

Representations of American Culture in Food Advertisements in Mainstream, Latina, and African-American Magazines

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Abstract

This study analyzed 54 advertisements for food products, grocery stores and restaurants in nine major women's magazines in order to gain understanding of the values of American ethnic groups. The author divided the magazines by audience (mainstream, African-American, and Latina), and then coded the advertisements for themes like family, community, and nutrition. Food advertisements in mainstream magazines frequently emphasized that nutritious, delicious food could be part of a busy lifestyle, whereas ads in Latina magazines associated food with family, and advertisements in African-American magazines contained mostly taste-related claims. As America's ethnic population continues to grow, it becomes increasingly important for advertisers to understand which messages will resonate with different racial and ethnic groups.

I. Introduction

The relationship between media and society is cyclical – media seek to understand and reflect society, but societal trends are also influenced by the media. Since effective media represent and contribute to society, the development of an advertising or public relations campaign always begins with research, and the insights gathered from this research are used to shape the campaign's messaging. Advertisers can also target their audience with the demographic and psychographic information of a magazine's readership, which is available in the magazine's media kit. So the messages in an advertisement are not just creative musings from a copywriter at an ad agency – they are highly strategic and carefully crafted to resonate with the target audience.

Because of all of the research that goes into advertisements, ads themselves contain deep insights into the mindset of the target audience. This research seeks to understand different American subcultures' attitudes about food and wellness, using print advertisements as a lens. Understanding these attitudes may shed light on other broader values and beliefs of these subcultures. As America's population becomes increasingly diverse, it is important to understand that not all Americans will respond to the same advertising messages, and advertisers must stay aware of cultural differences in their audiences. Because of the role food often plays in traditions, societies, and cultures, food advertisements can be especially telling about a culture's values. This research seeks to understand the cultural values apparent in food advertisements aimed at various ethnicities.

Keywords: food, advertising, culture, women's magazines, health

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II. Literature Review

For American women, popular magazines are an important source of health information (Hoffman-Goetz et al. 262). Alongside editorial content in these magazines are ads, many of which also have strong messages about food and health. Previous literature found that advertisements are most effective when the reader can identify with the race or ethnicity of the models. Food is also “strongly connected to psychological, cultural, and socioeconomic factors, and thus with race and ethnicity” (Tashiro 161). Though previous studies have not focused particularly on food and health advertisements for different minority groups, many studies have been done on multicultural and ethnic advertising, food advertising, and cultural values surrounding food.

Multicultural/Ethnic Advertising

Looking at advertising through a multicultural lens is important for several reasons. Knobloch-West-erwick and Coates (2006) assumed that ads in media popular with minorities conveyed a different message than ads in mainstream media (569). Members of ethnic minorities are “likely to select media outlets and messages that relate to their ethnicity, whereas members of the white mainstream are unlikely to take that aspect into consideration” (597). Advertising in these outlets is also more effective when models represented have an ethnic background similar to that of the reader (605). So, onlookers are more likely to adopt behaviors, like using certain products, if they’re of the same race as the model represented in the advertisement (607).

A study by Ahmad (2003) found that ethnicity might be more complicated than Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates suggested. Ahmad found that ethnicity is “not just who one is, but also how one feels in and about a particular situation” (1603). Minorities may be “expected to have multiple selves whereby they act differently in different situations and with different individuals” (1603). This suggests that a member of a minority group may have a different response to an advertisement depending on the product or service being advertised, the type of media outlet it is in, and a variety of other factors.

Much previous research on multicultural health advertising has focused on cigarette and tobacco advertising. Fernandez et al. (2005) conducted a content analysis of magazines for Latinas, white women, and men. They looked at issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Playboy*, *Cosmopolitan en Español* and *Glamour en Español* published between January 1998 and August 2002 (144). They found that there were more cigarette ads per issue in magazines for white women (an average of 2.96) than in magazines for Latina women (an average of 1.0), suggesting a greater targeting of white women than Latina women by the tobacco industry (148-9). Over the years, the ads in white women’s magazines decreased, but they remained stable for Latina women (150). They also found that the cigarette brands most frequently advertised to white women were not “women’s brands” but instead were “white brands” like Marlboro, but Latinas were usually advertised “women’s brands.” This suggests that “the industry may view white women as less traditional in gender roles than Latinas” (150). This also may suggest that white women are perceived as more health-conscious than Latina women, since the cigarette advertisements decreased over time for white women but stayed steady for Latinas.

Cigarette advertising for African-American women also decreased over time. Hoffman-Goetz et al. (1997) did further research on cigarette advertising when they looked at the correlation between cancer articles and tobacco advertisements in African-American magazines *Jet*, *Ebony*, and *Essence* published between January 1987 and December 1994. Though they found magazines to be an important source of health information for American women, they also found that “health messages and models in ‘traditional’ women’s magazines may have limited impact for African-American women” (262) and therefore these women may need to turn to magazines more targeted towards their race. The authors found a decrease in density of tobacco advertising in these African-American magazines throughout the years, but this was not accompanied by an increase in editorial coverage of cancers. This shows that the decrease in cigarette advertising may not have been related to an increase in health-consciousness among African-Americans.

Food Advertisements in Mainstream Women’s Magazines

Studies examining nutritional claims in food advertising have found that food low in nutritional value tends to be the most heavily advertised. Lohmann and Kant (2000) studied the advertising frequency of dif-

ferent food groups in women's magazines published in 1997. The researchers looked at two health-oriented food magazines (*Cooking Light* and *Eating Well*), two general women's magazines (*Ladies Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*), and two health and wellness magazines (*Prevention* and *Health*). They found that foods with little nutritional content were most likely to be advertised – fats, oils, sweets, and beverages were advertised the most, but fruits and vegetables accounted for only about 5% of food advertisements in the magazines (1397). The most common claim made in the advertisements was good taste, which was present in 39 percent of all advertisements. The second most common claim was about modifications in fat, energy, sodium, or sugar, which accounted for nearly a third of all the ads. The number of claims actually dealing with health or nutrition was very low (1398).

Parker's 2003 study on food and health advertising noted that "the marketing of food continues to evolve from its promotion as a tasty necessity for life to a potentially health-enhancing experience." The study cited a 2000 survey that found that 50 percent of respondents felt they were more likely to eat foods that reported to reduce the risk of heart disease and cancer (47). Parker looked at HNR (human nutrition research) claims in food advertisements based on recent FDA guidelines, the incidence and types of HNR claims, and the incorporation of regulation guidelines into the advertising of food products (48). Food ads from 108 issues of three popular consumer magazines between 1998 and 2000 were collected and analyzed to draw conclusions about advertising content and industry practices. Since the majority of women, ages 25 to 64, are primary food shoppers, the author looked at magazines with a high circulation and majority female readership, including *American Health*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Modern Maturity*, and *Prevention*. The ads were sorted systematically by publication, date, food group, food type, brand, and claim. The author provided HNR training to three content judges, two undergraduate students and one graduate student. The judges then worked independently to analyze all ads (50).

Parker found that 41% of all ads contained at least one type of HNR claim, most commonly being a nutrient content claim. She also found that specific nutrient content claims, like information about calories or fat, were used more frequently than nutrition claims like "wholesome," "nutritious," or "healthy" (51). Like Lohmann and Kant, Parker found that the highest number of ads in the magazines was for the fats and sweets food group, which accounted for 22.7 percent of all ads. Fruits accounted for 5.9 percent of ads, and vegetables, 4 percent. The health claims were most often made in ads for breads/cereals, fruit juice, combination foods, and dairy. Parker's study "reveals that food marketers continue to take a cautious approach with regard to the use of health claims in print advertisements and that they prefer to use nutrient content or structure/function claims" (52). Overall, the study found that health claims are found infrequently in print advertising.

American Cultural Values and Food Values

Advertisements are laden with cultural values. To better understand how and why food advertising differs across ethnic groups, one must first understand what each ethnicity and subculture values. Since magazines' media kits provide easily accessible information about the readership's household income, education level, age, and other demographic information, advertisers can use this knowledge to create advertisements that will appeal to the values of a magazine's audience.

Doran and Littrell (2013) aimed to measure mainstream American cultural values using the Schwartz Values Survey. They conducted a web-based survey and collected responses from a pool of potential subjects provided by four online retailers who sell teas, coffee beans, crafts, toys, scarves, purses, and jewelry. The retailers sent email invitations to potential subjects and asked them to participate. Internet users tend to be younger, more highly educated, white, and wealthier than non-users, and this group, according to the authors, is made up of "the makers and carriers of mainstream American culture" (268). The sample collected was nearly 80% white and 12.85% African-American (269) and the median age in the sample was 36.9 years. Though there were slight differences between states, genders, and urban/rural living settings, the authors found universalism, benevolence and self-direction to be strong motivating values for Americans. Power was the least motivating value (273). The authors also found that age has a significant positive correlation with conformity, tradition, and security, and a significant negative correlation with stimulation and hedonism. Education has a significant positive correlation with universalism and a significant negative correlation with conformity, tradition, hedonism, and security. Income has a significant positive correlation with power and achievement and a significant negative correlation with universalism and self-direction (272). Food and health may be associated with tradition, since so many events revolve around mealtimes and food. American culture

also glorifies certain body types, which could create an association between power and a certain body type. Further research would be needed to understand how these values are portrayed in food advertisements.

While Doran and Littrell focused on “mainstream” American cultural values, Gomel and Zamora (2007) sought to understand food and health values among a smaller subculture: Latina mothers. They conducted a series of eight focus groups among English-speaking and Spanish-speaking low-income Latina mothers of preschoolers to understand how they feel food is related to their children’s health and their roles as mothers. They took a convenience sample of participants from community resource centers and churches in Latino communities in Southern California (360). They asked participants questions like “How do you think food is related to a person’s health?” and “How important are mealtimes, like dinner, for your family?” (361). Both Spanish- and English-speaking mothers had similar beliefs about which foods are healthy and which are unhealthy, but only Spanish-speaking mothers felt that beans were a healthy diet staple. English-speaking mothers were also more likely to talk about eating in moderation than Spanish-speaking mothers were. Both groups also commented on the link between food and weight, cognition, and general wellness (362).

Main differences in attitudes and beliefs involved wellness and weight. Three Spanish-speaking groups, but only one English-speaking group of mothers, felt that eating unhealthy foods over time was linked to issues such as diabetes, high cholesterol, and heart problems. Interestingly, only English-speaking mothers expressed concern or worry about their children being overweight (364). This suggests that food advertisements in American magazines written in Spanish may focus more on health and less on weight than advertisements in magazines written in English.

A 2009 study also found differences in food preparation by race and ethnicity. The study was conducted under belief that food selection is determined by taste, nutrition, health, cost, and convenience, and is also strongly tied to psychological, cultural, and socioeconomic factors, and therefore race and ethnicity (Tashiro 161). The study uses data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) for the year 2005. The data contains 13,038 respondents, including household members aged 15 and older. Among them, 8,616 respondents were white; 1,235, African-American; 313, Asian; and 1,365, Hispanic. Tashiro found that whites and Hispanics reduce time spent on food preparation as their education increases, but highly educated Hispanics are more likely to spend time preparing food at home, “indicating that education increases health awareness and encourages healthier food consumption” (178). Whites, Hispanics, and particularly African-Americans increase time spent on food preparation when they devote more time to family care (178). Whites and Hispanics spend more time purchasing prepared food when their leisure time increases, but African-Americans increase time spent purchasing prepared-food when their working hours increase. This may cause a difference in the way convenience food is advertised to whites and Hispanics versus African-Americans. Overall, whites and Hispanics were more likely than African-Americans and Asians to spend time purchasing prepared-food.

Previous research on multicultural advertising, food and health advertising, and cultural values all provides framework for understanding how food ads target different ethnic groups. This research aims to understand how food and health advertisements embody and appeal to values, attitudes, and beliefs of different cultural groups. This research can help advertisers effectively target and resonate with Americans from ethnic backgrounds that may differ from the “mainstream.”

III. Methodology

The author collected magazines with a majority female readership that were published in 2014 and divided them into different groups based on the race/ethnicity they targeted. There were three groups: White/mainstream, African-American, and Latina.

The mainstream/white group contained issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Self* and *Women’s Health*. These magazines all feature primarily white models, though they are by no means intended for an exclusively white audience. Both *Self* and *Women’s Health* have a strong focus on health and fitness, but *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* focus much more on health, beauty, and general women’s interests. The African-American group contained issues of *Essence* and *Ebony*. The Latina group contained issues of *Cosmopolitan for Latinas* (which is written in English), *Cosmopolitan en Español* (written in Spanish) and *People en Español*. It is important to note that though *Cosmopolitan for Latinas* is written in English, many of its ads were in Spanish. These magazines were selected because their readerships were primarily made up of females of the racial/

ethnic category they were grouped into. There were more magazines used in the “mainstream” category than the other two because they are more abundant and therefore were more easily accessible.

The author looked at 14 magazines total and counted the number of food advertisements in each. Advertisements for vitamins, gum and alcoholic beverages were not counted, but advertisements for grocery stores and restaurants were. The sample included six magazines in the mainstream/white group (two issues of *Women’s Health*, two issues of *Self*, one issue of *Cosmopolitan*, and one issue of *Glamour*), four magazines in the African-American group (two issues of *Ebony* and two issues of *Essence*), and four magazines in the Latina group (two issues of *Cosmopolitan en Español*, one issue of *Cosmopolitan for Latinas* and one issue of *People en Español*).

Afterward, the author coded for various themes in advertisements. The themes selected had been previously observed by the author in advertisements or were discussed in the literature reviewed. The coding scheme was based on the following definitions:

Convenience: If advertisements contained phrases like “on-the-go” or mentioned how the food could fit into a “busy lifestyle,” they were coded as showing convenience.

Taste: Advertisements that contained phrases like “delicious” or “great-tasting” or similar claims were coded as showing taste.

Nutrition facts: If an advertisement contained details about calories, fat, carbohydrates, protein, or other nutrients, it was coded as containing nutrition facts.

Nutrition claims: If an advertisement made a claim about nutrition such as “wholesome,” “all-natural” or “nutritious,” it was coded as containing a nutrition claim.

Family: If an advertisement mentioned family or pictured families spending time together, it was coded as showing family.

Community: If an advertisement contained messages or photographs about friendship, communities, or connecting with others, it was coded as showing community.

Willpower: Advertisements that included messages about weight loss, “wiping your slate clean,” starting over, or other general messages about sticking to a diet, it was coded as showing willpower.

Motivation: If advertisements had motivational messages about achievement or phrases like “go get ‘em” they were coded as showing motivation.

The total number of food advertisements among each racial/ethnic group was then added up, as were the number of food advertisements that displayed each theme listed above.

IV. Findings

There were striking differences in the themes found in magazines for each group. The most common themes among ads in the mainstream/white group were nutrition facts and nutrition claims. The most common themes among ads in the African-American group were taste and nutrition facts as shown in Table 1. And the most common theme in the Latina group was, by far, family.

This suggests that mainstream America values nutrition in their food, whereas African-Americans value taste and Latinas strongly associate food with family. This is illustrated in the following McDonald’s ad, which was printed in the May 2014 issue of *People en Español* in *Figure 1*.

Table 1. Themes found in magazine ads for three groups

	African-American	Latina	Mainstream/ white
Total Number of Food Ads	12	7	35
Convenience	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (17.1%)
Taste	6 (50%)	1 (14.3%)	17 (48.6%)
Nutrition Facts	4 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	19 (54.3%)
Nutrition Claims	2 (16.7%)	1 (14.3%)	22 (62.9%)
Family	2 (16.7%)	5 (71.4%)	3 (8.6%)
Community	3 (25%)	1 (14.3%)	3 (8.6%)
Willpower	2 (16.7%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.6%)
Motivation	1 (8.3%)	0 (0%)	7 (20%)



Figure 1. This McDonalds advertisement, which focuses on family rather than food, health, or taste, was published in the May 2014 issue of *People en Español*.

Ads in African-American and Latina magazines were much more likely to display community values than ads in mainstream magazines were. Convenience was emphasized in 17.1% of mainstream magazine ads, whereas it was nonexistent in ads for African-Americans and Latinas. Motivation was also displayed in 20% of mainstream magazine ads, but it wasn't present in any Latina ads and only in one African-American ad. Nutrition claims, like "wholesome" or "all-natural" weren't too common in the African-American and Latina groups (16.7% and 14.3% of ads, respectively), but they were ubiquitous in mainstream magazine advertisements – over half (62.9%) of ads included nutritional claims.

It was also interesting to note that advertisements for the same product appeared in multiple magazines, but the messaging differed between magazines. For example, both *Women's Health* and *People en Español* contained the same advertisement for Quaker Real Medleys snacks. In the *Women's Health* ad, the copy read:

"Sweet apples. Crunchy walnuts. Yummy multigrains. Quaker Real Medleys has all the real, delicious fruit and nut combos a go-getter like you wants, in a cup that's just as on-the-go as you are. With good energy, it's how we're fighting the human energy crisis one cup at a time. #QuakerUp" (5)

Like many other advertisements in the mainstream magazines, this ad copy emphasizes the product's convenience, taste and natu-

ral ingredients (“real, delicious fruit and nut combos”). The same advertisement in *People en Español* also focused on energy, but instead of just suggesting that the product is fuel for a busy day, it suggests that it can help keep moms going. The Spanish copy reads:

“Quaker Real Medleys, una deliciosa combinacion de frutas, nueces y multigranos que tiene lo que quiere una mama como tu para hacer render el dia. Es asi como combatimos la crisis de energia humana: una taza, un tazón y una barra a la vez. En sus Marcas, listos... #QuakerUp.” (57)

This roughly translates to:

“Quaker Real Medleys, a delicious combination of fruit, nuts and multigrains, is what you want as a mom to stretch your day. This is how you fight the crisis of human energy: a cup, a bowl and a loaf at a time. On your Marks, get set... #QuakerUp.”

This supports the findings that mainstream advertisements focus mostly on nutrition, taste, and convenience, while ads for Latinas focus mostly on family.

Another significant finding was the number of food advertisements in each magazine. Mainstream magazines contained an average of 5.8 food advertisements per issue, followed by African-American magazines (3.0 ads per issue) and Latina magazines (1.8 ads per issue). In the case of Latina magazines, only one out of the four magazines in the sample contained any food advertisements.

V. Discussion

Since advertisements are powerful symbols of culture, the differences in messages across the racial/ethnic groups suggest that mainstream (mostly white) Americans, African-Americans, and Latinas all value different things in their food products and associate food and mealtimes with different values. The findings suggest that mainstream America sees food as something that should be nutritious and healthy, since the majority of ads in mainstream magazines were centered on nutrition facts and claims. Taste was also mentioned in nearly half of mainstream ads, but it was often used in conjunction with a nutrition claim, perhaps to show that nutritious food can also taste good (Refer to *Figure 2*).

There were significantly more food advertisements in the mainstream magazines than in others (5.8 compared to 3.0 and 1.8 in African-American and Latina magazines, respectively). Since the content analysis suggests that mainstream America values nutrition, this could cause food companies to create more ads in an effort to stand out in a nutrient-conscious market.

Family and community were only highlighted in a few mainstream ads, but messages about convenience were included in 17.1 percent of mainstream ads and in 0 percent of African-American and Latina ads. This could suggest that mainstream America views food as a necessity for health and energy rather than something that can bring families and communities together. Since motivation was apparent in many more mainstream ads than African-American or Latina ads, this suggests that mainstream America associates food with power and energy more than Latina and African-American subcultures do.

Though there were few food advertisements found in the Latina magazines, nearly all of them centered on family values. The difference in the copy in the Quaker Real Medley advertisement was especially striking – copy in both English and Spanish ads focused on energy and fuel, but the Spanish ad mentioned motherhood and the English one did not. This suggests that

Figure 2. This information-packed advertorial for SmartOnes prepackaged meals was published in the February 2014 issue of *Women’s Health*.

Latina culture is family-focused and food is an important part of bringing the family together.

Half of the advertisements in African-American magazines centered on taste, which is unsurprising in food advertisements. There were no other themes apparent in the majority of advertisements. This could suggest that African-American culture views food as a basic part of life – something that may be tasty, nutritious, or enjoyable to share with others – but does not strongly correlate it with other values or emotions. Community was shown in 25 percent of African-American magazine ads, compared to only 14.3 percent in Latina magazine ads and 8.6 percent in mainstream magazine ads, which could suggest that African-Americans are more likely than other ethnic groups to associate food with socializing and community building (Refer to *Figure 3*.)

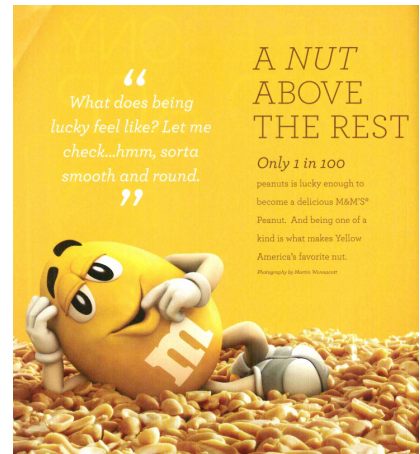


Figure 3. This taste-centric M&M'S ad appeared in the April 2014 issue of *Ebony*.

VI. Limitations

There were several limitations to this study. First of all, media kits for the magazines did not contain information about the racial or ethnic makeup of its readers. Though the overwhelming majority of the women pictured in the magazines categorized as “mainstream” were white, it is hard to know what percentage of the magazines’ audience is white. The magazines categorized as African-American or Latina made it obvious that they were targeting those groups, though it’s possible that some of their readers were from different ethnic or racial backgrounds.

Though all of the magazines in this study had a majority female readership, some had a higher male readership than others. For example, *Ebony*’s readership was about 35 percent male (Barnett), whereas *Self*’s readership was only 5 percent male (“Self Circulation Demographics”). This could change the types of messages and types of advertisements in magazines.

Future research could compare advertisements in the same publication in different languages. For example, a future study could directly compare themes in ads in *Cosmopolitan*, *Cosmopolitan en Español* and in *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*. This would control for differences in gender and interests in audiences. There may have been many lurking variables that were not accounted for in this study. For example, the audiences of *Ebony* and *Women’s Health* do not just differ in race – they also differ in gender makeup, interests, and possibly age and household income. These are all demographic data that may influence advertisers’ messages.

VII. Conclusion

A larger, more systematic study will need to be conducted before any conclusions can be drawn about how the values of America’s major ethnic groups compare to its “mainstream” group. However, this study suggests that African-Americans and Latinas may view food differently than the mainstream American group does. Advertisers should understand that the same messages will not resonate with all groups, so a nutrition-focused advertisement in a mainstream magazine like *Glamour* may not be as persuasive to a Latina reader as it is to a white reader. As America’s racial and ethnic makeup changes, this may change the “mainstream” culture and advertisers will need to take into account a variety of different attitudes, values, and beliefs when constructing advertisements. Advertisers also must take into account the wide array of factors that affect an individual’s values – as Tashiro’s research found, people of different ethnic backgrounds can react differently to life changes, like having children or accumulating wealth.

Previous research also suggested that ethnicity is more than just racial identity – it is also how an individual “feels in and about a particular situation” (Knoblock-Westerwick and Coates 1603). Therefore, a minority woman may have different reactions to – and expectations of – content in mainstream magazines than she does in ethnicity-specific magazines. The type of magazine a minority woman chooses to read may depend on how she identifies herself and which culture she feels closest to, so judging the values of different

ethnic groups based on magazine audiences may not take into account a whole cohort of women who identify as minorities but still feel that their values align with the mainstream. Modern American advertisers undoubtedly face a complicated market full of diverse races, ethnic backgrounds, ethnic identities, and cultural values.

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Appendix A: Content Analysis Notes

Cosmopolitan en Español, May 2014 – 0 food ads

Cosmopolitan en Español, April 2014 – 0 food ads

Ebony, May 2014 – 4 food ads

Convenience

Taste - 3

Nutrition Facts - 2

Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 1

Family

Community

Willpower

Motivation

Women's Health, March 2014 – 8 food ads

Convenience - 3

Taste - 4

Nutrition Facts - 4

Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 8

Family - 1

Community

Willpower

Motivation – 2

Essence, April 2014 – 2 food ads

Convenience

Taste

Nutrition Facts - 1

Nutrition Phrases/Claims

Family - 1

Community

Willpower

Motivation – 1

Women's Health, April 2014 – 6 food ads

Convenience

Taste - 4

Nutrition Facts - 2

Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 2

Family - 1

Community - 1

Willpower

Motivation - 1

Self, February 2014 – 8 food ads

Convenience
Taste - 3
Nutrition Facts - 4
Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 4
Family
Community
Willpower
Motivation – 3

Ebony, April 2014 –5 food ads

Convenience
Taste - 3
Nutrition Facts - 1
Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 1
Family - 1
Community - 2
Willpower - 1
Motivation

Self, March 2014 – 4 food ads

Convenience - 2
Taste - 1
Nutrition Facts - 3
Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 3
Family - 1
Community
Willpower - 1
Motivation

Cosmopolitan for Latinas, Spring 2014 – 0 food ads

Essence, May 2014 – 1 food ad

Convenience
Taste
Nutrition Facts
Nutrition Phrases/Claims
Family
Community – 1
Willpower
Motivation

People en Español, May 2014 – 7 food ads **Quaker p. 138

Convenience
Taste - 1
Nutrition Facts
Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 1
Family - 5
Community - 1
Willpower
Motivation

Cosmopolitan, May 2014 – 5 food ads

Convenience - 1
Taste - 3
Nutrition Facts - 4
Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 3
Family
Community - 1
Willpower - 1
Motivation

Glamour, April 2014 – 4 food ads

Convenience
Taste - 2
Nutrition Facts - 2
Nutrition Phrases/Claims - 2
Family
Community - 1
Willpower - 1
Motivation - 1
