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Not in *Vogue*: Portrayals of Asian Americans in Magazine Advertising

Charles R. Taylor and Ju Yung Lee

A content analysis of magazine advertisements indicates that advertising portrayals of Asian Americans reflect commonly held stereotypes. In particular, Asian models (1) appear more frequently in advertisements for technology-based products than for products not based on technology, (2) appear far more frequently in the popular business press and popular science/mechanics publications than in women's or general interest magazines, (3) appear regularly in business settings, but are seldom shown in other settings, and (4) are depicted frequently as coworkers of other models in the ad but are seldom seen in family or social settings. Drawing on expectancy theory, the authors discuss potential negative impacts of these stereotypes being reinforced through advertising.

Advertising is one of the most visible and pervasive institutions in U.S. culture (Wilkes and Valencia 1989). Examination of how minority groups are portrayed in advertising can provide information on how a minority group is viewed by society at large. Extensive research has focused on the changing portrayals of African Americans (e.g., Cox 1970; Dominick and Greenberg 1970; Kassarjian 1969; Wilkes and Valencia 1989; Zinkhan, Qualls, and Biswas 1990). In addition, studies on Hispanics have increased recently (e.g., Czepiec and Kelly 1983; Faber, O'Guinn and Meyer, 1987; Greenberg and Bapista-Fernandez 1980; Wilkes and Valencia 1989). Generally, these studies examine how frequently a minority is portrayed and whether the minority group is cast in a positive light. In most cases, these studies suggest a need for more frequent, more positive, and more accurate portrayals of blacks and Hispanics.

Although there is no doubt that the study of advertising portrayals of blacks and Hispanics is a worthy endeavor, one minority group that has been overlooked by researchers is Asian Americans. As the fastest growing minority group, Asian Americans warrant attention from marketing and advertising scholars. There are now 7.3 million Asian Americans residing in the United States, of whom 70% have immigrated since 1970 (Dunn 1992; U.S. Census). By the year 2010, forecasts call for the Asian American population to account for 6% of the total U.S. population, up from 3.3% in 1990 (Miller 1993).

In studying portrayals of any minority group, it is important to examine whether the advertising reflects commonly held stereotypes. Society's stereotypes of Asian Americans include viewing the group as a "model minority" (Cohen 1992; Delener and Neelankavil 1990). Asian Americans are

renowned for their strong work ethic and self-discipline, outstanding math and science skills, and ability to assimilate into American culture. Although all these generalized traits sound complimentary, we suggest that even stereotypes of "positive" traits associated with a group can have a negative impact on individual group members.

Our purpose is to examine portrayals of Asian Americans in magazine advertising. In particular, we analyze the frequency with which Asian Americans are portrayed in advertising and the question of whether portrayals of Asian Americans are stereotyped.

Literature Review

The Impact of Advertising Portrayals on Minority Groups

Prior research suggests that the portrayal of stereotypes in advertising can have harmful effects on minority groups. Expectancy theory (Jussim 1990) suggests that, to the extent that advertising portrayals build or reinforce expectancies, they may contribute to undue pressure being placed on minority groups. For example, on the basis of stereotypes, both society at large and the minority group itself expect Asian Americans to excel in the fields of mathematics and science. Pressure to conform to stereotypes may be harmful to self-esteem of individuals who do not excel in these areas (Graham 1983). Thus, to the extent that stereotypes are reflected in advertising, negative impacts on group members may result.

Other writers have noted that advertising portrayals can affect the assimilation processes of minorities. Cultivation theory (e.g., Gerbner et al. 1980) asserts that repeated exposures to stereotypical media portrayals will result in viewers accepting the portrayals as being reflective of reality. The repeated portrayal of a stereotype perpetuates a distorted view of the minority group and, at a minimum, can lengthen the assimilation process. In addition, stereotypical portrayals can send a signal to minorities that the host society is not interested in knowing the truth or understanding their culture (Faber, O'Guinn, and Meyer 1987). Underrepresentation of the minority group in advertising may also communicate

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messages of indifference or lack of acceptance of minorities by the majority.

Because the reinforcement of stereotypes of minority groups has negative societal impacts, it is important to examine portrayals of various minority groups. Thus, we now turn to prior research on advertising portrayals of minorities.

Prior Research on Portrayals of Minorities in Advertising

Dominick and Greenberg (1970) were among the first researchers to evaluate the portrayal of blacks in the mass media. They analyzed the representation of blacks in television commercials in the 1960s and discovered a limited number of portrayals. It was, however, found that the percentage of television commercials with black models increased from 5% to 11% between 1967 and 1969. Researchers have continued to monitor blacks on television and have also evaluated portrayals of blacks in print media. In 1969, Kassarian performed a content analysis of portrayals of blacks in magazine advertisements. Because he found so few blacks treated as equals to whites, he concluded that neither civil rights groups or the advertising industry could claim success in their pursuit of equal rights. Contrary to Kassarian's findings, Cox (1970) and Dominick and Greenberg (1970) found a significant shift in stereotypical portrayals of blacks. In general, most subsequent studies have confirmed the results of these two studies and have shown continuous improvements in the number of portrayals and the importance of the roles played by blacks in advertisements (Zinkhan, Qualls, and Biswas 1990). Consistent with these findings, Wilkes and Valencia (1989) reported that 26% of all television commercials with live models integrated blacks.

Recently, the portrayal of Hispanics in the mass media has been the focus of several studies. Greenberg and Bapista-Fernandez (1980) found that Hispanic characters only accounted for 1.5% of all speaking parts in three seasons of network programming. In addition, Czepiec and Kelly (1983) found only 3 Hispanic models in a sample of 234 ads with human models. In a more recent analysis, Wilkes and Valencia (1989) reported that 6% of television commercials included Hispanics, but mainly in background roles, and Faber, O'Guinn, and Meyer (1987) indicated that Anglos believed that Hispanics were portrayed fairly, whereas Hispanics held the opposite opinion.

Hypothesis

Stereotypes of Asian Americans

The hypotheses are based on the premise that portrayals of Asian American models in advertising reflect stereotypes ascribed to Asian Americans in general. Commonly held stereotypes of Asian Americans include the belief that they are technically competent, hardworking, serious, and well assimilated (Cohen 1992; Delener and Neelankavil 1990; Yim 1989). The level at which some of these stereotypes have become ingrained is underscored by the results of the Yim study (1989), which surveyed nonminority U.S. citizens on their beliefs about Korean Americans. Respondents were asked to compare Korean Americans with other Amer-

icans on a wide variety of dimensions. On this basis, 99% of the respondents said Koreans Americans were intelligent, 98.6% described the group as being industrious, and 96.8% said they were self-disciplined.

These stereotypes suggest hypotheses pertaining to portrayals in four respects: (1) the types of magazines most likely to contain ads featuring Asian American models, (2) the types of product categories in which Asian Americans are portrayed, (3) the types of relationships most commonly depicted between Asian American models and other models, and (4) the types of settings in which Asian American models are shown.

Representation by Product Category

Cohen (1992) theorized that white consumers' attitude toward Asian models would vary by product category. For technological products, such as stereo speakers, she predicted that white consumers would react more favorably toward the Asian American models than toward white models. In two other product categories, commodities (e.g., food) and status-oriented products (e.g., men's suits), she predicted either no difference or a more negative response to Asian American versus white models. An experiment in which the race of the model was varied confirmed these hypotheses.

On the basis of stereotypes of Asian Americans as being talented in technological areas and being astute in business, it is predicted that Asian Americans will be well represented in the following general product categories: automobiles, electronics, computers and technologically-based products, banking and financial services, and telecommunications and transportation services (henceforth, this general category is referred to as "technology-based products"). In all other product categories (e.g., food and beverages, clothing, health and beauty aids, toys and sporting goods, furniture, retailers), it is predicted that Asian Americans will be less frequently portrayed. Thus:

H₁: Asian Americans are frequently represented in advertisements for technology-based products but are less frequently represented in advertisements for non-technology-based product categories.

Magazine Type

Consistent with H₁, it is predicted that magazine types closely associated with technology or business will portray Asian Americans more frequently than will magazines that appeal to a wider audience, such as general interest magazines or women's magazines. Thus:

H₂: Asian Americans are more frequently portrayed in advertisements that appear in popular business press and technological publications than they are in general interest and women's magazines.

Settings and Relationships Depicted

The final two hypotheses relate to the settings and types of relationships depicted in advertisements containing Asian American models. An interesting finding of the Yim (1989) study is relevant to the derivation of these hypotheses. Yim found that a majority of respondents believed that Korean Americans are "serious" and do not engage in leisure activities frequently. This finding suggests a more basic stereo-

Table 1. Percentage of Ads With Minorities by Publication

	Total Ads with Models	Percentage of Ads with Minorities
Popular business press		
<i>Business Week</i>	197	25.9%
<i>Fortune</i>	216	25.5
Popular science and mechanics		
<i>Scientific American</i>	93	31.2
<i>Popular Science</i>	111	15.3
<i>Popular Mechanics</i>	80	7.5
Women's magazines		
<i>Good Housekeeping</i>	212	9.9
<i>Vogue</i>	278	5.4
General interest magazines		
<i>Time</i>	205	17.6
<i>Newsweek</i>	224	25.4
Total	1616	

type: Asian Americans are not particularly socially skilled or very interested in having fun. On the basis of such stereotypes, advertisers may be reluctant to portray Asian Americans in settings outside the workplace, such as outdoors, at home, or in social settings. Conversely, stereotypes related to their work ethic, drive, and intelligence suggest that Asian Americans will be frequently depicted in business settings.

Following this logic, when Asian Americans have relationships with other characters, it is more likely to be as coworkers as opposed to family members or friends. Hence:

H₃: When Asian American models appear in ads, they are frequently depicted in business settings but do not frequently appear in other settings.

H₄: The type of relationship most commonly depicted in ads in which an Asian American model is present is that of coworkers. Other types of relationships are infrequently shown in ads with Asian American models.

Methodology

Sample

A content analysis of advertisements from four types of magazines was conducted: the popular business press, women's magazines, general interest magazines, and popular science/mechanics publications. Sampling frames for each of these general categories were developed by examining the *Advertising Age* 300 for 1992 (Endicott 1993). Because the goal of the study was to examine advertising portrayals of Asian Americans in publications that average Americans would typically be exposed to, only those publications ranking in the top 10 in their respective categories were considered for inclusion in the sample. In each category specific publications for inclusion in the sample were then chosen randomly from an alphabetized list using a table of random digits. Table 1 shows the specific publications chosen to represent each category and the number of advertisements analyzed in each publication and general category.

A quota sampling procedure was employed so that approximately the same number of advertisements from each general publication type would be analyzed. Specific months from September 1992 through August 1993 were

randomly selected, again using a table of random digits. In each of the four months chosen, all ads that were one or more pages were included. For weekly publications, all issues in the chosen month were selected. Because quotas on the number of ads with models were predetermined, it was necessary to add more months, again randomly chosen, for some publications.

Of the ads in the sample that included models, only those with minority models were content analyzed. However, the number of ads with white models only was recorded so that data on the percentage of ads containing Asian Americans and other minorities could be recorded.

Coding and Variables Analyzed

Coders were provided with issues of the magazines, with the ads to be coded marked by paper clips. Two coders each coded half of the ads in the sample. In addition, for the purpose of measuring reliability, both coders independently content analyzed 20% of the sample. Disagreements between the coders in this 20% of the sample were resolved in consultation with the researchers.

Coders were provided with a codebook containing operational definitions of each variable. The items measured were the presence of Asian American, black, and Hispanic models, the perceived importance of minority models appearing in the ads, the setting of the ad, and the relationship among the characters in the ad. In addition, coders were asked to classify the product category of the ad (from a list of 21 product categories listed in the codebook) and the country in which the advertised product or service was manufactured.

For the purposes of coding, Asian Americans were defined as persons whose ancestry is rooted in any Asian country other than those on the Indian subcontinent, those countries that Americans refer to as the Middle East (e.g., Saudi Arabia), or those that are former members of the Soviet Union. This includes people from Cambodia, China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and Hong Kong. The omission of other areas was based on the view that the U.S. public views immigrants from these other countries as belonging to separate groups (e.g., Saudi Arabians are viewed as Arabs; Indians are viewed as a distinct group) and does not hold the same stereotypes of this group as other Asian Americans.

The recording of black and Hispanic models was undertaken for comparative purposes. For each minority group, coders were asked to use a scale ranging from 1 to 9 or more, corresponding to the number of people portrayed in each ad. The purpose of using this scale, which was employed by Wilkes and Valencia (1989), is to avoid skewing the data on the basis of a few outlying ads, such as those that depict a large crowd of people.

Consistent with prior studies (e.g., Wilkes and Valencia 1989), perceived importance was recorded to assess whether Asian models tend to be central to the ads they are in or, alternatively, frequently appear in minor roles. To this end, coders were asked to record whether the most prominent model from each group played a major, minor, or background role. Operational definitions of the three types of roles are listed in Appendix A.

Setting of the ad and relationships among characters were recorded to assess whether Asian Americans tend to be de-

Table 2. General Characteristic of Advertisements Featuring Minorities

	Asian Americans	Blacks	Hispanics
Number of minorities	65	184	76
Mean number of minority members per ad	1.12	1.17	1.42
Total number of models	72	261	88
<i>Sex of model</i>			
Proportion (male)	61.1%	59.8%	63.6%
Proportion (female)	38.9	40.2	36.4
<i>*Perceived importance in ad</i>			
Major role	50.8%	37.0%	47.4%
Minor role	36.9	33.2	30.3
Background role	12.3	29.9	22.4

*Some totals do not add to 100% due to rounding.

picted in certain types of settings and relationships more often than others. The coding scheme and operational definitions for these variables are also shown in Appendix A. For relationships among characters, coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model from a minority group and indicate the relationship of that model to others in the ad.

Analyses

For all statistical tests reported in the next section, the .05 level of significance is used as a baseline. It also must be noted that the analyses reported included duplicate ads. This was done for two reasons: First, because the goal of the study is to look at the overall representation of Asian Americans in U.S. magazine advertising, the inclusion of all ads sampled, including duplicates, best represents the overall incidence of this group; and second, after performing the analyses both ways (with and without duplicates), the researchers obtained similar results and thus concluded that the inclusion of duplicate ads did not unduly bias results.

Results and Discussion

Reliability

Guidelines recommended by Kolbe and Burnett (1991) were followed to enhance reliability. Percentage agreement figures for all reported items was in excess of the .85 standard recommended for figures not corrected for chance agreement by Kassarian (1977). When corrected for chance agreement, as recommended by Hughes and Garrett (1990) and Franke (1992), agreement figures as measured by Cohen's κ were as follows: product category, 92.2%; presence of Asian American models, 94.9%; presence of black models, 96.7%; presence of Hispanic models, 76.0%; setting, 91.5%; relationship between models, 86.4%; and country of manufacturer, 98.1%.

General Characteristics

The sampling procedure resulted in a total of 1616 advertisements with human models. Of these, 287 (17.8%) con-

tained at least one minority model. Eighty, or 27.9%, of the ads with minority models were duplicates.

In the overall sample, 65 ads (4%) included Asian American models, 184 (11.4%) included black models, and 76 (4.7%) included Hispanics. Although the 4% figure for representation of Asian Americans is higher than the 3.3% of the overall U.S. population they represent, it is notable that just 34 Asian Americans (2.1% of the sample) were featured in a major role. However, the additional presence of 23 Asian Americans in minor roles (as opposed to background roles) suggests that Asian Americans are not dramatically underrepresented in U.S. magazine advertising. It should also be noted that when they are present, Asian American models tend to be depicted in major roles more frequently than blacks and Hispanics (50.8% of the time versus 37.0% and 47.7%, respectively).

Table 2 provides some additional information on general characteristics of the sample. The average number of Asian Americans in ads in which Asian American models appear is 1.12. This indicates that when they appear, there is usually just one Asian American model in the ad. In contrast, blacks averaged 1.42 models per ad in which a black actor appeared.

More than half of the ads featuring Asian Americans (52.3%) were sponsored by U.S. or Canadian firms. Of the remaining ads, 32.3% were manufactured in Asia, 12.3% in Europe, and 3.1% in Mexico or Latin America. For blacks and Hispanics, the percentage of models in ads for Asian manufactured products were 15.2% and 6.6%, respectively. Interestingly, there were actually more black models (28) than Asian models (21) featured in ads sponsored by Asian manufacturers. This finding suggests that country of origin did not unduly bias the findings of the hypothesis tests.

Hypothesis 1

H₁ suggests that Asian American models would be disproportionately represented in advertisements for technology-based products. In fact, the overwhelming majority of ads featuring Asian Americans (75.4%) in the sample are for technology-based products. Just 24.6% of the ads in which Asian Americans appear are for products that are not technology based. This difference in relative frequencies is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 12.25$, $p < .001$), and thus H₁ is supported.

The disproportionate representation of Asian Americans in technology-based product categories is striking when the figures are compared with those for blacks and Hispanics. Black models appear in ads for technology-based products in just 34.8% of the ads in which they appear, and Hispanics exhibit an even split for technical and nontechnical products. This finding strongly suggests that U.S. magazine advertising reflects general stereotypes of Asian Americans. Apparently, Asian Americans are frequently viewed by advertisers as being good spokespeople for technology-based products but not as an important group to portray in ads for nontechnical products.

Hypothesis 2

Our data indicate that whereas Asian Americans are commonly featured in advertisements in the popular business press and popular science/mechanics publications, they are

infrequently portrayed in women's magazines and general interest magazines. Forty-seven, or 72.3%, of the portrayals of Asian American models are in popular business press publications compared with just 18, or 27.7%, in the general interest and women's categories ($\chi^2 = 14.47$; $p < .001$). Thus, H_2 is supported.

Blacks and Hispanics are both represented slightly more often in women's and general interest magazines than in the popular business press or general interest publications. We found that 53.8% of the portrayals of black models and 51.3% of the portrayals of Hispanic models fall into the women's/general interest categories. This lower proportion of appearance in the popular business press and popular science/mechanics publications for other minority groups provides further support for the notion that stereotypes of Asian Americans are reflected in their portrayals in advertising.

Table 3 shows the breakdown of minority representation by individual magazines. The strong representation of Asian Americans in popular business publications is striking (33 portrayals, or just over one-half of the total for Asian Americans). In addition, it is worth noting that just one Asian American model appeared in the over 200 ads with models analyzed from *Vogue* and that the ads from *Time* contained only 2 with Asian Americans. Although some of the higher incidence of Asian American models in the popular business press and popular science/mechanics publications may be due to the product categories represented, their low representation in publications such as *Vogue*, *Time*, and *Newsweek* is troublesome. This finding implies that the stereotypes of Asian Americans tend to preclude them from appearing frequently in mainstream publications.

Hypothesis 3

H_3 predicted that Asian Americans would be well represented in business settings but poorly represented in other types of settings. Table 4 shows strong support for this hypothesis. Of the ads with Asian American models, 60% occur in a business setting. The fact that the "other" category (which

accounted for 17.3% of the remaining ads) includes primarily contrived or studio settings makes this finding even more striking. Among those ads that have "everyday" settings, Asians are shown in business settings 81.2% of the time. Thus, if one looks at business settings versus all other everyday settings (home, social, and outdoors), a statistically significant result is found in the Asian American results ($\chi^2 = 11.8$; $p < .01$).

Black and Hispanic models in the sample are portrayed considerably more frequently in outdoor, home, and social settings, as can be seen in Table 4. Blacks and Hispanics are portrayed much less frequently in business settings (as a percentage of their total appearances), with blacks appearing in this type of setting 34.8% of the time and Hispanics just 30.2% of the time.

These findings are consistent with stereotypes of Asian Americans. Because they are viewed as hardworking and strong in business and technical fields, it follows that advertisers may want to associate Asian Americans with the workplace. However, the shortage of Asian Americans in other settings suggests that some stereotypes of negative traits naturally follow from the positive ones. The fact that Asians are infrequently depicted in the home or in social settings seems to reflect a view that they are serious and perhaps not

Table 4. Setting of Ads With Asian Americans

	Asian Americans	Blacks	Hispanics
Business	60.0%	34.8%	30.2%
Home	4.1	3.2	6.6
Outdoors	14.5	25.5	21.0
Social	4.1	5.4	5.2
Other (includes studio setting)	17.3	31.1	37.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3. Representation of Minorities In Each Publication

	Asian Americans	Blacks	Hispanics	Total
Popular business press				
<i>Business Week</i>	15 ^a (23.1) ^b	34 (18.5)	9 (11.8)	58 (17.8)
<i>Fortune</i>	18 (27.7)	31 (16.8)	11 (14.5)	60 (18.5)
Popular science and mechanics				
<i>Scientific American</i>	11 (16.9)	10 (5.4)	4 (5.3)	25 (7.7)
<i>Popular Science</i>	3 (4.6)	7 (3.8)	9 (11.8)	19 (5.8)
<i>Popular Mechanics</i>	0 (0.0)	3 (1.6)	4 (5.3)	7 (2.2)
Women's magazines				
<i>Good Housekeeping</i>	8 (12.3)	19 (10.3)	13 (17.1)	40 (12.3)
<i>Vogue</i>	1 (1.5)	8 (4.3)	8 (10.5)	17 (5.2)
General interest magazines				
<i>Time</i>	2 (3.1)	29 (15.8)	6 (7.9)	37 (11.4)
<i>Newsweek</i>	7 (10.8)	43 (23.4)	12 (15.8)	62 (19.1)
	65	184	76	325

^aActual number of ads.

^bPercentage of total ads for each minority group.

socially skilled (or at least not very interested in social activity).

Hypothesis 4

Similar to what was found in testing H₃, results for H₄ reveal that Asian Americans are not well represented in the depiction of certain types of relationships. Table 5 shows the types of relationships depicted in ads featuring Asian American models. Among those ads featuring two or more characters, Asian Americans are depicted as coworkers in 21 of the 35 (60.0%) ads in which a relationship is portrayed (ads that involve an impersonal context are not included in this calculation). Because so few relationships are depicted involving Asian American models, the difference between the coworkers versus other relationships is not statistically significant. However, a comparison with other groups suggests at least partial support for H₄. For blacks, this percentage of coworker relationships is 40.2% and for Hispanics, 48.2%.

Our data show Asian Americans depicted in family relationships in just 2 cases, which represents just .1% of the total sample. Among ads with Asian American models depicting a relationship, a family relationship is depicted in just 5.7% of cases, compared with 18.8% for blacks and 24.1% for Hispanics. Asian Americans are also not very frequently depicted in social contexts, with just 12 cases (34.2%) falling into this category. The dominance of depicting Asian Americans as coworkers reinforces the notion that magazine advertising reflects stereotypes of this group.

Implications and Conclusion

Consistent with cultivation theory, the results of this study indicate that today's advertising portrayals of Asian Americans reflect societal stereotypes. Magazine advertising tends to portray Asian Americans in advertisements for technology-related products, in popular business press publications, and in business settings and relationships. This narrow scope of portrayal of Asian Americans has at least two potential types of negative impacts.

The first is that stereotypes of positive traits may contribute to related stereotypes of negative traits. If Asian Americans are viewed as intelligent, hardworking, technically skilled, and serious, they may not be as likely to be viewed as socially adept or fun loving. These two sets of traits are not mutually exclusive. Yet Asians were rarely seen in social settings or family situations—clearly important aspects of U.S. and Asian cultures.

A second potentially negative aspect is the expectations the stereotypes implicitly convey. For example, the portrayal of Asian Americans as math and science experts can put pressure on Asian American children to excel in these fields. This may lead to a situation in which an individual's self-esteem is closely linked to SAT scores, grade point average, and the university he or she attends. From within the individual's reference group, there may be a great deal of pressure to be the best. Meanwhile, from the outside (the majority), there is at least implicit pressure to conform to societal expectations.

This study examined just one medium, magazines, and its findings suggest a study of Asian American portrayals in television would be worthwhile. In addition, further research

Table 5. Relationship Depicted Among Characters by Minority Group

	Asian Americans	Blacks	Hispanics
Family	5.7%	18.8%	24.1%
Social	34.2	41.2	27.7
Business	60.0	40.2	48.2

NOTE: Only those ads in which relationships were depicted are included in this table. For Asian Americans, n = 35, for blacks, n = 101, and for Hispanics, n = 29.

in this area should include portrayals of whites in the analysis, so majority versus minority comparisons can be made.

The findings here also call for survey and experimental research. A survey of the attitudes of Asian Americans toward the way they are portrayed would be insightful. Survey research aimed at uncovering the extent to which the types of negative impacts discussed here are felt by Asian Americans would also be valuable. Finally, experimental studies could help determine whether nonstereotyped portrayals of Asian Americans would be effective for advertisers.

Regardless of the effectiveness of nonstereotyped appeals to the population at large, advertisers trying to appeal to Asian Americans should consider increasing the number of nonstereotypical portrayals. From a societal perspective, it is also advisable that advertisers consider the need to portray Asian Americans in nonbusiness contexts. At a macro level, the lack of representation of Asians in advertising in certain product categories, publications, settings, and relationships is unfortunate.

Appendix A: Operational Definitions Pertaining to Perceived Importance of Characters, Setting, and Relationships Between Characters

Perceived Importance of Minority Characters

- *Major role*—A character who is very important to the advertising theme or layout, shown in the foreground or shown holding the product.
- *Minor role*—A character who is of average importance to the advertising theme or layout. Generally, these characters are not spotlighted in the ad and do not hold the product, but they are not difficult to find in the ad when casually looking at it.
- *Background role*—A character who is difficult to find in an ad (i.e., not likely to be noticed by a reader glancing at the ad) and is not important to its theme or layout.

Setting

- *Business setting*—Factories, sales or office rooms, and retail settings in which consumers are depicted inside stores.
- *Home, indoor, or outdoor*—Recognizable as a residence, room or rooms, garage, yard, home or apartment, driveway, or parking space.

- Outdoors/natural scenery*—Includes forests, rivers, ocean, fields or sky, as well as streets, public roads, sidewalks, or pathways. Does not include outdoor settings at individuals' homes or outdoor social settings.
- Social setting outside home*—Includes public places, auditoriums, restaurants, or movie theaters, where people meet and congregate for social purposes.
- Other*—Includes artificial settings (stage or specially built props or backgrounds) and any other setting not listed here.

Relationship to Others in the Ad

- Family context*—Includes husband and wife and any relationship between relatives, including children as well as extended family such as aunts/uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, adopted children, foster children.
- Social context*—Includes friends or any other two people depicted in a social setting, with the exception of family members depicted in a social context.
- Business context*—The depiction of members of, or workers in, the same company, those who are employed by the same company. Also colleagues in the same profession or occupation even though they may be employed by different companies. Any relationship between employees or professionals who work together.
- Impersonal context*—More than one character appears in the ad, but there is no apparent relationship between the characters.
- Nobody else in ad*—Choose this option when only one model appears in the ad.
- Other relationship*—Any relationship other than those listed here.

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