Judging Fiction Books By the Cover: an Examination of the Effects of Sexually Charged Cover Images

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Book covers, a communication means in which the boundaries between the ad, the package, and the product itself are nebulous, have received virtually no attention in research on communication effects. This paper addresses this void by examining one frequently employed cover design practice – the visual juxtaposition of sexually charged images, the book’s title and the author’s name. An experimental approach, involving two fiction books, showed that the presence of sexually charged cover images affected customers’ beliefs about the book content. The results also indicated that beliefs about sexual content contributed to a sense-making process involving emotions, attitudes, and intentions.

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Judging Fiction Books by the Cover: An Examination of the Effects of Sexually Charged Cover Images

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ABSTRACT

Book covers—a communication means with nebulous boundaries between an ad, a package, and the product itself—have received virtually no attention in research on communication effects. Here, this void is addressed by an examination of one frequently employed front cover design practice—the juxtaposition of a sexually charged image, the book’s title and the author’s name. An experimental approach, involving two fiction books, showed that (a) the presence of cover images with sexual content affected customers’ beliefs about the books’ sexual content and (b) such beliefs contributed to a sense-making process involving emotions, attitudes, and intentions to read the book.

INTRODUCTION

Publishers are increasingly concerned with the cover design of fiction books in an era in which fiction is the subject of mass-marketing methods. And many cover genres exist, such as the classical text-only cover, with carefully crafted typography, and the “pyrotechnical” American bestseller cover with metallic inks and vivid images (Heller, 1993). Yet it is obvious that one particular design approach has become prevalent: the juxtaposition of images of anonymous human models with the book’s title and the author’s name.

This approach mirrors two long-term trends in advertising: (1) the pictorial content is becoming more dominant (Pollay, 1985) and (2) an increasing number of ad pictures comprise anonymous human models whose names are not stated in the ad, they have no explicit identity, and they claim nothing in explicit verbal terms (Söderlund and Lange, 2006). In other words, the model functions as a mute store dummy. It is therefore not surprising that many scholars in the advertising research tradition refer to this model as “decorative”. The use of images of anonymous models is fuelled by the rapid growth of the stock image industry, and the typical juxtaposition of the ad model and a product (or a brand) contains no explicit verbal statements about their connection. This approach, then, represents an indirect persuasion attempt from the advertiser (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005). Typically, marketing researchers have studied two types of anonymous models who appear frequently in ads: the physically attractive model and the sexy model. The first type is relatively well documented; several studies confirm that s/he contributes to the receiver’s responses (e.g., recognition of the ad, the attitude toward the ad, product benefit beliefs, and intentions vis-à-vis the advertised product) so that they become more favorable from the marketer’s point of view. The second type, the sexy model, however, is subject to fewer studies—those that exist indicate that both positive and negative effects can occur (cf. Jones et al. 1998 for an overview).

The use of anonymous models for book covers has so far escaped the attention of researchers. Indeed, there are virtually no academic studies about book covers—of any type—and their effects on the receiver. In this paper, I make attempt to address this void. I do so by conceptualizing the book cover in terms of an ad with the potential of generating several responses in a hierarchy-of-effects framework; here, I focus on the receiver’s responses in terms of beliefs about book content, emotions, the attitude toward the cover, the attitude toward the book, and intentions to read the book. More specifically, I examine the book cover’s potential for creating such responses in one particular case: the use of an anonymous and sexy female model on the front cover. This focus should be seen in the light of the fact that ads portray women in increasingly more explicit sexual terms (Reichert et al, 1999). Not surprisingly, then, this stimulus is today employed in more than a fair share of fiction books’ front covers. Or, as Heller (1993) notes: the stark symbolic images on many covers are often sexual, whether or not the content demands it.

This examination may contribute to existing literature in several ways. First, it is an attempt to extend the traditional hierarchy-of-effects reasoning from advertising literature to marketing communication regarding entertainment products in which the boundaries between the product, the ad, and the package are less clear. Books, magazines, video films, computer games, and music CDs are examples of such products. Second, relatively few advertising studies have assessed in specific and empirical terms how images provide the receiver with non-verbal arguments regarding products. In addition, despite the fact that sexually charged images are increasing in an ad context, not many studies have attempted to come to terms with this aspect of contemporary marketing.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A main point of departure here is that visual elements of a book cover provide the receiver with clues about book content: the receiver, I assume, uses the visual elements for inferences about the content. When the book cover comprises a sexually charged image, I therefore expect that it induces beliefs about the book’s sexual content. I also expect that such beliefs affect further information processing in terms of attitudes and intentions. This reasoning is inspired by Mitchell’s (1986) model of how visual components of an ad affect product attribute beliefs, the attitude toward the ad, and the attitude toward the brand. In addition, however, I expect that beliefs about the sexual content also affect positive emotions—which in turn mediate the impact of beliefs on attitudes. Finally, I assume that the attitude toward the book affects intentions, and here the focus is on intentions to read the book. The links in this proposed model are depicted in Table 1, and I discuss them in the sections below.

Visual co-exposure as arguments about product attributes

A marketer who juxtaposes (a) a photo depicting other things than the product per se with (b) a photo of the product is making an implicit, indirect claim that the product has certain attributes (Messaris, 1997). And in general, consumers appear to easily produce multiple product inferences when faced with image-based indirect advertising claims (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005; Mitchell and Olson, 1981). More specifically, some studies indicate that a salient attribute of a visual ad stimulus with which a product is co-exposed makes the receiver believe that the product has this particular attribute. For example, in Mitchell and Olson’s (1981) study, an image of a fluffy kitten was visually co-exposed with a facial tissue brand, and this co-exposure induced beliefs that the tissue was soft. In the case of an image of an anonymous and sexy model on a book cover, I therefore assume that this particular image contributes to the receiver’s beliefs that the book has a sexual content. This assumption is represented by Link 1 in the proposed model (cf. Table 1). If a book cover is viewed as a “preview” of the
Beliefs about sexual content and its effects on evaluations of the cover

In the next step, and given that the receiver has formed beliefs about the book’s level of sexual content, I assume that such beliefs affect the attitude toward the cover. This is consonant with the basic assumption in traditional attitude theory (e.g., the theory of reasoned action) that beliefs serve as antecedents of attitudes. And I assume that this impact can follow two routes. In the first route, beliefs about sexual content induce positive emotions (Link 2 in Table 1), and such emotions affect the attitude toward the cover (Link 3 in Table 1). With regard to Link 2, I assume that beliefs about sexual content have a positively valenced charge and that they therefore produce a valence-congruent effect on emotions. Empirical evidence regarding a positive association between visual sexual content and positive emotions is presented in, for example, Hansen and Hansen (1990) who found that rock videos with high visual sexual content made subjects feel more happy and less sad than rock videos with either low or moderate visual sexual content. Similarly, Severn et al. (1990) found that participants perceived ads with high as opposed to low visual sexual content as more interesting and favorable, and Dudley (1999) found increasing scores for interest and appeal when the level of nudity of a female ad model increased. Then, as far as Link 3 is concerned, I assume that positive emotions have an impact on the attitude toward the cover in a valence-congruent way. This role of emotions to inform or color evaluations has been referred to as affect infusion (Forgas, 1995), and copious advertising studies show that positive emotions evoked by ad elements are positively associated with the attitude toward the ad (Brown et al., 1998).

A second route, however, may also exist, in the sense that beliefs about the sexual content can have a direct impact on the attitude toward the cover. That is to say, emotions may not always influence evaluations; this influence is less likely when the receiver has (a) access to prior evaluations and/or (b) has a clear view about his/her opinion about one particular object (Forgas, 1995). In such cases, which I assume are common with respect to fiction books with a sexual content, I expect a direct link between beliefs about the sexual content and the attitude toward the cover. More specifically and again assuming that a sexual charge is positively valenced, I expect that beliefs about sexual content are positively associated with the attitude toward the cover (Link 4 in Table 1).

The overall evaluation of the book and its consequences

Next, and mirroring the well-documented positive association between the attitude toward the ad and the attitude toward the product/brand in the ad (cf. Brown and Stayman, 1992), I expect that the attitude toward the book cover is positively associated with the attitude toward the book. This link may be direct, in the sense that the book cover provides the receiver with salient information regarding the book’s content (Link 5 in Table 1). It may, however, also be indirect: emotions induced by one particular object can affect not only evaluations of the same object but also evaluations of related objects (Forgas, 1995). Indeed, several studies indicate that positive emotions generated by an ad have a positive impact on the attitude toward the brand, even though this link appears to be weaker than the positive emotions-attitude toward the ad link (Brown et al., 1998). This possibility is represented by Link 6 in the proposed model (cf. Table 1). It is also possible that beliefs about sexual content evoked by the cover have a direct impact on the overall attitude toward the book (cf. Mitchell and Olson 1981), so to allow for this possibility the proposed model includes Link 7 (cf. Table 1).

Finally, many studies show that attitudes evoked by ad stimuli are positively associated with behavioral intentions vis-à-vis the advertised brand/product, and advertising researchers typically examine this association in terms of purchase intentions (Brown and Stayman, 1992). In the book case, however, I acknowledge that many books are received as gifts, and many are borrowed, so the intention variable in the proposed model is related to consumption intent rather than purchase intent. Therefore, the final outcome variable in the proposed model is the intention to read the book and it is included in Link 8 in Table 1.

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Path Analysis</th>
<th>Standardized Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Link 1: Sexual charge of visual stimulus → Sexual content beliefs</td>
<td>.29 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 2: Sexual content beliefs → Positive emotions</td>
<td>.31 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 3: Positive emotions → Attitude toward the cover</td>
<td>.37 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 4: Sexual content beliefs → Attitude toward the cover</td>
<td>.27 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 5: Attitude toward the cover → Attitude toward the book</td>
<td>.47 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 6: Positive emotions → Attitude toward the book</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 7: Sexual content beliefs → Attitude toward the book</td>
<td>.31 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link 8: Attitude toward the book → Intention to read the book</td>
<td>.75 *</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* p<.01, the remaining link was non-significant at p=.10.
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METHOD

Research design and sample. I randomly allocated participants to either (1) a book with a front cover comprising a sexually charged image or (2) a book with a front cover without such an image, and I asked them about their reactions (in terms of the variables in the proposed model). I used two different fiction books to reduce the potential for idiosyncrasies of one particular stimulus. Thus, the design involved four stimuli covers and four groups of participants, and I recruited them from courses in business administration for undergraduates and adult decision makers (N=204; 104 males and 100 females). I also screened the participants so that they had not read the book they were asked to assess.

Stimulus development. First, I selected two fiction books to serve as stimuli: (1) The Dice Man, first published in 1971 by George Cockcroft under the pen name Luke Rhinehart, and (2) South of No North, which is a collection of short stories by Charles Bukowski and originally published in 1973. Both were available in bookshops in the area where I conducted the data collection. The current edition of the Rhinehart book has a drawing of a dice on the front cover, while the current edition of the Bukowski book’s front cover comprises a photo of the author. Both books also had the title and the author’s name on the front cover. I used these two current front covers to represent book covers with a relatively low level of sexual charge. Then, I collected a set of photos from men’s magazines, of the FHM type (cf. www.fhm.com for examples), to represent anonymous, sexy female models. A panel of judges were asked to rate these photos in terms of the sexiness of the models, and I selected photos of two different female models who received high sexiness scores by the judges. Next, I created one alternative front cover for each of the two books by replacing the original front cover image with a sexy female image. In the final stimuli, I also included the back cover (which for both books contained the publisher’s text about the content), so that each participant was exposed to a reproduction of both the front cover and the back cover for the book to be judged. These reproductions were made in color and had about the same size as the real books. It can be noted that for both books, the publisher’s back cover text hinted that the book might have a sexual content (in the Bukowski case, for example, the text claimed “these 27 short stories deal with people in American beds and in bars”). The setting, then, represents a situation in which a sexual image on the front cover is relatively congruent with verbal information about the product. This aspect should be stressed, because some researchers have noted that sexual imagery may be more effective if it is perceived as appropriate and relevant by the receiver; that is, when there is a logical link between the sexual image and the product (Severn et al, 1990). It is also worth noting that both books, particularly The Dice Man, indeed have a sexual content (yet this fact is unlikely to have influenced the outcomes of this study, because the participants had not read the book they were judging).

Measures of the main variables. I assessed the participant’s beliefs about the book’s sexual content with the question “What is your impression of the book’s content?” and the response items sexy, suggestive, and lustful, which were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (do not agree at all) to 10 (agree completely). Alpha for this scale was .86. The three items were mixed with 23 other filler items (e.g., warm, beautiful, dark, and serious) to make the purpose of the study less obvious. I measured positive emotions with the item stem “How do you feel now, after having seen this cover?”. It was followed by the adjectives happy, in good mood, glad, and pleasant, and they were scored along a scale ranging from 1 (do not agree at all) to 10 (agree completely). Thus, I used unipolar items to capture positive emotions, which is what Baggozi et al (1999) recommend. For this scale, alpha was .92. The attitude toward the cover was assessed by asking the participants to rate the cover in terms of three adjective pairs scored on a 10-point scale (bad-good, dislike-it-like-it, and negative impression-positive impression). The selection of measurement items mirrors how marketing researchers capture attitudes, and the present items are also typical in measures of the attitude toward the ad (cf. Mitchell and Olson, 1981). Alpha was .90 for this scale. The overall evaluation of the book, in terms of the attitude toward the book, was assessed with the same three adjective pairs (bad-good, dislike-it-like-it, and negative impression-positive impression), and the same 10-point scale response format. Alpha was .82. Advertising researchers use such items frequently in measures of the attitude toward the brand (cf. Mitchell and Olson, 1981). To capture the participants’ intentions to read the book, I asked them to react to the statement “I would like to read this book”, and I provided a response format ranging from 1 (do not agree at all) to 10 (agree completely).

Other measures. As mentioned, I screened the participants to ensure that they had not read the book to be assessed. Yet it is possible to be familiar with a book (and its content) without having read it. Therefore, I included some additional items to allow an examination of the potential for differences between the treatment groups: I asked them if they were familiar with the book, if they were familiar with the author, and if they had read other books by the same author (“yes” and “no” were the response alternatives for these three items). In addition, I asked them about their involvement in fiction. This latter scale contained four items: “Fiction plays an important role in my life”, “I spend much time reading fiction”, “Fiction is one of my main interests”, and “A life without fiction is poor”. They were scored along a dimension ranging from 1 (do not agree at all) to 10 (agree completely). Alpha was .87 for this involvement scale.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Initial analyses

In the first step, and to provide economy for the subsequent analysis, I pooled the treatment groups to create two groups for the main analysis. One group (n=100) received a book cover with a low sexual charge (i.e., the image used by the publisher in the current edition), and one group (n=104) received a book cover with a high sexual charge (i.e., a cover including a photo of an anonymous, sexy female model). Then, I computed the mean for the beliefs about sexual content for these two groups. As expected, the mean was higher in the group who received the sexy female cover (M=5.45) as opposed to the current edition cover (M=4.37). This difference was significant (t(202)=3.76, p<.01), so I contend that the manipulation had the intended effect. There were no significant differences between these two groups in terms of fiction involvement, familiarity with the book, familiarity with the author, and having read other books by the same author.

Assessing the proposed model

I used a structural equation model approach (with AMOS 5) to simultaneously assess the links in the proposed model. The treatment was included in the model in terms of a variable representing two levels of the cover’s sexual charge, it was scored in terms of two values (1=low sexual charge, 2=high sexual charge), and it was modeled as linked to the receiver’s beliefs about the sexual content of the book. Several authors have called for the use of SEM on experimental data, particularly when the data involve multiple latent variables, and some existing attempts to explicitly incorporate treatment variables in a SEM framework are Baker et al (2002) and Söderlund and Rosengren (2004). The result was a good level of fit for the proposed model ($\chi^2=184.25, df=84, p<.01, CFI=.95,$
NFI=.92, RMSEA=.077). Moreover, all path coefficients for the indicators in the multi-item measures were significant (p<.01 in each case) and greater than .60, thus indicating convergent validity in these measures. Table 1 contains the resulting standardized path coefficients for the links in the model.

The positive and significant Link 1 between the treatment variable (the sexual charge of the visual stimulus) and beliefs about sexual content (b=.29, p<.01) confirms the expectation that salient attributes of an image juxtaposed with other product information may affect beliefs about the product. In other words, the presence of an anonymous, sexy female model on the cover enhanced the receivers’ beliefs that the book had a sexual content. The explained variance was 8 percent, which indicates that the sexy image was hardly the only factor affecting the beliefs about sexual content (please recall that the participants were exposed also to the back cover text and that this text, for both books, contained hints about a possible sexual content). Yet if this link is constrained to be zero, the fit of the model becomes significantly worse (delta $\chi^2=15.02$, df=1, p<.01), which indicates that the sexy front cover images added meaning beyond what was provided by the back cover text.

Moreover, Table 1 reveals that the beliefs about the book’s sexual content had a direct and positive impact on the attitude toward the cover (Link 4, b=.27, p<.01) and also an indirect effect via positive emotions: the link between the sexual content beliefs and positive emotions was significant (Link 2, b=.31, p<.01), and the link between positive emotions and the attitude toward the cover was significant, too (Link 3, b=.37, p<.01). Affect infusion, then, seems to have taken place in this part of the response process.

Turning to the impact on the attitude toward the book, there were significant and positive links from sexual content beliefs (Link 7, b=.31, p<.01) and from the attitude toward the cover (Link 5, b=.47, p<.01). Affect infusion, however, seems to have been limited, in the sense that there was no significant impact of positive emotions on the attitude toward the book (Link 6, b=.04, p=.59). Finally, there was a significant and positive impact of the attitude toward the book on the intention to read it (Link 8, b=.75, p=.01).

Assessing rival models

One of my main assumptions has been that the exposure to a book cover with sexually charged images enhances the receiver’s beliefs that the book has a sexual content. Such beliefs, I assume, function as an immediate appraisal and provide the receiver with a rapid, initial way of classifying a stimulus. And in the proposed model, these beliefs are assumed to be the point of departure for subsequent steps in the sense-making process. In order to allow for a rival view of this process, however, I examined an alternative to the proposed model in which there were also direct links from the treatment variable to the attitude toward the ad, positive emotions, and the attitude toward the book. These three links were then constrained to be zero—to allow a comparison with the proposed model. The alternative model, however, produced a significantly lower level of fit (delta $\chi^2=12.31$, df=3, p<.01) than the proposed model, which provides some evidence about the pre-attitudinal (and pre-emotional) role of beliefs.

Moreover, emotions has emerged relatively lately as a component in theories of advertising effectiveness. The analysis of the proposed model, however, provides evidence of their ability to be evoked by beliefs—and their capacity to color evaluations—in a book cover context. To examine this further, I assessed an alternative to the proposed model in which the three links involving positive emotions (Link 2, Link 3, and Link 6) were constrained to be zero. This alternative model produced a significantly lower level of fit than the proposed model (delta $\chi^2=47.24$, df=3, p<.01), so it can be contended that emotions indeed appear to contribute to our understanding of the effects of book covers. It can be noted that both book covers in this study generated positive emotions on a relatively high level as opposed to a relatively low level; for both covers, the mean for positive emotions was significantly higher ($M=6.21$ for The Dice Man and $M=6.03$ for South of No North) than the scale midpoint (5.5).

Differences between male and female participants?

Some researchers have suggested that males are generally more susceptible to influence by sexually charged visual stimuli than females (cf. Zuckerman, 1971) and that females would react negatively while males would react positively to ads with sexually charged images of females (Jones et al., 1998). In the present study, in which the sexually charged stimuli comprised only females, this issue indeed deserves attention. First, I examined if the sex of the participant was involved in the book cover’s influence on the beliefs about the book’s sexual content. I used a two-way ANOVA (with participant sex and collapsed treatment group membership as the factors) to assess the influence on beliefs about sexual content, and this analysis indicated, as already seen above, that the treatment had a main effect ($F=15.40$, p<.01, $\eta^2=.07$). That is to say, the mean for sexual content beliefs was higher for the participants who had received the sexy female cover compared to the participants who received the publisher’s current cover. The sex of the participant had no significant main effect ($F=2.01$, p=.16, $\eta^2=.01$), but the interaction was significant ($F=5.97$, p=.01, $\eta^2=.03$). And an inspection of the cell means shows that the beliefs about sexual content reached a higher level for males who had seen the sexy female cover ($M=6.06$) compared to females who had seen the sexy female cover ($M=4.96$). As an alternative way to assess this, I computed the zero-order correlation between the collapsed treatment group variable and the sexual content belief variable separately for males and females; it was higher for males ($r=.42$, p<.01) than for females ($r=.10$, p=.31). This difference was significant at the 1 percent level ($Z=2.43$). Thus, the sexy female image on the book cover had a stronger impact on males compared to females with regard to beliefs about the book’s sexual content. I also examined the proposed associations between beliefs regarding sexual content and its consequences in the proposed model (positive emotions, the attitude toward the cover, and the attitude toward the book) for males and females. An analysis of zero-order correlations revealed that each correlation was positive for both males and females, and that the only significant difference in strength occurred in the correlation between beliefs about sexual content and the attitude toward the cover; this correlation was higher for males ($r=.53$, p<.01) than for females ($r=.29$, p<.01). The difference was significant at the 5 percent level ($Z=2.02$). It thus seems as if the main difference between males and females had to do with how the sexual content beliefs were evoked; once evoked, they seem to have had similar effects.

DISCUSSION

One finding in this study was that a salient attribute of a front cover image (here: the anonymous model was sexy) is capable of enhancing beliefs that the book’s content has the same attribute (here: sexiness)—despite the fact that no explicit, verbal statements were provided regarding the connection between the female model and the book content. This, then, adds evidence regarding how easy receivers can make product inferences based on images to the small, but growing, literature on visual persuasion with juxtaposed objects. Moreover, another finding was that such beliefs influence other responses; in the present study, beliefs about sexual content boosted several responses generally considered vital in advertising effectiveness research (positive emotions, the attitude toward the ad, and the attitude toward the product). This finding should be seen
in the light of a tendency in many advertising studies (cf. Brown and Stayman, 1992) to conceptualize product beliefs (typically labeled brand cognitions) as consequences of the attitude toward the ad; in the model proposed here, however, such beliefs are seen as a pre-attitudinal (and pre-emotional) construct.

An additional aspect of the findings is related to the setting in which they were obtained: as already noted, the boundaries between an ad, a package, and the product per se are fuzzy in the case of books. Yet the proposed model, which I based on traditional advertising response constructs, appears to have been able to capture the book cover responses in a fairly consonant way. This, I believe, signals that the proposed model may be capable of capturing communication effects of also other products with fuzzy boundaries between the physical product per se and the means by which it is promoted (e.g., music CDs, magazines, video movies, and computer games). Incidentally, vivid imagery of one type or another is frequently used in the design of such products. They represent the output of a gargantuan entertainment industry very concerned with marketing activities, but few academic studies have dealt with the communicative aspects of these products. The findings, then, are encouraging in the sense that the existing conceptual corpus in advertising research may be useful for other communicative objects than the traditional ad. The extent to which the traditional constructs can be developed to further our understanding of the communication effects of the product-as-an-ad and-a-package (we do not yet have a proper label for this category of products!), however, is a challenging issue for further research.

Moreover, and returning to the issue of image attributes and their impact on product beliefs, some limitations in the present study should be observed—and they offer additional issues for further research. First, and in the specific case of sexually charged images, there are several ways to produce a sexual charge by visual means—and some ways are likely to have stronger effects on female customers (and maybe also on male customers) than such images from men’s magazines employed here. Further research in this area thus needs to adopt a less restricted view of what may be considered sexy. Second, and again with regard to the specific case of sexually charged stimuli, I did not capture the participants’ responses in terms of arousal and sexual excitement. The measurement of such reactions, however, may be necessary to obtain a richer understanding of what sexually charged images do to potential customers. Third, the setting involved a relatively congruent link between the charge of the sexually charged stimulus image and verbal clues (i.e., information provided by the back cover). An issue that merits attention is therefore the extent to which similar effects would occur when the level of congruity is relatively lower. Finally, I focused on sexually charged stimulus images in the present study, but other salient image attributes clearly exist, both for books and for other entertainment products—such as violence, criminality, fantasy and harmony. Such attributes are likely to produce different patterns of influence from product beliefs to other response variables. In other words, to fully capture the grammar of the juxtaposition of images with other product information, many different image attributes remain to be catalogued and explored.

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