

COOKING UP GENDER



A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER AND FOOD
IN READER'S DIGEST ADVERTISING

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Introduction

For the past few years an interest in food and cooking got the better of me. A house full of friends and family gathered around the kitchen table makes me unbelievably happy. The fun of choosing recipes and dishes for the big night starts a few weeks before the date. Experimenting with taste and textures, trying to make a coherent menu that I am capable of cooking in my rather small kitchen. Cleaning my house, dressing the table and making sure fresh flowers are in vases to finish the picture. Trying to schedule my cooking so I will also have enough time to spend with my guests instead of slaving away in the kitchen the whole evening. The first guests arrive and I welcome them with some drinks and small bites to keep their appetite satisfied for now. Then the cooking performance starts and one dish after the other is produced from my kitchen, nicely decorated and enough for everyone. I feel like an Italian matriarch and my guests are my children. Water with mint on the table and bottles of wine are served. Everyone is enjoying him or herself and they shower me with compliments, which I shyly take in. People take second rounds and although my appetite is not satisfied, I am too pumped up to eat. One by one the guests leave and the house becomes quiet again, leaving me with an exuberant amount of dishes that I will leave for tomorrow morning.

Many people share this joy of cooking and hosting dinners for friends, but somewhere inside of me is a nagging voice that questions my performance. Is it the cooking that has my passion or is it also a feeling of fitting in? Is it a performance in womanliness that I have learned to master and successfully execute? Is it a 'natural' relation that I have with cooking as part of caring, or does it feel 'natural' because it is part of a gendered imagery that has been reproduced for years? And if so, in what ways?

This research is located at a crossroad of media studies, gender studies and food studies and is set up to explore a supposedly 'natural' relation between gender and food. I will focus on a media analysis of the conceptualization of this relation in advertising and analyze how this normative imagery of the relation has evolved, but also explore strategies of change, resistance and agency towards this 'natural relation'. This research aims to contribute to media literacy by deconstructing the representation of the relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation, to question a naturalization of gender roles and explore strategies of change. To study in depth this relation and imaginary, I have selected a specific case study, the popular magazine *Reader's Digest*. This magazine is in the top five of American magazines with the widest distribution and is considered to reflect a mainstream imagery of United States.

Accordingly, the research question that drives this thesis is: How does the representation of the relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation evolve, in the United States from the 1950s until now in advertising of *Reader's Digest*? I am especially interested in tracing what changes did or did not occur within a specific relation between gender and food. And to see how ideals of womanhood in relation to food preparation evolved over time and where there is space for change and

resistance against a naturalization of gender roles. Research on this topic has been mainly done in women's magazines and has covered a period between the 1950s and 1980s. This thesis sheds also light on today's food advertising, and is using advertising from a general interest magazine that serves a mixed readership. The advertising in the magazine is therefore not just focused on women but has to appeal to a broader audience, which might reflect interesting representations of the relation between gender and food. *Reader's Digest*, with its large distribution, could be seen as a medium that represents a mainstream view. Although my objective is to contribute to a new field of study with new insights, I would like to take the obvious normative imagery production as my focus of attention and search within this hegemony for sites of change and personal strategies of resistance against a fixed idea of a 'natural' relation between gender and food and specifically between women and food preparation.

In chapter one I would like to elaborate on the relevancy of my research and give a brief literature overview of previous research on related topics. In chapter two I want to touch upon different discourses and concepts that intersect when doing research on the crossroad of gender studies, media studies and food studies, such as essentialism, politics of representation and the 'Feminine Mystique'. In chapter three I will elaborate upon my methodology, methods, and introduce my case study carefully. Accordingly I will present most interesting findings in chapter four, these findings have been clustered in themes rather than starting from a chronological standpoint. It is this chapter where I try to combine my media content analysis, specific examples from my case study with theory. In chapter five I will discuss the outcomes of my research and try to 'work through' them

in order to find potential for change and personal strategies for resistance towards a fixed understanding of femininity in relation to food. I will end with my conclusion.

Chapter 1 Mapping the Field

In this chapter I want to take a moment and explain why it can be helpful to use food as a perspective to research power relations and accordingly give insight in research that has already touched upon the crossroad of gender studies, media studies and food studies. So why does the representation of the relation between gender and food matter? Food as a focus point in research might seem odd, as it is such an omnipresent but mundane activity. Until a few decades ago, the field of food studies was only of interest to anthropologists, who specifically focused on foreign food and habits. However, today food has become a much-adopted lens to look at the world. Because of its global, everyday presence, food houses a lot of information about societies. It holds understandings of nature and culture and of power relations, because it simply matters what we eat, how we eat, with whom we eat, where we eat and who prepared and served what we eat.

My specific question concerns the representation of the relation between gender and food, and specifically between women and food preparation. The question derives from the observation that women in the United States (but not exclusively) are still in a bind when it comes to food preparation, as cooking is regarded an essential part of

women's nurturing capabilities. This ideal woman within the home is part of a 'Feminine Mystique', a term coined by Betty Friedan in 1963, which I will later discuss. This 'Mystique' presents women's role in the household as one of personal sacrifice to the interest of others. A woman would not exist by herself, but is solely defined through her relation with others. This 'Mystique' is not informed, created or reproduced through just mainstream media, but these media can tell us something about how this 'Mystique' has evolved over time. Besides looking at the construction of the representation of a relation between gender and food, I am also interested to see if there is potential for change and space for personal strategies of resistance. Whether this change can take place in advertising strategies, interpretation thereof or in other personal manifestations of resistance towards a mainstream ideal of womanhood and femininity.

Previous Scholarship

Although research at the crossroad of gender studies, media studies and food studies is relatively new, there are scholars who research related topics. In this section I will introduce a few of these authors and present briefly their findings in this field of study. One author who is specifically relevant for this research is Betty Friedan with her book *The Feminine Mystique* (1971). Friedan is a well-known feminist who became influential by coining the 'problem with no name', where she described the deep dissatisfaction that many housewives were experiencing being confined to the household. She collected many women's experiences of daily life but also investigated representations of femininity in mainstream media, such as women's magazines. In a way I follow up on her research forty years later to see what changes occurred in the representation of the

relation between gender and food. The representation of the relation between gender and food has been researched by a growing group of scholars in the area of feminist food studies. Another author relevant for my study is Carole Counihan with her book *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* (1998), where she explores different forms of power: on one hand the power of access to production and consumption of food and on the other hand the personal power over food ways and to what extent it contributes to a sense of self. Katherine J. Parkin's *Food is Love: Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America* (2006) is also a prominent scholar when working on the relation between food, gender and advertising. She has analyzed a great amount of advertising to discover six advertising strategies that retain women as the homemaker. Sherrie A. Inness contributed greatly to these discussions with her books *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* (2001) about the influence of ads on women's realities, and *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender and Race* (2001) on how women's roles were shaped by principles and practice of consuming and preparing food. *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work* (1991) by Marjorie L. DeVault is a useful research on how feeding as part of caring is assigned to women within a discourse of social organization. Mary Drake McFeely wrote *Can she bake a cherry pie?: American women and the kitchen in the twentieth century* (2001) in which she explains how cooking has become a measure of woman's true value. *More work for mother: the ironies of Household Technology from the open heart to the Microwave* by Ruth Schwartz Cowan (1983) shows how household technology changed the cooking process and in that respect also changed women's relation to food preparation. Then there are also more the general works such as *A Cultural History of Food: In the Modern Age*

(2012) edited by Fabio Parasecoli (et al), about the transformation of a cooperation of men and women regarding food. And *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies* (2013) by Ken Albala (eds), which gives a great overview of current research and even includes a chapter on food studies and feminism. Then a final book that needs a special mentioning is *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies: Critical Perspectives on Women and Food* (2005) by Arlene Voski Avakian and Barbara Haber (eds.), this book has been particularly helpful in mapping out this new field of feminist food studies. Voski Avakian and Haber illustrate how the relation between women and food has mostly been researched from four different angles, namely: that of female pathologies/eating disorders; colonial constructions; cookbook as narrative; and gender representation and cultural analysis. My research contributes to this final field of research. Although all authors have different focus points and research objectives, they do contribute to research on the crossroad between gender studies, media studies and food studies, they provide: a context - Inness (2001); DeVault (1991); McFeely (2001); Schwartz Cowan (1983); Fabio Parasecoli (et al) (2012); Albala (2013), concepts - Friedan (1971), Counihan (1998) and material for comparison - Parkin (2006); Inness (2001); Voski Avakian and Haber (2005) for my research.

Previous research on the representation of the relation between gender and food and specifically women and food preparation has already given great insight in how advertising strategies construct and reproduce a certain image of women in relation to food. However the new field of feminist food studies is still relatively young and gives me a great opportunity to contribute to its body of knowledge. My research will complement the field by for example including today's advertising. Parkin and Inness use

advertising in their analysis up until the late 1990s, so the past two decades have had limited coverage so far. Previous research on advertising in relation to a 'Feminine Mystique' has also mainly been done in women's magazines. Although these magazines have thoroughly been researched as they are a vital source of information because of their influence on women's daily lives, my research intends to provide insights into how representations have evolved in 'mainstream' media. *Reader's Digest*, my case study, is a general interest magazine with a mixed gendered readership. Advertising in such a magazine will be read by men and women, and might have a lesser tendency to reproduce a specific relation between gender and food that is only catering to women. In order to make the most use out of the readership, advertisers need to produce ads that fulfill a mainstream ideal about gender and food. For this reason my case study might reveal different outcomes that can contribute to the field of feminist food studies.

Chapter 2 Discourse Intersection

I have briefly discussed my motivation to execute this research and presented an overview of authors and their research to provide a greater context. In this second chapter I would like to explore the different discourses that intersect at the crossroad of gender studies, media studies and food studies. I use Stuart Hall's definition of discourse, discussed in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (1997): "... a cluster of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society" (Hall 6). Discourse in this way considers meaning, representation and culture as constitutive. In this chapter I want to pay attention to different theoretical streams of thought that have been around for a long time already and are unquestionably at the root of this research. It is a way for me to show my awareness that a research is never isolated but part of a larger scholarship and influenced by theories on 'essentialism' or 'politics of representation' for example and concepts like 'Feminine Mystique' and 'family' that have been coined before me.

Essentialism

Researching the representation of the relation between gender and food, and specifically

between women and food preparation, you come across a specific imagery that is portrayed as 'natural'. This specific imagery, that is also discussed in the works of Inness (2001) and Parkin (2006) portrays a 'natural' relation between women and cooking as part of caring. Cooking a meal for the family would be an essential feature for women to show their love for the family and live up to a feminine ideal. This relation is portrayed with a majority of advertisements portraying women as the family cook, serving a family that is sitting around the table, catering to everyone's needs and have subtexts such as 'As a mom you know what is best for them', 'Give them what they want', and 'Guard your family'. This imagery displays certain knowledge about care as a 'natural' responsibility for women to deploy their femininity and motherhood. This knowledge and performance seems essentially feminine. And an essential femininity, in this case performed through cooking, is part of a wider debate on essentialism within gender studies.

To provide a brief overview of the main issues in this debate I will use the articles 'Sexual Difference and the Problem with Essentialism' by Elizabeth Grosz (1995) and 'The 'Risk' of Essence' by Diana Fuss (1989). Essentialism is often subject to a binary of on one hand the biologic essentialists and on the other hand the social constructivists. Biologic essentialists believe that there is a natural essence that precedes social discursive practices, with regards to femininity; there would be a feminine essence that is unchangeable and irreducible. This essence is pre-determined, a-historical and a universal characteristic shared with women all over the world. Especially egalitarian feminists from the second wave (like Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan and Kate Milet for example (Grosz 50)) protested heavily against this biological reductionism of femininity. They believed men and women were equal and they wanted to open up social, economic,

political and sexual positions of social value and status normally occupied by men. The inferior position of women in society did not have a biological explanation but was the result of patriarchal ideologies, discriminatory socialization practices, social stereotyping and role-playing (Grosz 50). These feminists strived for equal opportunities and their ideal would be that differences between the sexes should be no more significant than the differences between individuals. (51)

In opposition to biological essentialists are the social constructivists who believe that 'essence' itself is a historical construction produced through discursive practices and systems of representation, such as language. They do not believe in a natural pre-given that precedes processes of social determination, but instead feel that the natural is produced by the social. Another stream of feminists calls themselves sexual difference feminists, they believe in social construction but not by eliminating women's specificities. They believe in difference (whether between the sexes, women or oppressed groups), however not in terms of inequality, distinction or opposition, but rather in 'pure' difference (Grosz 53). Sexual difference feminists see difference in itself and claim that this provides opportunity for autonomy and defining oneself in one's own terms.

A representational system that portrays a 'natural' relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation, is linked to this debate. One could question if cooking as part of caring is an essential characteristic of femininity, if it is in a pre-given nature that is universal and a-historic. Or if it is a social construction, determined by social and discursive processes. Despite the fact that this research is linked to such questions, it is not executed on a level of deconstructing such a relation. Instead of focusing on the question of essentialism, it is more focused on language and

specifically on the representational system of advertising. It is not about researching the 'actual' relation between women and food preparation, but about the representation of such a relation. It is about the representation of a kind of essentialism, which is linked to a deeper motive of seeking resistance against a biologic reductionism of making cooking, as part of caring, a 'natural' characteristic for women. Only in this order, I have the tendency of positioning this research on the side of social constructivism, showing what influence a media construction has. But to position this research in such a debate, I would argue that it might not be most productive having to 'choose' between oppositional positions (biologic essentialism vs. social constructivism). Instead I agree with Grosz and Fuss that there are no pure positions that work in isolation from each other. Feminist research is in a bind where it needs social constructivism (in reaction to a biologic reductionism) to safeguard intellectual struggles and essentialism (uniting groups and goals) for political impact. It is important to keep political implications in mind whilst researching a representational system such as advertising.

Cooking Animal

In the previous section I explored the debate on essentialism with regards to the representation of the relation between women and food preparation, focusing on the issue of how femininity is defined. In this section I would like to focus more on the food preparation part, because cooking is a site where a discourse on nature and a discourse on culture come together.

Food writer and activist Michael Pollan explores the question to what extend cooking is natural in his new book *Cooked: A Natural History of Transformation* (2013).

He explores in what ways nature and culture intersect during different cooking processes.

He states:

Cooking - of whatever kind, every day or extreme - situates us in the world in a very special place, facing the 'natural' world on one side and the social world on the other. The cook stands squarely between nature and culture, conducting a process of translation and negotiation. Both nature and culture are transformed by the work. And in the process, I discovered, so is the cook. (18)

Pollan refers to James Boswell and Levi-Strauss who already defined 'man' as the 'cooking animal', as no other animal cooks his food. In this sense, cooking is understood as an elevation above nature that distinguishes humans from the beasts. Then, if cooking in itself is already defined by culture, can there still be a 'natural' connection between cooking and women? Cooking as a process of transforming the raw into the cooked might not be connected to gender roles per se; however cooking as part of caring does bring up certain associations. A woman within the household cooking a family dinner with her husband and children at the table is a powerful image, one that portrays cooking as a 'natural' characteristic of women's nurturing abilities. It is this imagery that is in the center of my attention I want to illustrate the nature/culture intersection when it comes to cooking, but I focus on the representation of the relation between women and food preparation.

Feminine Mystique

As mentioned before, in the 1960s feminist Betty Friedan wrote extensively on the representation of women in advertising and pointed out the discrepancies in her book *The Feminine Mystique* (1971). She describes how the ideal woman was portrayed as the dream image of young American women. This suburban housewife was healthy, beautiful, educated and freed from drudgery in the kitchen with the introduction of new household technologies. "She had found true feminine fulfilment" (Friedan 18). This 'New Woman' was in stark contrast with ambitious women of the 1930s, and might even be the result of an ideological construct. For a brief contextualization I turn to the article 'The Great Depression and World War II' by Karen Anderson from *A Companion to American Women's History* (2005). The title already indicates two major causes that shifted American society. During the Great Depression in the 1930s (with the Wall street Crash in October 1929) there was an increasing rate in unemployment and poverty. Although women workers had a higher chance of losing their jobs as employers needed to cut back, the number of women workers increased during the 1930s (367). This was the result of certain work being determined as 'feminine' and would not be fulfilled by men. Wage cuts made a double income a necessity in families. Before, women were only allowed to work when they were unmarried, but now families often consisted of husband and wife both working. Although this was accepted on practical grounds it was symbolically regarded as a violation of the social order that men were solely responsible to be the breadwinner.

Another major shift in traditional family life was the Second World War. Men were send off to the army and left an extreme labor shortage that opened up well-paying

job opportunities for women. Again this transition had further implications than just the workplace "...they threaten to undermine many of the stereotypes that produced the ideological support for a gender system that relegated women to domesticity and to low-paying, low-mobility jobs" (373). This previous gender system secured men's economic power within the family and society, and that was now challenged by more women entering the workforce. When the war was over governmental programs for veterans made sure men could return to jobs and regain their position in society. Both the depression and the war caused serious ideological challenges to the definition of womanhood constructed around domesticity.

Advertising also changed during these major events, ads during the Second World War in the United States would encourage women to join the workforce and work towards victory. Ellen Plante describes this in her book *The American Kitchen 1700 to the present: From Hearth to Highrise* (1995), how women would set their concerns of being the model wife aside to contribute to war effort (280). Caroline Cornell also contributed to this topic with her article 'The Housewife's Battle on the Home Front: Women in World War II Advertisements' (2010). She explains how 'Rosie the Riveter' was a popular image who represented women in the working force that filled the gaps in factories that men left behind (29). Post war advertising would then shift again towards women as housewives. Cornell only counter argues that the representation of a 'working woman' like 'Rosie the Riveter' was the mainstream tenure, instead she argues that it was an iconic exception and that in fact women as housewives was still the main depiction. She illustrates that the housewife was represented as an important force in victory. The homemaker was responsible for spending the budget, recycle and feed the family. She

functioned as a symbol of American virtues and values and "Housewives were also viewed positively for their role as consumers, which made them crucial to aiding the post-war economy" (39).

In order to return to pre-war gender system, governmental programs, but also advertisers promoted a reevaluation of domestic life. They represented a belief that women should make marriage and family as their main priority again. The family role of a woman was promoted for national and familial well-being. The absence of an organized feminist movement prevented the translation of new positions in the labor market in long-term gains. "The desire for economic security and family stability played out over issues of women's proper place" (378).

The 'New Woman' described by Betty Friedan is not a neutral invention, but a reaction to greater shifts in society. The occupation of housewife was portrayed as the ideal and when Simone de Beauvoir wrote *The Second Sex* (1949), it was ill received in the United States. The main discourse was that the issues described by De Beauvoir would only occur for French women. The mainstream opinion was that when a woman was dissatisfied with her life, she had only herself to blame. As a suburban housewife and a magazine writer herself, Friedan explores her discontent about how these vague problems are smoothed over. She describes how she met more and more women who were dealing with the 'problem with no name'. They would often visit psychiatrists, because they needed help "...working out their adjustment to the feminine role" (Friedan 21). The unhappy housewife was not taken seriously for a long time. Responses were filled with humorous statements such as: women's access to education and the right to vote would make them unhappy in the end. 'The problem with no name' was responded

with: "... 'love is their answer', 'the only answer is inner help', 'the secret of completeness – children'" (23).

Unhappy women themselves would often not be willing to address their frustration either. Friedan explains this by stating: "It can be less painful, for a woman, not to hear the strange, dissatisfied voice stirring within her" (26). Friedan stresses the importance of no longer ignoring this voice; however, it is not easily done. Friedan argues: "The chains that bind her in her trap are chains in her own mind and spirit. They are chains made up of mistaken ideas and misinterpreted facts, of incomplete truths and unreal choices. They are not easily seen and not easily shaken off" (31). When Friedan analyzes women's magazines from the 1960s she can only find topics on marriage, beauty and family. In a rapidly changing world with new technological developments and political shifts, the magazines only reported on issues of domesticity. She notices the discrepant difference with the ambitions of women of the 1930s and names the renewal of the ideal woman as housewife as the 'Feminine Mystique' and wonders: "When did women decide to give up the world and go back home?" (37).

The highest value and the only commitment for women was supposedly the fulfillment of their own femininity. And this femininity would consist of being absolutely happy and fulfilled by being defined through their relation with others and having the sole responsibility for the household. The ideal family was based on a notion of 'togetherness', coined by theorist Ernest Dichter, that meant a cooperation between husband and wife towards the family, but with separated duties and responsibilities. Friedan critiques this by stating that the dream of a changing woman, oriented towards strengthening her individuality and independence, was shattered in order to secure a

'togetherness'. This 'togetherness' was embraced by advertisers, ministers, newspaper editors as a movement of spiritual significance (48). Friedan criticizes:

Forbidden independence, they finally are swallowed in an image of such passive dependence that they want men to make the decisions, even in the home. The frantic illusion that togetherness can impart a spiritual content to the dullness of domestic routine, the need for a religious movement to make up for the lack of identity, betrays the measure of women's loss and the emptiness of the image. (50)

As a magazine writer, Friedan notices that some editors were aware of the impossibility of this 'New Woman' that resulted in many unhappy housewives. However, the 'Mystique' became so embedded in mainstream culture, that editors of magazines continuously reproduced this ideal. They would consciously limit the topics outside domesticity. They would ignore politics and would only report on the topics housewives could (supposedly) identify with. Besides the cultural adoption of this 'Feminine Mystique', the change in editorial staff also contributed to the maintenance of this ideal. The first articles in magazines would often be written by young girls, especially during the Second World War. These articles reflected their dreams and ambitions for a career. After the war, men entered the magazine industry and possibly were hungry for a cozy home with caring housewives. The career girl from the 1930s was pushed back and many female writers were often discharged because they were uncomfortable writing about this new 'Feminine Mystique'.

Men and some women would pick up on the 'housewife formula' and were less occupied with feeding women with thoughts, and more interested in providing the kind of content that would interest advertisers. It was thus that advertisers started to have increasing power in the choices of which messages would be presented in popular media. Fictional stories in magazines were replaced by articles that would help the housewife with practicalities of daily life, because fiction would appear to be inaccessible, too deep or hard to identify with. Friedan notices: "Judging from the women's magazines today, it would seem that the concrete details of women's lives are more interesting than their thoughts, their ideas, their dreams" (56). A frustrated Friedan stresses that this practice is not harmless, even though there are psychological terms for the harm it is doing. On the other side of the spectrum are the producers of such images, who in contrast embrace this 'New Woman' as a new virtue. Advertising as a field of study really kicked off in the 1960s with the research of Ernest Dichter. He was a researcher from Switzerland who founded the Institute for Motivational Research in Croton-on-Hudson, New York, in 1946. In the 1960s and 1970s he wrote several books in which he discusses new approaches to advertising, such as: *The Strategy of Desire* (1960) and *Motivating Human Behavior* (1971).

One of the most important contributions to the field of advertising is the introduction of emotion in advertisements in order to persuade the consumer. Dichter executed research on determining the motivations and needs of different sets of consumers. Interestingly enough he isolates women as the consumer group regarding food advertising. In *Strategy of Desire* (1960) he carefully determines how this group changed from women slaving away in the kitchen, to the career woman of the 1920s and

1930s towards the 'New Woman'.

In his chapter 'The Psycho-Economic Age' of the same book he describes the modern woman as consumer and all her desires. He describes how women used to have their place only in the kitchen, in the home, having to work hard and by exact standards. In the 1920s and 1930s the career woman emerged, having different interests and being independent. The modern woman according to him was more balanced (that is the modern woman of the 1960s). Once again she's interested in her home and is willing to do household work. At the same time, her horizon is considerably enlarged. She is interested in social action, in education, even in politics. This balanced type of woman is today's shopper (185). The 'New Woman' has 'returned' to the kitchen in a more sophisticated way and might even have a job as well. She spends less time in the kitchen and uses convenience food but "...she makes up for it by greater creativeness" (186). This 'New Woman' adds elements to original ingredients to create new combinations and flavors. Advertisers need to tap into this desire by not handing her complete new meals, but only the tools for her to experiment with. "What the woman wants to hear is this: 'you are a wonderful cook. Our cake mix will permit you to use your wonderful talent without drudgery'" (186). Later on in his book, Dichter describes how technology in food preparation made it possible for women to use convenience food. However convenient, women still needed to be convinced that it was okay to make short-cuts in the kitchen. Women would be hesitant because they would feel guilty about using pre-prepared food instead of making everything from scratch and it would be hard to make the change of being in a survival modus during the war towards one of leisure. "Every new so-called convenience product that appears on the scene is first looked upon with suspicion and

guilt feelings” (260). This suspicion was also a result of her being more educated and better informed about products she wanted to buy. Dichter states quite bluntly: “You could put it this way: she is much less readily fooled, or if you want to be cynical, she has to be fooled in a different way” (188). Her conscientiousness and realism makes her also believe that she and her family are entitled to fun and luxuries, which also translates in her buying attitude. Instead of saving money, she wants safeguard happiness. “In the promotion and advertising of many items, nothing is more important than to encourage this tendency to greater inner freedom and to give moral permission to enjoy life through the use of an item...” (189).

In this section I tried to show two sides of the same coin, namely that of the 'New Woman' who appeared on stage in a post-war era. Her appearance was not coincidental, neither random or neutral, it happened within a context where womanhood in itself was on unstable ground. The career woman needed to make place for the return of veterans in the labor market and in order to stimulate this transition, an imaginary woman was created. It can be questioned if this woman, this happy housewife, was indeed imaginary. Dichter proclaimed his advertising strategy as being custom made for this woman instead of the other way around. However Friedan's work reveals a darker side behind the consequences and implications of a 'Feminine Mystique' for women's actual daily lives.

Family

The connection between 'New Woman' or 'Feminine Mystique' and the family is made in the previous section, but what family are we talking about? This 'New Woman' is part of a broader construction of the family, the 'nuclear family' that is. This term was coined in

the 1950s and indicates a mainstream ideal of a white heterosexual married couple with (two) children. Besides the composition of the family it also represents an ideal family life that houses all virtues and values of mainstream society. This research focuses on the private sphere as the place where the relation between women and food is strongly constituted. I am going to pay particular attention to the postwar era, because it is here that the idealized 'nuclear family' is established and this construct remains powerful up until today and became a stable pillar of society. However, stable the continuation of such image, 'family' in itself is not a stable entity with respect to historical changes and different socio/ethno contexts. Family as an experience may vary extensively between individuals; however, as a normative institution the 'nuclear family' is a powerful image that shapes different power relations in American society as well as the relation between women and food in the household.

The nuclear family is based on the idea of 'togetherness', where men and women have their own particular function in the household and complement each other. These functions are defined in detail, where men would take care of technical/construction chores or the barbecue; women would remain in charge taking care of the kids and providing meals (Dichter 244) The introduction of this 'New Woman' is part of changing relations between men and women in the household. According to Dichter: "The strong male who needs a weak female in order that he may act the role of protector is disappearing. The weak female, the doll, playing on her weakness to deserve protection and, thus, in an indirect way, becoming the master again, is also disappearing" (244). This quote indicates the changing dynamics of the family, the post-war family was centered around cooperation and equality and based on 'togetherness'. Both men and

women were considered more equal and independent with regard to their responsibilities in the household. Those responsibilities were still separate but complimented each other in a joined effort to make the family 'work'. It was therefore important for advertisers to acknowledge both men and women as individuals who made their own choices. This model of equality and 'togetherness' does not however imply that men and women cross over their fields. It is more about a leveling of valuation for both shares in the household, than a radical change in the fields that are addressed to a specific gender. The nuclear family and the 'feminine mystique' are both constructions that are not reality per se, but function as institutions/imaginaries influencing daily reality.

Politics of Representation

Research at a crossroad of media and gender studies deals with a discourse on politics of representation. When discussing my findings I will be concerned with the implications of certain representations. For now I want to elaborate upon the workings of representation with the work of Stuart Hall and briefly touch upon the discussion on how media representations are linked to reality.

Stuart Hall wrote extensively on politics of representation and contributed greatly with his book *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (1997). He explains that representation connects meaning and language to culture and explores different theories about how language is used to represent the world. He focuses mostly on the constructionist approach from Ferdinand Saussure and Michel Foucault to explain how language produces meaning. There are two systems of representation at work, namely mental representations and language (Hall 30). The first refers to the conceptual

map, a set of concepts and images that exist in our thoughts in order to understand the world. "Meaning depends on the relationship between things in the world - people, objects and events, real or fictional - and the conceptual system, which can operate as mental representations of them" (Hall 18). Although conceptual maps can differ between individuals, it is likely that members of the same culture share a similar one. In order to exchange meanings and concepts we need the second system of representation, which is (a shared) language. The link between a conceptual map (also known as 'signified') and the form/word (also known as 'signifier') come together as 'the sign'. The relation between the conceptual map and the form is arbitrary as the meaning is not in the object itself or the word, but is socially constructed as a code. Codes govern the relationships of translation between shared conceptual maps and shared language systems and are based on social conventions. By learning these codes early on, you become culturally competent subjects (22). In my methodology chapter I will describe how I adapt a constructionist theory about the sign in a semiotic media analysis and how the level of 'myth' plays a role as well.

Now that I have explored the workings of a system of representation, I want to touch upon a discussion how media representation links between fantasy and reality. Advertisers use signs to convey certain messages, but is advertising itself also a system of representation that helps to create certain codes and social conventions? The direct impact of advertising on reality might be impossible to measure. However it is important to view these practices not as innocent or neutral, but part of an actively producing culture. Karen Dill researched the influence of media in her *book How Fantasy Becomes Reality: Seeing Through Media Influence* (2009) and states that an average U.S. citizen

spends 3700 hours per year using mass media. Exposure to media content on such an omnipresent way does influence the perception of self and others and "...what we experience via the media plays a large part in creating our culture. Our culture is our shared reality, created and maintained through common experience and through communication" (47). When media representations contribute to culture, then a reproduction of a certain 'Feminine Mystique' will give an imaginary confirmation. According to Dill people have often two misjudgments, namely they believe: that fantasy stories in no way shape our realities and that media's reason for being is to entertain rather than to persuade us (10). She argues however that fiction, in this sense also advertising, always has a notion of reality to it, and that this is needed in order to be 'transported'. This transportation theory is based on the following:

[...] being transported is a state of flow in which the person loses track of time because of deep engagement. When a fictional story transports us, we are persuaded rather uncritically because transportation decreases counter arguing (questioning assertions) and increases connections with the characters and the sense that the story has a reality to it." (Dill 14)

In this way advertising will have a sense of reality that will confirm stereotypes and by doing so also perpetuate stereotypes. "...Our minds treat media imagery like this is as if it were real. Therefore, when you degrade someone in the media, you are degrading the real members of that person's social group. Our brains don't fully recognize the difference"

(Dill 97). The representational system of media and reality are not two separate dimensions, but influence each other. Media as a pillar of culture will actively produce and confirm social convention that steer codes, it becomes fuel for people to read signs and make sense of the world around them.

Now I have posed my question, sketched the field of study that I am operating in, touched upon the works of scholars (their findings will get the attention they deserve when discussing my own findings) and positioned my research in different discourses. In my next chapter I will outline my methodology, introduce my case study, the reason why I made certain choices and I will also address the limitations of this project.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In this chapter I would like to elaborate upon my methodology, my case study and my research methods. I differ here between methodology as being the overall strategy of executing my research and clarifying what theories and concepts I am using. My methods on the other hand will entail a concrete description of how I analyzed my materials.

Rosalind Gill has provided a useful toolbox for feminist scholars who work in the field of media with her book *Gender and the Media* (2007). She outlines the theoretical foundations that are present in doing media research. For this thesis I combined a media content analysis with a semiotic analysis, this in order to work systematically but also to prevent being too one-dimensional. Media content analysis is generally set up to attain quantitative data with the help of a code sheet. For my analysis I did make a code sheet/grid¹ to systematically run all ads through the same analysis and create data for my further semiotic exploration. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and praxis* (2007), Reinharz, S. and R. Kulick contributed with their article 'Reading between the lines: Feminist content analysis into the second millennium'. Reinharz and Kulick emphasize the changed nature of the media landscape, in content as well as scope, and give insight in how feminist media content analysis have adapted accordingly. They

¹ See appendix 2-4

examine different approaches of analysis that focus on representation, interpretation and identity construction. First they outline the characteristics of a feminist media content analysis and illustrate how this type of media content analysis moves beyond the purely systematic recording of code sheets etc. Instead, they argue that a feminist media analysis interprets the content as well as its juxtaposition in a larger socio-political context; it is about the text and process of its production. This entails specifically that the analysis does not just focus on the content of a text, but also on what is left out of it. They state: "...the identifications of exclusions, erasures, and missing information of interest, feminist researchers seek to understand the ways certain topics came to be missing and the implications of these gaps" (259). Another feature of what makes a media content analysis feminist is the focus on gender and other axes of difference, such as ethnicity and age.

In the same article Reinharz and Kulick show feminist analyses outside of media directed specifically towards a female audience, like public policy and newspapers. These analyses "...expose the political nature of mainstream content, prying open embedded social mythologies that many are committed to concealing" (263). They conclude with the main basic approach of a feminist media content analysis: to expose the political messages of media content, which might be concealed by the producers. Media messages are a power structure in itself, which a media content analysis can give access to. Such analysis is significant to broaden the understanding of gender and expose the political layers of representation.

The article by Reinharz and Kulick was especially helpful for me to find a feminist entry point in my media analysis. Just a systematic analysis of advertising with a

code sheet did not seem to reveal the politics behind such representations. Therefore I want to adopt a feminist perspective in my media analysis and broaden my focus with gender representation and politics of exclusion.

In addition to a media content analysis, I am also executing a semiotic analysis. The basis of semiotics - the study of signs - has briefly been discussed in the previous chapter by the work of Stuart Hall (1997). Semiotics as a field of study stems from the works of Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Peirce. Saussure made the analytic distinction between the signifier (word or speech sound) and the signified (mental concept) to illustrate how meaning is created by our engagement with 'texts' of any kind (Hall 31). Hall describes how Peirce took this knowledge towards visual analyses of sign and distinguished between the 'iconic', the 'indexical' and the 'symbolic' sign (34). Where the iconic and indexical sign have some relation between signifier and signified, the symbolic sign does not. This final sign is based on convention and is used a lot in advertising. It is this final sign that I will be looking out for in my analysis. This semiotic analysis is driven by two concepts of Roland Barthes, namely denotation and connotation. First I will describe the factual representation of the ad (denotation) and then dive into its message underneath (connotation). This second level of signification is coined by Barthes as 'myth'. His essay 'Myth Today' in *Mythologies* (1973) will be the foundation upon which I base my semiotic strategy in my analysis of advertising. Barthes describes two stages of signification; first, on a level of denotation there is the construction of a sign, based on a signifier and signified. This sign, in its complete formation, functions as a signifier for a larger cultural theme, that takes place on the level of connotation. The second stage is coined as 'myth' and "...yields a second, more

elaborate and ideologically framed message or meaning" (Hall 39). Barthes schematic lay-out of this process looks like this:

	1. Signifier	2. Signified
Language	3. Sign I. Signifier	
Myth	III. Sign	

(Barthes 3)

Here follows an example to illustrate the working of such scheme. When we analyze an ad of a housewife, we can read the symbolic sign of an image of a female figure cooking in a domestic setting for her family. The signified is the housewife by characteristics as just mentioned, the 'form' is the word housewife (signifier). This figure of the housewife is then the signifier for a larger cultural theme, namely caring for the family through cooking and performing a specific mother and womanhood (signified). The representation of the larger cultural and ideological theme by the figure of the housewife forms together the sign. This latter sign is part of the signification process of the 'myth'.

Case Study

For my media content analysis I needed to find a selection of materials in order to research the representation of the relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation. The media content was determined during my scholarly exchange at University of California Los Angeles. It was here that I encountered great

databases of different media that could be an interesting body of work for tracing the representation of the relation between women and food preparation. The university housed stacks of different magazines that gave a great historical insight in American mainstream culture. Due to the scope of my research I decided to focus on one magazine, but it had to be widespread. I came across the general interest magazine *Reader's Digest* and this seemed to be most interesting and relevant for my research.

In this research, the focus is on the representation of the relation between gender and food, and specifically between women and food preparation, therefore I focused on advertising that represented food and/or gender. In the process of selecting a case study it was important that the relation between women and food preparation could be traced over a period of time and be suitable for a semiotic media analysis. Print advertising in magazines seemed the best way for catering to these needs as the ads are fixed 2D images that are designed in one specific way, in comparison to television commercials that often house much more information and different images that could clutter a semiotic analysis. Women's magazine would be an easy step to find food advertising in relation to women; however advertising in a general interest magazine with a mixed demographic audience appeared to me to be more telling about the discourse it produces. Having considered multiple magazines, *Reader's Digest* seemed the most interesting case study.

Reader's Digest was founded in 1922 by William Roy DeWitt Wallace and his wife Lila Wallace. DeWitt Wallace got injured in the first World War and during his recovery he spend a long time in hospital beds and would read magazines to keep him occupied and updated. He would select the articles he would find most important and condense it to a simplified essence. When he was discharged he started the magazine

Reader's Digest that would be produced along the same curating format. Over the years it grew into one of the largest distributed magazines of the U.S. with a current circulation of 5.5 million and 45 international editions. It is in the top five of U.S. magazines with the largest distribution. The demographic audience of the national edition is 40% male and 60% female, white, middle class with an average age of 53,5.²

A magazine filled with heart-warming, simple stories might seem incompatible with serious influence on society. However different research on *Reader's Digest* show a different side of this small printed magazine (Ginglinger 1955; Smith and Decker-Amos 1985; Bainbridge 1945; Gardin 1953; Playsted Wood 1958; Schreiner 1977; Dorfman 1983; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Anderson 1994; Sharp 1993 and 2000)). Shawny Anderson in particular, wrote extensively on the influence of *Reader's Digest* in *Condensed Hegemony: A cultural/ideological critique of Reader's Digest, 1980-1992* (1994) in which she explores *Reader's Digest* as an institution with hegemonic force. She analyses issues of *Reader's Digest* on its articulation of the representation of women, communism and science & technology. According to Anderson the magazine functions as an 'Ideological State Apparatus', a term which she borrows from Louis Althusser. An 'Ideological State Apparatus' is a site where ideology is reproduced to ensure the status quo. She states: "...it is clear that *Reader's Digest* - because of its willingness to exert its influence in defense of its own fictionalized end glorified perception of the status quo - is a prime example of what Althusser describes with his definition of Ideological State Apparatus." (214) Anderson illustrates how *Reader's Digest* promotes a specific conservative and neo-liberal agenda, including promotion of traditional gender roles, that

² Data from Reader's Digest' Online Media Kit - <http://www.rd.com/mediakit/>

is presented as 'common knowledge'.

When *Reader's Digest* started its advertising in 1955, they introduced this practice in an open letter to the readers where they almost apologize for including ads in the magazine.³ They claim that due to rising costs "...the Digest was faced with the inevitable choice of raising the price of the magazine or accepting a limited amount of advertising" (*Reader's Digest* April 1955). They claim to have executed polls among the readers with this result that the readers preferred having advertising rather than an increased price. They also state that advertisers have offered several kinds of ads, but *Reader's Digest* would make sure they would never approve of advertising for alcoholic beverages, tobacco or medical remedies (this final promise was broken remarkably fast). It was initially viewed as a 'necessary evil', Advertising was perceived as an intrusion to the trustworthy content and was handled with extreme care. Over the years this attitude changed to a much more facilitating position towards advertising. Especially when in 1987 the advertising revenues dropped (advertisers were aiming for more specific audiences), *Reader's Digest* changed their tactics and inserted a special advertising section, named 'food digest'. Over the years the economic position of *Reader's Digest* has had great influence on the relation between the magazine and advertisers, when times were financially rough, they would depend more on advertising hence their willingness to cater to their needs.

Due to the scope of this research I narrowed my materials down to the fall seasons of the magazine (October - December), because these issues have condensed food advertising due to the holiday season. Per period, three subsequent years will be used; the

³ See Appendix 1

first period entails 1957-1959, second period 1986-1988, and the third 2007-2009. These issues will be the main source for the semiotic content analysis, however other issues may also appear in this research to support or illustrate claims. I chose the periods of the late 1950s, late 1980s and late 2000s to analyze the continuation of the representation of the relation between gender and food. The 1950s is the starting point of advertising and therefore also the starting point of a specific representation, which is not per se 'new', but has not been produced in food advertising of this magazine before. The 1980s is an interesting period in the middle as it was here that new household technologies entered the household which made significant changes in food preparation and therefore in the relation between gender and food. The final period is to shed light on today's representation, which has not been covered by other scholars with similar research. The three periods are also complicit with important financial shifts of *Reader's Digest*, especially the second period shows how *Reader's Digest* shift tactics regarding food advertising to compensate for the revenue drop from ads in 1986. The final period is also one of financial struggle for *Reader's Digest*.

In total 27 issues of *Reader's Digest* will be the basis for the semiotic content analysis, whereof 62 ads were suitable for further investigation (because they represented gender and food).

Methods

The selected 62 ads were analyzed with the help of a grid⁴; this helped me to systematize my reading, which would function as a basis for a more in depth semiotic

⁴ See Appendix 2-4

analysis. The first part of the grid consisted of a denotation, which included listings of factual information, such as what gender was represented, what age, what product etc. The second part of the grid was dedicated to the connotative level and I left free space to make notes on my interpretation of the textual message as well as the visual one; keeping a sensitivity towards gender, politics of exclusion, and interpellation. This final term is borrowed from the work of Louis Althusser from his book *Essays on Ideology* (1984) and illustrates the workings of subject positioning through an advertising strategy of hailing. Hailing is a way of addressing a subject that only becomes a subject by this process. For example when someone in the street is yelling 'hey you' to random strangers, the person that stops and turns is the one being hailed, this process of interpellation establishes his subjectivity. Interpellation happens when the subject identifies with the subject position that is created through hailing. Through the discursive element of the sign certain identities are made available and social categories created. The relations that come into being through interpellation are not innocent; rather they are constructed through a politics of inclusion and exclusion. Manipulation of signs incorporates some subjects and excludes or actively repels others.

It is significant to analyze what reader is addressed through advertising and in what way, especially when you have a general interest magazine that caters to both sexes. In this thesis I combine theory from previous researches with findings of my own analysis. The aim is to get a comprehensive idea of the evolution of the representation of the relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation in *Reader's Digest* advertising. It would be interesting to explore how this relation is represented in today's advertising of a general interest magazine with a mixed readership.

A Note of Clarification

In the previous section I have stated to aspire a certain sensitivity to politics of inclusion and exclusion in advertising, however I should also be up front with my own politics as a researcher. As a brief note of clarification, I am interested in researching the representation of the relation between gender and food in *Reader's Digest* advertising. However, the specific relation between women and food preparation will be discussed to a longer extend. The majority of advertising in relation to food is being either addressed to women or represents women (often both) and therefore the specific relation between women and food preparation takes more space in this research and informs a certain politics of exclusion regarding men and food.

Another term that needs some consideration is that of food and food preparation. The ads were selected on how they addressed gender and food, this could be either an actual food ad or rather representations of food in text or visuals. With this I mean that I also took advertising into consideration that might include promotion of a non-food product, for example 'soap' but did have an interesting representation of food in the design of the ad. The category of food can also include drinks for that matter, I especially broadened this term when approaching modern day advertising, as drinks appeared more and more often in ads.

Food preparation is the term I mostly use but that might need some clarification of what it entails. First I only used the term 'cooking' but that became too vague when household technologies interfered with this process and subsequently food culture as well. The extending nature of the definition of cooking has also been a subject of Michael Pollan. He describes in his book *Cooked: A Natural History of Transformation* (2013)

how nowadays opening a package or heating a meal in the microwave is also considered cooking. To limit any confusion about what cooking defines, I decided to use the term 'food preparation' as this basically includes the whole process of providing food (and/or drinks) for the self and/or others.

Limitations

Although I am doing my utmost to make this research coherent and relevant, there are some limitations that come with the choices I made. My case study of *Reader's Digest* has been an interesting source for 'mainstream' content that has been widely distributed over a mixed audience, however it is not in itself 'neutral'. It was somewhat amusing when I interviewed Vice President of Business Development and Marketing of *Reader's Digest*, Alain Begun, about the institutional process of the magazine.⁵ To my question if *Reader's Digest* had a certain message to carry out, he answered: "We are not a political magazine. We do not take sides in anything". However, the magazine is quite conservative and has an audience demographic of white, middle class families. This conservative characteristic determines the content of the magazine and has also an influence on the choices of advertisers and which ads to place. Then there is also the limited range of ads that I analyzed due to the scope of this research. I have analyzed 27 fall issues from fall issues from three periods to capture changes in the representation of the relation between gender and food over a period of 50 years. This range is not inclusive enough to make generalizing statements, therefore this is an indicative research,

⁵ I interviewed Alain Begun on December 12th 2014 in Los Angeles, as part of another research paper about the institutional process of *Reader's Digest*

hoping to show (with the help of previous research) what changes did and did not occur. The selected advertising seems to give a comprehensive idea of mainstream America, but taking a conservative magazine and focusing on the nuclear family does not allow much space for representations of other classes and ethnicities to appear. Therefore I am already performing a certain politics of exclusion of tracing the representation of the relation between gender and food within a specific normative, mainstream white context. However, I will remain sensitive to any deviation or potential alternatives that derive from my analysis of the ads. As researcher Marjorie DeVault states in her book *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work* (1991): “Over time, revised images of family life accommodate some new patterns, but usually in ways that preserve fundamental elements of social tradition” (DeVault 16). The social tradition will be most visible so I need to be sensitive in finding potential new patterns, that might be more inclusive regarding a different representation of age, ethnicity etc.

As a gender studies scholar doing a media analysis, I need to finally address my own position as a researcher and its limitations. My reading and analysis of advertising is directly influenced by my personal and cultural background. As Rosalind Gill states in her book *Gender and the Media* (2007): "Connotative readings of signs, Barthes argued, are introduced by an audience or 'reader' who possesses the appropriate cultural codes. This highlights a very important point about semiotics generally - that the process of semiosis is culture bound" (Gill 48). This means that these findings should also be considered in context, situated along specific axes of identity and not as a neutral given. It is about acknowledging that all knowledge is situated, as stressed by Donna Haraway in 'The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective' (1988).

She discusses how doctrines of objectivity are being suppressive to (female) subjectivity and agency, because they treat objectivity as 'the truth' and distinctive from the subject. Feminists argue that object can never be separated from subject. In this case I am not a neutral researcher, distanced from my analysis producing a scientific 'truth'. It is my specific location as a subject that produces specific knowledge. Haraway states: "Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object" (583). These partial perspectives are coined as 'situated knowledges' and include partial, locatable and critical knowledges. However, Haraway is not a relativist, where every experience is considered valuable knowledge, she believes in being critical on certain positions and take accountability for them.

In the following chapter, I will present briefly some general findings of my media content analysis of the advertising and a deep reading of the data through the themes I encountered. My aim is not to have a staccato chronological listing of all of my findings, but rather to present a dialogue of my findings with theories and ideas of other scholars in order to reach a conclusion in the end about how the representation of the relation between gender and food, specifically women and food preparation, evolved over the years.

Chapter 4 Findings

In this chapter I would like to share my general findings from my media content analysis, accordingly I will dive into specific themes that appeared to be most telling about the changing representation of the relation between gender and food.

When it comes to food advertising the main gender portrayed and addressed are women, although there is a (slight) decline in an actual explicit way of representing gender and more a tendency towards abstract surroundings with a focus on the product. With this I mean a decline in representation of domestic settings and more space in the design of the ad for just the product. Despite this decline in explicit representation there remains a lot of implicit references towards women, especially in the textual way she is being addressed by the ad. Over the three periods of advertising the language towards a female consumer is quite imperative with lines such as 'Guard your family', 'As a mom you know what is best'. The advertising strategies over the years display a certain trope of care where the responsibility of food preparation as part of caring is assigned to women. This trope of care shifts towards a caring for the self in today's advertising, where the family context is less present. The food itself shifts from family meals to bite size snack, with a focus on its nutritional contents and the use for weight loss. The themes that will be discussed more elaborative in relation to theory and concrete examples are; lay-out of

advertising and addressed gender; food; trope of care for the family; trope of care for the self; technology; and expert advice. Discussion of each theme will be preceded by a presentation of some advertisements that are used as references to illustrate certain findings. Together they give a comprehensive outlook on the changes that occurred in the representation of the relation between gender and food in *Reader's Digest* advertising.


Theme #1 Advertising

What's the difference between appetite and hunger?

What makes some people crave more food than their bodies can use up?

Are they really hungry—or do their appetites fool them?

How can sugar help you train your appetite to match your body's actual needs?



Q. Is it possible to get used to eating less?
A. Yes, it is. Sometimes people confuse hunger, the need for food, and appetite, the desire for food. You can train your appetite and re-educate it to match your real needs. This is the natural way to weight control.

Q. What is the best way to start?
A. Leading nutritionists suggest this: Eat the same foods you are accustomed to, in good variety. Simply cut down on portions. This plan may include sugar for energy and as an aid in cutting down.


Q. How can sugar help you stay satisfied on less food?
A. It is a scientific fact that no other food can satisfy appetite faster than sugar. When mothers want children to eat more food they forbid the eating of sweets before mealtime. When you want to eat less you can turn this to your advantage and use sugar to help you subtract calories.

Q. Does sugar contribute to basic nutritional needs?
A. Yes. Carbohydrate foods, such as sugar, are our primary source of energy needed to maintain all life processes and to carry on every activity. When a too-drastring diet provides too-little quickly available energy you tire easily. You're apt to slow down. When you slow down you burn up fewer calories and thus defeat the purpose of the diet. *Ounce for ounce, no other food supplies energy so fast, with so few calories, as sugar.*

Q. Can artificial sweeteners help to train the appetite?
A. No. These drugs supply only sweetness without any of the physiological satisfaction or energy value you get from sugar. From every standpoint, the natural way to effective and lasting weight control is a sensible diet which may include sugar.

18 CALORIES!

... in a level teaspoonful of sugar—
and so much satisfaction!



No other food curbs your appetite so fast with so few calories

SUGAR INFORMATION, INC., New York 5, New York
All statements in this message apply to both beet and cane sugar.

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Figure 1



If you've forgotten what homemade soup looks like, cut this out and put it on your table.

Presenting Home Cookin' Soup from Campbell. There has never been a soup that looks or tastes like this. Plump pieces of chicken, sliced carrots and broad egg noodles, all in a delicate homemade-style broth. Six ready-to-serve varieties, all delicately seasoned, all delicious.



Home Cookin'.
Ataste so close to home.

Figure 2

For your family

THE BETTER EGG.





As a mom, it's natural to want to give your family the best. That's why there's Eggland's Best. EBs are the better-tasting eggs. They have more of the delicious, farm-fresh taste your family loves. No wonder they were rated "America's Best Tasting Egg" by American Culinary ChefsBest™ for the 6th year in a row.

EBs are better nutritionally, too. Compared to ordinary eggs, EBs provide:

- 10 times more vitamin E
- 3 times more Omega 3 (100 mg)
- 25% less saturated fat
- 19% less cholesterol; 175 mg (58% DV) vs. 215 mg (71% DV)



EBs also provide 200 mcg of lutein, a nutrient that's essential for good eye health. Plus, they're 100% natural, and produced without hormones, antibiotics, or steroids.

The "EB" stamp on every egg tells you you're getting eggs of the absolute highest quality.

You're the mom of the house. You know what's best. Shouldn't the only egg for your family be Eggland's Best?



EGG-LAND'S BEST

www.egglandsbest.com

Better taste. Better nutrition. Better eggs.

The Culinary Chefs Best Award for Best Taste is awarded to the brand rated highest overall among leading brands by independent professional chefs.

EBs are available in Large, Extra Large, Jumbo, Organic, Cage Free, and Brown varieties.

Figure 3

Theme #1 Advertising

How to trick a sweet tooth.

Deliciously sweet without sugar.

Like Sun Flakes® brand cereal, the only crunchy whole grain cereal lightly sweetened 100% with NutraSweet®, not sugar.

It's so delicious, our sweet tooth will never know the difference. But the rest of you will.

Sun flakes
Crispy Corn & Rice Flakes

MANUFACTURER'S COUPON | EXPIRATION DATE NONE | **Save 35¢**

When you buy Corn & Rice or Wheat & Rice Sun Flakes® brand cereal.

REDEMPTION: Coupon must be accompanied by the cereal purchase. It will not be cashed in countries. An extra coupon may be used with first purchase or purchase of 2nd cereal (quantity: 10/11/12). To receive this value, 1.0¢ cash back must be received from retailer. Retailer must be authorized to accept coupons. See retailer for details. *See retailer for restrictions. © 1987 General Mills, Inc. All rights reserved. For more information, visit us online at www.gm.com. This coupon must be used on Sun Flakes® brand cereal. For details, see retailer. © 1987 General Mills, Inc. All rights reserved. Cash value: 1/100¢.

17800 16235 2

35¢

Figure 4

Mom
Cinnamon Toast Crunch.

Made with whole wheat.

Less sugar than most kids' cereals.

No artificial flavors or colors.

Bring home the homemade taste kids love.

© 1987 General Mills, Inc.

R629 MFR COUPON | NO EXPIRATION DATE | **Save 50¢**

When you buy a 14 oz. box or larger Cinnamon Toast Crunch.

RETAILER: General Mills will reimburse you for the face value of this coupon plus 5¢ if submitted in compliance with our redemption policy. Copies available upon request. Void if copied, photocopied or replicated. Cash value 1/100 cent. Send to GM COUPON REDEMPTION, Box 100, Mpls., MN 55400 or an authorized clearing house. ONE COUPON PER PURCHASE. Good only in USA, AP's & FPO's.

16000 71450 7

Figure 5

Theme #1 **Catching the Female Eye**

My media content analysis mainly focuses on the actual content of the advertising regarding representation of food and gender. However, I also focus on the structure of the ad itself, as it is also evolving over time, reflecting certain intent of the advertiser. The rather cautious introduction of advertising is also reflected in the design of 1950s ads, where the reader is not bombarded with new products and taglines, but rather is informed through ads. The selected ads of the 1950s are often structured as an article, with a lot of text and sometimes an accompanying drawing. The text is explanatory to what a certain product entails or can do for the family. Especially new products seem to need an elaborative persuasion, reassuring housewives and mothers that it is okay to try new things. Take for example the ad in figure 1, from Sugar Information Inc., featured in the December issue of 1957, which portrays a Q&A about appetite and hunger. The ad is not from a specific sugar brand, but rather from an institution that is probably a sugar lobby. It does not brand the sugar as the product, but rather supplies information to persuade consumers to try it. Surprisingly, this ad tries to persuade the consumer to eat sugar in order to restrict his appetite and prevent him from overeating.

With the rise of photography and new advertising strategies, text made way for visuals and tag lines. This observation is in line with the results of researcher Richard W. Pollay, who made an interesting historical overview of print advertising with his article 'The Subsiding Sizzle: A Descriptive History of Print Advertising, 1900-1980' (1985). His aim was to shed light on the practice of print advertising rather than doing an analysis of the actual representations in advertising. His results give great insight into the

framework of advertising by analyzing 2000 print ads from the ten largest selling magazines in the United States from the beginning of the 20th century up until the 1970s (more or less). His motivation of selecting magazines based on circulation is similar to my own media content analysis of the magazine *Reader's Digest*. He states: "By choosing magazines with the greatest circulation, the sample captures those ads with the greatest exposure and, hence, of greatest potential cultural consequence" (Pollay 26). His analysis focuses on: information contained, values employed, character of language and art, social situations and behaviors displayed, nature of advertiser's product, and tactical intent of ad.

Pollay sees that advertising in the beginning of the 20th century consisted of straightforward messages about products to customers. This changed when ad agencies started using theory based on emotion as a tool for persuasion. The focus shifted to emotion and promotion of consumer appeal and motivation instead of on the product or its functionality. As Pollay gives in an example: "Don't sell the steak, sell the sizzle" (25).

Consequently in the 1930s and 1940s the advertising became much more about the brand than about the specific product. Advertising would portray the consumer and a specific situation, so that consumers could identify with the depicted situation. The ad did not focus on the specific characteristics of products, but rather on the experience of consumption. Advertising proved to be a dynamic field when the trend of focusing on a brand and emotion reversed to a more direct advertising strategy, similar to the one in 1920s. Hence Pollay's title 'The Subsiding Sizzle'. From the 1960s on ad agencies focused more on the specific qualities of a products. One of the results was also a decline

of depiction of actual people in the ads. From the 1960s onwards the main tactic was: “The product as hero” (29), Pollay clarifies: “[...] print ads have turned rather sharply away from this trend, with the proportion of ads showing only the product more than doubling in the 1960s and growing sharply again to become the modal depiction (49%) by the 1970s.” (33)

‘The Subsiding Sizzle’ and return to selling the steak again might have to do with the rising popularity of television and radio. Print ads seemed to function more as an informative supplement, where television and radio take over the seductive functions of advertising products. In my own analysis I also see this development where there is an increasing focus on the product's ingredients. From the 1980s on there are also less explicit gender representations and more space for just the product. However, it almost is never about just presenting the product, almost all ads situate the product with a certain feel and tone in the ad. For example, figure 2 shows an ad from a November issue of 1986 for the famous Campbell soup. The ad portrays a large amount of soup cans at the bottom to illustrate all different varieties. At the top is a big bowl of soup with a description of what is in it. There is no explicit gender representation, only an emphasis on the qualities of the soup. However it is not a 'dry' summary of the ingredients, rather it is accompanied with a sentiment of home cooking.

Pollay's analysis covers advertising up until 1970s, however I see in my analysis that this trend of focusing on the product is continuing in the new century. The product and detailed nutritionist information take up most of the ad space. For example in the ad in figure 3, from an October issue of 2008 about eggs from Egglund's Best. The ad shows a picture of a girl tasting the egg, a picture of two fried eggs, and images of the different

packed eggs. There is less sentiment than in the ad from figure 2, and overall the design of this ad is quite clean. The text does have an explicit reference to gender, and is in this case addressed to mom, but does not present its product with emotion. Rather the focus is on the inherent qualities of the eggs including a list of its nutritional content, which take up half the text.

These findings might not directly contribute to a better understanding of the relation between gender and food, but do sketch the evolution of the actual representation strategies used in advertising in general. We can see that advertising strategies seem to change overtime and can also reverse to a strategy that was popular before. In this case making the product the hero of the ad. In my media content analysis the structure of the ads went from a lot of text presented in the form of an article towards an increasing use of visuals and taglines. There is still the use of emotion in the ad in order to persuade the consumer, however not in a way that it would eliminate the promotion of specific qualities of the product. The product's qualities and nutritional content take up most of the space and are accompanied by implicit and explicit references towards gender, mostly women.


It is interesting to see that almost all food ads address women as their target audience, but because *Reader's Digest* is a general interest magazine with a 60 percent female readership and 40 percent male, both readers will encounter the advertising in the magazine. The addressing of a reader is part of a dynamics of hailing and interpellation, as mentioned briefly in my methodology chapter. The reader becomes a subject by being 'spoken' to in a certain way, often this happens quite explicitly when the ad uses words such as 'mother' and 'woman'. A male reader will not identify himself being addressed

like this and moves on, he is therefore not fixed as a subject. Women or mothers however will recognize such hailing and become a subject. Interpellation can also happen in more implicit manners, such as in the ad of figure 4 from Sun Flakes, taken from the December issue of 1986. The premise of the ad is that the cereals taste as sweet as 'normal' ones, but do not have the same amount of sugar. The accompanying text states "It's so delicious your sweet tooth will never know the difference. But the rest of you will" (Sunflakes 1986). The female face with clear feminine lips with lipstick indicates that the 'you' in the ad is meant to address women. This implicit manner of addressing a female reader can also be done on a textual level as the ad in figure 5 from a December issue of 1987 shows. Again the ad is about cereal, namely Cinnamon Toast Crunch. Here the word cinnamon is overwritten by the word 'Cinnamom' to attract a female consumer. There is also the link with a home cooking sentiment, similar to the ad in figure 2.

Theme #2 Advertising

Advertisement

Raise a Healthier Family



Research shows how you can help your children avoid many childhood ailments

A REPORT in a Medical Journal illustrates how important it is that every parent understand the vital role that protein plays during the "growing" years.

This report, based on observations of hundreds of children, indicates that even a mild protein deficiency may result in a number of childhood ailments.

Poor appetite, failure to gain weight, decreased resistance to many infections, persistent boils and styes, all were observed in children whose diets were deficient in protein. But "prompt and dramatic response" followed when these children ate meals that supplied plenty of top quality protein—the kind you get in meat.

Significant as they may be to parents, these observations were not surprising to nutritionists, for it is well known that meat provides essential nutritive values that are beneficial to everyone, at every age, and especially to growing children.

Life-giving protein. Meat is one of our richest natural sources of complete, top-quality protein—the kind your body needs *every day* to build blood and muscle, maintain resistance to an infection, nourish nerves and tissues.

B-vitamins, iron and other important minerals. Meat goes a long way toward meeting the body's requirements of these necessary nutrients.

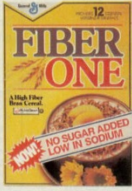
The fat in meat, too, plays a helpful role. Easily digested, and not too excessive in amount, it contributes not only to the joy of eating, but also to the energy we need.

Protein, B-vitamins, minerals, energy — meat provides them all so abundantly (and so deliciously!) that it is little wonder people often speak of it as "Meat — the Good Provider."

Published as a public service by the American Meat Institute

Figure 6

Less Sugar. Less Salt. Less Money.



Now Fiber One is low in sodium and has absolutely no added sugar. And no leading high fiber cereal has more fiber than Fiber One.

Get more of the fiber your body needs and less of the stuff it doesn't.

If you're trying to cut the sugar and salt in your diet, cut out this coupon.

\$158 MFR COUPON NO EXPIRATION DATE

Save 40¢ when you buy one package of **FIBER ONE®**

RETAILER: General Mills will reimburse you for the face value of this coupon plus 8¢ if submitted in compliance with our redemption policy. Copies available upon request. Void if copied, photocopied or regulated. Cash value 1/100 cents. Send to GM COUPON REDEMPTION, Box 900, MPLS., MN 55480 or an authorized clearinghouse.

ONE COUPON PER PURCHASE—Good only in USA, APO's & FPO's

©1988 A-53269 General Mills 5 16000 75240 0

Figure 7



ZERO CHOLESTEROL

Honest to goodness! These tempting dishes are 100% cholesterol-free when you make them with Scramblers® the delicious real egg product from Morningstar Farms.

You can use Scramblers in any recipe calling for whole eggs. Or just scramble them up. Nobody will know the difference. Scramblers taste like farm-fresh eggs

because they're made from real eggs. Scramblers have just half the fat, one-third fewer calories and zero cholesterol.

Pick up Scramblers in your grocer's frozen breakfast section. Ask us for free recipes. Scramblers, 900 Proprietors, Worthington, OH 43085.



SCRAMBLERS
The Zero Cholesterol Real Egg Product

Morningstar Farms.

Figure 8

Theme #2 **Emphasis on Absence**

My content analysis starts with advertising in the late 1950s, where advertising strategies reverse from a focus on emotion to that of making the product and its qualities the hero of the ad. In the previous section I discussed the structure and addressed consumer of the ads and in this section I will look at what changes the representation of food has undergone since the 1950s. The food that is represented in the 1950s contains basic products that in principle have not been processed, such as meat and milk. The ads have the layout of an article and often include elaborate information advertised by companies such as 'the Meat Institute' or 'Sugar Information Inc.' These products are basic, unprepared and used to make a meal from scratch. Cooking is about making family meals, with big plates on the table for everyone to share. The product is the hero and especially because of all of that it contains. For example: meat is great because of its proteins young athletes need, milk because of its calcium growing kids need etc. It is about persuading consumers to try a product because of its inherent qualities and effects on a healthy life style. For example the ad in figure 6, from the November issue of 1957, is from the American Meat Institute and it is trying to convince the reader that meat has "essential nutritive values", especially for children that are growing up. This "life-giving protein" should be consumed every day to prevent serious childhood ailments. All qualities of meat are praised, such as protein, fat, minerals, vitamins, iron and they conclude with the slogan 'Meat - the Good Provider' (American Meat Institute 1957).

In the 1980s the food products changed from basics and big plates to smaller portions, where literally individual plates are portrayed instead of a big roast as a

centerpiece on the table. There are also fewer ads concerning dinners, and more about breakfast and lunch; especially cereal advertising is popular. Also more products appear that are an aid for preparing food, such as cake-mixes or microwave goods. In the 2000s there are no ads at all about dinner meals, instead they cover mostly cereals, snacks and drinks. Not only the food itself changed, also the strategy of communication did. From the 1980s on there is less attention on the positive intrinsic qualities of the product, but a lot more on what is not in the product. It is about less fat, less salt etc. Food is linked to health and weight loss and is about improving a life style instead of providing steady sustenance.

The ads in figure 7 and 8 are both from the November issue of 1987, one is a cereal ad and the other promotes an egg substitute. Both products are illustrative of a change in food culture, where there is more focus on breakfast and snacks rather than big dinner meals. Also substitutes and cooking aids are more prevalent in this period, where both ads are examples of. The Scrambler is apparently an egg product without egg. These ads focus not so much on the inherent qualities of the product itself, but rather on what is not in there, words such as: 'Less Salt, Less Fat', 'Less Calories' and 'Less Cholesterol' (Fiber One 1987 and Scrambler 1987). Not that these elements would not be promoted in the 1950s at all, but it is a shift in focus on what a product contains to what it does not. The emphasis on the nutritional elements of food seems also to increase in popularity in today's advertising.

In short, food in advertising has also changed in representation. Where basic ingredients from the 1950s advertising would invite to cook dishes from scratch, nowadays the meal that is provided consists of drinks, snacks or a bowl of cereal. The

nutritionist approach of food also makes room for a specific awareness of what food does or can do for your body. Food is not about sustenance anymore, but rather about a tool in a struggle with for example cholesterol and weight.

Theme #3 Advertising



Good things begin to happen when they get their good hot soup

Good nutrition for a growing girl or a hungry man. For Campbell's Soups are made from good, wholesome foods. Like the 7 garden vegetables and fine beef and beef broth in Campbell's Vegetable Beef Soup. Have you had your soup today?

Once a day... every day... enjoy *Campbell's Soup*



Figure 9

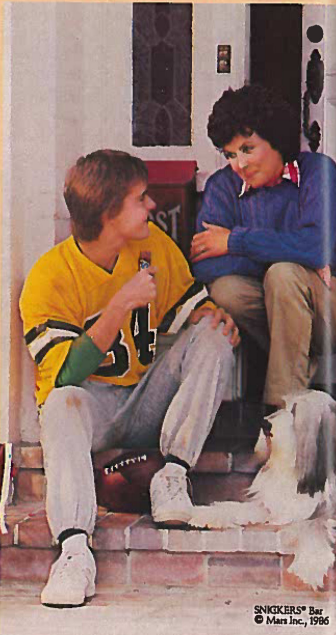

"When practice kicks off his appetite, SNICKERS® satisfies him. And me."

I want to give my quarterback a good snack. And when he comes home from practice, he has one goal. Filling up. So he grabs a SNICKERS® Bar.

The peanuts and peanut butter nougat make it a wholesome, filling snack. And, covered with caramel and milk chocolate, SNICKERS® has a taste he really loves. Then it's dated for freshness, so I know SNICKERS® has no preservatives.

That helps me know that SNICKERS® not only tackles my hero's hunger but also satisfies my need to give him something good.

"Packed with peanuts, SNICKERS really satisfies!"

SNICKERS® Bar
© Mars Inc., 1996

Figure 10

Fuel her body and spark her imagination.

Campbell's® Chicken & Stars soup. No artificial flavors. Just yummy noodles, real chicken, and wholesome carrots. Just what she needs to reach for the stars. *M'm! M'm! Good!*




© 2008 C&S Brands, LP

Figure 11

Theme #3 Advertising

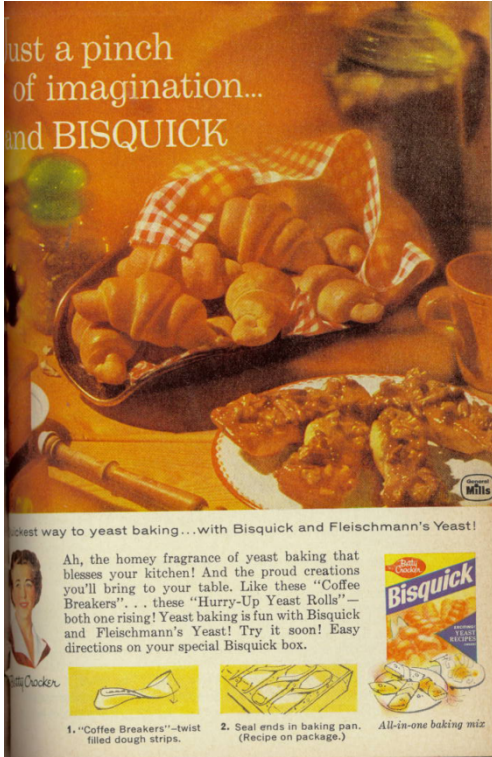


Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

Theme #3 **Cooking is Caring**

The relation between gender and food preparation is not a relation that is defined by providing just sustenance. Food is not about providing just fuel for the family; it is rather a process that defines relations (of power) towards others and defines the self. In my media content analysis of advertising I could see that food preparation was not just connected with women, but with femininity, womanhood and almost always linked to the family in these ads. Cooking seems to be the way for women to perform their gender and show love towards the family. Marjorie DeVault highlights the complexities of concepts as 'family' and 'caring work' in her book *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work* (1991), a book about the unpaid work of feeding the family. First she focuses on caring work, which is often regarded as 'natural' and a mundane activity for women. She reveals how feeding the family is a lot more than providing sustenance; it is about facilitating an emotional and safe place where all needs are met. Interestingly enough (maybe not by accident), she describes feeding the family as: "...an activity without a name, activity traditionally assigned to women, often carried out in family groups: activity that I know from experience but cannot easily label" (DeVault 4). This 'activity with no name' is probably a reference to Betty Friedan's description of the 'problem with no name'. Both have to do with an imaginary that symbolizes an ideal womanliness, which includes exterior and interior characteristics. This trope of care is also a strong feature that other researchers have picked upon.

Katherine Parkin provides great insights in contemporary advertising strategies with her book *Food is Love: Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America* (2006). Parkin does not start from motivational theories, but instead she has analyzed over 3000 ads in more than 150 issues of women's magazines of late 20th century, and she especially focused on the bond of women with food and love. She shows how advertisers remain consistent in directing food advertisements to women and in reproducing a specific relation between women and food. Parkin explores in what way advertisers construct this relation through an extensive analysis of advertisements in women's magazines which cover mainly the 1970s/1980s. She shows that advertisers have a high stake in keeping women as primary consumers and have the power to do so. She distinguishes six themes in the ways advertisers construct a gendered relation between women and food: first and foremost is the portrayal of 'food is love' by reinforcing the idea that women could perform their motherhood and womanhood by preparing meals for the family. This portrayal is constructed in imagery and accompanying text in advertising where women repeatedly are the ones preparing the foods for the family as a token of love for them. Secondly, advertisers would stimulate the purchase of convenience foods (such as canned produce) by reassuring women that they are allowed to use convenience food and still remain the perfect home cook that their family deserves. Advertisers would stimulate women in the belief of having entitlement to free time through the use of convenience food. Thirdly, advertisers suggested that cooking for women was a powerful tool to create and maintain an identity for the family. It was a way to perform creativity but also make certain dishes that would say something about the status of the family in society. The fourth strategy of advertisers was to convince women that by cooking they

could cater to men's needs. By making their husbands' favorite meals they could please them and fulfil their role as the perfect wife. The fifth appeal was that women also had a serious responsibility for the health of the husband and children. Women were solely responsible for cooking nutritious meals and preventing the family of getting sick. It was their responsibility to provide the nutrition and energy for the family so that they could perform to their best potential. And finally advertisers encouraged the connection between sex and food and encouraged women to measure up to beauty standards through (dietary) foods. Besides being the perfect wife and mother, they also needed to be the perfect woman with the right waist size and a feminine appearance.

This notion of caring through cooking has been often linked with culture as well as nature. In *A Cultural History of Food: In the Modern Age* (2012), Amy B. Trubek contributed to this discussion with a research on kitchen work from the 1920s until present and she describes how a marked divide between private and public spheres has informed discourses around kitchen work. Because of industrialization and food being produced outside the home, since in the new century, women became 'gatekeepers' instead of 'producers' (Trubek 130). This means that women were somewhat in control of the flow of goods that entered the household, specifically food. They decided what meals were produced and what products were bought. This shift reinforced the deep and broad connection of cooking to gender: women remained responsible for meals as part of their domestic obligation rather than for monetary reward. The separation in spheres regarding kitchen work made the divide between paid kitchen work in the commercial kitchen (performed mostly by men and connected with a masculine subject position) and cooks at home (performed mostly by women and connected with a feminine subject

position).

In the same volume, Alice Julier also describes how the shift from a household economy to a market economy has instigated a dramatic change in the nature and meaning of work. Because of a public sphere where work is paid, the household work with no pay has become lesser valued (Julier 149). She states that the wage labor reinforced existing hierarchies and made the domestic household concentrate on consumption, social reproduction and catering to children and husbands. “Caregiving, which included feeding the family, became a naturalized extension of women’s activities” (149).

As part of the postwar ideal family, the woman had the responsibility to care for the family and the household. She was made responsible for providing the emotional support to dependent children and wage earners (Julier 149), and she was even in charge of the health of a nation (Counihan 127). It was not just about providing meals, but making sure that every member of the family was satisfied by its looks, taste and nutrition. And even today this imagery is holding up. Sherrie Inness describes in her introduction of her book *Kitchen Culture in America: popular representations of food, gender, and race* (2001) a detailed account of a cooking process, from listing and grocery shopping until storing and cooking. She describes this routine in detail, because it is not regarded as special or unique, but simply as a woman’s responsibility. She argues that “The complex web of interrelationships among women, food and cooking must be untangled by anyone wishing to understand American culture, whether in the 1700s or today” (Inness 3). She argues that a vast amount of research confirms that domestic cooking is still regarded as women’s responsibility. It is so embedded in our culture that

it is regarded a 'natural' part of being a woman/mother. Researcher Mary Drake McFeely elaborates on this in her book *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie* (2001), where the title refers to the question a mother would ask to test if her daughter-in-law is any good. McFeely writes: "Beauty, charm, and intelligence in a wife were very fine, but a good cook was a treasure... Cooking remained as a sign that a woman took her gendered responsibilities seriously" (McFeely 1).

Caring, as being more than just providing a meal, is also evident in my own media content analysis, where women perform a certain woman/motherhood through food preparation. This relation is especially evident when it comes to the accomplishments of the children and the role a mother has to provide the right food in order for them to succeed. This trend is present in all periods of my media content analysis, starting with an example from the November issue of 1959 in figure 9. On a denotative level we see a father and daughter sitting at a table with both a big bowl of soup in front of them. They seem to be having an amusing conversation. The colors are warm and give a homely atmosphere. The accompanying text is "Good things begin to happen when they get their hot soup" (Campbell 1959). On a connotative level, the combination of the images and text function also as a signifier for a relation of care. The text implicitly refers to a mother/wife that is absent in the picture, but does have the responsibility of providing the 'good hot soup'. The 'growing girl' and 'hungry man' have the right to 'their soup', but do need someone to take care of them. The mother/wife does not just function as the provider of soup for the sake of sustenance; rather she provides the conditions so that 'good things begin to happen'. She is responsible for the girl and man to help them to fulfil their potential, by providing the right basis of a safe warm home and a good hot

soup made from wholesome ingredients.

Another example is figure 10 with the Snickers ad from October issue 1986. On a denotative level we see a young quarterback sitting on the front porch with his mother and dog. He wears his sports outfit and has an American football tucked underneath his legs. He smiles at his mother while holding a Snickers. His mother sits cozily next to him and looks at him with a mixture of love and pride. The accompanying text describes how this quarterback needs sustenance when he gets home from football, as he needs to 'fill up'. Snickers would be the perfect solution because it is 'wholesome' and has the taste he loves. The accompanying header says "When practice kicks off his appetite, Snickers satisfies him. And me" (Snickers 1986). This domestic scene is a stage for a relation of care that can be seen on a connotative level. It is about the care a mother has for her son by providing him the right snack. The text is written from the mother's perspective and illustrates her responsibility of finding her son a snack that gives him the right nutrition, but also has the taste he loves. The header illustrates how the mother is defined through fulfilling the needs of her son. She is only satisfied when he is satisfied. Her needs and appetite are nowhere to be found, she does not get a bite of a Snickers either, but still she is happy as long as her son is.

A specific relationship of care from a mother to her children can also be found in today's advertising. The example in figure 11 is from the December issue of 2008 and features a Campbell ad. On a denotative level we see a little girl and a bowl of soup. She seems to be day dreaming. A cartoon of a rocket rises from her bowl. The text written: "Fuel her body and spark her imagination" (Campbell 2008). This scene implicitly refers to a mother who needs to take care of this girl and give her the right sustenance. It is

again not about just the sustenance of wholesome foods, instead it is about providing all the 'ingredients' for this little girl to achieve whatever she wants. By giving the right 'fuel' for her body, she will be able to imagine her future and dream about what she can become, "Just what she needs to reach for the stars" (Campbell 2008). The imperative manner of the text indicates that the caring relation of the mother to her child is one of responsibility. The mother figure is absent from the image, she is only defined through her obligation to fuel another body.

The ads above are about providing the right food in order for others to be the best they can be, but the food itself is not one that requires a lot of 'cooking' such as making meals with fresh ingredients from scratch. One is a Snickers and the others are pre-prepared soup. In this way the relation of care through providing food is not so much about the actual labor of cooking, but more about a nurturing feeling that the meal is associated with. With the rise of convenience food, fewer meals are made from scratch. But, as part of the ideal womanliness and motherhood it seems important that the meal still feels home-made. This is apparent in the texts of the ad where the majority includes words such as 'wholesome', 'freshness', 'no preservatives', 'homecookin' taste' etc. These words give the assumption that a product is linked to the home, even though it has not been prepared as such. 'Home' extends far beyond the actual domestic setting and rather houses all kinds of characteristics such as, 'care', 'health', 'warm' and 'safety'. The homemade association is linked to matters of caring and love. The following ads in figures 12,13 and 14 (from November issue of 1959, October issue of 1987, and November issue of 1986) portray such linkages. These ads are all for products that do not need to be made from scratch; however, the result is designed to resemble a homemade

dish. The baking products are positioned in a picture with warm colors, rustic napkins and melting butter in a way you can almost smell the fresh baked muffins and croissants. The end result is not presented as a pre-fixed item, but rather as being processed or provided by the wife/mother. It is as though the woman needed to touch the end result to transfer her love to the family. The ads and products make sure that there is still space for women to feel that they contributed to the product, so they can claim it as part of being the perfect home cook.

In the Bisquick ad in figure 12 there is the figure of Betty Crocker, a life trade mark which I will later on discuss, that reassures women that it is okay to use cake mixes and still consider it 'homemade'. Also the soup ad wants to remind the consumer what the best soup looks like, as that would be a homemade soup. The can even states 'Home Cookin', while it is clear that these soups are made in an industrial manner. But by heating a soup that resembles homemade, the perfect home cook is let off the hook.

The themes that Parkin discusses through her findings are easily recognizable in my content analysis: women are in a bind with cooking and caring. The big absentee is the man when it comes to caring and cooking. Most remarkable is to see that a 1950s standard of a home cook is still reproduced nowadays even though the actual labor of cooking has changed. It is not about the food, but about the trope of care performed by the mother and wife. It is her responsibility to provide the right nutrition that is wholesome and ideally homemade. Labelling something 'home-made' becomes a signifier for quality, taste, health and love that takes on mythical proportions.

Theme #4 Advertising

Grape-Nuts Flakes.
The simple care and feeding of your body.

Nothing is better for your body than regular exercise. And good, simple food.

That's where Post® Grape-Nuts® Flakes comes in. So good for you because it's so simple.

You see, the flakes are made from single kernels of wheat and barley to capture all the pure, undiluted goodness of nature. So you — and your body — can enjoy one of life's simple pleasures: the light, crisp texture and extraordinary taste of Grape-Nuts Flakes.

Low in fat. No artificial preservatives. Just simple wholesomeness.

Because for people who care about their well-being, the simpler, the better.

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Figure 15

IF YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE YOUR ANTIOXIDANTS, ENJOY THEM. LIPTON TEA CAN DO THAT.®

Nothing delivers inner peace quite like a delicious, healthy cup of Lipton® Green Tea. Lipton Green Tea leaves are rich in naturally protective flavonoid antioxidants that help protect your body from harmful free radicals.

Learn more at Lipton.com

Figure 16

Jim enjoyed delicious Quaker Oatmeal every day for 30 days and his cholesterol went down. Coincidence? Nope. That's his proof. And it's backed by 25 years of clinical proof from Quaker. So as part of a heart healthy lifestyle, Quaker Oats helped Jim drop...

6
 cholesterol points

every day should be this good

3 grams of soluble fiber daily from oatmeal, in a diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol, may reduce the risk of heart disease. Quaker® Old Fashioned Oats provide 2g per serving. Quaker Instant Oatmeal and Quaker Oatmeal Squares provide 1g per serving. Your results may vary. ©2008 QOC

Figure 17

Theme #4 **Me-Time**

The trope of care as discussed before is slightly shifting in my own media content analysis towards one where it is about caring for the self rather than the family. This trend is only apparent from the 1980s on and is especially present in today's advertising. The product seems to be individualized in terms of size, but also adjusted to personal needs. More ads seem to revolve around convincing women to take time for themselves, to care for their own body and retain a more balanced life. It is interesting to witness a change from the invisible provider, towards the female figure as the center of attention. Such examples are the ads in figure 15 from an October issue of 1986 and in figure 16 from a December issue of 2009. Figure 15 displays, on a denotative level, a woman in a nature scene nearby a lake. She is stretching her leg at sunset (or sunrise) while looking in the distance with a box of cereals besides her. The setting has a serene atmosphere with warm colours and calm water. On a connotative level, the serenity and a woman stretching after exercise gives an image of caring for her own body and mind, of taking the time for herself. There is no family around her with mouths to feed, just her. In contrast to previous ads, the woman is present, not only in depiction but also in needs that need to be satisfied. Still, it is the woman who needs to perform the act of caring, even when it concerns her own body. In the accompanying text it is even emphasized as two entities: 'You see, the flakes are made of single kernels of wheat and barley to capture all the pure, undiluted goodness of nature. So you - and your body - can enjoy one of life's simple pleasures.' The woman is presented as a fragmented self of her and her body, and is allowed to just be occupied with her own needs for the moment.

In the ad in figure 16 is a woman sitting in lotus position holding a cup of tea. She is also outdoors, with a statue of Buddha in the background. Her simple white clothes give her a pure and innocent appearance. On a connotative level it is not just a woman drinking a cup of tea, it is again about a relation of care. It is about a woman taking time off from all her duties and obligations and simply relax with a cup of tea. And the care is also not just by taking a moment for herself, but by providing her body with antioxidants. The text praises the tea for delivering 'inner peace' and helping to protect the body from 'harmful free radicals'.

Although women and their needs are placed on central stage in these ads, I wonder if it is really about just caring for the body or if it is a specific caring for the female one where there is also a specific body politics at work. Similar ads that feature only women and their needs are often linked to products for weight loss or other beauty standards (such as great skin etc.) Also the ads in figure 15 and 16 have an emphasis on low fat cereals and protection against free radicals. Their bodies are represented in a specific way of being feminine, but also fragile and in need of the right nutrition.

Men also occupy some of the ads that feature an individual without a family context. These ads usually contain weight loss products or products for lowering the cholesterol. Those ads are quite different than the ones discussed here, they do not feature men's bodies in serene surroundings, but rather display them in an abstract setting with a medical and scientific subtext. Where the women's ads are more about a life style and taking care of a peace of mind, men's ads are about taking control over weight and health issues. For example a Quaker ad in figure 17 from a November issue of 2008 that displays 'Jim' in an abstract setting with no references to an outside or even domestic

context. He leans on a down facing arrow that tells his story on how he dropped '6 cholesterol points' by eating oatmeal every day for 30 days. The emphasis is on 'proof' and 'clinical research'. The subtext reassures that Jim's proof is 'backed up by 25 years of clinical proof from Quaker'. It is not about Jim's life style or him taking the time to take care of himself for once, it is about Jim taking measurements to take down his cholesterol and getting immediate results.

This trope of care for the self did not come up in previous research that analyzed ads till the 90s, which could indicate that it is a modern day advertising strategy, complicit with today's world of the 21st century. The element that is absent in these specific ads is the family context. Food is still within a relation of nurturing and care, but this time it is for the self. Albeit this does not provide an alternative or a replacement for women's role in the household, it does give women somewhat of a break.

Theme #5 Advertising

Food Digest ADVERTISEMENT

Get to Know Your Microwave

This special edition of Food Digest features microwave recipes and tips. All recipes have been tested, so you can be sure to get quick, delicious dishes. Just as ordinary ovens do, microwaves vary in the time they require to cook any specific food. With frequent use and familiarity, you'll find out your oven's time requirements. But there is a general rule: The higher your oven's wattage, the faster it cooks.

The Food Digest recipes in this section have been tested with a High Power of 600-700 watts. If your microwave has the same output, the cooking times given should be roughly correct. If your microwave's High Power is 400-500 watts, add about 15 seconds to each minute of cooking time. If your oven's High Power is 300-350 watts, add about 30 seconds per minute. These are just guidelines; check food for doneness as it cooks.

If you don't know your oven's wattage this simple test can help you determine whether it's in the 600-700, 400-500, or 300-350 range:

Fill a glass measuring cup with 8 ounces of cold tap water. Heat the water at High (100%) and note how long it takes to come to a rolling boil.


Under 3½ minutes: Wattage is about 600-700. From 3½ to 4½ minutes: Wattage is about 400-500. Over 4½ minutes: Wattage is about 300-350. Remember: Microwave settings aren't standardized. It's usage—getting to know your oven—that will help you determine exact cooking times.

Pizza Potential

There's no limit to the variations you can create with a cheese **Croissant Pastry Pizza** and a sense of adventure. Try creating your own by adding any of these enticing toppings:

fresh tomatoes	jalapeño peppers
artichoke hearts	black or Greek olives
clams	zucchini
mushrooms	anchovies
sun-dried tomatoes	sweet or hot peppers
broccoli	spinach
chickens	crumbled bacon
minced garlic	chili
eggplant	shrimp
onions	crab meat

Anyway you prepare it, **Croissant Pastry Pizza** is the best thing to happen to pizza since cheese!



Quick Cooking

This hearty entree combines conventional range-top cooking with microwave, to create an attractive main dish quickly.

Fancy Pork Chops

1 tsp. cooking oil
4 pork chops, ½-inch thick
½ tsp. dried leaf sage, crumbled
2 medium onions, sliced thinly into rings
1 large cooking apple, sliced
½ cup white wine

Brown chops in oil on both sides in Corning VISIONS® skillet on stove top. Remove from heat; pour off fat. Crumble sage over meat and top with onion slices and apples. Sprinkle with white wine, cover, microwave at High for 3 minutes then at Medium for 6 minutes or until meat is tender and no pink remains. Let dish sit for 2 minutes before serving. Serves 4.

Figure 18

Quicker way to homemade!

BISQUICK



Biscuits plain or biscuits fancy... handsome, hot, homemade!

Fragrant, hot, featherlight Bisquick biscuits... for exciting variations read our newest Bisquick cook booklet: "133 Quicker Ways to Homemade" (Luscious Pecan Rolls page 4). You'll be amazed how many mixes Bisquick can be.

Free! Cook Booklet on special Bisquick boxes, now!

Your touch turns Bisquick into any one of 14 mixes.

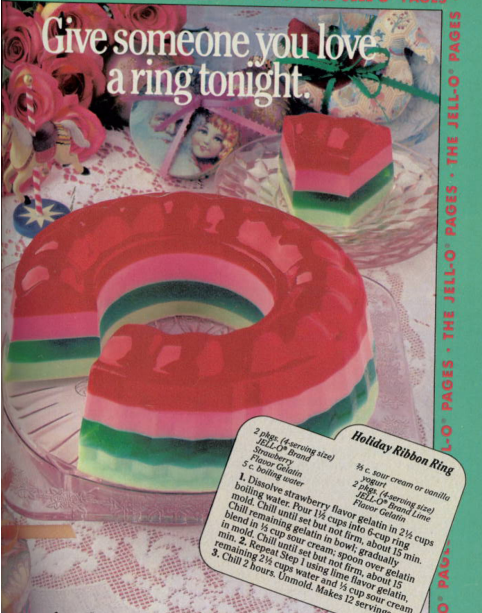


Betty Crocker

Figure 19

THE JELL-O PAGES • THE JELL-O PAGES • THE JELL-O PAGES •

Give someone you love a ring tonight.



Holiday Ribbon Ring

2 pkg. (4 serving size) JELL-O Brand Strawberry Flavor Gelatin
2 c. boiling water

1. Dissolve strawberry flavor gelatin in 2 ½ cups boiling water. Pour 1 ½ cups into 8-cup ring mold. Chill until set but not firm, about 15 min. Chill remaining gelatin in bowl, gradually blend in ½ cup sour cream; spoon over gelatin in mold. 2. Repeat Step 1 using lime flavor gelatin, remaining ½ cup water and ½ cup sour cream. 3. Chill 2 hours. Unmold. Makes 12 servings.

½ c. sour cream or vanilla yogurt
2 pkg. (4 serving size) JELL-O Brand Lemon Flavor Gelatin

Another delicious recipe from The Jell-O Pages.

© 1987 General Foods Corp. Jell-O is a registered trademark of the General Foods Corporation.

THE JELL-O PAGES • THE JELL-O PAGES • THE JELL-O PAGES •

Figure 20

Theme #5 **Guilt in a Box**

In the previous section we have seen that food preparation is connected to a trope of care, but how do technological developments in the household alter the relation between gender and cooking as part of caring? Ruth Schwartz Cowan researched the influence of household technology on the family, especially the mother, in her book *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (1983). Cowan describes how the pre-industrial family functioned as a team. Although housework is commonly defined as women's work, the daily agricultural life meant that men and women needed to work together. "The relations between the sexes were reciprocal; women assisted men in the fields, and men assisted women in the house" (38). Industrialization transformed work initially assigned to men and children with the result that men could focus on work outside the home. Generations of mothers remained in charge of cooking and caring and consequently young girls continued to be trained in domesticity, despite the fact that their brothers had gone on to other sorts of enterprise. "Industrialization, at least in its earliest phases, had in fact created the material conditions under which the doctrine of separate spheres - could take root and flourish" (67). Women remained the ones identified with home and homely virtues and were sealed in 'the best social cement' of daily domestic life (68). Women's work remained in the domestic sphere, but her activities did change. For example the work of washing clothes did change when washing machines appeared as part of industrialization, however it was still a woman's job. If chores did completely disappear, due to technological developments, they would be replaced by other ones (65). Industrialization did not transform women's

production into consumption, where she would have more leisure time; rather it increased her productivity in more fields of household work (99). When the economy changed from a household economy to a market economy, it did not entail that everything produced within the home stopped. Fewer goods for sale were produced, but meals, laundry and bringing up of children were still 'produced' at home and the women remained responsible (100).

Carole Counihan has done research on gender and power in the household and states: "Technology is linked to organizational structure and thus has implications for power" (Counihan 135). However, in household technology it mainly changes the routine of women, but not the overall distribution of power. Cowan's research sheds an interesting light on how technology and the family are interwoven, but for now I would like to zoom in on the effects of cooking technology on the trope of care.

The evolution from basic foods and dishes made from scratch towards snacks and microwave meals illustrates the technological developments that influence cooking processes. Industrialization also made certain food preparation activities less time consuming, however there are more complex politics of love and care at work. As we have seen in the previous section, home-made meals appear to be the summum of a mother's love for the family. So technological 'short-cuts' in the kitchen pose a real challenge for mother's performance of love through cooking, and in this respect also a challenge for advertisers to convince women to try new things. Through my own media content analysis, and findings in the work of Parkin (2006) and Inness (2001), I noticed that advertisers adopted a specific strategy of reassurance and guilt in order to persuade women to make use of new technologies in food preparation. When the microwave made

its appearance in the 1980s, it was carefully introduced with textual explanation of its workings. *Reader's Digest* tapped into this new phenomenon by publishing a special Microwave Food Digest (figure 18): a section with microwave recipes and a general explanation. They encouraged homemakers to familiarize themselves with their microwave, to experiment and practice. Providing simple microwave recipes to guide the homemaker in this new technology also increased.

Another strategy in advertising to convince homemakers to try new things and let new convenience products enter the household is by life trademarks, such as Betty Crocker in figure 19. A 'life trade mark' is a fictional character that consumers can identify with and through this figure are encouraged to try new things. It taps into the feeling of 'when she can do it, I can do it'. Betty Crocker was created by General Mills as an imaginary housewife's best friend that gives advice and reassurance. Laura Shapiro investigates this figure in her chapter "'I Guarantee': Betty Crocker and the Woman in the Kitchen' (Voski Avakian and Haber 2005) and states that Betty Crocker was a crucial link between old habits and new foods. As the concept of cooking changed over the years, it became more about providing a meal through heating, defrosting and opening boxes and homemakers needed reassurance with their new role. Betty Crocker helped in the re-education of housewives in using new products. She became even more real when she also featured in a radio show called 'The Betty Crocker Cooking School of the air'. This figure was constructed to give the housewife a feeling of appreciation and encouragement. Cake mixes were viewed as 'guilt in a box' (Voski Avakian and Haber 35) so "Consequently, many ads urged women to think of a cake mix not as an end in itself but as the starting point for a burst of imagination" (36).

Alice Julier also explored these advertiser's strategies in her contribution to the book *A Cultural History of Food; In the Modern Age* (Julier 2012), she noticed: “Marketing of commercial convenience foods trod a careful line between making things easier and demonstrating care” (157). Advertisers would tap into the desire to be a good homemaker and would use this anxiety as a tool for selling. Julier quotes Betty Friedan who provided the perfect summary of the conflicted area of cooking with the new technological developments:

Betty Friedan lamented the advertising contradictions exhorting women to ‘buy processed foods, but cook from scratch; be creative but follow directions precisely; accommodate all family members’ preferences, but streamline the food purchasing and preparation process; work part time, but be a full-time homemaker and do it all with little or no training. (157)

Advertisers made sure to adopt strategies that encouraged traditional gender roles and reassured women that using technological improvements would not compromise the housewife ideal of showing her love through providing food for the family. Another aspect of the housewife ideal that needed to stay intact was her 'creativity'. Making for example birthday cakes from scratch was a performance of not only love but also a way for mother to show her creativity. New technology brought pre-prepared cake mixes to the market that just needed some water or eggs and whipping. To reassure housewives to use such mixes, she was told to believe that with her own touch to the cake mix she could

produce whatever creative end result she wanted. As shown in the Bisquick ad in figure 19, the subtext emphasizes "exciting variations", "You'll be amazed how many mixes Bisquick can be" and most importantly "Your touch turns Bisquick into anyone of 14 mixes" (Bisquick 1959).

Another brand that was specifically focused on addressing women's creativity through cooking, was Jell-O. Sherrie Inness wrote about their advertising strategies in her book *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* (2001) and how they encouraged housewives to make dainty dishes that could 'wow a crowd'. The product of gelatin could hold any sort of food and could be molded in all shapes and sizes. Like the ad in figure 20 from a November issue of 1987 that displays a four-layer gelatin cake. The cake itself looks feminine, with its vibrant colors that are associated with women, and a romantic background with roses and lace. It is so shiny and polished that it becomes more than a dessert. Here it is referred to as a jewel, a ring. It is for special occasions and a way to show love.

Inness explains that Jell-O was an outlet for creativity, but also a way to make the shift from women to ladies. By cooking feminized desserts women could perform a certain womanliness associated with class, style and taste. By presenting fancy food, women could associate their family with a certain class. In this way she could construct a dish that would define the socio-economical position of the family. Although this practice affirms a certain power, Inness is skeptical about its overall empowering potential. She argues, and I agree, that the advertising strategies are not concerned by actually promoting a creativity for the sake of women's pleasure, but rather by establishing her firmly in the kitchen and stimulating her consumer behavior.

Theme #6 Advertising

Infuse every meal with fiber.

Many foods aren't naturally high in fiber, but when you mix FiberSure™ into everything your family eats and drinks, you add more fiber per serving than any other clear-mixing fiber supplement. That's one of the reasons nutritionist Tanya Zuckerbrot endorses FiberSure in her book, *The F-Factor Diet*. The other reason? She's a mom.

©2008 P&G GPCAD7164

Figure 21

INTRODUCING SWANSON® STOCK. CHRISTOPHER LEE'S JUICY SECRET TO GREAT CHICKEN.

Christopher Lee
Executive Chef
Cafe Restaurant, New York City

SWANSON PAN SAUTÉED CHICKEN WITH VEGETABLES AND HERBS

Prep: 20 minutes
Cook: 1 hour
Makes: 4 servings

1. Season ground black pepper 1 teaspoon paprika
2. tablespoons all-purpose flour
3. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock
4. 1/2 cup Swanson Lemon Juice
5. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock
6. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock
7. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock
8. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock
9. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock
10. 1/2 cup Swanson Chicken Stock

1. Heat the oven to 325°F. Combine black pepper, paprika and flour. Coat the chicken with flour mixture.
2. Heat the oil in a 12-inch oven-safe skillet over medium-high heat. Add the chicken and cook until a nice brown crust on all sides. Remove the chicken from the skillet.
3. Add the onion and potatoes to the skillet and cook for 5 minutes. Add the carrots, stock, lemon juice and chicken and heat to a boil. Return the chicken to the skillet. Cover the skillet.
4. Bake at 325°F for 20 minutes. Uncover the skillet and bake for 15 minutes or until the chicken is cooked through and the vegetables are tender. Sprinkle with the thyme.

THE SECRET IS SWANSON STOCK™
for more recipes visit SwansonStock.com

© 2008 CSC, Inc. Swanson LP

Figure 22

Betty Crocker's COOKBOOK

Introducing the brand new, wonderfully simple, up-to-the-minute Betty Crocker's Cookbook. Your mother would approve.

To your mother, Betty Crocker's Cookbook was like a best friend in the kitchen. With ready answers and proven recipes. Our new Sixth Edition can be the same to you, because it's made for the way you cook today. With over 1400 simple, easy-to-read recipes, 250 color photographs. Plus nutrition information, calorie counts, even microwave cooking instructions. All of which makes it the most complete, up-to-date cookbook ever published. As a matter of fact, your mother would probably love one.

The new Betty Crocker's Cookbook

Betty Crocker is a registered trademark of General Mills, Inc.

Figure 23

AS GOOD AS YOUR MOTHER'S. AND HER MOTHER'S. AND HER MOTHER'S. AND...

SWANSON® MOIST AND SAVORY STUFFING

Prep: 20 minutes
Bake: 30 minutes
Makes: 11 servings

2 1/2 cups Swanson Chicken Broth (Regular, Natural Goodness™ or Certified Organic)
Generous dash ground black pepper
2 stalks celery, cut into 1/2-inch pieces
1 large onion, coarsely chopped
1 pkg. 1 1/2 cup Swanson® Pantry® Herb Seasoned Stuffing

1. Heat the broth, black pepper, celery and onion in a 3-quart saucepan over medium-high heat in a stock pot. Bring to a boil and cook 5 minutes or until the vegetables are tender. Add stuffing and mix lightly.
2. Spoon the stuffing mixture into a greased 3-quart casserole dish. Cover and bake at 350°F for 30 minutes or until hot.

Trusted for generations, the secret to perfect holiday stuffing is Swanson broth.

THE SECRET IS SWANSON BROTH™
for more recipes visit SwansonBroth.com

Figure 24

Theme #6 Mom Knows Best

As discussed in previous sections the representation of the relation between women and food preparation is most often one of a mother giving care and love to the family by providing food. This caring is a responsibility that comes 'natural' for women, which would be intertwined with her nurturing capabilities. This also derives from the work of Deirdre D. Johnston and Debra H. Swanson, who explore representations of mothers in women's magazines in their article 'Undermining Mothers: A Content Analysis of the Representation of Mothers in Magazines' (2009). They do find contradictions in maternal identities of stay-at-home moms and working mothers. The 'Good Mother' would be naturally selfless, fostering a mother-child relation of dependence, and being successful in the private sphere but simultaneously a failure in the public sphere. The 'Professional Woman' on the other hand is selfish, has a mother-child relation of independence, is successful in the public sphere, but simultaneously a failure in the private one (31). So even though there is a huge variety in motherhood, advertisers seem mostly occupied with presenting an idealized stay-at-home mother.

Johnston and Swanson also revealed an interesting paradox about the 'natural' care taking responsibility of women, because even though it would come 'natural', the classic stay-at-home mom is in need of expert advice. In my own analysis I also noticed this paradox of 'natural' caring qualities and the interference of experts. The at-home mom would have a 'natural' ability to nurture, but is also in need of expert advice.

The ad in figure 21 is from an October issue of 2007 and the one in figure 22 from an October issue of 2008. Figure 21 is an interesting case of the paradox described above.

The woman depicted looks at first sight as the woman of the household, with closer inspection her name and profession are spelled on her apron, "Tanya Zuckerbrot, Nutritionist" (Fibersure 2007). The spelling out of her first name and surname gives a real identity to the picture, her profession listed, a sense of authority. The text explains how not all foods contain fibers, but by mixing Fibersure you can make this happens for your family. Tanya recommends this fiber supplement through her own cookbook 'The F-Factor Diet'. The interesting aspect here is that Tanya functions as an expert (nutritionist) who can recommend housewives on how to make sure their family gets enough fiber intake. However it is not just her profession that makes her credible, that is one reason, "The other reason? She's a mom" (Fibersure 2007). Her being a mother would be an extra reason to believe she can give a trustworthy advice, because a mother knows what best for the family. In this way it is her 'natural' nurturing abilities and her professional expert knowledge that make her the perfect advisor for housewives at home.

Figure 22 illustrates the dynamics of separate spheres where kitchen work in the public sphere is valuate differently than in the private sphere. Chefs in the public sphere are taken seriously and would master the art of cooking and have the expert knowledge, whereas the ordinary home cook is just doing her mundane job. In this case the ad portrays executive chef Christopher Lee with a reference to his restaurant in New York City, which makes it even more real than him being a fictional character. The picture shows him standing in his professional kitchen with a fancy dish in front of him. The ad reveals that Christopher has a secret, namely he uses Swanson's stock to "keep his meaty dishes juicy and enhance their 'natural' flavors" (Swanson 2008). The revelation of Christopher Lee should encourage housewives to feel reassured that it is okay to use

premade stock, since even the professional chef does it. And the persuasion is reinforced by stating "At home, he uses nothing else" (Swanson 2008). When a professional uses a premade product at home, it must be good and acceptable.

The previous examples showed the paradox of a housewife in the private sphere needing expert advice from the public sphere. This advice does not always have to come from an expert in the public sphere, it can also be an expert in the private one. The passing on of cooking knowledge from generation to generation is part of a wider oral tradition. A mother's advice might not have the same credentials as a chef in the public sphere would have, but nevertheless are valued for their experience and wisdom. An example can be found in figure 23 from an ad from November issue from 1987, which is not a typical food ad, but instead promotes a new cook book. It is a Betty Crocker cookbook that is produced in the line of Betty Crocker's products from the 1950s onwards. The advertiser taps into the idea of the oral tradition between mothers and daughters and states: "To your mother, Betty Crocker's Cookbook was like a best friend in the kitchen" (Betty Crocker Cookbook 1987). The widespread popularity of Betty Crocker made the advertiser confident enough that the mothers of this new generation would have used an earlier edition of this cookbook. This time the cookbook is modernized to meet the standards of contemporary cooking, including calorie and nutritional information and microwave instructions. Despite the modernity, the ad also reassures modern housewives that it is okay to try this, because "Your mother would approve" (Betty Crocker Cookbook 1987). The other ad in figure 24 is from a December issue of 2008 and shows a picture of three generations of women who seem to have a close bond in sharing a secret. That secret is the use of Swanson stock for their holiday

stuffing. The ad says: "As good as your mother's. And her mother's. And her mother's. And..." (Swanson 2008), implying that this secret has been running in the family forever. It gives Swanson the credibility of being used for so many generations and the approval that if mothers and grandmothers have used premade broth, it is okay to do so now as well.

Chapter 5 Discussion

In this final chapter before my conclusions I would like to give a brief overview of my findings and show what changes did and did not occur. Accordingly I want to look into the future and try to make a connection with potential strategies for change and resistance against a naturalization of gender roles. These strategies are on a personal level, but also on a theoretical one. I refer to Simone de Beauvoir and Rosi Braidotti to find helpful tools in deconstructing the 'natural' relation between women and food preparation.

Through my media content analysis of *Reader's Digest* advertising and the use of previous research, I have explored the representation of the relation between gender and food and specifically between women and food preparation. My research objective was to deconstruct a 'natural' relation between women and cooking and to see what changes did and did not occur in their representation. Furthermore, I wanted to see what the potential (advertising) strategies could be for resistance against a naturalization of gender roles that would keep women in a bind of food and love. This bind has been constructed in the 1950s as part of an idealized nuclear family and is still present today. The relation between women and food preparation continues to be portrayed as 'natural' and part of a continuing 'Feminine Mystique'. This relation consists of women doing most of the food preparation as part of a performance to show love for their family, making sure everyone

reaches their full potential and by satisfying their taste buds. This love is displayed ideally through food that is actually homemade or portrayed as such. Women play the leading part in the ads and remain the prior target for advertisers. Besides the 'Feminine Mystique', there also seems to be a 'Family Mystique' at work, where the 'home' represents a site where basic human needs are fulfilled, such as loving relations, safety, sustenance and fun. The family as such seems a sacred entity, an ideal that is resistant to change. However, there are some new dimensions in the representation of the relation between women and food preparation that offer alternative perspectives.

First of all food itself, and potentially food culture, has changed. The big family dinners with plates to share made place for individual meals that only need reheating. Advertisers shifted from emphasizing the inherent qualities of basic foods to highlighting the nutritional information of pre-prepared food. The function of food changed from being just sustenance towards having an active role in adjusting one's life style such as weight loss or lowering cholesterol. Convenience food challenged the notion of an ideal homemade meal as a true token of a woman's love for her family. Through clever advertising strategies women were convinced that they could use 'short-cuts' in the kitchen without feeling guilty and without compromising their womanliness. Besides keeping a family dynamic intact, advertisers also started to focus on women themselves from the 1980s onwards. In this new trend women are still connected with a trope of care, but this time it is a care for themselves and their bodies. The ads reflect bodies that are in need of nurturing and protection from external influences, whether this is stress or 'free radicals'. Over the years the 'naturalness' of the relation between women and food preparation is also defied by the arrival of the knowledgeable expert; a figure from the

public sphere or all-knowing mother with advice. The modern woman increasingly depends on external knowledge in choosing the right products and preparing it in a just manner.

Advertising has an element of reality to it in order for consumers to identify with it. However, there seems to be a clear discrepancy between the 'reality' of American families and its representation in advertising. Changes in gender roles regarding food preparation are hardly translated in advertising: women still do the majority of the cooking. Men in general are mostly absent in food advertising and only appear in modern day advertising on health issues. In this way the absence of men constructs a certain 'Masculine Mystique' as well, meaning that it would not be manly to be concerned with food preparation at home. Another aspect of a reality that is not quite reflected in advertising, is the changing composition of society regarding race and class. In the advertising of the new century there is a slight introduction of gender from other ethnicities, but this remains an exception.

When over viewing these findings it is comforting to know that the 'natural' relation between women and food preparation is not a fixed given. The 'ideal woman' cooking a homemade meal for her family as part of her nurturing capabilities has been challenged by the arrival of new technological developments in food and an increasing influence of external knowledge from experts. Although these developments did not open up the relation towards one with less demanding responsibilities, they did show potential for change.

Research on the power relation between gender and food has been done by Carole Counihan in *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* (1998). She investigates how the

control of food production, distribution and consumption contributes to men's and women's power and their social position. She is concerned with the power of access to and control over food, but also with personal power and how the relation between gender and food facilitate gender complementarity and mutual respect or produce gender hierarchy. She discusses how women as 'gatekeepers' wield considerable power by their control of meal planning and cooking. Counihan gives examples from different cultures where the position of providing food gives power to define the hierarchy within the family, for example by determining whom she serves first and last. Counihan further explains: "Women can also exert power over men by refusing to cook, controlling their food, or manipulating the status and meaning systems embodied in foods" (7). As every member of the family depends on food it is true that the one in charge has a certain power. However, it is a power that can only be performed within the restricted boundaries of the home. This power is relative because it is "...linked with female subordination through women's need to serve, satisfy, and defer to others, particularly husbands or boyfriends" (4). The position of power is defined through her relation and obligations to others. I agree with Counihan that this kind of power should be reviewed with suspicion, as responsibility is not the same as control. Women as main home cooks might be in charge of food purchasing and cooking, they still have to cater to someone else's needs and are expected to do so in a specific way. Women may have a certain power in providing food, but this remains within a bind of love for the family and a 'Feminine Mystique'.

The representation of the relation between women and food preparation by advertisers might be hard to influence in a direct way, as their main priority is not with an

equal distribution of power between the sexes. However, the fact that advertising needs a sense of reality in order to be successful and suitable for consumer identification, opens a window of opportunity. By focusing on personal strategies of change and resistance towards a naturalization of gender roles, the future relation of gender and food, specifically of women and food preparation, will have its effect on its representation in advertising. When reality changes substantially, advertising will need to adapt their representations accordingly.

So how can women's bond between food and love be deconstructed, how can we disconnect responsibility from cooking as part of caring and neutralize sexual connotations of household work? The 'natural' relation has been challenged by external factors (household/food technology and expert advice), but what are the personal strategies for a change from within?

It is the private sphere of women's daily experience that is seen in gender studies as an important site of knowledge production. The phrase 'The personal is political', of which the origin cannot be detected precisely⁶, but is part of second wave feminism, is the key here. The power relations that happen within the home are important as they contribute to a gender hierarchy and women's position in society in general. When we look critically at women's daily experience in the kitchen, it is not about homogenizing their experience. Neither is it about trying to reverse gender roles or eliminate women from the kitchen. Nor is it about denying women's wish to care for their family through food, instead it is about a resistance against a naturalization of this role. It is about protesting against a taken-for-granted position of the mother being at service to her

⁶ This sentence has said to be coined by Robin Morgan (1970) or Carole Hanisch (1970)

family. And this change starts by mothers: not automatically taking over the food preparation, not being occupied with everyone else's needs first. She will need to bring forward her own preferences in food, leaving responsibility to fulfill one's own potential at the level of the individual, serving herself first, or not serving at all. Seeing family members as equal partners within the household that can co-produce meals and 'the family' itself and by not regarding the chores of food preparation as mundane or 'natural' for women but as work that should be distributed evenly. Personal strategies to change the bind between women and food preparation is not about discarding the family or the home, but about regarding home as a playing field where there are more alternatives than a default modus of taking on food preparation to ensure one's love for the family.

Deconstructing the 'natural' relation between women and food preparation starts with little changes in daily lives and routines, but can also use more theoretical tools to break-up the bind. Redefining a certain womanliness (in relation to food) needs to come from within instead of being determined by outside expectations. A critical perspective on womanhood ties in with objectives from previous waves of feminism and is part of an ongoing feminist project. To supplement personal strategies, theorists can provide an entry point. I found Simone de Beauvoir and Rosi Braidotti especially helpful in formulating a critical perspective on femininity.

Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* ([1949] 2009) uncovers what 'Woman' is and how she ended up as 'the Other'. De Beauvoir is concerned with the femininity myth that she coins as 'Eternal Feminine' and is especially critical over women who comply with this myth. The 'Eternal Feminine' is similar to Friedan's 'Feminine Mystique' (1963), where a 'real woman' fulfils her social duty to perform a specific femininity that includes

many rules and values regarding her body and manners. De Beauvoir exposes this myth to raise awareness about how one 'becomes' a woman. Her way of deconstructing femininity that is often portrayed as being a natural gives great insight in its social construction. Another second wave feminist, Rosi Braidotti, shares the same question as Beauvoir in discovering how women ended up as 'the Other', in her book *Nomadic Subjects: embodiment and sexual difference in contemporary feminist theory* (2011) The main difference in approach is that Braidotti also asks the question: How to express a different, positive vision of female subjectivity? Braidotti comes from sex-difference feminism and stimulates women to specifically speak from the feminine; she wants them to represent it, in their own terms as an alternative female subject. She believes that we should transform 'femininity' into a positive subjectivity, because it is the negative connotations that lead Beauvoir and equality-minded feminism to reject it. It is about turning difference into the positive, empowering affirmation of alternative subject positions. In order to make this transformation women require conceptual and affective creativity to "...find adequate expression for the margin of difference that female feminist subjects can draw from revisiting the site of the feminine" (93). This woman-defined-feminine is not there yet, it is a blank and there is need for a strategy to bring this feminine into being. One strategy Braidotti poses, is that of Lucy Irigaray's strategic repetition, or 'mimesis':

It amounts to a collective repossession of the images and representations of Woman such as they have been coded in language, culture, science,

knowledge, and discourse and consequently internalized in the heart, mind, body, and lived experience of women. (100)

When women speak from their feminine in their own terms and repeat this mimetic exercise then there will be spaces opened up for "...alternative social practices and representations of women within this previously fixed essence" (100). But how to do this is the question posed by Braidotti: "How to recast these elements in a new socio symbolic contract is the question that lies at the core of Irigaray's feminist politics calling for a radically new form of female sexuality" (102). It is not a task of simply disregarding your sexed identity that phallogocentric institutionalization of sexuality imposed on you. Braidotti emphasizes that women are an integral part of the system that they oppose. Therefore she argues for a qualitative shift to a position that gives resistance to 'femininity' as 'socio symbolic institution' and as 'a pillar of female identity'. Braidotti builds upon Irigaray's notion of 'mimesis' and stresses that women must 'work through' the "networks of discursive definitions of 'woman'" (130), and represent being a woman as a positive and self-affirming political force. The individual woman needs to deconstruct the myth she adopts, but it is also a collective project.

Braidotti is concerned with the broader project of a new feminine subjectivity, but her critical perspective could also be helpful for an alternative relation between women and food preparation, especially in the way of reworking representations that are now in the symbolic realm of advertising. By 'working through' discursive definitions of femininity, women can open up a performative space in which one can define her own relation to food preparation and unchain herself from a bind of food and love.

Conclusion

My drive to execute research for this thesis came from a growing dissatisfaction regarding sexist expectations about how to be a woman. The specific site I explored, that of the relation between women and food preparation, is a field that I have experienced as conflicted. In discussions on feminism with people around me, I am often get criticized because – as they say - women are emancipated now and feminism no longer needed. And although much has changed in the past decades on the subject of women's rights, on an everyday basis there are still a lot of challenges. The reason to start this research master came from a frustration of not having the knowledge or the tools to battle against sexism; institutionalized sexism, sexist representations, but also everyday sexism that occurs so often in social situations. I needed to know what it means to be a woman, to learn about social constructions and to differ between my subjectivity and what is expected of me by patriarchal norms. For this research I focused the representational system of advertising to 'work through' one specific sexist imagery of a 'natural' relation between women and food preparation. As Sherrie Inness states: “Food advertising is one of the reasons traditional ideals about food preparation and consumption generally prevailed in the society” (53).

My research question, posed at the beginning of my research, was: How does the

relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation evolve, in the United States from the 1950s until now in the advertising of *Reader's Digest*? My aim was to keep a sensitivity towards what changes did and did not occur and I was especially focused on finding strategies of resistance towards a naturalization of gender roles.

The representation of the relation between gender and food, specifically between women and food preparation appeared to be constructed around an ideal resistant to change. This ideal was based on a 'Feminine Mystique', of a woman having the 'natural' responsibility for caring for her family through cooking, and on a 'Family Mystique', of a nuclear family being the site for love, safety and sustenance. Advertising in *Reader's Digest* mainly continued to represent a 1950s ideal that would firmly establish women as their main consumer and ground her in a mainstream conservative social position. However, there were some changes and challenges to this reproduction of a specific relation between women and food preparation. The first challenge was on the level of food culture and maybe of society in general, where food in ads shifted from big family dinners to share towards individualized portions that only need reheating. These individual portions catered to individual needs seems to fit perfectly in a neo-liberal United States of today where the focus has shifted towards the individual and self-actualization. Over the three periods of advertising, ads cover less basic foods (such as milk and meat) and portray more and more processed, pre-prepared food. The emphasis is increasingly on the nutritional information and especially on the absence of any harmful elements, such as fat or sugar. The trope of care for the family remains present, but also gives space to caring for oneself. Women remain the caregivers, but this time

they can focus on themselves in the absence of a family. Even though technology limited some of the drudgery in the kitchen, the ideal of a homemade meal as the perfect token of a mother's love, remains quite powerful. Pre-prepared foods are often associated with homemade cooking and ads are built around a reassurance strategy to convince women in the kitchen that there is no need to feel guilty. Finally women's natural role is challenged by the help of expert advice, from the public sphere and mother figures, who help women with their 'natural' responsibility for caring for the family through food.

This research has given insight in how the representation of the relation between women and food preparation has evolved over the years. And how the 'natural' relation, despite being challenged by technology, expert advice and a care for the self, remains a persistent imagery that idealizes a specific femininity and family where a woman's position is to be at service to others. We have seen that it is not about the labor of food preparation per se, but rather about the gesture of providing food that is most important in this 'natural' relation. Women who prepare food have become a signifier for an ideology of what 'home' and 'family' means. It houses values such as 'care', 'love' and a 'safe haven' that seems to be of mythical importance for mainstream culture of the United States.

This idealized imagery is hard to influence directly, but it is not fixed in time and space. Instead it can be challenged with personal and theoretical strategies of resistance against a naturalization of gender roles. An alternative feminine subjectivity starts with a disconnection of a default modus, women have a 'natural' responsibility of caring for the family through cooking. When we acknowledge that this 'natural' relation is constructed and restrictive for women, but also inhabits a potential for change, it should inspire women to take part in this deconstruction, to rebel on their own terms and ultimately

change reality to the extent that advertisers will need to follow.

As a scholar in gender, media and food studies I believe that media messages are power structures in themselves and I am determined to expose the political messages which lie underneath. It is not about dismissing the mainstream imagery, but 'working through' these discursive formations to find space on a practical and theoretical level for play and rebellion against a neutralization of gender roles.

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Appendix

1. Introduction Advertising *Reader's Digest* April 1955
2. Media Content Analysis Grid Late 1950s
3. Media Content Analysis Grid Late 1980s
4. Media Content Analysis Grid Late 2000s

1. Introduction Advertising *Reader's Digest* April 1955

Advertising in The Reader's Digest

EVER SINCE its first issue 34 years ago, the price of The Reader's Digest has been 25 cents a copy, \$3 a year. During that long period the cost of producing the magazine, like the cost of living for all of us, has greatly increased. To continue giving its readers the same high quality of reading matter, the Digest was faced with the inevitable choice of raising the price of the magazine or accepting a limited amount of advertising.

The Editors felt that the readers themselves should make the decision. Accordingly, polls were taken of representative subscribers in all parts of the country. The results showed that 80 percent preferred that the increased production costs be met by the sale of advertising, rather than by raising the price.

The response from advertisers reflected unusual faith in The Reader's Digest. Within two weeks after the decision was made, orders were received for 1107 pages of advertising—more than three times the number that will be published during the first year. Significantly, this total did not include any advertising of alcoholic beverages, tobacco or medical remedies. Such advertising will not in any case be accepted.

It is unnecessary to state that Digest editorial policy will remain unchanged. The same unprejudiced and uninfluenced reports of the world we live in will be found in these pages each month. Moreover, because of the additional revenue, it will now become possible for the Editors to give readers more for their money than ever before. The price of the magazine remains what it was in 1922—25 cents a copy, \$3 a year.

Readers will be interested in the discussion of advertising—good and bad—and its effect on the American economy, on Page 103.

2. Media Content Analysis Grid Late 1950s

Media Content Analysis Grid									A
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Etnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						<i>A. White</i> <i>B. Black</i> <i>C. Hispanic</i> <i>D. Other,</i>		<i>A. Upper class</i> <i>B. Working class</i> <i>C. Lower class</i> <i>D. No class indicated</i>	<i>A. Housewife</i> <i>B. Wife</i> <i>C. Mom</i> <i>D. Work force</i> <i>E. not specified</i> <i>F. other:</i>
1957	October	24	Whitman's chocolates	Male	Explicit	White	30	Middle/upper class	Husband
		209	Sunsweet prunes	Female	Explicit	White	30-40	Middle class	Mother, housewife
	November	35	American Meat Institute	Family		White		Middle/upper class	
	December	5	Whitman's chocolates	Male	Explicit	White	30	Middle/upper class	Husband/Santa claus
		18	American Meat Institute	Male and Female	Explicit	White	50+	Middle class	Husband and wife

Media Content Analysis Grid						A
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			<i>A. Breakfast</i> <i>B. Lunch</i> <i>C. Dinner</i> <i>D. Snack/Candy/shake</i> <i>E. Food type cannot be determined</i> <i>F. Other</i>	<i>A. Basics - unprepared</i> <i>B. Preparation aid</i> <i>C. pre prepared</i>	<i>A. Fun</i> <i>B. Care</i> <i>C. Creativity</i> <i>D. Guilt</i> <i>E. Extension of the self</i> <i>F. Make life easier</i> <i>G. Other</i>	<i>A. Family (with kids)</i> <i>B. Lovers (without kids)</i> <i>C. Friends</i> <i>D. Colleagues</i> <i>E. No specific setting</i> <i>F. other</i>
Whitman's chocolates	Male	Implicit	Candy	Pre prepared	Care; As a way to please the wife	No specific setting
Sunsweet prunes	Female	Implicit	Breakfast	Basics	Care	Family (with kids)
American Meat Institute	Female	Implicit	Dinner	Basics	Care	Family (with kids)
Whitman's chocolates	Male	Implicit	Candy	Pre prepared	Care; As a way to please the wife	No specific setting/Christmas
American Meat Institute	Male/Female	Implicit	Lunch/dinner	Basics	Care: for the self	Lovers: older couple in picknick setting

Media Content Analysis Grid			A
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Whitman's chocolates	Wife kisses husband as a thank you for the chocolates. Husband looks confident at reader, like he is saying "I told you so". Seems to be set up as an understanding between men in order to keep the wife satisfied.	"Something special for someone special" and with brand tagline "so fine, so famous, so sure to please".	
Sunsweet prunes	Drawings of housewife/mother worried about how she will manage her energy before noon and a drawing of a family at breakfast enjoying the prunes and feeling happy.	Article-advertisement; emphasis on breakfast and the goodness prunes can add. This in order to "You and your whole family will feel better...and look better."	
American Meat Institute	Drawing of family life, where dad takes a picture of kids and mother coming with a tray of food and drinks.	Article-advertisement; promotion of meat as an important nutritive protein for especially growing children. Relation between lack of this protein en diseases. Plays into the responsibility of parents/mother to care for family through nutritive meals	
Whitman's chocolates	Christmas version of 'original' ad. Wife seems happy and in love with husband who played santa claus and gave her the chocolates. Lipstick kiss is left behind on his cheek while he is looking in love to his wife.	Something special for someone special and with brand tagline "so fine, so famous, so sure to please".	
American Meat Institute	Drawing of older couple picknicking.	Article-advertisement; title of "Add Life to Your Years". Text is directed to 'you' with an emphasis on nutritive needs of an older body, like "life-giving protein". "Meat-the Good Provider".	

Media Content Analysis Grid						B
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			<i>A. Breakfast</i> <i>B. Lunch</i> <i>C. Dinner</i> <i>D. Snack/Candy/shake</i> <i>E. Food type cannot be determined</i> <i>F. Other</i>	<i>A. Basics - unprepared</i> <i>B. Preparation aid</i> <i>C. pre prepared</i>	<i>A. Fun</i> <i>B. Care</i> <i>C. Creativity</i> <i>D. Guilt</i> <i>E. Extension of the self</i> <i>F. Make life easier</i> <i>G. Other</i>	<i>A. Family (with kids)</i> <i>B. Lovers (without kids)</i> <i>C. Friends</i> <i>D. Colleagues</i> <i>E. No specific setting</i> <i>F. other</i>
Fresh Florida Oranges	Female	Explicit	Drink	Basics	Care: for the self	Golf locker room
Sugar Information Inc.	Not specified		Other	Basics	Care: for the self, weight control	At dinner table
Tapan	Female	Implicit	Dinner	Basics (whole chicken, cake)	Care: for the family - roast dinner. Make life easier, because of new technology of oven	Home setting
Kraft	Female	Implicit	Dinner	pre prepared	Guilt, weight loss	No specific setting
Carnation	Female	Explicit	Other	basics - cooking milk	Care, easier, and creative	Kitchen setting

Media Content Analysis Grid			B
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Fresh Florida Oranges	Doug Ford is a sportsman who won the Master's Gold sit in locker room and eats an orange next to a bag of oranges. He looks serious and almost embraces the fruit.	Article-advertisement; a health message, where health is related to people with busy lifestyles (men and women) who need oranges for extra vitamins and energy. The explanation of the picture is that Doug craves oranges after big matches, because his 'Body Wisdom' tells him he needs extra Vitamin C and quick energy. But not just Doug, also the reader who is addressed as 'mother' needs this to replenish.	
Sugar Information Inc.	Picture of businessmen at dinner table eating a meal with a satisfactory smile on his face.	Article-advertisement; dfference between appetite and hunger and how sugar helps train appetite to match body's actual needs Sugar to be faster satisfied, get energy and stimulate weight loss.	
Tapan	Three pictures of housewife wondering in the home while meal/roast is being cooked in the shiny new oven. The colors are light and have a happy 'spring-feeling'	The ad has a lot of room for visuals but also emphasizes that besides the great aesthetics of the oven, it is also automatic. It has a 'Set 'N Forget' button, so the housewife can carry on doing other things. The title "How proud you'll be of your gold ribbon." implies that this is state-of-the-art equipment which may indicate 'class and style'.	
Kraft	Picture of salad and green beans with bottle of low calorie Kraft dressing, with a tape measure. Plus a small drawing of a husband pulling on a tape-measure that is wrapped around the waist of his wife.	The ad is quite direct in its message directed to women, to watch their waist, "slim-down salads", and "trim down deliciously"	
Carnation	Drawing of two women inspecting a bowl of whipped cooking milk.	"Millionsof women are better cooks today..." implication of natural relation between women and cooking. Emphasis on being good cooks that can include use of convenience foods. Unique qualities of milk makes certain dishes faillure-proof.	

Media Content Analysis Grid									C
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Etnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						A. White B. Black C. Hispanic D. Other,		A. Upper class B. Working class C. Lower class D. No class indicated	A. Housewife B. Wife C. Mom D. Work force E. not specified F. other:
1959	October	133	Campbell	Male	Explicit	White	10	Middle class	kid
		141	Cream of Wheat	Female	Explicit	white	10	Middle class	kid
		155	Knox Gelatine	Female	Explicit	White	25-35	Middle class	Woman
		197	Sugar Information Inc	Female	Implicit	White	30	Middle class	housewife/cook
		216	Fizzies	Female	Explicit	White	30	Middle class	Woman/mother
		221	Bisquick						
	November	36	Pepsi Cola	Female	Explicit	White	25-35	Middle/upper class	Hostess
		131	Campbell	Female	Explicit	White	5	Middle class	kid
		161	Pyrex	Female	Explicit	White	30	Middle/upper class	housewife/cook

Media Content Analysis Grid						C
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			A. Breakfast B. Lunch C. Dinner D. Snack/Candy/shake E. Food type cannot be determined F. Other	A. Basics - unprepared B. Preparation aid C. pre prepared	A. Fun B. Care C. Creativity D. Guilt E. Extension of the self F. Make life easier G. Other	A. Family (with kids) B. Lovers (without kids) C. Friends D. Colleagues E. No specific setting F. other
Campbell	Female	implicit	lunch/dinner	pre prepared	Care: for the family, to	kitchen setting
Cream of Wheat	female	implicit	breakfast	pre prepared	Care for the family	outside
Knox Gelatine	Female	Explicit	Drink	Aid to prepare healthy	Care for beauty,	no specific setting
Sugar Information Inc	Female	implicit	Other	basics - sugar	Care: for family, weight-loss	Family
Fizzies	Female	explicit	Drink	Aid to prepare healthy drink	Weight-loss, make life easier. No fuss tablet for drink within sugarfree diet	no specific setting
Bisquick	Female	implicit	Biscuits/snack	Aid to prepare biscuits	Fun, creativity, make life easier	Home
Pepsi Cola	Sociables'		Drink	pre prepared	Fun	Home/party/friends
Campbell	Female	implicit	lunch/dinner	pre prepared	Care for the family	Family with kids
Pyrex	Female	implicit	Dinner		Make life easier, aesthetics of serving meals	

Media Content Analysis Grid			C
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Campbell	Picture of happy young kid who is happy with his bowl of	"Good things begin to happen when a man has his good hot soup."	
Cream of Wheat	picture of young girl in the cold	"Guard your family with 'cream of wheat!'", helathy bowl of wheat to 'insuance' of body-building iron.	
Knox Gelatine	Close-up of young woman with impecable red nails	"Now I've learned a way to have nice nails again." Responsibility for	
Sugar Information Inc	Picture of well-manicured female hand pouring a spoon of sugar on corn in a pan. Two drawing beneath of a young football player eating happily a snack and a classy lady eating dinner/dessert.	Title "why good cooks use sugar to 'season' as well as sweeten" is accompanied with the picture of female hand. The main premise is weightloss (for the lady) and energy for the kid (responsibility of mother to provide energy for him to shine.)	
Fizzies	Drawing of pretty woman with glass of Fizzies. Some references of 'Guaranteed by Good House Keeping'	Emphasis on easiness of tablet to make drink sparkling, but especially that women will have 'no weight worries'. "Imagine a delicious, sparkling drink that you can enjoy to your waistline's content."	
Bisquick	Idyllic picture of biscuits fresh from the oven with nuts, butter and honey. Drawing of Betty Crocker as spaking the accompanying tekst	Emphasis on quick and easier way of making biscuits, without compromising creativity and 'homemade' quality. "Your touch turns Bisquick into any one of 14 mixes."	
Pepsi Cola	Big picture of fashionable, pretty group of friends at a party, having pepso and fun.	"Be sociable, have a Pepsi", the reader whether male or female wants to be 'a sociable' and part of such a fun and handsome group of friends	
Campbell	Big picture of 'growing girl' and 'hungry man', eating a big bowl of (gevulde) soup	"Good things begin to happen when they get their good hot soup." Responsibility of the wife/mother (who is only missing in this classic setting) to give them good wholesome nutrition.	
Pyrex	Picture of Pyrex Golden Casserole, carafe and 'bake-serve-and-store set' with happy housewife demonstrating the convenient set. Feminine colors and design.	"Makes meals festive and easy" Feminine colors and design.	

Media Content Analysis Grid									D
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Gender					
				Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Etnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						<i>A. White</i>		<i>A. Upper class</i>	<i>A. Housewife</i>
		167	Skippy	Female	Explicit	White	40-50	Middle class	Actress
		171	Kellog's	Female	Explicit	White	30-40	Middle class	Woman/mother
		291	Sugar Information Inc	Male	Explicit	White	15-25	Middle class	quarterback
		255	Bisquick						
	December	224	Cream of Wheat	Female	Explicit	White	10	Middle class	kid

Media Content Analysis Grid						D
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			<i>A. Breakfast</i>	<i>A. Basics - unprepared</i>	<i>A. Fun</i>	<i>A. Family (with kids)</i>
Skippy	Neutral		Lunch/snack	pre prepared	Taste, indulgence	
Kellog's	Neutral		breakfast	pre prepared	Care: own health reagriding constipation	Home
Sugar Information Inc	Female	implicit	Other	basics - sugar	Care: for family, weight-loss	Lockerroom
Bisquick	Female	implicit	Biscuits/snack	Aid to prepare biscuits	Fun, creativity, make life easier	Home
Cream of Wheat	Female	implicit	breakfast	pre prepared	Care for the family	outside

Media Content Analysis Grid			D
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Skippy	Two pictures of Miss Gingold actress, first is sceptical, second happily eating skippy	Humorous description of paying an actress to try and love skippy, after second actress tried and is happily surprised by the real 'peanut' taste. "It's the only peanut butter made on purpose for grown-ups."	
Kellogg's	Picture of woman eating happily her breakfast of All bran with milk	Article-advertisement; introduction of Good Food Way of Kellogg's to break the chain of laxative habit (of 'addicts') and prevent constipation. "...gives you all the good bulk food needed each day for pleasant, youthful regularity."	
Sugar Information Inc	Picture of quarterback in lockerroom, two drawings of woman eating and a pan with a spoon of sugar.	Pictures are accompanied with first text on needed energy by eating sugar for sportsman, picture with woman is accompanied by text on how to prevent over eating, and final one about 'good cooks'	
Bisquick	Idyllic picture of biscuits fresh from the oven with nuts, butter and honey. Drawing of Betty Crocker as speaking the accompanying text	Emphasis on quick and easier way of making biscuits, without compromising creativity and 'homemade' quality. "Your touch turns Bisquick into any one of 14 mixes."	
Cream of Wheat	picture of young girl in the cold	"Guard your family with 'cream of wheat'!", healthy bowl to be "grateful for protection that extra iron gives"	

3. Media Content Analysis Grid Late 1980s

Media Content Analysis Grid									E
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Ethnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						A. White B. Black C. Hispanic D. Other,		A. Upper class B. Working class C. Lower class D. No class indicated	A. Housewife B. Wife C. Mom D. Work force E. not specified F. other:
1986	October	61	Post	Female	Explicit	White	30	D	Woman
		169	Florida Grapefruit Growers	Male	Explicit	White	50	D	Not Specific
		178	Snickers	Female	Explicit	White	40	Working class	Mom
		246	California Prune Board	Female	Implicit	White			Not Specific
	November	191	Fruit Corners	Female	Implicit				Mom
		185	Home cookin'						
		194	Betty Crocker	Female	Implicit				Mom/housewife/daughter
		229	Kraft	Male	Explicit	White	10		Kid

Media Content Analysis Grid						E
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			<i>A. Breakfast</i> <i>B. Lunch</i> <i>C. Dinner</i> <i>D. Snack/Candy/shake</i> <i>E. Food type cannot be determined</i> <i>F. Other</i>	<i>A. Basics - unprepared</i> <i>B. Preparation aid</i> <i>C. pre prepared</i>	<i>A. Fun</i> <i>B. Care</i> <i>C. Creativity</i> <i>D. Guilt</i> <i>E. Extension of the self</i> <i>F. Make life easier</i> <i>G. Other</i>	<i>A. Family (with kids)</i> <i>B. Lovers (without kids)</i> <i>C. Friends</i> <i>D. Colleagues</i> <i>E. No specific setting</i> <i>F. other</i>
Post	Female	Implicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care - self	F. Outdoors, health
Florida Grapefruit Growers	Male	Implicit	D. Drink	Pre-prepared	Care - self	No specific setting
Snickers	Female	Implicit	Snack	Pre-prepared	Care - kid	Family
California Prune Board	Female	Implicit	Fruit addition	Basics - unprepared	Care - self and family	No specific setting
Fruit Corners	Female	Implicit	Candy	Pre-prepared	Care - kid	No specific setting
Home cookin'						
Betty Crocker	Female	Explicit	Cookbook		Care, creativity, extension of the self, make life easier	Kitchen
Kraft	Female	Implicit	Lunch	Pre-prepared	Care, make life easier	No specific setting

Media Content Analysis Grid			E
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Post	Young women stretching in sport outfit, with bowl of cereal as part of her taking care of herself	Wholesome flakes for one that takes care of herself. Low in fat. 'The simpler, the better'	
Florida Grapefruit Growers	Male face en profil with closed eyes and a smile, content. Holding a glass of juice	Link with health and fitness with grapefruit juice as helping control blood pressure, give vitamin c and helps absorp iron	
Snickers	Mother and quarter-back son on front porch. She is looking lovingly to her son who is eating happily a snicker	The text is all about a mother wanting the best for her son, so he is nutriously filled and satisfied with taste. "Snickers satisfies him. And me."	
California Prune Board	Female hand holds prune and extra framework shows a plate with a fruit suggestion, using prunes	Text about your body's need for fibers and how prunes have the 4 out of 5 fibers. No explanation why the body needs it	
Fruit Corners	open bag of red candy with a table of comparison	Comparison shows kids on one side liking the candy because the are fun and tasty, on the other side the moms that believe the candy is healthy (made of real fruit) with vitamis and are happy the kids want 'what is good for them'	
Home cookin'			
Betty Crocker	Kitchentable with dishes an the cookbook on it	Presentation of cookbook 'for today's cook'with easy recipes, photographs, nutritional info, and microwave instructions. Reference to mother's approval.	
Kraft	Happy kid with baseball cap, eating a sandwich with cheese	"how could I shortchange my shortstop?", cheese is made of 5 ounces of milk per slice so would contain of calcium and protein. Remark about buying imitation cheese would equal shortchange your kid ('s sport prestation)	

Media Content Analysis Grid									F
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Ethnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						A. White B. Black C. Hispanic D. Other,		A. Upper class B. Working class C. Lower class D. No class indicated	A. Housewife B. Wife C. Mom D. Work force E. not specified F. other:
	December	62	Post	Female	Explicit	White	40	Working class	Woman
		169	Sun Flakes	Female	Explicit	White			Woman
1987	October	40	Nestle	Male	Explicit	White	8		Kid
		77	Post	Female	Explicit	White	7		Kid
	November	21	Quaker	Male	Explicit	White	50	Middle class	Husband
		70	FD microwave (14 ads)						

Media Content Analysis Grid						F
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			<i>A. Breakfast</i> <i>B. Lunch</i> <i>C. Dinner</i> <i>D. Snack/Candy/shake</i> <i>E. Food type cannot be determined</i> <i>F. Other</i>	<i>A. Basics - unprepared</i> <i>B. Preparation aid</i> <i>C. pre prepared</i>	<i>A. Fun</i> <i>B. Care</i> <i>C. Creativity</i> <i>D. Guilt</i> <i>E. Extension of the self</i> <i>F. Make life easier</i> <i>G. Other</i>	<i>A. Family (with kids)</i> <i>B. Lovers (without kids)</i> <i>C. Friends</i> <i>D. Colleagues</i> <i>E. No specific setting</i> <i>F. other</i>
Post	Female	Explicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Fun-taste, care-self	No specific setting
Sun Flakes	Female	Implicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Fun-taste, care-self	No specific setting
Nestle	Female	Implicit	Breakfast	Preparation aid	Care family, creativity, extension of the self (muffins are mothers)	Family
Post	Female	Implicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care and fun	Family
Quaker	Female	Explicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care for husband, love and make life easier	No specific setting
FD microwave (14 ads)						

Media Content Analysis Grid			F
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Post	Two 1/2 pages with first woman black/white trying a piece of cereal on spoon, second picture in color with same woman enjoying a spoonful and looking in camera. Below a picture of packages in front of an abundance of fruit and cereal	Slightly sexual lines "combinations of succulent fruits and crunchy nuts" and "Tastes so good you forget the fiber".	
Sun Flakes	Whole page of a close-up of pretty woman's mouth, with full lips, lipstick and white teeth. Smiling and holding a spoon of cereal in front of her. Below the package of cereal with a coupon	How to trick a sweet tooth', reference of 'sweet tooth' being a separate part of yourself. Delicious without sugar (sweetened with NutraSweets)."It's so delicious, your sweet tooth will never know the difference. But the rest of you will."	
Nestle	Full page of picture of muffins with some melting butter from the oven, and above a picture of three boys laughing in bed	Text in quotation marks as being an anecdote. Three boys dreaming of their future and waken out of bed by the smell of "mom's Toll House Muffins" with slogan "Nestle Toll House morsels. We make the world's warmest memories."	More focus on products without gender
Post	Full page with smiling girl with a milk moustache and a bowl of cereal in front of her.	Headline "Don't let the smiles fool you. She's learning good eating habits." with an accompanying text that explains kids want fun and a great taste and you (as a mother) want good, sound nutrition. Focus on low level of sugar.	
Quaker	Article-ad with picture of an old man looking serious with two big cans of Quaker oats.	Article headline "Another old wives tale confirmed by science: the way to a man's heart is through his stomach." Article about how this 'tale' is figuratively as well as literally. Age and heart problems due to cholesterol can be reversed by eating low saturated fat. Also promo about making it in microwave without even doing the dishes. Slogan "Quaker Oats. It's the right thing to do."	
FD microwave (14 ads)			

Media Content Analysis Grid						G
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			A. Breakfast B. Lunch C. Dinner D. Snack/Candy/ shake E. Food type cannot be determined F. Other	A. Basics - unprepared B. Preparation aid C. pre prepared	A. Fun B. Care C. Creativity D. Guilt E. Extension of the self F. Make life easier G. Other	A. Family (with kids) B. Lovers (without kids) C. Friends D. Colleagues E. No specific setting F. other
Crisco	Female	Implicit	oil	Pre-prepared	care, make life easier	No specific setting
Jell-o	Female	Implicit	dessert	Aid to prepare	Care/love, creativity	home
Cinnamon Toast crunch	Female	Explicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care, extension of the self	No specific setting
California Prune Board	Female	Implicit	Fruit addition	Basics - unprepared	Care - self and family	No specific setting
Lipton	Female/male	Implicit	Drink	Pre-prepared	fun, love	Home

Media Content Analysis Grid			G
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Crisco	Drawing of a housewife whisking in a bowl with a can of Crisco in front of her, below in color the different products	Article-ad with title "The great cooking revolution" introduction of vegetable oil and Crisco Cooking Talks, a radio show for housewives	
Jell-o	full page of colorful jell-o ring with feminine props of candy, roses and lace. Red and pink dominate	title "Give someone you love a ring tonight". This dainty dish is so delicate only a woman would try, which would imply that that 'someone' is male.	
Cinnamon Toast crunch	coupon with box of cereal	title on full page "cinnamon/mom toast crunch", focus on less sugar for kids. "bring home the homemade taste kids love."	Almost no food ads
California Prune Board	Female hand holds prune and extra framework shows a plate with a fruit suggestion, using prunes	Text about your body's need for fibers and how prunes have the 4 out of 5 fibers. No explanation why the body needs it	
Lipton	Full page of warm image of a couple sitting with two cups of lipton tea, she is pouring some honey into it. Romantic ad with man looking in love at woman	"sweet things happen when you mix a natural pair", "special times are like honey, slow and sweet." "sweet things and sweet dreams",	

4. Media Content Analysis Grid Late 2000s

Media Content Analysis Grid									H
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Ethnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						A. White B. Black C. Hispanic D. Other,		A. Upper class B. Working class C. Lower class D. No class indicated	A. Housewife B. Wife C. Mom D. Work force E. not specified F. other:
2007	October	177	Fibersure	Female	Explicit	White/hispanic	25	Middle class	Housewife/mom
	Novemver	48	Quaker	Male	Explicit	White	40	Middle class	man
	December								
2008	October	71	Egglan's best	Female	Explicit	White	5	Middle class	kid
		112	Swanson	Male	Explicit	White	40	Middle class	Chef
	November	86	Quaker	Male	Explicit	White	40	Middle class	Man
	December	9	Lipton	Female	Explicit	Latin	30	Middle class	Woman
		10	Swanson	Female	Explicit	White	20-60	Middle/upper class	Mother/daughter
		31	Silk	Female	Explicit	white/latin	30	Middle class	Woman

Media Content Analysis Grid						H
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			A. Breakfast B. Lunch C. Dinner D. Snack/Candy/ shake E. Food type cannot be determined F. Other	A. Basics - unprepared B. Preparation aid C. pre prepared	A. Fun B. Care C. Creativity D. Guilt E. Extension of the self F. Make life easier G. Other	A. Family (with kids) B. Lovers (without kids) C. Friends D. Colleagues E. No specific setting F. other
Fibersure	Female	Explicit	Supplement	Aid to prepare/pre-prepared	Care	Family
Quaker	not specific		Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care for self	No specific setting
Eggland's best	female	Explicit	Breakfast	Basics	Care for family, guilt	Family
Swanson	female	Implicit	Dinner	Aid to prepare	Creativity, make life easier	No specific setting
Quaker	No specific gender		Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care for the self	No specific setting
Lipton	female	Implicit	Drink	Pre-prepared	Care for the self	Outside
Swanson	Female	Explicit	Dinner/Broth	Aid to prepare	Care for the family, extension of the self, guilt	Family
Silk	female	Implicit	Drink	Pre-prepared	Care for the self	No specific setting

Media Content Analysis Grid			H
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Fibersure	Full page of a woman (with nutritionist printen on her aprint) in front of fridge and a can of fibersure in front of her. All product in fridge start with an 'f' as implying it is infused with fibersure	"Infuse every meal with fiber". Text says that foods aren't naturally high in fiber but you can add this. Advice comes from nutritionist, but there is another reason "she's a mom".	A lot of medicine ads with very specific pharmacist information
Quaker	picture of quaker and bowl of cereal, insert of 'real' picture of bill who took a 'smart heart challenge'	Explanation how fiber soaks up cholesterol and removes it from body + example of Bill that dropped his after 3- days of quaker	
			More ethnic minorities in articles
Eggland's best	Picture of little girl licking her fingers with a plate of eggs. And below boxes of the different kinds of eggs.	Title "the better egg" with subtext 'for your family'. Text focuses on natural relation between caring/cooking and mother. "As a mom, it's natural to want to give your family the best." and "You're the mom of the house. You know what's best. Shouldn't the only egg for your family be Eggland's Best?"	Ads with only products, based on health/nutrition, for family, no gender
Swanson	Full page of smiling chef with a pan of food in front of him	Side text reveals that this man is Christopher Lee, an actual chef from NYC that reveals his "juicy secret to great chicken", which is swanson stock. He also uses it at home.	
Quaker	Picture of Jim, a man who did a quaker challenge and dropped his cholesterol	Text about who an 'ordinary man' loses cholesterol by eating quaker. "Every day should be this good"	Little food ads, more about medicine
Lipton	Half a page with woman in lotus, enjoying her tea with on the background a buddha sculpture	"If you're going to have your antioxidants, enjoy them." Tea would bring peace and naturally antioxidants that "help protect your body from harmful free radicals."	
Swanson	Three generations laughing around a a mixing bowl, with a picture of the result (holiday stuffing) as well	"As good as your mother's. And her mother's. And her mother's. And..." Trusted for generations, the secret to perfect holiday stuffing is swanson broth. Scret is now revealed and connected with generations.	
Silk	Smiling woman with a glass of silk, below the different packages of silk	Overview of 4 weeks, switch from milk to silk, enjoyed a delicious way to care for heart, joined book club, lowered cholesterol. "For a healthier heart, take a sip forward"	

Media Content Analysis Grid									
Details				Descriptive					
Jaar	Month	Page	Brand	Central figure in ad					
				Gender	Explicit/Implicit	Ethnicity central figure	Age central figure	Class central figure	Role central figure
						A. White B. Black C. Hispanic D. Other,		A. Upper class B. Working class C. Lower class D. No class indicated	A. Housewife B. Wife C. Mom D. Work force E. not specified F. other:
		64	Campbell	Female	Explicit	Black	10	Middle class	kid
		78	Egglan's best	Female	Explicit	White	50	Middle class	Mother/wife
		95	Bagel bites	Female	Explicit	White	10	Middle class	kid
		106	Chex	Female	Explicit	White	25	Middle class	woman/host
2009	October								
	November	90	Chex	Female	Implicit				Woman/cook/host
		198	French's	No gender					
		201	Kellog	Female	Implicit				Woman
	December	173	Egglan's best	Female	Explicit	White	50	Middle class	Mother/wife

Media Content Analysis Grid						
Descriptive						
Brand	Gender		Food			
	Addressed figure		Food in ad		Relation Food and gender	
	Male/Female	Explicit/Implicit	Food Type	Relation food and preparation	Relation food & central figure	Setting relation food and central figure
			<i>A. Breakfast</i> <i>B. Lunch</i> <i>C. Dinner</i> <i>D. Snack/Candy/shake</i> <i>E. Food type cannot be determined</i> <i>F. Other</i>	<i>A. Basics - unprepared</i> <i>B. Preparation aid</i> <i>C. pre prepared</i>	<i>A. Fun</i> <i>B. Care</i> <i>C. Creativity</i> <i>D. Guilt</i> <i>E. Extension of the self</i> <i>F. Make life easier</i> <i>G. Other</i>	<i>A. Family (with kids)</i> <i>B. Lovers (without kids)</i> <i>C. Friends</i> <i>D. Colleagues</i> <i>E. No specific setting</i> <i>F. other</i>
Campbell	female	Implicit	Soup	Pre-prepared	Care for the family, extension of the self, guilt	Family
Eggland's best	female	Implicit	Breakfast	Basics	Care for the family, extension of the self	Family
Bagel bites	female	Implicit	snack	Pre-prepared	care for the family, guilt	Family
Chex	female	Implicit	snack	Pre-prepared	Care, fun, creativity, extension of the self	friends
Chex	Female	Implicit	Snack	Pre-prepared	Fun, creative, make life easier	No specific setting
French's	Female	Implicit	dinner	Pre-prepared	Make life easier, care	Family
Kellog	Female	Explicit	Breakfast	Pre-prepared	Care for the self	No specific setting
Eggland's best	female	Implicit	Breakfast	Basics	Care for the family, extension of the self	Family

Media Content Analysis Grid			
Connotative			
Brand	Imagery	Textual	Extra Comments
Campbell	Picture of girl day dreaming over a bowl of soup, with a drawing of a rocket shooting for the stars	"Fuel her body and spark her imagination". Appel on mothers responsibility . "Just what she needs to reach for the stars."	
Eggland's best	Picture of a whole family (3 generations) around a breakfast table, with the mother as a matriarch standing behind her family with her arms around them	"For my family, nothing but the best", in quotation marks to imply that the matriarch said this. Also gives overview of nutritional facts about the special eggs	
Bagel bites	Girl smiling behind two plates, one with attractive bagel bites, the other with plain pizza rolls.	One plat has zero trans fat, the other 'more than you want'. Bagel bites also has the taste kids love "So it's win-win for both of you"	
Chex	Woman putting a bowl of snacks down, she is fancy dressed and in prep for party	"wow your holiday crowd", Quick recipes for snack so "In 15 minutes, you will be out of the kitchen and enjoying the party." Less drudgery, but still wow factor	
			Diabetes, erectial
Chex	One apron with spoon, the other similar in color but now a wavy dress.	"Get out of the kitchen. Get into the party. Five recipes, Fifteen minutes, Lots of wows.	
French's	Picture of plate of food	"You want easy. They want delicious. Done!" Implying a mother and a family that is taking care of.	
Kellog	Feminine backgroudn with box of cereal	Two quotes from women about how energetic they feel. Text about how it sounds like yoga, but it is cereal and how women can share their stories online	
Eggland's best	Picture of a whole family (3 generations) around a breakfast table, with the mother as a matriarch standing behind her family with her arms around them	"For my family, nothing but the best", in quotation marks to imply that the matriarch said this. Also gives overview of nutritional facts about the special eggs	