

2106

The Feminist Myth: Second-Wave Feminism in The Birmingham News Advertising

Yasmin El-Husari

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

El-Husari, Yasmin (2106) "The Feminist Myth: Second-Wave Feminism in The Birmingham News Advertising," *Vulcan Historical Review*. Vol. 20, Article 9.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan/vol20/iss2016/9>

This content has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of the UAB Digital Commons, and is provided as a free open access item. All inquiries regarding this item or the UAB Digital Commons should be directed to the [UAB Libraries Office of Scholarly Communication](#).

The Feminist Myth: Second-Wave Feminism in *The Birmingham News* Advertising

by Yasmin El-Husari

THE FEMALE images portrayed in advertisements often reflect a society's attitude towards its women. The 1960s and 1970s were the years of the Second Wave of Feminism¹, a time when America shook with a movement known for breaking through gender stereotypes and placing women on equal legal footing as men in many aspects of society. Despite a tangible change in the portrayal of women in newspaper advertisements in the years between 1960 and 1980, the underlying message of stereotypical gender roles remained firmly in place. The subject of this study, *The Birmingham News*, provides clear evidence of that phenomenon.

Generally, postwar Americans viewed traditional family roles as necessary for the stability of the family unit², so American society in the 1960s demanded that the husband fulfill the roles of breadwinner and protector while the wife played the role of nurturer by “stabilizing

internal familial relationships [and] focusing her full attention on the housekeeper-wife-mother functions within the family.”³ In 1960, 38 percent of families included two workers, but society limited women to the occupations of secretary, teacher, nurse, or, the ultimate ideal, housewife.⁴ Viewed as dependent individuals by the public sphere, even a woman living on her own needed a male cosigner to get a credit card or mortgage.⁵ Unwritten societal laws tied women to their families, and there was very little that could be done to reduce the pressure.

Regardless of what a woman did before marriage, unwritten societal rules commanded that she get married as soon as possible and happily give up everything by way of outside goals and career for her husband and children. Elizabeth Anticaglia wrote in her book, *A Housewife's Guide to Women's Liberation*, in 1972: “We women have traditionally been instruments of service, paragons of the Madonna-seductress-demure on the one hand, sexy on the other. In times of war, we are urged to go out and work; in peacetime, to stay home!”⁶ Even though Anticaglia saw this so strongly, most women hardly ever noticed

1 The First Wave of feminism took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and mainly focused on the issues of suffrage and equality under the law and was interrelated with the temperance and abolitionist movement. The Second Wave spanned from the 1960s to the 1980s and came into being following the civil rights and anti-war movements. It drew attention to a broad variety of social issues such as sexuality and women's roles within the family and workplace. Third Wave Feminism began in the early 1990s as a response to what were deemed as “failures” of the Second Wave and is still ongoing today. Its themes are much less concrete than those of the first and second waves, and includes a variety of issues such as gender-role expectations.

2 The uncertainty of the Cold War era prompted many Americans to seek refuge in the stability of traditional family roles.

3 Joan D. Mandle, *Women & Social Change* (Princeton: Princeton Book and Company Publishers, 1971), 113-114.

4 Mandle, *Women & Social Change*, 82; Elizabeth A. Anticaglia, *A Housewife's Guide to Women's Liberation* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1972), 90-91.

5 Gail Collins, *When Everything Changed: The Amazing Journey of American Women From 1960 to the Present* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2009), 22.

6 Anticaglia, *A Housewife's Guide*, 26.

or questioned the state of their lives because they knew no different. Society dictated that men earn money while it expected that respectable women stay home and spend it. Off-limit careers did not shock women because they only compared themselves to each other, so to them, their experience seemed no different than anyone else's.⁷

“ ADVERTISEMENTS PORTRAYED WHITE WOMEN WHO MATCHED THE 1960 BEAUTY IDEAL OF “A BARBIE-LIKE WOMAN WITH A SMALL WAIST AND LARGE, FIRM BREASTS- THE KIND OF FIGURE THAT WAS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE WITHOUT A GREAT DEAL OF REINFORCEMENT.”

Several studies⁸ conducted in the 1940s and 50s indicated to marketing companies that women were not only the primary consumers and buyers of the household, but they were also more attentive to advertisements than men. A 1940 survey conducted by Rutgers University Department of Journalism among women shoppers found that 93.5% of housewives interviewed liked to see advertising published in the newspaper. Over 80 percent of women used advertisements to stay “style conscious,” and over 93 percent of women used advertisements to know prices and make their shopping lists. From display ads to store ads to the classified section of the paper, most women read advertisements everywhere and based their shopping lists upon deals and products they read.⁹ Advertising companies tar-

geted women so openly that David Ogilvy, the Father of Advertising and creator of Ogilvy & Mather, one of the largest ad agencies in the world, constantly referred to the consumer as “she” in his 1963 how-to book on advertising, *Confessions of an Advertising Man*. In fact, the book often refers to the consumer as “reader,” “consumer,” or “she,” but it never refers to the consumer as “he” or “him.” Ogilvy could not have been more plain about his target audience than when he wrote, “The consumer is not a moron; she is your wife.”¹⁰

Advertisements at the time reflected cultural expectations, and Ogilvy's book shows the natural and unconscious (what would be considered in modern times) sexist mentality. Although he wrote in his book that women were smart and that attempting to trick them with advertising would be foolish, he also recommended that advertisers write their copies while pretending to answer a woman's question at a dinner party. He advocated strengthening headlines with “emotional words” such as “darling,” “love,” and “baby,” and warned advertisers from using “highfalutin language” when advertising to “uneducated people.” He followed with an anecdote about how 43 percent of housewives did not know the meaning of the word “obsolete.”¹¹ Advertisements targeting women often had little appeal to the intellect, a reflection of society's overall attitude towards women. Feminist Gloria Steinem once pointed out: “Advertising is a very important form of education. It is estimated that 40 percent of all of our

7 Collins, *When Everything Changed*, 25.

8 For in-depth study of motivation research in the fifties, see Vance Packard's *Hidden Persuaders* (New York: Van Rees Press, 1957)

9 American Newspaper Publishers Association Bureau of Advertising, *The Newspaper as an Advertising Medium: A Handbook of the Newspaper in North America* (New York: American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1940), 66; Leo Bogart, *Strategy in Advertising*

(Harcourt: Brace & World, Inc, 1967), 202; ANPA, 104.

10 Constance L. Hays, “David Ogilvy, 88, Father of Soft Sell In Advertising, Dies,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1999, under “Business Day,” accessed May 3, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/07/22/business/david-ogilvy-88-father-of-soft-sell-in-advertising-dies.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>; David Ogilvy, *Confessions of an Advertising Man* (Atheneum, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1963), 96.

11 Ogilvy, 108; Ogilvy, 106; Ogilvy, 12.

subcultural intake comes from advertising.” In the case of *The Birmingham News*, the most widely circulated daily newspaper in the state with a wide range of advertising patronage, the potential for influence cannot be ignored.¹²

The Birmingham News began as a four page evening newspaper in 1888 in a seventeen- year-old city. Launched with the slogan, “Great is Birmingham and *The News* is its Prophet,” the paper grew quickly. By 1891, it claimed the largest circulation of any daily paper in the state of Alabama. The constant expansion and improvement undertaken by the paper as well as its intent on remaining deeply connected to the community as a whole contributed to the paper’s growing popularity. Over the years, *The News* enjoyed growing circulation and a large amount of advertising patronage while financial circumstances forced other daily papers in the state such as the *Birmingham Ledger* and *Birmingham Age Herald* to consolidate under *The Birmingham News* management. By 1945, the circulation numbers reached over 100,000 and continued to grow.¹³ A 1961 call for advertisements in *The Birmingham News* boasted that *The Birmingham News* and *The Birmingham Post Herald* were read by over 90% of Metropolitan Birmingham families and three out of ten families in Central and Northern Alabama.¹⁴

In the 1960s, *The Birmingham News* included a section titled “For and About Women,” a section originally begun in 1943 by the insistence of female journalist Alyce Walker who persuaded management that women needed a specialized section of the paper to themselves.¹⁵ Four sub-

headings titled Household, Foods, Fashions, and Beauty introduced the section. If anything, the subheadings practically summarized what society considered “women’s interests.” Advertising for women in the *News* centered on self-improvement while advertising for men was self-affirming and full of praise. One glaring example is a section in the *News* titled “A Lovelier You,” which always featured a short article by way of advertising booklets such as “Beauty of Housework” and “Painless Reducing” that women could obtain for a mailed fee of five to twenty cents each. The ads promised that the booklets would give homemakers tips on “how to give yourself a beauty treatment while engaged in your duties” and to give “damsels moaning for longer skirts” a way to “lose up to 10 pounds without a struggle.” Articles on subjects such as how mothers can make daughters more interested in their own appearance (begin at a “tender age”) always accompanied these promises.¹⁶

The key tool of many advertisements aimed at women was sexuality. Adolescent psychologists Elizabeth Douvan and Carol Kay wrote in a 1962 article that sexual identity forms the “real core of feminine settlement,” reducing the purpose of a woman’s life to pleasing men. Advertising companies used the “sex sell” to target women regardless of their age or economic status to market everything from soap to china.¹⁷ Illustrations of women in 1960 advertisements in *The Birmingham News* seem to move between women in dresses and lingerie with little room in between. African American women were not shown in advertisement until many years later, and men were never shown in advertisements of women’s products. Instead, the advertisements portrayed white women who matched the 1960 beauty ideal of “a Barbie-like woman with a small

12 Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1998), 325; Emily Jones, *The Birmingham News: Our First 100 Years* (Birmingham: Birmingham News Co, 1988), 199

13 Jones, *The Birmingham News*, 9-10, 197-200.

14 Ibid.; “The Medium: for Sales Results,” *The Birmingham News*, January 1, 1961.

15 Jones, *The Birmingham News*, 122.

16 “For and About Women,” *The Birmingham News*, March 3, 1960.

17 Mandle, *Women & Social Change*, 67; Anticaglia, *A Housewife’s Guide*, 45.

waist and large, firm breasts- the kind of figure that was difficult to achieve without a great deal of reinforcement.”¹⁸ Advertisements often paired these daunting images with promises of solutions for a less than ideal figure. A Warner’s “Tomorrow” bra for example, offered a “magic” bra because “no one is a perfect size.” Girdle advertisements promised “extra tummy control” and “magic elastic” for a “slim, unbroken line from bust to hips . . . just right for today’s fitted fashions.” Editors spread these advertisements evenly through the entire paper, so that they could be found gracing the national news section just as easily they did the women’s social section. Modesty had little influence over the ubiquity of seductive images of women smiling in their underwear throughout the *News*.¹⁹

Generally when compared to women, advertisements for men’s products portrayed men as suave and in control. Fully dressed and posed in stances that exude confidence, the men in advertisements usually posed with their faces turned forward and their hands busy with various objects such as cigarettes or legal pads. This contrasts sharply with the objects women hold, which range from bouquets to single flowers to babies and young children. Any financial advertisement involving banks or investing companies found in *The Birmingham News* targeted men with the use of professional language about preparing for the future. One telling advertisement for Delta airlines promised “a fresh point of view” on business trips or vacations with “comfort, speed, and hospitality.” The subject of the photograph advertisement was a man in a reclined plane seat holding a newspaper and smiling at a stewardess who was handing him a cup of coffee. Although women were regularly portrayed through both text and image as

serving men, not a single advertising image portrays a man serving a woman, keeping in line with societal roles for both genders.²⁰

In addition to using sexuality when advertising to women, advertising companies also appealed to the traditionally feminine roles of wife and mother. In his book, *Confessions*, Ogilvy recommended that advertisers use photographs of babies to attract the attention of women while warning them away from the use of humor as “feeding her family is a serious business for most housewives.” Indeed, a Frigidaire advertisement for washing machines in *The Birmingham News* used two babies for extra effect. The advertisement promised “to get baby’s diapers clean and fresh” at a low price while the illustrated advertisement showed a young woman wearing a crown and cradling a baby who looked up at her adoringly. The woman looks more like she should be going to a formal event as she stands behind the open washing machine wearing high heels, lipstick, and a pencil skirt. Advertisements for milk, vitamins, and aspirin all promise the best for the family and often show images of a woman and a child exchanging loving glances. An advertisement for something like a car, which involves credit and recognition by society, is most definitely not marketed at women. A Pontiac advertisement, for example, boasts the support of an award for Outstanding Design presented by the International Fashion Council. Using the individualistic tagline: “Shouldn’t one of these eye-catching cars belong to you?” the advertisement consists of a photograph of a man driving a Pontiac and smiling at the camera with none of the characteristic mention of family usually found in advertisements targeting women. Mountains and open road fill the background, and a woman staring off into the distance sits at the man’s

18 Collins, *When Everything Changed*, 30.

19 Loveman’s Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1960; Pizitz Playtex Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1960.

20 Delta Airlines Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, January 1, 1961.

side, a spectator watching while the man excels.²¹

The language used in advertisements affects the way people think about themselves, and the English language includes words that place men and women in different categories. Consider that an advertisement for boys' clothing from Burger Phillips used the words "Very grown up styling for young gentlemen" while an advertisement for women's shirtwaist coveralls promises to help "Keep pert and pretty despite the chore of the moment!"²² In these cases, advertisers encourage young boys to look like a young "gentleman," a term that exudes authority. The women's advertisement however, implies a focus on household chores while playing on the feminine vanity. Sociology professor Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley wrote: "Words associated with males more often have positive connotations; they convey notions of power, prestige, and leadership. In contrast, female words are more often negative, conveying weakness, inferiority, immaturity, and a sense of the trivial."²³ One only needs to know that the words captivating, feminine, charming, and slimming, which describe women superficially and through their ability to please others, accompanied women's advertisements while men's advertisements use words such as luxurious, popular, and athletic, which are more dependent on achievement and prestige, to see the difference in language.

Women noticed the different methods used to advertise to them, even though they might have avoided voicing their concerns. When speaking about the impact advertising has on mothers in their 1952 book, Sidonie Gruenberg and Hilda Krech wrote,

She [a mother] thinks of the pictures in the advertising and other pages of the magazines: fashionably dressed women dashing out to card parties; the electric robot washing, drying, ironing the clothes; the electric stove cooking the entire dinner by itself; the beautifully coiffure, high-heeled, smiling (always smiling) women gaily trotting around the house with the vacuum cleaner doing the house in ten minutes flat. Then she thinks of the picture that she herself makes. . . Her smile is ready enough for children and husband and friends; but somehow it isn't brought on by emptying the vacuum cleaner or cleaning the toilet bowl.²⁴

The glamorized image of the perfect wife and mother became increasingly at odds with the realities of women's lives in the late 1950s and 1960s as higher education made young women dissatisfied with the fate of being bound to motherhood. Women searched for equality in opportunity and choice as one feminist wrote that the equality she and others were seeking was freedom of choice rather than a chance to be exactly like a man.²⁵ In 1963, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, a powerful criticism of the dissatisfactory situation of women in the United States which was a major factor in sparking the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. She criticized advertisement companies for their depiction of women by stating:

The manipulators [advertising companies] and their clients in American business can

21 Ogilvy, *Confessions*, 136; Frigidaire Washing Machine Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1960; Pontiac Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1960.

22 *The Birmingham News*, March 3, 1970; Pizitz Prince Charmers Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 3, 1960.

23 Mandle, *Women & Social Change*, 61-62.

24 Sidonie M. Gruenberg and Hilda Sidney Krech, *The Many Lives of Modern Woman: A Guide to Happiness in her Complex Role* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, inc, 1952), 18.

25 June Hannam, *Feminism* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2012), 78; Anticaglia, *A Housewife's Guide*, 20.

hardly be accused of creating the feminine mystique. But they are the most powerful of its perpetrators; it is the millions which blanket the land with persuasive images, flattering the American housewife, diverting her guilt and disguising her growing sense of emptiness. . . If they are not solely responsible for sending women home, they are surely responsible for keeping them there.²⁶

As awareness about women's issues began to grow among women's circles as well as in the public sphere, a movement began and change naturally followed. In 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) formed under the leadership of Betty Friedan to fight for equal opportunity in the workforce, and rallies and protests abounded. By the 70s, women began to see the fruits of their activism in the form of legislation. In 1972, Congress passed Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments to the Civil Rights Act requiring equal access to education and equal funding for school sports regardless of gender. In 1974, Congress passed the Equal Credit Opportunity Act and the Educational Equity Act, both broadening women's opportunity and independence. And in 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission added sexual harassment to its guidelines on discrimination.²⁷ Women had gained equal opportunity in work and education while acquiring legal protection from any masculine sense of entitlement to their sexuality, and advertisement companies worked to conform to the new society.

In 1974, Tina Santis, the public relations representative for Colgate- Palmolive said in a statement: "Today's

woman is not going to be influenced by the same advertising and promotional message that may have motivate her a few years ago." Women began making conscious decisions to accept or reject traditional gender roles of becoming a sweet and pretty wife and mother, and they therefore no longer represented irrationality to the media. In fact, feminists took to criticizing advertising companies quite openly as they began placing "This Ad Insults Women" stickers on billboards and posters they felt portrayed women in offensive or exploitive ways. The National Advertising Review Board even produced a checklist, which they distributed among advertising companies to ensure that

“ ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE LATE 1970S AND EARLY 80S BECAME DEVOID OF “TRADITIONAL” SEXIST IDEOLOGY, BUT NEW SEXISM APPEARED UNDER GUISE OF WOMEN’S LIBERATION.

ad makers avoided any blatant sexism in their advertisements. Question groups on the checklist ranged from "Are the women portrayed in my ad stupid? For example, am I reinforcing the "dumb blond" cliché? Does my ad portray women who are unable to balance their checkbooks?" to "Are sexual stereotypes perpetuated in my ad? That is, does it portray women as weak, silly, and overemotional?" to "Is there a gratuitous message in my ads that a woman's most important role in life is a supportive one, to cater to and coddle men and children?"²⁸ The checklist itself,

26 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, inc, 1963), 228.

27 Juliann Sivulka, *Ad Women: How They Impact What We Need, Want, and Buy* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2009), 279.

28 Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes*, 322; Jennifer Nelson, "Feminism Gave Rise to Superwoman in Advertising," *Women's eNews*, November 4, 2012, under "Books," accessed May 3, 2016, <http://womensenews.org/story/books/121102/feminism-gave-rise->

complete with its thorough questions and accompanying examples, provides proof that these deeply ingrained stereotypical attitudes about women would be challenging to overcome.

A 1970 full-page advertisement for Old Gold Filter cigarettes serves as the ultimate example at a failed attempt to market with feminism in *The Birmingham News*. The advertisement states the following:

Behind every independent man there's a crafty coupon clipper. But she'd better stay behind him. She'd better not try being outspoken. Let her suggest to her independent man that they smoke Old Gold Filters so they can save the coupons, and it'll be all over. After all, he knows he smokes Old Gold Filters for the flavor. So don't try to talk him out of it. Let him enjoy the flavor. And thank him for the coupon.²⁹

A photograph of a man smoking a cigarette while a woman leans over his shoulder and holds a package of cigarettes and a coupon up towards the reader accompanies the text. Both models wear wedding bands to match the scenario in the text. This advertisement clearly shows an example of an ad maker attempting to combine reverse psychology with feminist humor. The problem with these types of ads is that it continues to encourage old stereotypes. The woman remains behind the man, the man should still remain in control, and the woman should be happy she gets coupons out of the deal to go shopping with.³⁰

An ad for tuxedos from Burch & Tant Formal Shops in *The Birmingham News* in 1980 also proved that the use of women as advertising props still existed. The

advertising text states: "Because all brides are beautiful. . . everything about the wedding must be perfect. The style and colors must be perfectly coordinated. . . Nothing can be left to chance!" The illustration featured a groom staring heroically into the distance while his bride stands behind him with her head on his shoulder. Not only had advertisers continued to use a woman's beauty for advertisement, but they remained stuck in the sense of feminine subordination. The ad still depicted a confident male being supported by women with no individuality.³¹

Advertisements in the late 1970s and early 80s became devoid of "traditional" sexist ideology, but new sexism appeared under guise of women's liberation. Lingerie ads gave way to swimsuit ads, sections advertising weight loss for a "Lovelier You" shifted to large boxes with women's testimonies for weight loss programs that made their husbands proud of them, and companies advertised men's underwear with illustrations of half-dressed men just as they advertised women's underwear before. Images of women feeding their families still accompanied grocery advertisements while advertisers flattered women for being "smart shoppers" when buying their products. A 1980 Estee Lauder makeup ad in *The Birmingham News* promised colors that are "bright but not fierce, brilliant but not blinding, light but not pallid, deep but not somber" for a fresh, energetic look. With careful analysis, it becomes obvious that the ad used a fashion message to tell women what beauty standards they should strive for by pushing them towards "fresh and energetic" as an ideal woman of 1980 ought to be.³²

superwoman-in-advertising; Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes*, 326.

29 Old Gold Filters Advertisement, *Birmingham News Parade*, March 1, 1970.

30 Ibid.

31 Burch & Tant Formal Shops Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1980.

32 A.E.A Swimwear Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1980; Alabama Medical Weight Loss Clinic Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1980; Food World Meat Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, August 1, 1979; Estee Lauder Transatlantic Colors Advertisement, *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1980.

Ironically, despite the blatant sexism in advertising, unlike many other professions in the past, advertising companies always openly employed women in writing positions. Employers knew that a lot of money could be made using women to market to their primary consumers. The overarching idea of “If you are selling to women, nothing succeeds like a woman’s viewpoint” dominated. Women knew their own faults, and they played on their own weaknesses to advertise to their own. Friedan stated in her book, “Properly manipulated. . . American housewives can be given the sense of identity, purpose, creativity, the realization, even the sexual joy their lack- by the buying of things.” Despite the fact that companies readily hired women for advertising jobs, they made it quite clear that they had no place in leadership positions at newspapers or any other business. *The Birmingham News* serves as a typical example since it had seen a rise in the number of female journalists in the office since World War II, but the newspaper editors and their assistants remained male past the end of the Second Wave of Feminism.³³

Sexist advertising did not end with Second-Wave feminism. It only took on a different form, one that became more difficult to recognize. Today, women’s bodies remain objectified and exploited to advertise products while masked as “celebrating femininity” while Photoshop makes impossibly flawless women a common phenomenon. The housewife in advertising has now been replaced by supermom, a woman who wears khakis and a button-down, who maintains a job and an immaculate house while planning play dates for her smiling children³⁴. In short, not only have stereotypes not gone away, but they have

been compounded by expectations of perfection, causing a greater feeling of dissatisfaction than before. The struggle to reform societal perceptions towards women has not ended, and conscious individuals continue to fight for equality where they find it lacking. Activists have raised awareness in the public sphere, and many companies and corporations have joined the fight by countering negative ads with what are considered more positive ones. The public should remain vigilant and wary of old ideas repackaged and marketed in a new form. Sexist advertising can end, but only through heightened public awareness and appropriate response.

33 Collins, *When Everything Changed*, 26; Sivulka, *Ad Women*, 13; Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 208; Jones, *The Birmingham News*, 122.

34 For more on this subject, see Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Housework and Housewives in American Advertising: Married to the Mop* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).