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Très [ts]chic[k]! – The construction of the modern woman
in American tobacco advertising illustrated by the
example of *Virginia Slims*

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1. Introduction

After Europeans first came to the Caribbean in 1492, tobacco was part of the Columbian exchange. This was the birth of tobacco as a global drug, smoking as a global habit and its consequences as a global epidemic.¹ However, the history of tobacco and women is younger than one may assume at first. Until the 19th century, smoking cigarettes should remain a habit reserved for men. Nevertheless, at midcentury tobacco consumption stopped being a male-limited habit: The gradual acceptance of smoking women in society and the end of men being the only target group of smokers emerged along many socioeconomic changes and developments in twentieth century-America.² While at the beginning of the 20th century, the development of female smoking habits was a new social phenomenon, advertising and marketing were also reinvented, influenced by socioeconomic changes in the United States of the 20th century.³

The creation of advertising agencies accelerated the professionalization of the advertising industry and companies needed to be competitive.⁴ With the increasing number of female smokers and the accompanying rise in social acceptance of smoking

¹ Cf. COURTWRIGHT, D., *Forces of Habit. Drugs and the Making of the Modern World*, Cambridge 2001, 14f.

ad global epidemic: Within this context, the term *global epidemic* was not used in its basic meaning as the widespread of infectious viruses or bacteria. The term is used to describe the addiction to cigarettes as a pathological phenomenon affecting people all over the world. The term was also used by the WHO and BMC Public Health: cf. World Health Organization. WHO Report on the Global Tobacco Epidemic 2021. Addressing new and emerging products, <https://www.who.int/teams/health-promotion/tobacco-control/global-tobacco-report-2021>, 30.05.2023; OH, D., HECK, J., DRESLER, C. et al., Determinants of smoking initiation among women in five European countries: a cross-sectional survey, in: BMC Public Health, Vol. 10/1, 1–11, London 2010, 1.

² Cf. AMOS, A., HAGLUND, M., *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom": The Marketing of Cigarettes to Women*, in: Tobacco Control, Vol. 9/1, 3–8, London 2000, 3f; MALLECK, D., WARSH, C., Introduction: Consuming Modernity, in: WARSH C., MALLECK, D. (eds.), *Consuming Modernity. Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*, Vancouver 2013, 1.

³ Cf. AMOS, HAGLUND, *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom"*, 3f.

⁴ Cf. LUDWIG, C., *Amerikanische Herausforderungen. Deutsche Großunternehmen in den USA nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt 2016, 160f.; GRIES, R., ILGEN, V., SCHINDELBECK, D., *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen. Werbung und Mentalitätsgeschichte*, Darmstadt 1995, 4f.

women, a previously untapped market niche opened up.⁵ Thus, the tobacco industry also recognized that smoking had become established as a cross-gender habit, and tobacco companies finally began to adapt their advertising concepts, beginning in the late 1920s: From now on, advertising should no longer be designed to appeal exclusively to males, but should also perceive women as a target group of buyers.⁶ During the 60s, the advertising business found itself in a difficult economic situation: In times of oversaturated markets and criticism of consumption and capitalism, advertising that was solely interested in selling the product no longer seemed appropriate. Companies and marketing agencies had to come up with new strategies.⁷ From now on, advertisements should rather focus on the individual possibly buying the product and his or her needs than on the product itself. The aim of advertising no longer was to exclusively sell products, but also self-images.⁸ At the very time, tobacco company Philip Morris was developing a new product to compete with American Tobacco Company's slim cigarette *Silva Thins*. Due to the results of marketing surveys, both advertising agency Leo Burnett and PM recognized the potential of Virginia Slims to fill a market niche. Starting in 1968, Philip Morris launched their first campaign *You've come a long way, Baby!*, using key themes such as feminism, independence, and freedom to market Virginia Slims explicitly to women.⁹ When in the early 90s, sales of Virginia Slims began to decline for the first time in the brand's history and feminism no longer held appeal as a core issue, Philip Morris had to find a new way to exploit female's needs and concerns in cigarette advertising.¹⁰

⁵ Cf. ROSE, G., *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, London 2001, 21; AMOS, HAGLUND, *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom"*, 4.

⁶ Cf. ELLIOT, R., *Women and Smoking since 1890*, New York/London 2011, 60.

⁷ Cf. DIETZ, B., *Revolte in der Warenwelt. Konsumkritik, nonkonformistische Ästhetik und der Paradigmenwechsel in der westdeutschen Werbeindustrie von 1986-86*, 145-171, in: MOSER, K., EDER, F., KELLER, M. (eds.), *Grenzenlose Werbung. Zwischen Konsum und Audiovision*, Volume 2, Berlin/Boston 2020, 146.

⁸ Cf. DIETZ, B., *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 155f.; LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 192.

⁹ Cf. TOLL, B., LING, P., *The Virginia Slims identity crisis: An inside look at tobacco industry marketing to women*, in: *Tobacco Control*, Vol. 14/3, 172-180, 2005, 173; 177.

¹⁰ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174; 177.

ad exploiting: Here, the term *exploiting* is not meant in its basic meaning as in e.g., the exploitation of labor, but more in a figurative sense: Needs, preferences or concerns of females are exploited by

1.1. State-of-the-Art, problem statement und research questions

A lot of research has already been done on the topic of women and smoking, especially by Amanda Amos, Margaretha Haglund, Penny Tinkler and Rosemary Elliot.¹¹ Prior research has shown, that the relationship between cigarettes and females has always been linked to social, economic, aesthetic, and political ideas, norms, and values, creating meanings and shaping female identities.¹² It is also clear, that the tobacco industry took advantage of women's needs and concerns to target women with specific marketing strategies and advertising.¹³ Beginning in the 1920s, advertisements connected cigarettes to a modern lifestyle and image.¹⁴ Though smoking cigarettes was one of the many puzzle pieces to achieve a change in gender roles and emancipatory aims, tobacco companies soon acknowledged the potential of female-targeted cigarette advertising and, later in the century, even produced cigarettes specially designed for women.¹⁵ In the case of Virginia Slims, a lot of papers were published during the 2000s, mainly discussing the history and marketing of the brand, development of sales figures and exposing Virginia Slims' brand image as an exploitation of women by implementing ideas of emancipation and independence in

tobacco companies for cigarette advertising in order to achieve higher sales figures. Amanda Amos and Margaretha Haglund argue about exploiting feministic ideas in cigarette advertising too: cf. AMOS, HAGLUND, *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom"*, 4.

¹¹ To get an impression of published works of the authors mentioned above, take a look at the bibliography.

¹² The following works provide a view from the sociocultural perspective of the history of women and smoking: Cf. ELLIOT, *Women and Smoking since 1890*; AMOS, HAGLUND, *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom"*.

¹³ Cf. LIGHT, T., *Consumer Culture and the Medicalization of Women's Roles in Canada, 1919-1930*, in: WARSH C., MALLECK, D. (eds.), *Consuming Modernity. Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*, Vancouver 2013, 35.

¹⁴ Cf. COOK, S., *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes: Canadian Women, Smoking, and Visual Culture 1880-2000*, Montreal 2012, 58.

¹⁵ Cf. COOK, *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes*, 175; MOODIE, C., FORD, A., MACKINTOSH, A., PURVES, R., *Are all cigarettes just the same? Female's perceptions of slim, coloured, aromatized and capsuled cigarettes*, in: *Health Education Research*, Vol. 30/1, 1-12, 2015, 1f.

their advertisements.¹⁶ Toll and Ling were the first to address the changing brand image in their paper *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*.¹⁷

Nonetheless, most of this prior research took place on the basis of textual sources and only little work has been done to investigate on a visual and graphic level how images of women were constructed in tobacco advertisements. As Toll and Ling argue, most of the published works refer only to the feminist main theme of Virginia Slims.¹⁸ Therefore, this master's thesis will focus on visual sources to elaborate, how the image of the modern woman is displayed in Virginia Slims advertisements between 1970 and the early 90s and how these displays of women correspond to the socioeconomic zeitgeist during the research period. What this thesis adds, is the analysis of print advertisements in both a quantitative and a qualitative approach to investigate how the construct of the modern woman changed in the course of redefining the brand image of Virginia Slims and how this development can relate to socioeconomic changes in the United States during the research period.

Nevertheless, this master's thesis does not aim to expose, how many sexualized displays of women can be found in tobacco advertisements. That has been documented in many papers anyway, especially on the Virginia Slims brand.¹⁹ Rather, the goal is to illustrate how constructing the modern woman in Virginia Slims advertisements has evolved over the research period, how it is connected to socioeconomic changes and how values, connected with the women in Virginia slim print advertisements, were differently displayed. This master's thesis will also not claim to use advertisements as valid sources to show reflections of actual social circumstances, but more try to establish connections between Virginia Slims advertising plans as well as conveyed self-images and values and the social, economic,

¹⁶ DEWHIRST et al., ANDERSON et al. as well as TOLL and LING have done research on the brand Virginia Slims. See bibliography for published papers.

¹⁷ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis: An inside look at tobacco industry marketing to women*, in: *Tobacco Control*, Vol. 14/3, 172–180, 2005.

¹⁸ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 178.

¹⁹ Cf. ZURSTIEGE, G., *Zwischen Kritik und Faszination. Was wir beobachten, wenn wir die Werbung beobachten, wie sie die Gesellschaft beobachtet*, Köln 2005, 10.

and political circumstances of that time-period, led by the following research questions:²⁰

- What kind of woman is constructed and displayed in the print advertisements of Virginia Slims?
- How did the image of the modern woman change over the research period?
- How are the displays of the modern woman in Virginia Slims print advertisements connected to socioeconomic changes and to what extent do the displays reflect the *zeitgeist* of the respective historical context?

1.2. Method

For the theoretical groundwork of this master's thesis from chapter 2 to 5, the research work is based on the method of qualitative content analysis. The research process included both secondary and primary literature. For the qualitative content analysis of secondary literature, monographies, and collections regarding the concerning topics of the chapters mentioned above were analyzed.²¹ Furthermore, documents provided by the Truth Tobacco Initiative brought insights on internal marketing plans and consumer research on the brand Virginia Slims and showed useful to explore the brand history, too.²² This archive collects about 14 million documents such as advertising and marketing plans of different tobacco companies.²³ Text passages which appeared relevant for this master's thesis were selected and arranged in categoric systems for the theoretical elaboration before combining them in the concerning chapters.²⁴

²⁰ Cf. MARCHAND, R., Advertising the American Dream. Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940, Berkeley 1986, xviif.

²¹ Cf. MAYRING, P., Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken, Weinheim/Basel ¹²2010, 24.

²² See chapter 5: Virginia Slims: Rise and fall of a female cigarette

²³ Cf. UCSF Library. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/>, 28.03.2023.

²⁴ Cf. MAYRING, P., Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Anleitung zu qualitativem Denken, Weinheim/Beltz ⁶2016, 116–120.

Chapter 6 includes the print advertisement analysis of selected Virginia Slims advertisements of the concerning research period. To analyze on a visual level, how the construct of the modern woman changed between 1970 and the early 90s, this master's thesis will choose both qualitative and quantitative approaches.²⁵ 72 selected print advertisements of Virginia Slims were selected from the SRITA collection (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising), an online database for tobacco advertising, which was initiated by Robert Jackler in 2007. This project combines interdisciplinary research work of both faculty staff and students from Stanford University and collects nearly 60 000 tobacco advertisements with over 21 000 cigarette advertisements.²⁵ Concerning the quantitative content analysis, the coding process of Virginia Slims print advertisements will be guided by categories specially designed for the study of this master's thesis.²⁶ The qualitative analysis will use the method of semiotics on selected print advertisements to investigate symbols creating the image of the modern woman in Virginia Slims advertisements. A more detailed theoretical explanation of both approaches will follow in chapter 6. The results of both analytical methods used in the empirical part of this master's thesis will be combined and discussed in a conclusive interpretation.²⁷

1.3. Thesis structure

Chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5 will include the theoretical groundwork for the print adverts analysis. Chapter 2 aims to answer, what advertising is, how it qualifies itself as a research object in multiple scientific fields and which problems may occur when working with advertisements. Chapter 3 elaborates the historical, political, and economic changes during the research period and especially, how they affected the advertising industry. The brand history of Virginia Slims during the research period will be the subject of chapter 4. Chapter 5 discusses the relation between smoking,

²⁵ Cf. SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). About SRITA, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/about/>, 28.03.2023.

²⁶ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 57-59.

²⁷ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 75-77.

advertising and self-images, the creation of the *modern girl* in the 1920s and how this image lived on in other cigarette advertisements throughout the 20th century.

The empirical exploration of the modern woman in print advertisement of Virginia Slims will be the subject of chapter 6. It will contain both methods, their results and the discussion and interpretation on them. The last chapter aims to provide a summary, combining old and new perspectives on this topic.

2. Advertisements as research objects

Since print advertisements will be the main source in this master's thesis, first, it makes sense to discuss on a theoretical basis, how advertisements can serve as investigation objects in different fields, which problems may occur when working with print advertisements why it can nevertheless be useful to work with adverts in academic settings.

2.1. Advertising and advertisements: a short introduction

Talking about advertisements, we first tend to think about commercials on television, print media on billboards or promotional codes on social media. Though specialized advertising methods are a modern phenomenon constantly developing since the turn of the century, barkers at medieval markets many centuries ago would also count as promoters engaging in advertising.²⁸ As a cultural practice to influence others, the history of advertising exists as long as people began marketing both orally and in writing and can be traced back about six thousand years ago.²⁹ Today, advertisements are part of our daily life and it is not farfetched that a lot of different scientific fields place their research work onto the subject of advertising.³⁰ Hence, finding a proper

²⁸ Cf. SIEGERT, G., BRECHEIS, D., Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft. Eine kommunikationswissenschaftliche Einführung, Wiesbaden ³2017, 71.

²⁹ Cf. ZURSTIEGE, Zwischen Kritik und Faszination, 51; SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft, 71.

³⁰ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen, 3.

definition of both advertising and advertisements is more difficult than it may appear at first.

With the beginning of the 20th century, scientific disciplines began to show interest in advertising. Especially on the subject of marketing a lot of research has been done.³¹ During the 20s and 30s, the establishment of advertising agencies and the professionalization of advertising techniques not only revolutionized the business of advertising but shaped the entire Western world in socio-economic terms.³² Therefore, changes in advertising are always part of economic and social processes in history.³³ Besides its connotation with social and economic history, the topic of advertising can be a matter of interest from other scientific perspectives, too. With the emergence of new advertising techniques also comes the professionalization of advertising concepts and designs, especially in the 1960s. During the Creative Revolution, adverts were no longer designed to offer detailed information about *something someone* is trying to promote to *someone else*, but rather to quickly catch the attention of the target audience. In order to achieve this functional change, ad directors and graphic designers needed to reinvent ad designs (which will be discussed later in chapter 3).³⁴ Considering this perspective, advertising and advertisements are not only part of economic and social history but can be interesting for studies in the field of art history, too.³⁵

Advertisements are designed to influence the spectator to buy *something*. Therefore, advertising is always a communication process between three participants: the creator, the advert, and the spectator.³⁶ Before diving a little bit deeper into the topic,

³¹ Cf. BORCHERS, N., *Werbekommunikation. Entwurf einer kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Theorie der Werbung*, Wiesbaden 2014, 31.

³² Cf. LUDWIG, C., *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 161; GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 4f.

³³ Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 73.

³⁴ Cf. WARLAUMONT, H., *Advertising in the 60s. Turncoats, Traditionalists, and Waste Makers in America's Turbulent Decade*, Westport 2001, 175.

³⁵ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 6f.

³⁶ Cf. VON ROSENSTIEL, L., *Psychologie der Werbung*, Rosenheim 1973, 47, as cited in: SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 9f.

it is necessary to talk about the semantical difference between advertising and advertisements. While advertising means the practice of *someone* promoting *something*, advertisements are the medium conveying the promotion of *something*. For now, I prefer to use the vague terms *someone* and *something*, since both the promoter and the object of promotion can appear in various forms, as the following paragraphs aim to explicate. The same can be said in other words from the perspective of Lasswell's communication model: "Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?"³⁷ As it is crucial to focus on how ad designs and looks communicate with their audience, it makes sense to focus on the signs of adverts as well. Semiotic methods can be helpful to investigate through which codes advertisements speak to their audience and how these codes create meanings, both depending on social conditions and eventually enforcing them.³⁸ The examples mentioned above are just a few of many scientific fields, which will sometimes overlap, when one attempts to work with advertisements. Advertising and advertisements are ubiquitous, and their omnipresence as well as their multidisciplinary nature make them a complex subject to work within academic settings.³⁹

A definition of advertising must consider the complex interdisciplinarity of the subject itself. Many scholars already tried to solve this Herculean task and there is one thing where they sing from the same hymn sheet: Advertising's aim is always about purposely – but not formally coerced – influencing others' ideas, knowledges, opinions or behaviors.⁴⁰ The Cambridge Dictionary offers three definitions for the word advertising:

³⁷ LASSWELL, H., *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society*, in: BRYSON, L. (ed.), *The Communication of Ideas*, New York 1948, 37–52, as cited in: SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 9.

³⁸ Cf. ROSE, *Visual Methodologies*, 69; 97; 99.

³⁹ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 4; BORCHERS, *Werbekommunikation*, 31; WILLIAMSON, J., *Decoding Advertisements. Ideology and Meanings in Advertising*, London ⁸1991, 11.

⁴⁰ Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 8; 10.

Definition 1: "the business of trying to persuade people to buy products or services:"

Definition 2: "a business that makes things known generally or in public, esp. in order to sell them:"

Definition 3: "the activity of making products or services known about and persuading people to buy them:"⁴¹

These three definitions share both similarities and differences with each other but can serve as a starting point for further discussion on advertising. Let us get back to our priorly mentioned *someone*, *something*, and *someone else*. *Someone* tries to promote *something* to *another one*. As all three definitions agree, this *something* could either be a product e.g. cigarettes or a service e.g. a hair-cut. What they do not tell us, is, *who* is trying to market a product or service. This *someone* could be a company simply selling material things for profit, but also non-profit-organizations like Amnesty International can be understood as *someone*, where *something* could be an abonnement to support human rights, or Jehovah's Witnesses knocking door to door on their religious mission.⁴² But not only products or services can serve as the main object of advertising: Humans are also often in the center of adverts, when the advert is promoting e.g. celebrities are hired to promote the product or service like popular supermodels and actresses do for L'Oreal.⁴³ Especially popular brands do not try to sell a particular product. Instead, they advertise the brand itself, or more the trust in the brand as well as values, emotions, or lifestyles. Thus, the advertised *something* could be a product, a company, a service, a brand, a person, or idea.⁴⁴

To promote the mentioned above *somethings* to *someone else*, *someone* needs a medium. Mass medias like commercials on television, radio or social media, flyers, or print advertisements – which will be the objects of investigation in this master's thesis

⁴¹ Cambridge Dictionary. Advertising, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/advertising>, 24.2.2023.

⁴² Cf. Amnesty International. Spenden, <https://www.amnesty.at/mitmachen/spenden/>, 24.03.2023; BORCHERS, Werbekommunikation, 16.

⁴³ Cf. L'Oreal. The L'Oreal „Dream Team“ Ambassadors, <https://www.lorealparisusa.com/our-brand-ambassadors>, 24.03.2023.

⁴⁴ Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft, 11.

– are the most common ways to advertise *something*. Other medias could be packaging, advertising characters such as comic heroes and heroines in the form of toys, or gifts and freebies like pens or candies for political promotions. Hence, the creators of advertisements such as graphic artists, advertising writers and ad designers must also be seen as *someones*, since they are – besides the client who orders an advertisement – responsible for transporting ideas and social concepts through their designs, too.⁴⁵ The following graph demonstrates the role allocation adapted to the topic of this master's thesis:



Definition 3 seems to sum it up best due to its open general wording without speaking from the perspective of any scientific discipline. Instead, Siegert and Brecheis speak of advertising as a communication process, since their work was written in communication studies.⁴⁶ Furthermore, definition 3 uses the term *activity* instead of business (see definition 1 and 2), semantically concluding that advertising always happens actively and on purpose.⁴⁷ In contrast can be argued, that buzz marketing can also be accounted as a form of advertising, though the one, who offers *something*, did not promote it himself or herself. Nevertheless, the mediator was promoting *something* purposely.⁴⁸ For these reasons, the noun *activity* qualifies for a definition of advertising. Definition 1 and 2 use the verb *to buy*, which limits the act of

⁴⁵ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 8; SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 11.

⁴⁶ Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 12.

⁴⁷ Cf. PLANK, J., SCHOPF, J., *Theorien und Redaktion von Werbung*, in: GADRINGER, S., KWETON, S., TRAPPEL, J., VIETH, T. (eds.), *Journalismus und Werbung, Kommerzielle Grenzen der redaktionellen Autonomie*, Wiesbaden 2012, 14.

⁴⁸ Cf. BORCHERS, *Werbekommunikation*, 306f.

advertising to a profit-driven aim. However, the act of advertising goes beyond monetary motives, considering that political advertising such as promoting protests against climate change do not pursue profit.⁴⁹ Summing up all discussed definitions and problems, advertising is:

The activity of making material and non-material matters known generally or in public for profit-oriented or non-profit achievements, aiming in persuading people to buy them or engage in them.

2.2. Possible ways to use advertisements as research objects in this context

The previous subchapter mainly discussed the complex nature of advertising due to its interdisciplinarity. Nevertheless, advertisements and the issue of advertising are research subjects in a lot of different academic works such as the *Journal of Advertising Research* or the *Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising*.⁵⁰ When advertising is such a complex thing in its basic theory, why then work with it anyway? The following paragraphs aim to explain why it is yet worth it to research in the field of advertising and will offer a few options on how to use advertisements as research subjects.

First, according to Zurstiege, a theoretical approach to advertising is helpful, since advertising is mostly worked with in a practical way, but hence is blind for its own problems. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss advertising on a theoretical basis, not to solve the problems but to understand them and make the practice aware of those problems.⁵¹ Advertising was not acknowledged as a matter of scientific research until the 1960s, when Adorno and Horkheimer voiced criticism towards advertising from a sociological, philosophical, and psychological perspective. Until the 1980s,

⁴⁹ Cf. Fridays for Future Austria. Weltweiter Klimastreik am 3.3., <https://fridaysforfuture.at/events/weltweiter-klimastreik-am-3-3>, 24.03.2023.

⁵⁰ Cf. Journal of Advertising Research, <https://www.journalofadvertisingresearch.com/>, 24.03.2023; Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising, <https://www.aaasite.org/journal-of-current-issues-and-research-in-advertising>, 24.03.2023.

⁵¹ Cf. ZURSTIEGE, Zwischen Kritik und Faszination, 11f.

advertising had problems to justify its reputation and subsequently was no matter of scientific research.⁵² When advertising gradually got acknowledged in the scientific field during the 70s and 80s, the Alltagsgeschichte of the people became a popular subject of interest.⁵³ This one's not far to seek, as Williamson argues in her monography *Decoding Advertisements*: Since advertisements occur everywhere in different ways, they are one of the most crucial factors forming and reflecting our daily life due to their omnipresence and hold an influencing power nobody can escape from.⁵⁴ For this reason alone, according to Zurstiege, advertising in general qualifies as a subject for sociological and semantic studies.⁵⁵

Our daily life depends on social, political, and economic influences. Since advertisements surround everyone everywhere, this makes them to dynamic investigation objects related to those influences, too.⁵⁶ Between the 70s and 90s, tobacco advertising was handled differently to today's practices: While today, advertisements promoting smoking are almost globally banned, this was not the case back then. Just how advertisements of food or cosmetics surround us everywhere, printing tobacco advertisements in magazines, and showing them on poster stands or on television was a common thing. Thus, advertising plans of tobacco products during the 70s and 80s were completely different to creating smoking advertisements in the 21st century.⁵⁷

Studies from a sociological perspective provide the possibility to investigate how visual and verbal displays in advertisements are connected with changes in mentalities, values, lifestyles, or gender roles.⁵⁸ For a sociological approach on these topics, methods from other scientific disciplines will also be necessary to draw conclusions on advertisements and their relationship with mentalities, lifestyles and

⁵² Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft, 6f.

⁵³ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen, 15.

⁵⁴ Cf. WILLIAMSON, Decoding Advertisements, 11.

⁵⁵ Cf. ZURSTIEGE, Zwischen Kritik und Faszination, 10.

⁵⁶ Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft, 8.

⁵⁷ Cf. O'KEEFE, A., POLLAY, R., Deadly Targeting of Women in Promoting Cigarettes, in: Journal of the American Medical Womens Association, Vol. 51/1–2, 67–69, 1996, 67.

⁵⁸ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen, 15.

values. Linguistics and semiotics are concerned with the use of different display techniques as well as symbols and codes in advertising, that may transfer social codes such as traditions, stereotypes, clichés, or sayings.⁵⁹ One approach could be to examine how advertising relates to socioeconomical or political changes at a given point in time, but it makes also sense to look for those changes over a particular research period and examine, how advertising changed over time.⁶⁰ A chart consisting of several categories established in advance, provides the opportunity to view the source from different perspectives, to connect the dots between these perspectives, and to identify characteristic similarities or differences in patterns of meaning and significance.⁶¹ During the 1940s for example, Theodor Geiger used advertisements as a research medium to elaborate how advertising, changes in values and the capitalistic system are linked to each other, as Siegert and Brecheis state.⁶² For his work *Advertising Gender*, Erving Goffman analyzed over 500 advertisements to observe gender displays and demonstrate how these displays can draw an inference on society. The next subchapter will elaborate why one must be careful with this allegation.⁶³

2.3. Problems with advertisements as research objects

While there are many reasons why it makes sense to work with adverts in the academic context, it is also crucial to become aware of potential problems that may occur during the research process. As Gries, Ilgen and Schindelbeck argue, though advertisements offer a wide range of possibilities for academic works, paradoxically, too less studies are published in the academic field due to the topic's complexity, while too many popular scientists try to prove historicity of advertisements in an unprofessional

⁵⁹ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 16; SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 5.

⁶⁰ Cf. ZURSTIEGE, *Zwischen Kritik und Faszination*, 16.

⁶¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 48f.

⁶² Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 5.

⁶³ Cf. ZURSTIEGE, *Zwischen Kritik und Faszination*, 10; GOFFMAN, E., *Gender Advertisements*, New York 1979.

way.⁶⁴ Especially elaborating how the collective consciousness of societies is formed by advertising messages can be hard to prove.⁶⁵ Before working with adverts, it is necessary to know, that there is no true or false in advertisements. As Rose claims, images – and in this case adverts – can be seen from different perspectives at different points in time. Hence, as well as perspectives may change, the meanings conveyed by the images may change, too. There will be no true or false in interpreting the meanings of images, but the right method will help – and is of course necessary – to justify these interpretations.⁶⁶

Time and time again, scholars claim that advertisements could serve as sources to learn more about people's daily life and that the produced displays and images could represent social and economic conditions and developments during a specific period.⁶⁷ Even today, social, and historical scientists claim that advertisement reflect the social circumstances of its audience. Zurstiege writes about the examination of advertising as „[...] eine aussagekräftige Methode der Gesellschaftsbeobachtung [...]“ concerning the patterns of meaning and interpretation it conveys.⁶⁸ One could now assume that advertising is a mirror of society. But is it actually?

Roland Marchand explains, he first thought advertisements could serve as mirrors of society, which would show a reflection of the social, political, or economic, circumstances of the concerning era. But it did not take long to debunk this assumption, when another hypothesis came into Marchand's mind: What if the displays in adverts were not actually a direct reflection of social contexts?⁶⁹ A crucial problem adverts bring with themselves is that they do not show all social realities, Marchand argued. For example, social groups such as people from the working class would nearly never appear in advertisements between 1920 and 1930.⁷⁰ Another

⁶⁴ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 3.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁶ Cf. ROSE, *Visual Methodologies*, 2.

⁶⁷ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 2f.

⁶⁸ ZURSTIEGE, *Zwischen Kritik und Faszination*, 11.

⁶⁹ Cf. MARCHAND, *Advertising the American Dream*, xvf.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, xvii.

argument he brought was, that no valid scientific research could be done due to the lack of sources such as insights of merchandising strategies to make conclusions about the relationship between adverts and their social contexts. He quickly acknowledged, that no method or investigation could prove either the actual impact of advertisements on society's values, mentalities, or meanings nor if adverts convey actual social reflections.⁷¹ Since other factors would also play a role in the increase of sales numbers, even the most detailed elaborations of advertisements cannot prove the actual impact advertising messages would have on their audience.⁷² Hence, Marchand used the term *Zerrspiegel* to describe how advertisements work in his opinion: A *Zerrspiegel* distorts the images it reflects. Though advertisements do not reflect the actual social realities they are bedded in, they can convey distorted reflections of its social context. Hence, instead of seeing advertisements as mirrors that reflect actual social realities it makes more sense to speak of them as *Zerrspiegels*. Even the term *Zerrspiegel*, he additionally stresses, fails to cover all functions of advertisements, since a *Zerrspiegel* reflects the whole image in a distorted way, whereas advertisements show distorted reflections of selected images.⁷³

Based on Marchand's argumentation, Corinna Ludwig shares a similar opinion on the discussed topic. She adds that Marchand's point is not only valid for the advertising of the 1920s and 1930s but can be applied to the medium of advertisements in general. Even today, adverts do not represent real social, political or economic conditions, but more "[...] eine idealisierte Wunschwelt [...]".⁷⁴ On the transfer of meaning between images and their viewers, Gillian Rose states: "But this rendering, even by photographs, is never innocent. These images are never transparent windows to the world."⁷⁵ Gries, Ilgen and Schildenbeck position themselves among Marchand and Ludwig. They stress it is problematic to draw conclusions about advertising

⁷¹ Cf. MARCHAND, *Advertising the American Dream*, xviii.

⁷² Cf. *Ibid.*, xvi.

⁷³ Cf. *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁷⁴ LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 166.

⁷⁵ ROSE, *Visual Methodologies*, 6.

displays and their immediate relation to the prevailing historical, social, or economic circumstances. Even if advertisements can project dispositions about mentalities, ideas, and desires, it is necessary to keep in mind that these are always represented in a coded or, as Marchand calls it, distorted way. When working with advertisements, they argue, one must always keep in mind that they are also art projects, merging the ideas of both the client and the audience.⁷⁶

3. Advertising in the United States from the late 60s until the early 90s

During the 2nd half of the 20th century, no other country put as much financial effort in the advertising business as the United States did.⁷⁷ In 1962, advertising expenditure was twice as high as in Western European countries: The United States spent 2,75 percent of its GDP⁷⁸, while West Germany spent only 1,08 percent.⁷⁹ The previous chapter already explained that advertising as a dynamic research object will always depend on social, historical, political, and economical processes, inducing a change in advertising business from mid-century, too.⁸⁰ When Virginia Slims was first launched in 1968, the American advertising industry was undergoing a transformation that would redefine advertising. The economic situation in the 1960s and 1970s presented the advertising industry with new challenges. Oversaturated markets led to changes on the part of the industry as well as the buyer base: Since products no longer sold themselves, it was necessary for companies to come up with new strategies to retain existing consumers and attract new ones.⁸¹ Consequently, oversaturated markets led to a change from a demand society to a consumer society.⁸² All economic sectors have had to compete for dominance in both the domestic and the international

⁷⁶ Cf. GRIES, ILGEN, SCHINDELBECK, *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen*, 17.

⁷⁷ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157.

⁷⁸ GDP: acronym for gross domestic product. Gross Domestic Product; cf. Cambridge Dictionary. GDP, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/gdp>, 30.03.2023.

⁷⁹ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157; 160.

⁸⁰ Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 8; LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 166.

⁸¹ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 146; LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157.

⁸² Cf. SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 4.

markets.⁸³ Additionally, the oil crisis of 1973/74, pushing energy prices up fourfold, posed another threat to the economic situation, not only in the US but throughout the world.⁸⁴

However, there were not only economic challenges, but also social developments triggering a change in the business of advertising. Employees and trade unions demanded more modern working conditions.⁸⁵ During the 1970s, anti-capitalistic agitations such as socialist, labor or environmental movements came up.⁸⁶ Additionally, the advertising industry had to face accusations of manipulating the masses and using advertisements as propaganda instruments.⁸⁷ Especially from the ranks of students criticism was voiced towards the advertising industry and capitalism in general during the 60s, particularly influenced by the works of Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno.⁸⁸ On the one hand, people expressed their displeasure with the conformity of mass society and the manipulation through consumer advertising, while on the other hand, they were also interested in gender issues and gender equality.⁸⁹ Due to this amalgam of social criticism of mass consumption and the desperate economic situation, the advertising industry had to find new ways to save itself.⁹⁰

3.1. The Creative Revolution: A new age of advertising

As markets became saturated, companies focused less on production, but instead put their focus on marketing and promoting the product and the brand itself.⁹¹ The emergence of advertising agencies in the 1920s and 1930s not only accelerated the

⁸³ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 146.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 152; INGLEHART, R., *Kultureller Umbruch. Wertwandel in der westlichen Welt*, Frankfurt/New York 1989, 105; SCHULMAN, B., *The Seventies. The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics*, New York 2001, 125.

⁸⁵ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 145f.

⁸⁶ Cf. HARVEY, D., *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, Oxford 2010, 78.

⁸⁷ Cf. KOPPETSCH, C., *Die Werbebranche im Wandel. Zur Neujustierung von Ökonomie und Kultur im neuen Kapitalismus*, in: HELLMANN, K., SCHRAGE, D. (eds.), *Konsum der Werbung. Zur Produktion und Rezeption von Sinn in der kommerziellen Kultur*, Wiesbaden 2004, 147.

⁸⁸ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 149.

⁸⁹ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 197; DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 147; 149.

⁹⁰ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 152.

⁹¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 146f.

professionalization of the advertising industry, but also increased the pressure of competition. With the help of advertising agencies, companies were no longer responsible for advertising themselves, but placed the development of marketing concepts into the hands of professionals. To remain competitive, advertising agencies began to research the needs of the target audience and their reactions to the brand and advertising. With the help of research methods from the field of social sciences, advertising agencies aimed to develop customized advertising concepts for the target group.⁹²

Alongside the structural and economic changes in advertising, a revolution in marketing was also necessary to meet the changing needs of buyer groups. Though the scientific approach to advertising since the 1920s helped the advertising business to give it a more serious image, it was paradoxically the phenomenon of the Creative Revolution that was to help the advertising industry survive in the market during the crisis period.⁹³ The Creative Revolution can be seen as the advertising industry's reaction to the political, economic, and social challenges of the 1960s. While suffering not only from the economic crisis but also from the anti-capitalist headwind from society, the advertising branch acknowledged the potential of protest movements: Now, the aim was to seize these central demands such as *maturity*, *emancipation*, and *democratization* of the consumer-critical protest movement and beat the 68ers with their own weapons.⁹⁴ Although the persuasive character of advertising was not lost, the modern approach of advertising was now to focus on zeitgeisty themes and concomitant values to directly address the individual instead of using the conservative style of argumentative product advertising.⁹⁵

⁹² Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 160f.

⁹³ Cf. O'BARR, W., *Creativity in Advertising*, in: *Advertising and Society Review*, Vol. 11/4, New York 2011, <https://muse-jhu-edu.uaccess.univie.ac.at/pub/21/article/227198>, 31.03.2023; LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 195.

⁹⁴ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 149.

⁹⁵ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 195f.

Now, advertising started to focus on factors that influence the life of the target audience, such as values.⁹⁶ Values are abstract sociocultural orientation systems of ideals that can concern both the individual and the whole society, with each influencing the other. This concept can affect the views, choices, and actions of the individual or a society.⁹⁷ Hence, values are crucial factors influencing lifestyles and identities.⁹⁸ Advertising was designed around key words *quality, individuality, and self-expression*: Where once the product was the main focus, advertisers now focused on these key themes to convey authentic lifestyle ideas in line with the zeitgeist. This new form of advertising required a more creative and artsy approach to conception, rhetoric, and visual design.⁹⁹

The most important thing about advertisements in the 60s was not the effort that was put in creating them, but the effect they had on their target audience. Advertisements were created to quickly cast a spell over their recipients that no one can escape.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, ad creators abstained from manipulative rhetoric. The consensus of less information and more suggestion.¹⁰¹ Readers should be left to decide for themselves whether to buy the product instead of being persuaded with rhetoric of persuasion.¹⁰² Previous advertisements contained detailed copies, explaining the reasons why the audience should choose a specific product.¹⁰³ Now, there were short and crisp slogans or even just headlines, „[...] allowing the reader to imagine the benefits and reasons

⁹⁶ Cf. BAU, A., Wertewandel – Werbewandel? Zum Verhältnis von Zeitgeist und Werbung. Anpassung ökonomischer und politischer Werbung an veränderte soziokulturelle Orientierungsgrößen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Frankfurt 1995, 22.

⁹⁷ Cf. BAU, Wertewandel – Werbewandel?, 26.

⁹⁸ Cf. MÜLLER-SCHNEIDER, T., Wertewandel, Erlebnisorientierung und Lebensstile. Eine gesellschaftsgeschichtliche und modernisierungstheoretische Interpretation, in: OESTERDIEKHOF, G., JEGELKA, N. (eds.), Werte und Wertewandel in westlichen Gesellschaften. Resultate und Perspektiven der Sozialwissenschaften, Opladen 2001, 92.

⁹⁹ Cf. KOPPESCH, Die Werbebranche im Wandel, 151f.; DIETZ, Revolte in der Warenwelt, 155f.; LUDWIG, Amerikanische Herausforderungen, 192.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 175; LUDWIG, Amerikanische Herausforderungen, 157.

¹⁰¹ Cf. DIETZ, Revolte in der Warenwelt, 156; 150; FRANKE, J., Werbung und Konzentration. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der Werbung, Berlin 1970, 4.

¹⁰² Cf. WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 184.

¹⁰³ Cf. BRANDT, A., The Cigarette Century. The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America, New York 2007, 70.

why they should buy the product rather being told.”¹⁰⁴ Readers should associate their needs, such as pleasure, clarity or cleanness with the product.¹⁰⁵ Since the texts were now so short, ad creators had to provide their slogans with humorous punchlines or cryptic metaphors that the reader himself had to decode between the lines.¹⁰⁶ The witty direct address as well as the use of the second person, engaging the audience



Figure 1: Print advertisement from the *You've come a long way, baby* campaign (1970)

in a conversation with the advert, was supposed to make the reader feel even more addressed and sophisticated enough to decode the message. Mostly, it was about validating the reader in his hedonistic lifestyle, as it was the zeitgeist of the 60s.¹⁰⁷ This can also be observed well on the matter of Virginia Slims. The slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* speaks directly to the addressee and suggests to her that now, after a long period of social, political, and economic oppression, her time has come to treat herself to a cigarette (see Figure 1). This example demonstrates how advertisers

use the need for emancipation – one of the most important themes of the '68 movement – for monetary purposes to subliminally associate the brand with this idea and wants, creating possibilities of identification between the brand and the recipient.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 177; 179.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Ibid., 179.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ibid., 179; 176.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. KOPPETSCH, Die Werbebranche im Wandel, 154; WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 184.

¹⁰⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 4, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-4>, 06.06.2023; DIETZ, Revolte in der Warenwelt, 149.

Not only the advertising texts became more minimalist during the Creative Revolution, but also the visual design. The use of different camera angles, the use of photos in advertising and the use of colors accompanied by a crisp slogan created this modern unusual psychedelic ad style of the 60s. Simplicity was the key word in every way.¹⁰⁹ Even „unused space became a design element [...]“.¹¹⁰ The product or the brand logo moved into the background.¹¹¹ The visual changes can also be well exemplified by Virginia Slims' example.

The *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* campaign made it its signature design to depict a pseudo-historical image at the top of the print ad in the form of a photograph that can be attributed to the period around the turn of the century. The photographs feature different scenes, each depicting a situation in which women are not treated as equals. These photographs are accompanied by short sentences with humorous punchlines. In the advert, the full-body portrait of the



Figure 2: Print advertisement from the *You've come a long way, baby* campaign (1974)

model, which takes up the largest space, fulfills several functions: On the one hand, as a modern woman, she is meant to contrast with the women in the photographs; on the other hand, she is meant to emphasize individuality as a key element and to enable the viewer to identify with her. The rest of the poster is limited to a simple cream-colored background. The product, namely the cigarette, is either held in the hand,

¹⁰⁹ Cf. WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 175f.

¹¹⁰ WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 179.

¹¹¹ Cf. Ibid., 180.

but often even only shown in the cigarette pack and given a smaller space than the person herself. Neither the cigarette nor the act of smoking are part of the slogan.¹¹² The Creative Revolution is an interplay of several paradoxes that helped the advertising industry out of the crisis: On the one hand, the professionalization of advertising through advertising agencies and market research formed the rational aspect, while ad design moved away from rational long persuasive texts towards a more creative and more artsy approach, centered on simplicity. Visuals became more important than advertising copy.¹¹³ Advertising experts saw the audience's reactions as more emotional than rational. Nevertheless, it was important that the catchy slogans interact with the minimalist ad design to convey key concerns directly to the reader.¹¹⁴ More and more advertising agencies decided to take up this new style of advertising, which continued in the 70s.¹¹⁵ Warlaumont summarizes the goal of the new advertising style as follows: „At the core of this type of advertising was the association rather than the message.“¹¹⁶ For advertising, it was no longer the product that was paramount, but presenting an image and ideal of life that corresponded to the spirit of the times.¹¹⁷

3.2. About Hippies, Yuppies and the Gen X: Value change and advertising

As already mentioned in the previous subchapter, the advertising industry has had to respond to the changes and developments in its environment. In order to adapt marketing and design concepts to the target as accurately as possible, companies had

¹¹² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 56, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-56>, 06.06.2023.

¹¹³ Cf. WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 179f.

¹¹⁴ Cf. LUDWIG, Amerikanische Herausforderungen, 166.

¹¹⁵ Cf. O'BARR, W., Creativity in Advertising, in: Advertising and Society Review, Vol. 11/4, New York 2011, <https://muse-jhu-edu.uaccess.univie.ac.at/pub/21/article/227198>, 31.03.2023.

¹¹⁶ WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 176.

¹¹⁷ Cf. BORSCHIED, P., WISCHERMANN, C. (eds.), Bilderwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Festschrift für Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Stuttgart 1995, 7; DIETZ, Revolte in der Warenwelt, 157.

to deal with the audience's immediate environment, hence their cultural context.¹¹⁸ Though the advertising branch had to face anti-consumption critique, speaking of advertising as a propaganda tool to influence the masses, the advertising business was not quite as predictable as it was claimed: In addition to the saturated markets and the criticism of mass consumption, the professionalization of advertising was also a reason why the pressure to keep up with the competition became greater and greater and the advertising industry faced uncertainty.¹¹⁹ Seeing the youth as the key target group, was important for advertising agencies in the 1960s to stay on track.¹²⁰ With the help of methods from the field of social sciences, advertising agencies engaged in research of demographics as well as psychographics and tried to elicit the individual needs, ideas and lifestyles, hence the consumer identity of the target group. Now, the goal of advertising was to connect these individual ideas with their brand and product to create a compatible brand image.¹²¹

During the 1960s and 1970s, people observed a shift from traditional and conservative bourgeois values such as duty and virtue to postmaterialist values such as emancipation, environmental protection, the general idea of freedom or self-development, and a less conservative work ethic, valuing leisure time. These value attitudes were summarized as the overall product of a change from conservative bourgeois values to post-materialistic values.¹²² Thus, it was the state of the art to use elements of '68, which encompassed not only the student movement and protests but more broadly the entire alternative culture movement of the early '70s – also

¹¹⁸ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 158.

¹¹⁹ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 152.

¹²⁰ Cf. LEISS, W., KLINE, S., SUT, J., BOTTERILL, J., ASQUITH, K. (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, New York/London 42018, 201.

¹²¹ Cf. FRANK, T., *Conquest of Cool. Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*, Chicago/London 1997, 23; LÜDTKE, H., *Lebensstile als Rahmen von Konsum. Eine generalisierte Form des demonstrativen Verbrauchs*, in: HELLMANN, K., SCHRAGE, D. (eds.), *Konsum der Werbung. Zur Produktion und Rezeption von Sinn in der kommerziellen Kultur*, Wiesbaden 2004, 110.

¹²² Cf. HEINEMANN, I., *American Family Values and Social Change: Gab es den Wertewandel in den USA?*, in: DIETZ, B., NEUMAIER, C., RÖDDER, A. (eds.), *Gab es den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren*, München 2014, 271; DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 153; MÜLLER-SCHNEIDER, *Wertewandel, Erlebnisorientierung und Lebensstile*, 98.

known as hippie culture – to promote the brand.¹²³ Bernhard Dietz argues, that, according to Alfred Marquardt, the use of hippie culture in advertising paradoxically helped the advertising business to become respectable again. On the one hand, the use of youth culture was reflected in visual design details such as the color spectrum or clothing (see figure 1), but on the other hand, it was also reflected in the language of advertising texts, in which words such as *groovy* were embedded.¹²⁴ Projecting an image shaped by contemporary values, in order to ensure identification with the brand was a crucial element in modern marketing, as we will see in the further course of the master's thesis using the example of Virginia Slims.¹²⁵

The fact that companies were now making money by addressing individual needs and values and presenting ideals of life, makes it no surprise that the advertising industry was once again under criticism and found itself in a difficult situation.¹²⁶ Voices from the part of society critical of consumption and capitalism still did not make it easy for the advertising business. Oversaturated markets until the 1980s and the oil crisis at the beginning of the 1970s were responsible for the development of the global economic crisis. The difficult economic situation also led to a change in values: Criticism of consumption, self-development and ideas of freedom no longer had a place in times of economic uncertainty. Instead, more traditional conservative values such as a sense of duty, zeal for work and achievement were appropriate.¹²⁷ In the United States, the term *yuppie* was coined around 1983/1984 from the acronym for young urban professional. Like the hippie of the 1960s and 1970s, this subculture became a stereotype of the young, materialistic meritocracy.¹²⁸ From the beginning of the 1980s, another trend reversal occurred, both in economic and social terms, with

¹²³ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 147.

¹²⁴ Cf. MARQUARDT, A., *Glück zu verkaufen. Werbung, Leistung, Konsum*, Ravensburg 1974, 80–84, as cited in: DIETZ, B., *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 150f.

¹²⁵ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157.

¹²⁶ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 156f.

¹²⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, 154, 160f.; KOPPETSCH, *Die Werbebranche im Wandel*, 150.

¹²⁸ Cf. LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 205; DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 164.

which the advertising industry also had to deal.¹²⁹ According to Dietz, marketing agencies recognized that conservative and conformist values and needs, culminating in the middle of the 80s, appealed especially to the young part of the population. Not so much the values of escapism, student protests, the liberal idea of freedom and the thirst for adventure, but above all materialism and achievement excited the young society.¹³⁰ The yuppie lifestyle also differed in terms of attitude toward work, which Leiss calls the “[...] steely work ethic [...]”, and was seen as a key social moment to lift the U.S out of its economic malaise.¹³¹ The image of a superwoman, achieving career, family and aesthetic goals represented the ideal female yuppie.¹³²

Such changes in values take place several times over the 20th century in combination with socioeconomic changes in the Western world. Ronald Inglehart observed two phenomena that seem related with or even responsible for the value changes in the second half of the 20th century. First, never has there been a time where Western countries lived in such abundance, wealth, and prosperity as it was since the post-war-period after World War II. Second, during the 70s, no Western nation faced military invasion since almost three decades. These two phenomena considered Inglehart as crucial for the development of value concepts.¹³³ In contrast to the position Dietz takes on the value change during the 80s, Thomas Müller-Schneider argues that the abandonment of the adventure- and experience-oriented values due to alleged shortage are a common myth and that the value of indulgence was still present in Western nations, if not even more than during the 70s.¹³⁴ However, seen from both perspectives the enjoyment of life as a top value priority in Western societies makes sense: In times of financial and social security, people are able to care for psychosocial values such as indulgence, but for the case of critical economic times, it makes sense

¹²⁹ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 154.

¹³⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 163; INGLEHART, *Kultureller Umbruch*, 106.

¹³¹ LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 206.

¹³² Cf. *Ibid.*, 233.

¹³³ Cf. INGLEHART, R., *The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, Princeton 1977, 21f.

¹³⁴ Cf. MÜLLER-SCHNEIDER, *Wertewandel, Erlebnisorientierung und Lebensstile*, 99.

too, that people maybe are not always able to make enjoyable life choices and activities, but indulge in them even more, when they can.¹³⁵ This would also correspond to Inglehart's socialization hypothesis: The values of a particular generation manifest themselves during adolescence. After adolescence, the likelihood of changing one's values decreases. This would mean that people who grew up in the late 1960s or early 1970s would also later, in times of economic uncertainty, make life decisions that correspond to the values they developed in their youth. He calls this phenomenon *cohort effects*. However, not only cohort effects but also period effects (shortage hypothesis: material values become more important in times of economic insecurities; post-material values become more important in socioeconomic stable situations) in combination lead to a change of values in a society and value changes must be seen as influenced by all of the effects mentioned above.¹³⁶

Bernhard Dietz uses the example of the Camel cigarette brand in his article to demonstrate how the Camel Man turned from hippie to the ideal male yuppie.¹³⁷ The main character of Camel was the adventurous and casual Camel Man, who embraced the alternative idea of escapism.¹³⁸ To increase the identification with the Camel Man and the Camel brand, even a separate Camel clothing collection was launched.¹³⁹ However, at the beginning of the 1980s, the situation changed.¹⁴⁰ The casual Camel Man, who conveyed post-materialistic values, was no longer at the ravages of time and had to be replaced by a new Camel Man, appearing better dressed and more performance- and consumer-oriented. The Camel Man no longer owned holey shoes: He chose ironed shirts, a Rolex on the wrist of his hand and a modern boat instead.¹⁴¹ With the ending 80s and the beginning 90s, marketers discovered a new lifestyle emerging among the generation of young people. Born and raised in the age of

¹³⁵ Cf. INGLEHART, *The Silent Revolution*, 22.

¹³⁶ Cf. INGLEHART, *Kultureller Umbruch*, 106; 111.

¹³⁷ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 158.

¹³⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 160.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 161f.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 161f.; 163.

modern computer technologies and new types of media, the Generation X – named after a British band and popularized by novelist Douglas Coupland – turned out to be the new social object of investigation for advertising agencies.¹⁴² Marketing agents quickly acknowledged, that the strategical approach targeting the yuppies could not be applied to the critical-thinking Gen X. With the help of surveys, marketers came to the result that Gen Xers, while repeatedly labeled as a grumpy, hopeless, mainstream-defying generation were ahead of all generations before in being digital natives.¹⁴³ The Gen X turned out to be synonymous to a savvy, critical and cynic consumer, making it hard for advertisers to find a clever way, where they could reach this critical target group.¹⁴⁴ According to Goldman and Papson, Gen-X-targeting advertisements did not only aim to reflect prevailing values or picture-perfect life scenes, but also fears and real life situations, using humor and irony to catch up with the cynicism of the Gen Xers.¹⁴⁵ They also aimed to reach the need for affiliation by showing group activities. Different post-modern styles were used for advertising design.¹⁴⁶ Intertwined with the socioeconomic events of the concerning period, three big changes in values appear from the 60s until the early 90s.¹⁴⁷ While the hippies ruled the 60s and 70s and the 80s had their yuppies, the early 90s had the Gen X.¹⁴⁸ The Camel Man illustrates the implementation and propagation of the yuppie lifestyle during the 80s, but also – in place of other advertisements – the interaction of the state of the art of the advertising world with sociocultural values.¹⁴⁹ On the other side, all three youth subcultures demonstrate how the business of advertising depended on investigating the values of the target audience in order to create custom-made

¹⁴² Cf. ROSEN, B., *Masks and Mirrors: Generation X and the Chameleon Personality*, Westport 2001, 2; LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 209f.

¹⁴³ Cf. LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 209f.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 210f.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. GOLDMAN, R., PAPSON, S., *Advertising in the Age of Hypersignification: Theory, Culture & Society*, London 1994, 23–53, as cited in: LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 211.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 367.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 166.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 347.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 158.

advertising concepts and to remain competitive. This connection between changing values and product advertising will also become relevant to the construction of modern images of women in Virginia Slims advertisements.

4. Selling cigarettes and self-images with the construct of the *modern woman*

Since the beginning of female-targeted advertising, not only products have been sold, but also images of female identities.¹⁵⁰ A recurring image is that of the *modern woman* across different cigarette brands. Hence, it is no coincidence, that Toll and Ling as well as Dewhirst et al. name the attribute *modern* in connection with the image Virginia Slims aims to convey in order to target women.¹⁵¹ This chapter will elaborate the origin of the construct of the *modern woman*, what exactly can be understood by the terms *modern* and *woman*, which attributes and characteristics are associated with her, and why it was necessary to create self-images and possibilities of identification in the first place.

4.1. Establishing self-images through smoking and advertising

When cigarette advertising began to be created for women in the 1920s, the tobacco companies had to adapt to the new target group with its own needs, since smoking had long been accepted only among men and advertising had previously been designed mainly for men.¹⁵² As chapter 3 already discussed, lifestyles of individuals and groups are always influenced by the predominant values in a particular cultural setting.¹⁵³ With the professionalization of the advertising industry it was soon recognized that self-identification of the consumer with the product is more important

¹⁵⁰ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 178.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ibid., 172; DEWHIRST, T., WONKYONG, B., FONG, G., LING, P., Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product: The Marketing of Virginia Slims Cigarettes in the United States, Japan, and Korea, in: Journal of Business Ethics, Vol.139/1, 161–181, 2015, 165.

¹⁵² Cf. ELLIOT, Women and smoking since 1890, 60.

¹⁵³ Cf. MÜLLER-SCHNEIDER, Wertewandel, Erlebnisorientierung und Lebensstile, 92.

than marketing strategies only focusing on the product characteristics.¹⁵⁴ Especially in the tobacco industry, it was important to stand out from the competition by giving the brand and product a certain image, as we will see later on the example of Virginia Slims, since the cigarettes of all tobacco companies differ little from each other in taste and appearance.¹⁵⁵ In the case of cigarettes, as a product they are not considered essential to life, as is the case with basic foodstuffs or housing, but on the contrary are rather harmful to health and do not represent any positive added value for the purchasing individual in the long term. Thus, tobacco advertising has the task of giving this product a meaning, to give the target group a reason to purchase this product.¹⁵⁶ Hence, there is kind of a satisfying nature of social needs inherent in cigarettes that does not satisfy vital needs, but social ones as “[...] communicators of meanings.”¹⁵⁷

The previous chapters have already elaborated how the companies and the advertising industry diligently observed the living environment of their target audience in order to generate images they could combine with the product and the brand meeting the values of the target audience.¹⁵⁸ However, advertisements never aimed to be a mirror of society or to mirror the actual circumstances and social and economic conditions of their target group. Instead, advertisements offered lifestyle suggestions that primarily addressed the wishes and needs of the target group and thus implying the assumption that these could be fulfilled by purchasing the product.¹⁵⁹ Judith Williamson refers to this from a Marxist perspective, arguing that people are taught to identify with what they produce, and thus fundamental social

¹⁵⁴ Cf. GOODWIN, N., ACKERMAN, F., KIRON, D. (eds.), *The Consumer Society*, Washington DC. 1997, 248; BRANDT, *The Cigarette Century*, 72.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157; GOODWIN, ACKERMAN, KIRON, *The Consumer Society*, 255.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 32.

¹⁵⁷ GOODWIN, ACKERMAN, KIRON, *The Consumer Society*, 248.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. REDDEKER, S., *Werbung und Identität im multikulturellen Raum. Der Werbediskurs in Luxemburg. Ein kommunikationswissenschaftlicher Beitrag*, Bielefeld 2011, 58.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. MARCHAND, *Advertising the American Dream*, xvii; SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 67.

differences such as class differences can be overcome and one can ascribe oneself to a certain class or group through the consumption of specific goods.¹⁶⁰

These lifestyles and needs are always related to the prevailing zeitgeist and cigarette advertisements from the 20s targeted different needs as those in the 80s. Leiss et al. call this phenomenon *cultural frames*:

“In a nutshell, a cultural frame is the representation of the relation between persons, products, and images of well-being that is most characteristic of a specific epoch in marketing and advertising history.”¹⁶¹

Leiss et al. identified five cultural frames:

“Utility: a discourse about product quality

Product symbols: a discourse about social values and tastes

Personalization: a discourse about individual feelings

Lifestyles: a discourse about social groups and their activities

Demassifying: a discourse about creating self-distinction and uniqueness in a massified world.”¹⁶²

These cultural frames are sometimes more or less pronounced in advertisements. Nevertheless, Leiss et al. acknowledged that they consistently appeared in advertisements during the 20th century regarding the relationship between the consuming individual, the product, and the conveyed image, as the next subchapters will elaborate on the example of the *modern girl*.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Cf. WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 13.

¹⁶¹ LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 304.

¹⁶² Ibid., 16–21.

¹⁶³ Cf. Ibid., 16f.; JACKSON, C., TINKLER, P., ‘Ladettes’ and ‘Modern Girls’: ‘Troublesome’ Young Femininities, in: *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 55/2, 251–272, Oxford 2007, 251.

4.2. The introduction of the *modern woman* in female-targeted cigarette advertising

The Cambridge Dictionary defines the word *woman* as “an adult female human being” as well as “an adult who lives and identifies as female though they may have been said to have a different sex at birth” or “a wife or female sexual partner”.¹⁶⁴ These definitions include both a biological and sociological approach: women as female human beings, acquiring their sex by birth, and talking about the sexual identity of being a woman or female, which can also concern people, who were not born as women but identify as such.¹⁶⁵ For the adjective *modern*, the Cambridge Dictionary provides the following definition: “designed and made using the most recent ideas and methods” as well as “existing in the present or a recent time, using or based on recently developed ideas, methods, and styles”.¹⁶⁶ Combining the quoted definitions, a *modern woman* describes a person who was born female or identifies as female, following the latest ideas, styles, and methods of the current time she is living in. The image of the *modern woman* was first introduced in the 20s and 30s of the last century when smoking was emerging more and more among women, challenging the traditional social role of women and conveying images of women that are at the ravages of time.¹⁶⁷

First, smoking cigarettes as a new form of tobacco consumption from the end of the 19th century and an alternative to traditional ways of tobacco consumption such as cigars and pipes was already modern per se.¹⁶⁸ However, this modern form of smoking was initially only common among men.¹⁶⁹ Adopting the act of smoking by women was

¹⁶⁴ Cambridge Dictionary. Woman, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/englisch/woman>, 19.04.2023.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). Woman, <https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1430>, 27.04.2023.

¹⁶⁶ Cambridge Dictionary. modern, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/englisch/modern>, 19.04.2023.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. TINKLER, P., Refinement and Respectable Consumption: The Acceptable Face of Women’s Smoking in Britain, 1918–1970, in: Gender & History, Vol. 15/2, 342–360, 2003, 22.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. AMOS, HAGLUND, From Social Taboo to “Torch of Freedom”, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. DOXEY, J., HAMMOND, D., Deadly in pink: the impact of cigarette packaging among young women, in: Tobacco Control, Vol. 20/5, 353–360, 2011, 353.

seen critically in society and was not socially accepted for a long time.¹⁷⁰ Not only, because it is a habit reserved for men. Women did not only pick up a usually male habit, but also male privileges.¹⁷¹ Smoking was therefore not something that was in line with the prevailing role image of women and its characteristics.¹⁷² However, this prevailing role model of women was not only challenged by this act, but above all by the social, political and economic changes, when women had to substitute occupations of their men during the First World War. Women's role in American society reversed from traditional attitudes and behaviors. Hence, the social acceptance of cigarette smoking women was modern in an ambiguous sense.¹⁷³

With the emerging acceptance of smoking among women, tobacco manufacturers acknowledged the potential of smoking women as a market niche and modernity as a central value.¹⁷⁴ When cigarette advertising began to be created for women in the 1920s, tobacco companies had to adapt to the new target group with its own needs, since smoking had long been accepted only among men and until then advertising had been designed mainly for men.¹⁷⁵ If cigarettes did not differ from each other in their appearance and product characteristics were not necessarily feminine or could not be associated with female needs, the screws had to be turned in other places: namely in advertising.¹⁷⁶ Adverts now also tried to integrate the cigarette as a symbol of a modern lifestyle into their adverts and to market them. "In doing so, manufacturers drew on existing meanings of smoking among women and created new ones."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ Cf. ELLIOT, *Women and smoking since 1890*, 2.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 22; ALLEN, M., "Blow Some My Way!". Darstellungen weiblicher (Un-)Abhängigkeit in Zigarettenwerbungen des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, in: ALLEN, M., KNEPEL, R. (eds.), *Poetik und Poesie der Werbung. Ästhetik und Literarizität an der Schnittstelle von Kunst und Kommerz*, Volume 2, Bielefeld 2018, 182.

¹⁷² Cf. ELLIOT, *Women and smoking since 1890*, 71.

¹⁷³ Cf. AMOS, HAGLUND, *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom"*, 3f.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 4; LÜDTKE, *Lebensstile als Rahmen von Konsum*, 122.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. ELLIOT, *Women and smoking since 1890*, 60.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. GOODWIN, ACKERMAN, KIRON (eds.), *The Consumer Society*, 255.

¹⁷⁷ ELLIOT, *Women and smoking since 1890*, 60.

The first popular image of smoking women that was constructed through advertising was that of the *modern girl*. The modern girl was popular in the 1920s and 1930s and subject of adverts appearing during the inter-war-period. Youth, urbanness, fashion, sophistication, and independence both socially and financially were the attributes associated with this female image.¹⁷⁸ The *modern girl* was attributed to the middle- or upper-class, in her early 20s, cisgender¹⁷⁹, and White¹⁸⁰.¹⁸¹ Cigarette adverts featuring the image of the *modern girl* appeared in young women's magazines such as *Girls' Favourite*, *Miss Modern* or *Mabs Weekly*.¹⁸²

However, it is interesting to note that this representation did not only occur in magazines of this target group of upper-middle-class young women but was also shown in magazines whose target group was lower-middle-class and upper-working-class women, whereas working-class girls or young women were not shown in cigarette advertisements.¹⁸³ As early as the 1920s, tobacco manufacturers and marketing agencies were creating opportunities for their female consumers to identify themselves, but these did not necessarily overlap with the lifeworld and lifestyle of the target group. The credo of advertising people at that time was not to show realistic portrayals of life, since there was a demand for seeing escape fantasies and images of life different to lifestyles of the audience.¹⁸⁴ In the 1930s, the *modern girl* became a lady smoker, whose image was still considered modern, but was combined above

¹⁷⁸ Cf. ELLIOT, Women and smoking since 1890, 5; TINKLER, P., Refinement and Respectable Consumption, 345.

¹⁷⁹ When a person's gender identity is equivalent to the one assigned at birth, cf. Fachstelle Gender & Diversität NRW (FUMA), <https://www.gender-nrw.de/cis-gender/>, 27.04.2023.

¹⁸⁰ The MacArthur Foundation argues, that writing the adjective *White* with a lowercase w would not consider its relevance to racial and ethnic matters. The foundation team suggests capitalizing the adjective *White* – as well as Black and all other adjectives referring to race or ethnicity – when used in a context concerning race or ethnicity, cf. Mac Arthur Foundation. Capitalizing Black and White: Grammatical Justice and Equity, <https://www.macfound.org/press/perspectives/capitalizing-black-and-white-grammatical-justice-and-equity>, 07.06.2023.

¹⁸¹ Cf. TINKLER, P., Rebellion, Modernity, and Romance: Smoking as a Gendered Practice in Popular Young Women's Magazines, Britain 1918–1939, in: Women's Studies International Forum, Vol. 24/1, 111–122, 2001, 112; 121; TINKLER, P., Refinement and Respectable Consumption, 347; JACKSON, TINKLER, 'Ladettes' and 'Modern Girls', 253.

¹⁸² Cf. TINKLER, Rebellion, Modernity, and Romance, 112.

¹⁸³ Cf. TINKLER, Refinement and Respectable Consumption, 344f.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. MARCHAND, Advertising the American Dream, xvii.

all with sophistication, wealth, glamour and upper-class lifestyle, e.g. through clothing and the setting of the adverts.¹⁸⁵ By conveying this self-image, female-targeted cigarette advertising managed to associate smoking as a modern way of tobacco consumption with the identity of the *modern girl* from the middle- and upper-class.¹⁸⁶

4.3. The influence of the *modern girl* on later images in female-targeting cigarette advertising

The image of the *modern girl* can be seen as a basic framework for female identification possibilities in cigarette advertising, since the essential values can also be found in later representations of women, though somewhat modified or reinterpreted.¹⁸⁷ The image is shaped by values which the author of the advertisement thought to be significant to the target group. They can be categorized into physical and abstract values, which indeed cannot be strictly seen separated from each other, but also complement or overlap each other.¹⁸⁸

4.3.1. Physical values

Physical values are those that affect aesthetic attributes and can be perceived visually. One of the oldest needs anchored in the Western cultural history of women is that of *slimness*.¹⁸⁹ As early as the 1920s, British American Tobacco advertised its Lucky Strike brand with the slogan *Reach for a Lucky instead of a Sweet!* by positively marketing the appetite suppressing effect of cigarettes and promoting the habit of smoking as a healthy method of weight regulation.¹⁹⁰ Later in the century, tobacco manufacturers did not refer to the cigarette's function as a slimmer as obviously as Lucky Strike did

¹⁸⁵ Cf. TINKLER, *Refinement and Respectable Consumption*, 345; 349f.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 348.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. MARCHAND, *Advertising the American Dream*, xvi.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. BOYD, C., BOYD, T., CASH, J., *Why is Virginia Slim? Women and Cigarette Advertising*, in: *International Quarterly of Community Health Education*, Vol. 19/1, 19–31, 2000, 26.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. GROGAN, S., FRY, G., GOUGH, B., CONNER, M., *Smoking to stay thin or giving up to save face? Young men and women talk about appearance concerns and smoking*, in: *British Journal of Health Psychology*, Vol. 14/1, 175–186, 2009, 176.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. BOYD, BOYD, CASH, *Why is Virginia Slim?*, 25.

in the 20s, but subliminally: sometimes through their brand names e.g. Silva *Thins* or Virginia *Slims*, sometimes through their slogans such as *slim and sassy* for Misty or *the slimmest slim in town* for Capri.¹⁹¹ Other physical values used in cigarette advertisements addressing women are *style* and *fashion*. The *modern woman* or *girl* was depicted in modern, fashionable clothing, wearing elegant and glamorous clothing, makeup, and hair styles.¹⁹² This phenomenon appears in later cigarette advertisements, too. Capri and Virginia Slims provide their models with glamorous gowns, while tobacco company Lorillard put the glamour in their own female cigarette by choosing the brand name *Satin* and using satin-like filter tips on their cigarettes.¹⁹³ Another value, that may not be found in marketing documents, but nevertheless can be declared as a physical value is White skin color, since being White conforms with the cultural norm in the United States.¹⁹⁴

4.3.2. Abstract values

Abstract values are non-material values, with which sociocultural needs are associated. Since abstract values are not visible, they must be artificially made visible through arrangement and design of the print advert or through physical and aesthetic features and thus may overlap with physical values. *Wealth*, for example, is an abstract value but is expressed through material attributes such as high-quality clothing, glamorous makeup, a noble ambience, and small details such as a glass of whiskey.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Cf. KLUGER, R., *Ashes to Ashes. America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*, New York 1997, 544; BOYD, BOYD, CASH, *Why is Virginia Slim?*, 29.

¹⁹² Cf. TINKLER, *Refinement and Respectable Consumption*, 350; ROSE, *Visual Methodologies*, 75.

¹⁹³ Cf. SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Collection: *Satin*, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/satin/>, 28.04.2023; SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). *Capri*. Image Nr. 9944, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarette/img9944/>, 28.04.2023; SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). *Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* Collection. Nr. 47, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-47>, 28.04.2023.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. MORRIS, A., KAHOR, L., *Whiteness Theory in Advertising: Racial Beliefs and Attitudes Toward Ads*, in: *Howard Journal of Communications*, Vol. 25/4, 415–430, 2014, 416.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. WARLAUMONT, *Advertising in the 60s*, 187; ROSE, *Visual Methodologies*, 77; TINKLER, *Refinement and Respectable Consumption*, 350.

Independence was one key theme since the beginning of female-targeted cigarette advertising, but especially during the 2nd half of the century, financial independence was featured as a key value.¹⁹⁶ Financial independence of women is connected with another abstract value: emancipation. Multiple ways of exploiting the key theme of emancipation can be found over the 20th century: from Lucky Strike's freedom march in 1929, when women were encouraged to hold Lucky Strike cigarettes as *torches of freedom*, to the Virginia Slims *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* campaign, running for almost half the century.¹⁹⁷ The value of *youth* is an example of how some values cannot be ascribed to a specific category: Youth is not only determined by aesthetic features such as a wrinkle free face or hair which has not turned grey yet, but also by psychosocial values such as vigor and activity. The interests and concerns of young women may differ to those of older women.¹⁹⁸ The need of belonging to a social group or a class is used since the early days of cigarette advertising by showing images of upper- or upper-middle-class girls and women.¹⁹⁹ As Gilbert states, smoking always had an ambivalent relationship concerning identity. It served as an instrument to fit in or stand out of a social group: On one hand, smoking cigarettes can help to be accepted among your peers, on the other hand, the act of smoking at a young age could also be seen as a rebellious act and a way to show independence to someone's parents.²⁰⁰

Probably the most complex key theme featured in the construct of the *modern girl* or *woman* and with smoking women in general is that of femininity, which is "the fact or quality of having characteristics that are traditionally thought to be typical of or

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023; COOK, Sex, lies and cigarettes, 175.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 173; WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 175; AMOS, HAGLUND, From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom", 4.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. BOYD, BOYD, CASH, Why is Virginia Slim?, 28.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. JACKSON, TINKLER, 'Ladettes' and 'Modern Girls', 253.

²⁰⁰ Cf. GILBERT, E., Constructing Fashionable Youth Identities: Australian Young Women Cigarette Smokers, in: Journal of Youth Studies, Vol. 10/1, 1–15, 2007, 9.

suitable for a woman.”²⁰¹ Femininity is a sociocultural concept, consisting of both physical and abstract values and needs, norms and ideals, that prevail at a given point in time and are considered typical for female human beings and hence can be understood differently depending on the period.²⁰² Since the beginning of the 20th century, femininity is mentioned among the top key themes in designing cigarettes and images in female-targeted cigarette advertising.²⁰³ The message is clear: The display of the *modern woman* with all its values provides an ideal possibility for smoking women to identify themselves with the image and for tobacco companies to raise its sales numbers. One of them was tobacco manufacturer Philip Morris.

5. Virginia Slims: Rise and fall of a female cigarette

While during the 60s, about 50 percent of the American men consumed tobacco on a regular basis, only a third of all women in the US were smokers. Nevertheless, tobacco companies acknowledged the potential of smoking women as a market niche and showed more interest in female-targeted product marketing.²⁰⁴ This was not a new phenomenon: Since the beginning of the 20th century, tobacco companies tried to attract women by selling the advantages – or disadvantages, depending on perspective – of smoking. For example, Lucky Strike or Vogue focused on the aesthetic benefits of their cigarettes concerning both the product itself but also the smoker’s physical appearance by either promoting the cigarette’s look as feminine or by promoting weight control.²⁰⁵ Actually, Philip Morris already attempted to market their brand Marlboro to women.²⁰⁶ However, the fact that there was not yet a cigarette

²⁰¹ Cambridge Dictionary. Femininity, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/englisch/femininity>, 24.04.2023.

²⁰² Cf. TINKLER, P., WARSH, C., Feminine Modernity in Interwar Britain and North America: Corsets, Cars, and Cigarettes, in: Journal of Women’s History, Vol. 20/3, 113-143, 2008, 132.

²⁰³ Cf. AMOS, HAGLUND, From Social Taboo to “Torch of Freedom”, 4.

²⁰⁴ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product, 163.

²⁰⁵ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 173; BBC. Are cigarettes responsible for modern marketing methods?, <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-49909606>, 13.04.2023; SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Vogue: Fashion’s Smartest Cigarette. Image Nr. 0556, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarette/img0556/>, 13.04.2023.

²⁰⁶ Cf. ELLIOT, Women and smoking since 1890, 60; KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 141f.

designed to appeal exclusively to women was a gap in the market that needed to be filled.²⁰⁷

5.1. 1968–1989: The fierce female feminist fueling figures

When Silva Thins, a small circumference cigarette, was launched in 1967, Philip Morris (PM)²⁰⁸ noticed the potential of thin and king-sized cigarettes²⁰⁹. These were well received, especially by women, as the cigarettes appeared more stylish and healthier due to filter tips.²¹⁰ Inspired by Silva Thins, PM began to develop their own thin cigarette.²¹¹ Only a year later, *Virginia Slims* was launched and PM set foot in the *terra incognita* of female cigarettes.²¹² Not only the aesthetic product features were inspired by Silva Thins, but also the name itself. The brand name *Virginia Slims* consists of two words, like *Silva Thins*. There is an inherent ambivalence in the etymology of both words: On the one hand, *Virginia* is a woman's name, which is meant to emphasize that this cigarette targets women. On the other hand, *Virginia* is also a state in the United States well known for its tobacco production, and its tobacco is also used for *Virginia Slims*. Since for women it was more common to smoke English or Turkish cigarettes at the beginning of the century, it was something new that women consumed domestic tobacco. The term *Slims* stands for the small circumference of the cigarette, but also alludes to the effect of smoking on appetite regulation: However, since PM did not want *Slims* – like *Thins* in *Silva Thins* – to be obviously associated with the cigarette's function as an appetite suppressant, the semantically more euphemistic *Slims* was intended to avoid this negative connotation, pursuing the aim that *Slims* "[...] was a more nuanced synonym, implying grace and beauty."²¹³

²⁰⁷ Cf. MOODIE, FORD, MACKINTOSH, PURVES, Are all cigarettes just the same?, 2.

²⁰⁸ abbreviation for Philip Morris

²⁰⁹ cigarettes with a greater length than conventional cigarettes (see next paragraph)

²¹⁰ Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 543f.

²¹¹ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 173.

²¹² Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 544.

²¹³ Ibid., 544.

The product characteristics of Virginia Slims should underline the brand image and help the brand to differentiate itself from its competitors.²¹⁴ The king-sized – or queen-sized – cigarettes, longer and slender than conventional cigarettes, with 100mm in length and 23 mm in circumference, were contained in a petite cigarette package in creamy white, striped with orange and green toned colors, while the brand name Virginia Slims is written in thin font. Hence, Virginia Slims were slim in every way.²¹⁵ These attributes helped the brand to create a feminine image, a brand made for women.²¹⁶ Through a consumer study, PM found that the “[...] fact that it is a woman’s cigarette [...]” was one of the four most frequently selected reasons cited by respondents smoking Virginia Slims (VS)²¹⁷ cigarettes.²¹⁸ Not only did the physical attributes lead to an image as a woman’s cigarette, but marketing and advertising were also mentioned among these four most frequently chosen reasons and contributed significantly to conveying this image.²¹⁹

As well as for its brand Marlboro, PM enlisted the support of advertising agency Leo Burnett for the advertising program of VS.²²⁰ The agency was based in Chicago and was also responsible for creating advertising concepts and mascots of many other major advertising campaigns such as *Ronald McDonald* or the *Pillsbury Doughboy*.²²¹ In 1968, the Leo Burnett ad agency created the concept of the brand’s first advertising campaign *You’ve Come a Long Way, Baby!*. In a humorous way, as it was the state-of-the-art in advertising at that time, the campaign focused on important themes of

²¹⁴ Cf. LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157.

²¹⁵ Cf. KLUGER, *Ashes to Ashes*, 544; Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. How an Agency Builds a Brand – The Virginia Slims Story, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=ltyp0042>, 29.04.2023.

²¹⁶ DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 165.

²¹⁷ abbreviation for Virginia Slims

²¹⁸ Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Consumer Survey of Silva Thins and Virginia Slims Smokers, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=zgkg0017>, 13.04.2023.

²¹⁹ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Consumer Survey of Silva Thins and Virginia Slims Smokers, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=zgkg0017>, 13.04.2023; DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 164.

²²⁰ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 165.

²²¹ Cf. O’BARR, W., *Creativity in Advertising*, in: *Advertising and Society Review*, Vol. 11/4, 2011, <https://muse-jhu-edu.uaccess.univie.ac.at/pub/21/article/227198>, 31.03.2023

the 60s such as feminism, emancipation, and women's liberation. According to Burnett and PM, addressing emancipatory and libertarian aims of women was an integral part of the concept and played an important role to achieve the brand personality of VS.²²² The visual design concept of the campaign combined displays of past and present women: The top of the poster showed simulated sepia photographs, showing pseudo-historical depictions that appear to be from the turn of the century, each telling the story of how a woman has been treated unfairly by men. The *modern woman* in the foreground takes up most of the creamy colored background, contrasting the years of exploitation and unfair treatment of women.²²³ Tobacco company Lorillard, owner of women's cigarette brand Satin, had a study done in 1973 to compare competitive female-targeting cigarette brands and said that the launching year of VS coincided well with awareness for emancipation and women's liberation. The brand as well as the campaign fit like a glove and symbolize this clamor for equality.²²⁴

While on the one hand the image of the brand was positively associated with feminism, there were also negative reactions to the campaign. The word *baby* in the slogan led to a discussion between Leo Burnett's ad agency and PM's marketing department. The Leo Burnett ad agency argued that the word *baby* would sexualize the woman displayed in the ad too much and ascribed a subordinate role to the woman by comparing her to a toddler, which is another word for *baby*. The PM marketing department, however, believed the term *baby* should rather be understood as a form of appreciation than as a form of sexualization.²²⁵ Anyway, the *baby* was kept in the slogan, serving as the signature slogan of the brand for more than two decades.²²⁶ The key themes of liberation and feminism, fancy models and a fierce

²²² Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 173; WARLAUMONT, Advertising in the 60s, 175.

²²³ Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 544f.

²²⁴ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. The Female Smoker Market, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=fmph0045>, 13.04.2023; DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product, 165.

²²⁵ Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 545; DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product, 176.

²²⁶ Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 545f.

slogan became PM and Leo Burnett's recipe for success. After a few years of start-up, VS became the front-runner within its market niche. Between 1964 and 1969 alone, PM achieved a 63% increase in sales.²²⁷ At least 5,000,000 dollars in budget was allocated for the one-year introduction campaign of VS in 1969, initiated by John Landry, president of marketing at Philip Morris USA.²²⁸ Initially, PM planned to achieve a market share²²⁹ of 1% nationally after the launch of VS.²³⁰ For comparison: In 1968, *Marlboro* held a market share of 7.4%.²³¹ After only 6 months, there was a 3% share in women smokers and in 1973, VS achieved a market share of 1.2% in the entire US market.²³²

Since market entry, sales figures of the brand have risen permanently.²³³ In 1981, VS was among the twelve largest selling brands, holding a market share of 2,4%.²³⁴ VS never managed to beat the top selling brands such as *Marlboro* but managed to achieve a market share of a profitable 3%.²³⁵ According to a consumer study from December 1968, advertising was one of the most influencing factors for female smokers choosing VS above other brands.²³⁶ Of course, the success of the brand during the 70s was also noticed by VS's brand competitors.²³⁷ To maintain the supremacy of the brand, PM and Burnett drummed up the business via promotional activities.²³⁸ Probably the biggest promotion act was the sponsorship of women's

²²⁷ Cf. KLUGER, *Ashes to Ashes*, 546f.

²²⁸ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 164f.

²²⁹ the percent of total sales a company holds compared to every other company in the industry; cf. Cambridge Dictionary. Market Share, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/market-share>, 14.04.2023.

²³⁰ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 165.

²³¹ Cf. HYLAND, A., GOLDSTEIN, R., BROWN, A., O'CONNOR, R., CUMMINGS, K., *Happy Birthday Marlboro: the cigarette whose taste outlasts its consumers*, in: *Tobacco Control*, Vol. 15/2, 75–77, 2006, 76.

²³² Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 165.

²³³ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 173.

²³⁴ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Virginia Slims Market Analysis, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=qlhk0130>, 13.04.2023.

²³⁵ Cf. ANDERSON, S., GLANTZ, S., LING, P., *Emotions for sale: Cigarette advertising and women's psychosocial needs*, in: *Tobacco Control*, Vol. 14/2, 127–135, 2005, 131; KLUGER, *Ashes to Ashes*, 547.

²³⁶ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Consumer Survey of Silva Thins and Virginia Slims Smokers, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=zgkg0017>, 13.04.2023.

²³⁷ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 173.

²³⁸ Cf. KLUGER, *Ashes to Ashes*, 666.

tennis, starting in 1970 in Houston. VS not only sponsored the organization of the tournament called *Virginia Slims Circuit* itself, but also brought out its own tennis fashion line in 1976.²³⁹ Fashion designers were commissioned to create a separate collection for each tennis season that matched with the design of cigarette packs, including stripes and pastel colors instead of classic white tennis outfits. The fact that the athletes participating in the VS tennis tournament had the chance to win millions of dollars in prize money makes it somehow less paradoxical that they were promoting a drug that is knowingly harmful to health.²⁴⁰ However, there were more ways to reinforce the brand image, such as the *Virginia Slims Book of Days*, a date calendar that also chronicles the history of women up to the present. When Ellen Merlo, brand manager in the marketing crew of VS, came up with the idea to Jack Landry's marketing department, a calendar that smokers would use and carry around 365 days a year seemed to be the ideal promotional gift to reinforce the brand image.²⁴¹ In addition to the tennis outfit collection, there was also the V-Line, including a black leather jacket worth a year's supply of a pack-a-day.²⁴²

While Silva Thins smokers were 71% male, VS smokers were mainly female: 85% of VS consumers were women in 1970.²⁴³ Ten years later, 93% were female, according to the *1980 Cigarette Tracking Study*.²⁴⁴ In 1970, a study conducted by Roper Research Associates found out the average VS smoker was female and between 25 and 34 years old.²⁴⁵ However, this age range shifted forward: 10 years later, over 90% of VS smokers

²³⁹ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product, 165; KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 668; TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 173f.

²⁴⁰ Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 668f.

²⁴¹ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Historical Perspective on Female-Oriented Brands, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=hsfx0045>, 13.04.2023; KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 666.

²⁴² Cf. KLUGER, Ashes to Ashes, 1240.

²⁴³ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Consumer Survey of Silva Thins and Virginia Slims Smokers, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=zgkg0017>, 13.04.2023.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Virginia Slims Market Analysis, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=qlhk0130>, 13.04.2023.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Study of Cigarette Smokers' Habits and Attitudes in 1970, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=qjdv0130>, 13.04.2023; DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product, 167.

were between 18 and 34 years old.²⁴⁶ The launching campaign from 1968 was still used.²⁴⁷ Though the image met the interests of women in their late 20s and early 30s, the brand won female teenage smokers over, too: During the first 6 years after launching VS, "[...] the percentage of teenage women who smoked had doubled."²⁴⁸ While a wider age range of the target audience was initially a commercial success, it was this very audience that forced PM and Burnett to change their strategy in the 90s to avoid the death of the brand.

5.2. Early 90s: Feminism falling out of fashion

Entering the last decade of the 20th century, VS was undergoing a change of paradigm after 22 successful years in the tobacco business: Between 1990 and 1993, the market share of VS began to decline for the first time since the brand was launched.²⁴⁹ As early as the late 1980s, PM noted through a Leo Burnett report that the number of young women among its users had declined. Between 1985 and 1988, the percentage of 18–24-year-old women smoking VS dropped from 11% to 9.3%. Competing brands in this regard were Marlboro and Newport, which appealed to the young audience in the 1980s.²⁵⁰ Overall, the group of female smokers from age 18 to 24 years was shrinking: While in 1985 almost 16% of 18–24-year-old women were still smokers, by the end of the 1980s this figure was only 13%.²⁵¹ In addition, a decrease in the sector of 25-34-year-old female smokers was also noticeable.²⁵²

Not only the general decline of smokers posed a problem for VS, but also the competitors on the market were threatening the brand's supremacy in the women's field. In the 1990s, other brands such as Misty and Capri began to build their brand image on femininity and discount prices and became the biggest competitors of VS.

²⁴⁶ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 167.

²⁴⁷ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 173.

²⁴⁸ KLUGER, *Ashes to Ashes*, 547.

²⁴⁹ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174.

²⁵⁰ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 167.

²⁵¹ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174.

²⁵² Cf. *Ibid.*, 174.

Capri, Brown & Williams Tobacco Company's own cigarette for women, was launched in the United States in 1988. Capri's advertising concept, demanding the highest spending on advertising media in 1993, included a similar style to the VS advertisements, using attributes such as glamour and fashion as it was the image of all VS models, but focused on relaxation and escape as key themes.²⁵³ Misty was introduced by American Tobacco Company in 1990, whose image was conceived as young, fashionable and trendy, intending to appeal primarily to young women and many women switched from VS to Misty.²⁵⁴ PM realized that it was necessary to challenge the original marketing concept of VS, because obviously the themes of '68 were no longer relevant to the current target audience in the 90s, but also the decline of the regular clientele had to be countered.²⁵⁵ The success story of PM's cigarette exclusively for women no longer seemed to be a sure-fire success.²⁵⁶ PM and the Leo Burnett Advertising Agency then initiated research and surveys concerning the brand image since „[...] the aspirational image was considered key to the brand's growth.“²⁵⁷ Beginning in 1989, PM and Leo Burnett began to investigate through several qualitative studies, why the image that had been so well received until the late 1980s was now no longer attracting female smokers.²⁵⁸ For example, in March 1991, a study by Marketing Perceptions Inc. was exploring the lifestyles and attitudes of young adult women in Charlotte, North Carolina and Chicago, Illinois, bringing important findings to PM. According to the survey responds, the signature slogan was of little to no importance.²⁵⁹ Responds from the focus group of the same study even included the

²⁵³ Cf. ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, *Emotions for sale*, 130; TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174.

²⁵⁴ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174; Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. *Misty Slims Focus Groups – Management Summary Report*, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=hhkg0136>, 03.05.2023.

²⁵⁵ Cf. CARPENTER, C., WAYNE, G., CONNOLLY, G., *Designing cigarettes for women: new findings from the tobacco industry documents*, in: *Addiction*, Vol. 100/6, 837–851, 2005, 845f.

²⁵⁶ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174.

²⁵⁷ TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174.

²⁵⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 175.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. *Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women*,

view, that the feminist key theme appeared too forced to them and hence contra productive on the social role of women.²⁶⁰ This makes sense, considering that the slogan was created at a time, when themes such as women's liberation and feminism were important matters for the target group back then. VS smokers who had been attracted to the key themes in the 60s and 70s were about 20 years older in the early 90s. However, VS's target group consists largely of 18-24-year-old female smokers. When the old marketing concept was designed at the end of the 60s, some costumers from the target group were not even born yet. It is therefore not surprising that VS smokers at the beginning of the 90s could identify neither with the slogan nor with the entire brand image.²⁶¹ From this perspective, the brand image of VS was rather seen for smokers of 35 years and older, but not for young female smokers.²⁶² The signature slogan, once important to the brand image, was not important to the 90s VS smokers anymore.²⁶³

When the female feminist was not a big seller anymore, PM needed to learn more about the lifestyle, values, or fears of the young female smoker of the 90s to evaluate a new brand image she can identify with. The qualitative research study of Marketing Perceptions Inc. mentions financial security and material possessions as leading priorities.²⁶⁴ Results showed that young smoking women now cared more about „[...] fitting in and being popular but unpretentious“ than about protesting for equality and emancipation.²⁶⁵ Conveniently, responses showed that the focus group was more

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023; TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 175.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023; ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, Emotions for sale, 131.

²⁶¹ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 175; Emotions for Sale, 131.

²⁶² Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 177.

²⁶³ Cf. Ibid., 175f.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023.

²⁶⁵ ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, Emotions for sale, 131.

likely to be attracted to images, which showed groups of friends.²⁶⁶ The document of the Marketing Perceptions Inc. study provides the following statement: „Nearly the entirety of each of our group discussions was about friendship.“²⁶⁷ According to the women surveyed, they spent their time working, sleeping or hanging out with friends. They did not mention engaging in social or political activism or in any hobbies.²⁶⁸ *The VS identity crisis*, how Toll and Ling call the brand's situation in the early 90s, forced the brand to change its image.²⁶⁹ Just as the Camel Man went out of fashion, so did the VS feminist woman.²⁷⁰ PM and Leo Burnett had to do the balancing act of appealing to their prior and older costumers as well as addressing the needs of the new 90's demographic to combat customer shrinkage.²⁷¹ The brand image evolved from feminist power to feminine strength.²⁷² The values and fears of this new generation changed. Instead of sociopolitical values such as feminism, emancipation and equality, materialistic values were more relevant to the study group. VS's marketing was no longer oriented toward feminist issues, but focused on performance, material possessions and financial independence as well as „gender stereotyped female relationships.“²⁷³ At last, the signature slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* was discontinued between 1995 and 1996 and exchanged for the new gender stereotypic *It's a Woman Thing* campaign.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁶ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023.

²⁶⁷ Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023

²⁶⁸ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023.

²⁶⁹ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 172.

²⁷⁰ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 162.

²⁷¹ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 176f.

²⁷² Cf. *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁷³ Cf. ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, *Emotions for sale*, 131; Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023.

gender: socially constructed sexual identity in contrast to sex ("[...] biological and physical characteristics of females, males and intersex persons [...]"), WHO. Gender and health, https://www.who.int/health-topics/gender#tab=tab_1, 14.04.2023.

²⁷⁴ Cf. ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, *Emotions for sale*, 132.

6. Empirical study: Analysis of Virginia Slims print advertisements

Print advertisements of the VS brand were examined with quantitative and qualitative methods. Both methods were used to analyze print advertisements of VS, collected in the online database SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising).²⁷⁵ The print advertisements investigated in this study were selected from the period between 1970 and 1993. As a starting point, the year 1970 was chosen due to the brand's launch in 1968, but the SRITA collections do not contain any VS print adverts from the years 1968 or 1969. The research period ends with the year 1993, as sales figures of VS started to decrease since 1990 and this master's thesis aims to investigate the change in the image of the *modern woman* at this pivot. Hence, investigations on print advertisements of the first three years of the 90s may give interesting results on the visual realization of changes in the advertising plans of VS.²⁷⁶

As Rose already stated, meanings of an image are created at three different sites: The production, the image itself, and the audience.²⁷⁷ Besides the theoretical elaboration on the site of the production in chapter 5, the empirical study of this master's thesis focuses on the site of the image itself. First, a sampled collection of print adverts was examined based on the method of quantitative content analysis.²⁷⁸ After that, particular images were selected for the semiotic analysis to understand how meanings are conveyed in VS adverts, helping to establish the image of the *modern woman*, but also to connect the results of both analytical methods.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Cf. SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). About SRITA, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/about/>, 28.03.2023.

²⁷⁶ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 175.

²⁷⁷ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 16.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Ibid., 56.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Ibid., 73; DYER, G., Advertising as Communication, London/New York 1982, 87f.

6.1. Research questions and hypotheses

The analytical process of both methods aims to answer the following research questions, which will be the subject of the conclusive discussion on the results of the empirical study:

RQ 1: What kind of woman is constructed and displayed in the print advertisements of Virginia Slims?

H1: *The proportion of White women with blonde to brunette, long hair predominates over Afro American, Asian American or Latin American representations of women.*

H2: *The majority of the women depicted can be described as young. There are no models depicted that can be assorted to the age group of 50 years or older.*

H3: *The bodies of the women depicted correspond to cultural Western body standards: They are exclusively slim and non-disabled.*

H4: *The portrayals of women are exclusively cisgender females and convey a feminine image.*

H5: *The advertisements show portrayals of women belonging to the upper- or upper-middle-class.*

RQ 2: How did the image of the modern woman change over the research period?

H6: *The image turned from the glamorous upper-class-modern woman to the casually dressed cool modern woman.*

RQ 3: How are the displays of the modern woman in Virginia Slims print advertisements connected to socioeconomic changes and to what extent do the displays reflect the *zeitgeist* of the respective historical context?

H7: *The posters from the 70s to the end of the 80s contained key themes like emancipation, independence and women's lib, focusing solely on post-materialistic values. In the early 90s, core values like friendship, dating and romantic relationships, as well as materialistic values like shopping are the center of VS adverts.*

6.2. Quantitative content analysis

For the quantitative content analysis, 72 print advertisements of the VS brand were used. The selected print advertisements were taken from the SRITA database.²⁸⁰ Advertisements were collected through the advanced search function of the SRITA database and then classified by year. In the next step, the study material was numbered and randomly sampled so that three posters for each year of the study period were selected for the content analysis. Categories of analysis were defined for the study, some of which formed the basis for the subsequent qualitative analysis.

6.2.1. Coding categories

The selected categories are based on theoretical groundwork of the previous chapters, especially chapter 4 and 5, as well as Dyer's taxonomy of non-verbal communication.²⁸¹ For this empirical study, the categoric system intends to determine the frequencies of particular physical appearances. Furthermore, these results are also relevant to support the results and interpretations of the semiotic analysis on meaning transfer in VS advertisements. The targeted addressing of key themes and values was necessary to generate the image of the *modern woman*.²⁸² In order to find out how the image of the *modern woman* was created and adapted over the concerning research period, it is necessary to capture the character appearance, the setting of the advert as well as other visual but also textual cues.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ For further information on the tobacco advertisement collections of SRITA see chapter 1.2.

²⁸¹ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 77.

²⁸² For more information on this matter see chapter 4.3.

²⁸³ Cf. SCOTT, L., BATRA, R., Persuasive Imagery. A Consumer Response Perspective, Mahwah 2003, 224.

Year of publication: For each poster, its year of publication needs to be recorded. That is necessary in order to be able to observe and interpret diachronic changes and frequencies in the other categories and subsequently in the entire construct of the *modern woman* for the case of VS.²⁸⁴

Number of persons: Chapter 4 and 5 discussed, that values such as friendships, relationships and belongingness to a social group were among the key themes when creating self-images in female-targeted cigarette advertising throughout the 20th century.²⁸⁵ Hence, the number of people shown in the advert is collected in the concerning category. If there was more than one person shown, every person got their own row to ensure the right evaluation of other coding categories.

Genders: Subsequently to the category priorly mentioned, this category aims to examine, which genders appear in VS advertisements during the research period, especially, when there are more persons than only one model shown in the advert. This may give interesting insights on common ideas of aesthetic and abstract values socially connected to femininity as well as friendships and relationships and how they were displayed in the adverts. This category includes the codes as follow: *female* or *male*.²⁸⁶

Race: Within the term *race* lies a negative connotation regarding its history as a concept of racial classification during WW II. Though this term must be considered carefully when referred to in academic works, today's social sciences use *race* in a newly interpreted way to describe physical attributes of people of different descent.²⁸⁷ Since this category aims to investigate representations of racial diversity, especially in view of Whiteness as a value in American society, the term *race* seemed to qualify for

²⁸⁴ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 63f.

²⁸⁵ Cf. JACKSON, TINKLER, 'Ladettes' and 'Modern Girls', 253; Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. Exploring Attitudes, Lifestyles and Generational Statements of Young Adult Women, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=htxx0130>, 14.04.2023.

²⁸⁶ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 77.

²⁸⁷ Cf. BHOPAL, R., Glossary of terms relating to ethnicity and race: for reflection and debate, in: Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health, Vol. 58/6, 441–445, 2004, 442.

this category.²⁸⁸ The data of this category aim to Despite the negative Representations of races are coded with *White American*, *Afro American*, *Latin American*, *Asian American*.²⁸⁹

Estimated age group: Since youth was mentioned as one of the core values of the construct of the modern woman, this category aims to collect the estimated age of the women depicted. The female displays in the adverts are assigned to three different age groups: 18–24, 25–34 and >34. This age classification is based on information from industry documents, stating that VS's target group is between 18 and 34 years old.²⁹⁰ Since Philip Morris tried to market VS especially to young smoking women in the 90s besides their regular customers, the age range is separated in the three age groups mentioned above to find out, if the 90s models were obviously younger than the women depicted during the 70s and 80s in VS advertisements.²⁹¹

Body constitution: Chapter 4 already explained that slimness is one of the major values featured in female-targeted cigarette advertising since its beginning.²⁹² Hence, the selected adverts are labelled in regard to the model's body shapes with *slim* or *not slim*, referring to prevalent beauty standards of the research period in American culture.²⁹³

Disability: This category collects representations of disabilities in VS advertising with *non-disabled* or *disabled*. Disability may not only be linked to the physical condition of the bodies shown in the advert but also to visual indicators such as wheelchairs or prostheses.²⁹⁴

Hair color, hair length and hair style: These categories correspond with the priorly mentioned ethnicity and may reveal displays of prevailing beauty standards and expectations of feminine appearance for women as well as ethnic, cultural or gender

²⁸⁸ For more information on this matter see chapter 4.3.

²⁸⁹ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 77.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Truth Tobacco Industry Documents. A Historical Perspective on Female-Oriented Brands, <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/docs/#id=hsfx0045>, 13.04.2023.

²⁹¹ Cf. TOLL, LING, The Virginia Slims identity crisis, 175.

²⁹² For more information on this matter see chapter 4.3.

²⁹³ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 78.

²⁹⁴ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 58.

stereotypes. Blonde, brunette, black and ginger and other are among the colors to assort to the category hair color. Hair lengths are coded as *long* and *short*, while *short* includes hair lengths reaching to the chin and *long* every length longer than chin-length hair. Hair styles are labelled as *straightened*, *curled*, *blow-out*, *braided*, *pinned-up*.²⁹⁵

Make-up: As well as the last-mentioned categories, make-up on models of VS adverts is analyzed in order to gain knowledge regarding the use of ad designers' interpretation of femininity and beauty norms. This category notes if the models wear make-up or not, using the codes *yes* or *no*.²⁹⁶

Clothing 1: Analyzing the clothing used in VS adverts aims to give information about beauty standards, expectations on feminine appearance as well as class affiliation. Clothes are collected in three different categories. The first collects all sorts of overgarment such as *coats*, *jackets*, *capas*, and everything else worn over clothes like shirts and sweaters.²⁹⁷

Clothing 2: *Sweaters*, *hoodies*, *long-* and *short-sleeved shirts*, and other upper body clothes worn under overgarments are assorted to Clothing 2.²⁹⁸

Clothing 3: *Pants*, *shorts*, *jeans* and *skirts* and other clothes worn on the upper body are collected in Clothing 3. The cases of dresses and jumpsuits are accounted to both categories 2 and 3 and considered in the evaluation of the results.²⁹⁹

Footwear and **heel height:** This category collects all kinds of footwear worn by the models in the adverts in order to gain knowledge regarding beauty norms, expressions of femininity and class affiliation. The *type of footwear* as well as the *heel height* are noted.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 78.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Ibid., 99.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Ibid., 80.

²⁹⁸ Cf. Ibid., 80.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Ibid., 80.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Ibid., 80.

Jewelry: The use of all kinds of jewelry from rings to necklaces to arm laces are collected, since jewelry are a symbol of wealth, upper-class or at least financial stability.³⁰¹

Other accessories: This category aims to note all accessories besides jewelry, since other requisites may work as symbols of femininity such as *handbags* or class affiliation e.g., *derby hats*.³⁰²

Cigarette visibility: Tobacco companies tried to sell cigarettes by selling self-images.³⁰³ This category collects appearances of cigarettes in the selected print advertisements to conclude the product's relevance in the advertising concept in comparison to the conveyed image of the modern woman. The visibility is coded with *in hand*, *in package*, *in hand and package* and *not visible*.

Main slogan and **sub slogan:** VS adverts usually come with at least one slogan, mostly their signature slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!*, often with another one. The slogans used in the adverts are assorted to the concerning category. The bigger slogan qualifies as *main slogan*, while the smaller one in relation to the other slogan is assigned to the category *sub slogan*. Analyzing the change in slogans and slogans sizes aims to show correlations with the change in core values and hence the image of the modern woman.³⁰⁴

Contrast story: From the beginning, a signature element in the setting of VS adverts was the contrast story in the upper part of the advert. Sepia or black and white photographs displayed pseudo-historical scenes from the turn of the century with a witty caption, where women found themselves discriminated against or treated unequally to men. These stories aimed to show a contrast to the model in the foreground and hence to emancipated womanhood. Observing the usage frequency

³⁰¹ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 80; 83.

³⁰² Cf. Ibid., 83f.

³⁰³ For more information on this matter see chapter 4.

³⁰⁴ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 103.

of these contrast stories may give information about the changing importance of key values such as emancipation or women's liberation.³⁰⁵

Setting: This category will analyze the background setting the *modern woman* is placed in. Chapter 3 discussed not only changes in values during the research period of this master's thesis, but also changes in advertising styles. While minimalistic ad design was common in the 60s and 70s, adverts in the late 80s and early 90s tried to capture real life scenes.³⁰⁶ The background setting can also be used to reinforce a particular key theme or value.³⁰⁷

Value of materialism mentioned, value of friendship mentioned, value of relationship mentioned, value of women's lib mentioned: These categories collect direct or indirect mentioning of the concerning values in the advertisement to observe, when and how the focus on integrating specific values into the advert changes. These values were chosen due to their importance in VS brand marketing during this research period.³⁰⁸ The categories were coded with yes or no. The code yes requires the direct or indirect indication of the value by the slogans, contrast story or the setting.

6.2.2. Results

This subchapter aims to present the results of the quantitative content analysis and to discuss eventual problems as well as particularities that occurred during the analytical process.

Number of persons:

Out of 72 VS print advertisements, 69 adverts displayed one person, two adverts showed two people and one advert featured three people. From the beginning of the research period until 1991, each of the selected posters showed only one person. In 1992, for the first time in this particular collection of VS print advertisements more

³⁰⁵ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product, 165f.

³⁰⁶ For more information on this matter see chapter 3.1.

³⁰⁷ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 84.

³⁰⁸ For more information on this matter see chapter 5.

than one person appeared and featured three models. Two out of the three selected advertisements for 1993, which is the last year of the research period, featured two persons, while one advert depicted one model.³⁰⁹

Genders:

Overall, the 72 advertisements showed 76 individuals, 75 of whom were categorized as female, and one person was categorized as male. The first time a male person appears in this poster collection is the year 1993, which is the last year of the research period for this empirical study.³¹⁰

Race:

While 50 persons were categorized as *White American*, 21 models were assorted to the category *Afro American* and five models to the category *Latin American*. There were no persons that could have been categorized as Native Americans, Asian Americans or people from the Middle East.³¹¹

Estimated age group:

55 of the persons depicted in the adverts were estimated to be between 25 and 34 years old and thus forming the biggest age group. 18 people were assorted to the category >34 and 3 to the youngest age group, including the ages 18-24. From 1970 until 1987, models were categorized as 25-34 or >34 years old. Print advertisement nr. 54 was the first to depict a model that was categorized as 18-24 years old.³¹²

Body constitution and Disability:

75 of 76 persons were categorized as *slim*. One model's body constitution could not be analyzed due to clothing arrangement. Since some categories could not always be

³⁰⁹ See table 1 in appendix

³¹⁰ See table 2 in appendix

³¹¹ See table 3 in appendix

³¹² See table 4 in appendix

filled with information due to photographic perspective or other visual arrangements on the model, the spaces were filled with the code *non-visible*. The same result was achieved during coding visibility of disabled people. No disabilities could be found in any of the 72 print adverts. All 75 models featured in the ads were shown as both slim and not disabled.³¹³

Hair color, hair length and hair style:

The most frequent hair color featured in the selected posters for this empirical study was blonde. While 30 hair colors have been coded as *blonde*, 21 were categorized as black. There were ten brunette and ten dark-brown-haired models identified, while red hair was used once.³¹⁴

The coding processes identified 12 different hair styles. The three most used hair styles in the investigated VS print advertisements were loose hair styles such as blow outs, curls, and straight hair. Five out of 76 hair styles as well as two hair colors were not visible due to head scarfs or the photographic perspective and hence could not be analyzed.³¹⁵

70 of the 76 hair lengths were visible and could be assorted to the concerning categories, while six hair lengths could not be identified due to invisibility through accessories or camera perspectives. 60 models were perceived as longhaired, while 10 persons were depicted with chin-length hair or shorter. Models with pinned up hair styles or hair buns were also perceived as long haired, e.g., print advertisement nr. 51.³¹⁶

³¹³ See table 5 in appendix

³¹⁴ See table 6 in appendix

³¹⁵ See table 6 in appendix

³¹⁶ See table 7 in appendix

Make-up: 75 people showed in the adverts were perceived as wearing make-up. One person, the male model in print advertisement nr. 72, did not show any signs of make-up.³¹⁷

Clothing 1, 2 and 3:

The three most frequent appearances of clothes were gowns (14), followed by dresses (12), jumpsuits (7) and blouses in combination with pants (11). The rest of the outfits was composed of a combination of sweaters, short sleeved and long-sleeved shirts in combination with pants, shorts or skirts. It is noticeable that some models appeared in specific roles and were hence dressed accordingly: One model appeared in classic riding clothes, two in tennis sportswear, two in skiing outfits, two models in cowboy western outfits and one in a craftsman outfit.³¹⁸

Footwear and heel height:

For 28 out of the 76 cases, the type of footwear as well as heel height could not be identified due to the angle and perspective. The two most used shoe types were categorized as sandalettes (12) with high heels in 10 cases and pumps with high heels (11). High heels dominated over flat heels: In the visible cases, 34 shoes were coded as high-heeled, while 11 were perceived as flat heeled.³¹⁹

Jewelry and other accessories:

56 of 76 persons were depicted wearing jewelry. In the case of three adverts, jewelry was not visible due to angles and perspective and could not be coded with yes or no. From arm laces to earrings, every kind of jewelry, as long as at least one object of jewelry was detected in the ad, was coded with yes.³²⁰

³¹⁷ See table 8 in appendix

³¹⁸ See table 9 and 10 in appendix

³¹⁹ See table 11 in appendix

³²⁰ See table 12 in appendix

44 of 76 persons did not have any other accessories attached in the advert. The most used accessories were identified as hats or bags.³²¹

Cigarette visibility:

Cigarette visibility was not only counted for each poster, but for each person pictured in the advert, since an ad can depict one person holding a cigarette, while the other one does not hold a cigarette (see print advertisement nr. 69). In 45 cases, the cigarette was held in the model's hand and shown in the packaging depicted in the advert. 21 persons held their cigarettes in hand without any other appearances of cigarettes in the poster. Four models, each depicted with at least another person in the ad, were not holding a cigarette. All of them were featured in adverts published in 1992 and 1993. Before 1992, two adverts were coded in this category as *not visible*, since there was no cigarette shown.³²²

Main slogan and sub slogan:

From 1970 until 1989, the signature slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* (YCALWB)³²³ was used as the main slogan except for three adverts.³²⁴ Between 1990 and 1993, the same slogan was featured only once in the investigated adverts, while other slogans were identified as main slogans due to position and size.³²⁵ Besides the YCALWB-slogan, used as sub slogan from 1990 on in 12 adverts of this collection, the most often used sub slogans were *Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke* (14), *With rich Virginia flavor women like* (5) and *Menthol and Menthol Lights* (5). 23 of 72 did not show a sub slogan. If both slogans were the same size, the slogan lower in position was coded as the sub slogan, e.g., print advertisement nr. 34. Long promo copies such as in print advertisement nr. 29 were not counted as slogans.³²⁶

³²¹ See table 13 in appendix

³²² See table 14 in appendix

³²³ abbreviation for the slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!*

³²⁴ See table 16 in appendix

³²⁵ See graph 3 in appendix

³²⁶ See table 15 in appendix

Contrast story:

From 1970 to 1989, every year except of 1980 included at least one advert using the contrast story as a design element for the campaign. From 1990 to 1993, posters were designed without the use of contrast stories except for one advert.³²⁷

Setting:

66 of 72 adverts were designed with a blank space as a background for the model. One poster from the year 1975 and one poster published in 1978 used the contrast story as the background for the whole poster. In 1992, for the first time in this collection the blank space was replaced with an urban scene with a telephone station and faded palms in the background. Daily life settings were also used in all three adverts analyzed for the year 1993: Advert 70 showed a café, 71 used a car for the setting and 72 pictured a horse barn.³²⁸

Value of materialism mentioned:

Overall, the value of materialism was featured six times in the investigated print advertisements. The first time the mentioning of values of materialism was coded with yes was for an advert of the year 1990. For all three adverts from the year 1991 a value of materialism was detected, in 1992 for two out of three ads.³²⁹

Value of friendship mentioned:

The value of friendship was found in three adverts out of 72, one published in 1992 and one published in 1993.³³⁰

³²⁷ See table 17 in appendix

³²⁸ See table 18 in appendix

³²⁹ See table 19 in appendix

³³⁰ See table 20 in appendix

Value of relationship mentioned:

Two adverts of this collection published in 1990 were featuring the value of relationship, while one poster from the year 1992 and two from 1993 were also coded with yes regarding the use of the mentioned value. The value was not mentioned before 1990.³³¹

Value of women's lib mentioned

The mentioning of the key theme of women's liberation was coded with yes for 38 posters and with no for 34 posters. There is no significant change in the appearance frequency of the concerning value noticeable over the research period.³³²

6.3. Semiotic analysis

Like the quantitative content analysis, the semiotic analysis focuses on the image itself.³³³ As a qualitative method, a semiotic approach is used to elicit the meanings of certain expressions found in the quantitative analysis. The selection of the study material for the semiotic analysis bothered to find a few representative examples, containing all visual aspects relevant for this method. The semiotic analysis investigated three print advertisements, so that a clear comparison of the results between the posters was possible. However, before the analysis, it is necessary to discuss some theoretical notions about semiotics as an analytical method on visual sources.³³⁴

As stated in chapter 4, advertisements inhabit the function of transferring meanings to their audience.³³⁵ Hence, adverts can be seen as vehicles transporting meaning through symbols.³³⁶ Williamson uses for her work *Decoding Advertisements* a terminology – invented by de Saussure – which differentiates the term *sign* into

³³¹ See table 21 in appendix

³³² See table 22 in appendix

³³³ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 72.

³³⁴ Cf. Ibid., 73.

³³⁵ Cf. GOODWIN, ACKERMAN, KIRON (eds.), The Consumer Society, 248.

³³⁶ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 98.

signifier and *signified*. While the *signifier* is a material object, the *signified* is its meaning. Both combined are the *sign*, “[...] which has a particular meaning to a person or group of people.”³³⁷ Besides selling a product, the most important function of advertisements is conveying messages, meanings, and in this special case also self-images.³³⁸ Hence, understanding the signs used in VS advertisements is necessary to answer the question how the image of the *modern woman* looked like and changed as well as how meaning was conveyed through this image.³³⁹

The semiotic analysis was performed on the basis of selected VS print advertisements from the same material corpus which was used for the quantitative content analysis. Since the semiotic case study aims to understand the meaning of trends elaborated through the quantitative content analysis, this method followed Dyer’s taxonomy of non-verbal means, too. Nevertheless, it was necessary to not only look at non-verbal means, but also meanings conveyed by the verbal components of the advertisements.³⁴⁰

6.3.1. Analytical categories

Age group: Age contributes to the meaning of a particular product in so far as it tells us if the image of the product is connected to youth or seniority. According to Dyer, most models used in adverts are between 18-35 years old. Especially depictions of women in adverts try to convey the value of youth.³⁴¹

Race: This category tries to elaborate what the dominant appearance of specific races in contrast to others may say about the image of the modern woman in VS advertisements.³⁴²

³³⁷ WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 17; DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 91.

³³⁸ Cf. WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 19; 24.

³³⁹ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 93; LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 190.

³⁴⁰ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 77; ROSE, *Visual Methodologies*, 83.

³⁴¹ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 77.

³⁴² Cf. *Ibid.*, 78.

Gender: Gender-specific portrayals of models in advertisements often reinforce gender stereotypes and perceptions of femininity or masculinity, depending on the cultural setting the advert is published in. A semiotic approach investigates how gender and the marketed product are linked to each other and what this may tell the audience.³⁴³

Body: The dominating representation of specific body types can also convey meaning. Especially female bodies have always been exploited in advertising.³⁴⁴

Clothes and footwear: The use of specific clothing is another crucial factor, determining the image of the modern woman and hence the brand image of VS. Informal clothes such as sporty clothing are typically associated with leisure time, while an elegant wardrobe can be linked to luxury and an upper-class-lifestyle.³⁴⁵

Hair and make-up: Color, style, and length of hair as well as make-up may also act as meaning conveyors, e.g., styled hair of female models may symbolize narcissism and seduction.³⁴⁶

Jewelry and other accessories: The signifying role of props can be crucial for transferring a certain image. Expensive cars, noble horse or dog breeds, as well as country mansions can serve as symbols for values like wealth or luxury. Books may be used as a symbol for sophistication.³⁴⁷

Size: By giving one visual component more space in the advert as another one, may give the bigger component a more important meaning as the smaller one. This can not only refer to the women depicted in the ads but will be also necessary for the sizes of the different slogans used in the VS adverts.³⁴⁸

Positional communication: Meaning can be transferred through different positioning of models in adverts as well as camera perspectives. Full-body-portrayals may focus on the overall appearance of the person pictured in the ad, while close-ups symbolize

³⁴³ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 78.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Ibid., 78.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Ibid., 78.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Ibid., 78; 99.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Ibid., 83f.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Ibid., 78; ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 76.

intimate friendships or relationships. Women are often positioned inferior to men, reflecting women's subordinate role.³⁴⁹

Settings: Besides objects, backgrounds can convey meaning as well. Settings depicting outdoor backgrounds, often showing pictures of nature, aim to be linked with realness. Settings are always connected with the other objects and persons shown in the adverts. Hence, background design always influences the importance and meaning of the other elements used in the ad.³⁵⁰

Slogans: Besides the non-verbal components featured in an advert, linguistic messages like slogans and captions directly or indirectly transfer meaning, too. As chapter 3 already elaborated, ad creators knew how to play with the ambiguity of language and how to create slogans that emphasized the audience to decode its meaning or left it up to their personal interpretation. Chapter 5 discussed the ambiguous etymology of VS's brand name. Hence, it is not farfetched to investigate the meanings conveyed by VS's slogans to subsequently discuss how these meanings may have changed.³⁵¹

6.3.2. Analysis and interpretation

The semiotic analysis aims to investigate the meaning of particular observations gained through the results of the analysis. Hence, the VS print advertisement were selected out of the same sampled collection used in the quantitative analysis. The selecting process focused on finding a small number of posters to guarantee a detailed semiotic analysis. Finally, three posters were selected, containing all characteristics connected to the observations and results made in the quantitative analysis. The selected advertisements were analyzed simultaneously, guided by the explained categories. First, the relevant parts – the signs – of the poster were

³⁴⁹ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 80.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Ibid., 84.

³⁵¹ Cf. Ibid., 111.

identified, before discussing their meanings.³⁵² The following print advertisements from the SRITA collection were investigated:³⁵³



Figure 3: Virginia Slims print advertisement (1979), Nr. 30



Figure 4: Virginia Slims print advertisement (1990), Nr. 61

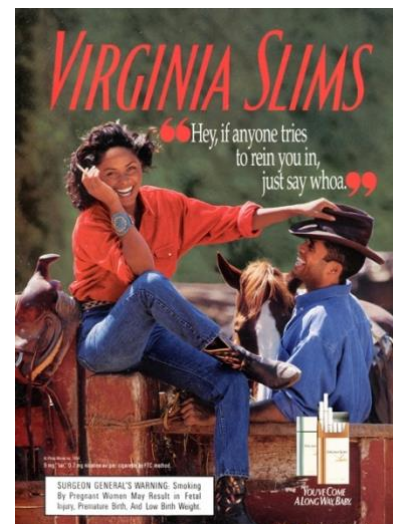


Figure 5: Virginia Slims print advertisement (1993), Nr.72

Age group:

Both the theoretical part of this master's thesis as well as the quantitative content analysis elaborated the age of VS's target group. While the woman in figure 3 was coded as older than 34 years old in the quantitative analysis, the age of the women in figure 4 and 5 was estimated to be between 25 and 34 years old.³⁵⁴ The woman in figure 3 may be estimated as slightly older than the other ones, but still be considered as a young woman. Most models can be described as between 25 and 34 years old, which is perceived as a young age in Western culture. Most models in advertisements

³⁵² Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 75.

³⁵³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 131, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-131>, 06.06.2023.

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 295, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-295>, 07.06.2023.

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 319, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-319>, 07.06.2023.

³⁵⁴ See coding sheet in appendix

in general are between 18-35 years old.³⁵⁵ Representing models of this age group in VS's print advertisements, aims to connect the product with the value of youth. In all three advertisements, the displays of female models convey the assumption that the value of youth can be achieved by buying VS cigarettes as well as the image that only young women smoke VS. The portrayed young women appear as the signifiers, while the value of youth is the signified.³⁵⁶

Race:

Figure 3 shows a White American woman, the woman in figure 4 was coded as Afro American and the woman in figure 5 was perceived as Latin American according to the results of the quantitative analysis. In the quantitative analysis, White American women were the most perceived races, followed by Afro American women.³⁵⁷ Chapter 4 already discussed the cultural phenomenon of Whiteness as a value in the American society. Hence, overrepresenting White female models in VS advertisements (see table 3) such as shown in figure 3 may aim to convey the perception of the *modern woman* as White and indicates how the idea of Whiteness as a value was displayed in the investigated posters.³⁵⁸

Showing mainly Afro American female models e.g., figure 4, besides White models can be seen as a reaction of the sociopolitical developments during the 60s and 70s known for its liberation movements, considering that the feminist movement consisted of two political groups: educated working women and women of the Black civil rights movement.³⁵⁹ Hence, portraying especially White and Black female models – and introducing Latin American models during the 90s – may intend to combine the feminist key theme with protest movements of ethnic minorities of the United States.

³⁵⁵ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 77.

³⁵⁶ Cf. STARK, J., The Cult of Youth. Anti-Ageing in Modern Britain, Cambridge 2020, 22.

³⁵⁷ See table 3 in appendix

³⁵⁸ Cf. SHANKAR, S., Nothing Sells like Whiteness: Race, Ontology, and American Advertising, in: American Anthropologist, Vol. 122/1, 112–119, 2020, 112.

³⁵⁹ Cf. LENNOX, S., Feministische Aufbrüche. Impulse aus den USA, in: GNÜG, H., MÖHRMANN, R. (eds.), Frauen Literatur Geschichte, Stuttgart 2009, 559f.

The *modern women* in the adverts work as representatives for these ethnic groups, reinforcing self-identification of Afro American and Latin American VS smokers.³⁶⁰

Gender:

All three figures show models that were perceived as female in the quantitative analysis, while figure 5 adds a male model. The nearly exclusive use of female models goes hand in hand with establishing a feminine brand image. Female models as main characters in VS advertisements convey PM's intention to market their cigarette exclusively for women and target their female buyer group. This approach is additionally reinforced by stereotypical feminine representations through clothing and make-up (more on this follows in the next categories), as figures 3 and 4 show. The female models are exclusively portrayed as cisgender women. Portrays of feminine cisgender women can work as signifiers for the value of femininity as a signified, product and product advertising work as crucial factors for identification with the female gender.³⁶¹

Body:

All three women depicted in the adverts above were classified as slim and non-disabled during the quantitative analysis. Showing exclusively slim and non-disabled bodies such as the figures for this semiotic analysis appears to convey that slim women smoke VS, while showing slim bodies without exceptions may give the impression that smoking VS helps getting and staying thin. Chapter 5 already discussed the etymology of the brand's name which indirectly refers to cigarettes as appetite suppressants and implicates slimness as a value that can be achieved through smoking. The slim models in the adverts seem to work as proof of this function and as signifiers for the value of slimness, that can be achieved through smoking VS

³⁶⁰ Cf. SHANKAR, *Nothing Sells like Whiteness*, 114.

³⁶¹ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 78.

cigarettes.³⁶² The fact that VS advertisements exclusively show non-disabled models, may reinforce stereotypical beauty ideals and body norms.³⁶³

Clothes and footwear:

Figure 3 shows a woman in a white dress that can be classified as a gown and golden shoes with a high heel that are known as sandalettes. In Western culture, gowns are worn in a certain context such as balls, galas, or other festive events. In these settings, high heeled shoes are not only used for their aesthetical aspects, but also because they qualify as dancing shoes. These festivities are often limited to a certain social class with an above-average financial background. Hence, gowns can work as signifiers of luxury, glamour, and an upper-class-lifestyle. In the case of VS adverts, gowns and sandalettes dressing the model depicted in the ad, give her a serious, exclusive glamorous look, promote a luxurious lifestyle, and most importantly aim to tell the audience that this goal of a luxurious life standard can be achieved by buying VS cigarettes.³⁶⁴

In figure 4, the model wears a dress, that may appear not as formal as the gown in figure 3, considering its pattern and its length that does not reach to the ground. Due to the advert's camera focus, the woman's shoes are not visible. The dress in figure 4 intends to be associated with attributes like trendiness or chic and as rather urban than festive. In both cases, the *modern woman* is displayed as a fashion-conscious person. Nevertheless, both styles have a different function: While the gown may serve as a symbol of luxury and classiness, the trendy dress in figure 4 may be associated as clothing for a night out in a club or bar rather than for formal festivities. Considering from this perspective which part of the population visits discos and clubs, the model in figure 4 intends to display a young, active, trendy, urban woman. Hence, while the *modern woman* in figure 3 may address middle-aged women with their classy look,

³⁶² Cf. DOXEY, HAMMOND, *Deadly in pink*, 353.

³⁶³ Cf. TIMKE, E., *Disability and Advertising*, in: *Advertising & Society Quarterly*, Vol. 20/13, 2019, <https://muse-jhu-edu.uaccess.univie.ac.at/article/736400>, 06.06.2023.

³⁶⁴ Cf. WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 13.

the model in figure 4 may target a younger audience whose late-night activities differ from the older one in figure 3. However, what both styles have in common is that they convey a stereotypical feminine style, may it be classy, may it be trendy.

In contrast to figure 3 and 4, the woman in figure 5 wears neither a gown nor a party dress. Instead, the outfit consists of blue jeans, a red chemise and cowboy boots. This style seems to fulfill many tasks in this particular advert: First, it fits the horse barn setting of figure 5. A dress or gown would not be practical at a barn and hence would make the advert appear less authentic. Second, according to our Western cultural understanding, the cowboy look is associated more with masculinity than with femininity.³⁶⁵ The female model does not appear here as a stereotypically feminine cowgirl, but as a tomboyish and self-confident *ranch woman*, considering her position, her gesture, and the content of the main slogan, which are analyzed in the later categories.³⁶⁶

Hair and make-up:

While in figure 4 the model's hair looks straightened, the women in figure 3 and 5 seem to have gotten something like a blowout. A blowout is achieved by elaborately blow-drying the hair with specific brushes, curlers, and techniques, often done at the salon. The hair color in figure 4 and 5 is black, while the women's hair in figure 3 is blonde, which is the prevalent color in this poster set according to the quantitative analysis. All three women have long hair. Both women in figure 3 and 4 wear red lipstick, while the model in figure 5 either seems to wear a nude lipstick or no lipstick at all. The models in figure 3 and 5 wear eye make-up. Since the woman in figure 4 is wearing sunglasses, it is not visible if she wears eye make-up underneath her eyewear. Wearing a specific color of eye shadow or lipstick that does not blend with the model's skin color may have the function to be acknowledged as obvious make-up. This appearance may show that effort was made by styling the face as well as it is with the

³⁶⁵ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 98.

³⁶⁶ Cf. ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, *Emotions for sale*, 131.

obviously styled hair. Prominent make-up is a feature rather associated with women than with men and hence perceived as a feminine characteristic in Western societies. Having the financial and time resources to go to the salon to let someone do your hair or do your make-up is a privilege, often reserved for a certain social group.

The prevalence of blonde hair may be connected with the prevalence of White women in VS advertisements, representing preferred displays of women more frequently than others. While short hair is often associated with masculinity or a masculine appearance, long and groomed hair works as a signifier of beauty, self-care, and femininity. Showing more women with long hair than with short hair in the adverts may aim to connect the women in the adverts with femininity as well as conveying the overall brand image as a feminine one. According to Dyer, styled face and hair may serve as symbols for narcissism and vanity and may be connotated in a negative way.³⁶⁷ In the case of VS, they seem to be used in a positive way to convey a healthy sense of self-confidence, self-care, and satisfying needs such as these aesthetical ones. Hence, these displays of perfectly styled hair and faces indirectly seem to play together with the main theme of women's lib, serving – with the whole appearance of the *modern woman* in the background in general – as a contrast to the women in the pseudo-historical displays in the upper part of the posters, as it is for figure 3.³⁶⁸

Jewelry and other accessories:

The model in figure 3 wears a long necklace, which seems to be woven with a disk, which could be an amulet, attached to it, reaching to the woman's waist. She also wears a pearly ring on the right hand. This simple look is convenient for the advertising style at that time. Nevertheless, the accessories may intend to give her a classy look, showing to the audience, that she is able to afford those, but in a discreet way.

In the case of figure 4, the woman was equipped with three armlets in black and white with point, circle, and stripe patterns on them. Her ears hold long black earrings, each

³⁶⁷ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 78.

³⁶⁸ Cf. Ibid., 98.

with a big yellow star at the end, matching the color of the slogan and brand name background. These accessories appear less formal than the ones used in figure 3. The armlets and earrings shown in the advert may rather be associated with pop art than with classy jewelry and match the style of the dress the woman wears as well as its function to appeal to a younger audience.

The woman in figure 5 does not wear any earrings, necklaces, or rings. She wears an armlet, colored in blue and yellow with a circle pattern, found in Native American cultures, especially Central or South America. Using only one item may give the model a natural appearance, emphasized by the armlet, since in Western culture, native peoples are understood as close to nature.³⁶⁹

Size:

The three main photographic elements in figure 3 are the contrast story, the modern woman in full body portrait and the two cigarette packages. While the modern woman takes the biggest space in the advert, the contrast story is second in size, followed by the two cigarette packages. This size distribution intends to pay the modern woman the biggest attention to illustrate the difference between the woman in the contrast story and the modern woman, underlined by the signature slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!*. The contrast story gets as much space as in all other adverts using this design element. This may have trivial technical reasons, since the reader would not be able to get the point and understand the whole advertising concept if the photographs and letters were too small. The illustration of the two cigarette packages is half as big as the portrait of the modern woman. By this means, the portrait of the woman remains the center of the poster, but the product (cigarette) and the benefits of it (filter tip and aesthetical features of the packaging) are visible to potential buyers, too.

³⁶⁹ Cf. ROSE, Visual Methodologies, 61.

Looking at the textual elements of figure 3, the brand name takes the biggest space, followed by the signature slogan and the sub slogan *Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke*. This size distribution, as well as it was with the photographic elements, may show which text is the most important by size. The brand name is the biggest, since it must be associated with the whole advert. The signature slogan is second in size, which can inherit two functions: First, the brand message of women's lib and emancipation – that stands behind the signature slogan – needs to be big enough to be acknowledged by the reader to reinforce the feminist brand image of VS. Second, the signature slogan appears to be the textual companion to the modern woman as is the witty sentence to the contrast story. This parallel design idea, giving the signature slogan a bigger and thicker font than the text of the contrast story and the modern woman the biggest space in the advert, intends to underline this contrast. The smallest and thinnest text is the sub slogan, offering product details to differentiate VS cigarettes from other products. This design concept meets the acknowledgements discussed in the chapters of the theoretical part: The brand image is more important than marketing product features.

In figure 4, the size distribution was realized as follows: The advert does not contain a contrast story. The female model uses the most space in the advert. The brand name is written bold and capitalized as well as the sub slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!*, the main slogan *"Men are like trains. You can always catch another."* is written in thinner italic font. While the letters of the brand name are bigger than the ones of the main slogan, the main slogan takes more space in breadth but is written in smaller letters. The smallest text element is the sub slogan. Contrary to figure 3, this poster contains one cigarette packaging, smaller than the packages in figure 3. What appears similar between both adverts is the fact that the model takes the most space of the advert followed by the brand name. However, the order of slogans changed: The usual signature slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* is now used as the sub slogan underneath the brand name in very small caps. More importance seems to be given to the statement, that is indicated to be said by the model. The cigarette pack is

smaller than in figure 3. These changes lead to two assumptions: First, the signature slogan and its reference to women's lib and emancipation may have lost importance for the target group and hence was designed smaller in the poster. The decline of product importance in advertisements is indicated in figure 4, too: A smaller size was assigned to the cigarette packaging in this advert, seeming to guide the focus to the model, the modern woman, in the center of the poster.

In contrast to figure 3 and 4, figure 5 does not consist of singular photographic elements on blank space. Instead, a whole photograph serves as the poster with only one additional photographic element, namely the two cigarette packages in the bottom part of the advert. As in all figures, the woman gets the biggest place, followed by a man and a horse in a horse barn setting. The biggest textual element is the brand name in all-caps, followed by the main slogan *"Hey, if anyone tries to rein you in, just say whoa."* right under the brand name. The sub slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!*, is the smallest text element, placed under the cigarette packages. Compared to figure 3 and 4, the brand name is the biggest in figure 5. Again, the former signature slogan turns to be the sub slogan, although bigger in size as in figure 4. The main slogan is bigger than the ones in figure 3 and 4. Again, the modern woman represents the center of the ad with the brand name placed above her to guarantee the association between the brand and the image of the woman. The prior signature slogan seems to have lost its significance compared to figure 3 but is nevertheless used to ensure the brand recognition.

Positional communication:

As it was indicated in the last category, the full-body-portrait of the woman in the front of figure 3 intends to be perceived as a counterpart to the woman in the contrast story, being not treated equally by men, since smoking among women used to be not appropriate for women. The Western reader of the advert usually reads from top to bottom. Hence, it seems that ad designers placed the contrast story for this reason in the top of the poster, so that the reader first sees American women's situation of the

past, before looking to the modern woman to underline the contrast between both displays and make the *pointe* work.

In figure 4, there is only one person depicted with the brand name, the slogans, and the cigarette packages. Hence, there is no communication with other persons possible in this specific advert.

Figure 5 is the only poster in the selected ad collection featuring two models and depicting a female person as well as a male person. The positional communication between both models is insofar interesting as advertisements usually put the man in a position that makes him appear superior to the woman. This can be achieved by bigger size or a higher position, while looking at the female model from above, clearly stating that the woman is inferior to the man. These positional arrangements often go along with a minimization and childlike display of the woman, aiming at the woman's dependence from the man.³⁷⁰ In figure 5, it is the other way round: The female model takes a higher position as the male model, sitting on the barn fence and patting the man's head. In this case, the woman is superior to the man, belittling the man next to her through the act of patting. In advertising, nothing happens by accident. This positional communication intends to be a crucial visual element in this advert, underlining the power-female brand image.

Settings:

In figure 3, the female model is portrayed in front of a white background or blank space with the contrast story in the top of the poster. This minimalistic ad design is typical for this period and guides the focus to the essential elements of the advert: The witty turn-of-the-century-story, the modern woman, and the cigarettes.³⁷¹

In the setting of figure 4 is no contrast story depicted. The woman is placed in front of a white background as well as in figure 3. Since the contrast story is missing here, the minimalistic setting offers no distractions and gives the modern woman, depicted

³⁷⁰ Cf. GOFFMAN, *Gender Advertisements*, 28.

³⁷¹ See chapter 3 for more information on advertising designs.

in a $\frac{3}{4}$ -body-portrait, and the slogan full attention. Again, the ad design intends to focus on the image of the modern woman and the cigarettes to guide the reader's attention directly at the self-image conveyed by the advert.

While figure 3 and 4 share a similar background design, figure 5 uses a different kind of setting. In this example, the models depicted find themselves at a horse barn, showing a fence, a saddle as well as a horse. The artistic background of figure 3 and 4 was changed to a natural setting. As [chapter 3](#) discussed, advert designers began to react to the values of the younger generation of the early 90s that also included a more realistic view on life. Hence, everyday life scenes such as in figure 5 became a crucial design element to enhance the realness of the advert and to increase the self-identification of the audience with the advertisement. In the case of cigarettes, natural settings intend to make the audience perceive the product as – paradoxically – fresh, since nature is always associated with fresh air.³⁷² Additionally, horseback riding is a hobby in Western culture, while until earlier in the century, horses were used for agricultural reasons and as means of transportation and later as an expensive and sportive hobby. Especially the theme of cowboys and the wild west in advertisements is associated with adventure and escape, a phenomenon also featured in the cigarette brands Marlboro and Camel. Hence, the modern woman spending time at the horse barn works as a sign for luxury, since horseback riding is an expensive hobby, but can also work as a sign for relaxation, escape, and leisure time in order to convey the notion that these needs can be met by purchasing the product.³⁷³

Slogans:

In figure 3, the signature slogan *You've come a long way, baby!* was perceived as the main slogan, while *Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.* was coded as the sub slogan in the quantitative analysis. The main slogan aims at the history of female exploitation and the unequal relationship between men and women in American

³⁷² Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 99; WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 13.

³⁷³ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 83f.; 64; 98.

society. It implicates, that women have not been treated equally to men for a long time, but now, this time is over, and women achieved equality and liberation from the chains of patriarchy. The slogan uses the pronoun *you*, to communicate directly with the reader of the advert. This slogan should appeal to women, who are the target group of VS. *A long way* is used in a metaphorical way, describing the long fight for women's liberation, equal rights, and emancipation. The word *baby*, which is generally used as a name for newborns or toddlers, is used as a vocative, addressing the female reader. *Baby* can also be used as a nickname for women, often used by men. Chapter 5 already elaborated the dispute about the word *baby* in the slogan between the Leo Burnett advertising agency and the marketing department of Philip Morris. The word *baby* as a nickname for women on the one hand can inherit a belittling function towards the woman herself, considering she is equated with a toddler when both can be described by the same word. On the other hand, within the word *baby* lives a sexualized nature, when used as a nickname especially by men for women.³⁷⁴ The sub slogan *Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke*. explains the physical advantages of VS cigarettes compared to other regular sized cigarette brands. However, there seems to be a subliminal message hidden in the sub slogan, comparing women's body sizes to male bodies: *Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke* = *Slimmer than men*. This connotation implicates the expectation of female bodies as slim and petite and refers to the appetite suppressing function of cigarettes.

As discussed for figure 4 in the category *size*, the slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* is printed in small capitalized letters underneath the brand name, conveying the idea that the slogan is not as important as it once was. While the signature slogan takes a back seat,

"Men are like trains. You can always catch another." is the main slogan of figure 4. It is written in italic font with quote marks, indicating that the model herself is the speaker of the main slogan. In the slogan, men are compared with trains (*Men are like*

³⁷⁴ Cf. KLUGER, *Ashes to Ashes*, 545.

trains), explaining a similarity between these two with a sassy punchline (*You can always catch another*). As well as the previous signature slogan, the key theme of emancipation and female confidence is indirectly featured. However, what is different, is that the slogan also seems to set a focus on the matter of dating and romantic relationships with men. The message intends to say: Women, who smoke VS, are confident enough to not put up with men's poor behavior when dating them and are emancipated enough to date another man. The *modern woman* does not depend on a man anymore, she can stand up for herself and her values. Due to the prior signature slogan's small size, its function may be featured to ensure brand recognition.

The use of text elements in figure 5 is similar to the structure in figure 4. *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* serves as the sub slogan, while the main slogan "*Hey, if anyone tries to rein you in, just say whoa.*" is positioned in the top of the advert. Again, the prior signature slogan *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* is the smallest text element, placed in the bottom of the poster, which conveys the connotation, that it is merely used as a symbol of brand recognition. The western riding theme of the setting and the main slogan are well-matched with each other. The content of the main slogan sounds like an invitation, directly addressing the reader by using the interjection *hey* and the pronoun *you*. Similar to figure 4, the slogan plays with witty metaphors and comparisons. *Reins* are an instrument to guide and baffle horses when riding them, often in combination with the interjection *whoa* to calm the horse down. However, this slogan does not give riding instructions, but rather some dating advice. The *modern woman* stops (*whoa*) her – probably male – partner, when he tries to restrict her (if anyone tries to rein you in). Hence, the feminist and liberation idea, once inhabiting the signature slogan, is now packaged into this metaphorical use of riding instructions for dating advice.

6.4. Discussion and conclusion of all results

This subchapter aims to discuss and interpret all results, collected in the quantitative content analysis as well as the semiotic analysis. This discussion will be guided by the research questions and theses, listed at the beginning of [chapter 6](#).

6.4.1. RQ 1: What kind of woman is constructed and displayed in the print advertisements of Virginia Slims?

H1: *The proportion of White women with blonde to brunette, long hair predominates over Afro American, Asian American or Latin American representations of women.*

The quantitative analysis showed that 50 models could be categorized as White American and 21 as Afro American. Five models were coded as Latin American. Asian Americans or models with Middle Eastern descent could not be identified in the 72 posters.³⁷⁵ While White American and Afro American women appear regularly since the beginning of the research period, Latin American models were first perceived in this sampled collection in the year 1990, but then showed Latin American persons five times between 1990 and 1993.

Graph 1: Race appearances in VS advertisements between 1970 and 1993



³⁷⁵ See table 3 in appendix

60 models were perceived as long-haired, while ten models had short hair.³⁷⁶ During the semiotic analysis, long hair was discussed as a sign for beauty, narcissism, and femininity.³⁷⁷ Blonde hair was in the majority styled with a blowout, while black hair was predominantly showed as curly (seven persons), nevertheless closely followed by a straight hair style (four persons).³⁷⁸ The selected poster collection showed a race-stereotypical distribution of hair colors and hair styles. While White American models were in no cases shown with curly black hair, but blonde in more than half of the cases featuring White American models, Afro American women either had black or dark brown hair.³⁷⁹ Hence, the modern woman of VS can be seen as predominantly White and blonde, but also as Afro American with black hair during the first two decades after the brand's launching. However, this trend indicates the idea that the PM marketing department as well as the Leo Burnett advertising agency tried to convey more different female images regarding racial diversity, though still excluding other races living in the United States.

H2: *The majority of the women depicted can be described as young. There are no models depicted that can be assorted to the age group of 50 years or older.*

With 18 female models out of 75 coded as older than 34 years, VS generally conveyed a young brand image.³⁸⁰ Though the classification was >34, none of the models depicted in the advert appeared as older than 45 years old. As elaborated during the theoretical part as well as the semiotic analysis, establishing the image of the young modern woman of VS may intend to directly address the target audience of the brand, emphasizing the value of youth deeply rooted in Western cultures and creating possibilities for self-identification between the female target group and the modern

³⁷⁶ See table 7 in appendix

³⁷⁷ Cf. DYER, Advertising as Communication, 78.

³⁷⁸ See table 6 in appendix

³⁷⁹ See table 23 in appendix

³⁸⁰ See table 4 in appendix

woman in the advert, ergo with the brand itself. To achieve this aim, portraying exclusively young women was a crucial puzzle piece of the advertising concept.

H3: *The bodies of the women depicted correspond to cultural Western body standards: They are exclusively slim and non-disabled.*

The results of the quantitative analysis showed that all depicted bodies are exclusively slim and non-disabled.³⁸¹ Conveying this particular type of female bodies to address the value of slimness may enforce unrealistic beauty ideals. These displays of slim female bodies correspond with the subliminal message that lies in the brand name *Virginia Slims* as well as with the appetite suppressing function of cigarettes, discussed in [chapter 5](#) and in the semiotic analysis.

H4: *The portrayals of women are exclusively cisgender females and convey a feminine image.*

The majority of the female models depicted in VS adverts have long hair, often worn as a blowout out or as curls. The models are equipped with gowns or dresses, wearing mostly high heeled shoes and jewelry such as earrings, necklaces, or arm laces. All models wore visible make-up except for the male model in nr. 72.³⁸² As elaborated in the semiotic analysis, these objects and styles work as signs for beauty, narcissism, vanity and a feminine appearance in Western cultures.³⁸³ Except for singular models in themed adverts such as the skiing woman in print advert nr. 8, the camping woman in nr. 35, the rider in nr. 39 or the ranch woman in nr.72, the whole collection shows portrayals of women, appearing as stereotypically feminine, enforcing a feminine image onto the target audience of VS.

³⁸¹ See table 5 in appendix

³⁸² See tables 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12 as well as figure 5.

³⁸³ Cf. DYER, *Advertising as Communication*, 78.

H5: *The advertisements show portrayals of women belonging to the upper- or upper-middle-class.*

Gowns appear the most, followed by dresses, jumpsuits, and blouses with pants.³⁸⁴ As discussed in the qualitative analysis, especially gowns, but the other mentioned clothing styles too, are formal clothes, usually worn on special events or festivities such as balls or gala events. Hence, these clothes may convey attributes such as elegance, beauty, but also extravagance. Additionally, 56 out of 76 women in the posters wear jewelry.³⁸⁵ The semiotic analysis explained that jewelry works as a sign for a luxurious lifestyle, since they are accessories which are often expensive to afford. Regarding the hairstyles, 23 of the models got a blowout, which is a hairstyle one can receive as an elaborate service at the hair salon.³⁸⁶ This conveys, on the one hand, again female beauty ideals and norms, prevailing in Western culture, at least regarding conventional and every-day-lifestyles, considering that this kind of hair style requests financial and temporal resources, which appears rather unpractical and expensive in the daily routine for the average American woman. Of course, this perspective must consider, that the models were aesthetically prepared for the advert, but nevertheless, most of the models are obviously effortfully styled in an expensive and luxurious way. Considering these acknowledgments achieved through both analytical methods, the appearance of the modern woman in the investigated VS posters indicates that the models were purposely styled and portrayed with elegant and expensive-looking clothing, accessories, and props. Hence, these displays convey that the modern woman of VS served as a representation of upper-class or upper-middle class women, providing possibilities of self-identification for the target audience.

³⁸⁴ See table 9 in appendix

³⁸⁵ See table 12 in appendix

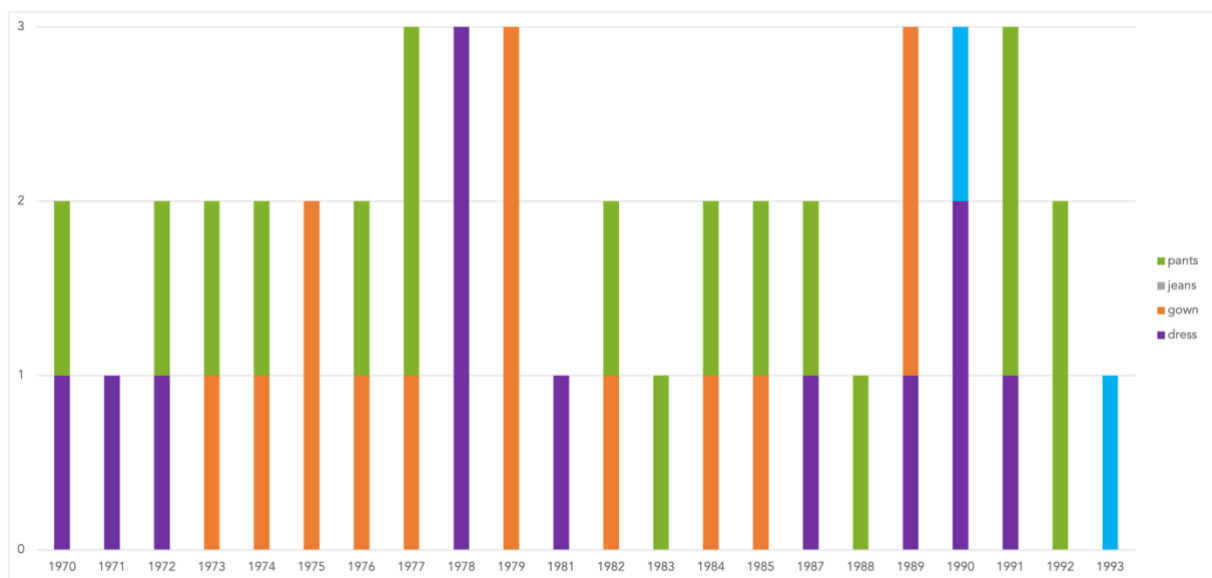
³⁸⁶ See table 6 in appendix

6.4.2. RQ 2: How did the image of the modern woman change over the research period?

H6: *The image turned from the glamorous upper-class-modern woman to the casually dressed cool modern woman.*

While gowns, dresses and shirts with pants were the most used clothes used in this data set in general, both analytical methods showed some interesting points in the change of clothing styles. 14 women in gowns appeared between 1973 and 1989. In 1990 and 1993, the first two persons appearing in jeans were coded:

Graph 2: Results of Clothing 3 between 1970 and 1993



While coats and capes were mostly used between 1970 and 1990 as outer clothing, jackets dominate during the beginning of the 90s in this sampled collection.³⁸⁷ The semiotic analysis explained how the design of dresses changed, evolving from mostly formal and elegant long dresses to shorter dresses with trendy patterns on it as in advert nr. 61. Regarding hairstyles, blowouts were the most used hair style between 1974 and 1988. In advertisements during the late 80s and early 90s, blowouts did not appear anymore as hairstyles. Instead, curly hair was the most viewed hair style along

³⁸⁷ See table 24 in appendix

with straight, pinned-up hair and ponytails.³⁸⁸ Between 1987 and 1993, jewelry was coded three times, while 12 models wore jewelry between 1972 and 1984.³⁸⁹ Considering the mentioned results and observations, a change from elegant and glamorous styles to more casual and trendy appearances of female models in the investigated VS advertisements can be seen between the late 80s, continuing in the early 90s.

6.4.3. RQ 3: How are the displays of the modern woman in Virginia Slims print advertisements connected to socioeconomic changes and to what extent do the displays reflect the *zeitgeist* of the respective historical context?

H7: *The posters from the 70s to the end of the 80s contained key themes like emancipation, independence and women's lib, focusing solely on post-materialistic values. In the early 90s, core values like friendship, dating and romantic relationships, as well as materialistic values like shopping are the center of VS adverts.*

Considering the results of the quantitative analysis, the value of women's liberation was featured consistently during the research period.³⁹⁰ Though emancipation and female autonomy are a consistent and crucial element of the self-image conveyed by VS adverts through the whole research period, the original key theme was merged with other values at the beginning of the 90s. The topic of relationships is featured the first time in 1990 as well as in the following years of the research period.³⁹¹ The value of friendships is addressed in 1992 and 1993.³⁹² Materialistic values are mentioned between 1990 and 1992.³⁹³ While the early VS advertisements feature exclusively the key theme of women's lib with their contrast stories and their signature slogan *You've come a long way, baby!*, other values and key themes like friendships,

³⁸⁸ See table 25 in appendix

³⁸⁹ See table 12 in appendix

³⁹⁰ See table 22 in appendix

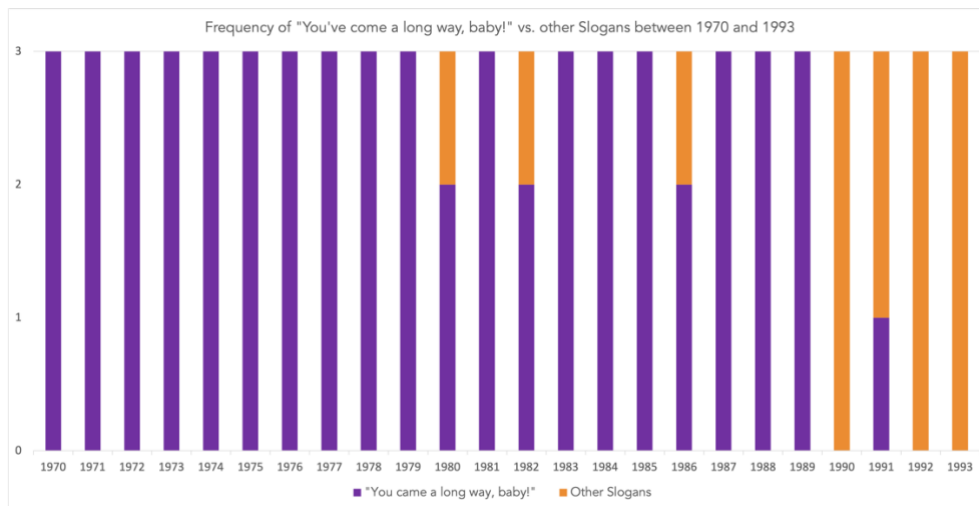
³⁹¹ See table 21 in appendix

³⁹² See table 20 in appendix

³⁹³ See table 19 in appendix

relationships and materialistic values are added to the feminist key theme. This trend can be observed by the change of the slogans, too: Between 1970 and 1989, the signature slogan was used as the main slogan except for three posters:

Graph 3: Frequency of main slogans in VS print advertisements between 1970 and 1993



Between 1990 and 1993, the signature slogan was used as a sub slogan, but never as the main slogan of the advert.³⁹⁴ This development indicates how VS advertisements turned from only focusing on the feminist key theme to merging the key theme into other values that prevail at the given time. The main slogans between 1990 and 1993 feature interests like dating ("*Men are like trains. You can always catch another.*"), money ("*I like men, I just wish they came with a warranty.*"; "*Change is good. But I prefer big bills.*"), shopping ("*Big girls don't cry. They go shopping.*"), performance ("*Success was easy. Catching the 6:45, that was the hard part.*") and friendships ("*The best part about taking a break is who you take it with.*").³⁹⁵

Additionally, the change in settings shows how zeitgeisty trends were implemented in VS adverts. The minimalistic design as a phenomenon of the 60s was used in VS posters until the end of the 80s, depicting the models in front of a blank space. However, showing real life situation and everyday scenery was a design element that

³⁹⁴ See table 15 in appendix

³⁹⁵ See VS print advertisements collection in appendix subchapter 9.5.

aimed to get the young target group during the early 90s. How this trend was realized, can be seen in the investigated posters nr. 69-72, using a horse barn or a café as an advert setting.³⁹⁶

These developments indicate a trend from post-materialistic values to materialistic and conservative values, similar to the change of the Camel Man in Dietz's *Revolte der Warenwelt*, described in chapter 3. While VS advertisements during the first two decades after the launch of the brand solely used the key theme of women's lib and emancipation, which was also an important social matter especially during the 1960s in the United States, they added materialistic and performance-oriented values to the adverts, combined with gender-stereotypical interests, reducing female needs and interests in many parts to man-related matters.

7. Conclusion

When Philip Morris launched its female-targeting brand Virginia Slims, the conditions for the advertising business were not as easy as at the beginning of the century. During the 60s and 70s, advertising needed to adapt to the American buyer ship, achieving a new level of wealth after two world wars, and changed from product-oriented advertising to value-and-needs-oriented advertising from the second half of the 20th century.³⁹⁷ Oversaturated markets made it increasingly difficult for companies to sell their products and keep up with their competitors. Especially for cigarettes, which are not viewed as life-essential commodities such as food, tobacco manufacturers relied on elaborated marketing concepts.³⁹⁸ In addition, the oil crisis of 1973/74 and anticapitalistic protest movements – especially from students and people from the educated working class – in the 1960s and their criticism of advertising as an instrument of propaganda and manipulation exacerbated the situation of the

³⁹⁶ See table 18 in appendix

³⁹⁷ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 146; LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 157; LEISS, KLINE, SUT, BOTTERILL, ASQUITH, K. (eds.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 201.

³⁹⁸ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 146; GOODWIN, ACKERMAN, KIRON (eds.), *The Consumer Society*, 255.

advertising industry.³⁹⁹ The advertising business was forced to break new ground and adapt its strategies to the new social, economic and political conditions. Minimalism instead of colorful circus, short and witty punchlines instead of long reason-why-copies and selling self-images instead of products were the state-of-the-art during the Creative Revolution.⁴⁰⁰

Hence, PM caught the right moment to launch its new brand Virginia Slims on the American tobacco market. With the help of the Leo Burnett ad agency, PM not only used new advertising strategies, but also drew on the tried-and-tested advertising tricks of female-target cigarette advertising.⁴⁰¹ Until the beginning of the 20th century, advertising in general, but also cigarette advertising, was tailored exclusively to men. But as the habit of smoking became more and more prevalent among women in American society from the end of the 19th century onward, tobacco companies had to figure out how to make the same product that had previously been advertised to men more appealing to a female target group.⁴⁰² Cigarette advertising in the 1920s focused on depictions of the *modern girl*, who embodied a modern, avant-garde, and feminine image of women. This first popular self-image in female-targeted cigarette advertising laid the foundation for many other images of women in the second half of the 20th century. It also laid the groundwork for the Virginia Slims ads, which recycled the essential values of the *modern girl* for the construction of female displays.⁴⁰³

After the brands launch in 1968, PM and the Leo Burnett advertising agency reacted to the sociopolitical circumstances and female needs by exploiting feminist ideas in their first campaign.⁴⁰⁴ White and Black women from their mid 20s to their mid 30s,

³⁹⁹ Cf. DIETZ, *Revolte in der Warenwelt*, 152; INGLEHART, *Kultureller Umbruch*, 105; SCHULMAN, *The Seventies*, 125; HARVEY, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, 78; LENNOX, *Feministische Aufbrüche*, 559f.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. BRANDT, *The Cigarette Century*, 70; WARLAUMONT, *Advertising in the 60s*, 175.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 165.

⁴⁰² Cf. AMOS, HAGLUND, *From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom"*, 3f; MALLECK, WARSH, *Introduction*, 1; ELLIOT, *Women and smoking since 1890*, 60.

⁴⁰³ Cf. ELLIOT, *Women and smoking since 1890*, 5; TINKLER, *Refinement and Respectable Consumption*, 345.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 173; WARLAUMONT, *Advertising in the 60s*, 175.

with their slim bodies dressed in glamorous clothes and elegantly styled, appeared along the key theme of women's liberation.⁴⁰⁵ For the next 20 years, the display of the upper-class feminist constantly raised Virginia Slims's market share in the United States. However, at the end of the 80s, the decline in young female VS smokers, the emergence of market competitors in the field female-targeting cigarette brands as well as a decline in market share between 1990 and 1993 challenged the brand's effortless seeming success and forced PM and Burnett to overthink their signature image, to keep up with the competitors.⁴⁰⁶ Besides slowly integrating aesthetical changes from a glamorous look to a casual style, directly addressing materialistic values like financial independence as well as psychosocial needs as relationships and friendships substituted the feminist-key theme, that seemed to not work anymore on this new generation of young women, raised in a different society than young VS smokers during the 70s.⁴⁰⁷ Similar to the development of the Camel Man, the pseudo-postmaterialistic upper-class feminist of Virginia Slims was changed for a younger, materialism-oriented, trendy, successful career woman or with the words of Billy Joel: turning from being a *Modern Woman* to being an *Uptown Girl*.⁴⁰⁸

However, these female self-images in Virginia Slims advertisements remain artificial products. Although VS advertisements reacted to its sociopolitical and economic environment, these displays correspond with the phenomenon of Roland Marchand's *Zerrspiegel*, considering, that the feminism activists during the 70s were especially students or working women of whom neither the ones nor the others are obviously visible in the investigated VS adverts.⁴⁰⁹ The fact, that exclusively young, slim, non-disabled White or Black models appear, that Latin Americans are introduced late and Asian Americans models, for example, do not appear at all during this research period,

⁴⁰⁵ A detailed discussion on the results of the empirical study can be found in chapter 6.4.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 174; DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 167; ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, *Emotions for sale*, 130.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. TOLL, LING, *The Virginia Slims identity crisis*, 175f.; 177; *Emotions for Sale*, 131.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. ANDERSON, GLANTZ, LING, *Emotions for sale*, 131.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. MARCHAND, *Advertising the American Dream*, xvii; see also the discussion on the results in chapter 6.4.

highlights the function of the *Zerrspiegel* additionally and Roland Marchand's statement, that some social groups are hardly represented in advertising.⁴¹⁰

Nevertheless, it must also be considered that advertising does not claim to show images that authentically reflect the realities of people's lives. Rather, the aim is to reflect and reinforce the needs, values, and desires of a particular target group in a particular cultural context – albeit in a distorted way – in order to increase self-identification with the brand and the product.⁴¹¹ How important it was to adjust the construction of self-images to the culture-specific values of the target group during the planning process of advertisements, can be seen on the example of VS advertisements published in Asian countries: In Korea, for example, PM did not focus on female images, needs and values, but targeted its brand marketing specifically at men.⁴¹²

Hence, images such as advertisements can be read differently by different audiences, by different genders and at different historical moments, making advertisements interesting for research work in many scientific fields due to their ubiquitous and versatile character.⁴¹³ Regarding this master's thesis, these attributes provide tobacco companies multiple ways to create different female displays and possibilities to identify with the brand and the product. This fact makes adverts the ideal instruments to exploit needs and values of their audience, too, as it is in the case of Virginia Slims.⁴¹⁴ Judith Williamson summarizes the usability of advertisements up as follows: "Obviously, it has a function, which is to sell things to us. But it has another function, which I believe in many ways replaces that traditionally fulfilled by art or religion. It creates structures of meaning."⁴¹⁵ Obviously, PM and Leo Burnett were aware of the power of advertisements and how to use it in their advantage, at least for some time.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. MARCHAND, *Advertising the American Dream*, xvii; see also the discussion on the results in chapter 6.4.

⁴¹¹ LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Herausforderungen*, 166; MÜLLER-SCHNEIDER, *Wertewandel, Erlebnisorientierung und Lebensstile*, 92.

⁴¹² Cf. DEWHIRST, WONKYONG, FONG, LING, *Exporting an Inherently Harmful Product*, 175f.

⁴¹³ Cf. WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 11; SIEGERT, BRECHEIS, *Werbung in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*, 8.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. COOK, *Sex, lies and cigarettes*, 175.

⁴¹⁵ WILLIAMSON, *Decoding Advertisements*, 11f.

8. Bibliography

This chapter includes all sources used in this master's thesis and is divided into primary literature and secondary literature.

8.1. Primary Literature

The analyzed print advertisement collection as well as the marketing documents can be found in this subchapter.

Print advertisements

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<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-8>, 06.06.2023.

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims.

You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 9,

<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-9>, 06.06.2023.

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims.

You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 4,

<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-4>, 06.06.2023.

1972

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims.

You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 16,

<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-16>, 06.06.2023.

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 21, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-21>, 06.06.2023.

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1973

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1974

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SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 66, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-66>, 06.06.2023.

1975

SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 70, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-70>, 06.06.2023.

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SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 80, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-80>, 06.06.2023.

1976

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1978

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You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 123

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1979

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You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 128,

<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-128>, 06.06.2023.

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You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 129,

<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-129>, 06.06.2023.

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You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 131,

<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-131>, 06.06.2023.

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<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-134>, 06.06.2023.

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You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 137,

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You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 186,

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SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims.

You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 203,

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8.2. Secondary Literature

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<https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarette/img0556/>, 13.04.2023.

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9. Appendix

The appendix contains the following materials used in this master's thesis: abstract, list of abbreviations, ad collection for the empirical study, list of figures, list of tables, list of graphs and the coding sheet.

9.1. Abstract (English)

When the socioeconomic situation after two world wars led to unprecedented wealth in the American society, the advertising industry had to face new challenges. During the late 60s, the Creative Revolution shaped the advertising business in the long term, as advertising agencies and companies developed new marketing concepts and modern design features prioritizing the consumer's needs instead of a mere product focus. It was during this new era of advertising in 1968, when Philip Morris introduced its female-targeting brand *Virginia Slims*, using feminist ideas to establish its brand image and conveying the image of a *modern woman* to meet the needs of its target group.

This master's thesis investigates a selected collection of *Virginia Slims* print advertisements through quantitative content analysis as well as semiotic analysis to elaborate how constructing the *modern woman* as a brand mascot evolved and changed with the values of the zeitgeist between the 1970s and the early 90s.

9.2. Abstract (deutsch)

Als die sozioökonomische Situation nach den beiden Weltkriegen zu einem noch nie dagewesenen Wohlstand in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft führte, musste sich die Werbebranche neuen Herausforderungen stellen. In den späten 60er Jahren prägte die Creative Revolution die Werbebranche nachhaltig, als Marketingagenturen und Unternehmen neue Marketingkonzepte und moderne Designfeatures entwickelten, die die Bedürfnisse der Verbraucher berücksichtigten anstelle einer reinen Produktfokussierung. In dieser neuen Ära der Werbung führte Philip Morris 1968 seine auf Frauen ausgerichtete Marke *Virginia Slims* ein und nutzte feministische Ideen, um sein Markenimage zu etablieren und das Bild einer *modern woman* zu vermitteln, um den Bedürfnissen seiner Zielgruppe gerecht zu werden. In dieser Masterarbeit wird eine ausgewählte Sammlung von *Virginia-Slims*-Printwerbungen mittels quantitativer Inhaltsanalyse sowie semiotischer Analyse untersucht, um herauszufinden, wie sich das Konstrukt der *modern woman* als Markenmaskottchen mit den Werten des Zeitgeistes zwischen den 1970er und den frühen 90ern entwickelte und veränderte.

9.3. List of abbreviations

PM	Philip Morris
VS	Virginia Slims
YCALWB	You've Come a Long Way, Baby!

9.4. Analyzed print advertisements

This subchapter includes all VS print advertisements analyzed in this master's thesis. For the empirical study, the 72 sampled posters were numbered with 1 to 72. The numbers referred to in the footnotes of this subchapter were chosen by the SRITA collection team and used here for the correct citation of all advertisements.

1970

Print advertisement nr. 1⁴¹⁶



Print advertisement nr. 2⁴¹⁷



Print advertisement nr. 3⁴¹⁸

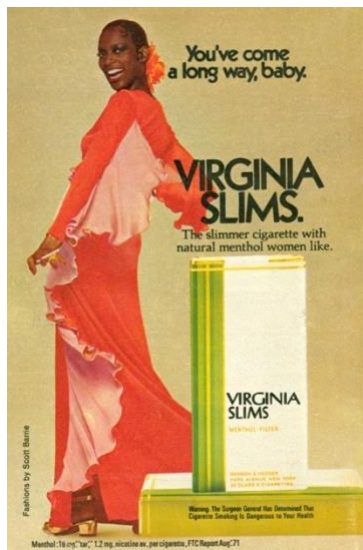
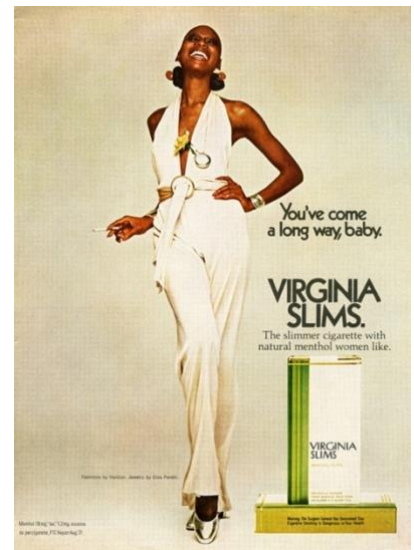


⁴¹⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 8, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-8>, 06.06.2023.

⁴¹⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 9, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-9>, 06.06.2023.

⁴¹⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 4, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-4>, 06.06.2023.

1971

Print advertisement nr. 4⁴¹⁹Print advertisement nr. 5⁴²⁰Print advertisement nr. 6⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 16, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-16>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²⁰ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 21, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-21>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²¹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 17, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-17>, 06.06.2023.

1972

Print advertisement nr. 7⁴²²Print advertisement nr. 8⁴²³Print advertisement nr. 9⁴²⁴

⁴²² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 25, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-25>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 28, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-28>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 27, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-27>, 06.06.2023.

1973

Print advertisement nr. 10⁴²⁵Print advertisement nr. 11⁴²⁶Print advertisement nr. 12⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 45, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-45>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 28, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-28>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 42, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-42>, 06.06.2023.

1974

Print advertisement nr. 13⁴²⁸Print advertisement nr. 14⁴²⁹Print advertisement nr. 15⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 56, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-56>, 06.06.2023.

⁴²⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 61, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-61>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³⁰ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 66, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-66>, 06.06.2023.

1975

Print advertisement nr. 16⁴³¹Print advertisement nr. 17⁴³²Print advertisement nr. 18⁴³³

⁴³¹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 70, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-70>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising).. Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 73, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-73>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 80, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-80>, 06.06.2023.

1976

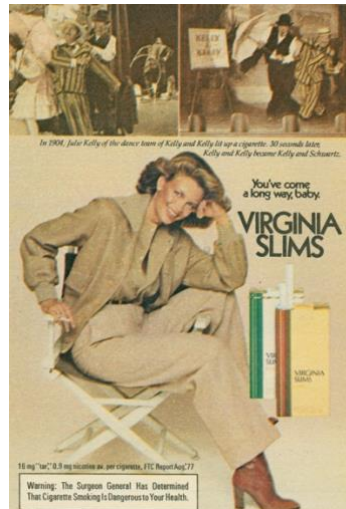
Print advertisement nr. 19⁴³⁴Print advertisement nr. 20⁴³⁵Print advertisement nr. 21⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 96, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-96>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 95, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-95>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 93, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-93>, 06.06.2023.

1977

Print advertisement nr. 22⁴³⁷Print advertisement nr. 23⁴³⁸Print advertisement nr. 24⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 106, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-106>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 111, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-111>, 06.06.2023.

⁴³⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 104, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-104>, 06.06.2023.

1979

Print advertisement nr. 28⁴⁴³Print advertisement nr. 29⁴⁴⁴Print advertisement nr. 30⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 128, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-128>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁴⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 129, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-129>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁴⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 131, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-131>, 06.06.2023.

1980

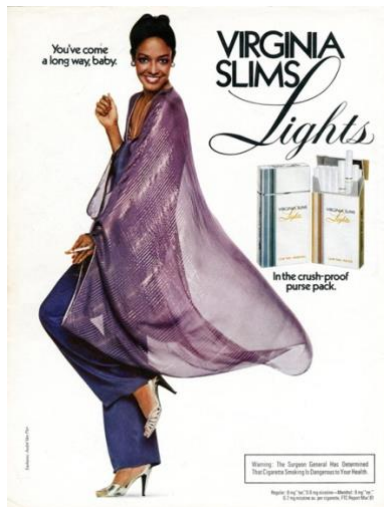
Print advertisement nr. 31⁴⁴⁶Print advertisement nr. 32⁴⁴⁷Print advertisement nr. 33⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 134, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-134>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁴⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 133, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-133>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁴⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 135, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-135>, 06.06.2023.

1981

Print advertisement nr. 34⁴⁴⁹Print advertisement nr. 35⁴⁵⁰Print advertisement nr. 36⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 137, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-137>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵⁰ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 143, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-143>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵¹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 149, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-149>, 06.06.2023.

1982

Print advertisement nr. 37⁴⁵²Print advertisement nr. 38⁴⁵³Print advertisement nr. 39⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 163, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-163>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 164, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-164>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 165, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-165>, 06.06.2023.

1983

Print advertisement nr. 40⁴⁵⁵Print advertisement nr. 41⁴⁵⁶Print advertisement nr. 42⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 183, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-183>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 181, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-181>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 186, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-186>, 06.06.2023.

1984

Print advertisement nr. 43⁴⁵⁸



Print advertisement nr. 44⁴⁵⁹



Print advertisement nr. 45⁴⁶⁰

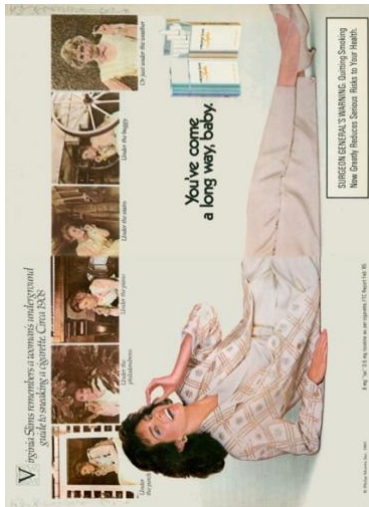


⁴⁵⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 203, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-203>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁵⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 205, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-205>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁶⁰ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 190, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-190>, 06.06.2023.

1985

Print advertisement nr. 46⁴⁶¹Print advertisement nr. 47⁴⁶²Print advertisement nr. 48⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 225, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-225>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁶² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 211, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-211>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁶³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 218, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-218>, 06.06.2023.

1986

Print advertisement nr. 49⁴⁶⁴Print advertisement nr. 50⁴⁶⁵Print advertisement nr. 51⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 234, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-234>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁶⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 238, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-238>, 06.06.2023.

⁴⁶⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 229, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-229>, 07.06.2023.

1987

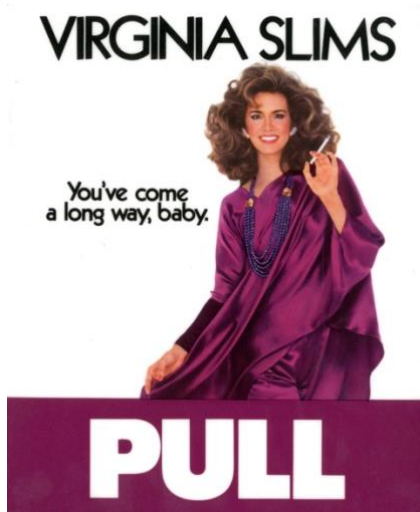
Print advertisement nr. 52⁴⁶⁷Print advertisement nr. 53⁴⁶⁸Print advertisement nr. 54⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 243, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-243>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁶⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 251, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-251>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁶⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 250, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-250>, 07.06.2023.

1988

Print advertisement nr. 55⁴⁷⁰Print advertisement nr. 56⁴⁷¹Print advertisement nr. 57⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 272, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-272>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁷¹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 270, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-270>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁷² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 269, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-269>, 07.06.2023.

1989

Print advertisement nr. 58⁴⁷³Print advertisement nr. 59⁴⁷⁴Print advertisement nr. 60⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 276, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-276>, 07.06.2023.

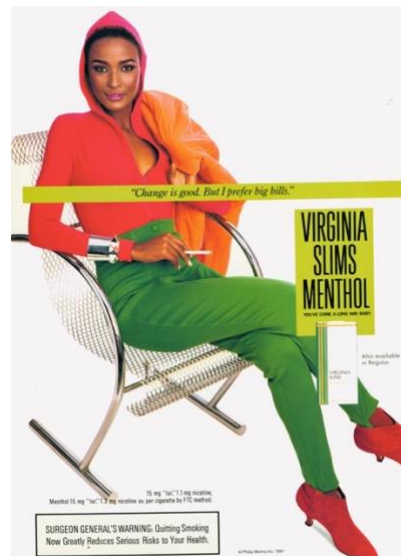
⁴⁷⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 274, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-274>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁷⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 273, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-273>, 07.06.2023.

Print advertisement nr. 63⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁸ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 289, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-289>, 07.06.2023.

1991

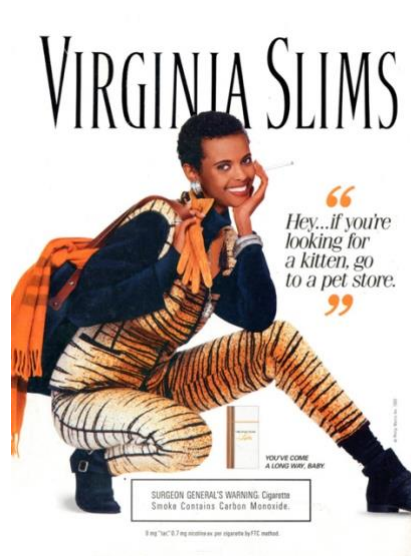
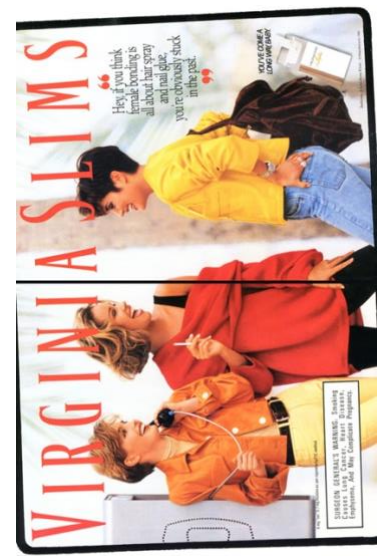
Print advertisement nr. 64⁴⁷⁹Print advertisement nr. 65⁴⁸⁰Print advertisement nr. 66⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 300, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-300>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁸⁰ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 299, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-299>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁸¹ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 307, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-307>, 07.06.2023.

1992

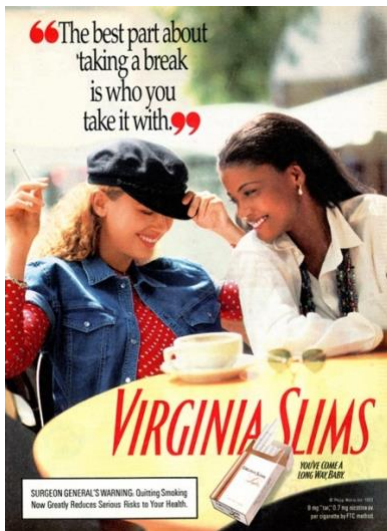
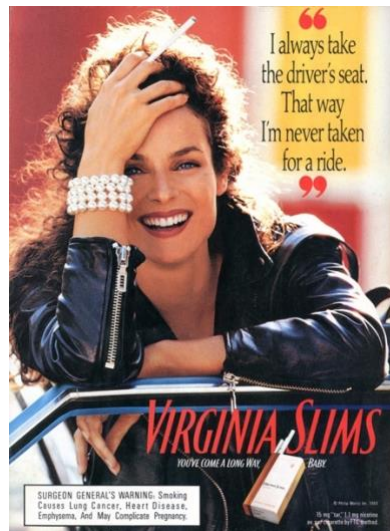
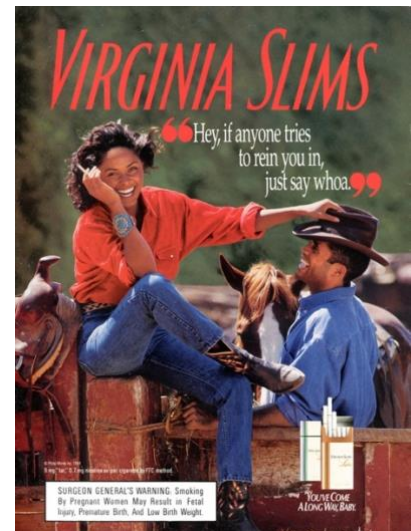
Print advertisement nr. 67⁴⁸²Print advertisement nr. 68⁴⁸³Print advertisement nr. 69⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸² SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 316, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-316>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁸³ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 315, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-315>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁸⁴ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 312, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-312>, 07.06.2023.

1993

Print advertisement nr. 70⁴⁸⁵Print advertisement nr. 71⁴⁸⁶Print advertisement nr. 72⁴⁸⁷

9.5. List of figures



Figure 4: Print advertisement from the You've come a long way, baby campaign (1970)



Figure 3: Print advertisement from the You've come a long way, baby campaign (1974)



Figure 3: Virginia Slims print advertisement (1979), Nr. 30

⁴⁸⁵ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 329, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-329>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁸⁶ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 326, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-326>, 07.06.2023.

⁴⁸⁷ SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Virginia Slims. You've Come a Long Way, Baby! Collection. Nr. 319, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/#collection-319>, 07.06.2023.

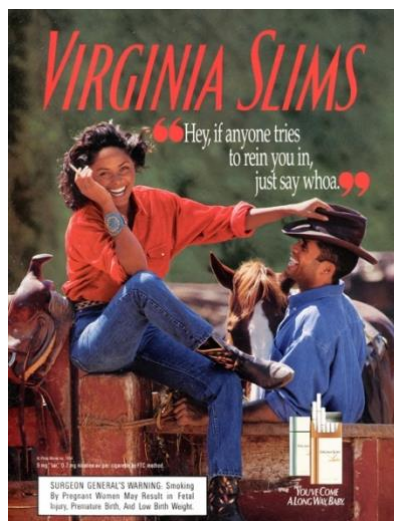


Figure 4: Virginia Slims print advertisement (1990), Nr. 61



Figure 5: Virginia Slims print advertisement (1993), Nr.72

All figures are available in the print advertisement collection *You've Come a Long Way, Baby!* in the Stanford Research Into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising database.⁴⁸⁸ Citations for each figure can be found in the prior subchapter.

9.6. List of tables

The following tables were compiled based on the quantitative analysis of the VS advertisements published from 1970 and 1993.

Table 1: Number of persons in VS advertisement, years 1970 to 1993

	Years of publication																									
Pers ons	19 70	19 71	19 72	19 73	19 74	19 75	19 76	19 77	19 78	19 79	19 80	19 81	19 82	19 83	19 84	19 85	19 86	19 87	19 88	19 89	19 90	19 91	19 92	19 93	Tot al	
1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	69	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	72

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. SRITA (Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising). Collection: *You've Come A Long Way, Baby!*, <https://tobacco.stanford.edu/cigarettes/womens-cigarettes/youve-come-along-way-baby/>, 26.05.2023.

Table 2: Gender distribution in VS advertisements

Genders	
female	75
male	1
Total	76

Table 3: Representation of races in VS advertisements

Race	
Afro American	21
Latin American	5
White American	50
Total	76

Table 4: Age distribution in VS advertisements

Estimated age group	
25-34	55
18-24	3
>34	18
Total	76

Table 5: Body constitutions and disabilities in VS advertisements

	Disability		
Body constitution	not disabled	not visible	Total
not visible		1	1
slim	75	0	75
Total	75	1	76

Table 6: Hair styles and colors in VS advertisements

	Hair style												
Hair color	blow out	braided	bun	creped	curled	curly	not visible	pinned up	ponytail	shaved/razed	straight	wavy	Total
black	2	2	0	0	0	7	3	1	1	1	4	0	21
blonde	10	1	1	0	1	8	0	1	0	0	5	3	30
brunette	5	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	10
dark blonde	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
dark brown	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	10
not visible	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
red	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
strawberry blonde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	23	3	2	1	3	17	5	3	1	1	13	4	76

Table 7: Distribution of hair lengths in VS advertisements

Hair length	
long	60
not visible	6
short	10
Total	76

Table 8: Make-up visibility according to gender in VS advertisements

Make-up	Genders		
	female	male	total
no		1	1
yes	75	0	75
total	75	1	76

Table 9: Clothing combinations in VS advertisements: Clothing 1 and 2

	Clothing 1													
Clothing 2	blazer	cape	coat	hoodie	jacket	jeans jacket	leather jacket	none	pullover	riding jacket	skiing suit	sleeveless sweater	vest	Total
blazer	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
blouse	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	11
dress	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	12
gown	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	14
high neck pullover	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
jumpsuit	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	7
longsleeved shirt	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
lumberjack shirt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
none	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
not visible	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
shirt	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
sweater	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	5
tanktop	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
tennis top	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
top	1	0	0	0	3	0	0		1	0	0	0	1	6
Total	6	3	6	1	11	1	2	40	2	1	1	1	1	76

Table 10: Clothing combinations in VS advertisements: Clothing 2 and 3

	Clothing 3											
Clothing 2	dress	gown	jeans	jumpsuit	not visible	pants	riding pants	shorts	skirt	tennis shorts	tennis skirt	Total

blazer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
blouse	0	0	1	0	2	5	1	1	1	0	0	11
dress	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
gown	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
high neck pullover	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
jumpsuit	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
longsleeved shirt	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
lumberjack shirt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
none	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
not visible	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
shirt	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4
sweater	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	5
tanktop	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
tennis top	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
top	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	1	0	6
Total	12	14	3	7	9	18	1	3	7	1	1	76

Table 11: Footwear and heel height in VS advertisements

	Heel height				
Footwear	flat heel	high heel	no shoes	not visible	Total
ankle boots	1	4	0	0	5
ballet flats	1	0	0	0	1
boots	0	2	0	0	2
cowboy boots	0	1	0	0	1
dancing shoes	0	3	0	0	3
lace-ups	1	2	0	0	3
long-distane ice skates	1	0	0	0	1
no shoes	0	0	1	0	1
not visible	0	0	0	28	28
peep-toes	0	1	0	0	1
pumps	0	11	0	0	11
riding boots	1	0	0	0	1
rollerskates	1	0	0	0	1
sandalette	0	10	0	2	12
skiing boots	1	0	0	0	1
sneakers	1	0	0	0	1
tennis sneakers	2	0	0	0	2
tramping boots	1	0	0	0	1
Total	11	34	1	30	76

Table 12: Use of jewelry in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

Year	Jewelry			
	no	not visible	yes	Total
1970	0	1	2	3
1971	0	2	1	3
1972	2	0	1	3
1973	1	0	2	3
1974	1	0	2	3
1975	0	0	3	3
1976	1	0	2	3
1977	1	0	2	3
1978	2	0	1	3
1979	0	0	3	3
1980	1	0	2	3
1981	1	0	2	3
1982	1	0	2	3
1983	0	0	3	3
1984	1	0	2	3
1985	0	0	3	3
1986	0	0	3	3
1987	1	0	2	3
1988	0	0	3	3
1989	0	0	3	3
1990	1	0	2	3
1991	0	0	3	3
1992	1	0	2	3
1993	0	0	3	3
Total	15	3	54	72

Table 13: Other accessories used in VS advertisements

Other accessories	
backpack	1
bag	1
bag; scarf	1
beanie	1
beret	2
boutonnière	1
cap	1
climbing equipment	1

cowboy hat	1
dancing stick	2
gloves; pocket watch	1
hat	6
hat; bag; newspapers	1
headscarf	4
no	44
racquet	1
riding gear	1
skiing goggles; skis	1
sunglasses	3
telephone	1
tennis racket	1
Total	76

Table 14: Cigarette visibility in VS advertisements

Cigarette visibility	
in hand	21
in hand and package	45
in package	4
no cigarette	4
not visible	2
Total	76

Table 15: Sub slogans in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

[illegible]

Table 16: Main slogans in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

	Main slogan
Years	YCALWB
1970	3
1971	3
1972	3
1973	3
1974	3
1975	3
1976	3
1977	3
1978	3
1979	3
1980	2
1981	3
1982	2
1983	3
1984	3
1985	3
1986	2
1987	3
1988	3
1989	3
1991	1
Total	58

Table 17: Use of contrast stories in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

	Contrast story		
Years of publication	no	yes	Total
1970	1	2	3
1971	2	1	3
1972	1	2	3
1973	1	2	3
1974	0	3	3
1975	1	2	3
1976	1	2	3
1977	1	2	3
1978	0	3	3
1979	1	2	3

1980	3	0	3
1981	1	2	3
1982	1	2	3
1983	1	2	3
1984	2	1	3
1985	1	2	3
1986	1	2	3
1987	2	1	3
1988	2	1	3
1989	1	2	3
1990	3	0	3
1991	2	1	3
1992	3	0	3
1993	3	0	3
Total	35	37	72

Table 18: Settings in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

	Setting						
Year	background story	blank space	café	car	horse barn	palm trees and telephone station	Total
1970	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1971	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1972	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1973	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1974	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1975	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
1976	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1977	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1978	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
1979	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1980	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1981	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1982	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1983	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1984	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1985	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1986	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1987	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1988	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1989	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1990	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1991	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
1992	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
1993	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
Total	2	66	1	1	1	1	72

Table 19: Materialistic values mentioned in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

	Value of materialism mentioned		
Year	no	yes	Total
1970	3	0	3
1971	3	0	3
1972	3	0	3
1973	3	0	3
1974	3	0	3
1975	3	0	3
1976	3	0	3
1977	3	0	3
1978	3	0	3
1979	3	0	3
1980	3	0	3
1981	3	0	3
1982	3	0	3
1983	3	0	3
1984	3	0	3
1985	3	0	3
1986	3	0	3
1987	3	0	3
1988	3	0	3
1989	3	0	3
1990	2	1	3
1991	0	3	3
1992	1	2	3
1993	3	0	3
Total	65	6	72

Table 20: Value of friendship mentioned in VS advertisements, years to 1970 to 1993

	Value of friendship mentioned		
Year	no	yes	Total
1970	3	0	3
1971	3	0	3
1972	3	0	3
1973	3	0	3
1974	3	0	3
1975	3	0	3
1976	3	0	3
1977	3	0	3

1978	3	0	3
1979	3	0	3
1980	3	0	3
1981	3	0	3
1982	3	0	3
1983	3	0	3
1984	3	0	3
1985	3	0	3
1986	3	0	3
1987	3	0	3
1988	3	0	3
1989	3	0	3
1990	3	0	3
1991	3	0	3
1992	2	1	3
1993	2	1	3
Total	70	2	72

Table 21: Value of relationship mentioned in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

Year	Value of relationship mentioned		
	no	yes	Total
1970	3	0	3
1971	3	0	3
1972	3	0	3
1973	3	0	3
1974	3	0	3
1975	3	0	3
1976	3	0	3
1977	3	0	3
1978	3	0	3
1979	3	0	3
1980	3	0	3
1981	3	0	3
1982	3	0	3
1983	3	0	3
1984	3	0	3
1985	3	0	3
1986	3	0	3
1987	3	0	3
1988	3	0	3

1989	3	0	3
1990	1	2	3
1991	3	0	3
1992	2	1	3
1993	1	2	3
Total	67	5	72

Table 22: Value of women's liberation mentioned in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

	Value of women's liberation mentioned		
Year	no	yes	Total
1970	1	2	3
1971	2	1	3
1972	2	1	3
1973	2	1	3
1974	2	1	3
1975	1	2	3
1976	1	2	3
1977	1	2	3
1978	0	3	3
1979	1	2	3
1980	3	0	3
1981	1	2	3
1982	1	2	3
1983	1	2	3
1984	2	1	3
1985	1	2	3
1986	1	2	3
1987	2	1	3
1988	2	1	3
1989	1	2	3
1990	2	1	3
1991	1	2	3
1992	2	1	3
1993	1	2	3
Total	34	38	72

Table 23: Correlation between race and hair color in VS advertisements

	Color
--	-------

Race	black	blonde	brunette	dark blonde	dark brown	not visible	red	Total
Afro American	17	0	0	0	3	1	0	21
Latin American	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
White American	0	30	10	1	6	1	2	50
Total	21	30	10	1	10	2	2	76

Table 24: Clothing 1 in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

	Clothing 1					
Year	cape	coat	jacket	jeans jacket	leather jacket	Total
1970	0	2	0	0	0	2
1971	0	1	0	0	0	1
1973	1	0	0	0	0	1
1976	0	0	1	0	0	1
1977	0	0	2	0	0	2
1980	0	0	1	0	0	1
1981	1	0	0	0	0	1
1982	0	0	1	0	0	1
1983	0	1	2	0	0	3
1986	0	0	1	0	0	1
1987	0	1	0	0	0	1
1988	1	0	0	0	0	1
1990	0	0	0	0	1	1
1992	0	1	2	0	0	3
1993	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	3	6	10	1	2	22

Table 25: Hair styles in VS advertisements, years 1970 to 1993

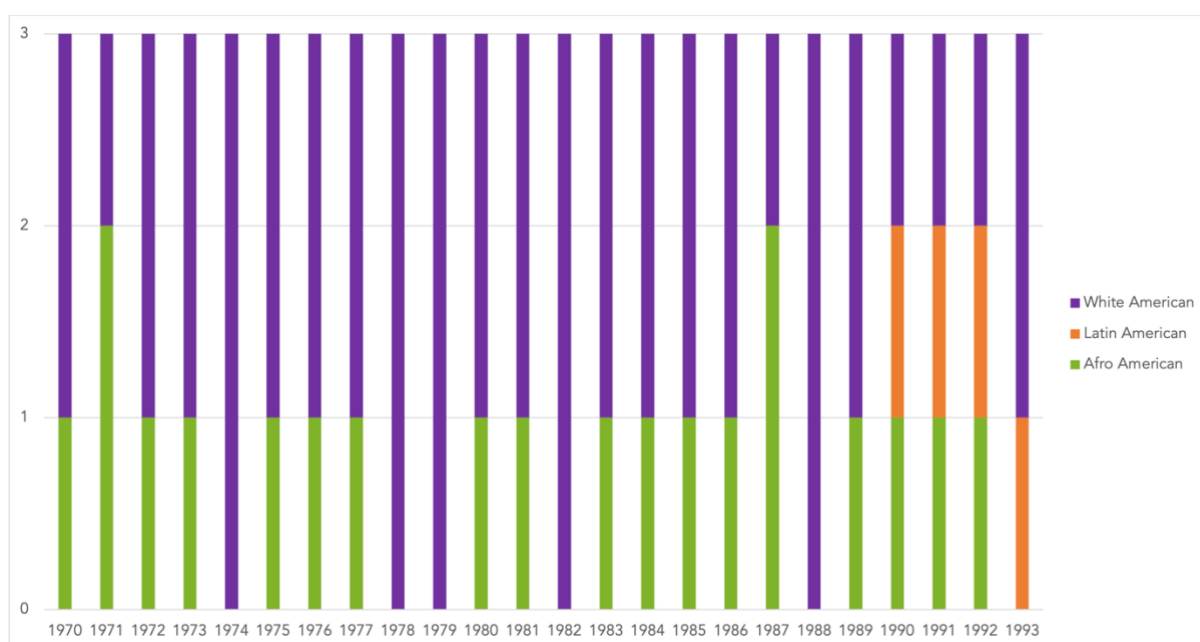
	Hair style											
Year	blow out	braided	bun	creped	curled	curly	not visible	pinned up	ponytail	straight	wavy	Total
1970	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
1971	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
1972	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
1973	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
1974	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
1975	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
1976	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
1977	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3

1978	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1979	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1980	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1981	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
1982	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
1983	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
1984	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
1985	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3
1987	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1988	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
1989	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
1990	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
1991	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3
1992	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
1993	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total	21	3	2	1	3	17	5	3	1	12	4	72

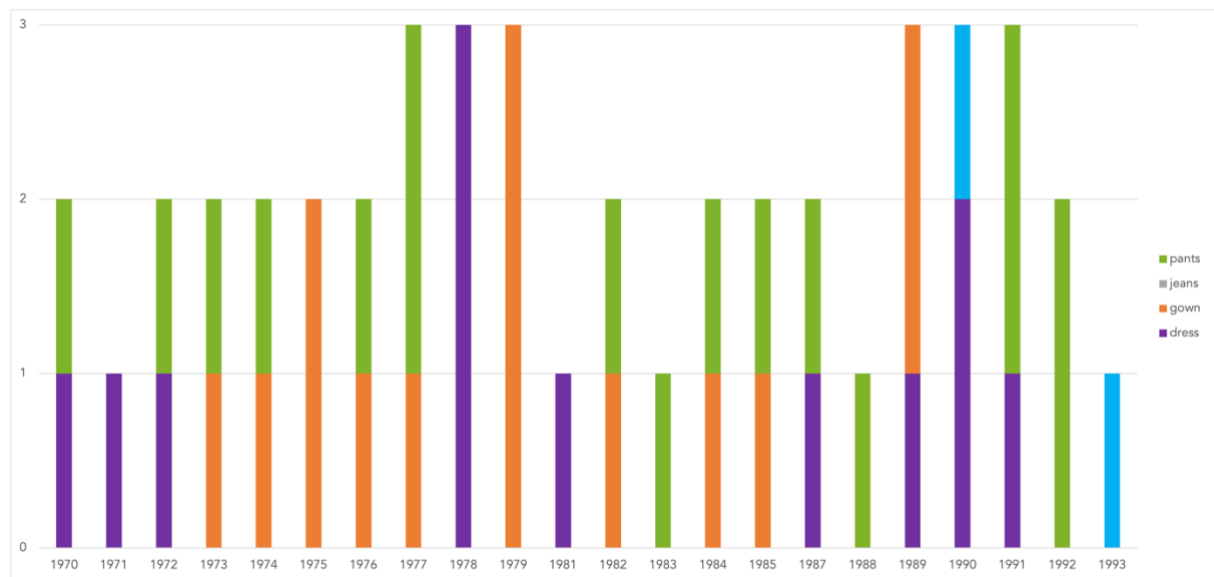
9.7. List of graphs

The following graphs were compiled based on the quantitative analysis of the VS advertisements published from 1970 and 1993.

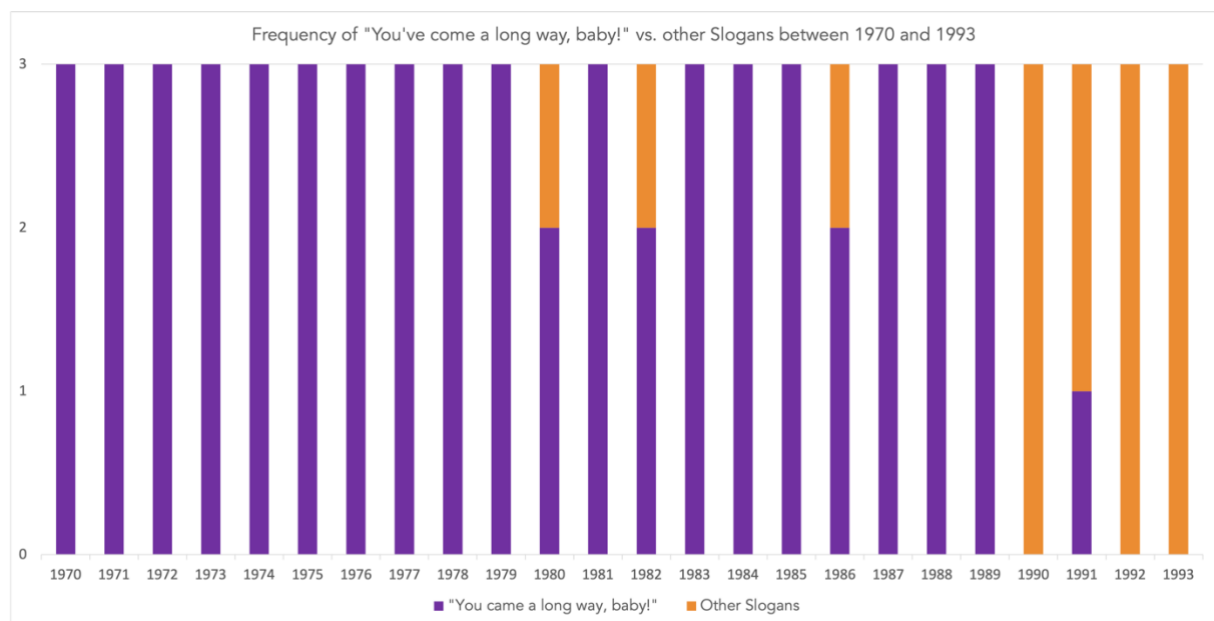
Graph 1: Race appearances in VS advertisements between 1970 and 1993



Graph 4: Results of Clothing 3 between 1970 and 1993



Graph 5: Frequency of main slogans in VS print advertisements between 1970 and 1993



9.8. Coding sheet

The results of the quantitative analysis can be consulted through the coding categories on the following pages.

Print ad nr.	Year of publication	Number of persons	Genders	Race
1	1970	1	female	White American
2	1970	1	female	White American
3	1970	1	female	Afro American
4	1971	1	female	Afro American
5	1971	1	female	White American
6	1971	1	female	Afro American
7	1972	1	female	Afro American
8	1972	1	female	White American
9	1972	1	female	White American
10	1973	1	female	White American
11	1973	1	female	White American
12	1973	1	female	Afro American
13	1974	1	female	White American
14	1974	1	female	White American
15	1974	1	female	White American
16	1975	1	female	Afro American
17	1975	1	female	White American
18	1975	1	female	White American
19	1976	1	female	White American
20	1976	1	female	Afro American
21	1976	1	female	White American
22	1977	1	female	White American
23	1977	1	female	White American
24	1977	1	female	Afro American
25	1978	1	female	White American
26	1978	1	female	White American
27	1978	1	female	White American
28	1979	1	female	White American
29	1979	1	female	White American
30	1979	1	female	White American
31	1980	1	female	White American
32	1980	1	female	Afro American
33	1980	1	female	White American
34	1981	1	female	Afro American
35	1981	1	female	White American
36	1981	1	female	White American
37	1982	1	female	White American
38	1982	1	female	White American
39	1982	1	female	White American
40	1983	1	female	White American
41	1983	1	female	White American
42	1983	1	female	Afro American
43	1984	1	female	White American
44	1984	1	female	White American

45	1984	1	female	Afro American
46	1985	1	female	White American
47	1985	1	female	Afro American
48	1985	1	female	White American
49	1986	1	female	Afro American
50	1986	1	female	White American
51	1986	1	female	White American
52	1987	1	female	Afro American
53	1987	1	female	White American
54	1987	1	female	Afro American
55	1988	1	female	White American
56	1988	1	female	White American
57	1988	1	female	White American
58	1989	1	female	Afro American
59	1989	1	female	White American
60	1989	1	female	White American
61	1990	1	female	Afro American
62	1990	1	female	Latin American
63	1990	1	female	White American
64	1991	1	female	Latin American
65	1991	1	female	Afro American
66	1991	1	female	White American
67	1992	1	female	Latin American
68	1992	1	female	Afro American
69	1992	3	female	White American
			female	White American
			female	White American
70	1993	2	female	White American
			female	Afro American
71	1993	1	female	White American
72	1993	2	female	Latin American
			male	Latin American

Estimated age group	Body constitution	Disability	Hair color	Hair length
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	short
>34	not visible	not visible	not visible	not visible
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	red	long
>34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	not visible	not visible
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
>34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	not visible
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	not visible
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long

25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
>34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
>34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	not visible
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
>34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
18-24	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
>34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	red	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
>34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	not visible
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark brown	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	blonde	short
25-34	slim	not disabled	dark blonde	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	brunette	short
18-24	slim	not disabled	blonde	long
18-24	slim	not disabled	black	long
>34	slim	not disabled	brunette	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	long
25-34	slim	not disabled	black	short

Hair style	Make-up	Clothing 1	Clothing 2	Clothing 3
wavy	yes	coat	dress	dress
straight	yes	coat	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
curly	yes	none	shirt	pants
curly	yes	none	dress	dress
not visible	yes	coat	not visible	not visible
braided	yes	none	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
curly	yes	none	dress	dress
braided	yes	skiing suit	sweater	not visible
straight	yes	blazer	not visible	pants
wavy	yes	blazer	blouse	pants
curly	yes	none	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
braided	yes	cape	gown	gown
blow out	yes	none	gown	gown
straight	yes	none	tennis top	tennis skirt
blow out	yes	blazer	blouse	pants
not visible	yes	none	gown	gown
bun	yes	none	gown	gown
bun	yes	none	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
blow out	yes	none	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
not visible	yes	none	gown	gown
curly	yes	jacket	sweater	pants
blow out	yes	jacket	blouse	pants
blow out	yes	jacket	blouse	pants
curly	yes	none	gown	gown
blow out	yes	none	dress	dress
blow out	yes	none	dress	dress
blow out	yes	none	dress	dress
blow out	yes	none	gown	gown
blow out	yes	none	gown	gown
curly	yes	none	gown	gown
blow out	yes	sleeveless sweater	blouse	skirt
blow out	yes	jacket	top	skirt
blow out	yes	none	sweater	shorts
pinned up	yes	cape	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
blow out	yes	none	lumberjack shirt	shorts
blow out	yes	none	dress	dress
blow out	yes	none	gown	gown
blow out	yes	jacket	top	pants
wavy	yes	riding jacket	blouse	riding pants
curly	yes	coat	high neck sweater	not visible
straight	yes	jacket	sweater	pants
not visible	yes	jacket	top	not visible
blow out	yes	none	gown	gown
straight	yes	sweater	tennis top	tennis shorts

straight	yes	vest	top	pants
blow out	yes	blazer	top	pants
blow out	yes	none	gown	gown
curly	yes	none	longsleeved shirt	skirt
straight	yes	none	longsleeved shirt	not visible
straight	yes	jacket	shirt	skirt
pinned up	yes	none	sweater	skirt
curled	yes	coat	blouse	pants
curled	yes	none	shirt	skirt
creped	yes	none	dress	dress
blow out	yes	cape	longsleeved shirt	pants
curled	yes	blazer	jumpsuit	jumpsuit
wavy	yes	none	blouse	shorts
straight	yes	none	dress	dress
curly	yes	none	gown	gown
curly	yes	none	gown	gown
straight	yes	none	dress	dress
curly	yes	none	dress	dress
curly	yes	leather jacket	shirt	jeans
ponytail	yes	none	dress	dress
not visible	yes	hoodie	none	pants
pinned up	yes	blazer	high neck sweater	pants
straight	yes	coat	blazer	skirt
curly	yes	jacket	high neck sweater	pants
straight	yes	jacket	high neck sweater	pants
blow out	yes	sweater	tanktop	pants
blow out	yes	jacket	not visible	jeans
curly	yes	jeans jacket	longsleeved shirt	not visible
straight	yes	none	blouse	not visible
curly	yes	leather jacket	not visible	not visible
curly	yes	none	blouse	jeans
shaved/razed	no	none	blouse	not visible

Footwear	Heel height	Jewelry	other accessories
not visible	not visible	not visible	no
lace-ups	high heel	yes	dancing stick
not visible	not visible	yes	no
dancing shoes	high heel	not visible	no
boots	high heel	not visible	headscarf
pumps	high heel	yes	no
ankle boots	high heel	yes	no
skiing boots	flat heel	no	skiing goggles; skis
ankle boots	high heel	no	hat
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	no	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
tennis sneakers	flat heel	no	tennis racket
not visible	not visible	yes	boutonnière
sandalette	high heel	yes	headscarf
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
pumps	high heel	yes	no
sandalette	not visible	yes	no
long-distane ice skates	flat heel	no	beanie
dancing shoes	high heel	yes	dancing stick
ankle boots	high heel	no	no
sandalette	not visible	yes	no
pumps	high heel	no	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
peep-toes	high heel	no	hat
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
boots	high heel	yes	hat
not visible	not visible	yes	sunglasses
rollerskates	flat heel	no	no
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
tramping boots	flat heel	no	climbing equipment
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
riding boots	flat heel	no	riding gear
pumps	high heel	yes	no
pumps	high heel	yes	hat
not visible	not visible	yes	hat
pumps	high heel	yes	no
tennis sneakers	flat heel	no	racquet

ballet flats	flat heel	yes	headscarf
pumps	high heel	yes	no
sandalette	high heel	yes	no
pumps	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	headscarf
lace-ups	flat heel	yes	beret
dancing shoes	high heel	yes	beret
pumps	high heel	no	gloves; pocket watch
no shoes	no shoes	yes	no
sneakers	flat heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	hat
pumps	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
pumps	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	sunglasses
not visible	not visible	no	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	no
ankle boots	high heel	yes	no
lace-ups	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	yes	hat; bag; newspapers
ankle boots	flat heel	yes	bag; scarf
not visible	not visible	no	telephone
not visible	not visible	no	no
not visible	not visible	yes	backpack
not visible	not visible	yes	cap
not visible	not visible	yes	sunglasses
not visible	not visible	yes	bag
cowboy boots	high heel	yes	no
not visible	not visible	no	cowboy hat

Cigarette visibility
in hand and package
not visible
in hand
in hand
in hand
in hand
in hand and package
in hand and package
in hand
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in hand and package
in hand and package
in hand and package
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in hand and package
in hand
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in hand
no cigarette
in hand and package
no cigarette
in hand and package
no cigarette
in hand and package
in hand and package
no cigarette

YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
Menthol and Lights Menthol
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
YCALWB
"Men are like trains. You can always catch another."
"I like men, I just wish they came with a warranty."
Now's your chance to tell the world just how far you've come
"Big girls don't cry. They go shopping."
"Change is good. But i prefer big bills."
YCALWB
"Success was easy. Catching the 6:45, that was the hard part."
"Hey...if you're looking for a kitten, go to a pet store."
"Hey, if you think female bonding is all about hair spray and nail glue, you're obviously stuck in the past."
"The best part about taking a break is who you take it with."
"I always take the driver's seat. That way I'm never taken for a ride."
"Hey, if anyone tries to rein you in, just say whoa."

sub slogan
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke. With rich Virginia flavor women like.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
none
The slimmer cigarette with natural menthol women like.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
The slimmer cigarette with natural menthol women like.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
With rich Virginia flavor women like. Menthol or regular.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
With rich Virginia flavor women like.
With rich Virginia flavor women like.
With rich Virginia flavor women like. Menthol or regular.
With rich Virginia flavor women like.
With rich Virginia flavor women like.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
With rich Virginia flavor women like. Menthol or regular.
With rich Virginia flavor women like.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
none
With rich Virginia flavor women like. Menthol or regular.
none
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
none
none
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
none
Regular and Lights
YCALWB
In the crush-proof purse pack.
none
none
none
none
none
Slimmer than the fact cigarettes men smoke. With rich Virginia flavor women like.
none
Menthol and Lights Menthol
Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.
none

Contrast story	Setting	Value of materialism
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	background story	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	background story	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
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no	blank space	no
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yes	blank space	no

no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
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no	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
yes	blank space	no
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	yes
no	blank space	no
no	blank space	yes
no	blank space	yes
yes	blank space	yes
no	blank space	yes
no	blank space	no
no	palm trees and telephone station	yes
no	café	no
no	car	no
no	horse barn	no

Value of friendship	Value of relationship	Value of women's liberation
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	no
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	no
no	no	no
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
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no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
no	yes	no
no	yes	no
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	no	yes
no	no	yes
no	no	no
no	yes	no
yes	no	yes
yes	no	no
no	yes	yes
no	yes	yes