences were found between 1938 and 1981. One particular image in 1981 caught the attention regarding this dimension because it shows the difference in touch between men and women as Goffman described. This image can be seen next (image 13.3).

Image 13.3 - 1981
Feminine touch

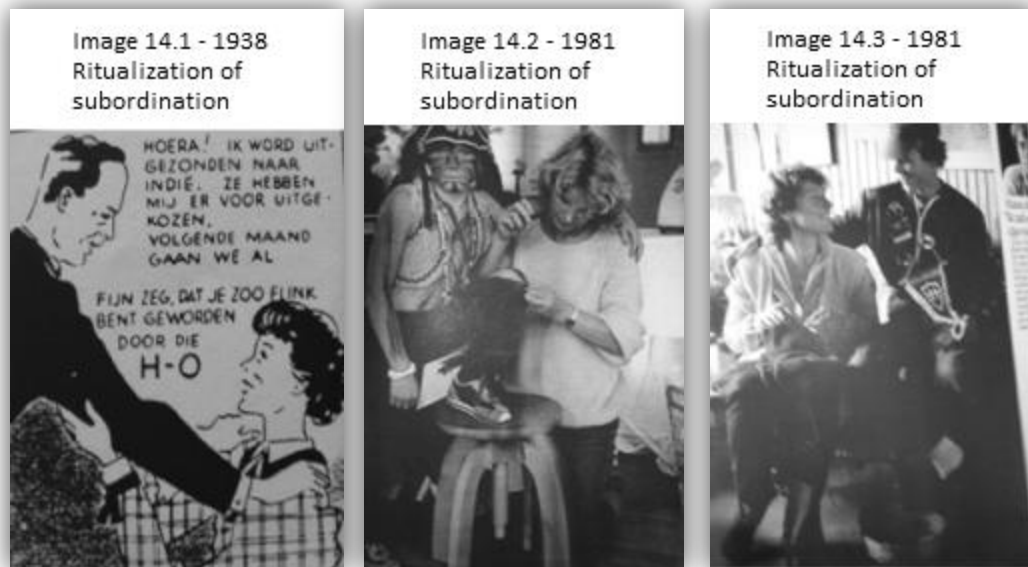


The image (13.3) shows a man and an older lady, possibly a mother and son, holding each other. We see how the lady has placed her hands gently on the man's face, as if she is caressing it. The man, on the other hand, shows a less gentle, less forethoughtful touch by grabbing her by her arms. Unfortunately, no similar pictures in which the touch of both a man and a woman are pictured were found.

The next dimension we discuss is 'ritualization of subordination'. This dimension indicates that women are often found on spatially lower positions than men. For example, if a man was to be seated on a chair, the woman would be seated on the floor. Women would play a submissive role by making submissive gestures, acting less seriously and by being physically protected by men, as if they are not capable of protecting themselves (Kang, 1997, Bonham, 2005).

During the analysis of the images, we only found a few images that were appropriate enough to fit the description of this category. When we look at the numbers in the table, we do not see great differences in this category between 1938 and 1981.

The dimension has not been found often within the magazine. In number 26 of 1938 and both publications of 1981 only two images were found. In number 52 of 1938 none were found. Below, there are a few of the total of six images that were found that show signs of ritualization of subordination.



In the first image (image 14.1), which is part of a small comic, we see a man and a woman talking to each other. The woman is placed spatially lower; she is seated while the man is standing in front of her. He holds her by the shoulder and she touches his arm. Because the man is spatially higher in this picture, and he is looking down towards the woman, he looks more dominant than the woman. Also, the way he holds her by her shoulder makes him seem stronger and dominant. The image is part of a small comic story that is part of an advertisement about a brand of oatmeal. The comic shows a man that is stressed about work, as he has problems concentrating, memorizing and having patience. He complains about it in a conversation with his wife, who becomes worried and calls the doctor for advice. The doctor advises the woman to give her husband oatmeal every morning in order for her husband to get more vitamin B, which he supposedly is lacking. Next, the man thanks his wife (as we can see in the image) and tells her he even got a special task at work now, apparently due to his improved performance. She then tells her husband that she is happy that he got better with the help of the oatmeal.

This is a very typical image of how the Dutch household was portrayed at the time. The story shows the woman being a housewife and caretaker. It seems to be her task to make sure her husband is feeling and performing at his best, after all, he is the one making the money.

In the second image (image 14.2), we see a mother and son. The mother is on her knees, apparently adjusting the costume of her son. Her son leans on a stool, looking serious. The woman in this case is positioned spatially lower than her own son. It almost seems as if the roles in this picture are turned; the boy seems to be dominating his mother instead of the mother dominating her son, which would be more appropriate and normal considering that she is the parent. In the third image (9.3), we see another mother and son. In this case, the mother is also spatially placed lower than her son. She is seated, her son as well but on a higher place. Smilingly, they look to each other. The mother is knitting.

These two last images (14.2 and 14.3) are part of an article about mother love. But what message do these images give us regarding mother love? Does mother love mean that she should be subservient to her children? Or, in this case, to her son? Even though the main focus of this research were images, I could not help but to read a small text that corresponded with one of the images. The text was written by a male photographer and he called the image (14.2) 'an example of unselfishness'. The text on page 52 of the *Libelle* in 1981 reads: "What many people would describe as mother love, I would prefer to describe as 'unselfishness'. It is unbelievable to see how mothers are capable of figuratively dividing themselves, despite their already heavy daily tasks. Imagine having a child that, since he was two years old, rages through the house with toy guns, bow and arrows, axes and other weapons. Symbols of violence that his mother despises, but she still fixes his torn clothes. It is an example, but unselfishness is a gift" (*Libelle* #52, p. 52).

The other image (14.3) also tells a small story made by another male photographer. The story is about a boy that behaves well at home, but behaves badly whenever he watches a football game in a stadium. His mother, unaware of this other side of her son, lovingly knits a scarf for her son, as she believes he must probably get cold watching all those football games in the stadium all the time.

These two images and the stories that come with them give us the idea that this is what mother love apparently was expected to be at that time: unconditional, unselfish and perhaps even naive. It basically comes down to the mother putting her children first, even before herself, thus, being subservient in a way.

The way the mothers and their sons are placed in these images emphasizes that idea. However, it is unclear if the situation would be the same if the children in these images would have been daughters.

Next, we will discuss the dimension of 'function ranking'. Goffman pointed out that men are usually cast in the roles of leaders, or executors, while women play the secondary roles of assistants or supporters. Whenever a man was presented within a feminine role, it was usually to point out that that man was not a 'real' man (Kang, 1997; Bonham, 2005). In the two publications of 1938, it was almost impossible to find any good examples of an image showing us 'function ranking'. In total, only four images were found; surprisingly enough, they all are from 1981. One would expect to see more function ranking in 1938 than in 1981, due to the increase of feminism and equality by 1981 (Opzij, 2010). However, it could very well be a coincidence. After all, it is just a few images, so it is impossible to base any conclusions solely on that. Since no images were found in 1938, we cannot make a comparison between 1938 and 1981. However, next we will discuss one example of the few images we found in this category of function ranking.



In image 15.1, we see three children playing. Two boys are riding a step and a girl is sitting on the back on the steps. In this case, the boys do all the work while the girl is doing nothing. The boys play the more important, active role, whereas the girl only plays a passive role.

It is unlikely to believe that children are already consciously aware of any ideas regarding gender differences and function ranking. However, even though children are not yet aware of these differences and the consequences of them, they learn from the world around them that this is normal for them to do, that boys are supposed to take the lead or to take on the more important tasks and that girls should not.

The last dimension we will discuss is 'licensed withdrawal', which was by far the most present dimension in the magazine. With a total of 57 images, it rises above the five previous mentioned dimensions. Most images in this dimension were found in number 26 of 1938, when 19 images were found. Number 52 of the same year did not stay far behind, with only one image less. In 1981 the number dropped to 13 images in number 26 and only 7 images in number 52. Unfortunately, that does not offer us enough information to see if that is the beginning of a new trend or simply coincidence.

The images regarding this dimension usually show women as if they are gazing off in the distance, preoccupied, as if they are not really aware of what is happening around them. It can also show women hiding themselves, retreating themselves behind objects as if they are withdrawing from the scene. This way of posing can create a feeling of distance, absence and even superiority (Bell & Milic, 2002; Pinto-Coelho & Mota-Ribeiro, 2006b). Also, it can create the impression that the woman is not playing an active role in the image, but rather a decorative role, as if she is there only as an ornament in the image (Mota-Ribeiro, 2003). Next, we can see a few examples of images we found regarding this dimension.



In the first image (16.1), we see a woman standing, gazing off, with a light smile on her face. It seems as if she is posing (which is probably the case since it is part of an advertisement about bathing suits), but trying to give the impression that she is not aware that somebody is taking her picture. In the second image (16.2), we see a woman seated, looking down as if she is thinking, perhaps even worried. It seems as if she is in her own world, not paying attention to what happens around her.

The results of this analysis were a bit surprising, as we found more dimensions of Goffman were found in 1981, which means there were more images of women in stereotypical roles than in 1938. One would expect rather the opposite, as in 1981 feminism was still very much present in society and quite some changes had been made to fight the inequality between men and women in many aspects (Kool-Smit, 1967; Opzij, 2010; Bakker, van Beek & Peperkamp, 2008). It would be expected that this would have been reflected in the results of the analysis. Perhaps it was the intention of the magazine and/or advertisers to encourage the traditional roles of women, which could also explain the increased attention for the themes 'home' and 'family' in 1981.

3.3. General analysis of overall content

The textual content of all four publications was compared by analysing the specials and articles of each publication. This way, it was possible to compare the textual content of the magazine to a certain extent. During this analysis there was also attention for any similarities and differences between 1938 and 1981 that had not been addressed earlier in the previous two analyses. The tables that show the articles and specials of each publication can be found in the appendices. The results will be discussed, after which the most relevant findings will be explained.

We begin with publication number 26 of 1938, of which the articles and specials can be found in table 5.1 in the appendices. At this time, there was no fixed structure, or index, in the magazine yet. In the publication there was a significant focus on the summer holiday, with one special about holidays, two stories about holidays and a special about a caravan. There was also a particular focus on famous people and the entertainment industry, with an article regarding Queen Astrid, an article about Tom Sawyer and a special about movies. The rest of the magazine was filled with fashion tutorials, a romantic story, recipes and an article about exercise. Based upon this content, we can conclude that this publication contained the following themes: 'travel and culture', 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy', 'sports' and 'celebrities and entertainment'. The latter is a theme that was not mentioned in the first analysis.

Next, we will discuss the articles and specials of number 52 of 1938, which can be found in table 5.2 in the appendices. The content of this publication was more extensive and versatile than publication number 26 of the same year. However, the number of pages for both publications is almost the same. Number 26 counted 74 pages and number 52 counted 78 pages. So, perhaps this means that the articles and specials in number 52 were smaller in size than in number 26. Again, there was attention for travel and culture, with the article regarding the Indians. Also, there was the same type of articles regarding fashion, recipes, sports/exercise and famous people again in this publication, just like in number 26. There were three articles involving children: a tutorial to make children's clothes, an article about a new sibling being born and a special about babies and several articles that discuss how to make things at home.

This publication pays more attention to family and children and creative and practical ideas than publication number 26 of the same year. The themes within this publication are: 'travel and culture', 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy', 'creative and practical', 'family', 'sports', 'celebrities and entertainment' and another new theme: 'animals'.

Next, we will discuss the articles and specials of the publications in 1981, but first we will discuss the general content, because, unlike in 1938, part of the textual content was fixed. There was an index that included a few main themes that were always part of the magazine, as well as a special part of the index that was called 'Elke week' (every week) and that contained specials and columns that returned on a weekly basis. An example of this can be seen in the images below (image 17.1 and 17.2).



We can see that the so-called 'weekly content' of number 26 of 1981 was very similar, but not completely equal to the 'weekly content' of number 52 of the same year. The weekly content of number 26 of 1981 counted twelve specials, whereas number 52 of 1981 counted sixteen specials.

Ten topics stayed exactly the same in both publications. The first, 'Beste Libelle', consisted of letters from readers, followed by 'Vrouwen' and 'Sheherazade's Cocktail', two columns; a special called 'Bij mij thuis', which consisted of a story of a woman about her family; another column with special drawings called 'Marjolein Bastin'; the special 'Vijftien vragen', in which fifteen questions were answered; in 'Libelle weet 't' tips and advice were given; the special about recipes called 'Weekmenu'; in 'Waar te koop?', shop addresses were given and finally, 'Horoscoop', a weekly horoscope special. Another special changed in name but was present in both publications: 'Rondje puzzel' (a puzzle page) became simply 'Puzzel'. The rest of the specials were different. Number 26 of 1981 had the special 'Keerpunt', a special interview with women that had experienced a turning point in their lives, and the special 'Familie Portret', a family portrait and small story of a family. Number 52 of the same year had four other specials: 'Wild groen', a small special about plants and herbs; 'Uitslag puzzelmarathon', a special regarding the answers and prices for the puzzle-marathon; 'Jan, Jans en de kinderen', a strip cartoon about a family and 'Achter de schermen', which offered a look behind the screens. Besides this weekly content, there were a few themes that were part of the standard index. The fixed themes in both publications of 1981 were 'Mode en schoonheid' (Beauty and fashion), 'Creatief en praktisch' (Creative and practical) and 'Keuken' (Kitchen).

We can see from these topics that in 1981 there were special places within the magazine where questions and problems could be discussed. Even though we did not do a content analysis of these articles and specials mentioned above, we did notice that in 1981 there was more openness regarding topics that were not discussed in 1938. Topics and questions regarding sexuality, relationships and friendships, marriage problems and other intimate or personal questions were no taboo in 1981. We also noticed that the content of the magazine in 1981 has become larger and also offers more variety in content with puzzles, columns, a strip cartoon and so on. Things that were not yet present within the magazine in 1938.

Next, we will discuss the articles and specials in the publications of 1981, beginning with number 26 of 1981, of which the table (5.3) with articles and specials can be found in the appendices. Just as in 1938, there is still attention for the themes 'travel and culture', 'beauty and fashion' and 'gastronomy', with a special about the life in China and the regular specials regarding beauty, fashion and recipes. Just as in the previous publication, there is also attention for the theme 'family', as this publication contains an article devoted to children.

The article about a woman who is insecure about being too skinny can be considered both health and beauty. The same goes for the article in which women talk about beauty and age. It is the first time we notice the theme of 'health and personal hygiene' in the articles of the magazine so far. Also, for the first time there was attention for the theme 'home', with an article specifically about the home and the interior decoration.

Finally, we discuss the articles and specials of number 52 of 1981, based upon table 5.4 in the appendices. The theme 'travel and culture' was present in a special about women from Poland. There were also the usual specials regarding the themes 'beauty and fashion' and 'gastronomy' within the publication.

There was also a bit attention for 'celebrities and entertainment', due to an interview with a famous actress at the time. The theme 'family' was present due to a special about mother love.

We can conclude that, within the textual content, a few themes continue to appear in the magazine: 'travel and culture', 'creative and practical', 'beauty and fashion' and 'gastronomy'. In 1981, the latter three had become part of the fixed content of the magazine. Surprisingly enough, this did not count for the theme 'travel and culture', which was found in every publication and seemed just as fixed within the magazine as the other three themes. The theme 'family' has also been often present in the textual content of the magazine, with articles in number 52 of 1938 and in both publications of 1981. The theme 'sports' was only present in the textual content in 1938, which is not surprising since the first analysis of this research already showed us no images regarding sports were found in 1981. Two themes were new in this analysis: 'celebrities and entertainment' as well as 'animals'. There were specials regarding celebrities and their industry in both publications of 1938 and in number 52 of 1981. The theme 'animals' was only represented by one special in number 52 of 1938. Finally, the themes 'health and personal hygiene' and 'home' were only found in number 26 of 1981.

The main difference between 1938 and 1981 is that the magazine paid more attention to 'sport' and 'celebrities and entertainment' and 'animals' in 1938 than in 1981. However, in 1981, the magazine paid more attention to 'health and personal hygiene', 'home' and 'family'. In the first analysis during this research, we saw the exact same differences, except for the theme 'celebrities and entertainment', which was not included in the thematical analysis but probably should have been, and the theme 'health and personal hygiene', which was more present in 1938 in images, but apparently not in text.

Other than that, this analysis shows the same picture that we got from the first analysis, in which the images were analysed. This is not completely surprising since we can assume that each article contains images that are related to the textual content and so if a particular theme is much present in text, the chances of finding a lot of images regarding the same theme will likely be high.

Conclusions

Studies regarding gender representations in the media have already pointed out that women are often portrayed in an inaccurate manner (McArthur & Resko, 1975; Burgess, Stermer & Burgess, 2007). According to Killbourne (1990), these often stereotypical portrayals have serious consequences, as people show a negative attitude towards women after being exposed to portrayals of women in stereotypical roles. The content of magazines, as well as other media, tell us a lot about the knowledge, opinions and attitudes of a society at a certain time (Aerts, 1996), but it seems that magazines respond slowly to changes within society (Demarest & Garner, 1992).

When I read about gender representations in the media, I realized how complex, yet interesting this phenomenon of gender representation really is. I started wondering if all these claims regarding gender representation in the media were really true and I started asking myself: 'how are women portrayed in the media?'. Obviously, such a question could never be answered in one single research as it is too broad. I realized that it was necessary to turn this research into something more specific, and preferably into something that had not been done before. After all, one of the main goals of research, in general, is to gain knowledge and awareness regarding the research subject, and this was also one of my goals. I could have chosen any type of medium out there, but I chose to focus on a women's magazine, as women's magazines have been – and still are – a powerful medium, despite technology (Magazines.nl, 2012). It is a medium that focuses completely on women and therefore it is practically impossible to find another medium that would contain just as much information and images regarding women as a women's magazine contains. The reason why *Libelle* magazine, out of all the women's magazines out there nowadays, was chosen for this analysis was because it is a magazine that – as far as I know – had not been studied in this way before, it was available and it is a magazine that has been published in the Netherlands since 1934, allowing me to choose material from a large time period.

Also, *Libelle* has been, and still is, the Dutch women's magazine with the highest circulation and sales (Sanoma Media, n.d.). The goal, then, became to see whether the claims regarding the inaccurate portrayal of women in the media would also count for a Dutch women's magazine such as *Libelle*.

To be able to research this, it was necessary to narrow the research down to specific time periods, publications and goals. The two time periods that were chosen, 1938 and 1981, were chosen due to the events in the Dutch society at that time. The first year that was chosen for analysis was 1938, before the II World War reached the Netherlands; the second one was 1981, which encompasses the second wave of feminism in the Netherlands, which, according to Opzij (2010), took place between 1965 and 1985. Also, it was expected that it could show us a different type of Dutch society than the Dutch society of today, since many years have passed since 1938 and 1981.

Since *Libelle* is a weekly magazine, with 52 publications a year, it was necessary to choose only a few publications. After some consideration, it became clear that four publications would be analyzed, two from both years. The publications that were chosen were number 26 and number 52 of both years. This way, the publications were more or less six months apart from each other, offering a more global image regarding the content of the magazine during that specific year. It also meant that the two publications would be representing two different seasons: summer and winter. This would show whether there were any differences in content based upon seasons.

The role of society was important in this research since I was curious to see if it is indeed true that magazines are sensitive to changes in society and if they indeed adjust to these changes slowly. My main question during this research was the following one: *'How have women been portrayed in Dutch women 's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'*

Besides analysing the way women were portrayed in the magazine in 1938 and 1981, I also wanted to compare both time periods to know which differences and similarities there were in the magazine in 1938 and 1981. This led me to the first sub question of this research: *'What are the differences and similarities regarding the content of Dutch women 's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'* This sub question would show which themes were important for women at that time. However, this would still not show the connection between the portrayal of women, the popular themes at the time and how these two aspects could be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time.

This led to the second sub question of this research: *'How can the content and the portrayals of women in Dutch women 's magazine Libelle can be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time?'*

The goal of this research was not only to answer these three questions and to learn more about this subject on a personal level, but also to add information to what is already known regarding the representation of women in women 's magazine and to raise awareness regarding this subject. Even though is it a subject well-known to sociologists, gender representations and gender roles are phenomena that a lot of people are not very aware of during their daily live. We know they exist, but we do not always pay (enough) attention to them, even though they are phenomena with great influence on our assumptions, perceptions, values, beliefs and opinions (Habiba, 2008).

The methodology that was chosen for this research was the method of a qualitative and explanatory case study. Qualitative case-study research brings understanding to a complex issue, or object, and can add valuable information to what is already known through previous research. It facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Nevertheless, we tried to provide an accurate interpretation of the facts of the case, some consideration of alternative explanations of these facts and, finally, a conclusion based on the explanation that appears most congruent with the facts (Yin, 1981). The case study has been – and still is – criticized by some, claiming that one cannot generalize from a single case and therefore making it an unfit method to contribute to scientific development. It is also claimed that case study is very sensitive to bias, since the data are usually collected and interpreted by a single person. Also, since it is a single case study, some claim it can lack vital information in order to make any cause-effect conclusions.

However, every method has its advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages do not make a method useless. Case study is a method that complements other methods which have other advantages and disadvantages. Together, they all contribute their part to the development of (social) science (Flyvbjerg, 2006). One of the reasons why the case study was chosen for this research was because the main goal of this research was not to create statistics, or to confirm hypotheses, but to describe and explain the results.

During this research, the collected data were analysed through the technique of content analysis. Content analysis consists of a systematic interpretation of texts and images, not necessarily from an author's or reader's perspective (Krippendorff, 2004). The main idea of content analysis is to classify the text/and or images into (much fewer) content categories. It can be used in a quantitative or qualitative way, which is what has been done during this research. Besides analysing images and themes, frequency was also taken into account in order to see which images and themes were more present than others. There were three analyses done in total. The first analysis was a thematic analysis of the images within the magazine. The second analysis focused on the dimensions of Goffman regarding the portrayal of women in advertisements. The third analysis was a small analysis of the textual themes within the magazine. Together, these three analyses helped us to answer the three questions that were set up before initiating the research.

Based upon the thematic analysis of the images, we can conclude that the theme 'beauty and fashion' has been the only theme that remained in the top three of most present themes in images within *Libelle* magazine, ranking at the second place in 1938 as well as 1981. In 1938, the theme 'gastronomy' ranked highest in presence, and the theme 'creative and practical' ended at the third place. In 1981, the theme 'family' ranked highest. The theme 'household products' shared a second place with 'beauty and fashion' and 'travel and culture' ended at the third place. Overall, the themes that were most present were 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy' and 'family'. In 1938, there was more attention for the theme 'sports' than in 1981, where no images of sports were found. In 1981, however, more images regarding 'home' and 'work and finance' were found than in 1938, when these themes were not present at all.

The second analysis showed that four out of Goffman's six dimensions (relative size, family, ritualization of subordination and function ranking) increased in presence in 1981, compared to 1938. This was surprising to us, as we expected to find less stereotyped images in 1981 than in 1938. The results showed resemblance to what Kang (1997) revealed in his study about magazine advertisements, for which he also used the dimensions of Goffman. According to Kang (1997), the advertisements had not changed much since 1979; in fact, the magazine advertisements in 1991 showed more stereotyping of women.

The third analysis, in which the textual content was based upon the type of articles and specials within the publications, the results corresponded to the results of the first analysis, except for the theme 'celebrities and entertainment', which was not included in the thematic analysis, and the theme 'health and personal hygiene', which was more present in 1938 in images, but apparently not in text. The main difference between 1938 and 1981 is that the magazine paid more attention to 'sport' and 'celebrities and entertainment' and 'animals' in 1938 than in 1981. However, in 1981 the magazine paid more attention to 'health and personal hygiene', 'home' and 'family'. The themes that were always present within the textual content were: 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy', 'creative and practical' and 'travel and culture'.

Based upon these results we start answering the three questions that guided this research. We begin by discussing the description of what the average woman was like or should have been like in 1938 and in 1981, according to the magazine, and what the magazine was supposed to be to her. The first question was: *'How have women been portrayed in Dutch women's magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?'*

The Dutch woman of 1938 knows how to cook, is creative and practical regarding clothes and household chores, and pays attention to her appearance. She also has some interest in sports and in other countries and cultures, but not for the home, the interior, or for work and finances. In pictures, the woman is often posing for the camera; yet, she also seems to be preoccupied with her thoughts as she gazes off frequently. An elegant posture with careful movements and touches are often the norm. Personal subjects and problems are not much discussed and if they are, they are discussed with much discretion. The magazine is a combination of a guide and source of entertainment to her. It inspires her – among other things – regarding how to dress, how to create and fix clothes and decorations, and what to cook. Besides the informative articles, it also contains articles and specials that are entertaining, such as articles dedicated to a specific celebrity. The Dutch woman of 1981 had to pay significant attention to her family, as well as to her appearance. She had interest in the latest household products and also in other countries and cultures. The home interior became a bit more important to her, as well as work and finance. The magazine, besides still being a source of information and entertainment, has become more of a friend to her. It has become a place where she can share her problems and questions and expect a response (with advice) of the magazine.

She feels freer to talk about personal subjects that once were not talked about, such as the anti-conception pill, troubles within marriage and other personal subjects related to sexuality, romantic relationships as well as troubles with family and friends. It still inspires her how to look her best and how to be creative and practical within the household. Cooking has become a little less important, although she is still inspired by the recipes in the magazine. It also inspires her when it comes to her family, for example how she can entertain the children during the holidays and how she can dress them for Christmas. In pictures the woman is not often posing but rather on the move, walking on the beach for example. The pictures seem more spontaneous, as if they could have been taken by a friend or family member.

Regarding the second question – *‘What are the differences and similarities regarding the content of Dutch women’s magazine Libelle in 1938 and 1981?’* –, the first similarity is that, in both years, a lot of attention was paid to ‘beauty and fashion’ in images, but also in text. There was a small difference between both years. In 1938, even more attention was paid to beauty and fashion than in 1981. However, in both years the theme was the second most present within the magazine. A few of the main differences are that, in 1938, the themes ‘gastronomy’, ‘beauty and fashion’, ‘creative and practical’, ‘health and personal hygiene’ and ‘sports’ were more present than in 1981. In 1981, on the other hand, the themes ‘family’, ‘household products’, ‘travel and culture’, ‘home’ and ‘work and finance’ were more present. It seems as if attention for each theme was more equally divided in 1981 than in 1938, which could explain part of these differences. This claim is based upon the fact that in 1981 there were six themes that had a share of 10,0% or higher of the total amount of images, compared to only three themes in 1938. Also, in 1938 there were two themes that were not present at all, and in 1981 there was only one theme not present within the magazine.

When it comes to the differences and similarities regarding Goffman’s six dimensions, we can conclude that ‘licensed withdrawal’ was by far the most present dimension in both years, with 60,8% of the images in 1938 and 47,7% in 1981. The dimensions ‘feminine touch’ and ‘relative size’ were the runner-ups in both years. The main difference regarding Goffman’s dimensions is that, overall, more images containing one of the six dimensions were found in 1981 than in 1938. In 1981, the dimensions ‘relative size’, ‘family’, ‘ritualization of subordination’ and ‘function ranking’ were more present than in 1938.

Regarding the textual content, the main similarity is that the themes 'beauty and fashion', 'gastronomy', 'creative and practical' and 'travel and culture' were present in both publications of both 1938 and 1981. It seems as if these themes have always been part of the fixed content, even though in 1938 there was not officially a fixed content yet. The main difference between 1938 and 1981 is that the magazine paid more attention to 'sport' and 'celebrities and entertainment' and 'animals' in 1938 than in 1981. However, in 1981, the magazine paid more attention to 'health and personal hygiene', 'home' and 'family'.

Finally, we answer the last question: *'How can the content and the portrayals of women in Dutch women's magazine Libelle can be explained in relation to the Dutch society at that time?'*

The fact that beauty and fashion played such a significant role in both time periods is not very surprising. Appearance has long been an important aspect, as it was once associated with other aspects that were once very important within society, such as virtue, fertility and optimal reproduction and social status (Khoo, 2009, Grammer, Fink, Møller & Thornhill, 2003). There are several theories about why being beautiful has usually been more important for women than for men. Like previously mentioned, beauty has been associated with fertility. It is claimed that the appearance of a woman is closely connected to her fertility and that this connection between appearance and fertility is less accurate for men (Gottschall, 2007). Women generally lose their ability to reproduce more quickly than men and so the concept of youth and looking youthful is more important for women than for men when it comes to reproduction (Gottschall, 2007). Another aspect that has been claimed to play an important role is that women naturally have a higher parental investment than men (Gottschall, 2007). For most mothers, the minimal costs of reproducing are a gestation of nine months, followed by a long period of lactation and long years of rearing effort. Because of this, women tend to pay more attention to the aspect of parental investment than men when it comes to choosing a partner. Because this aspect is less relevant to men when choosing a partner, they are more free to base their choice upon other aspects, such as physical attractiveness (Gottschall, 2007).

Nowadays, It is well known that being beautiful comes with certain benefits. Attractive looking people are more likely to find a partner, a job, earn a higher salary and often get away with things, more than less attractive people (Kitzen, 2006). Therefore, it is only logical that beauty has always been something to strive for.

It has also been related to the economic situation of a society, as women tend to spend more time and attention on their appearance in times of a poor economy (Hill, Rodeheffer, Griskevicius, Durante & White, 2012). Apparently, economic recession increases the desire of women to buy beauty products and the desire for a relationship with a partner with financial security (Hill, Rodeheffer, Griskevicius, Durante & White, 2012).

The fact that the theme 'gastronomy' became was a little less important in 1981 than in 1938 could be because, in 1981, more women were working outside the home (Open Universiteit, 2012) and so perhaps there simply was not as much time left for cooking as in 1938. However, it could also be that the magazine decided to pay more attention to other themes as well. The fact that the 'household products' were more present in the magazine in 1981 than in 1938 is probably linked to the advance of technology over the years (Open Universiteit, 2012).

There is no obvious reason why the theme 'family' became more present within the magazine in 1981 compared to 1938. One would expect women to be more focused on their family in 1938, as most of the women at that time were housewives with the traditional task to take care of the household and children (Blom, 1993). Perhaps, it was a way of the magazine and/or advertisers to remind women about the importance of family and their responsibilities as mothers or to encourage women to combine their role as mothers with the role of being an independent working woman. This is also the reason why it was surprising to me to see that the theme 'home' was more important in 1981 than in 1938, when it was not even present at all within the magazine. One would expect that women had more time and attention for their house in 1938, because it was the place where they spent most of their time as housewives (Blom, 1993). Perhaps, the explanation for this is similar to that one of the theme family. Maybe it was the magazine and/or advertisers that were encouraging women to continue their traditional role of being a caretaker within the household while at the same time taking on the new role of a working mother.

The fact that 'work and finance' was present in 1981 and not in 1938 is probably due to the fact that it was more normal for women to have a job in 1981 than in 1938 (Open Universiteit, 2012). Also, during the second wave of feminism, equal rights, also regarding jobs, were a hot topic for women's movements (Kool-Smit, 1967).

There is also no clear reason why 'travel and culture' was so relevant to women in 1938. At such a time of economical crisis (Schaap, 2011), most families must have not been able to visit other countries for holidays and women at the time were housewives, not spending much time on other things than the household. There were also many women at the time that did not get the chance to follow an education or develop themselves in some other way outside of the home, and so it is not clear why other countries and cultures were a fixed content within the magazine at that time (Blom, 1993). Maybe these articles were meant more for upper class women, who perhaps did have the opportunity to travel abroad. In 1981, it is more understandable, as there was more wealth, despite the economical crisis, and more women were going to school and working and thus such knowledge must have become more relevant (Blom, 1993).

The theme 'health and hygiene' was not one of the most present themes in 1938, and it became even less represented in 1981. It is a bit surprising that such an important theme did not get more attention within the magazine overall. Possibly, health became even less important in 1981 due to the advance of knowledge, health technology and better health care (Garssen, Kardaun & Deerenberg, 2006).

Another theme that surprised me was the theme 'sports', which was a bit present in 1938 but not at all in 1981. One would expect to find at least a little bit of content regarding sports in 1981, as the sports facilities at that time were available to all people, rich and poor, men or woman (KNGU, 2008).

The theme 'creative and practical' has been the most stable theme overall. Apparently, it was quite important in both 1938 and in 1981 for women to be able to fix and create clothes, decorations and other things for the house. Perhaps being creative like that was a way for women to save money for other purposes.

The theme 'household products' became more present in 1981, which is not surprising due to the more advanced technology at that time, compared to 1938.

The second analysis was also a bit surprising, as more dimensions of Goffman were found in 1981, which means there were more images of women in stereotypical roles than in 1938. One would expect rather the opposite, as in 1981 feminism was still very much present in society and quite some changes had been made to fight the inequality between men and women in many aspects (Kool-Smit, 1967; Opzij, 2010; Bakker, van Beek & Peperkamp, 2008). It would be expected that this would have been reflected in the results of the analysis.

Perhaps it was the intention of the magazine and/or advertisers to encourage the traditional roles of women, which could also explain the increased attention for the themes 'home' and 'family' in 1981.

One of the other things that became clear during this research is that economy and war both have had an important impact on the lives of women in 1938 and 1981. We learned that during World War I and World War II, Dutch women temporarily took over the jobs of men, which encouraged emancipation (Schaap, 2011). But we also learned that, in 1938 as well as 1981, women were forced back to being housewives due to the high unemployment rates and unstable economy at that time (Schaap, 2011).

Overall, we can conclude that some aspects have shown a link to what was going in the Dutch society at the time, but there were also several aspects that were not easily explained in relation to the society. Due to the fact that several aspects were not clearly related to the Dutch society at that time, I doubt if the four publications that were analysed offer a very accurate image of what the Dutch society was like that that time and what the role of women was. The fact that this research only analyzed four publications out of many, contributes to that doubt. However, I do believe magazines do respond to changes in society, mostly because I do not believe they would sell copies if they would always remain the same and not keep up with the trends and opinions in society. I think such changes are probably more noticeable within textual content than in visual content, as we found some indications that the textual content did include topics that were more reflective of the Dutch society at that time, but we still found significant stereotyped images. This is possibly because images can be used more easily in a manipulative way than text. Also, advertisement within a magazine can send out a different message than the magazine itself as advertisers might have different intentions and opinions than the magazine. Overall, I will have to agree with Kang (1997) and Demarest and Garner (1992) on their claims that magazines seem to adjust slowly to such changes and that traditional gender roles can still be found, only they are not often very obvious. One possible reason why these traditional roles are still found is perhaps because we hang on to them more than we might realize.

In future research I would probably make a few different choices, which does not mean I believe the choices for this research were wrong, but I think the information of this research, together with the experience I have gained during it, could lead to new interesting research possibilities.

Another thing I would take in account during future research is that it might be better to focus on one analysis, instead of the three different analyses that were done during this research. It is tempting to obtain as much information as possible, through different ways, but it gets unwieldy and too complex very quickly. Also, knowing now that the economic situation has such an important influence of the role of women in society, I would perhaps choose different time periods to see if that would lead to more information.

Also, in future research I would like to analyze textual content more than was done during this research. I do not believe it would have been possible to do an extensive analysis of both images and text, but I do think both are very relevant and therefore it would add extra value if a textual analysis could be made in the future.

Looking back on this research, part of me feels unsatisfied because I feel I could have done better, but at the same time I believe that it is normal to feel that way. After doing research, you always know more than you did before you started and so you start to reconsider everything you have done during the research. However, the other part of me does feel satisfied because I did learn a lot from the experience and I do feel I have completed something that was quite challenging to me, something I was not sure if I was ever capable of doing.

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Appendices

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Table 5.1 - Articles in 1938, number 26

1938 nr. 26	Articles
	Special about summer fashion Special about holidays Special about an employee of Queen Astrid of Belgium Story about holidays Romantic story Special about a caravan Story about holiday letters from a daughter to a mother Article about books and movies for kids about Tom Sawyer Special about movies Summer recipes Gymnastic exercises to do at home

Table 5.2 - Articles in 1938, number 52

1938 nr. 52	Articles
	Special about fur fashion
	Special about old peasant art patterns
	Special about when a brother or sister is born
	Special about decorative monograms
	Special about ice skating
	Special about winter fashion
	Special about Indians
	Tutorial how to make clothes for children
	Tutorial how to make a decorative blanket
	Story about New Year 's Eve
	Special about female national swimming champions
	Recipes for New Year 's Eve
	Special about everything for the baby
	Special about cleaning wood
	Special about canaries and other birds/pets
	Special about movie-star Rudolph Valentino
	Special about movie-star Hedy Lamar

Table 5.3 - Articles in 1981, number 26

1981 nr. 26	Articles
	<p>Special about a woman who is insecure about being too skinny</p> <p>Special about life in China</p> <p>Special about sandwiches</p> <p>Special about decorations for at home</p> <p>Special about women talking about beauty and age</p> <p>Special about activities for children during the holidays</p> <p>Special about summer fashion</p>

Table 5.4 - Articles in 1981, number 52

1981	Articles
nr. 52	
	Special about women from Poland
	Special about fashion for the Christmas holidays
	Interview with a celebrity
	Special about Christmas recipes
	Special about Christmas decorations
	Story about Christmas
	Special about mother love