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Labovitz School of Business & Economics, University of Minnesota Duluth, 11 E. Superior Street, Suite 210, Duluth, MN 55802

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Wan-Hsiu Sunny Tsai, Department of Advertising, University of Texas at Austin

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## Interpreting Gay Window Advertising

Wan-Hsiu Sunny Tsai\*, Department of Advertising, University of Texas at Austin

### ABSTRACT

*This exploratory study addresses how lesbian, gay male, bisexual and transgender consumers construct and manage their sexual identity, social practices, and community identifications as they interact with the gender and sexual discourses available in the polysemic gay window advertising. Participants' interpretation narratives of the gay window advertising demonstrated a dialectic interpellation between capitalistic marketing ideologies and LGBT consumers' identity project, definition of gay culture, and stance on the gay rights politics. Participants articulated gay readings based on the connotative queer references encoded in the advertising texts. Various media, social, and cultural discourses promoting the affluent, trend-setting dream consumer stereotype also worked to predisposed participants' meaning-making of gay window commercials.*

### INTRODUCTION

In the early twenty-first century, we witnessed the emergence of a wealth of gay representations in popular literary, film, television and music products. What was once a stigmatized gay culture has been incorporated into the mainstream and transformed through commercialization (Harris 1999). The gay niche market that emerged in the United States since the 1970s (Kates 1997; Chasin 2000) has also gone

through dramatic changes, contributing to the commercialization of queerness. However, in sharp contrast to the proliferation of claims and hypes about the gay niche market in marketing and advertising trade discourses, research concerning gay consumers in academia remains relatively rare. Only recently have gay consumers gained some research attention. Previous research efforts disproportionately focused on gay male consumers since they are the primary target of contemporary gay marketing. Lesbian consumers, along with other members of the broader queer community including bisexual and transgender people, are further neglected by marketers as well as scholars.

Media have been cited as the most important contemporary factor in the socialization of gay men and lesbians (Hicks 2002). Studies examining gay consumers' social use of gay advertising for non-purchase based, socially oriented reasons are critical for understanding the role advertising plays in consumers' lives. Thus, this paper proposes to further a growing stream of interpretive literature in consumer research that explores the ways that advertising audiences interpret advertising texts according to their personal experiences, identity projects, social, and cultural contexts (Ritson and Elliott 1999; Scott 1994). Specifically, this exploratory study addresses how gay consumers construct and manage their sexual identity, their gay cultural capital, social practices, and community formations as they interact

with the gender and sexual discourses available in the gay window advertising discourses.

## **GAY WINDOW ADVERTISING**

“Gay window advertising” (Bronski 1984), which has been identified as the earliest and the most common strategy targeting gays (Sender 1999; Chasin 2000) is carefully designed to avoid explicit gay references as well as gay stereotypes. Gay window advertising often features “average,” “normal” and straight-looking characters of same sex who can be read as buddies or roommates by straight audiences and as gay couples by gay audiences. This advertising strategy is intended to appeal to lesbian and gay consumers without offending, or even alerting, homophobic audiences. For television commercials, subtle touching and physical proximity with ambiguous same-sex groupings are the most common strategies to induce gay viewers to interpellate gay readings. Non-conventional gender behaviors and settings, such as showing two men in a homey family setting, or athletic women talking about automobiles, also connote gayness. Additionally, ambiguous same-sex bonding which opens up the possibilities to be read as friendship by straight audiences or a romantic relationship by gays, offers multiple positions of identifications.

Scholars have indicated that consumers often gain pleasure from making sense out of ads (Ritson and Elliot 1999). In the case of gay window advertising, gay audiences may enjoy the pleasures of deciphering implicit queer codes and reading ambiguous scenarios that invites their imaginations. In contrast to most heterosexual audiences who may be unaware of the gay subtexts encoded, gay audiences are more likely to be conscious of not only a gay articulation, but also the possibility of multiple ad meanings. Gay

consumers are invited to actively and creatively “personalize” the advertising text to fit their life experiences, personal history, and specific beliefs about their own range of identity possibilities (Hirshman and Thompson 1997). Thus, gay window advertising with the encoded connotative queer references works to seduce gay audiences with negotiated pleasures and may consequently acknowledge gay consumers’ unique interpretive strategies and the existence of a distinct gay culture.

## **QUEER SPECTATORSHIP**

Central to this project is gay audiences’ interpretive strategies. Although scholars have suggested that popular culture has always been a source of pleasure for lesbian and gay male audiences (McKenna 2002), lesbian and gay male audiences’ interpretations of media texts, particularly the presumably heterosexual mainstream media texts, has just been explored in the emerging media scholarship on queer spectatorship.

In “Fostering the Illusion: Stepping Out with Jodie,” Clare Whatling (1994) argues that lesbians have always found ways to read between the lines, projecting fantasies of desire and identification onto heterosexual narratives and mainstream female icons. In a similar vein, Yvonne Tasker’s (1994) essay, “Pussy Galore: Lesbian Images and Lesbian Desire in the Popular Cinema,” examines how even the mostly apparently heterosexual films can be appropriated by the lesbian audiences. McKenna (2002) further suggests that lesbian viewers are savvy deconstructors who are accustomed to reading against-the-grain of textual hegemony to construct subcultural, resistive, or oppositional readings.

In terms of gay male spectatorship, Dyer (2002) argues that “camp sensibility is one

thing that expresses and confirms being a gay man” (p.49). He defines,

the camp way of looking at things is a way of prising the form of something away from its content, of reveling in the style while dismissing the content as trivial. It demystifies by playing up the artifice by means of which such things as these retain their hold on the majority of the population (52).

Babuscio (1980) also describe how camp is used as a communication device within gay culture, as well as a weapon to deconstruct the heterosexual essentialism of straight culture. Scholars have suggested that gay and lesbian culture often relies on its queer reading strategies to appropriate texts from the dominant heterosexual hegemony. Hence, a sense of gay community and identity can be traced in part to an emphasis on queer reading, on “poaching” straight texts.

With the changing media landscape of queer representation, the increasing gay visibility and the incorporation of gay culture into the mainstream may have unexpected consequences on gay audiences’ reading strategies. In fact, Griffin (1998) reported that when discussing the “coming-out” episode of *Ellen*, some gay audiences preferred it when they were the privileged insiders who “knew” Ellen Morgan was a lesbian, while most heterosexual viewers could not, wanting to think of their reading as a subversive gesture challenging the mainstream culture. In addition, with marketers’ increasing investment in gay marketing and LGBT consumers’ growing awareness of the power of gay dollars, gay audiences may be predisposed to a certain reading position that make it “easier” or “more readily” to read commercials through heightened gay sensibility. But when it becomes easier for only certain groups from

the diverse queer community, it is necessary to examine the implication behind this development.

## RESEARCH APPROACH

Semi-structured respondent interview, which is widely adopted in audience reception research to study how individuals read the “the codes of ideologies, class, gender, and race in popular texts,” (Lindlof 1995, p.172) was used in this project. Respondents were free to answer or not to answer the questions, and were encouraged to expound their own notions of what is important for the researcher to know, and to talk about any issues that they feel relevant to the topic. The interviews began with questions regarding participants’ life stories, their experiences with growing up and coming out, their media usage and preferences, and their awareness and perceptions of gay advertising and marketing. In the later part of the interview, we watched eight to ten gay window commercials and two to three explicitly gay-themed ads for contrast and comparison. Participants were informed that some ads may be gay-targeted and some may not, and they were asked to comment on if they could relate to the ads. The selected commercials were identified and collected by the staff of Commercial Closet organization for the perceived gay references. The commercials were shown in an order that follows the flow of interview conversations. After watching each ad, participants were asked to discuss their immediate feelings, responses, and their interpretations, especially in relation to how the images and ad messages fit in or against how they see themselves and the LGBT community.

The main recruitment methods were purposive sampling and snowball sampling, which are the most common sampling methods in qualitative research (Patton 1990).

The sample consists of 29 participants whose ages ranged from 18 to 53. Participants came from different professions, including student, computer engineer, business professional, musician, and social worker while they were predominantly middle-class in family background. Although I did not attempt to create a sample that perfectly reflect the demographics of the local LGBT community, I tried to keep a general balance between gay male and lesbian viewers while purposively including voices from the understudied bisexual and transgender members. To capture the diversity within the queer community, LGBT people of color were purposively recruited. For the gay male sample, five were Caucasian, one African American, two Asian American, and three Latino. For the lesbian sample, five were Caucasian, three African American, four Asian American, and one Latina lesbian. I also interviewed one bisexual man, one bisexual woman, two female-to-male transgender men, and one “genderqueer” individual who rejected the gender and sexual dichotomy.

This audience reception study was situated in the local LGBT community in Austin, Texas, including queer student groups from the University of Texas at Austin. Interviews were conducted during December, 2005 to February, 2006. It is important to note that just a month before this study, Texas voters approved a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. Interpretation of the data was achieved by contextualizing participants’ readings of gay window commercials with their identity narratives and their perspectives of gay marketing, the media landscape of LGBT visibility, and political climate of gay rights movements.

## INTERPRETING GAY WINDOW ADVERTISING

Participants’ interpretation narratives of the ambiguous gay window advertising illustrates that actualized ad meanings are constituted by various highly contested marketing, political, and media ideologies. Participants’ conceptualization of the gay niche market, consumer culture, and their definition of “gayness” also illuminates the social constructionist nature of identity and text-reader relationship.

### Queering the Mainstream Media Texts

When discussing media usage and experience, many participants specified their long history of recognizing and enjoying gay subtexts in mainstream media, consciously or unconsciously, which has empowered them in the often extremely lonely process of gay identity formation:

I think *Fried Green Tomato* was the most mainstream movie at that time. I just remember falling in love with it. I remember thinking, “wow, that encapsulate me right there.” At that time, I didn’t know who I was, and the movie was very subtle...but that just felt so right.... It was a really turning point for me. (Caucasian lesbian, 29)

Some articulated the fluid identification position and queer pleasure with even the overtly heterosexual texts:

I love romance books, even though they are for straight. I simply replaced the boy with a girl, with me, in fact. I like the description of emotion, how they [romance novel characters] felt about each other. It’s universal. (Caucasian lesbian, 43)

Beyond the level of personal pleasure and self-identity, queer readings have cultivated LGBT participants' identification with the queer community through the collectively constructed "taste" and shared passion, such as the well-known gay male sensibility to classic Hollywood cinema, ballet, and female stars that became gay icons, such as Judy Garland, Diana Ross, and Madonna. Queer readings and the appropriated cultural artifacts have served as a common bond within the queer community:

I was a big fan of Joan Crawford. I saw all of her movies when I was little. Later on, I realized it's a very gay thing to do, ...are well loved by gay men. There is this community who reads mainstream culture in a different way. (Caucasian gay male, 35)

However, in contrast to Dyer's (2002) argument that traditional gay culture essentially refers to the distinct queer reading, participants discussed how the changing social and political environments, especially with the increasingly publicized gay sensibilities in the mass media, have led the mainstream society to be more aware of gay subtexts, including the conservative right-wing groups:

I think if you are looking for it (gayness), you can find it, which is why so many people, including the Christian Right, persecute Sponge Bob. They felt that Sponge Bob portrays a gay character because he is single, and he doesn't have a relationship with another woman....I actually wouldn't have thought Sponge Bob as gay if they haven't said anything. They made him a gay icon (laughs)! The right-wing right now, is very anti-gay and they are busy looking for more materials. So if you look for it, you will find it, even if you

are on the other side of the issue. (Caucasian lesbian, 18)

Furthermore, queer reading has been conceptualized as oppositional reading that rejects the dominant heteronormative reading. Oppositional reading consciously views the text as hegemonic but refuses the dominant ideologies encoded and interprets it in a counter-hegemonic way (Hall 1980; Fiske 1993; Sender 1999) which can be liberating and empowering to oppositional readers. This can be demonstrated by participants' interpretations of certain mainstream media texts, including various classic Hollywood films, the *X-Men* movie, Disney cartoon characters, and the television series, *Xena: Warrior Princess*:

There are so many gay characters in Disney movies, Timon and Pumbaa, and the villain Scar in *Lion King*, and Jafar in *Aladdin*. He is very effeminate. My friends and I think Timon and Pumbaa were the first Disney gay couple (laughs). Sometimes you can read things that you are not supposed to reading that way. Maybe they didn't write it that way, but you can always look at things and see what you want. (African American lesbian, 19)

#### Decoding Gay Window Advertising

Television commercials often use subtle touching and physical proximity to suggest intimate and romantic relationships between same-sex characters. Participants also frequently commented on the ambiguous same-sex bonding in the articulation of gay readings. Additionally, certain "insider clues" were identified by participants as the visual cues insinuating gayness. All lesbian participants noted the insider joke that "every lesbian in the world has a cat" when discussing a Zyrtec allergy medicine

commercial which features two average-looking women talking about their similar allergies. In the ad, the characters were shown building a bird house together, as their cat looking on:

They have a cat! Definitely the cat. Because every lesbian has to have a cat. I have two. Does that make me more of a lesbian? (laughs) And they are very close to each other. They live together. My gut reaction is, it's a lesbian couple. (Caucasian lesbian, 35)

Having recognized the insider clues, participants felt being acknowledged, which in turn made them convinced that the marketer has purposefully and strategically designed the ad to appeal to the gay and lesbian market:

It was interesting that most gay people have pets. I don't trust a lesbian who doesn't have an animal (laughs). And Zyrtec is the only allergy medication that works with animal dander, and they know that a lot of gay people have pets. I know business. I know this company got tons of money to research and to advertise. They might have a gay consultant on their advertising team too. (Asian American lesbian, 32)

Another key theme that emerged from participant's interpretation narratives is the emphasis on unconventional gender roles and performances. For example, participants found the reversal of traditional gender roles in a Bissell vacuum commercial amusing and gay suggestive. In the ad, a bold, muscular, tough-looking biker is depicted as the benevolent "mother" of a bike club house. He addresses the camera, "I like to keep a clean club house but the boys get so rambunctious sometimes." Other bikers are shown watching figure-skating, arranging

flowers, and drinking smoothies instead of beers. Some participants further related the unconventional biker image to the bear and leather subculture in the gay male communities, and thus appreciated the ad more for the marketer's insider knowledge of a less well-known gay subculture. However, some other participants found it unlikely that marketers could be aware of the bear subculture and rejected the possibility for this ad to be gay-targeted.

In terms of non-textual factors, media context and history constitute another key criterion in participants' interpretative strategies. With the long history of LGBT invisibility in the mass media, gay and lesbian audiences were highly attuned to anything that opens up possibilities for gender and sexuality beyond the conventional heteronormative route of marriage, children, and monogamous partnering. When interpreting a Quaker Oatmeal commercial that shows two middle-aged men discussing breakfast cereal in a kitchen, many participants found the plot unusual and suggestive:

Most images you see are blatantly heterosexual, a man and a woman and a child. If you see two adults of same sex being together and I am so used to not having that, as soon as I see it, a flag goes up. (Caucasian gay male, 34)

Similarly, the uncontextualized openness of gay window advertising can imply queerness, if not gayness:

Usually, they would have contextualized it but there was not contextualization of their relationship....The very absence of context, the very absence of trying to pin down this relationship, is saying "come on in, this is your carousel."

When there is nothing said, everything is being said. (Caucasian gay male, 35)

The circulation and publicization of gay marketing news within the LGBT communities constitutes another important social context that frames LGBT audiences' negotiated readings of gay window advertising. All participants were aware of the phenomenon of gay marketing from their exposure to mainstream marketer's ads in gay publications and sponsorship in local gay events, as well as the list of gay friendly companies published on the website of Human Right Campaign, the largest national gay civil rights organization:

From reading magazines and being educated about the gay market from the marketing news, we know there is a trend targeting to gays and lesbians. And knowing that, I started paying more attention to advertising and companies that advertise to the community. (Caucasian gay male, 33)

Yet, the marketing construction of gayness might also predispose LGBT consumers to more readily or more easily interpret certain images as gay, especially the depiction of affluent, trendy, upper-middle class white males. For example, some participants did not consider the characters in the Quaker Oatmeal commercial as a gay couple because of the perceived working-class appearance:

It's morning and they are leaving for work, but none of them are wearing suits. They are blue-collar obviously. They don't seem specifically gay. I guess I won't necessarily see them as a gay couple. (Caucasian bisexual male, 29)

It is important to note that the participants who questioned the use of bear subculture or working-class characters as gay-targeted also tended to have a celebratory and often uncritical view of the "dream consumer" gay male stereotype. Their definition of gayness may have been influenced by the media portrayal of the affluent, fashionable, cultured gay men. Consequently, participants' meaning-making of the malleable gay window commercials might have been predisposed by marketing construction of "what does it mean to be gay."

The narrowly defined gayness in the marketing discourse may have contributed to the gender difference in participants' interpretations. Many male participants did not articulate gay readings from lesbian window advertising while most lesbian participants did from commercials featuring male characters. The varied readings from gay male and lesbian participants indicate that the gay market discourse, within which lesbian marketing remains relatively uncultivated, may predispose LGBT participants to be more attuned to male gayness in advertising.

In terms of marketing strategies, the effectiveness of gay window advertising for brand recognition and recall might be questionable. A Subaru ad which presents Martina Navratilova and other female athletes as endorsers was believed to have included the gay and lesbian market in its marketing strategy because of its use of a famous lesbian celebrity. However, participants were heavily invested in decoding the gay subtexts and paid little attention to the product advertised:

It does imply that these other two women also might be gay. I don't even know who they are. I



immediately stopped listening to the ad, but “hey, I wonder if they are also lesbians?” That’s what I thought during the whole thing (laughs). (African American lesbian, 43)

### Gaydar Alerts

Doty (1993) argues that queer readings are not accidental or wishful misreading, but “result from the recognition and articulation of the complex range of queerness that has been in popular texts and their audiences all alone” (p.16). Participants also emphasized that decoding gay subtexts requires a competence among LGBT individuals—the “gaydar” sensibility for detecting if another person is gay, bisexual or otherwise not heterosexual:

I am very observant to the cues. I don’t think I am consciously looking for, as much as I catch them. And I think I catch that because I am so programmed to do that, always trying to figure out, is she gay or straight? I think that’s where the gaydar comes in. If you are constantly doing that, then you have a very whole sense of gaydar. (Caucasian lesbian, 44)

Yet, Similar to the fact that gaydar is far from infallible or universal among gays and lesbians, not all participants articulated gay readings of every gay window ads shown. However, participants noted certain social and media contextual factors that might elicit their gay readings when the ad alone was too ambiguous to alert their gaydar, such as knowing that the ad was aired during the coming-out episode of *Ellen*, or when they felt insecure and hyper-sensitive in hostile surroundings:

I won’t read them as gay, unless when I am at my parents’ house, and my

parents are still homophobic. So they are terrified of, well, of me. So I would pick up on everything, because it’s like constant nervous that I am hyper-aware. (Caucasian gender-queer, 24)

Participant’s queering reading thus works as a self-defense mechanism and a resistant political gesture challenging heteronormative hegemony.

### Privileged Insider Reading

Some participants repeatedly asserted that only gay audiences would be able to pick up the *real* gay-oriented messages when interpreting gay window advertising. These participants tended to believe that the gay subtexts embedded in commercials were strategically and purposefully designed to appeal to gay men and lesbians without alerting the oblivious heterosexual mainstream:

It’s just funny to see the little insider stuff that not everybody is aware of. I feel being acknowledged. It’s too well-done to be an accident. Some straight people might not get it. But we know there is more to it. We are in the know. (Caucasian lesbian, 29)

Accordingly, participants defined the preferred meaning encoded in gay window commercials as the gay-oriented one. In this perspective, the gay reading was not only the dominant reading, but also the privileged insider reading that constituted symbolic communal boundaries differentiating them from other heterosexual audiences.

### “We Are Just Like Everybody Else”

In contrast to the participants who were assertive about gay window ads being gay oriented, some argued that there existed no

single preferred ad meaning and the text was open for interpretations. Polysemy was emphasized as a desired quality so that the ad “can target everyone at the same time” (Asian American gay male, 20). Many participants praised polysemy for the perceived all-inclusiveness while the emphasis on being part of a broader market is often connected to the discussion of the normalized, “average-looking” or “straight-looking” depictions of gay people:

I am very surprised to know it’s a Zyrtec commercial because that’s a product for everyone, gay or straight. They [the perceived lesbian couple] were treated like a non-issue, just like other straight couples. The images are so normalized. They are just like everyone else. (Caucasian lesbian, 35)

Many participants expressed their concerns for the stigmatized gay stereotypes, especially the images of effeminate gay men and aggressive “bulldyke” lesbians. They also voiced a strong aspiration towards normalization which arguably leads to social acceptance and equal rights.

However, an anti-assimilationist perspective was also voiced by a few participants who criticized the current gay rights movement as limiting, commercialized, and anti-feminist.

It’s [the construction of gay market] more about the gays attaining that American Dream. What you see about the new gay lifestyle, it actually wasn’t anything different from anybody else. It’s still the upwardly mobile, middle-class identity. It’s just a gay reflection on this old middle-class American dream model. It’s assimilation, but it’s not open to everybody. No everybody can attain this American Dream, very few

people can, gay or not. (Mexican American gay male, 28)

Chasin (2000) argues that the recently developed gay consumer culture is closely aligned with an assimilationist ideology that counters a more progressive queer activism. The split between radical queer activism and the assimilationist gay rights politics has continued to shape LGBT consumers’ self-identity, identification with the queer community, consumption behaviors, and their readings of gay advertising.

#### Connotative Closet

It is importantly to note that a common immediate response was to wonder “if straight people would see it in this way.” Some participants tended to analyze the commercials from a heterosexual audience’s perspective:

When I see any gay images, I wonder how the conservative right-wing would respond. I guess I envisioned if my parents are watching...I always wonder what my dad’s reaction would be. Sometimes I feel it’s still a closeted world. When you see something possibly gay, you are like, maybe they are just experimenting. It’s more in my head, asking what’s the straight community going to say? (Caucasian lesbian, 29)

Participants’ constant concern about straight audiences’ reaction reflects the closeted experience that most LGBT people have gone through, worrying about being rejected when their sexual orientation or transgenerness is exposed. Some participants thus sympathized with the cautious marketers and their low-key advertising strategy:

Part of the gay culture is that a lot of people are gay, and no one knows about it, like the actor [Rock Hudson] in the 50s, who was gay. People found out only after he died. Even this ad is very subtle, but for us, it's part of what we have gone through. (Asian American lesbian, 53)

Some other participants found the strategy problematic and exploitive. They argued that they would be more inclined to support companies that "would come out and support the gay community" (Asian American lesbian, 32). Some participants acutely observed that gay window advertising mirrored the silent and invisible history of homosexuality:

The very fact that they didn't say anything [anything gay in the ad], and the whole media history, they tend to stay away from being explicitly gay... because homosexuality is always about silence... on one way, we get excited, "are they gay or are they not?" But after a while, I am tired. (Caucasian gay male, 35)

This criticism points to the politics of visibility, as Doty (1993) calls the encoded gay subtexts in mainstream media as "the closet of connotation." In a related vein, Dyer (2002) explains that campy sensitivity is a by-product of gay people's closeted experience of passing as straight, of disguising, and of appearing to fit in. It is thus critical to remember that camp sensibility, a consciousness of being different from the mainstream that becomes a creative energy for many LGBT people, and the related queer reading, spring from the lived experience of social oppression.

## CONCLUSION

Lesbian, gay male, bisexual and transgender participants' interpretation narratives of the polysemic gay window advertising in this study demonstrate a dialectic interpellation between capitalistic marketing ideologies and LGBT consumers' identity project, community boundary maintenance, definition of gay culture, and stance on the gay rights politics. Participants articulated gay readings based on the connotative queerness encoded in the advertising texts, illuminating "the subjectivity of ad experiences within the boundaries of the ad's sign structure and denotative content" (Mick and Buhl 1992, p. 317). More importantly, various media, social, and cultural discourses that promote the affluent, trend-setting dream consumer stereotype might have predisposed participants' meaning-making of gay window commercials.

For future research, Kates (2002) advances the theoretical construct of interpretive communities in consumer research as an alternative form of lifestyle market segmentation. He argues that consumers' various interpretations of brands and marketing communications may constitute interpretive communities based on their interpretive strategies. Future studies should investigate the construction of interpretive communities using the malleable gay window advertising to further explore the communal dimension of queer reading. In a similar vein, a longitudinal ethnographic study that includes the method of participant observation is needed to understand LGBT consumers' social use of advertising within the context of interpersonal interaction and community formation.

At last, audience reception studies exploring LGBT consumers' negotiated readings of various types of gay advertising texts,

including explicitly gay-targeted ads as well as the multicultural strategy that juxtaposes queer with heterosexuals and other minority groups, will shed valuable insights on LGBT consumers' interpellation of symbolic meanings circulated in advertising, branding, and the marketplace.

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Further Correspondence:

Wan-Hsiu Sunny Tsai,  
Department of Advertising,  
University of Texas at Austin,  
CMA 7.142,  
Austin, TX 78712-1092.  
E-mail: [wahsiu@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:wahsiu@mail.utexas.edu)

16 Vintage "Gay" Ads That Weren't Actually About Gay People But Should Be Now. + 16. which makes 4th of July a gay holiday. + 15. the captain is actually waving goodbye to these girls who he hasn't got a chance with anymore. Go to allposters.com, search for advertisements and what they are advertising, I know they have the Go Gay hairspray ones. Loading Reply to This Comment. From the first week of February 2018, Yandex sites don't use annoying advertising formats that contradict the IAB Russia association's recommendations. Also, Yandex will filter such advertising in the Yandex.Browser. This means that the formats listed below will not appear on Yandex sites or any resources opened with Yandex.Browser. The company also doesn't sell such formats on the Yandex advertising network partner sites. Windows 8 desktop, Windows 7, XP & Vista. Kindle Cloud Reader. Read instantly in your browser. The late Alexander Doty helped so many of us to shift from Gay & Lesbian studies to a broader queer approach, and he did it in this book. The introduction remains a highly accessible and valuable description of the field of queer studies, and his chapter on queer auteurs George Cukor and Dorothy Arzner offers a compelling model for film scholars. Amazon Advertising Find, attract, and engage customers. Amazon Drive Cloud storage from Amazon. 6pm Score deals on fashion brands.