

Gender role stereotyping in contemporary online advertising in Europe.

An Analysis based on comparison of Polish brands across different industry sectors.

Student Name: Karolina Wereszczyńska

Student Number: 603406

Supervisor: Dr Anne-Mette Hermans

Choose an item.

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master's Thesis

June 2022

Gender role stereotyping in contemporary online advertising in Europe.
An Analysis based on comparison of Polish brands across different industry sectors.

Abstract

The growing popularity of social media as an innovative and direct marketing tool and one of the most lucrative advertising channels of this day and age spark scholarly attention on how it constructs historically violated notions in traditional media – gender role portrayals. Researchers have been gathering accounts from around the world and different media outlets on the harmful and often unrealistic ways in which advertisements construct the roles of women and men. The former had to be subordinate, focused on their household chores, children, and the maintenance of aesthetically pleasing bodies, hair, and faces, while the latter were at work, "winning the bread", and serving as influential experts. Social media emergence has given hope to the progress and the long-expected changes in constructions of gender. However, has the change happened the moment technology advanced? Or do conservative societies need to evolve first? This thesis aims to enrich the academic literature on gender and advertising by investigating whether gender role stereotyping still exists and, if yes, in what ways it constructs the notion of gender roles. Advertising content from one of the most conservative member states of the European Union – Poland, was examined as this region is often overlooked in research. The study focused on two industry sectors that have been proven to have some of the highest gender bias, according to Geena Davies Institute. Namely, the Instagram posts of carefully selected brands from automotive and consumer-packaged goods sectors were qualitatively investigated using thematic analysis as the most appropriate tool for this method. The study's findings suggest that gender role stereotyping is prevalent in the sample of Polish ads. The themes discussed include: "Homogenous representations," "The green feminine stereotype," and "Gender Contract" relating to sub-themes "Women at home; men everywhere else", and "Men as rational experts; women as needing help".

KEYWORDS: *Gender roles, stereotyping, advertising, Instagram*

Acknowledgements

It took five long years of both academic and professional efforts for me to be able to design and conduct my first big research project. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people who supported me immensely on the journey to finalizing my Master's degree.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Anne-Mette Hermans, who I see as the most valuable asset of the Faculty, for supporting my ideas and always being there to provide unique and helpful feedback and guidance.

I am also very grateful for the support of my family because without them I would not be where I am today.

I would like to thank Isabel and Ada for being absolute angels.

And, most importantly, I would like to thank Daniel for bearing with me during this challenging time and for always believing in me and rooting for me, even when I struggled to believe in myself.

Table of Contents

Abstract and keywords

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction	6
1.1 Chapter overview	9
2. Theoretical Framework	11
2.1 <i>Overview of past and current literature</i>	13
2.2 <i>Gender representations – prospects for change</i>	16
2.3 <i>Role of the national and cultural context</i>	18
3. Research design and methods	20
3.1. <i>Research design</i>	20
3.2. <i>Sampling method and dataset</i>	21
3.3.. <i>Method</i>	27
3.4. <i>Operationalisaton</i>	28
4. Results and Discussion.....	30
4.1 Homogenous representations	31
4.1.2 <i>Ageism and the celebration of youth</i>	32
4.1.3 <i>Problems of body diversity</i>	37
4.2. In pursuit of physical attractiveness	39
4.2.1. <i>Dieting and slim beautiful women</i>	39
4.2.3. <i>Muscular and strong men</i>	41
4.3 “Gender contract”	43
4.3.1 <i>Women at home; men everywhere else</i>	43
4.3.2 <i>Men as rational experts – women as needing help</i>	47
4.4 Novelty	49
4.4.1 <i>The green-feminine stereotype</i>	49
5. Conclusion.....	53
5.1 Conclusions and implications.....	53
5.2 Limitations and recommendations	55

References	57
Appendix A: Thematic Map.....	66
Appendix B: Figure Rating Scale.....	70

1. Introduction

Advertising has recently transformed due to companies' increasing focus on digital communication channels. The primary places marketers choose for their advertisements are social media platforms such as Instagram or Facebook, especially thanks to their easy accessibility. While the immense growth of digital advertising can be observed globally, it is interesting to look at Europe as social media analytics is predicted to grow by 15.2% by 2025 (Mordor Intelligence, 2022). With the increase in active social media users, which is now calculated at 300mln, advertising will also gain speed. Only in 2021, brands from Central and Eastern Europe – the slowest region in terms of technological innovations development – spent a total of 9.9 billion U.S. dollars in online advertising (Statista, 2021). Moreover, people are exposed to up to ten thousand daily ads worldwide (Simpson, 2021).

This sheer volume of advertisements has the power to reflect and shape society and even influence the way people perceive themselves and others (Mackson et al., 2019). In other words, they partake in building norms and providing consumers with references to identities and gender information (Appel & Weber, 2017). As Lazier and Kendrick put it, "advertising is its own force from which we learn and by which we are influenced" (p.200). Advertising is indeed strongly influential on societies, due to its ability to shape the public's perception, and remains at the very centre of social life (Jhally, 1987). Apart from serving a marketing purpose, online advertising influences social perceptions around the world (Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008). Ads are also used as a societal reference in discovering what it means to be a male, a female, or a non-binary person. More importantly, it has been proven that advertisements in the form of online image agents have the power to redefine outdated opinions regarding gender and sexuality (Rose, 2001). It is thus important to consider that new media are an enabler of creation and normalisation of the new meanings of gender and sexual identities. However, research confirmed that gender roles in advertisements are often based on stereotypes (Tsai, 2010; McArthur & Resko, 1975). Moreover, the topic of gender sparks continuous interest as a center of attention in the ongoing efforts for women to reach parity in politics or economics. These efforts, combined with the "Me Too" movement, the increasing focus of women on career rather than family, lower birth rates and consequent growing concerns of many governments makes gender role stereotyping a contemporary issue grabbing scholarly attention (Eagly & Szczesny, 2019).

It follows that the use of stereotyped gender roles in advertising influences consumers' lives as stereotyped portrayals might impact behaviours, decisions, and goals of those exposed

to them (Eisend, 2010; Zawisza & Cinnirella, 2010). Smith's (2015) study on gender bias in children's advertising highlights the impact that toys' marketing has on shaping gender expectations, which may lead to bullying when children do not fit the stereotyped frames communicated by ads. Shaping views on gender norms from a very young age decreases the ambitions and glass ceilings for adult women and men due to continuous exposure to repetitive, stereotyped representations in media (ASA, 2018). Several studies have shown that stereotypical representations were often unfavorable towards women and men, for instance by portraying women only in domestic settings and men as the "breadwinners" of a family (Conley & Ramsey, 2011; Eisend, 2010; Wiles et al., 1995).

Furthermore, academic research suggests a relationship between cultural views on gender and gender stereotyping in advertising. It is imperative for this topic to be discussed in the Polish context considering the social stigmatization of gender and equality discourses. Said discourses are criticized by some of the most influential voices of the country, such as academics and politicians (Gąciarz, 2011). They can even be censored and removed from public discussion (Gąciarz, 2011). Gąciarz (2011) provides insights into the complexity and hypocrisy surrounding gender issues in Poland, which she refers to as "the ignorance and double standards of Poles" (p.71) who are influenced by the conservative thoughts of the Catholic Church. Gąciarz (2011) also poses a fascinating question on whether the lack of socio-political engagement in creating equality policies for women is an intentional act caused by an inclination towards the Catholic faith as the government is solely focused on making it easier for women to perform traditional social roles. For instance, the Polish "baby bonus" encourages women to have children while overlooking discrepancies between men's and women's working conditions. Research suggests that male and female gender roles in Poland are heavily influenced by the lack of sound policy, which is preventing many women from attaining economic independence and further perpetuating the notion that the man is a primary provider and that female needs can only be met with the help of a male partner (Gąciarz, 2011). Such negative phenomena and the continuous lack of public discussion on gender within the Polish context call for academic attention and observation.

In addition, the gender topic is in need of an update as available research can now be considered obsolete, in light of globalization, progressive societal shifts towards wider diversity, and technological transformations that have taken place in advertising (Eisend, 2010). The academic relevance of this thesis is further supported by the need for an update of existing literature on advertising due to changes within the advertising landscape, which are shifting the focus towards digital advertising. As previously discussed, online advertising is

developing at a rapid speed. According to the Internet Advertising Bureau's report, online advertising revenues hit a mark of 124.6 billion dollars in 2019 (IAB & PwC, 2020). With the ongoing progress and innovations encouraging more investments from businesses, there is a need for constant scholarly focus and exploration of the advertising industry. Particular attention should be given to Instagram as it is one of the most influential and popular social media platforms worldwide (Hu et al., 2014). Indeed, Instagram is currently embedded in users' daily habits, establishing a close relationship with consumers through images, videos, texts, hashtags, and more (Mendini et al., 2022). Having more than one billion registered users, it is also a go-to marketing platform for businesses of all sizes, claiming second place in the ranking of most used social media marketing platforms worldwide in 2021, behind Facebook (René, 2020; Statista, 2021). Advertising on Instagram allows for quick message distribution and is characterized as a space for excellent freedom of brand expression (Zhou & Xue, 2021). Instagram further provides opportunities for normalizing “new” gender norms by challenging the traditional definitions and divisions of gender roles. Social media provide a platform for the discussion and questioning of hegemonic ideals. The relationship between a business and a user makes it an exciting platform to research on, as rapid changes are likely to reveal themselves on Instagram sooner than in traditional media outlets. For this reason, Instagram was chosen as the platform to research on. Extant scholarship on gender and gender roles constructions in advertising focused chiefly on traditional media such as television or print; hence the need for research to explore online advertising (Wiles et al., 1995; Eisend, 2019). Despite the known influence of Internet advertising, little has been done to date to further analyse stereotyped gender role portrayals on social media.

Furthermore, while there is an extensive volume of data on gender stereotyping research conducted in Western Europe, North America, and Asia (e.g., Conley & Ramsey, 2011; McArthur & Resko, 1975; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008; Zhang et al., 2009) insightful and recent accounts of such stereotyping in Central-Eastern Europe is lacking. Those regions are very different historically and culturally but also in terms of economic development, which in Poland has been decelerated by various economic crises. Namely, Poland being part of the Central Eastern European (CEE) countries, suffered immensely during the I and II World Wars and is known for its socio-political destabilization under socialism, which was overthrown in 1991 (Reichhard, 2008). Only then the society could break free from the shackles and begin its European integration as an establishment and “modern” state, which also means that the private or public companies began transitions also in terms of their marketing and advertising to keep up with the “West” (Reichhard, 2008).

Considering this information, this study aims to fill this research gap by formulating the following research question: *“How are gender roles constructed in contemporary Instagram advertising of a variety of Polish across different industry sectors?”*.

Scholars argue that insufficient regulations of gender portrayals in online advertising suggests that gender stereotyping could still be present in such a traditional context (Tschila, 2020). Currently, the exploration of gender in the online advertising sphere is particularly interesting, considering the growing awareness on its impact on people and the risks it can carry, such as discouraging women from applying for leadership positions (Gačiarz, 2011).

The present research explored the automotive as well as fast-moving consumer packaged goods sectors (CPA) for the significant role they play in building and reflecting gender identities. Traditionally, cars are associated with men and shopping or cleaning with women (Krolikowska, 2011). The ways in which both these sectors construct the role of gender is of interest in this study because of the prevalence of stereotyping and the fact they advertise universal products and research also proved that these are the two industries with the highest gender bias in the ways they approach representing or not representing women and men (GDIGM/Google, 2019)

1.1 Chapter overview

The present study is organized in four main chapters, namely a Theoretical Framework, a Methodology, a Results and Discussion, and a Conclusion. An overview of the content presented by each chapter is given in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, the definition of stereotyping and gender role-stereotyping are presented in the Theoretical Framework. Furthermore, a discussion of notions of gender roles is carried out, followed by an overview of previous research on gender role stereotyping in advertising from around the world, shifting to some of the newest accounts and changes in the Polish context.

The Methodology chapter presents the research design and method used to analyse the dataset, which consisted of Instagram advertisements. Successively, the sampling method, operationalization, and the analytical process are hereby detailed.

The third chapter Results and Discussion is devoted to the presentation and interpretation of the results by positioning them in the Polish and non-Polish cultural contexts. The discussion is supported by extracts from the dataset to better illustrate the distinction of the themes within the two selected industry sectors. The chapter includes five themes along

with their relative sub-themes, namely “Homogenous representations,” “In pursuit of physical attractiveness,” “Gender contract,” and “The green-feminine stereotype.”

Finally, the Conclusion will close the study by summarizing the main results of the analysis and providing limitations and recommendations for future research on the topic. The reflexivity and the role of the researcher of this study will be briefly discussed.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical groundwork for this study will be laid. The definitions of gender stereotyping and gender roles are introduced to better understand the theories and previous discussions on (problematic) gender representations and the stereotyping in advertising within various media outlets. The aim of this section is to provide the essence of the gender stereotyping issue and introduce related main concepts.

This chapter is divided into three sub-sections which guide the reader through the aspects relevant to the research question of this thesis. Firstly, to provide context on the relevant aspects related to the research question, academic accomplishments from the field of advertising and gender role portrayals are discussed. Secondly, the social implications of gender advertisements will be discussed followed by the brief note on the effects of gender role portrayals. Thirdly, the recent changes in the advertising are introduced along with possible reasons for this change: changes in societal norms, growing awareness on feminism, cultural shifts, or the strengthening of legislation and regulations of advertising practices. Finally, the Polish context is discussed along with the key findings on the literature supporting the claim that gender perception in a specific cultural context can influence an increase or decrease in gender stereotyping. Various accounts found in previous research on gender in advertising are shared throughout this chapter.

To begin with it is important to understand the meaning of the main concepts of this thesis related to gender roles and stereotyping. Stereotypes, as defined by Vinacke (1975), are often simplistic views about a collective (here: men and women), while gender stereotyping as explained by Barker (1999), is the array of characteristics assigned to differentiate between women and men. Therefore, this definition is adopting merely a binary view of gender (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Barker, 1999). This definition of gender stereotyping was seen as the most applicable for the research question of the current study as it focuses on binary gender representations of men and women. It is also important to comprehend that sex and gender are not interchangeable terms. Reference to sex relates to the biological state of a person and the reproductive organs and beyond that classify them as a male or a female (Risman, 2018). Moreover, gender can encompass 'masculine' and 'feminine' traits, which might be assigned to individuals in various ratios and, most importantly, it can vary from one cultural context to another (Connel, 2005; Risman, 2018). Finally, gender roles are publicly displayed behaviors that conform to gender-specific cultural standards. Traditionally the 'social categories' are strict and expect people to fit within one of the two; namely, male roles

and female roles. Deaux and Lewis (1984) presented the complexity of the elements which participate in gender stereotyping by describing them using four dimensions: personality traits, social roles, physical appearance, and occupations. Physical appearance is seen as the easiest to identify in interpersonal relations and social roles describe the division of tasks, assigning responsibility to men and women, e.g., the role of a man is to ensure financial stability of a family, while the female role is to raise children and look after the household (Deux & Lewis, 1984).

Scholars have been interested in advertising's depictions of gender roles, particularly stereotyped ones, for over six decades, often comparing these representations between countries and cultures (e.g. Wiles et al., 1995; Furnham & Saar, 2005; Zhang et al., 2009). The current study was inspired by the categorization of gender roles used in the study by Plakoyiannaki et al. (2008), who consider two types of gender roles referred to in this thesis as 'traditional gender roles' and 'non-traditional gender roles,' The former presents the areas traditionally assigned to men and women which can differ across cultures. These include lack of independence in making important decisions for women, being a stay-at-home mother concerned with the household chores and maintenance of physical attractiveness (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). As featured in an article by Tschila (2020), female roles are stereotyped when female models appear solely as housewives or dependent on men while men when are presented as independent figures, "breadwinners", or experts who are rarely depicted in domestic settings. Moreover, traditional male representations include being career-oriented, showing little concern for household chores, not being dependent on anyone, having authority and power, spending more time outdoors or at work than at home, and being concerned with physical strength rather than physical appearance (Tschila, 2020). Non-traditional gender roles, however, remove women from house settings, leaving men instead to care for the household (Kerin et al., 1979). While discussing gender roles, cultural influences cannot be ignored. For instance, the Chinese *wen* and *wu* paradigm discussed by scholars Edwards and Louie (1994) presents a construction of masculinities where *wen* describes the civil and mental qualities, while *wu* is all about physical skills and immense power (Edwards & Louie, 1994). As described by Louie (2002) it differs from the "Western" construction of masculinities in that Asian men are presented in a less "sexual" but more "intelligent" way.

Eisend (2010) pointed out that across the plethora of research on gender role stereotyping in advertising, three are the main points often included, namely the "assessment and occurrence of gender roles," the "advertising effectiveness of gender roles," and the

“social effects of gender roles” (Eisend 2010, p.72-73). This study particularly focuses on the first two as they are seen the most useful to answer the research question.

2.1. Overview of past and current literature

As previously mentioned, the debate on gender stereotyping in advertising has its roots in the second wave feminist movements of the 1960s, which advocated for equal job opportunities for women and the need for changes in domestic structures (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971). To spot the currently emerging changes in gender role portrayals it is important to build on the early literature on gender role stereotyping in advertising. Over the years, advertising has been criticized for its negative representations of women as bearing limited capabilities and subordinate to men, who in contrast, tend to be presented as powerful, rational, and competent (Jhally & Kilbourne, 2000; Kilbourne, 1999). One of the first and highly referenced studies by McArthur and Resko (1975) investigated television commercials from three major TV channels in the US – CBS, NBC, and ABC. Findings showed how male figures were more likely to be presented as authorities, as opposed to women who were assigned a role of product-users, often associated with home products. This points out the traditional female gender role which regarded women as housewives, having less agency and authority, instead reserved to men. The portrayals of women highlighted their decorative role as they often focused on their appearance by presenting them as self-absorbed individuals, which may reinforce the stereotype of a female narcissistic nature (Kohr & Gill, 2008). Inspired by the representation of women as adornments, Goffman (1979) introduced a method to identify gender stereotyping. By investigating how gender power relations are conveyed through subtle, non-verbal messaging, Goffman (1979) identified several themes based on specific 1970s U.S. advertisements, which further confirmed that men were presented as dominant, powerful, knowledgeable, and stronger. Although his research should by now be considered outdated, it provides a useful point for discussion as Goffman’s framework has served as a crucial and relevant guideline for scholars examining gender and visual communication for many years (Kohr & Gill, 2018; Tschila, 2020). Indeed, Kohr and Gill (2008) illustrated the contemporary relevance of Goffman’s *Gender Advertisements* through their study of 200 advertisements retrieved from up-market women’s magazines. Results indicated an infrequency of the themes put forward by Goffman (1979) on the one hand, but also the emergence of what they refer to as ‘confident appearing’, namely the confident and empowered version of a self-owning female in advertisements (Kohr & Gill, 2018). Their

research also provided valuable insights into the contemporary developments of feminism and the version of empowered females. This relates to marketers targeting young women with ads from various product categories which reinforce the notion of powerful and independent woman which no longer needs male help or assistance Kohr & Gill, 2018).

Nevertheless, the study raised concerns about the commodification of feminism. Research by Lazar (2006) introduced the term 'commodity feminism', in her study by exploring the "power femininity," which is an identity 'sold' to young women in contemporary advertising by focusing on images of empowerment. This is done by trivializing feminist politics and downgrading them as strategy tool for marketing rather than a change instigator. The results from Lazar (2006)'s study is useful for the understanding of the messaging of empowered beauty, sexual empowerment, or the power of knowledge, which may seem like indicators of gender role transformations for women in advertising but might fail to represent reality.

Reinforcement of elimination of gender role stereotypes is instead discussed by Plakoyiannaki et al. (2008) in their study on the existence of sexism in online advertising by more than one thousand web search engines. The research analysed the results from Yahoo and Google in early 2006 and concluded that more than 50% of sampled advertisements used sexualized and decorative female portrayals to allure the audience. The authors associated the prevailed gender role portrayals to promotion of sexism, described as devaluation of the role and potential of a person and representation of them in a traditional or decorative, often trivial and diminishing manner (Pollay, 1986). Therefore, online advertising included a higher percentage of traditional gender role portrayals for women than print advertising (Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008).

A meta-analysis conducted by Eisend (2010) on gender role across twenty-eight different cultural contexts confirmed how women are often depicted in the house, needing male assistance, and never providing scientific claims. The highest number of stereotyping in a form of traditional representation consists of women portrayals in decorative roles, whose physical appearance seems to be their greatest concern and they are often objectified and sexualized, for instance by being presented in unnatural poses or showing skin (Eisend, 2010). Women are also purposely presented in inferior ways to strengthen the image of a male as authority. In their quantitative study of print advertisements, Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) explored the level of objectification and/or sexualization of women based on earlier accounts of women being victimized and highly sexualized or objectified – significantly more often in the ads of products or magazines marketed for men which also indicated that men were

presented as the perpetrators of aggression (e.g. Kilbourne, 1999; Krassas et al., 2001; Krassas et al., 2003). Results found that women were portrayed in decorative roles, more so in men's and adolescent girls' magazines, where they were sexualized in two out of three cases by being photographed with legs spread open, having an emphasized body feature (e.g. breasts, hips) (Stankiewicz & Rosseli, 2008). Sexualization of women has been used to sell products to men by responding to their sexual desires. Moreover, the portrayals of sexualized women in magazines for adolescent gaze can reflect the idea that a woman's value is in the way she looks and how "sexy" she is which responds to the "male gaze" and in the ads was used to provide a goal to which young girls should aspire (Kilbourne, 1999; Stankiewicz & Roselli, 2008). The results of this analysis are useful for understanding the representation of women in the society as inferior to men. As far as male portrayals are concerned, Kolbe and Albanese (1996) discuss the depictions of men in advertisements which focus on the attributes that have been historically assigned to men in literature which are signifying their individualism, ambitiousness, while being busy with activities at work and places other than their homes.

The levels of stereotyping of roles for women and men were later measured in the study by Knoll et al. (2011) in their study on German television across channel types. The results have brought forward interesting results; one of the prevalent themes was that females were presented as younger in comparison to their male counterparts; women were illustrated using the advertised products often in a domestic setting which was also dependent on type of products being advertised (e.g., women presented more often in domestic products ads). Male autonomy, as opposed to female dependence, was distinguished as another relevant theme in the study by presenting them independently engaging in outdoor activities (Knoll et al., 2011). Even though this study was conducted on a German dataset, the results are in alignment with the results from other cultural contexts based on the overview of the research on gender role stereotyping in advertising between 2010 and 2016 (cf. Grau & Zotos, 2016).

As mentioned, Deaux and Lewis (1984) distinguished the physical appearance as one of the component of gender roles, Advertising is known for affirming unrealistic beauty ideals for women, for instance, popularizing a certain body size, fabricated, and not reflecting of the natural variety of body sizes and types which is important to consider from the perspective of expectations of people to maintain strict bodies and appearances (Lazar, 2006; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008) Although less discussed in the wide body of research, male bodies are also expected to look a certain way in advertising. According to the study conducted in the late '90s on solely-male images in men's magazines men have also been subject to objectification

defined by the authors as “any presentation emphasizing sexually suggestive body parts or not including the head of the model in the picture” (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996, p.6). The results of said study indicate that male bodies were presented as highly muscular and bare-chested to pertain the image of a strong man able to take on a physically demanding challenge. Such body types are referred to as “mesomorphic” based on Sheldon’s classification of male body types (1954). It is interesting to look at how physical appearance expectations translate for men because the discussions historically focused on women and there is a need for investigation of the ways that social media advertisements represent male bodies and the notion of being a “real man,” Research by Pope et al. (2000) indicated signs of a developing male body obsession, visible in, for example, underwear or car advertising because of the flood of images of perfectly defined biceps or six-packs that are only achieved by excessive exercising. Such unrealistic representations of human bodies are said to cause self-esteem decrease or even eating disorders when men commit enter a spiral of hating their bodies (Barlett et al., 2008; Elliott & Elliott, 2005; Królikowska, 2011). The reason for such severe media effects can lay in the Cultivation Theory initially used to present consequences of television violence it has proved to be successful in shaping expectations of the gender roles as it talks about the role of media in shaping the view of the world of those exposed to them (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Signorielli, 1986 as cited in Kim & Lowry, 2005)). Studies on male representation, however, although less researched than the females reveal a repetitiveness of notions such as hegemonic masculinity, defined by Connell (2005), as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (p. 77).

2.2 Gender representations – prospects for change

Advertising industry seems to be delayed in responses to the feminist movements demanding change of the marketing perspectives slowing down the process of introduction of neutral gender role representations as the changes in the potrayals have been proven to be slow and very subtle (Gentry & Harrison, 2010). Nevertheless, the persistence of dominant harmful gender potrayals has motivated some important shifts in gender potrayals to those from the 1970s and 1980s (Gill, 2007). There are various reasons for these changes, depending on the audience; one of them could be that societies underwent important changes which influenced further shifts in potrayals leading to some decrease of gender stereotyping

in advertising by using more egalitarian ways to showcase females such as having high-achieving positions or being an expert in an area (Eisend, 2010; Grau & Zotos, 2016; Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008). Nevertheless, results of a recent study by Tschila (2020) indicate that gender stereotyping is still prevalent in terms of displaying women as dependent on men.

Some studies suggested that the progress in gender role presentation is observed but in a very subtle fashion, however, they claimed there was little to no change in the male portrayals (Furnham & Paltzer, 2010; Gentry & Harrison, 2010). Moreover, the transformations of female portrayals, although subtle, were ignited by the growing criticism from the feminist community over the years (Gill, 2007; Gentry & Harrison, 2010).

Consumers' perceptions and opinions may influence the way in which advertisers market products as contemporary research shows that the audience shows a level of cognitive resistance when exposed to non-stereotypical gender role portrayals because it may seem as a deviation from the 'norm' which previously shaped by the advertising industry. To illustrate, the results of a study by Bexter, Kulczynski, and Illicit (2015) with 181 consumers from Australia on the perception of gender roles showed that those portrayals which involved a non-traditional caregiver were met with more push back than the 'typical' roles which could be explained by the the results of consumers holding onto the traditionalist views on gender roles. Findings from a survey conducted by Thompson and Fletcher (2005) on a sample of men from different countries brought forward the growing stricture of the way male roles were constructed in advertising. Globally, 74% of the sample, expressed their frustration with how the images of men were "out of touch with reality" (Gentry & Harrison, 2010, p.82). Conversely, some research indicates that marketing professionals often choose to use traditional gender role illustrations purposely refraining from introducing progress in their advertising which keeps the consumer unaware of the changes happening when they use ads as a reflection of the reality (Pounders 2018; Windels 2016; Mackson et al., 2019). On the contrary, Grau and Zotos (2016) collected the previous research on the gender role stereotypes of men and suggested that there was a shift in the way men are presented by introducing their 'softer' side to their advertising. Namely, an increase in portrayal of the role of men as fathers was noted which indicated a shift to a more active parenthood. The notion that best describes such a pivot in ads is "dadvertising" which is a way for brands to keep up with the the new reality of representation of millennial fathers who are active and engaged (Lopez, 2019).

To conclude, societies underwent important changes which influenced further shifts in portrayals leading to some decrease of gender stereotyping in advertising by using egalitarian

ways to showcase females, as in, more equal to those of men. For example, as voices of authority, leaders, or career-women (Eisend, 2010; Grau & Zotos, 2016; Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008). Nevertheless, results of a recent study by Tschila (2020) indicate that gender stereotyping is still prevalent in terms of displaying women as dependent on men who have a significantly higher regard in society.

2.3 Role of the national and cultural context

In the light of the historical destabilization Poland has experienced in the past while being under occupation the only stability was provided by the Catholic Church which customs and traditions are deeply engrained into the Polish customs, traditions. More so, the Church's dogma is the ideology of the current government and supporting them, Christians (Odroważ-Coates, 2015). Despite ongoing feminist movements in the country, Poland seems to be under the influence of "Catholic fundamentalism" observed by Nowicka (1996) and is being resistant to any societal and ideological progress with the conservative government introducing stricter abortion and reproductive rights supported by the claims to protect the human life. For, the understanding on the cultural context Catholic Church's influence on the Poles cannot be ignored in the light of the socio-political changes introduced by the current government which is closely collaborating with the bishops and other church clerks in promoting the traditional gender roles which fit into the Church's rhetoric (Odroważ-Coates, 2015).

Roman Catholic Church focuses on the family, often referring to the "natural law," which means that they only recognize binary gender as man and a woman because of their ability to reproduce (Hauser, 1995). Furthermore, the Catholic view of the family means that a man is head of the family, and a woman must submit herself to the husband which tends to be used as an analogy of Christians submitting to God. The focus on bearing children is very strong in the Catholic faith and the role of a mother is the most important role of a woman which is illustrated by the example of Mary. The discourse in Christian faith related to women is highly significant in the study on gender role constructions in contemporary advertising illustrated by the notion of the "Polish Mother," which refers to a version of a modern "do it all" female, which is expected to serve the family by fulfilling a set of expectations (Hauser, 1995). Women, apart from getting married and becoming mothers, are expected to be passive, submissive, and loyal, while for men the expectations are merely to be a leader, an authority figure, and a provider (Antenucci, 2018). To conclude, despite feminist interventions and

efforts to promote gender equality and break from the reinforcement of traditional gender roles Catholicism might be preventing progress within the very intensely religious Polish context (Odrowąż-Coates, 2015).

Since this study focuses solely on Polish advertising, it is important to explore the limited body of research investigating gender stereotyping in advertising in Poland. A comparative study from 2005 by Furnham and Saar, for example, investigated television commercials in Great Britain and Poland. The results of the investigation of Polish and British ads showed a tendency in both countries to use stereotyping, however stereotyping was slightly more prominent in Polish advertising than in the UK's counterparts because the number of female voice-overs in the British sample increased more than in Poland, compared to previous studies (Furnham & Saar, 2005). In alignment with other research related to the literature females were presented in dependent (family) roles and as product users rather than authorities prompting users to buy products as the theme of using a male figure, or a male voice to increase the equity of the product advertised was prevalent across a variety of studies and analyses (e.g. Tschila, 2020). This suggests that there is a difference in men having significantly higher regard in society and are used as voices of authority as well as experts providing scientific arguments or facts. Thus, Furnham and Saar (2005)'s analysis proved significant the assumption that gender which might be justified by different social norms as well as cultural context. Poland is a much more conservative state regarding gender expectations that the United Kingdom which tends to embrace diversity and gender parity. It is crucial to highlight the fact that Furnham and Saar's study was conducted more than 15 years ago and considering the decrease in gender role stereotyping and improved legislation of the UK's advertising as well as Poland being expected to comply with the EU's directives on gender representations it bears an assumption here could have been changes in Polish advertising as well (ASA, 2018; Kohr & Gill, 2021).

3. Research design and methods

The following chapter provides a detailed overview and argumentation for the methodological decisions that were made. Firstly, it provides a detailed overview of the research design which has been used in this study. To begin with, the description of the analysed material is along with the method used to sample the dataset. Then, the main concepts of the research question are operationalised. Finally, the implementation of the research method is described in a form of a sequence of steps that were followed.

3.1. Research design

Research question of this thesis explores how gender roles of men and women are constructed in Polish advertising on social media. To answer the research question this study employed a qualitative research method. It was deemed the best suited method for this analysis for three main reasons. Firstly, the comparison was made between qualitative and quantitative research methods to seek the method that provides best tools for the investigation of compound connotative meanings in visual images and texts. Brennen (2017) claims qualitative research is best used to decipher the meanings of language participating in shaping views, cultural norms and constructing realities. It is important to highlight that, based on the characteristics of the elements analysed in this study – Instagram posts serving as advertisements utilizing both linguistic and visual modes of communication, i.e. image and text, they can be treated as one because of the multimodality of their relationship (Bateman, 2014, Hermans, 2021). Secondly, in contrast to quantitative research which seeks generalizations, qualitative research looks for deeper interpretations and meanings. Therefore, qualitative research better allows for understanding how the reality is constructed by marketing professionals in a very specific cultural context (Brennen, 2007). Scholars provide further evidence that the aim of qualitative research is to look for explanations, definitions, ideas and understandings of various phenomena (Richie et al., 2003, p.82). It is through the analysis of content such as advertising and many more that researchers can grasp inexplicit messaging and connotations of gender which are the primary interest of the research question guiding this thesis (Brennen, 2007; Flick, 2007). Thirdly, qualitative research also fits the aim of this thesis because, as claimed by Elo and Kyng (2008), it ensures a level of flexibility in analysing visual and textual content. The importance of flexibility is also supported by Emmel (2013) because it allows for amendments in the coding procedure as the coding process progresses. as the nature of the research question and the concepts involved demands freedom

in the emergence of previously non-existent themes or codes. This research is based on the theory discussed in the Theoretical Framework but analysing visuals, captions, and hashtags from social media posts of companies from two different industry sectors in terms of gender role stereotyping demands freedom for induction emergence of previously non-existent codes or themes that might be distinguished during the analysis. The complexity of the dataset suggests that there will be linguistic and creative differences and each of them will need to be investigated thoroughly, looking for all crucial details building the conclusions for answers to the research question. For that reason the thematic map was created during and after the coding of the dataset was performed which allowed for a the dataset's content to guide the analysis.

3.2. Sampling method and dataset

This study examines gender role portrayals in advertising across several products from categories included in the automotive and fast-moving consumer goods (FMCG also referred to as CPG) industry sectors to add to the current academic discussion on gender stereotyping of online advertising.

The research focus is on automotive (AM) and consumer packaged goods (CPG) industry sectors as, according to the Geena Davis 2019 Report, these were proven to have some of the lowest and highest gender bias in terms of female and male representation respectively. The report explored gender representations in nearly three million YouTube video advertisements in the U.S. published between 2015 and 2019. This study was considered a useful reference for data sampling as it explored only binary gender expressions based on AI models, despite gender not being recognized in binary terms. Within this thesis, it is crucial to discuss why binary classes should not be limiting in research and the need for updated models and frameworks allowing for respectful and inclusive measurements of gender representations in media advertisements. Due to a general lack of available sources on the construction of gender in the Polish context, it was decided to provide accounts on traditionally recognized male and female roles. Therefore, the present study obtained a similar approach to that of Geena Davies Institute (2019), by strictly focusing on the binary gender expressions to fill in a gap in research. The 2019 Report analysed the screen time and speaking time of male and female characters. Out of eleven industries included in the study, automotive and consumer packaged goods sectors showed a clear disproportion in the screentime (28% for women to 72% for men) and speaking time (24% for women to 76% for

men) being distributed between men and women. This indicates that there is a bigger advertising focus on creating male-led and male-narrated ads, contrary to audience's preference. Indeed, results found that gender-balanced or female-led YouTube advertisements had significantly more views than those with a male main character (GDIGM/Google, 2019). Moreover, discrepancies in the frequency of portrayals of men and women in advertisements from a traditionally female or male sectors may continue to reinforce certain stereotypes of gender roles. To illustrate, the results of the report indicated that females were seen in consumer-packaged goods advertising product types such as foods, beverages, household products, hair and body cosmetics, etc. for 55% of the screen time, while screen time for female characters in automotive sector ads was reported as merely 28% (GDIGM/Google, 2019). In both AM and CPG, results indicate a prevalence of gender role stereotyping, where men are used as the "voice of reason", as experts for the purchase of product of services, or in general as those who "want to be listened to", while women are expected to speak less or even be represented in industries they are traditionally not associated with. These findings align to previous research conducted in this field (cf. Kim & Lowry, 2005). Further insights from the Geena Davies report (2019) highlight a visible disproportion in age representation of female characters, showing more young women (20 and 30-year-old), while there was a tendency to present male characters of higher ages. Moreover, considering the 100 most viewed advertisements globally, there were significant differences in gender portrayals in terms of attire, roles performed (i.e., traditional, or non-traditional), location or level of independence. To illustrate, women had more skin displayed through revealing clothing in contrast to men; women were presented in the kitchen or doing chores, while men were engaging in outdoor activities, doing sports, driving or being at work (GDIGM/Google, 2019). Exploring gender representation in millions of video ads online has given a relevant insight into the state of digital advertising and gender role stereotyping.

The selection of brands followed the identification of industry sectors that would serve as primary focus areas of the analysis. The following paragraphs further sets up the selected sectors and successively describe the sampled brands.

The CPG sector is vast and includes everything from food and beverage to household care and cosmetics. This industry comprises an overwhelming range of consumer brands in Poland, where it experienced a significant growth in market value by reaching more than 200bln Polish Zloty (44.6bln US Dollars). Another popular sector in modern-day Poland is the AM sector, which gained its position in the market for multiple reasons. According to Polish public transport statistics nearly 92% of Poles have at least one car in their household

or they are planning to purchase one in the near future (Dybalski, 2019). Moreover, owning a good car is a display of social status and is used to boost the value and gain recognition of the neighbours, co-workers, etc. It is interesting for a Polish context because as much as car advertising was developing in the ‘West’ since the late XIX century while a car was a luxury good item unattainable for an average consumer in Poland in the 90s. Therefore, advertising has been developing at a slower rate in Poland, gaining popularity along with the introduction of the international car manufacturers to the market (Pelech-Michulska, 2022). In Poland, the whole sector is also gaining increasing attention thanks to television programs or even channels dedicated to discussing cars, trucks, lorries, car parts, driving, car performances and more (e.g., TVN Turbo). Globally, the automotive advertising market is said to reach a revenue close to 23mln USD by 2025 (Business Wire, 2020)

To ensure that only adverts in line with the topic of this research were included, purposive sampling was chosen as method to select Instagram posts for brands initially sampled through purposive sampling which later changed to snowball sampling. Purposive sampling allows for using the researcher’s own judgements in excluding data unrelated to the topic at hand (Babbie, 2014). The identification of possible brands began with a Google search for Polish businesses that have the biggest recognition among Polish customers. Alongside the researcher’s own knowledge and experience, the Forbes ranking of “best Polish brands of 2021” was used to create a list of brands that matched the chosen industry sectors. Forbes cooperated with third parties on the research, which investigated the mental accessibility of the brand, meaning the speed at which customers think of a specific brand and the emotions and associations it evokes (Forbes, 2021). Empirical data was collected from more than 1400 respondents and 24 product categories were considered in terms of their market value (Forbes, 2021). Based on the results, a ranking of 200 strongest brands in terms of market value and customer satisfaction was created (Forbes, 2021). The brands included were operating in the Polish market and they were all established in Poland. For this study, it was crucial to select Polish businesses only because of the importance of the Polish cultural context on the marketing of these brands. The brands’ origin was considered important not only because international companies often have bigger advertising budgets, marketing departments or even seek help of third party vendors, but also because the international perspective often works towards creating a global consumer culture rather than focusing on the local cultures (Kolbl et al., 2019) Therefore, only brands that were created within or for the Polish market were considered in the sampling, excluding international brands, in an attempt to minimize the influence of external marketers on the advertising strategies, which

should instead reflect the Polish cultural contexts. Strictly local and Polish perspective of the brands was seen as bringing the most accurate results on the state of Eastern-European advertising. Therefore, the brands selected for the analysis were assessed based on criteria that would help eliminate brands less fitting for this study and leave those that could provide the best overview. However, the activity of selected brands did not have to be limited to the territory of Poland as it was deemed interesting to see how brands choose to construct gender roles in advertising while aware of their content being displayed outside of the Polish cultural context, since they may be exposed to criticism should the portrayals be considered problematic by the audience. The implied criteria consisted of the previously mentioned brand origin, the overall recognition and popularity of the brand, rankings in terms revenue and customer satisfaction, which was ascertained using the Forbes list where possible, and the number of posts and followers on Instagram.

With these elements in mind, 83 out of 200 potential candidates were selected from the Forbes list. Further steps to identify the brands included making sure that they use Instagram as a marketing tool for their business. This step significantly narrowed down the scope of brands by leaving only one possible brand from the AM industry. Solely having an Instagram account was also not seen as a sufficient fulfillment of the expectations, therefore, the number of followers on Instagram was also assessed, prioritizing brands with a significant following on social media and a regular posting schedule to ensure that a relatively broad user-base. New accounts, namely those set up less than a year prior to the beginning of the sampling procedure, were not considered in the analysis as they would not have been able to provide a sufficient number of posts, which were expected to range between 350 and 400. In terms of brand popularity on Instagram, according to Instagram marketing statistics, a minimum of 2000 followers can provide very high levels of engagement (Mehta, 2017). The sampling process presented further restrictions thus the researcher decided to also refer to snowball sampling looking at the recommended brands which are prompted by Instagram's algorithm as accounts the user might find interesting based on their search history (Baxi, 2022). This allowed for identifying remaining brands from the AM and CPG industries that fit the selection criteria sufficiently.

The brands selected from the AM sector were Otomoto (@otomotopl) and InterCars (@intercars.sa). Otomoto is a car, motorcycle, and various car parts and accessories reseller, with 20500 followers on Instagram. They are a leader in their sector having gained their online popularity by being active on many social media platforms such as YouTube by collaborating with TV presenter and car-enthusiast Marcin Domagala, who is a host on their

YouTube channel and the main face of their advertising on Instagram. InterCars is an online platform offering car parts, with an Instagram following of 3977 users. They are the biggest distributor of replacement parts to motor cars, heavy goods vehicles, and transit vans in Central-Eastern Europe. The brand communicates with their audience by using engaging visuals as well as working with their brand ambassadors, such as Bartosz Ostalowski, the only professional race driver worldwide who drives using solely his feet due to his disability.

The three remaining brands belong instead to the CPG sector. CPG advertising has always been very popular on Polish television. However, Instagram advertising for these types of products is still in the development stage. The brands from this sector are Stokrotka (@sklepy.stokrotka), Jan Niezbedny (@jan.niezbedny.official), and Black Energy Drink (@blackenergy_official). Stokrotka is a local grocery store chain with their Instagram account followed by 98087 people. The company was set up more than 25 years ago in the south-eastern part of Poland (Stokrotka, 2022). They are known for their willingness to create a local community in the areas they operate in and understand the needs of their consumers as best as possible with the help of nearly 11000 employees (Stokrotka, 2022). Stokrotka is also known for their wide range of products, which can now be purchased online. The company has thus set up an Instagram account to encourage more traffic to their main website. This brand was selected for their inclusion of various product types on their Instagram advertisement posts and since they regularly engage with consumers through giveaways. Stokrotka was also featured in the Forbes 'Top 20 grocery stores in Poland' list, which selected the businesses based on business growth and revenue (Kowalik, 2021).-Black Energy Drink (BED) is a soda (energy) drink producer with 14000 followers online. Unofficially, the brand aims to be the Polish alternative to Red Bull; for this reason, BED engage in partnerships and collaborations with various celebrities or athletes such as Mike Tyson, who is indeed one of their brand ambassadors. International influencers have given the brand the recognition needed to build brand equity. In their ads, BED often present people engaging in (extreme) sports, making them popular among young and adventurous individuals (company's website). The brand was selected because of the content they post on their Instagram, which is closely focused on products that are often gendered in advertising (e.g., men are often portrayed engaging in extreme sports, while women choose fewer extreme disciplines focused less on experience but more on sculpting the body such as pilates) (Krolikowska, 2011). Jan Niezbedny is a leading household items producer present on the Polish market for more than 20 years. Their Instagram account is followed by nearly 2000 people. Next to being a suggested account by Instagram's algorithm, the selection of the brand was based on several

reasons. Firstly, their strong brand equity, and their appreciation by experts and consumers, as indicated by a consumer survey conducted on a sample of 15000 consumers and 42 communications, marketing and branding specialists (Jan Niezbedny, 2014). Jan Niezbedny has won three Superbrands Awards in the 'Created in Poland' and 'Polish Choice' categories in 2013, 2014 and 2017 for their innovations, PR, products, and customer care (Superbrands Poland, 2017). Superbrands is an international organization selecting the best brands in nearly 90 countries. The second reason that motivated the selection is the wide range of products they offer, from cleaning wipes to bin bags, Tupperware, mops, and ironing boards (Jan Niezbedny, n.d.). Finally, Jan Niezbedny directly translates to 'Essential John' and the brand explicitly refers to themselves in the masculine form in advertising as cleaning experts or masters in cooking. These details might bear interesting implications in the investigation of gender role stereotyping in their advertisements.

The selection of posts within the brands was another step in gathering the dataset. The selection of posts within brand's Instagram pages followed certain inclusion criteria. Firstly, the advertisement had to include at least one person. Secondly, since this study focuses on the representation of adults, since this research focuses on industry sectors that are not marketed towards children, posts with people seemingly above the age of 18 were included; all posts portraying only children or underage models were excluded from further study. It is acknowledged that it might be difficult to infer age, which was thus coded based on physical features such as hair or skin condition (e.g. grey hair and wrinkles for seniors). Nonetheless, posts including a parent and a child were considered relevant for the purpose of this study because gender roles are also constructed in terms of being a parent and caring for children. This way, the research could highlight relations between women, men, children, and roles performed. Moreover, all posts including merely products, inanimate objects, animals, etc. were left out. This is because this thesis focused solely on constructions of gender via human portrayals in advertising.

Polish brands and posts, captions, and hashtags were selected for further analysis (see *Figure 2*). A sample of 150 Instagram posts in total have been analysed. The number was divided between the five brands to provide a sample of 30 Instagram ads per brand. It is important to point out that advertisements are conceptualized here as the whole posts by businesses on their social media account which may be slightly different from traditional conceptualizations of advertising. To ensure that the investigation is focused on the most contemporary portrayals of gender roles, only the most recent posts that fit the criteria were selected. Therefore, the sampling process started from the most recent post at the time of

development of this research. As a result, the time period in most cases was one year prior to May 2022 with some exceptions (i.e., brands with a lower number of posts) where 2020 posts were also included. A mix of still posts and short clips (sometimes lacking voice-over) was chosen because video advertisements allow for building up more context and identifying the depth of meanings in relation to gender roles.

3.3. Method

Thematic analysis (TA) was chosen as a good method for this research as it focuses on a thorough exploration of the dataset to identify prevalent themes to further interpret them. Braun and Clarke (2006) claim that TA helps with “identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data” (p.79). Braun and Clarke (2012) advocate for using a mixture of both inductive and deductive approaches, meaning that the research is not only theory-driven but also builds arguments based on all the new concepts found in the data. The deductive approach, also called ‘theoretical’ is powered by the existing research in contrast to the ‘bottom up’ approach which means that the identification of themes is powered by the dataset itself. This study was using both an inductive and deductive coding system that allowed for referring to existing theories alongside any new concepts that emerged in the analysed dataset (Braun & Blarke, 2006; Terry et al., 2017). A thematic frame was built (Appendix A.) that was developed during and after the coding process. It is important to note that it was not treated as exhaustive and there was room for improvement and expansion with new codes at every stage of the coding process (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

For the execution of the chosen method, the six-step approach created by Braun and Clarke in 2006 was adopted in this research project which will now be laid out for reference. Firstly, the researcher needs to get themselves acquainted with the material collected for analysis by looking through the dataset and identifying first ideas and noting them down. For this research, all aspects introduced by Deaux and Lewis (1984) as participating in shaping the portrayals of gender roles in adults were considered, namely, physical appearance, traits, behaviours, and occupation. Secondly, the dataset is initially sorted using codes, namely all features of the material seen as relevant for the exploration of the research question were noted, e.g. setting, location, or action performed. To streamline and add transparency and structure to the coding process a coding program, Atlas.ti, was used as a tool (Lewis, 1998). Thirdly, themes are created based on the recurring codes providing overarching groups of concepts. Braun and Clarke (2006) highlight that what is a theme lays in the judgement of the researcher and their ability to determine it. This further highlights the flexibility and lack of

strict rules of this research method allowing for continuous amendment and discussion on the prevalence in more than one set way. The fourth and fifth steps focus on reviewing and refining of the themes in a way that best capture the essence of the analysed data. Lastly, the results of the analysis are condensed into a format that allows for a clear discussion of the results in a way that represents an academic paper (see *Chapter 4*).

3.4. Operationalisation

Research question is concerned with the concept of ‘gender roles’, which is operationalized following the example by Tschila (2020), who combined previous coding schemes investigating traditional or non-traditional gender roles in advertising. Textual aspects such as slogans, captions, emojis with which people were presented, as well as location, roles performed, level of independence, and power relations were looked at, alongside their physical appearance and demographics. These codes were based on previous literature discussed in Theoretical Framework. For each advertisement, the location in which the models appeared, the setting of the advert, and the roles performed by the models were considered. In relation to the different products advertised within the two industries, along with the claims, slogans, and calls to action made by the brands, products were coded as: food and drink products, body and hair care, household items (e.g., detergents and accessories such as ironing boards), cars and car-related items. Characteristics of the models were also coded, including an evaluation of significant details of women’s and men’s appearance, such as hair, make-up, type of clothing, age, and body type. Despite race not being a main concern of this research, it is important to note that the material has been analysed considering intersectionality (Kelly, 2021). The coding of models’ appearances was deemed important from the point of view of gender role stereotyping, drawing on the academic achievements discussed in the Theoretical Framework (Middleton, 2020; Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008; Tschila, 2020), and to find out how different industries interpret and portray gender in advertising.

Physical attributes were categorized as follows. Hair was divided into type and length because short hair is stereotypically associated with men as it is seen as masculine (Masculine, 2015). Make-up was coded in terms of presence and prominence, as codes include existent and non-existent, delicate, or strong make-up. Clothing was coded in terms of type (e.g., trousers, shirts, dresses, underwear) and the amount of the model’s body being exposed (e.g., high, or low-neck tops, long-sleeved or sleeveless tops). Body type was

explored in reference to features clearly visible in advertisements and based on the Figure Rating Scale (FRS) by Stunkard et al. (1983), which can be seen in the *Appendix B*. Categories that were used for that alongside the figure FRS included a thin-ideal where a person represented a particular body type regarded as the best one for women in countries such as the U.S. and China. Codes such as “body-builder” or “highly-defined muscles” were used for individuals with very prominent arm, chest, abdominal, back or legs muscles, while “plus size” was coded for people differing from the thin-ideal in terms of their visible body size or muscle prominence. However, this division is not exhaustive because it was not the main concern of the research question. Age of the models was also explored by distinguishing five main categories, namely children, teenagers, young adults, adults, and seniors. To allocate individuals in either one of the categories, the presence or absence of physical features was considered (e.g., wrinkles, grey hair). In cases of a child being present in the picture accompanied by an adult they were not coded in detail, however they were considered in the relation to the adult being in the picture, for instance “mother/child”, “father/son”, “grandparent/grandchild”. Gender roles were categorised as traditional or non-traditional, further elaboration of which can be found in *Appendix A*.

4. Results and Discussion

This study examined the way Polish contemporary advertising constructs gender roles across different industry sectors. The analysis of the selected ads yielded various findings, and this chapter of the study will discuss themes related to the construction of the gender roles, followed by the most prominent results of the analysis per industry sector that were grouped in overarching themes which will be discussed in detail. The overarching themes that will be discussed include: “Homogenous representations” and “In pursuit of physical attractiveness,” which relate to the expectations on men and women to sustain specific physical characteristics to fit the societal expectation of a role standard such as looking and being young for women, the notion of ‘beauty work’ for women and male obsession with physical strength and building muscles; the following two themes are combined under a collective title of a ‘Gender Contract’ which refers to the (unwritten) agreement between men and women on role behaviours and responsibilities that are assigned to each gender which suggests an imbalance in the amount of (unpaid) work women need to do while remaining dependant on male assistance; finally, the theme that has not been previously discussed in the Polish context referring to ‘The green-feminine stereotype’ in which women are presented engaging in the eco-friendly behaviours and reaching for sustainable products more often than men which, in the context of gender roles, is seen as additional responsibility imposed on women based on the favourable personality traits they tend to hold.

One of the aims of this study was to see how the different industry sectors construct gender roles in their advertising. The results indicate some trends within the automotive and consumer goods sectors. A brief overview will be presented here distinguishing themes most prominent in both sectors. It is important to refer to the product categories distinguished in this study which can be divided into car parts/accessories, automobiles (vehicles), fresh and packaged food and drinks, beauty/skincare products, and cleaning products/accessories (e.g. ironing board, a mop). A comparison was made to determine whether men or women would be portrayed more frequently across product categories following Geena Davies Report (2019). This comparative information on the ratio of the number of male and female portrayals for each product category can be found in *Figure 1*. Women were more frequently shown in food, personal care, and cleaning products advertisements indicating nearly no depictions of males in the analysed dataset from this category.

As seen in *Figure 1* the only product category that had an almost equal gender distribution across the sample of advertisements was the energy drink produced by the Black

Energy Drink brand. These findings are significant in the light of the Geena Davies report... I would say something here about the significance of these results + relate it to Geena Davies report for example

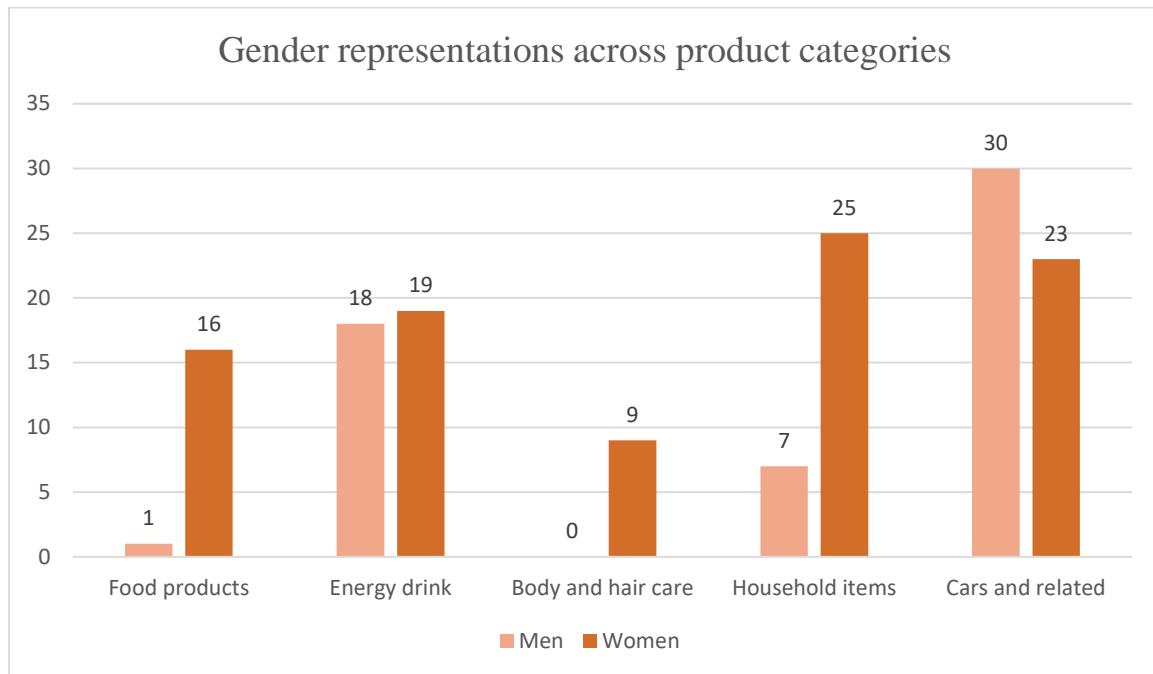


Figure 1. The distribution of women and men presented in the advertisements per product type in numbers.

4.1. Homogenous representations

The first part of the discussion will focus on the main findings and general characteristics in terms of the appearance of the men and women presented in the advertisements in both industries. These features include skin colour, age, body type, and attire. This section does not discuss a theme but presents the most common and repetitive portrayals of men and women in advertising. It is seen as useful to discuss these demographics to compare them to the global trends in advertising as well as previous research on male and female representation in advertising. The physical characteristics play a key role in stereotyping. As discussed in the Theoretical Framework physical characteristics are one of the four dimensions which participate in constructing gender and gender expectations, as identified by Deaux and Lewis (1964). The features that are feminine or masculine and the ratios in which they are associated with males or females change throughout time and cultural context. Therefore, it was important to introduce the first dimension and its aspects that portrayed certain repetitiveness.

Firstly, it became apparent that almost all the models 99,4% (N=171) depicted in the ads were white men and women apart from one (N=1) celebrity brand ambassador for one of the analysed brands, namely Black Energy drink – Mike Tyson who is an Afro-American male and former boxer. It is also important to mention that it is very hard to determine a person's ethnicity and all attempts are based on assumptions or guesses, for that reason the person's skin colour was coded in this analysis following prior research (Schlüter, 2020). Although the lack of representation could be explained by the fact that racial distribution in Poland shows the domination of white (pale skin, slightly tanned) people in terms of the overall demographic of those living in Poland. Marketers, therefore, might be choosing to present only white people in the ads because they consider it as the target demographic of their advertisements. As stated by Piekut and Valentine (2021) "in the Polish context, whiteness and Catholic identity have historically been associated with national identity" (p. 888). Thus, the brands maintain a homogenous representation of the groups Polish nationals are historically most likely to identify themselves with having the goal of creating brand resonance and identification of a collective (here: Poles) in mind (Cichocka et al., 2021). Nevertheless, the absence of non-white models in the advertisements on Instagram should be noted as a crucial feature of online advertising of the selected Polish brands which do not present the diversity of the people in general and most importantly overlooks the racial minorities living in Poland. Lack of representation further reinforces the idea that 'white features' are seen as the norm of beauty which has been marketed and proves to hold true in advertising today (Shankar, 2020). These results also go in accordance with a trend of including a disproportionately higher number of Caucasian models across cultures (Shankar, 2020). Furthermore, it is important to seek reasons for these decisions because companies, especially on Instagram, are expected to present progressive views and provide fair depictions of the people in society in order to avoid backlash.

4.1.2. Ageism and the celebration of youth

The analysis examined the ages of the presented models which quickly made it visible that the advertisements displayed a tendency in the depictions of ages of the models. It was yet another factor lacking diversity of representation as nearly 60% [N=102] of the men and women in the advertisements were in their early 20s with only 38% [N=65] who were coded as being adults (31-60) and seniors (60+), the remaining 2% was children and teenagers of less than 18 years of age. It is important to note that it was found that most men in

the advertisements were adults (31-60), accounting for 45 out of 77 (58%) while those more frequently coded as young adult (18-30) were females – 60 out of 95 (63%). The tendency across industries and product categories was compared which confirmed to be similar, namely women on average seemed to be younger than men. These results are in alignment with the results of a cross-cultural study on Chinese, American and Thai advertising which portrayed younger models, especially female models in these ‘western’ advertisements (Zhang et al., 2009). This provides further evidence in support of the results from Geena Davies 2019 report on the continuous ageism in advertising, namely the lack of portrayals across all age-groups but in particular older or senior females and shows men who, as research shows, tend to be on average 4 years older than women (GDIGM/Google, 2019). One of the reasons for such representations is the physical attractiveness of young females which is used as an ‘attention-grabbing’ tool in advertisements of products no matter the target gender for all products categories included in this study despite counter-movements (Zgang et al., 2009). Moreover, seeing representations of attractive and young models could indicate that there is an expectation on women to remain young and preserve their “youth” as that is what is desired or that the younger females are seen as more attractive and pleasant to look at which makes the role of a female decorative or of a (sexual) object which follows further research from Asia, North America, and Europe (Frith et al., 2005; Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008; Shao et al., 2014). The shifted focus from the concept of aging as if the denial of it is illustrated by *Figure 2*, which portrays someone who could be “older” based on the lines in her neck and around the mouth area. This assumption could be further supported by the types of clothing and accessories being worn. This image was one of the advertisements from the grocery store chain, Stokrotka, where a model is showed with only the bottom half of her face without the eyes. The model has had the upper part of her face cropped from the picture, as if to dehumanize the person by not showing their head and shift the focus away from her face down to the plate with food that she is holding. Moreover, the woman in the picture is wearing a long-sleeved sweater with a turtleneck as if to cover the parts of the body that display the age the soonest such as the neck, hands, décolletage, or around the eye area (*Figure 2*). It was important to see that the ‘older’ the female looked, which also includes women coded as being in their 30-40 the further was the camera from their faces in contrast to close-ups of young women’s faces often being presented in advertisements. Despite the ongoing counter-movements criticizing alienation of aging women which have not been used in advertising around the world which is known as having a negative impact on the self-perception and mental health of women the ‘western’ influences seem to be strongly

embedded in Polish advertising (Hovlamd et al, 2005; Posavac et al., 2001, Zhang et al., 2009).



Figure 2. Caption: “Which dessert is your favourite? (emoji) Reply in the comments and win one of three gift cards worth 100 PLN each to spend in our Stokrotka stores. (emoji) Don’t forget to follow us. (emoji) T&Cs in our bio. (emoji).”

Interestingly, the distribution of age in advertisements portraying families or couples was rather even, meaning that a female model (partner, mother) was coded to be of the same or similar age as the male model (partner, father) which could further suggest that there is an expectation that relationships are built between peers and bigger age gaps are not normalized in the Polish context. This is useful to further discuss the construction of a female vs. male in terms of age relating to the role or position a person has in the advertisements because it can provide useful insights into how gender roles are constructed and whether it is likely that men the older they grow the higher in (work) hierarchy they rise; while women the older they grow are more focused on having children and taking care of the home. → how/why? Make sure to engage with the descriptions you provide; add analytical depth

It soon became clear that there were differences across sectors in terms of ages they presented in their advertising. To begin with, the consumer goods industry presented mostly young adult females. The roles of the females were often of mothers or housewives, a very homogenous portrayal across all advertisements in the way they construct the version of a woman. Not only were those females young but also presented as happy based on the facial

expressions of the models which were presented with wide smiles and lines around their eye area which is said to suggest a ‘genuine smile.’ Reason for presenting women as happy or excited to, for example, help children with their homework, clean the apartment for a party or do the laundry (*Figure 3*) is to normalize the traditional role of a woman and show it in a way that indicates her willingness to do all these things or the acceptance of a set of tasks that are expected to be completed by females. It is seen as necessary to mention the smiling expression in ads as it shows correlation with any cultural context but more often with cultures such as the patriarchal Polish context where there is an expectation of a woman, especially young female to “smile” and act happy (Paprotka, 2014). Although for some this can be seen as unproblematic for some the feminist communities have highlight the issues stemming from telling women to smile which relates to the set of expectations on how a woman should behave and a way to discipline women to fulfill those requirements. The role of a woman is therefore to be pretty and kind, smile in an encouraging way and never display anger (Paprotka, 2014). Moreover, presenting very young mothers or ‘housewives’ instead of diversifying the portrayals of the roles for women provides the audience with a very limited view on the opportunities for women and could also pressure women into feeling like they have to have children or become a wife in their early 20s. This links to the Cultivation Theory which was discussed in the Theoretical Framework (see *section 2.2.*).

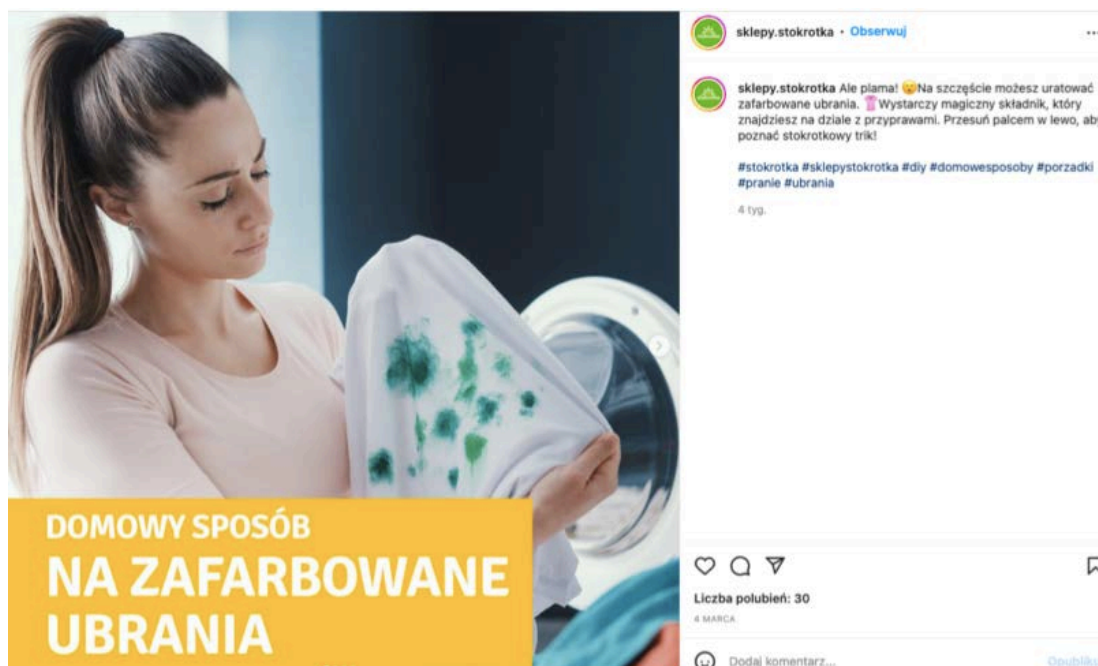


Figure 3. Caption: “Homemade solution for stained clothes”; “What a stain! (emoji). Thankfully, you can save stained clothes. (emoji) All you need is a one magical ingredient which can be found in the spice alley. Swipe left to find out about our tip.”

The discussion on representations of gender further continues with the automotive industry which gave space to a higher number of adult men (31+) with only a few adult women (30-40s) presented among the remaining women seeming to be young adults. Therefore, the trend in advertisements is confirmed in the way age of women was lower than that of men. The exact reasons for these choices cannot be fully determined because it could lay in the target audience of the brand or the brand's identity. Nevertheless, the results which suggest that products for older men are advertised by young female models reinforces the stereotype of a female role being that of an object of sexual desire of a man which has been found by several researchers to be a way for marketers to get the attention of the male target audience (Middleton et al.,2020; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). Moreover, men in the automotive sphere are constructed as predominantly male, often in terms of their physical and intellectual power. Namely, most men included in the advertisements from the AM sector were presented as experts or specialists which highlighted the traditional assumption that men are more knowledgeable and rational than women who in the car were presented as irresponsible drivers or engaging in singing and dancing in the back seat of a car. The physical characteristics of men continuously referred to male strength as compared to the car part's resistance or durability which reinforces the stereotyped role of men as the dominant and intimidating figure.

To conclude, there are a few similarities between these results and those from the previous studies on age in advertising namely presenting younger female models in contrast to older male models meaning that there is a lack of representation of older women which can suggest that the role of a female is of an object which must be aesthetically pleasing (GDIGM/Google, 2019; Middleton et al., 2020). These could provide some clues and help understand the reasons for why only young women are associated with households and physical attractiveness and men in their 30s and 40s as car mechanics or experts in the field of autos. Firstly, A possible explanation for this 'age issue' within the two industries could be explained by the 'target marketing.' As defined by Johnson and Grier (2011), it is the showcasing of a model that the brands have in mind as their target consumer. Hence, some may argue that this is the target demographic of a brand. Despite that, universally used and purchased items such as iron, food products or cleaning detergents should diversify the representation of the models in advertising which could increase the likelihood of people relating to the person presented in advertising and as a result be encouraged to purchase the advertised products. In other words, increase the advertisements' effectiveness. Secondly, as discussed there is an ongoing trend of including young models in marketing products

generally used, hence for both younger and older generations solely by young models (Simcock & Lynn, 2006). There is a generally idealized vision of youth in a woman which leaves older or senior females severely underrepresented in advertising which calls for changes and introduction of wider diversity within a broader cultural context (Simcock & Lynn, 2006). Nevertheless, the explanation for lack of presentations of elderly women in the consumer goods advertising remains a challenging problem to tackle because marketers can justify their exclusion from their advertising by the fact of being outside of target audience.

4.1.3. Problems of body diversity

The third sub-theme discusses the lack of diversity of the women's and men's bodies with little to none deviation from the standardized 'western' ideal. It is seen as interesting to discuss the fact that the homogenous sizes of bodies for women which are slim or petite still dominate the female representations in advertisements while men with body-builder physiques and naked chests have dominated the portrayals of male bodies because physical features are one of the components building a gender stereotype.

It was found that the results of the dataset show a lack of diversity in the body size of models in every brand as the majority represented a thin-ideal for women as the majority 57.6% (N=53) was presented as having figure two with the second most popular type figure three 39.1% (N=36), followed by figure one 3.2% (N=3). Highly muscular or even body-builder figure for men was the dominant physique with an even distribution of majority of men having figure three 36.8% (N=21), and four 35.1% (N=20), the remaining distribution for men was between figure five (8.7%, N=5), figure two (5.2%, N=2), figure six (3.5%, N=2), and figure seven (1.8%, N=1). It should be highlighted that the body type was coded in reference to an established Figure Rating Scale to allow for a more conclusive result and can be found in the *Appendix B* (Stunkard et al. 1983). Nevertheless, the consistency of portrayals of certain body types is seen as relevant for the discussion of the roles assigned to men and women. To begin with, almost all females were portrayed as slim with little variety in their body size. Although there is an ongoing body positivity and diversity movement fighting eliminating false representations of human bodies, the results of this analysis support another ongoing tendency in advertising from various countries to reinforce the thin-ideal as the prime one. These results, just like the results on race, confirm the previous research by Freitas et al. (2018) on the female body diversity in Australian fashion magazines which showed a lack of body diversity for women in the way the ads presented solely very slim models, just like in

the sample of the current study on Polish ads further perpetuating the false idea that every woman is the size of figure two or three (Stunkard et al.1983).

The reasons for such homogenous representations may, again, lay in the expectations put on women and men. Women could be expected to be petite and appeal with their appearance and fit a certain 'standard' or take up less space which can relate to the male dominance in the Polish context as discussed in the Theoretical Framework (see *section 2.3*), in literal terms, it may seem easier for men to submit themselves a smaller woman than them (Goffman, 1979). Men, however, are expected to be strong because as the muscles develop the strength does to. There is a very prominent notion of the masculine strength and power in relation to idealized portrayals of male bodies based on the results of the analysis which is discussed as one of the themes in the later section of this chapter (see *section 4.2.3.*). Interestingly though, there were instances where men were presented with endomorph or soft and round bodies to serve a humorous purpose; the body type of these models was corresponding to figure six and seven from the Figure Rating Scale, with a working term established by the researcher as "plus-size" because it was bigger than a mesomorphic body type with defined muscles. The assumption that men who do not fit a certain sizing standard should be ridiculed or be the object of humour is since these advertisements had used hashtags such as "#funny" as part of the captions. Eisend et al. (2014) observed that humour, which emerges when people are men with something unexpected, is used with non-traditional gender roles depictions is a response from coping with what is unfamiliar as it breaks the traditional stereotypes. An example of such representation can be seen in *Figure 4.* where an adult male model is dressed as a cupid flying in the sky. The image of a model is bizarre and unconventional as cupids are usually represented as very young and "chubby" children. The man in the picture has a lot of his body not covered by the fabric and by having a tightly closed belt on his stomach which further enhanced its size. Male body diversity is still a very problematic topic in advertising why how; ref? and Poland is no exception as most male physique representations comply with the 'Western' body ideal of a tanned, strong and slender man. Although, it is not a novelty in the advertising such presentation can have positive underlying reasons. An example of a reason for such representations could be seen as an attempt to enforce body positivity in the advertising by Polish brands. However, in their analysis of humorous advertisements it became apparent that humorous ads highlighted the traditional gender roles of men such by portraying them as independent, occupied with work, and older (Eisend et al., 2014).

Elliott and Elliott (2005)'s study on male responses to the idealized images of male bodies in advertisements discusses the complexity of the issue of male body portrayal.

Presenting men with more realistic bodies could be a sign of encouragement to body acceptance. Moreover, it is often welcome as it does not put pressure on consumers and impact their self-esteem.



Figure 4. Caption: “Shock absorbers are responsible for adhesion, vibration suppression and stabilisation while driving as they ensure a constant contact of the tyre with the surface. Remember that it’s good to have them checked every 20k kilometres. Which brands of shock absorbers are your go-to’s?” (author: A word-play was used to advertise shock absorbers (pl.”amortyzatory”) by cupids (pl.”amorki”, diminutive of “amortyzatory).

4.2. Both industries –in pursuit of physical attractiveness

This section presents results that were prominent in both industries. The themes distinguished in these sections correspond to the notions of strong men and weak women in the first theme and solely women being expected to maintain “beauty routines.”

4.2.1. Dieting and slim beautiful women

As mentioned in the discussion of the body sizes the results of the analysis provide evidence to the claim that there are strict aesthetic norms imposed on men and women as presented in advertising. This section will consider all the aspects of advertisements connected to the notion of strength, body representation, dieting, expectations, and beauty work for women.

Women have struggled with the societal expectations in terms of the role their physical appearance has in building the gender role, for decades in the way their bodies or faces had to fit a certain ideal such as thin thighs or flat stomachs or radiant skin (Elliot & Elliott, 2005; Kilbourne, 1999). The results of the analysis showed some consistencies in the way women are presented further creating expectations of them in terms of their appearance and having to live up to certain aesthetic standards. The results also indicate that advertising continues to support the idea that women are the ones indulging in self-care and wellness persists as none of these advertisements presented a man being interested in skincare, haircare or looking for healthy solutions. The analysis suggests that the focus of women is on appearance in terms of caring for one's skin by doing homemade masks, going to a beauty therapist, scrubbing their body, oiling the hair, or putting a hair mask on. Which means that next to their housework they also must do the "beauty work."

Further findings of the analysis point out the relevance of the advertising standards of male and female within the Polish brands to the cultural dieting and other health related preferences. Based on stereotyped feminine traits women are said to take less health risks (e.g., smoking) and focus on the 'protection' which is related to the traditionally assigned empathy and concern with wellbeing for females. Research shows that men who conform to the traditional masculinities which is aligned with gender role stereotyping display higher likelihood of auto destructive tendencies such as smoking or using drugs than those who seek redefinitions of the traditional gender ideals for men (Sonnenstein, 1999 as cited in Królikowska, 2011). In the analysis it became apparent that women often appeared in advertisements relating to dieting and healthy lifestyle which confirms previous findings on the tendency for women to reduce calorie intake or eat less to fit in a stereotyped thin body ideal. These results also correspond with the results of a study examining culinary preferences of Poles which showed that men more often chose fat meat while women preferred fruit and vegetables, but also carbohydrates (CBOS, 2005; Krolikowska, 2011). The results of the analysed sample of advertisements indicate that women are often encouraged to "eat green," "eat healthy" which are two terms usually used in the diet-culture to relate to a calorie-deficient, "healthier" diet, although these terms do not mean the same, they perpetuate the obsession with body size and eating (Wolf, 2015). Slogans such "healthy lifestyle" or "healthy habits" and prompts to buy zero sugar versions of the drinks were all associated solely with female models in the ads. To illustrate, *Figure 6* presents the advert of BED zero sugar version of a popular energy drink. What is seen as important is that only female models were portrayed in the advertisements of this product. The images were accompanied by

slogans such as “zero sugar, zero worries”, or “zero sugar, maximum energy.” Women being encouraged to consume less sugar adds onto the stereotyped spiral of obsession with the female bodies and their sizes and creates expectations for females to upkeep the stereotyped physical appearance as being thin, light, and delicate (Krolikowska, 2011). It is important to engage with these claims as they bear useful implications in reference to how brands reinforce the stereotyped notions. Namely, “zero sugar, zero worries” implies that women should be worried about sugar, therefore they should be concerned with calories which leads the notion of women having to sustain a certain body size. Interestingly, the female model in the advert (*Figure 5*) is presented in the gym as if to highlight the fact that women should also train to maintain a fit and toned physique as the female body ideal is, in some areas, changing from thin to fit and thick which, if achieved the natural way, requires a lot of training. It is implied that women should be afraid of calories and sugar which, in fact, are the main drivers of energy and strength for a human body. These are very contradicting themes and can lead to eating disorders or obsessions around food and working out for women which have already been highlighted by scholars (Krolikowska, 2011), therefore such presentations should be reconsidered by marketers (Wolf, 2015). As mentioned, men were not present in any of these advertisements which can indicate that calorie concerns and the fear of gaining weight is a “female problem” which further reinforces the notion of higher expectations of women.

4.2.3. Muscular and strong men

It is interesting to look at how physical appearance expectations translate for men because the discussions historically focused on women and there is a need for investigation of the ways that social media advertisements represent male bodies and the notion of being a ‘real man’ (Michalski, 2015). Research by Pope et al. (2000) indicated signs of a developing male body obsession, visible in, for example, underwear or car advertising because of the flood of images of perfectly defined biceps or six-packs that are only achieved by excessive exercising. Such unrealistic representations of human bodies are said to cause self-esteem decrease or even eating disorders when men commit enter a spiral of hating their bodies (Barlett et al., 2008; Elliott & Elliott, 2005).



Figure 5. Caption: “zero sugar, zero worries”

A significant number of male models presented in the advertisements were highly muscular, body-builder type of men which was further enhanced by the fact they had naked chests covered in oil or cream or even tan to further enhance the definition of muscles (*Figure 6*). After consideration of images such as that in *Figure 6* it became clear that men being presented in the car and energy drink product categories as physically strong and powerful, as well as motivated to remain energized and strong by comparing their strength to the strength of a metal car element. Moreover, it is also seen as important to mention that whenever the strength or resistance of a product was being advertised men were the ones portrayed.

Therefore, there is a clear division of roles between Polish women and men confirmed by the Central Body of Research in terms of their body sizes and exercising as men have been proven to exercise more regularly choose disciplines that are focused on endurance, resistance and building the muscle mass while women, due to the nature of the stereotyping, often choose toning and sculpting activities (CBOS, 2003). Hence women tend to choose disciplines that would help them get slimmer and model their bodies while men are building the muscle mass to “look strong” and be resistant which prevails the stereotypical division of gender to a “strong man” and a “weak woman” (Królikowska, 2011).



Figure 6. “First dual mass flywheel, then sculpture. You can find the essential equipment on the website intercars.pl (emojis).” (wordplay with “dwumasa” in Polish “masa”, eng. “weight gain”)

It is also important to mention the studies on male responses to advertisements portraying them as feminine (posture, level of care, etc.). The results indicate that men in certain cultural contexts do not condone using such representations of male bodies and acceptance of their feminine traits out of the fear of being accused of being homosexual (Kimmel & Tissier-Desbordes, 1999). It is highly relevant for the discussion in the Polish context due to the impact of homophobia and lack of tolerance for LGBTQ+ from members of certain communities in the country.

4.3. “Gender contract”

This section is dedicated to engagement with the themes describing the mostly non-equal division of gender roles in a form of a “gender contract” where women are socialized for marriage, having children, and working at home while men, the authority, get to do other things outside of house.

4.3.1. Women at home; men everywhere else

The results of the location in which models were presented show disproportions in the presenting mostly women in the ads from FMCG industry (here: grocery store, household products and energy drink). Female models were mostly presented at home engaging in

household chores or domestic activities. As illustrated in *Figure 7* these adverts perpetrate the notion that women have many unpaid jobs and the responsibility of running a household lay on their shoulders while also being a mother. Despite gaining popularity of the partnership models of relationships in Europe, the views that running a household and caring for the family is the role of a female is a deeply internalized notion in Poland as historically no one questioned the division of roles and due to the Church’s influence, it was considered “natural” and “obvious” for women to take care of the children, their husband and the house (Titkow et al., 2004). The way Polish society saw adult women who did not have a professional career but were focused on bearing children and doing a plethora of household chores daily can be illustrated with a quote which was, and for some still prevails. Namely, when asked if an adult woman works her response would be “No, I don’t work, I’m taking care of the house” (Titkow et al., 2004). This feminist debate has been raising concerns with the “gender contract” between men and women on the uneven division of unpaid tasks, however, the traditional gender roles seem to prevail in the sample of advertisements.



Figure 7. Caption: “In the Green House you do not exaggerate (wordplay pl. replant) well, unless it’s plants! And with cleaning up the soil leftovers my eco-products will help. 😊”

Example illustrating this trend can be seen in *Figure 8*, where a mother is presented playing with her child on a public religious holiday (Lany Poniedziałek – eng.”Easter

Monday”) and she is encouraged to have fun in the house as her chores, here laundry, can be rescheduled to a different day, meaning that the housework cannot be done by someone else, such as husband, and if when it is not possible to be done, it can only be postponed which clearly indicates the multitude of tasks a woman is expected to do which can at times now fit in one day. These findings are in accordance with Plakoyiannaki et al. (2008) results on their study of online advertisements which, in some cases more than print advertising, continue to further reinforce the traditional gender roles for females as concerned with house-cleanliness and being a housewife where none of these advertisements is male-oriented.

Furnham and Saar reached similar conclusions with their study on Poland and the UK, namely women were presented mostly in family roles while men were independently devoting themselves to other activities (Furnham & Saar, 2005). Previous research by Knupfer (1998) already indicated that in online advertisements women were presented in subordinate roles or as helping others with the focus on their physical attractiveness and dependency. Therefore, the stereotypical, traditional gender roles are perpetuated in results of this study putting expectations on a female to do everything around the house and care for others.

It is particularly important to look at the complexity of female responsibilities in the Polish context because of the ethos of the “Polish Mother”, originally introduced by a renowned Polish writer – Adam Mickiewicz. It historically served as the ideal of motherhood for conservative Poles as she “serves to support a religio-nationalistic patriarchy” therefore is of service to the family (Hauser, 1995., p.85). Hauser (1995) discusses the position of women in the hierarchy of Polish patriotism and that they were always lower than male patriots. Although the “Polish Mother” ethos seems like an outdated concept it still prevails in the patriarchal Polish context to this day referring to women having to work, look after their home, and families. This is particularly prominent in traditional, often Catholic, families where there is little to no expectation of a man to support a woman in other ways than financially. Previous literature and the findings of the analysis in this study indicate that the division of household chores reflects a stereotypical division for male and female roles. These findings correspond to the division of labour within Polish households discussed in the study by Królikowska (2011) where the female efforts relate closely to maintaining the health and wellbeing of the family with tasks that need to be done almost every day which further adds onto the responsibilities of a working female who, essentially, has two jobs. Despite an increasing partnership relationship model with an equal division of responsibilities in running a household, in many cases still the female’s domain are tasks such as cooking, baking, cleaning the bathroom/toilet, washing the dishes, doing the laundry, ironing and doing the

grocery shopping. Men, however, have taken a responsibility for fixing of minor damages, changing the bulbs, renovating the interiors, or maintenance of the electric device and cleaning systems (Titkow et al. 2004).



Figure 8. Caption: “Let the Easter Monday (here wordplay: get the laundry away). It is a day off after all so it is better to be spent on relaxing and having fun in the comfort of your home!”

Societal normalization of Polish men as not participating in the running of the household suggests that women are seen as the main receiver of the advertisements and the target demographic pertaining the idea that doing the shopping, cleaning, cooking, or taking care of children by playing with them, cooking with them, or teaching them is the role of a woman. Feminist movements have been trying to fight these “standards” of what is seen as good motherhood and, for example, paying a person to help with a mother with household chores is slowly becoming normalized instead of highly criticized.

4.3.2. Men as rational experts – women as needing help

The results from the analysis of the advertisements of cars and car-related products further strengthen and confirm the traditional beliefs of men as put forward by Deaux and Lewis (1984) where the traits of a man as knowledgeable, competent leader, rationalism which relates to the representation of men as experts or voices of authority. This is particularly prevalent in the sample of car and car-related items advertisements. In many of the ads men were presented in video clips describing features of cars, testing cars or even providing guidelines or giving advice on how to, for example, shop for a car during the pandemic (*Figure 9*) This implied not only that men are the ones concerned with cars but also the ones having the knowledge on the specifics of cars.

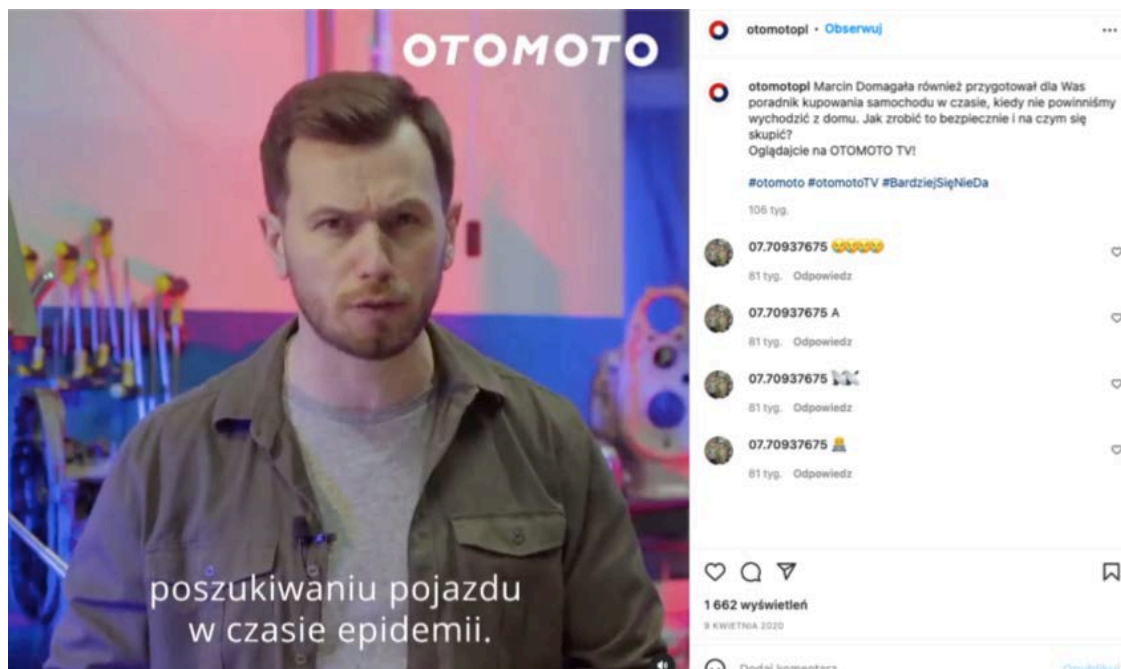


Figure 9. Caption: “Marcin Domagala has also prepared a guide on buying a car during a pandemic when we are supposed to stay at home. How to do it safely and what to focus on? Watch on OTOMOTO TV!”

The aspect of purchasing and researching the market was presented as a role of a man was prevalent in the sample of advertisements from the automotive industry. Female agency and decision making was implicitly or explicitly shift to a man who was a driver, or a partner and it was left up to them what the purchased product will entail. Women, whenever presented as concerned with the topic of a new car, were focused on the exterior such as colour which served as a way to strengthen the notion that women cannot decide on a car’s features because they only refer to the superficial features such as size or colour. It came to

the attention of the researcher that in the automotive sector advertisements women, although present, tend to be sexualized, have the role of an object rather than an authority and if pictured in a non-traditional role of a mechanic they were presented in a humorous way which supported the notion of women being clueless when given a task that requires using tools and they are not able to independently fix things. These kinds of representations reinforce the old-fashioned perception of females discussed by Knupfer (1998) who suggested that online as construct the roles of women as as dependent, incapable and not intelligent. These findings correspond to the notion of a man as “head of the family” discussed in the Theoretical Framework in the Catholic context (see *section 2.3*).



Figure 10. Caption: “#GIVEAWAY December with Stokrotka is full of prizes and surprises (emojis) Although it can happen that we receive a wrong gift. Take part in our giveaway and decide yourself which gift you want to receive because you can win one of 4 vouchers for 100PLN to be used on the @targirzeczyladnych website! All you need to do is let us know in the comments what is the weirdest gift you have ever received! (emojis). Don’t forget to follow us (emoji). (...)”

An example can be provided using the advertisement (*Figure 10*) from Stokrotka, a grocery store chain, in which a woman wearing a santa claus hat is scratching her head with one hand and holding a drill in another in a visible confusion. In the caption a drill is further framed as being an unwanted gift for a female. Such representations may be reinforcing the idea that someone else (here: a man) is going to take care of repairs or constructions.

Speaking of expectations of a man to have the role of a handyman while a woman waits to be helped it is interesting to shift the perspective to the division of labour within between men and women. As discussed previously women tend to be responsible for an unevenly bigger number of things. In Poland most men tend to be responsible for carrying out car maintenance and repairs which they most often work on with male mechanics. This shows that females do not have a representation in the automotive industry which can further influence the way marketers present them based on the

4.4 Novelty in relation to gender role stereotyping

4.4.1 The green-feminine stereotype

Another important theme spotted in the advertisements is that women are presented as involved in environmentally friendly efforts with the focus on “natural” or “homemade” products, especially relating to beauty products which is a recent trend in the language of cosmetic advertising (*Figure 11*) (Hermans, 2021; Ringrow; 2018). These two words are present in many advertisements featuring women, whether they are cleaning, or putting on a face cream there is always a homemade solution or recipe that a brand has to suggest. It is interesting to look at the deeper meanings the notion of greenness and ecology can carry in terms of female role construction because in food and beauty advertising “natural” and “homemade” often means stepping away from the labs and science-based solutions. On the one hand, this trend can further reinforce the stereotype that women are not intelligent enough to understand the scientific jargon and that they will rather believe in the properties not backed up by scientists. On the other hand, *Journal of Consumer Research* conducted a study in which they found that women tend to engage in sustainable consumption more often than men (Brough et al., 2016) hence there is no coincidence with brands providing solutions on how to use leftover bi-carbonate soda to clean the sink, as it is also a more eco-friendly way than buying a new detergent. The focus on the natural is becoming increasingly important across all industry sectors.

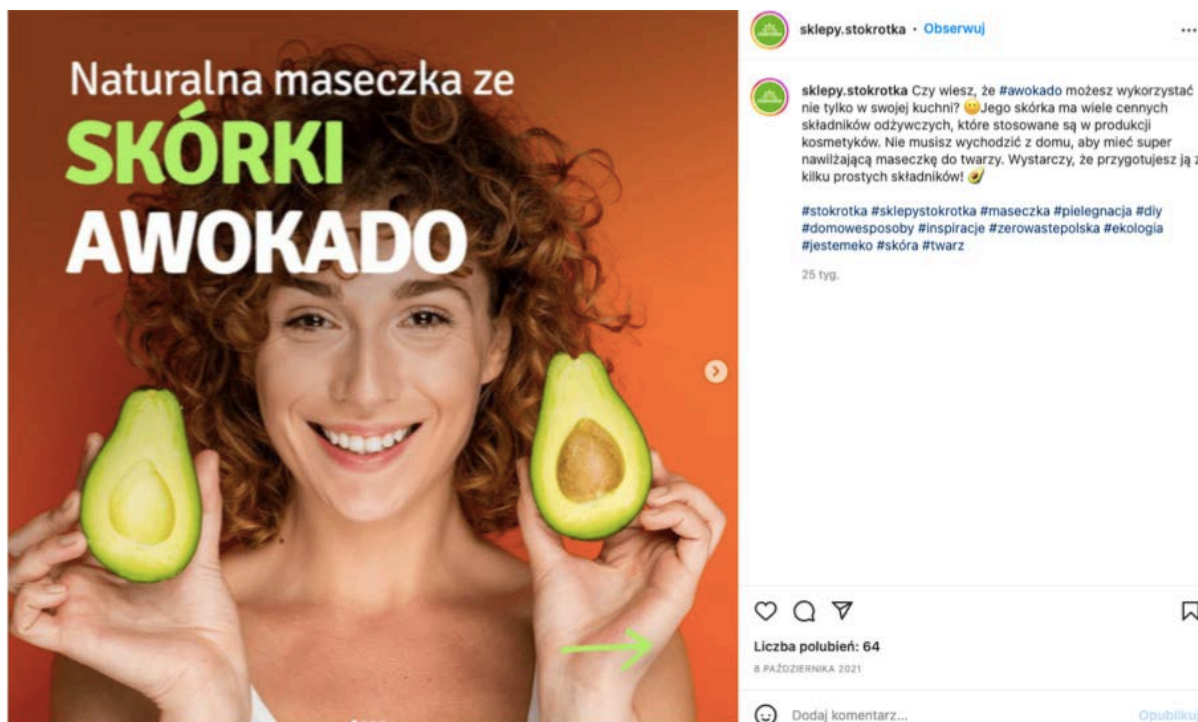


Figure 11: Caption: “Do you know that #avocado can be used for other purposes than in your kitchen? 😊 Its outside layer has many beneficial and nourishing properties which are used for manufacturing cosmetics. You don’t have to leave the house to have a super moisturizing face mask. You can make it using a few easy ingredients!”

The way gender role is associated with being concerned with the impact on environment is by subtle prompts encouraging women to make use of a recipe for a do-it-yourself (DIY) beauty product or share a recipe for their favourite Easter cake to have a chance to win household accessories which are products, according to the sample in the dataset, reserved solely for women. One of the examples of such ads is illustrated in *Figure 12* in which a woman is presented smiling while on a graphic background showing off the Easter cake she made as a preparation for the Easter holiday weekend. There are a couple of details to consider here; firstly, in Poland, the responsibility to do the groceries, prepare food as well as clean and organize the house lays on women as men rarely engage in such preparations. Secondly, the model in the ad, although in the context of being busy preparing the family event, is presented dressed, wearing big earrings, having her makeup and hair done which reflects the expectation on women to upkeep their good appearance at all times. Lastly, the adult female is presented with a graphic set of bun ears which brings to mind *Playboy*, a magazine for men known for sexualization of women and for the revealing and nude images of them, at times wearing bun ears and tails with underwear as a way to perform “sexy.”

This could be a subtle indication into another expectation of a woman, no matter how busy to remain “cute,” and “sexy.”



Figure 12. Caption: “Easter #giveaway. There are up to 20 sets of glass food containers by Curver to win. <3 Thanks to them you can prepare bigger portions of the holiday and you will preserve their freshness for longer. What do you need to do to win? Here’s your task: Sharing with us your favourite Easter recipe. It could be sweet or savoury – choose whatever you like! Comment your answer under this post. Don’t forget to follow our account! We are waiting for your answers until the 18th of April. T&C in our bio.

The results of the analysis, in correspondence with the study by Brough et al., showed that eco-friendly products and behaviours were embraced by female models in advertisements indicating a clear gender difference between willingness to take action in protecting or reducing the negative impact they have on the environment which is referred to as the green-feminine stereotype (Brough et al., 2016). These results correspond to the previous claims that women are the one engaging in environmentalism and are in general more responsible and aware of the existence and interested in using and purchasing eco-friendly solutions or products such as zero-waste or natural skincare (Kallgren et al., 2000; Rätty & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010; Zelezny et al., 2000). Female interest in ecology could be explained by a set of personality traits often owned by them which may play a role in making it more likely to find ecologically responsible behaviours appealing. Namely, according to research, some

women have been proved to display empathy, altruism and concern for social and ethical matters which also include the environment (Brough et al., 2016; Zelezny et al., 2000). Moreover, it could also stem from the gender pay gap which forced women to live more sustainable lives (Brough et al., 2016). To illustrate, advertising of eco-friendly products or solutions such as DIY beauty or cleaning products made from fruit or vegetables, using making baking soda for cleaning or removing stains, advertising compostable bin-bags or cleaning wipes; the call to action often revolved around the encouragement to recycle, collecting litter in the forest, sharing recipes for natural and zero-waste solutions were all referring to women and portraying female models as saving on the costs or environment pollution/damage. Importantly, green marketing is proven to target traditionally female product categories such as cleaning, laundry, cooking, looking after children which seems to create a vicious circle reinforcing the gender role stereotypes around the nurturing role of women who next to looking after family and the house, are expected to also conserve the environment. The alternative explanation for men not associating themselves with environmental themes in advertising can be found in the study by Brough et al. (2016). Based on the survey results conducted on a sample of university students from private institutions the authors popularized the claim that one of the reasons men do not want to be part of the “green movement” is because it is cognitively associated by them with femininity and being feminine. Therefore, in men’s efforts to preserve their gender-identity and reject feminine traits as they can fear that accepting any feminine traits reduces their masculinity causes the rejection or avoidance of anything remotely close to being concerned with the wellbeing of the environment. Poland being a very conservative state with very strict feminine versus masculine divisions has conditioned some people to believe that when they are a man they can hold only masculine traits (Ostroważ-Coates, 2015). Based on these reasons alone it is fair to state that the green-feminine stereotype has developed in Polish advertising and it seems to reinforce traditional gender roles in the analysed dataset.

5. Conclusion

In this section of the paper a conclusion of this thesis is presented with implications of the results of the analysis conducted. The limitations of the study will be introduced alongside recommendations for future research.

5.1 Conclusions and implications

This study has investigated how gender roles are constructed in online advertising of Polish brands published between 2020 and 2022. Instagram advertisements in the form of posts consisting of images, captions, and hashtags were therefore analysed through thematic analysis. Based on the findings of the thematic analysis, which will be discussed in the next section, answers to the research question will be provided.

The importance of the role of advertising in shaping the views of societies on gender norms further extends to influencing the lives of those exposed in those ads (Mackson et al., 2019). Ads may serve as a societal reference point into what is normal or desired (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). In the context of gender roles, this can mean that certain groups, such as women, may struggle to break free from the realms of expectations imposed on them in terms of being mothers and housewives striving for marriage. Indeed, advertisements contribute to slowing down the overall progress that feminist movements are working hard to achieve. For men, however, it means that they are conditioned to behave and look in a way that is seen representative of a “real man” which means that they must be muscular, strong physically and mentally, resistant, and responsible only for contributing to running a household by providing finances (Hauser, 1995.; Titkow et al., 2004). Such representations can create issues with self- and public perceptions of those who do not conform (Barlett et al., 2008; Elliott & Elliott, 2005). It is important for the media to create content that reflects the reality for women and men and breaks the traditional gender role stereotypes rather than continues to reinforce them. This means that women should be presented in a diverse manner in terms of physical appearance, occupational roles and engaging in a variety of out-of-home activities that were not traditionally associated with them. As discussed in the Theoretical Framework, advertisements have been found to present men as authorities while women as the ones lacking independence and decisive power (Tschila, 2020).

Moreover, women have been continuously presented as housewives and mothers therefore often associated with domestic products (Knoll et al., 2011; Grau & Zotos, 2016). The role of a woman did not end on doing the household chores and bearing children. Another presented role of a woman which related to their appearance which combines all the female efforts of maintaining beauty, youthfulness, and slim bodies. The importance of female beauty has been increased by the advertising industry presenting women not only in inferior but also decorative roles, which merely highlighted the pleasure derived from admiring the female beauty in the eyes of men which often lead to sexualization of those women or their body parts (Kilbourne, 1999; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008.).

Previous research found that women tend to be associated with domestic product and cosmetic and beauty product advertisements more than men; while male depictions were more often presented in the traditionally masculine sectors, such as the automotive sector (GDIGM/Google, 2019; Knoll et al., 2011). This study confirms the findings of past studies and relates to the associations of women with the CPG and men with the AM sectors. The sample shows a tendency to present women in the advertisements as product-users of items such as cleaning supplies, foods, and cosmetics and men in car and related items advertisements. Automotive industry in the selected sample was constructed as predominantly male area where women are present but play an insignificant role of a decorative object. Through the captions and hashtags male authority and expert-like knowledge continued to be signified, contrary to female dependence and cluelessness on the topics of car parts. In correspondence with previous studies, this analysis found that the representations of the models within advertisements are homogenous in terms of physical characteristics of women and men. There is a focus on overall whiteness and slim physique for women but highly muscular bodies for men. The results could be best compared in the AM sector or BED advertisements where the distribution of gender was somewhat comparable. Therefore, it indicates that there is a lack of diversity within the advertising

Lastly, the theme green-feminine stereotype, advertising of eco-friendly products or solutions such as DIY beauty or cleaning were all referring to women and portraying female models. Importantly, green marketing is proven to target traditionally female product categories such as cleaning, laundry, cooking, looking after children which seems to create a vicious circle reinforcing the gender role stereotypes around the nurturing role of women who next to looking after family and the house, are expected to also conserve the environment. This suggests that the list of tasks for women is expanding in the contemporary gender roles while men, as described by Brough et al. (2016) refrain from engaging in ecology.

In the light of the discoveries of subtle shifts and changes in the way gender roles of men and women are constructed in advertising overall there does not seem to be a profound cultural shift in Poland based on the dataset analysed by, for example, male were not depicted while doing domestic work. The differences in the number and the way of portrayals are severe as there was a higher number of representation of women to men in advertisements from the CPG sector and categories including household products, food products, and body and haircare products. This further reinforced traditional gender roles for women and the expectations of them to involve in the unpaid work such as running a household, being a mother, while ensuring that they are engaging in a stay slim, young, and beautiful.

Considering the aforementioned themes distinguished that relate to roles of women and men the answers to the research questions given above when synthesized the online advertising seem to be a building a “manual” for women on how to behave and which roles to take up, often closely related to the idea the Catholic religion has on the role of a woman; expectations relate to the unpaid work with running a household, being a mother, and ensuring that they stay slim, young, and beautiful (Diekman & Eagely, 2000). Furthermore, although male traditional gender role stereotypes also prevail in online advertising the list of expectations is nowhere as close as that of a female.

5.2 Limitations and recommendations for future research

This section of the chapter will provide limitations of the current study discussed in relation to validity and reliability and suggest directions for the research in the future. Qualitative research is known to consider its limitations in terms of reliability and validity. Ritchie et al. (2013) describe reliability as “sustainable”, which relates to the possibility of replicating this study and populating similar results by referring to the method used as a guide (p.270). Validity, however, is concern with accuracy of methodological choices to measure what was promised to be measured (Babbie, 2014). This study discussed the construction of gender roles which in itself is a very broad and compound concept, therefore it was not possible for the study to address all the related notions which leaves a possibility to take the research further in the future.

As for reliability, this study examined concepts which interpretation often relies on the subjectivity of the researcher for the development of the codes and themes during and after thematic analysis. Crucially, one of the qualities of the qualitative research is the flexibility of making subjective judgements. Therefore to ensure that the study’s reliability is increased the

researcher got acquainted with a large body of research published prior to the analysis of the dataset to build the arguments on the theoretical grounds which were later used in combination with the deep investigation of the dataset during and after the coding process to create the Thematic Map which is a way to transparently showcase how themes were build based on the codes and sub-codes created (see *Appendix A*).

While discussing validity it should me explained that the definition and conceptualization of gender roles which were a primary concern of the study were based on definitions put forward by other scholars in prior research and are not defined by the researcher of this study. Nevertheless, the research remained flexible to allow for emergence of new notions or definitions in relation to the leading concept of “gender roles.” Moreover, it is important to reinforce the message that the findings of this study are specific to a very limited area of research which was a goal of this study. Therefore, as it is not the goal of qualitative research to provide generalisations but seeking deeper understanding and nuance, these findings should not be understood as applicable for other cultures.

The current study focused on how the marketing professionals construct the idea of gender roles in advertising. One of the recommendations for future studies is to further enrich the academic discourse on Polish gender roles by investigating the media effects on consumers perception of gender roles and their responses to non-traditional constructions of gender.

Lastly, the limitation here lays in the national context that was analysed which presents a very specific viewpoint on the gender discourse which is not welcoming to constructing non-binary gender in advertising (Odrowąż-Coates, 2015). It is important for a conscious academic future research to focus on non-binary gender representations by adopting and amending the existing coding schemes as the existing frameworks tend to focus on traditional construction of gender and gender roles (Eisend, 2019).

References

- Antenucci, C. (2018, May 15). *Why catholics must promote traditional gender roles in marriage*. Medium. <https://medium.com/@chrisantenucci/why-catholics-must-promote-traditional-gender-roles-in-marriage-1ab53a562589>
- Appel, M., & Weber, S. (2017). Do mass mediated stereotypes harm members of negatively stereotyped groups? A meta-analytical review on media-generated stereotype threat and stereotype lift. *Communication Research*, 48(2), 151–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650217715543>
- ASA, (2018), *Depictions, perceptions, and harm. A report on gender stereotypes in advertising*, www.asa.org.uk/genderresearch.html
- Ashmore, R. D., & Del Boca, F. K. (1981). Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. In D. L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior*. Hillsdale, Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Babbie, E.R. (2014). *The basics of social research*, (6th ed.), Cengage Learning.
- Barlett, C. P., Vowels, C. L., & Saucier, D. A. (2008). Meta-Analyses of the effects of media images on men's body-image concerns. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 27(3), 279–310. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2008.27.3.279>
- Bateman, J. A. (2014). *Text and image: A critical introduction to the visual/verbal divide* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Baxi, S. (2022, February 23). *How does Instagram pick “Suggested for you”?* Business Opportunities. <https://www.business-opportunities.biz/2022/02/22/how-does-instagram-pick-suggested-for-you/>
- Baxter, S. M., Kulczynski, A., & Ilicic, J. (2015). Ads aimed at dads: Exploring consumers' reactions towards advertising that conforms and challenges traditional gender role ideologies. *International Journal of Advertising*, 35(6), 970–982. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2015.1077605>
- Beverages and alcohols advertising on social media*. (2017). Gemius Global. <https://www.gemius.com/all-reader-news/alcoholic-and-non-alcoholic-beverage-advertising-on-social-media.html>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). *Thematic analysis*. In H. Cooper, P.M. Camic, D.L. Long, A.T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological*, 57–71. American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/13620-004>
- Brennen, B. S. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

- Brough, A. R., Wilkie, J. E. B., Ma, J., Isaac, M. S., & Gal, D. (2016). Is eco-friendly unmanly? The green-feminine stereotype and its effect on sustainable consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43(4), 567–582. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcr/ucw044>
- Business Wire. (2020, October 19). *Global automotive online advertising market 2020–2025*. Business Wire. <https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20201019005384/en/Global-Automotive-Online-Advertising-Market-2020-2025---ResearchAndMarkets.com>
- CBOS. (2005, November). *Upodobania kulinarne, nawyki żywieniowe i zachowania konsumenckie Polaków*. (No. 173). Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej. https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2005/K_173_05.PDF
- Cichočka, A., Bocian, K., Winiewski, M., & Azevedo, F. (2021). “Not racist, but. . .” Beliefs about immigration restrictions, collective narcissism and justification of ethnic extremism. *Social and Behavioural Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/gwz97>
- Conley, T. D., & Ramsey, L. R. (2011). Killing us softly? Investigating portrayals of women and men in contemporary magazine advertisements. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 35(3), 469–478. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311413383>
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829–859. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>
- de Freitas, C., Jordan, H., & Hughes, E. K. (2018). Body image diversity in the media: A content analysis of women’s fashion magazines. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, 29(3), 251–256. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hpja.21>
- Deaux, K., & Lewis, L. L. (1984). Structure of gender stereotypes: Interrelationships among components and gender label. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(5), 991–1004. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.46.5.991>
- Diekmann, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 1171–1188.
- Dybalski, J. (2019). *(Prawie) każdy Polak ma auto. Starość, ale i tak się nim chwali*. Transport Publiczny. <https://www.transport-publiczny.pl/mobile/prawie-kazdy-polak-ma-auto-staroc-ale-i-tak-sie-nim-chwali-badanie-60893.html>
- Eagly, A. H., & Schesny, S. (2019). Editorial: Gender Roles in the Future? Theoretical Foundations and Future Research Directions. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01965>
- Eisend, M. (2010). A meta-analysis of gender roles in advertising. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 38, 418–440.
- Eisend, M. (2019). Gender Roles. *Journal of Advertising*, 48(1), 72–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2019.1566103>
- Eisend, M., Plagemann, J., & Sollwedel, J. (2014). Gender roles and humor in advertising: The occurrence of stereotyping in humorous and nonhumorous advertising and its consequences

- for advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Advertising*, 43(3), 256–273.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2013.857621>
- Elliott, R., & Elliott, C. (2005). Idealized images of the male body in advertising: a reader-response exploration. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, 11(1), 3–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1352726042000263566>
- Elo, S., & Kyng, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), 107–115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x>
- Flick, U. (2007). What is qualitative research? In *Designing qualitative research*, 2–15. SAGE Publications, Ltd. <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208826>
- Forbes.pl. (2021, October 3). *Top 200 najlepszych polskich marek*.
<https://www.forbes.pl/rankingi/ranking-top-200-najlepszych-polskich-marek-lista-forbesa/0bwtl6f>
- Frith, K., Shaw, P., & Cheng, H. (2005). The construction of beauty: A Cross-Cultural analysis of women’s magazine advertising. *Journal of Communication*, 55(1), 56–70.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2005.tb02658.x>
- Furnham, A., & Saar, A. (2005). Gender-role stereotyping in adult and children’s television advertisements: A two-study comparison between Great Britain and Poland. *Communications*, 30(1). <https://doi.org/10.1515/comm.2005.30.1.73>
- Ğacıarz, B. (2011). Women in the workplace in Poland. *International Journal of Sociology*, 41(3), 68–94. <https://doi.org/10.2753/ijis0020-7659410303>
- GDIGM/Google, (2019). Global, Study of gender representation in over 2.7 million videos across 11 verticals, uploaded between Jan. 2015-May 2019
- Gentry, J., & Harrison, R. (2010). Is advertising a barrier to male movement toward gender change? *Marketing Theory*, 10(1), 74–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593109355246>
- Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. (1976). Living with television: The violence profile. *Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 172–199. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1976.tb01397.x>
- Gill, R. (2007). Advertising and postfeminism. *Gender and the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 73–112.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender advertisements*. Harvard University Press.
- Grau, S. L., & Zotos, Y. C. (2016). Gender stereotypes in advertising: a review of current research. *International Journal of Advertising*, 35(5), 761–770.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2016.1203556>
- Harris, P. R. & Stobart, J. (1986). Sex role stereotyping in British television advertisements at different times of the day: An extension and refinement of Manstead and McCulloch (1981). *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 155–164.

- Hauser, E. (1995). Traditions of Patriotism, Questions of Gender: The Case of Poland. In E. E. Berry (Ed.), *Gender 22: Postcommunism and the Body Politic* (pp. 78–104). NYU Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qfv6g.7>
- Hermans, A. (2021). *Discourses of perfection: Representing cosmetic procedures and beauty products in UK lifestyle magazines*. Routledge.
- Hovland, R., McMahan, C., Lee, G., Hwang, J. S., & Kim, J. (2005). Gender Role Portrayals in American and Korean Advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 53(11–12), 887–899.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-8305-3>
- Hu, Y., Manikonda, L., & Kambhampati, S. (2014). What we instagram: A first analysis of instagram photo content and user types. In *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Weblogs and Social Media, ICWSM 2014* (pp. 595-598). (Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Weblogs and Social Media, ICWSM 2014). The AAAI Press.
- Internet Advertising Bureau & PwC. (2020). *Internet advertising revenue report: Full year 2019 results & q1 2020 revenues*. PwC. https://www.iab.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/FY19-IAB-Internet-Ad-Revenue-Report_Final.pdf
- Jan Niezbędny. (2014). *2 x Superbrands dla Jana Niezbędnego*. Jan Niezbędny.
<https://janniezbedny.pl/aktualnosci/2-x-superbrands-dla-jana-niezbednego>
- Jhally, S. (2014). The codes of advertising. *Routledge*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203873079>
- Jhally, S. & Kilbourne, J. (2000). Killing us softly 3: Advertising's image of women [Documentary]. Media Education Foundation.
- Johnson, G. D., & Grier, S. A. (2011). Targeting without alienating: Multicultural advertising and the subtleties of targeted advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 30(2), 233–258.
<https://doi.org/10.2501/ija-30-2-233-258>
- Jung, J. (2011). Advertising images of men: Body size and muscularity of men depicted in Men's Health magazine. *Journal of Global Fashion Marketing*, 2(4), 181–187.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/20932685.2011.10593096>
- Kallgren, C. A., Reno, R. R., & Cialdini, R. B. (2000). A focus Theory of Normative Conduct: When norms do and do not affect behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(8), 1002–1012. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672002610009>
- Kelly, C., Kasperavicius, D., Duncan, D., Etherington, C., Giangregorio, L., Pesseau, J., Sibley, K. M., & Straus, S. (2021). 'Doing' or 'using' intersectionality? Opportunities and challenges in incorporating intersectionality into knowledge translation theory and practice. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 20(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-021-01509-z>
- Kerin, R. A., Lundstrom, W. J., & Sciglimpaglia, D. (1979). Women in advertisements: Retrospect and prospect. *Journal of Advertising*, 8(3), 37–42.

- Kilbourne, J. (1999). Deadly persuasion: Why women and girls must fight the addictive power of advertising. *The Free*.
- Kim, K., & Lowry, D. T. (2005). Television commercials as a lagging social indicator: Gender role stereotypes in Korean television advertising. *Sex Roles*, 53(11–12), 901–910. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-8307-1>
- Kimmel, A.J., & Tissier-Desbordes, É. (1999). Males, masculinity, and consumption: An exploratory investigation. *ACR European Advances*.
- Knoll, S., Eisend, M., & Steinhagen, J. (2011). Gender roles in advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 30(5), 867–888. <https://doi.org/10.2501/ija-30-5-867-888>
- Knupfer, N. N. (1998). Gender divisions across technology advertisements and the WWW: Implications for educational equity. *Theory Into Practice*, 37(1), 54–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405849809543786>
- Kochanowicz, J. (2000). *Poland and the West: In or out?* IWM WEBSITE. <https://www.iwm.at/transit-online/poland-and-the-west-in-or-out>
- Kohrs, K. & Gill, R. (2021). *Confident appearing: Revisiting 'gender advertisements' in contemporary culture*. In: Baxter, J. and Angouri, J. (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of language, gender and sexuality*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315514857>
- Kolbe, R. H., & Albanese, P. J. (1996). Man to man: A content analysis of sole-male images in male-audience magazines. *Journal of Advertising*, 25(4), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.1996.10673509>
- Kolbl, I., Arslanagic-Kalajdzic, M., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2019). Stereotyping global brands: Is warmth more important than competence? *Journal of Business Research*, 104, 614–621. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.12.060>
- Kołodziej, E. (2022, May 30). *Zamazał plakaty z całującymi się parami LGBT+*. *Przyjdzie więcej całujących się par*. Noizz. <https://noizz.pl/lgbt/zamazywal-plakaty-voguea-z-calujacymi-sie-parami-lgbt-w-centrum-warszawy/7kwe8xe>
- Kowalik, F. (2021, March 9). *TOP 20 największych sieci handlowych w Polsce*. Forbes.pl. <https://www.forbes.pl/biznes/najwieksze-sieci-handlowe-w-polsce-raport-magazynu-forbes-2019/6j4etg4>
- Kralj N., P., Smailović J., Sluban, B., Mozetič I., & Perc, M. (2015). Sentiment of emojis. *Plos One*, 10(12). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0144296>
- Królikowska, S. (2011). The role of gender stereotypes in shaping men's and women's attitudes towards health, *Nowiny Lekarskie*, 80(5), 387-393.
- Lazar, M. (2006). Discover the power of femininity! Analyzing global “power femininity” in local advertising. *Feminist Media Studies*, 6(4), 505-517.

- Lewis, R. B. (1998). Atlas/ti and nud· ist: A comparative review of two leading qualitative data analysis packages. *CAM Journal*, 10(3), 41-47.
- Lopez, G. (2019, June 4). *Dadvertising: Brand images to appeal to millennial dads*. AdRoll. <https://www.adroll.com/blog/appealing-to-millennial-dads>
- Louie, Kam, and Louise Edwards. 1994. "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing Wen and Wu." *East Asian History* 8: 135–148.
- Mackson, S. B., Brochu, P. M., & Schneider, B. A. (2019). Instagram: Friend or foe? The application's association with psychological well-being. *New Media & Society*, 21(10), 2160–2182. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819840021>
- McArthur, L.Z., & Resko, B.G. (1975). The portrayal of men and women in American television commercials. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 97, 209–220.
- Mehta, S. (2017, November 3). *Average engagement rates of Instagram influencer marketing*. Smart Insights. <https://www.smartinsights.com/social-media-marketing/instagram-marketing/average-engagement-rates-of-instagram-influencer-marketing/>
- Mendini, M., Peter, P. C., & Maione, S. (2022). The potential positive effects of time spent on Instagram on consumers' gratitude, altruism, and willingness to donate. *Journal of Business Research*, 143, 16–26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.01.046>
- Michalski, J. H. (2015). Status hierarchies and hegemonic masculinity: A general theory of prison violence. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(1), 40–60. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azv098>
- Middleton, K., Turnbull, S., & de Oliveira, M. J. (2020). Female role portrayals in Brazilian advertising: Are outdated cultural stereotypes preventing change? *International Journal of Advertising*, 39(5), 679–698. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2019.1658428>
- Mordor Intelligence. (2022). *Social media analytics market size, share, forecast (2022–27)*. Mordor Intelligence. <https://www.mordorintelligence.com/industry-reports/global-social-media-analytics-market>
- Nowicka, W. (1996). Roman catholic fundamentalism against women's reproductive rights in Poland. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 4(8), 21–29. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0968-8080\(96\)90298-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0968-8080(96)90298-0)
- Odrowąż-Coates, A. (2015). Gender crisis in Poland, catholic ideology and the media. *Sociology Mind*, 5, 27-34. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/sm.2015.51004>
- Odrowąż-Coates, A. (2015). Gender crisis in Poland, catholic ideology and the media. *Sociology Mind*, 05(01), 27–34. <https://doi.org/10.4236/sm.2015.51004>
- Paprotka, K. (2014, August 21). *Szpro: Uśmiechnij się!* Codziennik Feministyczny. <http://codziennikfeministyczny.pl/paprotka-usmiechnij-sie/>
- Pelech-Mikulska, J. (2022, March 3). *Marketing motoryzacyjny - kampanie reklamowe samochodów*. Bemedia. <https://be-media.com.pl/reklamy-samochodow-wczoraj-i-dzis.html>

- Piekut, A., & Valentine, G. (2021). Generation-making narratives and responses to diversity in Poland. *International Sociology*, 36(6), 887–905. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580921998527>
- Plakoyiannaki, E., Mathioudaki, K., Dimitratos, P., & Zotos, Y. (2008). Images of women in online advertisements of global products: Does sexism exist? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 83(1), 101–112. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-007-9651-6>
- Pope, H. G., Phillips, K. A., & Olivardia, R. (2000). *The Adonis complex: The secret crisis of male body obsession*. The Free Press.
- Posavac, H. D., Posavac, S. S., & Weigel, R. G. (2001). Reducing the impact of media images on women at risk for body image disturbance: Three targeted interventions. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 20(3), 324–340. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.20.3.324.22308>
- Räty, R., & Carlsson-Kanyama, A. (2010). Energy consumption by gender in some European countries. *Energy Policy*, 38(1), 646–649. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2009.08.010>
- Reichhard, M. (2008). *European spirit, adaption to market economy and national identity in Poland and Ukraine: National culture and its influence on the european integration, advertising and entrepreneurship*. Diplomica Verlag.
- René, C. (2020, February 19). *Instagram engagement report 2019: What we learned from 48+ million posts*. Mention. <https://mention.com/en/blog/instagram-engagement/>
- Ringrow, H. (2018). *The language of cosmetics advertising* (1st ed. 2016). Palgrave Pivot.
- Risman B.J. (2018) Gender as a Social Structure. In: Risman B., Froyum C., Scarborough W. (eds) Handbook of the Sociology of Gender. *Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research* (pp. 19–43). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76333-0_2
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, M. C., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (Second ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- S.M.P.E.R.T.H. (2022, April 9). *Facts & figures: Instagram statistics for 2022*. Social Media Perth. <https://www.smperth.com/resources/instagram/instagram-statistics/#:%7E:text=Instagram%20Advertising%20Stats&text=Instagram%20can%20reach%2020%25%20of,in%20ad%20revenue%20in%202020>
- Shankar, S. (2020). Nothing Sells like Whiteness: Race, Ontology, and American Advertising. *American Anthropologist*, 122(1), 112–119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13354>
- Shao, Y., Desmarais, F., & Kay Weaver, C. (2014). Chinese advertising practitioners' conceptualisation of gender representation. *International Journal of Advertising*, 33(2), 329–350. <https://doi.org/10.2501/ija-33-2-329-350>
- Sheldon, W. H., (1954). *Atlas of men: A guide for somatotyping the adult male at all ages*, New York: Harper.
- Signorielli, N. (1989). Television and conceptions about sex roles: Maintaining conventionality and the status quo. *Sex Roles*, 21(5–6), 341–360. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00289596>

- Simcock, P., & Lynn, S. (2006). The invisible majority? Older models in UK television advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 25(1), 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2006.11072953>
- Simpson, J. (2021, December 10). *Finding brand success in the digital world*. Forbes. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbesagencycouncil/2017/08/25/finding-brand-success-in-the-digital-world/?sh=3c7f13f6626e>
- Smith, N. L. (2020). Built for boyhood? A proposal for reducing the amount of gender bias in the advertising of children's toys on television, 17, *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and Technology Law*, 991. Available at: <https://scholarship.law.vanderbilt.edu/jetlaw/vol17/iss4/4>
- Stankiewicz, J. M., & Rosselli, F. (2008). Women as sex objects and victims in print advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 58(7–8), 579–589. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9359-1>
- Statista. (2021, November 16). *Instagram ad revenues in the U.S. 2018–2023*. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1104447/instagram-ad-revenues-usa/>
- Statista. (2021a, August 3). *Social media platforms used by marketers worldwide 2021*. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/259379/social-media-platforms-used-by-marketers-worldwide/>
- Statista. (2021b, November 15). *Digital advertising in Europe - statistics & facts*. <https://www.statista.com/topics/3983/digital-advertising-in-europe/#dossierKeyfigure>
- Stokrotka. (2022). *O firmie*. Stokrotka. <https://stokrotka.pl/o-firmie/>
- Stunkard, A.J., Sorenson, T., & Schlusinger, F. (1983). Use of danish adoption register for the study of obesity and thinness. In S. Kety (Ed.), *The genetics of neurological and psychiatric disorders* (pp.115-129). New York: Raven Press.
- Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 17–36. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526405555.n>
- Titkow, A., Duch-Krzyszczoszek, D., & Budrowska, B. (2004). *Nieodpłatna praca kobiet. Mity, realia, perspektywy*. Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Tsai, W. S. (2010). Family man in advertising? A content analysis of male domesticity and fatherhood in Taiwanese commercials. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 20(4), 423–439. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2010.496860>
- Tschila, E. (2020). The changing roles of gender in advertising: Past, present, and future, *Contemporary Southeastern Europe*, 7(2), 28-44.
- Vinacke, W.E. (1957). Stereotypes as social concepts. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 44, 229-243.

- Vogue Polska, R. (2022, May 30). *Zniszczone plakaty „Vogue Polska”: Nikt nie wymaże miłości!* Vogue Poland. <https://www.vogue.pl/a/zniszczone-plakaty-vogue-polska-nikt-nie-wymaze-milosci>
- Wiles, J. A., Wiles, C. R., & Tjernlund, A. (1995). A comparison of gender role portrayals in magazine advertising. *European Journal of Marketing*, 29(11), 35–49. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090569510100696>
- Wolf, N. (2015). *The beauty myth: How images of beauty are used against women*. Vintage.
- Zawisza, M., & Cinnirella, M. (2010). What matters more-breaking tradition or stereotype content? Envious and paternalistic gender stereotypes and advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 40(7), 1767–1797. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2010.00639.x>
- Zelezny, L. C., Chua, P. P., & Aldrich, C. (2000). New Ways of Thinking about Environmentalism: Elaborating on Gender Differences in Environmentalism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), 443–457. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00177>
- Zhang, L., “Tony” Srisupandit, P., & Cartwright, D. (2009). A comparison of gender role portrayals in magazine advertising the United States, China and Thailand. *Management Research News*, 32(7), 683–700. <https://doi.org/10.1108/01409170910965279>
- Zhou, L., & Xue, F. (2021). Show products or show people: An eye-tracking study of visual branding strategy on Instagram. *Journal of Research in Interactive Marketing*, 15(4), 729–749. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jrim-11-2019-0175>

Appendix A: Thematic Map

Main code	Sub-code(s)	Sub-sub-code(s)	Definition
Demographics	Portrayed gender	Male	The ad presents a person who seems to be a man.
		Female	The ad presents a person who seems to be a woman.
	Age	Child	The model presented in the ad seems to be younger than 12.
		Teenager	The model presented in the ad seems to be between 13 and 17 years of age.
		Young adult (18-30)	The model presented in the ad seems to be older than 18 years-old but no older than 30 years-old. The judgement was based on physical characteristics (e.g. the condition of the skin, lack of wrinkles).
		Adult (31-60)	The model presented in the ad seems to be older than 30 years old. The judgement was based on physical characteristics (e.g. presence of wrinkles, grey hair).
		Senior (60+)	The model presented in the ad seems to be older than 60. The judgement was based on physical characteristics (e.g. the condition of the skin, wrinkles, and presence of grey hair).
		Skin colour	The models' skin colour was coded based on the parts of their body displayed in a visual (e.g. pale white, brown).
	Occupation	The occupation of the model is described based on the visual information.	
	Physical appearance	Hair	Facial hair

		Scalp hair	The hair of the model in the ad was explored for its colour and length. Scalp hair was categories in terms of length as short when it was reaching the chin or above the shoulders, while hair that reached past the shoulder line was coded as long.
	Makeup	No makeup	The model in the ad does not seem to be wearing any makeup.
		Subtle	The model in the ad does seem to be wearing any makeup in delicate tones. Delicate (or subtle) make-up on a woman was one using less prominent colours, such as rose, beige or light browns.
		Strong	The model in the ad does seem to be wearing a very prominent makeup, make-up considered as strong had to include visibly enhanced features such as bright-colour lip or eyeshadow on the eyelids (e.g. red lipstick, smoky eye).
	Accessories	Piercing/Jewellery	The model in the ad is wearing jewellery or piercings (e.g. ring, earring, nose piercing)
		Tattoos	The model in the ad has visible tattoos on one of the parts of their body.
	Body size	Body type	The model's body was described (only when upper body and lower body were visible) using the Figure Rating Scale by Stunkard et al. (1983) as reference.
		Thin-ideal	The model in the ad seems to be slim.
		Body-builder/Muscular	The model in the ad seems to have well-developed, prominent muscles.
		"Plus-size"	The model in the ad seems to have a soft and round

			body.
Location	Indoor		The model is presented indoors.
	Outdoor		The model is presented outdoors (anywhere else than a house).
Setting	Domestic		The model is presented in the house, garden
	Occupational		The person is presented in a work setting.
	Other	Photo studio	The person is presented in an undefined setting (e.g. illustrated graphic background).
	Nature		The person is presented in a setting surrounded by greenery and/or trees, sea, mountains, etc.
	Type	With or without other people	The person is presented surrounded by other people or on their own.
Activity performed	Work related		The person engages in job related activities.
	Leisure/Sport		The person engages in relaxing or sport activities (e.g. working out at the gym, walking, camping in the forest).
	Wellness		The person engages in self-care (e.g. applying hair mask, scrubbing body).
	House related	Cleaning/organising	The person engages in household chores and/or gardening.
		Cooking/baking	The person is cooking, baking, preparing food or drinks.
	Other	Travelling	The person engages in other activities (e.g. driving)
Role	Traditional	Female traditional roles	The person is presented performing a traditionally stereotyped role (e.g. housewife, sexual object, decorative role, mother)
		Male traditional roles	The persona is presented performing a traditionally stereotyped role (e.g. working professional, car mechanic, driver)
	Non-traditional	Female non-	The person is presented

		traditional roles	performing a role traditionally not assigned to women (e.g. female mechanic, a woman doing extreme sports).
		Male non-traditional roles	The person is presented performing a role traditionally not assigned for men (e.g. a man cleaning or preparing food, a man doing self-care).

Appendix B. Figure Rating Scale

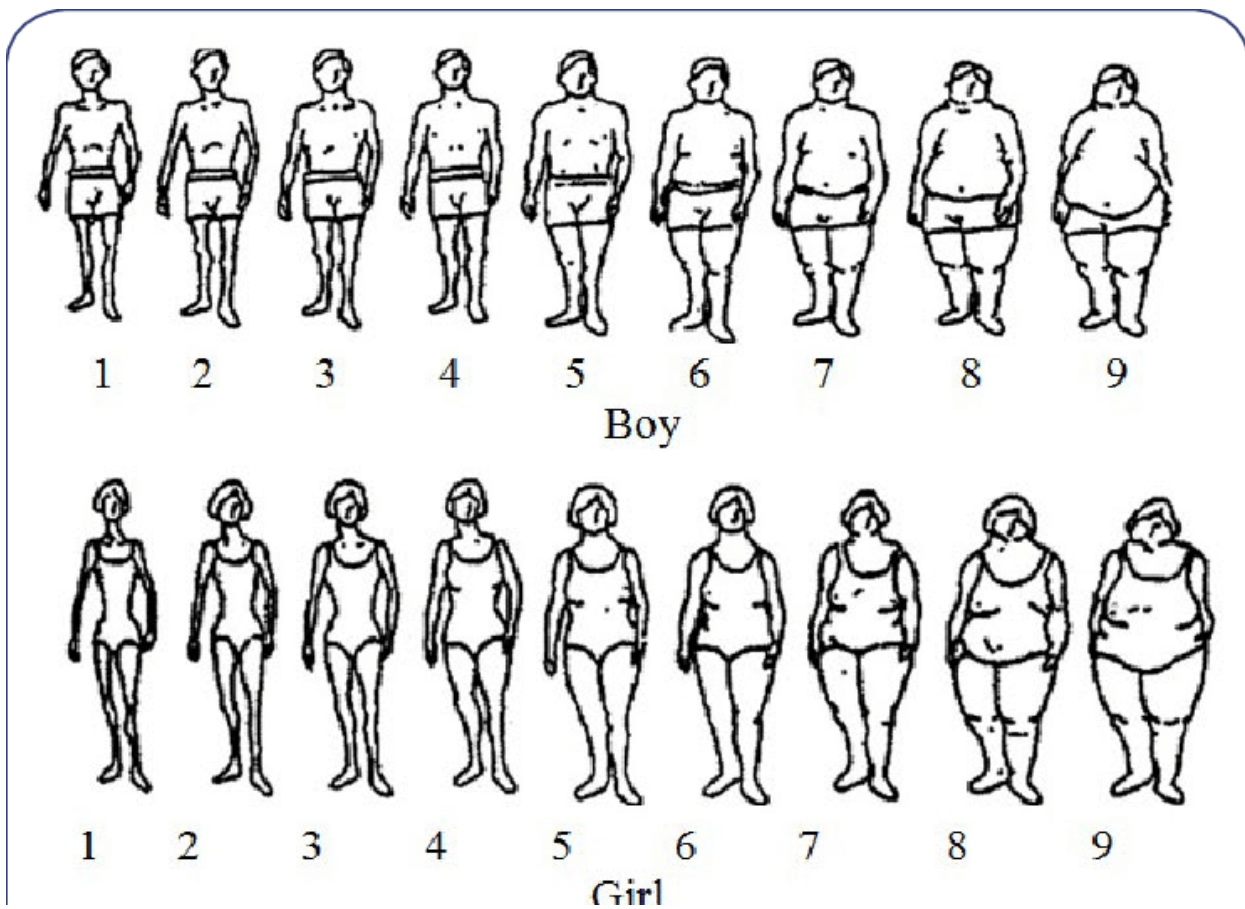


Figure 13.. Female and male images of the Figure Rating Scale (without the reference to BMI conversion). Retrieved from Stunkard, A.J., Sorenson, T., & Schlusinger, F. (1983). Use of Danish adoption register for the study of obesity and thinness. In S. Kety (Ed.), *The genetics of neurological and psychiatric disorders* (pp.115-129). New York: Raven Press.