



DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

“LONGING WON’T BRING HIM BACK SOONER...”

A Case Study of Gendered Language Use
in American Recruitment Posters from the
Second World War

Erica Nilsson

Essay/Degree Project:	C-Essay/15 hp
Program or/and course:	International Language Program/EN1321
Level:	First cycle
Term/year:	Spring term/2020
Supervisor:	Asha Tickoo
Examiner:	Anna-Lena Fredriksson
Report nr:	xx (not to be filled)

Title: *“Longing Won’t Bring Him Back Sooner...” A Case Study of Language Use in American Recruitment Posters from The Second World War*

Author: Erica Nilsson

Supervisor: Asha Tickoo (Spring 2019)

Abstract: The aim of this study is to analyse and compare American male and female recruitment posters from the Second World War. The sub-aims are to find out whether the slogans directed at men and women differed linguistically from each other, and if men and women were attributed differently. For this, the Genre and Multimodality Model (GeM) is used to analyse each poster. Linguistically, the focus is semantics and pragmatics. The individual results will then be compared using research questions from Reisigl and Wodak (2001). The analysis showed that the way men and women were both addressed and attributed differed in a number of ways. Men were strong and heroic, while women were temporary substitutes for unavailable men.

Keywords: gender, World War II, GeM analysis, semantics, stereotypes, recruitment posters, sexism, pragmatics

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH	2
3. AIMS, MATERIAL AND METHOD	5
3.1. AIM.....	5
3.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	6
3.3. METHOD	6
3.3.1. The Genre and Multimodality Model	6
3.3.2. Semantics and pragmatics.....	8
3.3.3. The Reisigl and Wodak approach.....	9
3.4. MATERIAL	10
4. ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL DATA	11
4.1. THE ‘MANPOWER’ CAMPAIGN	11
4.1.1. GeM analysis sample	11
4.1.2. Attributes.....	14
4.1.3. Summary of analysis: Men	14
4.2. THE ‘WOMANPOWER’ CAMPAIGN	15
4.2.1. GeM analysis sample	15
4.2.2. Attributes.....	17
4.2.3. Summary of analysis: Women	17
4.3. DATA COMPARISON	19
4.3.1. How are people named and referred to linguistically in the posters?	19
4.3.2. What characteristics are attributed to the men and women in the posters?	20
4.3.3. From what perspective or point of view are these namings and attributions expressed?	20
4.4. DISCUSSION	20
5. CONCLUSION	21
REFERENCES	24
APPENDIX	27

1. Introduction

Today, the Second World War is one of the largest and most famous wars of history. It was a brutal, complicated conflict that cost millions of lives and that helped shape the world we live in today. It is, therefore, no wonder that there has been a great deal of research done on different aspects of the war, both concerning the war itself and the home fronts.

The Second World War was predated by the First World War, an equally brutal conflict that had left Europe in ruins. It had affected millions of households around the world and had seen the borders of the European continent changed forever. The First World War also sparked further conflicts in a number of countries, and so to some it would feel as if the war never really fully came to an end (Clavin, 2015, pp. 7-8).

In the United States, the public felt strongly about *overseas wars* after the end of the First World War. They felt that the country's involvement in this war had been unnecessary and a mistake (Welch, 2015, p. 393). Despite having a different opinion than the public, President Franklin Roosevelt and the government still had to listen to the public's demands: they did not want another war (Mawdsley, 2015, p. 173). The United States was not directly threatened by the new conflict in Europe, and the public did not want to fight for another country. However, in December 1941, things would change drastically. Japan attacked the Hawaiian harbour of Pearl Harbor on 7 December, and four days later Hitler and Nazi Germany declared war on the United States (Mawdsley, 2015, p.176). The choice of whether or not the United States should join the war had now been taken away from the people, and instead been decided by governments in far-away countries.

Both the First and the Second World War would become *total wars*. This meant that the entire country – not just the military – were a part of the war effort and the fight for peace. Welch (2015, p. 373) defines total war as “*warfare in which vast human, material, and emotional resources were marshalled to support military effort.*” This meant that everyone had to do their part, including women who had previously mostly been working inside the home.

An important tool to sway public opinion and influence their ideas and will was propaganda. The United States government started to commission major propaganda campaigns directed at the people after the outbreak of war in 1941. These campaigns were conducted through the Office of War Information (OWI), which was established in the summer of 1942 (Welch, 2015, p. 394). Two of the largest propaganda campaigns during the

war were the *manpower* and the *womanpower* campaigns, which aimed to recruit and influence the men and women of the United States. The number of women taking on traditionally male professions would increase dramatically during the course of the war, and it is estimated that the female workforce in general increased by 57 per cent between 1940 and 1944. This was an increase from 12 million working women to around 20 million (Welch, 2015, p. 394).

However, when viewing these two propaganda campaigns today, it is easy to spot differences in both design and language use. Especially the difference in language is of interest in both an historical and linguistic context, and this is what this case study aims to explore. By studying samples of posters from the *manpower* and *womanpower* campaigns, this study aims to show semantic and pragmatic differences in how men and women were addressed. As a man or woman would have viewed a poster as a whole multimodal piece consisting of images, colours, fonts and text, the analysis of each poster will also be multimodal. This will be done through the usage of the Genre and Multimodality Model (GeM) (Delin and Bateman, 2002).

2. Previous research

While the amount of research focused on propaganda is vast, there seems to be a lack of studies focusing on linguistic aspects. The research reviewed in this section is therefore not specifically linguistic in nature, but some studies still discuss written slogans in posters or advertisements from the time. For that reason, they are seen as relevant to this research and are considered potentially valuable sources of information.

A number of studies focus on the propaganda aimed at women during the war. Honey (eg. 1981, 1983), for example, has written a number of articles about women during the war and has become a household name among propaganda researchers. Among other things, she has looked into the so-called *womanpower* campaign, which consisted of propaganda and advertisements aimed at women specifically. This campaign relates to the War Advertising Council in the United States, which not only managed to recruit millions of women to the war effort, but also managed to create an ‘ideological framework’ implying that women were able to fill in for men in traditionally male jobs. Through this, they were also able to imply that women were still able to retain their femininity, even while working a “male” job (Honey, 1981, p. 50). However, she also points out that this framework and the employment of women in male environments was only created out of a necessity (Honey, 1981, p. 51). Advertisers

tried to make women's roles in the war seem as if they were a part of American tradition and represented war work as a patriotic duty that women took on in times of crisis. This was not only done to empower women, but also to empower men and make them feel less threatened when women appeared in traditionally male jobs (Honey, 1981, p. 52).

In another study, Honey (1983) examines how propaganda differed between women's magazines produced during the war. It showed that women in magazines were often portrayed as "war worker heroines" (Honey, 1983, p. 677), and in addition to images and slogans, magazines also published romantic stories of what these women experienced while working. These stories were supposed not only to inspire women to take up a war job, but also to make war jobs look attractive to the female gaze. It is also mentioned how propaganda combined the female role of being a housewife with their new roles as war workers, which often created contradictions (Honey, 1983., p. 673).

Like Honey, Ryan (2012) studied propaganda from the Second World War but focused on recruitment posters issued by the Navy and the Coast Guard. She mentions that posters were one of the simplest ways of reaching women and bringing them the idea that serving in military branches during the war was a patriotic duty. However, these posters also made sure that women knew their service would only be temporary, and that it would end when the war did (Ryan, 2012, p. 259). This therefore meant that women were supposed to leave their jobs as soon as the war ended, just as they had always known that their roles as working women would only be temporary.

Yesil (2004) agrees with some of Ryan's points, and mentions that while women were welcome to take on male jobs during the war, they were not welcome afterwards (Yesil, 2004, p. 113). Some advertisers also started issuing propaganda towards the end of the war, showing women using the money they had earned to buy new, modern appliances for their homes, which would help with their day-to-day chores around the house (Yesil, 2004, p. 113).

These kinds of ideas existed already during the war, but during that time, they had been shown in a more negative light. For example, in an advertisement examined by Kimble (2018), a woman is shown as two-faced. She spends her money on trivial things rather than on the war effort and the money she uses comes from a war job (Kimble, 2018, pp. 1-2). This seems to imply that she is only patriotic at work and not otherwise, therefore making her two-faced. Propaganda aimed at women therefore not only wanted to recruit them, but also regulate their behaviour (Kimble, 2018, p. 4). Kimble concludes that the advertising campaign directed at women followed a patriarchal framework, and that both patriotism and the American society were controlled by a masculine perspective (Kimble, 2018, p. 12). Even

though the war challenged this system of masculinity, the feminine traits and actions were still often portrayed as negative, while the masculine ones were not.

While preparing for this study, there was a severe lack of research done on male recruitment posters. All the above-mentioned research focused on women and barely mentioned the male recruitment campaign. A possible exception, however, is a study of male recruitment by Blum (1963), which researched the effects of the draft and the ‘work or fight’ order that was introduced in 1943 (Blum, 1963, p. 367). This order meant that men occupied with jobs regarded as ‘unessential’ to the war effort – such as jewellers or other producers of novelty goods (Blum, 1963, p. 366) – now had to move to a more ‘essential’ job or be drafted into the military. It also meant that those who went on strike could be drafted for refusing to perform their jobs, which came to affect a large number of men (Blum, 1963, p. 366). While somewhat unrelated to recruitment, Blum’s research also helps shed some light on the many men that refused to fall for the propaganda the government issued.

Furthermore, Dechter and Elder (2004) looked at another aspect of war recruitment in their study, namely how it seemed to affect men’s lives after the war. It focused on the male middle class, and how their professional lives were affected by the war and its aftermath. While not specifically focused on recruitment, the study still gives a good insight into the American middle class and the jobs they performed before, during and after the war. Dechter and Elder (2004) used a collection of interviews that had been conducted from the 1940s and onward. The same men had been interviewed with a few years’ interval to see how their lives changed after the war and what choices they made. This also gave a perspective on how these men lived before the war, which made the researchers able to identify how the war changed their future plans and careers.

In total, it is estimated that 14 million men were mobilised, while the male labour force lost 9 million men to the military. These numbers also included men who were drafted and who did not volunteer. The female labour force, on the other hand, went from 14 million in 1940 to 21 million during the war (Goldin & Olivetti, 2013, p. 257). While the war increased the number of women at work, as the statistics show, it can still be said that the war did not change the conditions much for the women who worked. While most married women returned to their homes after the war, those who remained on the labour market moved away from manufacturing and war work after the war (Golding & Olivetti, 2013, p. 261).

All in all, it turns out that all the research presented here used comparative analyses to deal with their posters. They typically studied both visual and verbal aspects, and related them to the historical context, as well as to relevant theories on gender, all in order to identify

potential stereotypes. Dechter and Elder (2004) used a collection of interviews that had been conducted from the 1940s and onward. The same men had been interviewed with a few years' interval to see how their lives changed after the war and what choices they made. This also gave a perspective on how these men lived before the war, which made the researchers able to identify how the war changed their future plans and careers.

The idea that women were addressed and represented differently in American war propaganda from the Second World War have been explored before by researchers such as Honey (1981, 1983), Yesil (2004) and Kimble (2018), but there still seems to be a lack of research comparing female and male war propaganda.

3. Aims, material and method

In the following section, I will introduce, first the aims and the research questions, and second, the material and methods used in this case study.

3.1. Aim

This case study has an overall aim and two smaller sub-aims that apply to different parts of the study. The overall aim is to analyse and compare American male and female recruitment posters from the Second World War. The sub-aims concern two different aspects: the first concerns semantics and pragmatics, which also includes unstated levels of meaning. The second examines the typical roles and attributes given to the men and women engaged in the war. The study also includes questions first introduced by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). These relate to the two sub-aims, with the first question relating to linguistics, the second to attributes and the third a combination of the two. The questions are as follows:

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically in the posters?
2. What characteristics are attributed to the men and women in the posters?
3. From what perspective or point of view are these namings and attributions expressed?

(Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. xiii)

By exploring potential differences between the male and the female, this research hopes to highlight the social expectations put on the two genders during the Second World War and highlight possible differences between the genders in how they were referred to or addressed. The sub-aims will also examine the existence of gendered language, differences in representation and the presence of stereotypes.

3.2. Theoretical framework

Theoretically, this study has its roots in the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) practice, taking a special interest in “the relation between language and power” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.1). An interesting aspect to study is the semantics and pragmatics of the language in the posters. Semantics is the study of *what is actually said*, while pragmatics is the study of *what is implied* (McNally, 2013, p. 286). This is also an aspect that is present in Reisigl and Wodak’s approach, which is a base for the theory used in this study.

3.3. Method

The following section will include a detailed explanation of the model used for analysing multimodality, and an overview of the Reisigl and Wodak (2001) study. It will also include an explanation of semantics and pragmatics, which will be areas included in the linguistic structure of the GeM Model.

3.3.1. The Genre and Multimodality Model

Delin and Bateman (2002) presents a model for analysing multimodality in *Describing and critiquing multimodal documents*, and this is the model used in the present study. The Genre and Multimodality Model (GeM) provides an intricate framework for detailed analysis of individual multimodal documents. It consists of five different ‘structures’ or ‘layers’ which vary in both depth and detail. The five structures are described as follows:

1. Content structure
2. Layout structure
3. Rhetorical structure
4. Navigation structure
5. Linguistic structure

For this study, the content structure and the layout structure have been removed. The content structure only provides a list of the content of a multimodal document. The layout structure could be likened to a mind map structure, where a researcher is able to map out the contents of a multimodal document. As this study is more concerned with the linguistic aspects, neither of these structures will be relevant to the analysis.

The rhetorical structure focuses on how a document works together with the viewer, and how it communicates its message. Bateman (2008., p. 144) states that “[w]e want to [...] identify the particular functional contributions made by the elements of a document to the intended communicative purposes of that document as a whole [...]” Figure 1 is an example of how to illustrate the analysis of a text according to what Bateman refers to as “Rhetorical Structure Theory” (Bateman, 2008, p. 146). In this analysis, horizontal arrows show text spans, vertical lines show asymmetric or symmetric units and curved arrows show rhetorical relations. This is an easy way of getting a visual overview of a sentence in order to understand how the different parts relate to one another. The terms *circumstance*, *sequence* and *enablement* all relate to text relationships and how the different parts work together to create a whole. Using this type of analysis of a text also opens the document up to further multimodal analysis, as the text is now broken down into further hierarchical pieces.

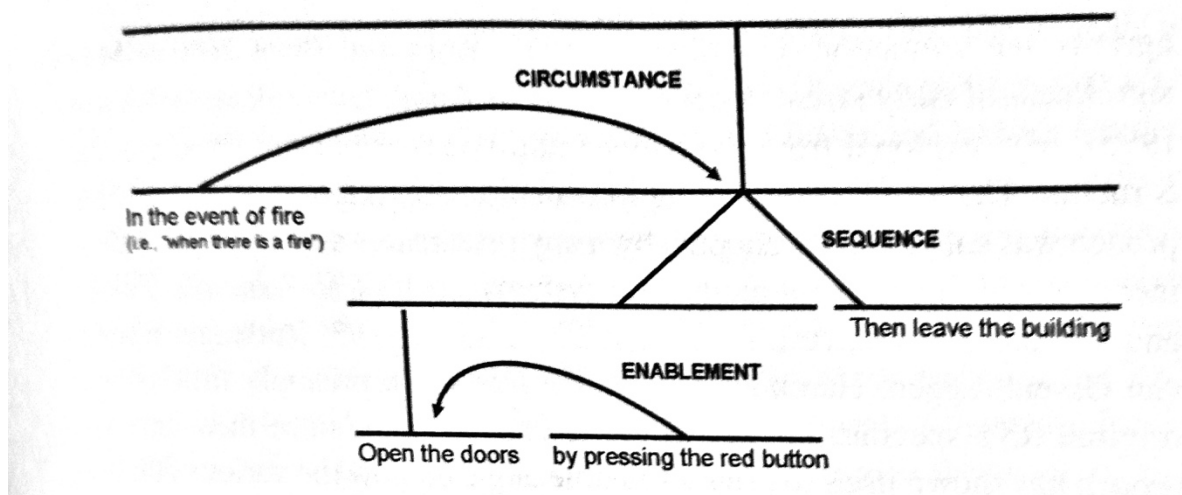


Figure 1. Graphic representation of a Rhetorical Structure analysis taken from Bateman (2008, p.151).

In the rhetorical layer, the document will be *decomposed* into smaller parts, connecting bigger units such as a poster to smaller, more individual elements (Bateman, 2008, p. 163). To analyse the posters, it is necessary to be able to explain and analyse why the individual elements are placed where they are. The idea here is that each part of a document is valuable, and that they all contribute to the overall message. This means that the rhetorical structure is especially valuable to the multimodal analysis of posters. They consist of images and text that both contribute to a viewer’s experience of them. For the present purposes, the image above is not an example of how the rhetorical analysis will be done in this study. Instead, the rhetorical

analysis will be in writing only, as the posters differ from the kind of documents Bateman discussed in his book.

The navigation structure is only described briefly by Bateman. It defines so-called *pointers* that help a reader or viewer to find their way around a document in a way that is not always logical (Bateman, 2008, p.269). For example, connected units are not always placed together, but instead spread out across a page, despite being closely related. This means that a document can be viewed in different ways, not only from top to bottom or left to right.

The final structure of the GeM model is the linguistic structure, which will also be the structure that is most important and relevant for this research. Bateman does not discuss this structure much in his 2008 book, but he does state that it is a structure that can be included when analysing multimodal documents. The linguistic structure concerns itself with the textual elements of a multimodal documents and analyses it apart from the other structures. This is why it can be included or removed depending on what kind of analysis a researcher wants to do. In this study, the linguistic structure will be especially concerned with semantics and pragmatics. The text in the posters mainly consists of slogans and single sentences, and these will often include both a straightforward meaning, as well as an implied one. This is what semantics and pragmatics are especially concerned with. A more detailed explanation of these areas follows below.

3.3.2. Semantics and pragmatics

As previously mentioned, semantics and pragmatics are areas that are related to language use. Semantics is concerned with what a sentence actually says, while pragmatics is concerned with implied meanings (McNally, 2013, p. 286). Both of these areas are highly relevant to the study of sentences, which will be the main focus when studying the text in the posters chosen for this research.

The easiest way of illustrating the differences between semantics and pragmatics is by using two sentences that both uses the same adjective. In the following example, the first sentence is straightforward, and the message is clear by just reading the sentence, while in the second the message is implied, and cannot be found by just simply reading the sentence.

1. The shirt is blue.
2. His face is turning blue.

In the first sentence, the message is simple: The shirt mentioned is the colour blue. There is nothing else to it than that. This is therefore a sentence that illustrates how semantics works.

In the second sentence, the message is more hidden. The person (in this case someone using male pronouns) has a face that is turning blue. Most people know that this is not a normal colour for a human face. This therefore indicates something else: A lack of air. When a person says the sentence “His face is turning blue”, this is usually a something that is cause for alarm, as this is a phrase related to choking. A person’s face is often described as being blue when the person in question is choking, and this means that something has to be done to remedy this.

However, to be able to understand the sentences above, it also has to be said that pragmatics also rely on context. A semantic analysis of a sentence does not require context to be understood, but a pragmatic analysis does. To be able to find what is implied in a sentence, the reader has to be aware of the context in which something is said. Otherwise the second sentence in the example above would be very confusing (McNally, 2013, p. 287).

To analyse the posters in this study, both semantics and pragmatics will be highly relevant. These will be included in the linguistic structure of the GeM model analysis.

3.3.3. The Reisigl and Wodak approach

The Reisigl and Wodak approach is a study of racism and antisemitism from 2001. It focuses on language use in different types of Austrian multimedia, aiming to show how racism and antisemitism are still present in today’s society. The study took two years to complete and is therefore much more extensive than this study will be. Here, some of Reisigl and Wodak’s research questions will form the basis for analysing the data collected from the GeM analyses of the recruitment posters. By first gathering the findings by category (male or female), they can then be compared and further analysed through answering the respective research questions. The research questions are:

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically in the posters?
2. Which characteristics are attributed to the men and women in the posters?
3. From what perspective or point of view are these namings and attributions expressed?

(Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. xiii)

Reisigl and Wodak’s study used a discourse-historical perspective, dealing with written and spoken language only. Their questions very much focused on verbal features, but since the visual aspect is such a big part of a poster, the present research will also account for this

when addressing the research questions and discussing the findings. The documents included are multimodal, and the GeM model provides a multimodal framework, which Reisigl and Wodak's framework does not.

An issue with Reisigl and Wodak's approach is also that it uses a corpus containing a large number of documents. This means that their way of comparing their data is different from what is done here. The number of posters is considerably lower in the present study than what Reisigl and Wodak used, as their research was much larger and conducted over several years. This study is a bachelor's thesis, which means that the space and time is more limited.

3.4. Material

The empirical data consist of American recruitment posters from the Second World War. They are collected from two different sources: the website *Women of World War II* and the database *ARTSTOR Libraries*. *ARTSTOR Libraries* is a database dedicated to collecting different types of media such as posters, art, newspapers, photographs and more. It then makes this available to scholars, students and researchers around the world who can use these for studies and research. *Women of World War II* is an American website focusing on American women during the Second World War. It details their multitude of roles during this era and aims to provide extensive information about what women did and accomplished.

The posters for this research were chosen with three criteria in mind: Firstly, they had to be focused on recruitment, and secondly, they had to be directed at either men or women. Posters aimed at both genders were excluded, as that would not have given any information about potential differences in language use. Thirdly, the posters had to include some kind of slogan that could be analysed using either semantics or pragmatics or both.

As the word count and time for this study was limited, the number of posters were limited to twenty in total, with ten belonging to each campaign – *manpower* or *womanpower*. A larger number of posters would perhaps have been even better, but as each poster needed to be analysed individually according to the GeM model, it would have become too time consuming for a study this size.

All the posters used for this study were produced during the war. Those giving specific years of creation were produced in 1942-1944. A handful of posters did not give a year of creation, and instead only gave 1939-1945 as their years of production. A guess, however, would be that these posters probably were produced between 1942 and 1945. This due to the fact that the United States did not properly enter the war until December 1941, and that the

war ended in 1945. This would therefore have been the years when the largest number of posters were produced and published.

4. Analysis of empirical data

This section includes excerpts and summaries of the analyses of the empirical data used in this study. Due to the extent of analysis carried out through the GeM analysis, only two example analyses will be included to illustrate what has been done with all ten posters. The examples consist of one poster from each category. Each category will also be summarised and discussed before it is compared to the other. After this, the research questions will be answered, in order to compare the data collected from each category. In addition, all the posters analysed will be available in the appendix.

4.1. The ‘manpower’ campaign

In the following section I will introduce the data collected from analysing the male posters included in this study. First, there is a GeM analysis sample to illustrate how the model was used when analysing each male poster. Secondly, there is a summary of the analyses of all the posters included in the male category.

4.1.1. GeM analysis sample

This section contains a GeM analysis of one of the male posters included in this study. Figure 2 shows the poster itself. It was created in 1943 by the Civilian Production Administration as a recruitment poster for war work.

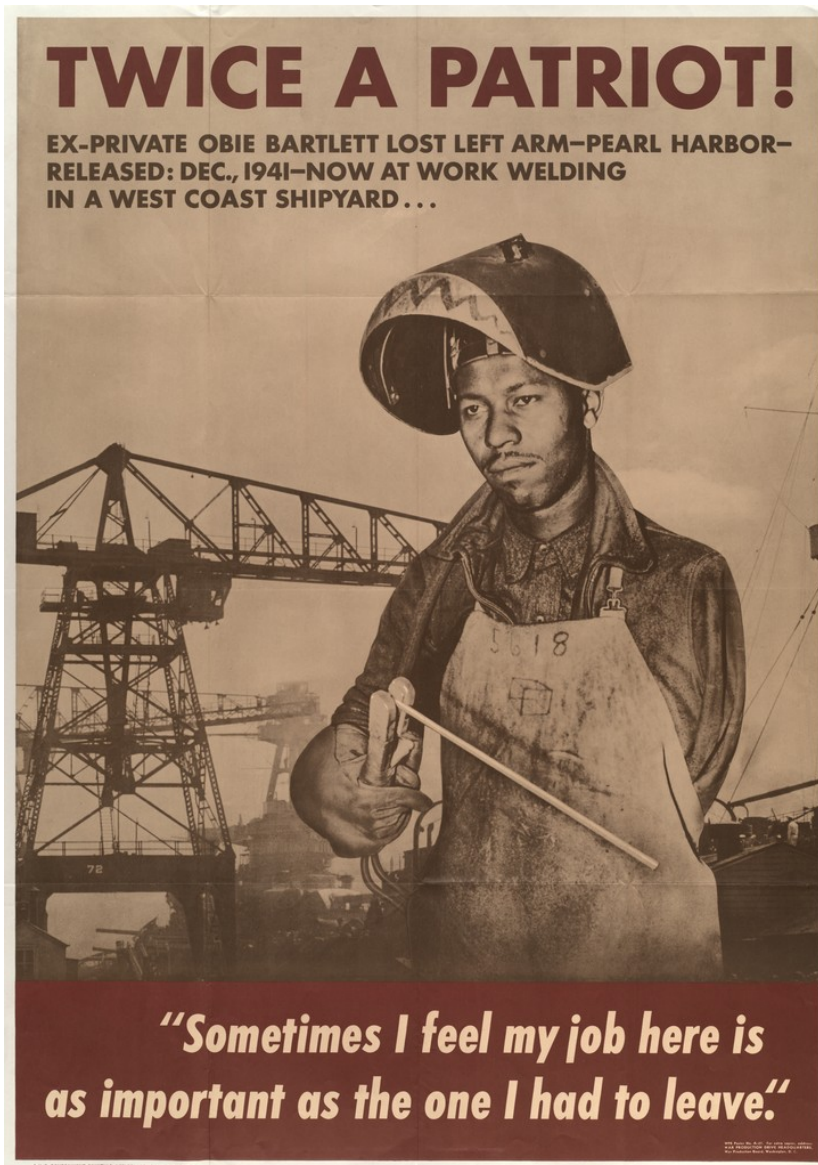


Figure 2. Poster featuring *Twice A Patriot* (Civilian Production Administration, 1943)

4.1.1.1. Rhetorical structure

The poster in Figure 2 relies on itself and all its different parts to be understood. All the textual parts – the slogan, caption and quote – relate to each other and create context. The image also relates to them and helps to further illustrate the setting and the person the poster is about.

The image shows a man with only one arm dressed as a welder, holding welding tools. In the background are classic scenes from a shipyard, which are there to illustrate the man's working environment.

The colour scheme is red, black and white. The slogan is in a dark red, the caption in black, the image in black and white, and the quote in white. The border behind the quote is also in red, to make the quote stand out against the image.

4.1.1.2. Navigation structure

The navigation of this poster is one that starts in the middle. The first thing that catches the eye is the man's face in the middle, together with the rest of the image. The eye then moves upwards to the slogan, then down to the caption and then on to the quote at the bottom of the poster.

4.1.1.3. Linguistic structure

Each section of text provides context for the next, so all parts are related to each other. The slogan reads *Twice A Patriot!* and could semantically be read as it is – someone or something is twice a patriot. However, to understand *why* the slogan says that, the caption right underneath the slogan is required: *Ex-private Obie Bartlett lost left arm – Pearl Harbor – Released: Dec., 1941- Now at work welding in a West Coast shipyard.* It gives context and gives the story of the man shown in the poster itself. He is made a patriot twice as he was first a military man that was injured in the attack on Pearl Harbor. After this he took up a war job was a welder, and now helps build ships. For a reader to understand this caption, they also have to be aware of the context behind the caption. They have to be aware of the attack on Pearl Harbor and what this means in relation to the use of the verb *released* and the man's injury.

The third piece of text is a quote – “*Sometimes I feel my job here is as important at the one I had to leave*” - and requires the context of the previous information given. It can be understood as a quote from the man in the image.

Pragmatically, there is also an unstated message that puts different kinds of war jobs in a hierarchy: The man says that he *sometimes* thinks of his current job as something that is as good and *important* as his previous job. This could be him thinking that his previous job in the military was *more important* than his current. This therefore implies that a job in the military is better than other jobs, no matter how vital they are.

4.1.2. Attributes

The man in this picture is shown looking sad and serious. He is almost looking reminiscent, which ties in with his quote at the bottom of the poster. Perhaps he is missing his previous job and wishes he was still there, or perhaps he is missing his home and his family.

It could also be said that he is probably also wishing he was never wounded. Losing an arm is a big thing and takes time to get used to. It is a life-changing event that creates trauma.

There could also be something else assumed from his look: Perhaps he does not want to be there. Maybe he does not actually want to be a poster boy for the war. As an African American man, he probably did not have an easy time wherever he was. Snape (2015, p.261) notes that black Americans were largely excluded from military service during the first years of the war, and even when they were allowed to join, they were kept segregated from the rest of the troops. When allowed to enlist, they were often also made to do more difficult or harder tasks than white men, despite that they were just as capable.

4.1.3. Summary of analysis: Men

The following section contains a summary of the individual GeM analyses done on the male posters included in this study. All the posters will be referred to using the numbers they had in the study. They can all be found in the appendix.

The rhetorical analysis of the male posters showed that many of them were designed as unified pieces. In many of them, the images helped provide context for the slogans, while in others the text provided further context for the images. While they were understandable on their own, they were much easier to understand when viewed as unified multimodal documents.

The posters also included specific colour schemes. The most common was red, white and blue, which was referred to as the *patriotic colours*. This is due to the fact that the United States' flag is red, white and blue, which is a symbol of patriotism.

When it comes to navigation, all the posters except for poster 10 were structured vertically, which meant that they were often designed to be viewed from top to bottom or middle to top to bottom. Images were often placed in the middle, and these often drew the eye to them first.

Linguistically, all of the male posters included text that could be understood semantically on their own. Slogans and captions were understandable without context, but with context they opened up to a new level of understanding and meaning. A majority of the slogans were

imperative sentence that called for action, such as poster 1, 4 and 7. By using these kinds of slogans, the creators were able to include a sense of urgency.

Pragmatically, the slogans became more complex when they were given context. Some included context in writing through captions or other pieces of text, such as informational pieces or a follow-up slogan. In other posters, such as the one using the slogan *Avenge December 7* (poster 1), the viewer needed to have some previous knowledge of the war and its events. With context behind the slogan, *December 7* becomes a reference to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. For Americans during the Second World War, this date would have been important to remember as it was what marked the beginning of the war for the United States (Mawdsley, 2015, p. 176).

This kind of context was also needed in a further three posters (poster 2, 3 and 9). Two of these (poster 3 and 9) included some context through captions, but they still required some kind of previous knowledge to be fully understandable.

A majority of the posters also included context in its images. By examining the posters rhetorically first, this context was then available when looking at the slogans pragmatically.

Poster 6 and 8 required this kind of context to be properly understood. Without the image, the slogans could be analysed semantically, but not pragmatically.

In the other posters the images also provided context, but that context was often additional and simply helped expand the analysis of the slogans in said posters.

The men in the posters were given attributes such as strong, secure figures. They were shown looking determined and proud, ready for whatever is ahead. A majority of them are military men fighting or preparing to fight, or men working in factories or shipyards. Due to this, they are often shown with dirt, sweat and grime on their skin and clothes, which helps illustrate their harsh settings.

4.2. The ‘womanpower’ campaign

In the following section I will introduce the data collected from analysing the female posters included in this study. First, there is a GeM analysis sample to illustrate how the model was used when analysing each female poster. Secondly, there is a summary of the analysis of all the posters included in the female category.

4.2.1. GeM analysis sample

This section contains a GeM analysis of one of the female posters included in this study. Figure 3 shows the poster itself. It was created in 1943 by P.G. Harris as a recruitment poster for the United States Bureau of Employment Security.



Figure 3. Poster featuring “Do the job HE left behind” (Harris, 1943)

4.2.1.1. Rhetorical structure

The image and the slogan work well together, with the slogan elaborating and explaining the image. While both could function on their own, the slogan complements the image and brings out a message that relates it to recruitment. The text at the bottom of the image further elaborates the slogan by providing important additional information.

The slogan reads *Do the job he left behind*, with *he* italicised and in a different font from the rest of the text to make it stand out.

4.2.1.2. Navigation structure

Due to the colours of the image, the eye is first drawn to the woman's bright red turban, before moving on to the slogan at the right of it. The image and the slogan therefore become the first things the eye is drawn to, before it wanders down to the text at the bottom. Here, the use of red again draws the eye to the word 'Apply' before it moves on to something else.

4.2.1.3. Linguistic structure

Semantically, the slogan is possible to understand on its own. It clearly says that someone is supposed to do a job someone else – in this case a *he* – left behind. What this job is or who this someone is, is not semantically clear.

Pragmatically, the slogan can be further analysed with the help of the image in the poster. The image shows a woman working with a drill, which with the context of the Second World War behind it would make her job a war job. With this context, the *job he left behind* is a job that a man left behind to go somewhere else. The assumption is that the man left the job for a military position, but that he is set to return.

With this context, the woman's job therefore become temporary. If a man is set to return to take back the position he previously held, she will have to move to make space for him. She is only there out of necessity, which Honey (1981, p. 51) stated was the case for many women.

4.2.2. Attributes

The woman in the poster is shown wearing factory overalls in blue, a red turban and white gloves. She is looking determined and focused on her work, and there is also a content air over her face.

Compared to male workers shown in previous posters, she is looking very different, however. Her face looks like its glowing and she is wearing glamorous make-up. Her lips are red, her cheeks are rosy, and her lashes are long, which is not something that is usually associated with factory work.

4.2.3. Summary of analysis: Women

The following section contains a summary of the individual GeM analyses done on the female posters included in this study. All the posters will be referred to using the numbers they had in the study. They can all be found in the appendix.

Rhetorically, the female posters all had a similar colour scheme, with the exception of two posters (Poster 16 and 20). While the others used red, white and blue as their main colours to tie parts of the posters together, these two exceptions went completely different directions. Poster 16 used lighter colours such as bright yellow and different shades of green. Poster 20 went in a darker direction, where the colours were a dark yellow and grey scale. This caused interesting contrasts to the others, even though the messages they included both textually and visually were similar to the rest of the posters.

Out of the ten posters analysed for this category, seven were unified in the sense of understanding. While the slogans could be understood on their own, they often required some kind of context and this was more often than not included in the images.

Turning to navigation, poster 16 was designed horizontally, and therefore structured to be viewed from left to right. The other nine posters were all designed vertically, and most were therefore either viewed from top to bottom or top to middle to bottom. As many of the images were in the middle like in the male posters, that made for a middle to top to bottom navigation of the posters, as these included highlights or colours that differed from the backgrounds or the text.

Linguistically, the slogans were all understandable semantically. They included simple sentences such as *Get a war job* (Poster 11), *Do the job HE left behind* (Poster 12) and *Women in the war. We can't win without them* (Poster 18), which made their points clear without any further analysis.

However, most were more interesting when analysed pragmatically. Five of the ten posters included male pronouns (he/him/his) in the text, and an additional two included pronouns such as a plural *we* and a plural *they* to refer to either men or a larger group of people such as the population of a country. Especially the usage of male pronouns resulted in slogans that were aimed at women, but that still had a focus on men. Pragmatically, sometimes the subject of the poster was not clear unless the image was viewed and included in the analysis. Without images of women that showed they were the focus of the posters; this would not have been clear. The slogans were so vague or focused on men that it did not always become clear that they were directed at women until they were analysed visually.

The women were always given a glamorous attribute on top of anything else. This is something that occurred in all the posters except for poster 20. The women in the other nine

posters are shown with perfectly styled hair, manicured nails and make-up. Even in scenes where they are wearing work clothes or working in a factory, they are still shown in this way.

Still, there are often also looks of pride and determination that show that they believe they are doing their best for their country and those fighting elsewhere.

4.3. Data comparison

In the following section I will initially answer Reisigl and Wodak's questions. The questions relate to the two sub-aims of this study, where the first examines how men and women are named and referred to linguistically. This relates to the linguistic structure of the GeM analysis. The second examines how men and women are attributed in the posters, which is related to the attributes section of the poster analyses, which is also the section that specifically was inspired by Reisigl and Wodak's research. The third question could be seen as a combination of both the GeM analysis and the attributes section, as it concerns three different things: Point of view, namings and attributes.

The questions will be followed by a more thorough discussion of all the findings, which includes all the parts of the GeM analyses, and the attributes sections.

4.3.1. How are people named and referred to linguistically in the posters?

The most common way the people in the posters were referred to were with different kinds of pronouns. In the male posters, *they*, *us*, *we* and *your* were the most commonly used pronouns. In one poster (*Twice A Patriot*), the poster also referred to the man portrayed by name (Obie Bartlett). In a quote in the poster, the first-person pronoun *I* was used to show that the man was referring to himself.

The men were also named as *men* in two of the posters, which was something that also occurred in two of the female posters, but here with the use of *women* instead. In one male poster, men are referred to as *seamen*, and in a female poster, women are referred to as *secretaries*. Both these references are, in this case, job titles.

In the female posters, the women were rarely named or referred to using any specific names or pronouns. Three posters included *you* in reference to women, while another two included *I* in quotes spoken by women.

Otherwise, the women were mostly unnamed. Instead, there was instead references to men in the slogans through the use of *they* and male pronouns (*he/him/his*). Not in one poster was a woman referred to using female pronouns (*she/her/hers*).

4.3.2. What characteristics are attributed to the men and women in the posters?

The men in the posters were portrayed as soldiers, sailors and workers who were shown as strong, determined and proud. Through this they were given an air of importance to not only the people closest to them, but also to the country they fought for.

Some (See poster 6, 9 and 20) were also shown as victims of the war, but they were still given an air of pride and importance to show that what they had done or sacrificed had been for nothing.

Women on the other hand were either shown as workers or regular women. Their attributes were almost always glamorous, as they were all shown with styled hair, make-up and stylish clothes. Even in factory-or work-settings, this was still the case. Men in similar settings were not shown in the same way, and instead looked strong, dirty and sweaty.

Women were still attributed with strong, determined looks, and through the slogans were also attributed with importance and strength through a sacrifice of their normal lives.

4.3.3. From what perspective or point of view are these namings and attributions expressed?

The perspective of the posters is almost always from a third source or third person. The sources are not always clear, but in many of the posters there is a creator or employer that stands as the creator. In posters including quotes or slogans spoken by the person in the image (Poster 2, 8, 9, 16 and 17) the point of view turns to the first person. Thus, the person in the poster becomes the one doing the naming.

In some cases, the use of *we* and *us* makes the perspective wider than just a creator or employer. Instead, it is the perspective of a country or its population, which ties in with the notion of *total war* (Welch, 2015, p. 373).

4.4. Discussion

The summaries of the two categories showed both similarities and differences in how the posters were designed and formatted. The use of similar colour schemes – mostly red, white and blue – made for posters coded with patriotism, which showed their importance for the war effort. In that way, it showed that both genders were important for the United States to win the war.

Linguistically, however, there was a slight difference in how men and women were addressed. Men were addressed as they were – men, able to do something to end the war. By making them invaluable and important, the slogans wanted to inspire men to join the war

effort and make a difference in any way they could. The posters analysed included both recruitment for military branches and civilian war work, but these were sometimes given different values. Depending on how slogans were analysed, some implied that the military was more important or heroic than war work. By pressing on patriotism and the hero-complex, there seemed to be a hope for that men would choose the military over other work. In poster 9, the man portrayed even stated that “*Sometimes I feel my job here is as important at the one I had to leave*” in reference to being wounded in the military and taking on a welding job in a shipyard. The use of the adverb *almost* makes for a sentence saying that regular war work is not on the same level as military enlistment.

For women, the overarching statement was that they were temporary. Like in the example included above, women were almost always mentioned together with men and as their aides or substitutes. Had the war not started, the women would not be where they were as their roles were ones traditionally held by men. By giving them temporary roles, there was also a safety net there for the men going off to war. By women being substitutes, the men knew that they had jobs to go back to, and they therefore did not need to fear women taking their place in society. This way, the men would still feel empowered, despite having their traditional roles challenged (Honey, 1981, p. 52).

Male and female attributes also differed greatly in the posters. While they were almost all looking proud and determined, men were often given attributes such as strong, heroic and vengeful. They were allowed to look dirty and sweaty with muscles shown, which helped identify their jobs as hard, difficult or dangerous.

Women, on the other hand, were shown wearing glamorous make-up. Their looks were not ones that matched hard war jobs, as they always were portrayed as clean, glamorous and feminine. Being feminine in itself was not necessarily considered bad during the war (Honey, 1981, p. 50), but it is not something that is traditionally associated with war work. In that sense, this view of women also helps add to their temporary positions. They do not look like they belong, no matter how well they did their job.

5. Conclusion

The overall aim of this case study was to explore the potential differences between men and women in recruitment posters from Second World War America. Honey stated that women were only employed in male environments out of a necessity (Honey, 1981, p. 51), which would mean there was an expectation for there to be differences present.

By using a combination of the GeM (Genre and Multimodality) model and Reisigl and Wodak's 2001 study of racism and antisemitism, the posters could be explored and examined on a deeper level. The GeM model provided a thorough analysis of the posters both visually and textually. By doing this kind of analysis, the linguistic analysis could also be done more thoroughly. The pragmatic analysis of the textual elements was provided with further context from the visuals included in the posters.

The questions from Reisigl and Wodak also gave way for a thorough analysis and summary of the findings from the GeM analysis, both visually and verbally by both focusing on namings and attributes, as well as perspectives.

These analyses came to show that the prediction that men and women were addressed and attributed differently was true. Especially when coming to the linguistic aspects of the posters, there was a certain difference present. In the male posters, men were almost always addressed or named directly, and they were attributed with traditionally masculine qualities such as strength and determination. They were included in a *they, us* or *we*, which was not true for women.

Women were instead shown as glamorous, both in a positive and negative way. They were allowed to look proud and determined, but their femininity was always highlighted even when they were shown in traditionally male settings.

Women were also barely named whatsoever, even in posters directed at them. With the context of the images, it was understandable that the posters were directed at women. Had the posters only been analysed textually, however, this aspect might not always have been clear.

With women, there was also a temporary context that made it clear that they were only there out of necessity. Had there been men available, the women would not be there. With this, the different views of men and women of the era also became obvious.

In conclusion, it can be said that this case study came to find what it aimed to find. It showed that there was a difference in how men and women were named and treated, which also helped give an idea of male and female roles. Men were the soldiers, sailors and fighters, while women were the temporary war-workers and a subpar substitute for men.

This showed that men and women would have been treated differently during the war, and that they were stereotyped differently. While the war was an extraordinary experience and time, values and ideals of the time still played a role in recruitment and poster design. Women were not thought as capable as men, and men had to be assured that women were not there to replace them. The war was not meant to change anything in American society, it was just a temporary event that would end eventually and bring things back to *normal*.

References

- Bateman, J.A. (2008). *Multimodality and Genre: A Foundation for the Systematic Analysis of Multimodal Documents*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Blum, A. (1963). Work or Fight: The Use of the Draft as a Manpower Sanction During the Second World War. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 16(3), 366-380. doi:10.2307/2521144
- Clavin, P. (2015). The Genesis of World War. In R. Overy (Eds.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of World War II* (pp. 7–34). New York, NY: Oxford University Press
- Dechter, A., & Elder, Jr., G. (2004). World War II Mobilization in Men's Work Lives: Continuity or Disruption for the Middle Class? *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(3), 761-793
- Delin, J., & Bateman, J. (2002). Describing and critiquing multimodal documents. *Document Design*, 3(2), 140-155
- Falter, J. (1939-1945). "He'll be home sooner... now you've joined the WAVES." Inquire at any Navy Recruiting Station or Office of Naval Officer Procurement. Retrieved from <https://www.womenofwwii.com/posters/hell-be-home-sooner-wwii-waves-recruiting-poster/>
- Goldin, & Olivetti. (2013). Shocking Labor Supply: A Reassessment of the Role of World War II on Women's Labor Supply. *American Economic Review*, 103(3), 257–262.
- Golovin, National Association of Manufacturers (U.S.). National Industrial Information, Committee (1939-1945). Their absence is hallowed : will they forgive yours?. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311393890
- Graves, S. (1939-1945). "I'm in this war too!". Retrieved from <https://www.womenofwwii.com/posters/im-in-this-war-too-wac-recruiting-poster/>
- Harris, P. G., United States Bureau of Employment Security. (1943). Do the job he left behind: apply U.S. Employment Service. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311393484
- Honey, M. (1981). The "Womanpower" Campaign: Advertising and Recruitment Propaganda during World War II. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 6(1/2), 50-56. doi:10.2307/3346491
- Honey, M. (1983). The Working-Class Woman and Recruitment Propaganda during World War II: Class Differences in the Portrayal of War Work. *Signs*, 8(4), 672-687
- Kimble, J. (2018). Mrs. Jekyll Meets Mrs. Hyde: The War Advertising Council, Rhetorical Norms, and the Gendered Home Front in World War II. *Western Journal of Communication*, 82(1), 1-19.
- Liberman. (1943). United We Win. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/ATROUTIG_10313762302
- Mawdsley, E. (2015). The Allies From Defeat to Victory. In R. Overy (Eds.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of World War II* (pp. 168–201). New York, NY: Oxford University Press
- McNally, L. (2013). Semantics and pragmatics. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, 4(3), 285-297.
- Moose, Al, United States. War Manpower Commission. (1944). "-- and back us up in a war job!" : see u. s. employment service representative ... War Manpower

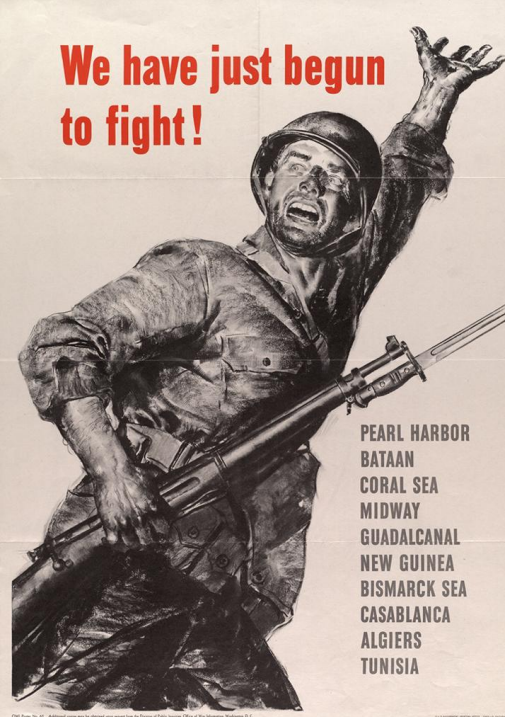
- Commission. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394070
- Myers, C. (2015). Reconsidering propaganda in U.S. public relations history: An analysis of propaganda in the popular press 1810–1918. *Public Relations Review*, 41(4), 551-561.
- Government & Geographic Information Collection, Northwestern University Libraries. (1943). "I've found the job where I fit best!" : find your war job in industry, agriculture, business, Retrieved from <https://dc.library.northwestern.edu/items/d7411a7e-9f11-4fad-be84-02315975e118>
- Perlin, B., United States. Office of War Information. (1942). Avenge : December 7. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394542
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. London: Routledge.
- Renkema, J. (2004). *Introduction to Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Ryan, K. (2012). 'Don't miss your great opportunity': Patriotism and propaganda in Second World War recruitment. *Visual Studies*, 27(3), 248-261.
- Unknown (1939-1945). WOMEN! They can't do any more – but you can. Retrieved from <https://www.womenofwwii.com/posters/they-cant-do-any-more-wac-recruiting-poster/>
- United States Army. (1943). Secretaries of war. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394023
- United States. Civilian Production Administration. (1943). Twice a patriot! : ex-private Obie Barelett lost left arm -- Pearl Harbor -- released Dec, 1941 -- now at work welding in a west coast shipyard... : "sometimes I feel my job here is as important as the one I had to leave.". Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394094
- United States Navy. (1939/1945). Join your navy: men 17 to 50: bring victory one day nearer!. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394246
- United States. Office of War Information. (1942). Men working : together!. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311398083
- United States Office of War Information. (1943). Save his life... and find your own: Be a nurse". Retrieved from <https://www.womenofwwii.com/posters/save-his-life-wwii-nursing-recruiting-poster/>
- United States Office of War Information. (1943). The Five Sullivan brothers "missing in action" off the Solomons: they did their part. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394837
- United States Office of War Information. (1943). We have just begun to fight!. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311397993
- United States. War Manpower Commission. (1942). Women in the war : we can't win without them. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394340
- U.S Government Printing Office (1944). Calling all ... : seamen! : you : are needed at sea : now!. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311393948

- Welch, D. (2015). The Culture of War: Ideas, Arts, and Propaganda. In R. Overy (Eds.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of World War II* (pp. 373–401). New York, NY: Oxford University Press
- Wilbur, L., United States War Manpower Commission. (1944). Longing won't bring him back sooner ... : get a war job!: see your U.S. employment service. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311394339
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Wood, C. (1940-1945). Help us to help him : Red Cross and St. John. Retrieved from https://library-artstor-org.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/asset/AMINNESOTAIG_10311397831
- Yesil, B. (2004). 'Who said this is a man's war?': Propaganda, advertising discourse and the representation of war worker women during the Second World War. *Media History*, 10(2), 103-117.

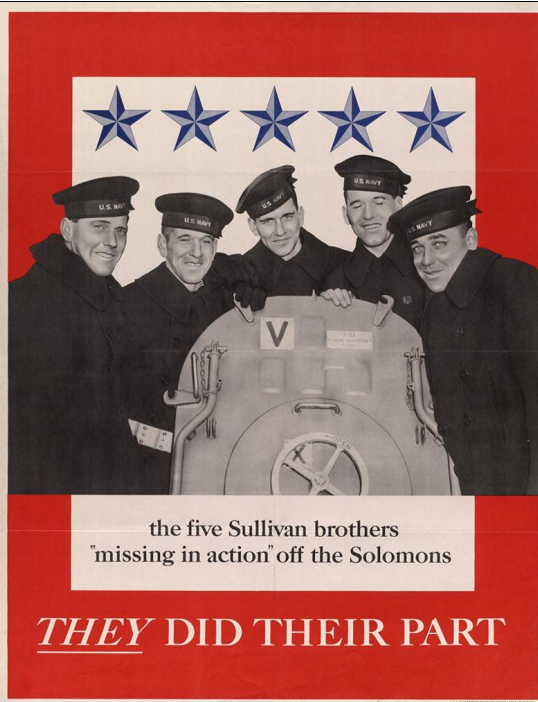
Appendix



Poster 1. *Avenge December 7* (Perlin, 1942).



Poster 2. *We have just begun to fight!* (United States Office of War Information, 1943)



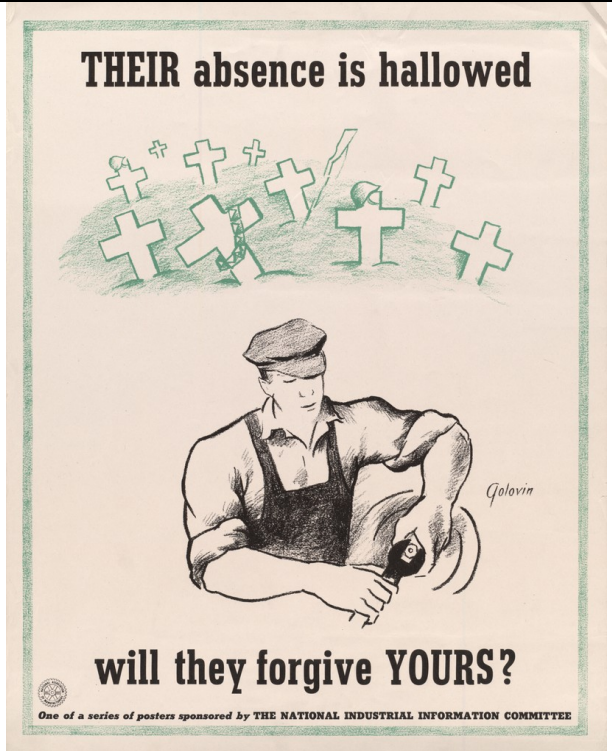
Poster 3. *The Five Sullivan brothers "missing in action" off the Solomons. They did their part* (Office of War Information, 1943)



Poster 4. *United we win* (Lieberman, 1943)



Poster 5. Join your navy: Men 17 to 50: Bring victory one day nearer! (United States Navy, 1939-1945)



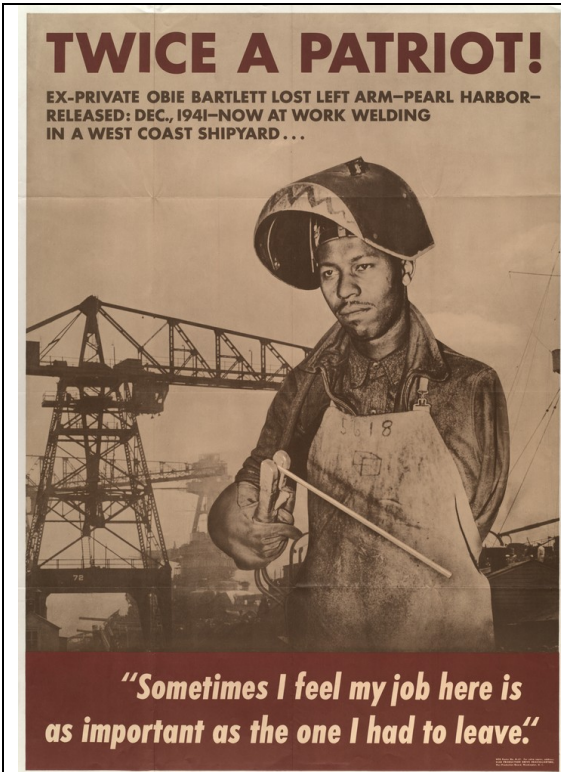
Poster 6. Their absence is hallowed will they forgive yours? (Golovin, 1939-1945)



Poster 7. Calling all ... seamen! You are needed at sea now! (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944)



Poster 8. "-- and back us up in a war job!" (Moose, 1944)



Poster 9. Twice a patriot! (United States Civilian Production Administration, 1943)



Poster 10. Men working together! (United States Office of War Information, 1942)



Poster 11. Longing won't bring him back sooner... Get a war job! (Wilbur, 1944)



Poster 12. Do the job he left behind (Harris, 1943).



Poster 13. *Save his life... and find your own: Be a nurse* (United States, Office of War Information, 1943)



Poster 14. *"He'll be home sooner... now you've joined the WAVES"* (Falter, 1939-1945)



Poster 15. *Secretaries of War* (United States Army, 1943)



Poster 16. *"I've found the job where I fit best!"* (1943)



Poster 17. "I'm in this war too!" (Graves, 1939-1945)



Poster 18. Women in the war, we can't win without them. (United States War Manpower Commission, 1942)



Poster 19. Help us to help him. (Wood, 1940-1945)



Poster 20. WOMEN! They can't do any more - but you can. (1939-1945)