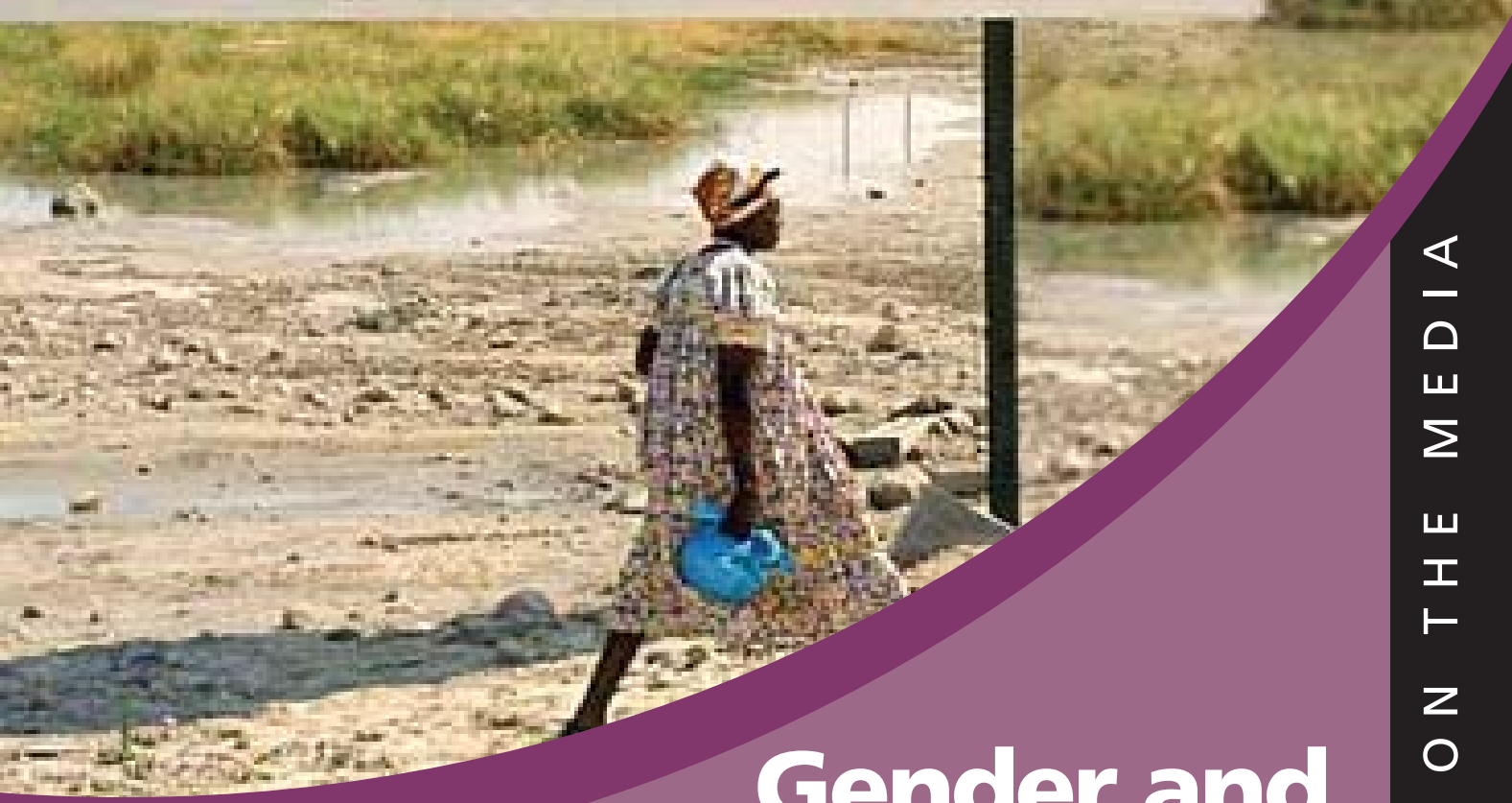




Gender and Advertising in Southern Africa

EDITED BY COLLEEN LOWE MORNA AND SIKHONZILE NDLOVU

MIRROR ON THE MEDIA

Mirror on the Media
Gender and Advertising in Southern Africa

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Gender Links
9 Derrick Ave,
Cnr Marcia Street,
Cyrildene,
2198,
Johannesburg,
South Africa
Phone: 27 (11) 622 2877
Fax: 27 (11) 622 4732
Email: info@genderlinks.org.za
Website: www.genderlinks.org.za

Editor: Colleen Lowe Morna and Sikhonzile Ndlovu
Cover photo: Trevor Davies
Design: Gemini Concepts
Printer: DS Print Media

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Acronyms

AAA	Association of Advertising Agencies
ADMA	Advertising Media Association
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
AMF	Advertising Media Forum
AMPS	All Media Products Survey
ASA	Advertising Standards Authority
ASASA	Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa
ASC	Advertising Standards Committee
AZA	Association of Zimbabwe Advertisers
BS	Blatant Stereotype
CBD	Central Business District
CE	Code of Ethics
CIAZ	Communications Industry of Zimbabwe
DAB	Day After Broadcast
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GA	Gender Aware
GB	Gender Blind
GEMSA	Gender and Media Southern Africa Network
GL	Gender Links
GMBS	Gender and Media Baseline Study
GMMP	Global Media Monitoring Project
HIV	Human Immuno Virus
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority- Mauritius
MBC	Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation
MIC	Media and Information Commission
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
MWO	Media Match Organisation
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SMS	Short Message Service
SS	Subtle Stereotype
TV	Television
ZAAPA	Zimbabwe Association of Accredited Practitioners in Advertising
ZABG	Zimbabwe Amalgamated Banking Group
ZANIS	Zambia News and Information Services
ZARF	Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation
ZIM	Zambia Institute of Marketing
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZTV	Zimbabwe Television
ZWRCN	Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network

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Mauritius: Loga Virahsawmy, team leader and monitors Pamelah Gungaram, Davinah Sholay, Julie Telot and Anushka Virahsawmy Coy; *South Africa*: Bambo Lovedeliah Lepelle, Mathinjwa Telele, Munyewende Pascalia and Thwala Didi. *Zambia:* Charles Chisala, team leader and monitors Aswell Kazembe Mwalimu, Munambeza Muwanei, Jack Mwewa, Barbara Mukuka and Bruce Kaunda. *Zimbabwe:* Sharon Tapfumaneyi, team leader and monitors Sibusisiwe Dube, Sandra Mujokoro, Nhlanhla Ngwenya and Tawanda Mudzonga.

Special thanks also go to focus group participants across the four countries, as well as institutional partners including the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network; Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in Zimbabwe; Media Watch Organisation (MWO) GEMSA; the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ) and the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN).

Rochelle Renere Davidson and later Sikhonzile Ndlovu from Gender Links' research department coordinated the research. Colleen Lowe Morna, Executive Director of Gender Links and Chair of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, assisted by Sikhonzile Ndlovu edited the report.

Foreword



What on earth does the size of a woman's bra have to do with smoking cigarettes? The question, posed by a woman in one of the focus group discussions for this study on advertising in four Southern African countries, is one that could well be asked of many of the advertisements that flash around us each day.

After several studies on gender in news content, this study is the first by GL and partner networks to probe other areas of media content that have an equal if not greater impact on gender relations in society.

It is estimated that each day we are bombarded by some 10 000 images, each sending out powerful messages that are subconsciously embedded in the psyche. Advertisements account for the vast majority of these images.

Unlike news content that must be impartial, considered and fair, advertisers have the licence to play with our minds by accentuating the bizarre; taking us on feel good trips; or lifting us out of our normal space: whatever it takes to catch our attention.

Precisely because of this power over the mind, advertising is a critical area of concern for transforming gender relations. The good news is that women are far more likely to be reflected in advertising than in news content. The bad news is that this is often for all the wrong reasons.

Valued more in society for their physical than mental attributes, women (like the one wearing a Cup D bra in a cigarette advert) are more often than not used as objects to sell merchandise (presumably to a largely male buying audience) than because they comprise 52 percent of potential consumers.

As this research shows, women are more likely to be seen than heard; they predominate in billboards and still images and hardly feature in voice overs; and it is in these still images that we see blatant stereotypes at their worst. When one adds up the gender blind adverts (or instances in which adverts are simply oblivious of female consumers) with those that display either blatant or subtle stereotypes, adverts with one kind or the other of gender bias still far outweigh those that might be regarded as gender aware.

What is interesting about this research, that included separate focus group discussions with men and women on the case studies selected, is that audiences are alive to these biases. Women in particular respond negatively or with ambivalence to the blatant stereotypes while young women resist being type cast as homemakers and cooks.

A surprising number of men, young and old, said they would like to see men in more diverse roles, such as cooking and caring for the family. Women and men warmed to the increasing examples of "gender benders" in advertising. These findings concur with those of the Gender and Media Audience Study (GMAS) conducted by GL and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) as a follow up to the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) on editorial content. GMAS found that across Southern Africa women and men want more human interest and local news with greater gender balance and diversity.

Could it be that by harping on tired old stereotypes, advertisers are losing out on potential new markets? If advertising is meant to capture our imagination, then it should be able to lift us into a more equal, exciting and diverse world. It's time that we as women said: if you want to sell your cigarettes, find some other way to do so than a bra! Come on advertisers, how about really surprising us!



Colleen Lowe Morna
Executive Director, Gender Links.
Chairperson, Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network

Executive summary

This report is part of *Mirror on the Media* series of monitoring reports coordinated by GL with the support of the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA) on gender and the media. Previous studies include *Who talks on radio talk shows* and *Who makes the news*, an analysis of the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) results in Southern Africa.

Covering 1650 radio, television, print and billboard advertisements in Mauritius, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the study aimed to establish how women and men are represented and portrayed in advertising. Monitoring took place over a two week period in December 2006, followed by separate male and female focus group discussions on selected case studies that are used in this report to amplify the quantitative findings.

Findings

Key findings of the study include:

- ***Women are more likely to feature in advertisement than as news sources:*** Overall, women constituted 41% of all subjects (those featuring in the advertisements as voices and or images) in the advertising monitoring, compared to the regional average of 19% news sources in the GMMP (2005). Of the four countries in the study, Zambia had the lowest percentage of women sources in the GMMP (17%) but more than double this figure of women subjects in the advertising study (47%). Even South Africa, which had the highest proportion of women sources in the GMMP (26%), had a higher proportion of women subjects in the advertisements monitored (38%).

- ***But gender parity is far from being reached:*** It is significant, however, that no country in the advertising study had equal numbers of women and men subjects. At 47% Zambia came closest to doing so, followed by Zimbabwe at 43%, South Africa at 38%, and Mauritius at 36%.

- ***More women does not mean greater gender sensitivity:*** The higher proportion of women in advertisements than as news sources is, not a measure of greater gender sensitivity in this area of media practice, but a reflection of the fact that advertising still relies heavily on women's physical attributes as a marketing ploy.

- ***Gender bias of one kind or the other is evident in most adverts:*** If advertisements that are regarded as gender neutral are excluded (for example a cell phone with no person in the advertisement) 62 percent of the items monitored were classified as either gender blind (regarding women as non-existent) or displaying blatant or subtle stereotypes, with only 38% percent of advertisements classified as gender aware.

- ***Women are often ignored even where their consumer muscle counts:*** An upshot of "gender blindness" is that women are often treated like they do not exist, even where their consumer muscle counts. For example sport advertising has a heavy male bias even though women often constitute a high proportion of the spectators at such events.

- ***Women are more likely to be seen than heard:*** One of the ways in which gender stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is the fact that women are far more likely to feature as images than as voices in advertisements. In the study, women comprised 54% of subjects in billboards followed by 51% of the subjects in print advertisements. In contrast, they comprised 42% of TV and 35% of radio advertisement subjects.

- ***Billboards display the highest proportion of blatant stereotypes:*** It is significant that women not only constitute the highest proportion of subjects in billboards but that these also have the highest proportion of blatant stereotypes, often using women as mere objects to attract attention, with no relationship to the actual product (like a woman in a scanty top advertising air time or standing next to a car).

- ***Men are the voice of authority:*** On average women constituted only 29% of all voice-overs. The pattern is the same across countries although Mauritius, at 38%, is above the regional average of 29%. South Africa and Zimbabwe had the same proportion of women voice-overs at 24%). The proportion of women voice-overs in Zambia stood at 30%. Male voice-overs reinforce the stereotype of men being in control and as the voice of authority.

- ***The gender division of labour further reinforces stereotypes:*** Another way in which stereotypes are reinforced is in the different roles that women and men are portrayed in advertising. For example women constitute 82% of those classified as model/beauty contestant/sex object and 60% of home-makers. Men dominated in business (68%) but with interesting country variations. In Zambia women constituted 61% of those portrayed in business in advertising, compared to 43% in Mauritius, 14% in Zimbabwe and 11% in South Africa.

- ***Telecommunications and indoor household goods are the most advertised products:*** Telecommunications and indoor household products topped the list of advertised goods. Automobiles, travel and leisure were the least advertised products.

- ***Women and men are strongly associated with certain kinds of products:*** One of the ways in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is through the strong association of certain product types with either men or women. For example household goods, food and cleaning materials are almost always associated with women, while financial services are typically associated with men.

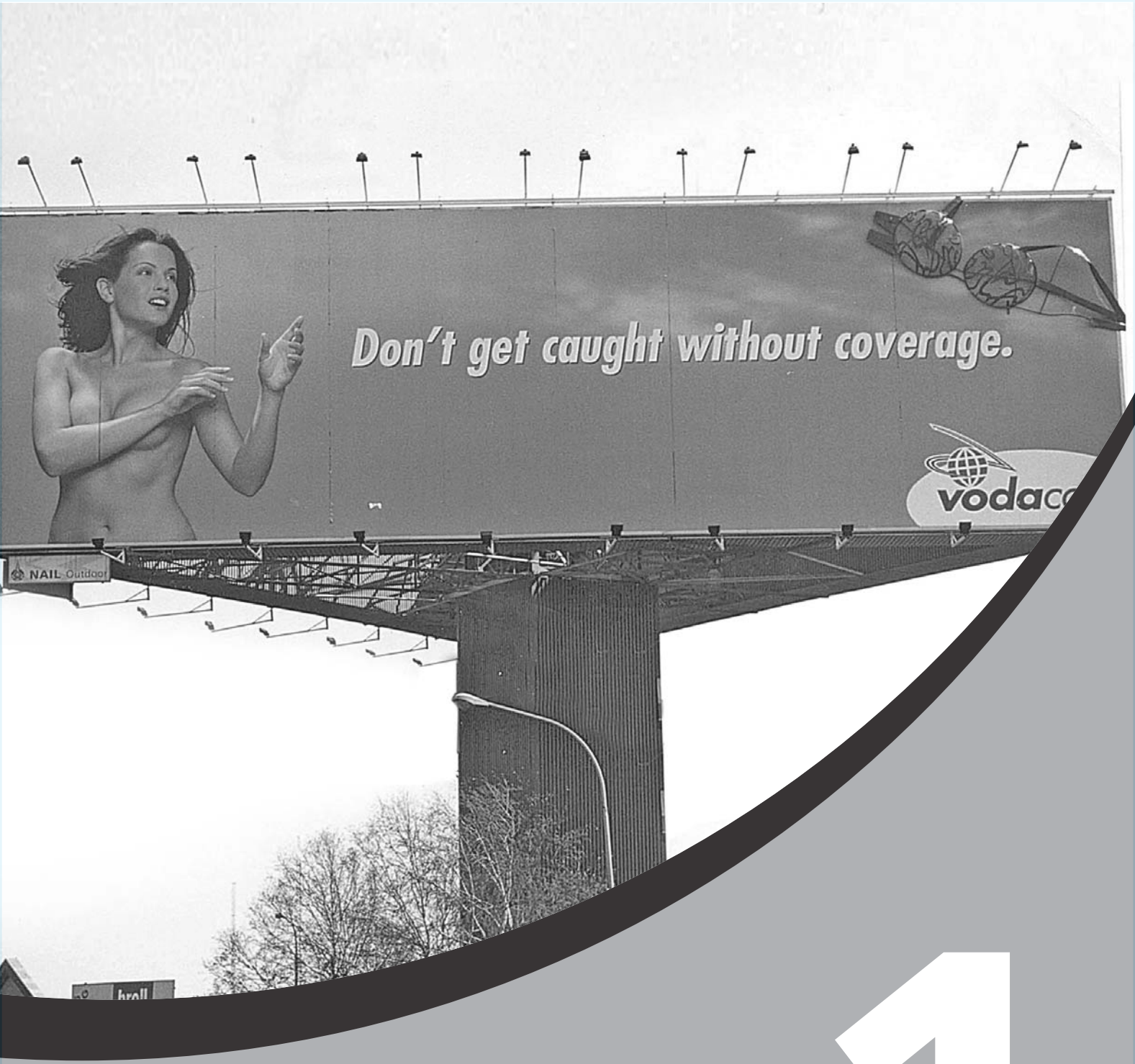
- ***Older women are virtually non-existent:*** In all countries, and in a pattern similar to the news, women above the age of 36 are virtually non-existent in advertising. Almost all the older people in advertisements are men. This is another way in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced.

- ***But there are interesting examples of gender aware advertising emerging:*** Despite these biases, the study found an interesting array of advertisements classified as "gender aware". These included advertisements that portray women and men as equal partners; with similar educational and economic aspirations; as well as advertisements that challenge traditional roles of both women and men.

- ***Consumers have a higher degree of gender consciousness than advertisers might imagine:*** Women and men focus groups demonstrated a high degree of gender awareness, frequently questioning why women are excluded from certain advertisements, and why women and men are portrayed in predictable ways in advertisements. Women in particular found the tendency to treat women as bodies without brains demeaning and younger women reacted negatively to the traditional domestic roles in which women are often cast. Both male and female focus groups commented that they found the gender aware advertisements refreshing and (in the case of women) more inclusive.

Structure of the report

The report comprises six chapters. The first chapter covers the background and rationale for the study; the methodology used and the overall findings, both quantitative and qualitative. Chapter two to five cover the specific findings and case studies from each country. The final chapter draws conclusions and makes recommendations, including the need for gender and media networks to take up cases of blatant stereotyping and campaign for greater gender balance and sensitivity in advertising.



Chapter One
Overview

This first chapter provides background to the research; the methodology used and the overall regional findings. Subsequent chapters cover the specific findings in each of the four countries in the study.

BACKGROUND

Gender and advertising in Southern Africa is the fifth in the GL *Mirror on the Media* series which analyses different aspects of the media from a gender perspective. Previous reports include *Can every day be women's day?* (coverage of Women's Day on 9 August in South Africa compared to the rest of the year); the *Sixteen Days of Activism and coverage of gender violence*; *Who makes the news? Southern African findings of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)* and *Who Talks on Talk Shows*?

The *Mirror on the Media* series has its roots in the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) conducted by GL and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) with the assistance of the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) South Africa in 2003. The study found that women constituted 17 percent of news sources across Southern Africa and that they are portrayed in a limited range of roles; most often as sex objects; home makers or as victims of violence. Men on the other hand predominate in all topic categories except for gender equality and are portrayed in a much broader range of roles; most often those that convey power and control.

The aim of the *Mirror on the Media* series is both to build the capacity of gender and media networks to conduct quantitative research and media analysis skills as well as expand the horizons of gender and media research. Case material collected in the course of monitoring in stored in GL's Virtual Resource Centre for use by trainers and activists. The studies are used to engage with media owners, managers and practitioners, as well as analysts and activists on the need for greater gender balance and sensitivity in the media.

The Southern African analysis of the GMMP in 2006 as part of this series is one example of how *Mirror on the Media* is used as a monitoring tool. The GMMP regional results showed that overall, compared to the GMBS, women sources in the region have increased to 19%, with some countries exceeding this average (for example South Africa, now at 26%). Although the change is gradual, it demonstrates the power of activist research and advocacy in transforming gender relations in and through the media.

Why advertising?

Advertising plays an important role in socialisation. Apart from influencing what the public consumes, advertising also influences the public's opinion and world view. Yet there has been limited research on this genre and particularly on the gendered nature of advertising in Southern Africa.

Advertisements portray and interpret society's definition of roles for men and women: "*From the earliest years of children, advertisements shape the way of their lives, and what to consume. Many commercials showing boys playing with cars and girls playing with dolls create different tastes and preferences for each sex.*" (O'Barr,2005).

Most advertising seeks to reinforce what is socially accepted behaviour and roles for the two sexes, thus defining what is feminine and masculine. For example men are more likely to be portrayed as figures of authority in business settings while women are confined indoors especially in the kitchen and when they appear in the business world they are restricted to "less challenging" roles like beauty and fashion industries.

Most advertisers make use of mass media to reach their target audiences and therefore advertisements easily find their way to the public. Many people aspire to live like the people or use the products and services that they see in adverts. Advertising creates tastes, some of which are alien to a people's way of life.

Consumers may interpret advertisements differently. According to Katherine Frith (1998) there are three levels of analysis:

- The first one is the surface meaning which consists of, "*the overall impression that a reader might get from quickly studying the advertisement…*
- The second level is the advertiser's intended meaning which is the *"preferred or expected meaning that a reader might get from the advert, the meaning that the advertiser intends for the reader to take with them*."
- The third level is the cultural or ideological meaning which, "*relies on the cultural knowledge and background of the reade*r."

The result is that advertising solicits different interpretations from different people. However, an equally important observation is that "*individuals portrayed in the advertisements appear to accept these relationships and they serve to validate the roles described*" (Goffman, 1976). "*Advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we think men and women behave*" (Goffman, 1979). This underscores the critical role of advertising in either reinforcing or challenging gender stereotypes.

What other research has found

Studies suggest that gender stereotyping is most pronounced in television because of the distinctive male and female target audiences. In adverts, men tend to be portrayed as more autonomous. They are shown in more occupations than women. Women are shown mainly as sex objects, housewives or mothers. Men are more likely to be shown advertising cars or business products; women as advertising domestic products. Also, men are more likely to be shown outdoors or in business settings and women in domestic settings. Men are more often portrayed as figures of authority. While older men seem to gain authority in advertisements, older women seem to disappear. Other key findings are summarised in the box below.

Key research findings on gender and advertising

- Women's bodies and body parts are portrayed more often in print and television advertising than are women's faces and the opposite is true for portrayals of men. (Studies suggest that facial views are perceived as projecting intelligence and ambition while body views are not). (http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell6.htm
- Women are constructed as subordinate and passive sex objects: through positioning of the body, facial expression etc.
- Female voices are rarely used in voiceovers (one study revealed that only 14% of voiceovers were female and only 8% of radio commercials used female characters).
- Some goods are seen as exclusively masculine or feminine, for instance: household products are separated into kitchen use (cooking utensils) and outdoor use (lawnmowers or building tools).

- Women and men respond differently to the same advertisements. For example, in her study *Gender-pitched advertising: Do men and women see the same things* Melanie Yarborough suggests that "For women, ads often are more detailed. Take for example toiletry advertisements. For one thing, women are more concerned about grooming and appearance. And they appreciate very fine distinctions…Men think in a more macro way, and need to be shown the big picture. Also men are less likely to process complex metaphors." (http://village.fortunecity.com/carnival/383/adverts.htm
- Constant exposure to demeaning portrayals of women in advertising can lead to socially induced depression and lowered achievement aspirations for women.

Objectives

This study aimed to establish how advertisements in the mainstream media in Southern Africa reflect women and men through analysing:

- The extent to which women and men appear in adverts.
- The roles that women and men play in advertising.
- The extent to which adverts promote or challenge gender stereotyping.
- How audiences perceive and or are affected by such adverts.
- Whether approaches that reflect women and men more equitably and in a greater diversity of roles are possible, and how audiences respond to these.

Methodology

The research made use of quantitative and qualitative content analysis of advertisements in billboards, print and electronic media (both privately and publicly owned).

Media monitored

Table one shows the spread of media monitored. South Africa is the only country in which the research covered a private TV station as the Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Zambia only have state-owned TV. Zimbabwe is the only country in the study with no private radio broadcaster and in which the monitoring covered only state-owned radio.

Table one: Media monitored

COUNTRY	TELEVISION		RADIO		NEWSPAPER		BILLBOARDS
	Private	Public	Private	Public	Daily	Weekly	
Mauritius		MBC 1	Radio Plus	MBC Radio	L'express	Weekend	10 Billboards
South Africa	ETV	SABC 1	Kaya FM	SAFM	The Star	Sunday Times	10 Billboards
Zambia		ZBC TV	Radio Phoenix	ZBC Radio	Times	Sunday Post	10 Billboards
Zimbabwe		ZTV		Radio Zimbabwe and Spot FM	The Herald	Zimbabwe Independent	9 Billboards

Dates

Table two shows the monitoring dates. The dates constituted a "constructed week" meaning that in all monitoring took place on each day of the week, but this was staggered over a two week period from 3 - 16 December 2006. Weekly newspapers were monitored twice. The monitors also randomly picked ten billboards within a 5 km radius of their work station for inclusion in the monitoring.

Table two: Monitoring dates in December 2006

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Week 1	3	4 x	5	6 x	7	8 x	9
Week 2	10 x	11	12 x	13	14 x	15	16 x

(Note: Dates marked with an X are the dates on which monitoring took place).

Number of items monitored

Table three shows that the monitoring covered a total of 1650 items: 744 from TV; 580 from radio; 287 from print and 39 from bill boards. The most number of items (521) came from South Africa and least (267) from Zimbabwe.

Table three: Total number of adverts monitored per media per country

	RADIO	TV	PRINT	BILLBOARDS	TOTAL
Mauritius	221	120	76	10	**427**
South Africa	162	258	91	10	**521**
Zambia	120	266	39	10	**435**
Zimbabwe	77	100	81	9	**267**
Overall	**580**	**744**	**287**	**39**	**1650**

Case studies



Out of all the items monitored, team leaders in each country selected sixteen case studies, one for each media type (print, radio, TV and billboard) for each of the categories: gender aware, gender blind, blatant stereotypes and subtle stereotypes (a total of 48 case studies). Where case studies are referred to in the report, they are denoted by the icon to the left. The classifications are taken from the GMBS and explained in Table four.

Table four: GEM Classification

Blatant stereotype (BS)	**Subtle stereotype (SS)**
Women are presented in stereotypical roles such as victims or sex objects.	Adverts that reinforce notions of women's domestic and men's more public roles in ways that make this seem normal, e.g. a mother's agony, rather than parents agony over a child.
Men are presented in stereotypical roles such as strong businessmen or leaders.	Adverts in which women are referred to according to personal relationships that have no relevance to the story; e.g. a woman minister is referred to a the wife of someone.
Gender-blind (GB)	**Gender aware (GA)**
Lack of gender balance in sources (voices)	Gender balance of sources (voices)
Gender biased language	Gender neutral language
Lack of awareness of gender dynamics	Awareness of differential impact
Biased coverage of issue • Double standards • Moralising e.g. being judgmental • Open prejudice e.g. women are less intelligent than men etc • Ridicule e.g. women in certain situations • Placing blame e.g. on rape survivors for their dress etc	Fairness in approach to issue • No double standards • No moralising • No open prejudice • No ridicule • No placing of blame
Perpetuates stereotypes	Challenges stereotypes
Use of jargon and stereotypical gender biased language	Simple accessible gender sensitive language
Aggregated data	Gender disaggregated data
Gives a one-sided view.	Prompts debate on complex issues

Gender blindness refers to the fact that often women are not even seen as a factor because of the assumption that only men matter or take interest; for example in reference to sport. Thanks to "gender blindness", world cup advertisers woke up much too late to the fact that 40 percent of those viewing the World Cup were women, when most of their advertising had been targeting men!

Blatant stereotypes present women and men in obvious stereotypical roles such as woman as victims or sex objects or men as daredevils.

Subtle stereotypes reinforce notions of women's domestic and men's more public roles in ways that make this seem normal and thus reinforce this as the norm. For example women shown cooking and serving their families appears normal yet it subtly promotes the stereotype that this is women's main role.

Gender awareness refers to being alive and responsive to the fact that the world is made up of women and men in many shapes and forms, with diverse interests and in a world where old myths and assumptions are daily being challenged.

Focus groups
After selecting the case studies, team leaders conducted two separate focus groups, one with women and the other with men. The groups comprised six to ten people of varying age, occupation, race and ethnicity. Team leaders conducted discussions with each group on the case studies, noting differences in reactions by women and men.

VRC
Detailed case studies and artefacts (print and electronic) can be found archived in GL's Virtual Resource Centre. To access these go to www.genderlinks.org.za and click the relevant section of the home page. This will lead you to a data base where the case studies are archived by country and according to their GEM classification.

FINDINGS

The section below summarises the key overall findings of the monitoring in the four countries covered. This is examined in terms of the four main categories used to analyse the case studies: gender blind; blatant stereotypes; subtle stereotypes and gender aware advertisements.

Out of all the items monitored 30% were deemed neutral (often these showed only the object being advertised, without any human dimension). Gender blind (16%), blatant stereotypes (9%) and subtle stereotypes (18%) constituted 43% of the total, compared to 27% regarded as gender aware. This suggests that a high proportion of advertisements have a gender bias of one kind or the other. This conclusion is drawn for the overall regional sample because of its size, but not for individual countries, which had a much smaller size.

Gender blindness in advertising

A basic test of gender blindness (or awareness) is the extent to which women and men are represented in content as compared to their representation in society.

As illustrated in Figure 1.1 overall women accounted for 41% of those who featured in advertisements (as images and or voices and images) compared to 59% in the case of men.

Figure 1.1: Women and men in advertisements

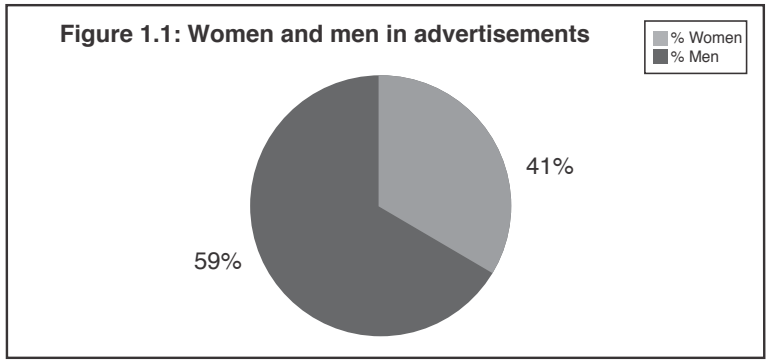
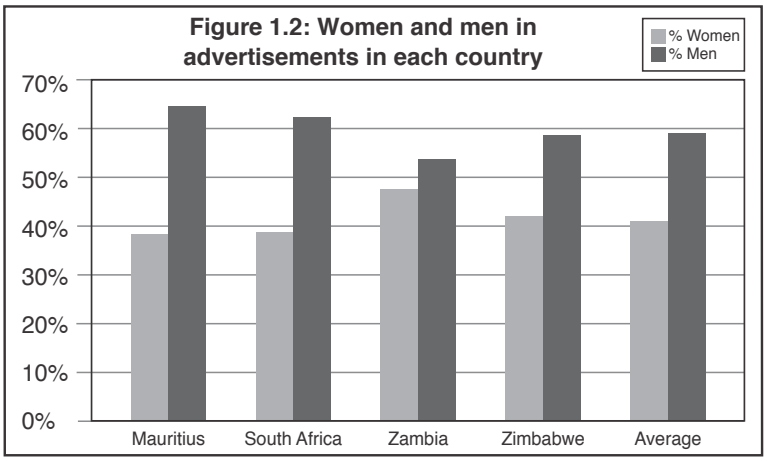
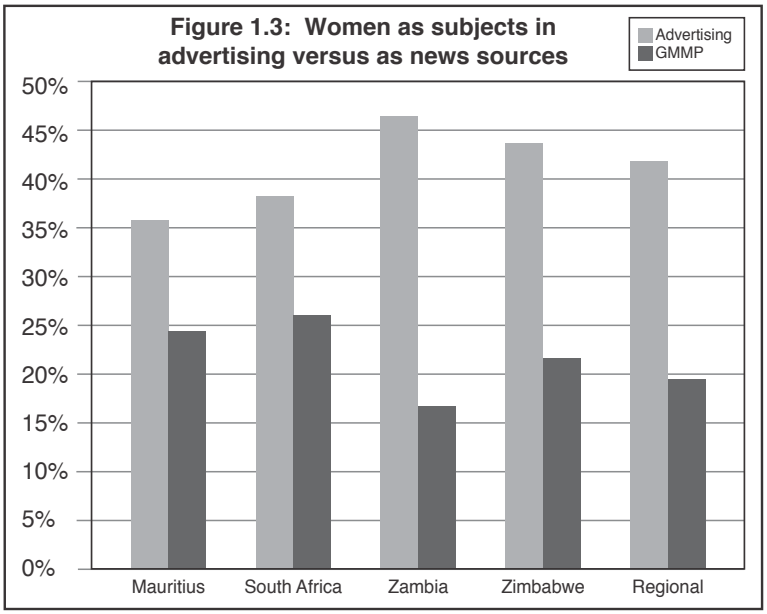


Figure 1.2 shows that at 47% Zambia had the highest proportion of women subjects in its advertisements, and Mauritius (36%) had the lowest, with South Africa (38%) and Zimbabwe (43%) in between.



Women feature more prominently in advertising than in news content in all four countries. On average, women in the study constituted 41% of subjects compared to the regional average of 19% women sources in the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP 2005). The difference is especially glaring in the case of Zambia which had 47% women subjects in the advertising research and 17% women sources in the GMMP. South Africa which, at 26% had the highest proportion of women sources in the GMMP, had a considerably higher proportion of women subjects in its advertisements (38%). However, it is significant that there is no country in the study in which, overall, women featured as prominently as men in advertisements.



The blind spot in advertising



Several of the case studies illustrated how men dominate in and are the target of certain kinds of advertisements, even where women are an existing or potential market. Four out of the sixteen examples of gender blind advertising concerned financial advertisements, like mobile banks; loan facilities for small business and foreign exchange bureaux in which women are invisible, despite the fact that they predominate in small enterprise, use banks and go on holiday. All three sports case studies had a heavy male bias, despite the fact that women play golf, comprise 40 percent of soccer audiences, etc. In Mauritius, a radio advertisement by an NGO concerned with HIV and AIDS inviting the public to its tenth anniversary had no female voices, despite the work of the organisation having a strong focus on women.

Stereotypes

As in the case of news content, gender biases in advertisements are not just about whether women and men are present or absent, but also about how they are portrayed. Many examples suggest that the reason women feature more prominently in advertising than in news content is not because their views are valued more but because their physical attributes are used as a marketing ploy.

Figure 1.4: Roles of women and men in advertisements

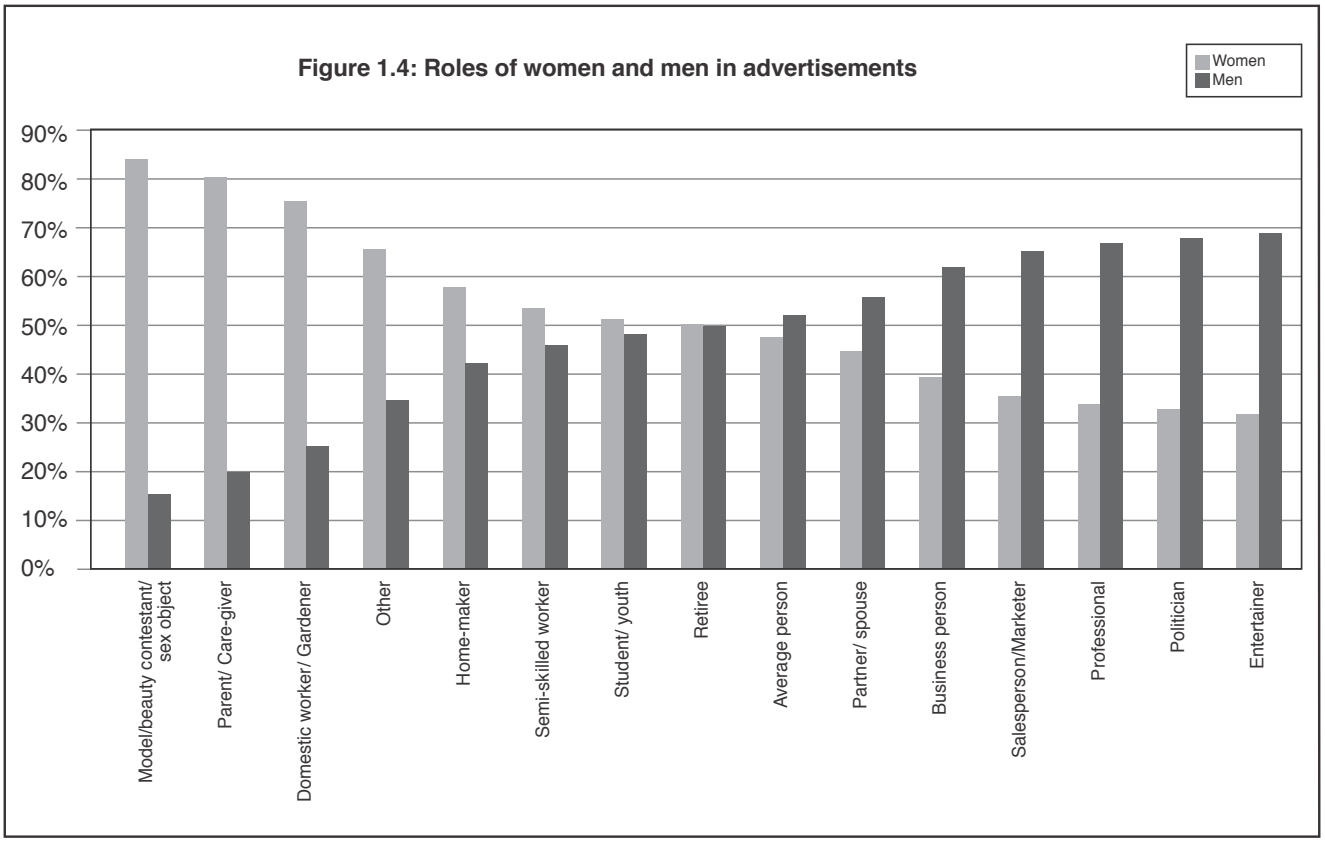


Figure 1.4 shows that women in advertisements predominate in the roles of sex worker; model/beauty contestant; parent/care giver; domestic worker; homemaker and semi-skilled worker while men predominate in business; as spokespersons/marketers; professionals; politicians; and entertainers.

The gender division of labour above (very similar to that found in news content) is a key indicator of how gender stereotypes are reinforced in advertising. These stereotypes may be blatant or may take more subtle forms.

Blatant stereotypes

Although the broad categorisation of items monitored suggests that the more blatant stereotypes are not as numerous as either items regarded as gender blind or perpetuating subtle stereotypes, the fact that they still exist at all is a concern. Moreover, these tend to be the kind of advertisements that catch the eye.

Powerful men, feeble women

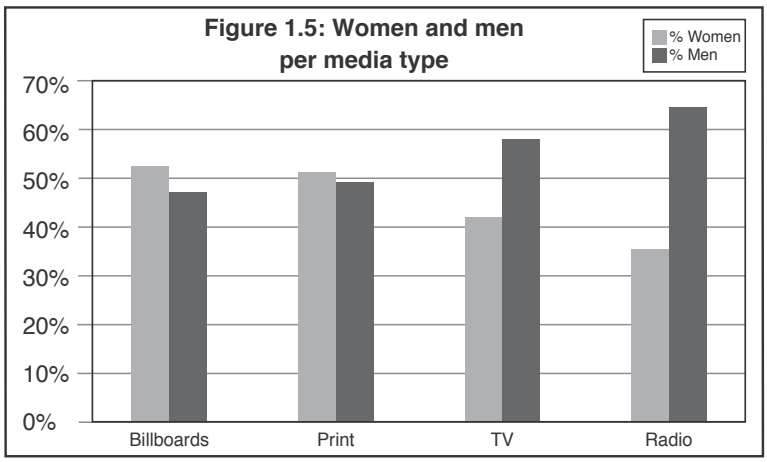
Invariably, as the case studies show, the advertisements classified as blatant project women as feeble physical objects and men as power figures. Women in fashion show advertisements are paraded as "eye candy" for men while men in motor rallies hold up the "V" for victory sign. The "customer is king" is turned into a roaring lion wearing a crown with a male voice in a cell phone advert. A man in another mobile phone advert sits behind a power desk and occupies one quarter of the advert while a woman secretary answers the phone in a little corner at the bottom.

In another advertisement, a woman and man looking like a gangster meet on the stairs. Scared out of her wits, she misses a step, falls and drops a power drink that she was carrying. He picks up the drink and starts to drink it while she lies sprawled at the foot of the stairs. A beer advertisement shows a man in a bar manoeuvring his way confidently across the office to a bar and then to his back yard where he brags about always making the right choices; including who to share his life with. The man's partner latches onto his arm; smiles in agreement and does not utter a word. Again, the advert reinforces the notion of powerful and confident men and the women who live in their shadows.

Women who are seen but not heard

One of the ways in which blatant stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is that women are more likely to be seen than heard, and it is in billboards and print advertisements that the majority of blatant stereotypes are to be found.

Figure 1.5 shows that when the subjects in advertising are analysed according to type of media, the two areas in which women predominate are in billboards (54%) and in print (51%). Women are less visible is TV (42%) and least heard in radio (35%). The pattern varied across countries, from 61% women in billboards in South Africa; to 56% in Mauritius; 52% in Zimbabwe and 33% in Zambia. The pattern with regard to print is more consistent with 57% women subjects in print advertisements in Zimbabwe; 52% in South Africa; 48% in Zambia; and 47% in Mauritius. However, in all instances women are more likely to feature as pictures than as voices.



"Eye candy" and objects for men's pleasue



Many of the most graphic examples of blatant stereotypes came from billboards. A high proportion of these featured women placed in the picture merely as a lure or decoration, with no relationship whatsoever to the product advertised. These took the form of a woman with a sensual look in front of a car; a scantily dressed young woman with a "thumbs up" for a new SMMS service; the "storm in a D Cup" woman in a bra with a packet of cigarettes that she is not even touching barely showing in the background despite the fact that they are the main subject of the advertisement. Another billboard example is an advertisement of women's underwear. Rather than appealing to women, the subject is lying down and "ready to bare", projecting her as an object for the pleasure of men.

The authoritative male voice

Just as women's voices are less likely to be heard in radio, they are also less likely to be used in voice-overs. Across all countries, men are the voice of authority in advertising.

While women comprise, on average, 41% of all subjects in advertising, Figure 1.6 shows that they constitute only 29% of voice-overs in radio and television compared to men. Voice denotes authority and the ability to express one's self. In advertising it is clear that the male voice is seen as a symbol of authority; hence its dominance over the female voice.

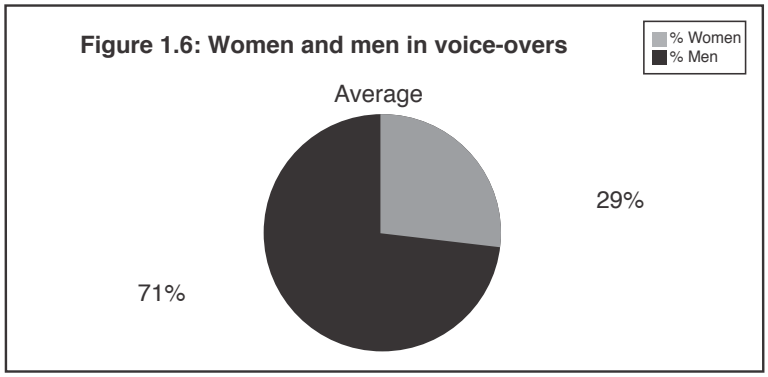
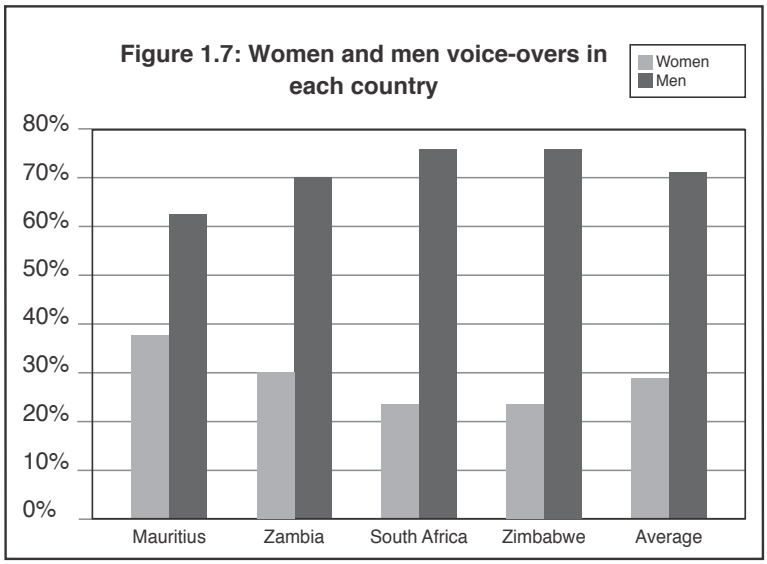


Figure 1.7 shows that this pattern is the same across countries although Mauritius, at 38%, is above the regional average of 29%. South Africa and Zimbabwe had the lowest figure of women voice-overs (24%).



Examples of male voice-overs ranged from the male voice advertising a private school in Zambia and creating the impression that it is for boys only, to a condom advert in Mauritius in which the role of the secretary is to say "yes" while a male voice-over explains the product and its merit.

Subtle stereotypes

As blatant stereotypes gradually recede, subtle stereotypes are emerging as potentially the greater concern. Because these reinforce traditional and familiar roles they are potentially more challenging than the more obvious forms of stereotyping.

Product associations

Among the most common form of subtle stereotypes are the products that women and men are associated with. In the romance languages, products are either masculine or feminine. In advertising, these lines are firmly fixed and rarely crossed.

Figure 1.8: Most advertised products

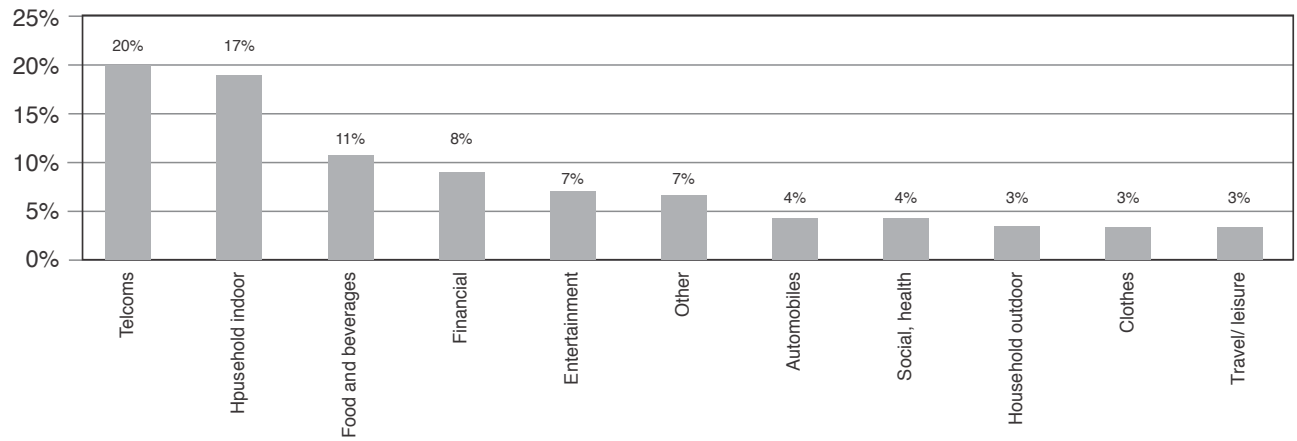


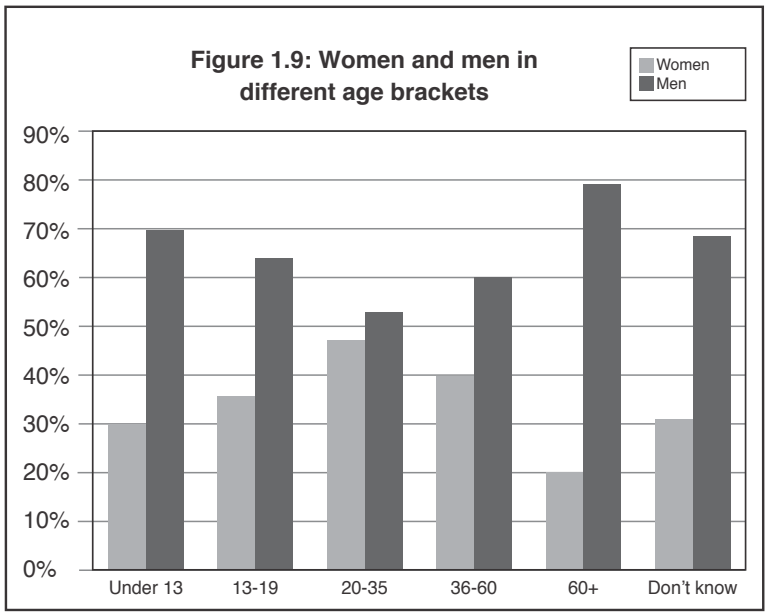
Figure 1.8 illustrates the top ten products advertised during the monitoring. It shows that telecommunications (20%) followed by household indoor (17%) food and beverages (11%); financial services (8%) and entertainment (7%) featured most prominently, with household products used out doors, travel and leisure and automobiles at the lower end of the scale.

One of the ways in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is the strong tendency for certain products to be associated with either men or women. The qualitative monitoring showed for example, that women featured exclusively or as the central focus in all advertisements that featured food and household products. These ranged from spices to breakfast cereal to salads. In one case a woman is lying next to a packet of milk with a caption "get a boost" and a sub-caption about how milk is also good for cooking and baking. Women are also associated with washing powders and clothing. Adverts on "outdoor" household products like paint feature men. Among the subtle stereotypes that run through the adverts are that women are more addicted to shopping than men.

Invisible older women

Another way in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in advertising (similar to news content) is in the way that older women are made virtually invisible.

Figure 1.9 shows that there are roughly equal proportions of women and men in advertisements up to the 20-35 age groups. From 36-60 the proportion of women drops, and after sixty the proportion of women dwindles to 20%. Men on the other hand continue to feature in adverts through to over the age of 60.



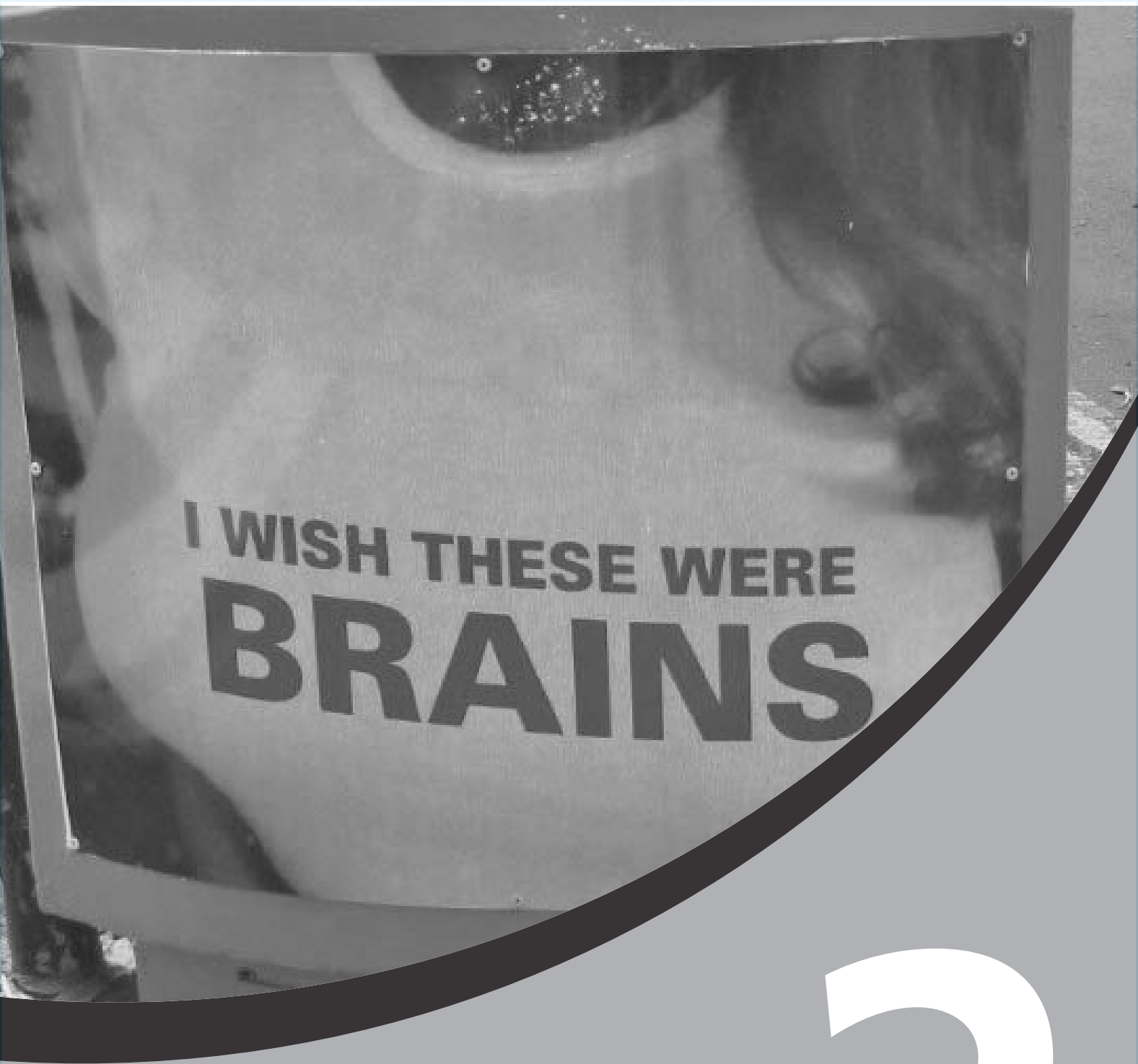
No matter what the product, from eye glasses to food, advertisers make use of young women. In one especially telling case detailed in the Mauritius report, three generations of a family sit down for a meal. The grandfather is shown playing with his grandchildren. But one of the young women serves the food, while the mother cooking in the background is like wall paper.

Gender awareness

Despite the many gender biases highlighted in both the quantitative and qualitative monitoring, monitors picked out several examples of gender aware advertising. These may be catergorised as:

- Communication adverts that show that women and men of all ages, have communication needs.
- Educational institutions targeting women and men.
- Financial services that target male and female clients as well as families.
- Shopping, entertainment and spiritual activities for the whole family.
- Shared products and shared dreams, like the mattress featuring a woman and man not about to have sex but rather to sleep, and dream, comfortably together.

As the monitoring took place during the Sixteen Days of Activism on Gender Violence in November/December, it also featured cases of social awareness advertisements, like the community in Zambia that refuses to stand by and condone a case of domestic violence. These examples are in sharp contrast to the more blatant stereotypes and suggest that some advertisers are becoming more conscious of women consumers. Turning a deaf ear to 52% of the potential market cannot be good business, whether your product is indoors, outdoors, educational or financial!



Chapter Two
Mauritius

2

Key facts

Mauritius had the lowest proportion of women featured in advertisements in the study: Women constitute only 36% of subjects (voices and images) in Mauritius, compared to the regional average of 41%. Zambia had the highest proportion of women subjects (47%), followed by Zimbabwe (43%) and South Africa (38%).

Women are more likely to be seen than heard: As elsewhere in the region women are more numerous as still images (billboards are the only area in which women predominate) than as voices.

Male voice-overs are not as dominant as elsewhere: Women made up 38% of all voice-overs, the highest in the study, in which women voice-overs average 29%.

Women appear mostly in nurturing and domestic roles: Women dominate as parent/care givers; partner/spouses; homemakers and models/beauty contestants/sex objects. However, at 70%, women in the professional category in Mauritius constitute the highest in this category in the study.

There are no women over 60 years old in advertisement in Mauritius. The proportion of women in different age categories in adverts goes from 47% in the 20-35 age category to 16% in the 36-60 category and no women at all over 60.

Indoor household products featured as the most advertised and tobacco/cigarettes as the least advertised during the monitoring period. Household products-indoor made up 37% of all products advertised followed by food and non-alcoholic beverages at 22%.

There are still strong gender biases in product associations: Women and men are still strongly associated with different kinds of products, such as women in the case of household goods and men in the case of financial services. Women did not feature in any of the adverts on alcohol.

Billboards are the worst offenders: The most blatant stereotypes are in billboards, with MBC television and MBC Radio not displaying any such adverts during the monitoring period.

But gender stereotypes are being challenged: Women and men in the study featured equally in the roles of homemaker as well as model/beauty contestant; two areas in which women usually predominate.

There is growing gender awareness in advertisements in Mauritius. Following the activism of the past that has led to several of the adverts that promote blatant gender stereotypes being removed, the research found a growing proportion of gender aware advertisements.

This report covers the *Mirror on the Media* advertising research and its findings in Mauritius. The research covered four media outlets over a two week period in November-December 2006. Media Watch Organisation (MWO), the local chapter of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network conducted the study.

BACKGROUND

The Republic of Mauritius is a group of islands in the South West of the Indian Ocean, consisting of the main island of Mauritius, Rodrigues and several outer islands located at distances greater than 350 km of the main island. It became independent in 1968.

During the past thirty years, the Mauritian economy has diversified from a sugar cane monocrop economy in the 1970's to one based on tourism, industry and financial services. Manufacturing, mainly textiles and garments, and tourism started in the 1980's. Global business, especially offshore and Freeport activities have also been growing continuously since the mid 1990s. International financial institutions often cite Mauritius as a model of economic success in the face of natural and physical constraints.

The media in Mauritius

Mauritius has a long media history dating back to the colonial period. Indeed, Mauritius can boast of a free press since the early 19th century, besides being one of the oldest in the southern hemisphere, with the first newspaper *Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers* created in 1773.

Throughout the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century, the press was an instrument in the fight for political and social emancipation of different groups organised along ethnic, class or corporate lines.

In post-colonial Mauritius, the media has consolidated its position as a linchpin of democracy. Mauritius now has over 28 media outlets. The Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) is the only public television station. There are quite a few satellite television channels that are watched in Mauritius. But this study only covered MBC, as it is the only Mauritian television station.

There is no Press Complaints Commission in Mauritius. In October 2006 La Sentinelle Group established a Mediation Commission where consumers can send complaints in regards to articles and not on advertising.

Advertising in Mauritius

Advertising plays a critical role in the media business. The liberalisation of the airwaves has led to three private radio stations being launched. Their presence has boosted radio advertising as there is far more advertising on private than on public radio. Advertising in Mauritius is self-regulated. However, the IBA, which regulates broadcasting, has taken up complaints of sexist advertising. There is no law in Mauritius that restricts people from opening advertising agencies. However, 14 agencies control 90% of the market and they are all registered with the Advertising Standards Authority (AAA).

Position of women in the advertising industry
One woman is a Director General, and three others hold senior positions in the 14 agencies. In 2004 Maggie Maurel became the first woman chair of the AAA but has since been replaced by Vino Sooklall. According to him, women comprise at least half of all middle managers in the advertising agencies affiliated to the AAA.

The Association of Advertising Agencies of Mauritius
The AAA of Mauritius is a voluntary standard- setting association of advertising companies. The AAA has a Code of Ethics which dates back to 1994 for the discipline and responsibility of advertising agencies; companies working with advertising agencies, and the media. It also mentions that advertisements must take into account their influence on consumers.

What the ASA Code of Ethics says
Key provisions of the ASA's Code of Ethics for the purposes of this study include:

- Article 2 of the Code of Ethics (CE) highlights honest advertising that should not take advantage of the credulity, the lack of knowledge of the product or the lack of experience of the consumers.
- Article 3 talks about decency and mentions that advertisement must not go against societal belief and attitude and shock consumers.
- Article 7 talks about social responsibility and highlights that messages should not be degrading.
- Article 11 and 12 prohibit discrimination on sex, race, and nationality is prohibited in
- There is a whole section on the representation of men and women in advertising under Article 13 which reads as follows:

"The advertisement must take into consideration the gender roles in society, the progress in the development of gender activities in the family, the professions, entertainment and purchasing. Men and women must be represented as equally capable, responsible and independent in their different roles. The advertisement must respect the dignity of both men and women; their image must be used so as not to hurt the sensitivity of the public in general. The advertisement must not constitute a digression of sexual pleasure towards the product being sold. Showing women in insubordinate roles or exclusively as homemakers must not be encouraged."

The Independent Broadcasting Authority
The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), created by an Act of Parliament in 2000, is the only regulatory authority in Mauritius and it covers broadcast media only. The IBA Act includes a Code of Conduct for broadcasting services. The general code of conduct mentions that:

"Broadcasting licensees shall not:

a. Broadcast any material which is indecent, obscene or offensive to public morals or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the population or likely to prejudice the safety of the State or public order or relations between sections of the population.
b. Not, without due care and sensitivity, present material which depicts or relates to brutality, violence, atrocities, drug abuse and obscenity."

Part V of the Act on Contents of Programme mentions "standards of taste and decency for broadcast programs, particularly having regards to the portrayal of violence or sexual conduct."
The Section covering the work of the Complaints Committee does not mention what kind of complaints can be filed. There is nothing in the Act on advertisements or sexist advertisements. The IBA Act does not make any specific reference to sexist advertising. The general public perceives the IBA as a body that gives licenses and is a watchdog on talk shows. However, MWO/GEMSA has successfully taken up cases through the IBA.

Adverting complaints
In May 2003 the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) had an advertisement running on prime time television showing the silhouette of a woman undressing in front of a building block. At the end of this a voice says: *"blok UBP pena zes li pa pou bouz enn pous"* meaning that "the building will not bulge an inch even with the silhouette of a woman strip-teasing in front of it."

The print version in the mainstream media showed the woman dangling her legs in front of the building block with a caption saying *"UBP – pour resister aux effets du temps: pena zess"* meaning the "building block can resist everything."

MWO started a campaign by sending alerts to the MBC, the IBA and the print media. Although there is no provision in the IBA Act for advertising, the regulatory authority ruled that it could entertain the case because the advert had appeared on national television. The case received considerable publicity and sparked a public outcry. The IBA ruled that the advert should be removed.

The campaign prompted the first Gender Sensitive Advertisement Award organised by the Ministry of Women in collaboration with MWO. The award aimed to sensitise the public at large to prejudices, biases and stereotyping of women in the media and to create greater awareness among advertising agencies and the public at large.

In 2005 MWO-GEMSA lodged a case concerning an advertisement of a brand of water showing water dropping on the nude back of a woman.

During the same period MWO-GEMSA sent another complaint to the IBA regarding a brand of beer with a king sitting on a throne who, with the click of his fingers, gets two women to sit on his lap with their pints of beer before taking them out in a car. Well before the hearing the Chair of MWO-GEMSA got a letter from the Director General of the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation to say the advertisement had been withdrawn.

Following complaints by MWO-GEMSA later in 2005, the Office of the Attorney General had advertisements using children to promote domestic appliances and another on IT showing a mouse moving on the body of a nude woman removed.

Among its more dramatic successes, MWO-GEMSA had a poster reading "I wish these were brains" written over the breasts of a woman on a brand of female t-shirts posted on waste bins all over Mauritius (see cover for this chapter) removed. On receipt of a letter from the Sex Discrimination Division with copy to the Ministry of Local Government and the police, the police flying squad combed the island removing the advertisement.

Media monitored

The media monitored consisted of four outlets: two print (*L'Express and Weekend*) two radio stations (the public radio MBC and a private radio, Radio Plus) one television station (MBC) and billboards. The monitoring covered seven days over a two week period for dailies, radios and television and two issues of the weekly *Weekend* from Sunday 3 December to Sunday 17 December 2006. A total of 427 adverts were monitored.

FINDINGS

The findings of the study are divided into the four broad lines of inquiry in the study for both the quantitative and qualitative research: evidence of gender blindness; blatant stereotypes; subtle stereotypes; and gender awareness.

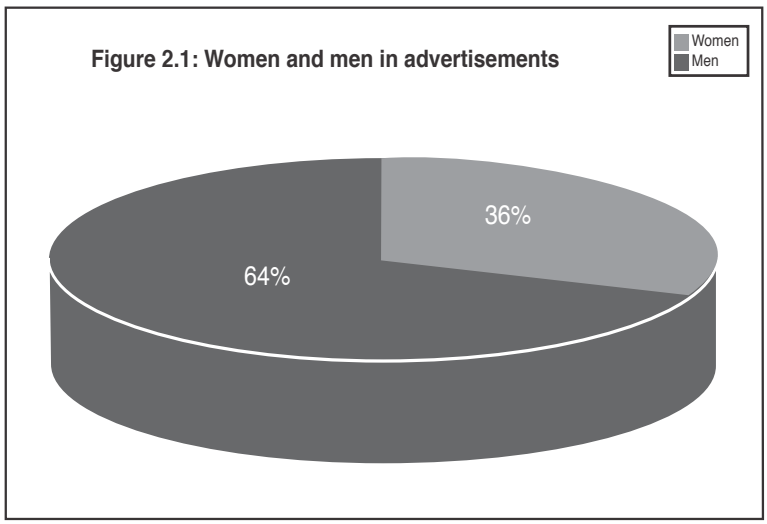
Gender blindness

A basic test of gender blindness (or awareness) is the extent to which women and men are represented in content as compared to their representation in society.

More men than women in advertisements

Women constitute 36% of subjects (images and/or voices) in advertisements in Mauritius, compared to the regional average of 41%. This is the lowest proportion of women news subjects in advertisements in the study (Zambia, at 47% had the highest; followed by Zimbabwe at 43% and South Africa at 38%).

However, even in Mauritius, women are more likely to feature in advertising than as news sources. Women constituted 26% of news sources in the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) conducted in 2005, compared to 36% of advertisement subjects in this study.



Women are often absent even when they are present



Several examples showed how women are often treated as non-existent in advertisements. For example, an advertisement on Radio Plus on 4 December concerning mobile banking featured a man talking non-stop throughout the advertisement. The voice over of a woman says one word which is not clear and not understood. Both male and female focus groups felt that it was unfair to exclude women from a product that concerns both men and women. One man said that the exclusion of women gives the impression that women know nothing about or do not care about banking.

An advertisement on MBC on 8 December invited the public to the 10th birthday of a non-profit organisation which fights for the rights of people living with the HIV Aids virus. Both male and female focus groups noticed the absence of any woman from the advert concerning fund raising for people living with HIV and AIDS.

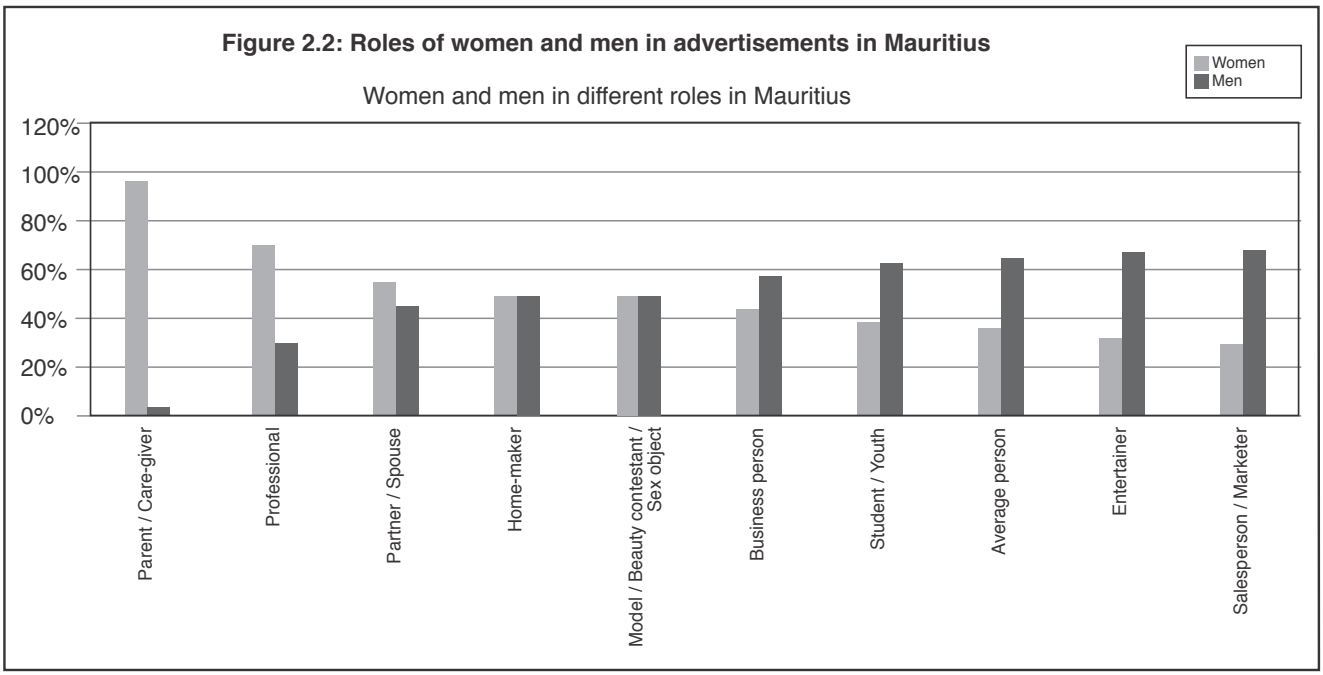


Another example of gender blind advertising is the billboard for the advertisement of the Mauritian branch of Thomas Cook. It gives the different services offered by this company which are foreign exchange, holidays, travel management and travel insurance**.** There are four different snaps on one film. At a glance all these snaps look beautiful and inoffensive. But there are no women at all in the advertisement. All of the images are of a men on holiday. Women focus group participants expressed shock that women do not appear in the advertisement. "*Le femmes ne meritent pas des vacances* !" ("Women also need holidays!")

Stereotypes

As in the case of news content, gender biases in advertising are not just about whether women and men are present or absent; but also about how they are portrayed. Many examples suggest that the reason women feature more prominently in advertising than in news content is not because their views are valued more but because their physical attributes are used as a marketing ploy.

Figure 2.2: Roles of women and men in advertisements in Mauritius



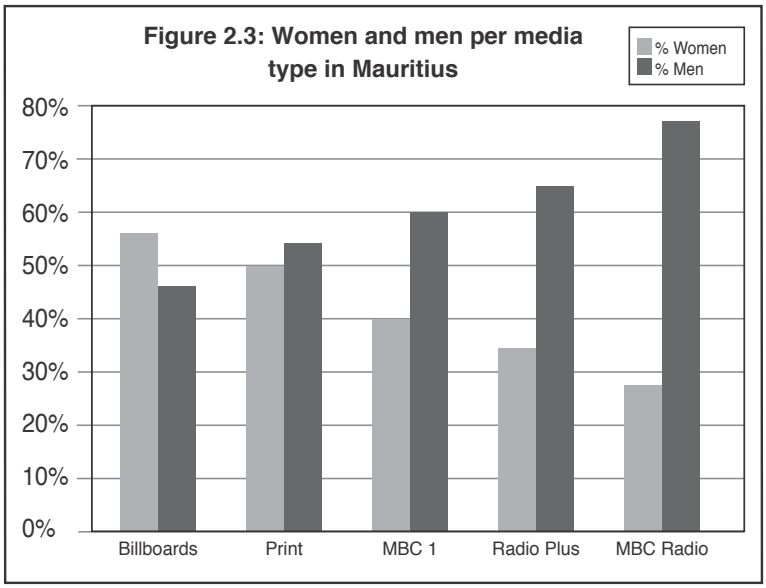
Figures 2.2 shows that there have indeed been some improvements in Mauritius in that women and men in the study featured equally in the roles of home maker as well as model/beauty contestant; two areas in which women usually predominate. Women also appear more as professionals than men do at 70%. However women still retain their 'natural' role of nurturing dominating as care givers and partner/ spouse. Men (57%) also appear more as business people than women. Stereotypes in advertising can be divided into blatant and more subtle stereotypes.

Blatant stereotypes

Although the broad categorisation of items monitored suggests that blatant stereotypes are receding in Mauritius, blatant stereotyping is still evident in certain trends as well as specific examples.

Women seen not heard

Figure 2.3 shows that, as in the rest of the study, women in Mauritius predominate in still images. At 56%, women constituted the majority of billboard images. Slightly fewer women than men featured in advertisements in the print media. At 40%, women featured less in television advertisements than in billboard and print media advertisements. But women are least featured in radio (27% in MBC radio and 32% in Radio Plus) advertisements.



Male voice-overs dominate

Although at 38% women voice-overs in Mauritius are higher than anywhere else in the study (in which the average for female voice-overs is 29%), men's voices are still the main "voice of the authority" in voice-overs for advertising on the island. Focus groups observed that in the broadcast media (especially radio) the only time women featured as voice-overs was in advertisements for household products.

Despite the campaigns, blatant stereotypes still feature



Examples of blatant stereotypes identified in the monitoring included a full colour half page advertisement for the sale of an Alfa 159 sports saloon car that featured a black sports car on one side of the advert and a woman in red on the other side. There is no relationship whatsoever between the car and the woman. The woman looks half naked and is in a sensual pose with eyes closed and lips slightly apart. Red is the colour of lust, passion and evil. Ironically, the caption, "driving soul", gives apersonality to the car while the woman is reduced to an object without a personality. Both the women and men in the focus groups found the advertisement degrading to women. One woman asked why a woman is being compared to a car, while a man asked "If I buy this car do I get a woman?"

An advertisement on MBC TV on 8 December showed three women as models advertising for a fashion show. The event was organised by an agency called "Sensual Agency". The language "hottest fashion show" and the packaging "sensual agency" were used to target men. The women look like cheap objects being put out for sale. One woman and one man in the focus groups (that were held separately for women and men) observed that fashion shows are for both women and men. One man observed that the advertisement could have included men in hot pants as well since the agency is called "Sensual Agency"!



An advertisement for Durex Play on Radio Plus in the December 2006 monitoring created the impression that a sexy secretary and her superior are having sex in the office during working hours, and that she submits to him willingly. It perpetuates stereotypes around power relations in the workplace and the powerlessness of secretaries who are invariably women.

Subtle stereotypes

Because they reinforce what society regards as normal, subtle stereotypes are potentially as damaging as the more blatant stereotypes. As in other case study countries, women and men in Mauritius tend to be strongly associated with certain kinds of products and roles. This is one of several ways in which subtle stereotypes are perpetuated.

Figure 2.4: Most advertised products in Mauritius

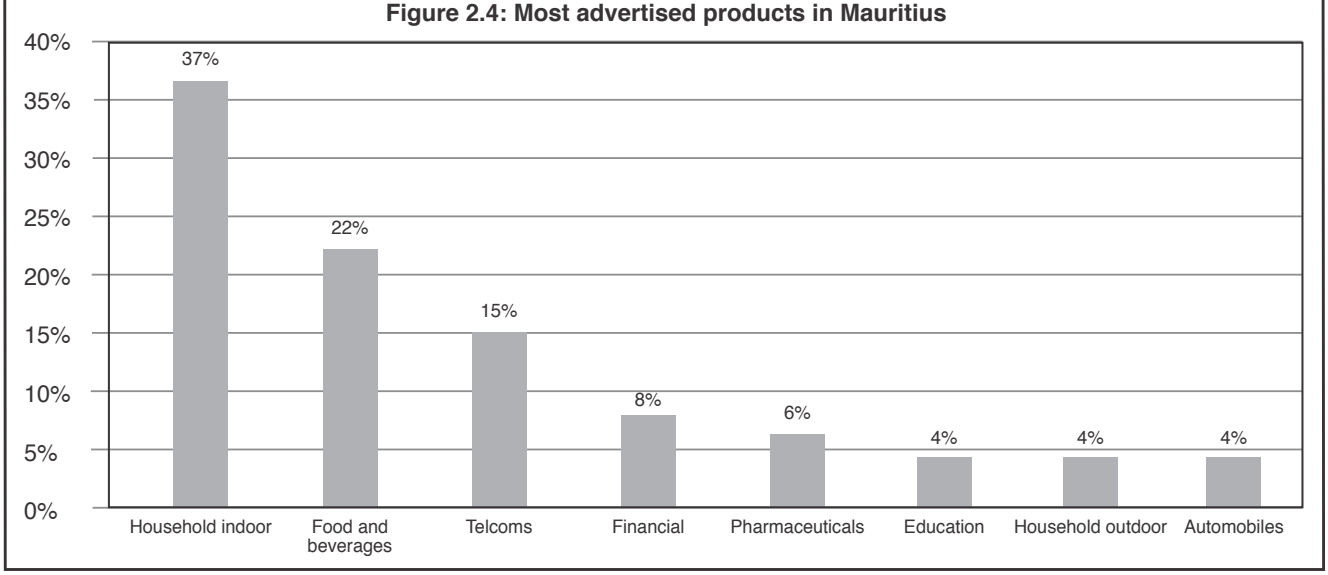


Figure 2.4 shows that in Mauritius the most advertised products are household indoor products; followed by food and beverages; telecommunications; and financial products. Education, household outdoor goods and automobiles

are at the bottom end of the list. The case studies that follow show how advertising strongly associates women with the first two of these products.

Food for thought

In an advertisement on *Radio Plus*, a woman is looking for a good type of rice for her and her family. This advertisement reinforces the role of women as home makers. A woman choosing the rice gives the impression that she is the one who decides and other members of the family have no say in the matter.

Another food advertisement identified by the monitors is a billboard advert showing a woman with long hair dancing in front of KFC chicken salad. The picture is a case of digital manipulation with the woman placed among lettuce leaves.



Although the advertisement is about food, the woman is portrayed as a sex symbol. One woman in the focus group said it is as if the woman is part of the salad ("*Koumadir fam la enn salad*"). In a subtle way the advertisement also reinforces the general impression that only women care for their figure and eat salad to stay slim: hence the slogan "KFC chicken salad makes me feel good".

Focus group participants questioned why women are generally more likely to be associated with food than men. One man said that he found the advertisement discriminatory of men as it gives the impression that men do not care about their health and do not eat salad. Another said that the advertisement missed the opportunity to show that salad is good for the whole family: men, women and children.

Gender division of labour

Indoor household products are also typically associated with women. An example is the advertisement for AVA fabric softener. Women are associated with domestic roles like doing laundry and taking care of the family such that their appearance advertising fabric softener looks quite normal. The female focus group found that this advertisement reinforces stereotypes by assigning the role of the woman to washing clothes. Men in the focus group said that such adverts also imply that men do not care about clean clothes.

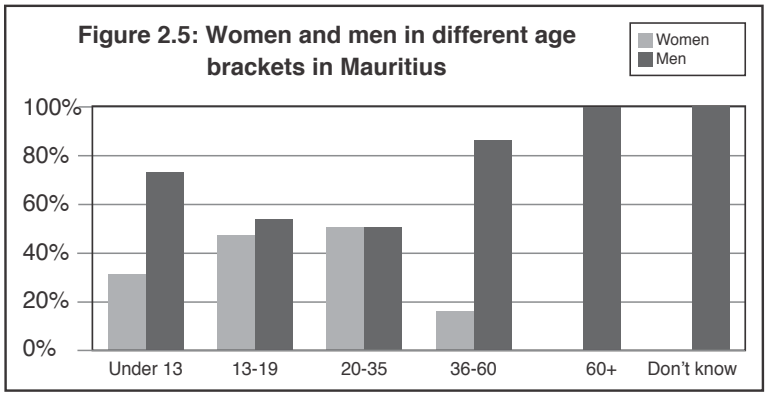


Conversely, an advertisement for "Snow White Paint" on MBC TV with three male voices gives the impression that painting is for men. Both male and female focus groups noted that often it is women who decide on what kind and what colour of paint should be bought for the house. They argued that ignoring women's say in such matters can't be good business.

Making older women invisible

One of the ways in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is through older women being made invisible. Figure 2.5 shows that women over the age of 60 disappear from advertisements in Mauritius. Women are most visible in the age brackets under 19 and almost equally visible in the 20-35 age bracket. But from 36 onwards, women in advertisements are an endangered species!

Figure 2.5: Women and men in different age brackets in Mauritius





An example of how older women "disappear" is the advertisement flighted on MBC TV during the monitoring period showing a happy family of three generations sitting down at table. An elderly man (most probably a grand dad) serves his grandson milk while a young girl serves a boy much older than her (probably her elder brother) juice. The mother takes a well presented "Prodigal" chicken out of the fridge and says "*kalite li inportan pou mo fami*" (quality is important for my family). While all members of the family are sitting down waiting for their meal, the woman is cooking in the kitchen.

Another example concerned the use of a young woman to advertise glasses which are also commonly used by men and older women. One man in the focus group argued that the way "FREE" is written in the advertisement gives the impression that the woman is free!



Gender awareness

The monitoring revealed several examples of gender aware advertising, notably in television. Print and billboards had the lowest proportion of gender aware adverts. The following are some examples of the gender aware adverts identified.

Women and men aspiring for a better life

A billboard which is found in many regions of Mauritius is one advertising degree courses by Harel Mallac Training Institute. The advertisement is entitled "Your portal to success". The advertisement for degree courses targets both men and women. The image consists of three young people who look happy that they have taken the decision to go on with their academic studies.They are from different ethnic backgrounds: an Indian-looking man, a Chinese-looking woman and a Creole looking woman.



Both female and male focus groups commented that the advertisement carries a:

- Strong message of gender equality.
- Positive message for the youth.
- Positive message on ethnic diversity.

Partners share sweet dreams

An advertisement for mattresses on *Radio Plus* used both a male and a female to advertise the product. While sex could easily have become the centre piece of this advertisement this is not the case. The well balanced voices and voice-overs as well as the equal amount of information given to both men and women show that this advert is gender aware. The firm and confident voices inspire respect and show professionalism.

Joint fortunes

Both the women and men in the focus groups commented on the MBC Mastercard advertisement in the print media. They said they liked the advertisement because it gives the impression that the couple is thinking about their future. They said they would buy the product as both women are men are being valued for what they are.



A family affair

An advertisement on MBC Radio concerned the various activities being organised by a big Departmental Store, Super U, to celebrate Christmas 2006. Both male and female focus groups said they found the voices balanced and appealing to the whole family. Christmas comes out strongly as a family event with all the activities that the public can participate in during the festive period. The advertisement shows how appealing to a broad audience is good for business.

Conclusions

This is the first study on gender and advertising in Mauritius. As such, there is no baseline data against which to compare the findings. What is clear is that since MWO-GEMSA sent its first complaint to the IBA in 2003, advertising agencies are showing greater gender awareness. Responses by participants in the focus groups suggest that the more gender balanced approaches appeal to a wider audience and are therefore good for business.

What audiences said

Both women and men have started to question the objectification of women in advertisement and want to see greater gender balance and awareness in advertisements. Members of the different male and female focus groups argued that:

- Advertisements that are not related to the products are not worth buying.
- Showing the image of a woman in the forefront and the product being advertised as a background portrays women as objects.
- Both women and men are concerned with household goods, like rice, chicken and fabric softener and both should appear in advertisements.
- Showing men doing household chores is a strong message that should be encouraged in advertisements.
- Showing young women and men of all ethnic groups should be encouraged.
- Advertisements could be a checkpoint for changing mentality.
- Advertisements could help in sensitisation and awareness campaigns on gender equality.



Chapter Three
South Africa

Key facts

There are more men than women in advertisements: Women constitute 38% of the subjects (images and voices) in advertisements in South Africa, compared to the overall average of 41% in the study.

But there are more women in advertisements than in news content: This figure is, however, higher than for news content. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) in 2005 showed that women constituted 26% of sources in South Africa.

Women are more likely to be seen than heard: Women constitute 61% of the images in billboards and 52% of those in print. Women are less represented in television (37%) and least represented in radio.

Men s voices dominate in voice-overs: At 24%, women voice-overs in South Africa are the lowest in the study in which the average is 29%.

Gender biases of one kind or the other are evident in two thirds of the items monitored: Excluding items in which no people are featured, two thirds of the 527 items monitored were either classified as gender blind or perpetuating blatant or more subtle forms of stereotypes. Only one third were classified as gender aware.

Blatant stereotypes are at their worst in billboards which often portray women as sex objects for the gratification of men.

Subtle stereotyping is perpetuated by the kinds of roles that women and men play: Women dominate in roles like parent/caregiver, model/beauty contestant/sex object and partner/spouse as well as those that confine them to the home like domestic worker. Men on the other hand dominate as sports persons; business persons; politicians and entertainers.

Telecommunications are the most advertised service/product followed by indoor household products. Real estate, pharmaceuticals software and computer services were the least advertised products during the monitoring period.

Products have strong gender associations: For example, women are almost exclusively associated with food and household products.

Women over the age of sixty are virtually non-existent: While there are roughly equal numbers of women and men in the age categories below 36, over this age category women dwindle and become virtually non-existent over sixty.

But there are refreshing examples of gender aware advertising that focus group participants readily identified, and that women in particular found more inclusive. These included financial services, shops and educational opportunities that target women, men and children.

This chapter of the report is based on the findings of the South African advertising monitoring research. The four-country Mirror on the Media project which sought to establish gender media advertising trends also took place in Mauritius, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

BACKGROUND

Following the gruelling years of apartheid, South Africa has been transformed over the last 13 years into a new democracy, with one of the world's most progressive constitutions, in which gender equality is cited as a cornerstone. South Africa currently has a population of approximately 42.5 million. The country has a stable economy that is supported by an abundant supply of natural resources, well developed financial, legal, communications, energy and transport sectors. However, South Africa - sometimes described as the world in microcosm – is characterised by sharp disparities in income and high unemployment rates both along racial and gender lines. South Africa also has the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS of any country in the world.

Media context

Freedom of expression is enshrined in the South African Constitution. South Africa has among the highest media densities in Southern Africa. There are three critical challenges emerging: the government's expectation of uncritical media support for its policies and actions in the name of transformation and democratisation; the battle by the public broadcaster to maintain its independence, and monopolies in media ownership. These factors impact on the diversity of views and voices that find space or get aired in the media.

Advertising

Regulation

In the absence of a clear law targeting the industry, advertising in South Africa mainly relies on self regulation, except for advertising in electronic broadcast media which is subject to the Independent Communications Authority Act (Act No 194 of 1993).

The Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa, (ASASA) is the major regulatory body in the country. ASASA is an independent body set and paid for by the marketing communications industry to ensure that its system of self-regulation works in the public interest.

The operations of this body are guided by a Code of Practice which is based on the International Code of Advertising Practice prepared by the International Chamber of Commerce. This code is internationally accepted as the basis for domestic systems of self-regulation. The essence of the code is that all advertising should be legal, decent, honest and truthful and be prepared with a sense of responsibility to the consumer.

ASA provisions on gender stereotyping
The code makes explicit reference to gender stereotyping in advertising. Section 2, Clause 3.5, states that, "gender stereotyping or negative gender portrayal shall not be permitted in advertising unless in the opinion of the ASA, such stereotyping or portrayal is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom."

The code defines gender stereotyping in advertisements as: "Advertising that portrays a person of a certain gender in a manner that exploits, objectifies or demeans."(Section 1, Clause 4.19). Section 4.22 states that "negative gender portrayal' means "advertising that portrays a person or persons of a certain gender in a manner that restricts and entrenches the role of persons of such gender in society or sections of society."

Gender-specific complaints
ASASA handles consumer complaints on advertising. Consumer complaints can be directed to ASASA after consultation with the advertiser in question. All members of ASASA have to adhere to the standards of the code. If an advertiser has breached the advertising code and does not co-operate with ASASA, an Ad Alert is issued to the media. As media support the Code of advertising practice they will not accept advertising for which an Ad-Alert has been issued. The following examples show that while the code has been used successfully in some instances (notably one win which men felt offended) to have advertisements removed, there have been disagreements between the ASA and the Commission on Gender Equality on what constitutes a sexist advertisement.

In the first example, consumers lodged a complaint against two "First for Women" Insurance radio commercials and an Internet advertisement on the 11th October 2005. The first radio commercial depicted two men discussing how fast a car can go and one of them suggests that they find out. In the second commercial the two men appeared to be going through red traffic lights. The pay off line is "Now you know why we insure women only." The internet advertisement stated "Now you know why we insure women only. By eliminating high-risk men, we can afford to give you huge reductions on your insurance premiums". Furthermore, the advertisement stated that "Men probably won't like this but we don't care. All we care about is your needs".

The complainants submitted, in essence, that the commercials are sexist and discriminate against men by showing them as irresponsible. After hearing out the two parties the ASA Directorate ruled that the radio commercials and the internet advertisement are in contravention of Clause 3.5 of Section II of the Code. The advertiser was ordered to withdraw the advertisement and the commercials with immediate effect.

The second example is a complaint against Teazers Restaurant in September 2006. The restaurant ran adverts on billboards with a picture of a guava; picture of a kitten with the words "ours are playful"; an oyster that several complainants contended resembled a woman's private parts; a woman's torso clad in a bikini top and bottom with her hands in her pants saying "itching for action?". There was also a picture showing a pole dancer with the words "always in pole position" and a picture of a woman scantily dressed in panties and bikini tops with the caption "not your average lounge"; "girls that stop traffic"; "at Teazers our girls don't lounge around".

The Advertising Standards Committee found that the billboard with the caption "itching for action" violated the

stipulations of the Code of Advertising and ordered its withdrawal but dismissed complaints with regard to the other billboards. The ASA maintained that all the other advertisements did not violate the clauses on gender. It was against that ruling that the appellants appealed to the committee.

The Advertising Standards Committee pointed out that the constitution of the country entitles everyone to freedom of expression. It also argued that freedom of expression extends to commercial speech and consequently, to commercial advertising. The committee also said there was no evidence that any of the women in the billboards were in any way coerced to participate in the advertisement.

Advertising research

The South African Advertising Research Foundation, (SAARF) conducts advertising research in South Africa. It is a member of Advertising Research Foundation of the United States of America. SAARF is a non-profit making organization founded in 1974 to provide, on an ongoing basis "comprehensive, unbiased, valid, reliable and credible media audience and product consumption measures."

It consists of marketers, advertising agencies and media owners. The organisation conducts its research through personal computer assisted interviews, using a questionnaire to record data. SAARF's main objective is to direct and publish brand research and media product surveys for target marketing. It also conducts research on the buying and selling of media space. SAARF is responsible for the All Media and Products Survey, (AMPS) which is conducted every year. SAARF is jointly controlled by advertisers, advertising agencies and media owners.

The Southern African Marketing Research Association (SAMRA) is also involved in advertising research. This is a professional body of individuals engaged in every aspect of marketing research- from planning, supervision and setting standards for the industry to teaching and promoting professionalism in marketing research. It is owned by its members.

Advertising Media Forum (AMF) conducts television advertising research in South Africa. It is a non-governmental organisation that monitors television broadcasts and gets information from the SAARF to consolidate its research. This enables it to track individual spots on TV to determine precisely what the projected audiences would have been. It uses what is referred to as Day After Broadcast (DAB) data. AMF's work provides a platform for media strategists, planners and purchasers to co-ordinate a common policy to promote acceptable standards and practices.

BIZCOMMUNITY.com is a body of advertising agencies, media practitioners and players in the marketing industry in South Africa. It provides daily advertising and marketing activities and media news for the advertising industry. Its information is subdivided into categories like, Advertising community, Marketing community, Cinema news and other broad categories like Radio and TV news.

Media Monitored

The study monitored advertising in seven media: both public and private as well as print and electronic. These were:

- **Print:** The Star and Sunday Times, advertisements appearing on the first ten pages.
- **Radio:** Kaya FM, a private radio station and SAFM' (a public radio station). The monitoring picked out adverts flighted during morning rush hour, between 8 and 9 am.
- **Television:** SABC 1, a public broadcasting channel, and ETV, a private television station. The monitoring picked out adverts aired during prime time, between 7 and 9 pm. South Africa was the only country in the study with

a private broadcaster. In the other three countries only state television channels were monitored.
- **Billboards:** The monitoring included ten billboards on the country's major roads and highways.

The monitoring took place over a seven day period staggered from 3 December to 16 December 2006. The monitoring covered a total of 521 advertisements.

FINDINGS

If the advertisements regarded as gender neutral are excluded (for example they did not include the image or voice of a person) two thirds of the adverts were classified as having gender biases of one kind or the other using the classifications explained in the introduction (gender blind, subtle stereotypes, and blatant stereotypes) with only one third classified as gender aware.

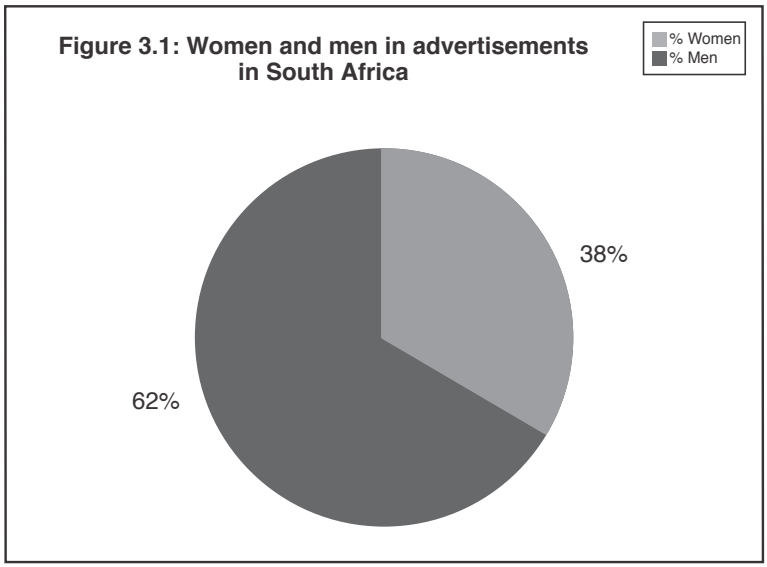
Gender blindness

A basic test of gender blindness (or awareness) is the extent to which women and men are represented in content as compared to their representation in society.

All told, women constituted 38% of the subjects (images and voices) in the advertisements monitored. This is the second lowest proportion in the study (Zambia had 47% women subjects in the advertisements monitored; Zimbabwe 43% and Mauritius 36% women subjects).

However, as in the case of other countries, there is still a higher proportion of women in advertising than in news content. Latest figures from the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) study in 2005 showed that women constitute 26% of news sources in South Africa (the highest in the region). The higher proportion of women in advertising than in news content suggests that women are more valued in the media for their physical than for their intellectual attributes. As in the case of news content, the advertising research revealed several instances in which women are simply ignored even when they might have a keen interest in the product or service being advertised.

Figure 3.1: Women and men in advertisements in South Africa



The blind spot in sports



Several examples of "gender blindness" identified by the monitors concerned the way that female audiences are ignored in sports advertising. One of the billboards advertises a sports outfitter called Pro Shop. It features successful sports people, among them, Tiger Woods. On the shop logo are the words "helping friends play better golf."



Women participants felt that the advertisement is oblivious of the fact that women participate in sports. They pointed out that South Africa hosted The Women Golf World cup in January 2007. They felt excluded from sports by such advertisements. Male participants also felt that the advertisement makes golf appear like a men's sport. They noted that there is a general misconception that women are not interested in sports which is actually not true.



This VW motor rallying advert (*The Star, 12 December*) is a congratulatory advert which promotes Volkswagen motor rallying. The advert congratulates the winner of the 2006 National Rally championship and also thanks its partners BP, Esteq Design, Nationwide Airlines, Southern Sun Hotels and German engineering for their support. There is a picture of two men both showing the victory sign and below them the caption "Double Victory."

Female focus group participants said that the advert portrays rallying as a sport for men. It also associates men with victory and power. Women felt that instead of having two male subjects, the advert could have made use of a woman and a man. They noted that women are generally not used as the main subject in sports adverts. Male participants were not sure what the advert is selling. One participant said the advert seemed to imply that men are better drivers than women which is not borne out by road accident statistics.

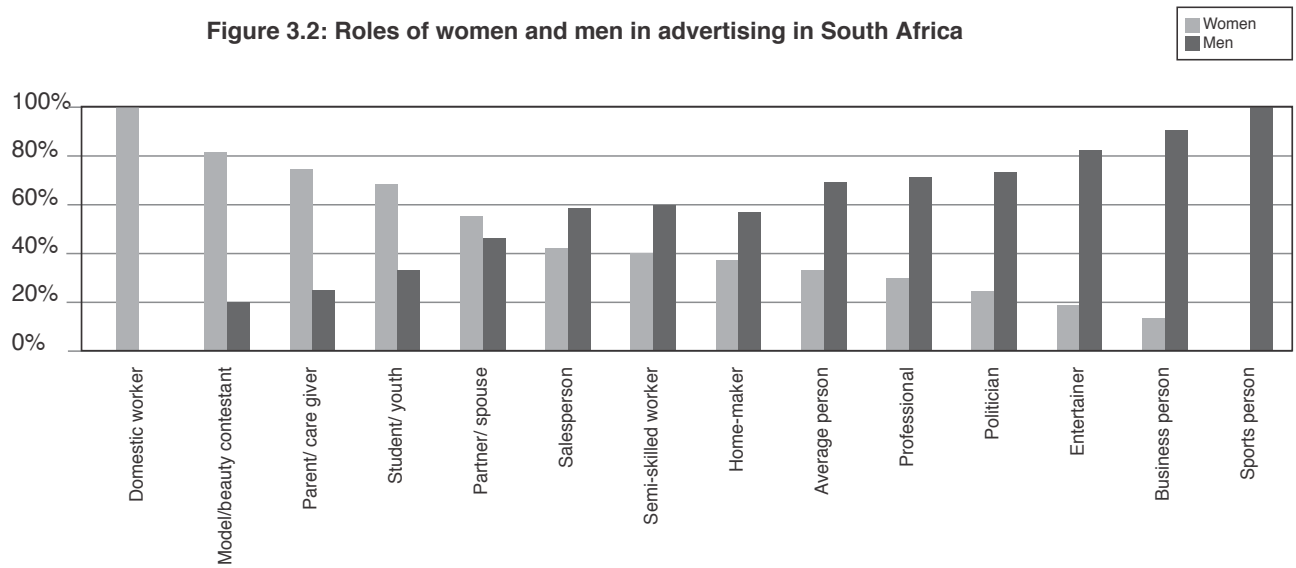
Another advertisement (SABC Sport Premier Soccer League, SAFM 6 December) concerned an upcoming football match between two popular Soweto giants Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates to be played over the coming weekend. Supporters are urged to come and watch the thriller. The advert makes use of male voice-overs to urge supporters to attend.

The language and targeting of this advertisement seems to be oblivious of the fact that women also watch and even play soccer (the Banyana Banyana team). Women focus group participants said that by having only men talk throughout the advert, they felt excluded from the game and from the target audience. Both male and female focus groups said that there is a general misconception that soccer is a man's game. They felt that this is unfortunate in a country with a vibrant women's national soccer team.

Stereotypes

As in the case of news content, gender biases in advertisements are not just about whether women and men are present or absent, but also about how they are portrayed.

Figure 3.2: Roles of women and men in advertising in South Africa



With a few exceptions (such as men predominating in the role of homemaker!) Figure 3.2 shows how advertising in South Africa does little to challenge the predominant stereotypes about the roles of women and men. Women predominate in the roles of domestic worker; model/beauty contestant, parent/care giver and partner/spouse. Men predominate in the categories of sports person (100%); professional, politician, entertainer and business person. Stereotypes may be divided into blatant and more subtle forms.

Blatant stereotypes

Although the research suggested that there are fewer blatant than subtle stereotypes or of cases of gender blind advertising, such stereotypes are evident in certain advertising trends as well as in several specific examples picked out by the monitors.

Women are more likely to be seen than heard

As in other countries in the study, women in advertisements in South Africa predominate in still images (in print and billboards) rather than in voice and sound (on television and radio).

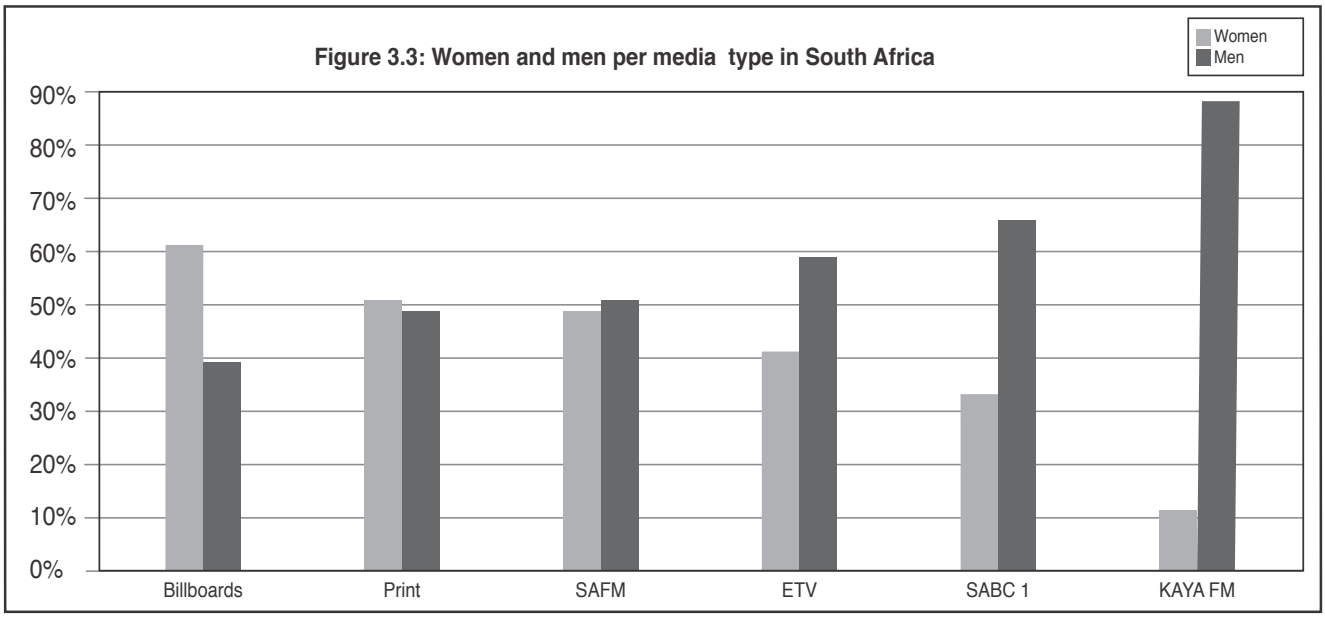


Figure 3.3 shows that women predominate in billboards (61%) and in the print media (52%). Men predominate in radio and television. The most glaring gap was on Kaya FM in which women in advertisements represented a paltry 12% of the total.

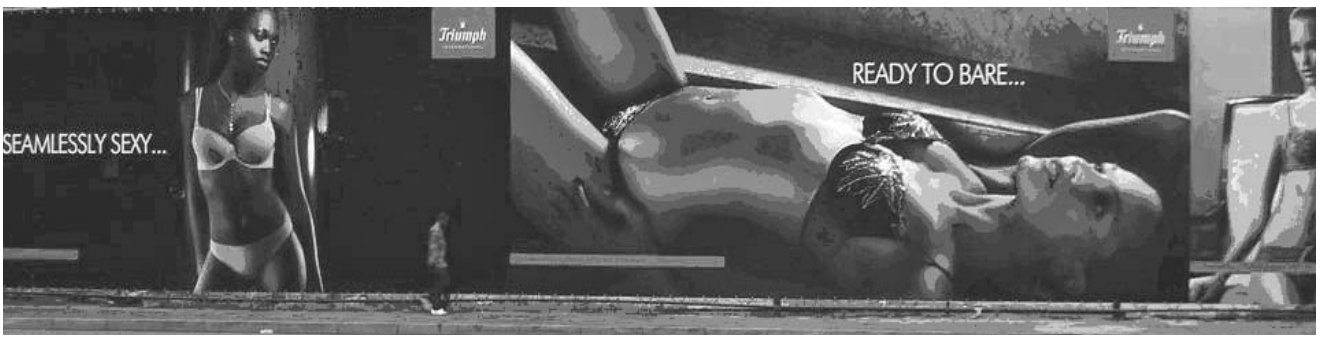
Men's voices also dominate in voice-overs; a finding in this study that concurs with global research. At 24% South Africa, together with Zimbabwe, had the lowest proportion of women voice-overs in the whole study (in which the average for women's voice-overs is 29%). The absence of women voice-overs is especially pronounced in radio, where they constitute a mere 10% of the total.

These patterns reinforce the notion that women are objects to admire rather than views and voices to be heard and engaged with. As the examples that follow demonstrate, blatant stereotyping is at its worst in billboards; ironically the medium in which women predominate and one of the most powerful with regard to attracting attention.

Objects for men s pleasure



Advertisements suggesting that women are mere objects for men's pleasure are a common form of blatant stereo- typing. An example is the billboard showing three women clad in triumph lingerie. One of them is lying down with her feet up. Just above her is the caption, 'READY TO BARE.' The other caption on the billboard says 'SEEMLESSLY SEXY'.



The women focus group felt that the advert degrades women and reduces them to sexual objects ready to provide a service rather than to buying clothing for their own pleasure. Men agreed that the advert portrays women as sexual objects, but said that there is no other way to market lingerie than to show women wearing it. However, they agreed that this could be done in a way that makes women feel good about themselves, rather than simply wanting to please men.

Objects with no relationship to the product

Another way in which blatant stereotypes are perpetuated is in advertisements in which women are simply placed in the advert to draw attention, without any real relationship to the product being advertised. An example is a newspaper advertise-ment during the monitoring period of a scantily- clad woman promoting MTN SMS bundles. MTN is a mobile telephone service provider. In this advert it is calling on consumers to get MTN SMS Bundles and stand a chance of winning R1000 airtime everyday.



Male and female audiences pointed out that there is no relationship between the SMS bundles and the semi-naked woman. A woman participant noted that perhaps the reason for this is that "sexy sells." Another said that she has always been attracted by colourful sexy billboards without thinking about the underlying gender dynamics. Both groups argued that advertisers exploit women's sexuality to sell their products. But they also agreed that women who participate in such advertisements do so of their own accord.

Lost in translation

In some instances, the pressure to give a sexual twist to advertisements leads to confusion as to what the product is that is being advertised. A case in point is the Nine West billboard advert showing a semi-naked woman walking, with a man lying on the ground in between her legs. Both women and men focus groups had great difficulty in identifying the fact that the advertisement is actually about shoes.



Men in control



An advertisement on Castle Lite on ETV during the monitoring period showed a man at a bar manoeuvring his way around the room to get to the front. He says he likes being in control and making the right choices, which is why he drinks Castle Lite. He says he is also in control in the way he chooses his women. The man is shown making his way to a woman and grabbing her by the arm showing that he has chosen her. The woman obligingly follows. The advert is an example of how men enjoy unlimited power and space. The woman is presented as evidence of the man's ability to make right choices.

Both focus groups felt that the advertisement shows that men wield so much power in society such that they have the ability to choose how they want to lead their lives. Women are part of the men's array of choices. Male participants said they did not like the man's condescending attitude as it gives the impression that he can get anything he wants. Female participants said they did not like the way that women are presented as passive partners in the relationship; as part of the man's many conquests.

Men who rule the world



An advertisement on SAFM for the SABC 3 programme "Planet Earth" during the monitoring period sent out a host of stereotypical messages about men and women. In the advertisement, a man tells his partner Suzy that he is in love with someone else. In a squeaky and irritating voice, Suzy asks who it is. The man replies that it's one of his goats which he describes as very sweet and does not complain all the time. He alludes to the fact that the goat is much nicer than Suzie. Suzy complains at being replaced by an animal. The high pitch gives the impression that she is a nag. The man says that he likes his pet better because it does not moan and complain.

Female focus group participants found the advert highly offensive. Male participants at first had difficulty understanding the advert. After a replay, they commented that the advert gives the impression that men command the universe while women are portrayed as victims who can be done away with anytime.

Subtle stereotypes

Because they reinforce notions that society regards as normal, subtle stereotypes are potentially as damaging as the more blatant stereotypes. As in other case study countries, women and men in South Africa tend to be strongly associated with certain kinds of products and roles. This is one of several ways in which subtle stereotypes are perpetuated.

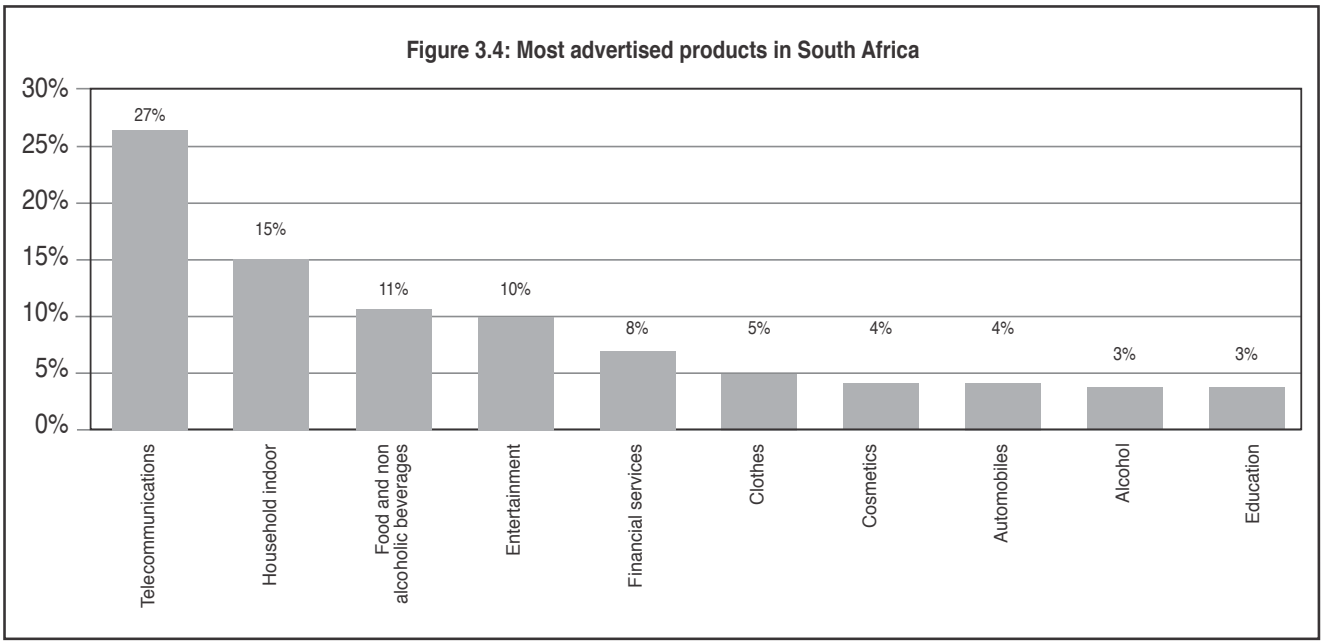


Figure 3.4 shows that in South Africa, telecommunications followed by household products (indoor) are the most advertised products, while automobile parts, alcoholic beverages and education featured as the least advertised products. The examples that follow show how household in door products and food are strongly associated with women and reinforce their domestic role in a way that promotes subtle stereo-types.



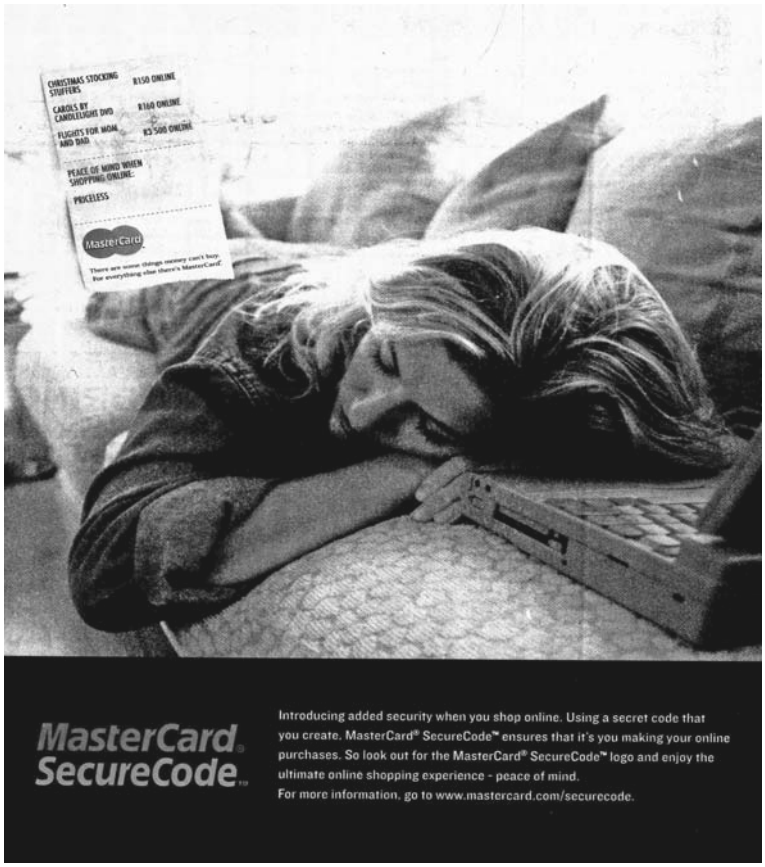
An advertisement on ETV (12 December) marketing Kellogg's cornflakes as a healthy start to the day showed a woman in the kitchen fixing the cornflakes while a man is playing with a child outside. The woman says that she has to ensure that her family eats well. She then goes to the dining table and serves her family.

This advertisement makes a woman in the kitchen seem very normal. One male focus group participant felt that the advert depicts a division of labour that enhances family cohesion. But other male participants said that the advert portrays women as second class citizens always at other people's service.

Women focus group participants felt that the advertisement promotes gender stereotyping in that it seems to be saying a woman's place is in the kitchen preparing food for her family. Some male participants felt that it was unfair to show a man playing outside while the woman prepares food. They said the advert missed the opportunity to make a powerful statement by showing the man fixing the cornflakes

Women and shopping

Another subtle stereotype often perpetuated in advertising concerns women and shopping. The Master Card Secure Code (*Sunday Times*, 10 December 2006) markets an online credit card facility. It shows a woman lying lazily on a bed with a lap top next to her**.** There is an insert about Christmas shopping, added security and peace of mind when shopping online.



Women focus group participants felt that stereotypes surrounding women and shopping are not true. Men on the other hand believed that women love to shop and would use credit facilities at the slightest opportunity. But both groups agreed that the advert could have shown a man and a woman enjoying the new facilities.

Weighty matters

An advertisement on SAFM (4 December) concerned the benefits of belonging to a Discovery Vitality club with Discovery Medical Aid. The vitality status allows members to obtain discounts from major retail stores and Nando's has just joined the discovery family. Vitality members are encouraged to eat healthy by buying food from Nando's and also get cash back in the process.

The product is advertised by a woman with a subtle hint that women are more concerned about their health and weight than men. Women focus group participants felt that the advertisement targets them since there is a tendency to associate women and food. Men did not read any hidden messages in the advertisement.

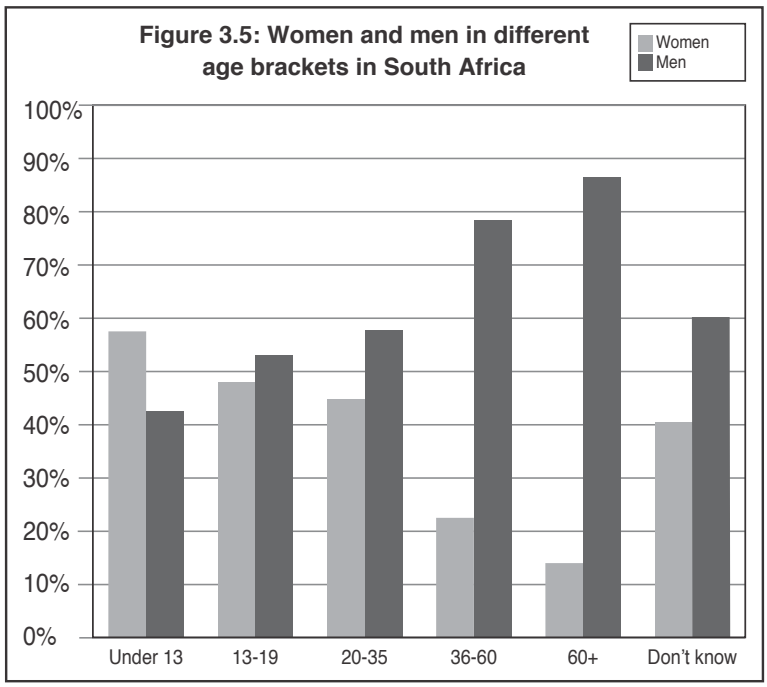
Focus of attention

On the face of it, a Meltz clothes shop billboard showing two men and two women enjoying their new purchases is a balanced portrayal of both. However, women focus group participants noted how the men in the image focus on the crotch of one of the women and not vice versa. They also noted how in the case of the women some parts of their body are showing while this is not the case for the men in the picture.



Older women are invisible

One of the ways in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is through older women being made invisible. Figure 3.5 shows that the only age category in which there are more women than men is under 13. Women and men are almost evenly balanced in the 13-35 age brackets. But from age 36 onwards, women in adverts basically disappear.



Gender awareness

The monitoring revealed, however, that there are a growing number of examples of gender aware advertising. Participants in focus groups picked these examples out and often commented on how they made more business sense by being inclusive. The following are some examples of advertisements categorised by the monitors as gender aware:

Equal opportunities

As in the case of Mauritius, one of the areas of advertising that now has a strong emphasis on gender balance is educational opportunities. An example is an advertisement in *The Star* during the monitoring period of two female and two male students from diverse racial backgrounds. The advert makes use of both female and male students to attract prospective students. By so doing it makes a statement that women and men have equal intellectual capabilities and deserve the same educational opportunities. Women can be high achievers just like men.

Male focus group participants observed that the advert shows two male and two female students. The women focus group participants concurred that by showing both male and female students, the varsity is driving across the message that men and women have the same capabilities and should be given equal learning opportunities.



Mutual concerns

Another advertisement (SAFM, 4 December) concerned Oxygen Medical AID from Old mutual. The advertisement boasts that with inflation going up, the one thing that is still affordable is Oxygen Medical Aid in which you cover/ensure all your children and pay the price for only one child. Going against the usual trend in radio (in which male voices predominate in advertising) the advert had both male and female voice- overs. The female voice is the one that talked about how inflation is rising.

This advertisement portrays men and women as equal partners with similar concerns about their children. Both male and female audiences noted that the advert gives women and men equal space to talk about health insurance, an issue that affects everyone. They agreed that having a woman talking about the effect of inflation on her family sends home a strong message about women as citizens. It moves away from the traditional



stereotype of men fending for their families while women stay at home. Women focus group participants said that they felt valued and appreciated by the advertisement.

Similarly, an Old Mutual Financial Services billboard showing that finance and business are not entirely men's issues drew praise from focus group participants. Audiences felt that the advertisement is balanced and it relates to the services being advertised. Women participants noted that they often feel left out of financial advertisements - even through the corporate world is not only a man's world.

Men can model



Another advertisement (ETV, 14 December) on Ackerman's, a clothing store, urged people to go and buy affordable comfortable clothes for the whole family. Men are shown modelling just like women. This advertisement challenges the traditional stereotypes of women both as models and shoppers. Audiences welcomed the shift. They felt that including men in modelling roles shows that fashion is dynamic and inclusive. It's not only women who are concerned about fashion and beauty.

CONCLUSIONS

The responses of focus group participants in this study suggest that the public may be ahead of advertisers in wanting to challenge old stereotypes and see women and men in more diverse roles in advertising.

A few men said that they enjoy seeing "flesh flashing" beautiful women in advertisements. Some male participants argued that there is no way women's lingerie can be advertised without showing the image of a woman wearing it. Other male participants said that the "gender division of labour" makes for family harmony.

But a large number of male participants said they would like to see more men doing household chores; helping around the house and even cook meals for the family. They felt by showing a woman preparing food while the rest of the family waits for her to serve them promotes a negative stereotype that men do not cook and that cooking is exclusively for women.

Most female participants said they were dismayed at the continued stereo-typing of women. There was general appreciation of advertisements that moved towards more balanced and innovative approaches.



Chapter Four Zambia 4

Key facts

At 47% Zambia had the highest proportion of women subjects in advertising in the study: This is higher than the average of 41%. At 36% Mauritius had the lowest proportion of women subjects.

Advertising makes more use of women than news content: The proportion of women in advertising is more than double the 17% women in Zambian news content (GMMP 2005).

Women appear more in television and print advertisements than in radio and billboards: Unlike other countries in the study where the highest proportion of women is in billboards and print, in Zambia the highest proportion is in TV (50%) followed by print at 48%. Billboards had 33% women (compared to the average in the study of 56%). As in the other countries, at 29% radio had the lowest proportion of women subjects.

Men dominate in voice-overs: Overall men made up 70% of all voice-overs in Zambia. This is slightly higher than the regional average of 69%. This has been a consistent observation across all countries in the study.

The roles that women and men appear in perpetuate gender stereotypes: Women predominate in the roles of parent/caregiver; domestic worker and as models/beauty contestants. However in Zambia women also constituted the majority of those portrayed in business advertisements.

Telecommunications featured as the most advertised product in Zambia, constituting 32% of all the 435 advertisements monitored. Food and household products-indoor featured second and third. The strong association of women with the latter products contributes to subtle stereotyping.

Women between the ages of 20 and 35 appear most in adverts while women over the age of 60 are virtually non-existent. This is another way in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced.

Gender aware advertising is growing, especially in the new telecommunications advertising sector: The monitoring featured several examples of gender aware advertising, especially in the telecommunications sector which is relatively new and looking to have as broad a reach as possible.

This chapter of the report is based on the findings of the Zambia advertising monitoring research. The four-country Mirror on the Media project which sought to establish gender media advertising trends also took place in Mauritius, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

BACKGROUND

Zambia is a relatively small, landlocked country located in the middle of the Southern African sub region with a population of 11 million people. It earns more than 60% of its income from copper production mainly from the Copper belt Province, which has been the traditional mineral base, and the newly discovered copper in the North-Western Province.

Media density

Zambia has witnessed a rapid growth of the media in the years following the liberal economic policies and plural politics ushered in by former Republican president Frederick Chiluba's Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in the early '90s. Currently, there is one national broadcaster – Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), the Zambia News and Information Services (ZANIS), both owned by the Government, two private Television stations, two Government-owned daily newspapers, one privately owned daily and five commercial radio stations.

These are complemented by five privately owned periodicals and more than 20 community radio stations dotted across the country, mainly in rural areas. While all the two main newspapers, national broadcaster and national news agency are wholly owned by the State there has been a notable balance provided by a strong and vibrant private media led by The Post newspaper, Radio Phoenix (commercial) and the Catholic church's Radio Icengelo (community).

Advertising

The Zambia Institute of Marketing (ZIM) is the body mandated to regulate marketing in Zambia, but there is no regulatory authority for advertising. The Association of Advertising Practitioners has no legal powers to regulate its members. ZIM announced last year that it was working with the association to form an ethics committee to check insensitive and misleading advertisements, but little has been heard about the exercise to date.

Media Monitored

The monitoring covered advertisements in billboards and five media outlets during the period December 3 to 16 2006. Print media outlets included the Times of Zambia and the Post. adverts were monitored. Electronic outlets included the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Television (ZNBCTV); Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Radio 2 and Radio Phoenix, a private radio station.

FINDINGS

If gender neutral advertisements (for example those in which no people featured) are discounted, approximately half of the advertisements monitored exhibited gender biases of one kind or the other, either by ignoring the existence of women ("gender blindness") or perpetuating blatant or more subtle forms of stereotypes. Monitors classified the other half of the advertisements monitored as gender aware.

The result may, have been affected by the fact that the monitoring took place in the count-down to Christmas and New Year with telecommunications dominating advertising. Because telecommunications are a more recent product and one in which marketing is aggressively appealing to all sectors of society, these products tend to be associated with a higher degree of gender awareness.

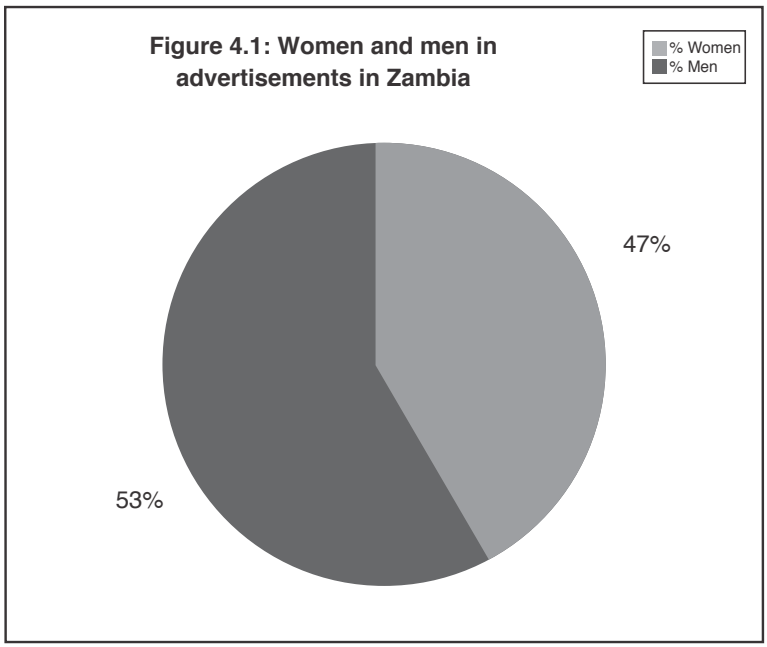
Another factor is the Sixteen Days of Activism Campaign on Violence Against Women from 25 November to 10 December when advocacy from gender NGOs was at its peak. One or two of the advertisements concerned this campaign. Advertisers also appeared to be rather more cautious about flighting advertisements that perpetuated blatant stereotypes during this period.

Gender blindness

A basic test of gender blindness (or awareness) is the extent to which women and men are represented in content as compared to their representation in society.

Figure 4.1 shows that at 47%, Zambia had the highest proportion of women as subjects (images and voices) in advertising in the study, for which the overall average of women subjects was 41% women. The percentage of women as subjects in advertising in Zambia is more than double that in news content (Zambia had 17% women sources in the Global Media Monitoring Project conducted in 2005). The predominance of women in advertising as compared to news content reinforces the stereotype that women in Zambia are more valued for their looks than for their intellectual capability. And, even with so many women in advertisements, many examples in the qualitative monitoring showed that advertisements suffer from the same kind of "gender blindness" as is often found in news content.

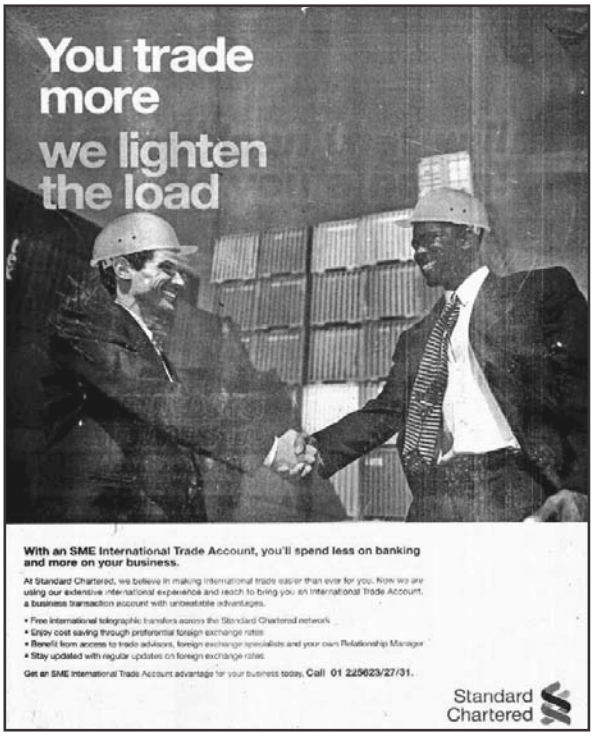
Figure 4.1: Women and men in advertisements in Zambia



Missing images

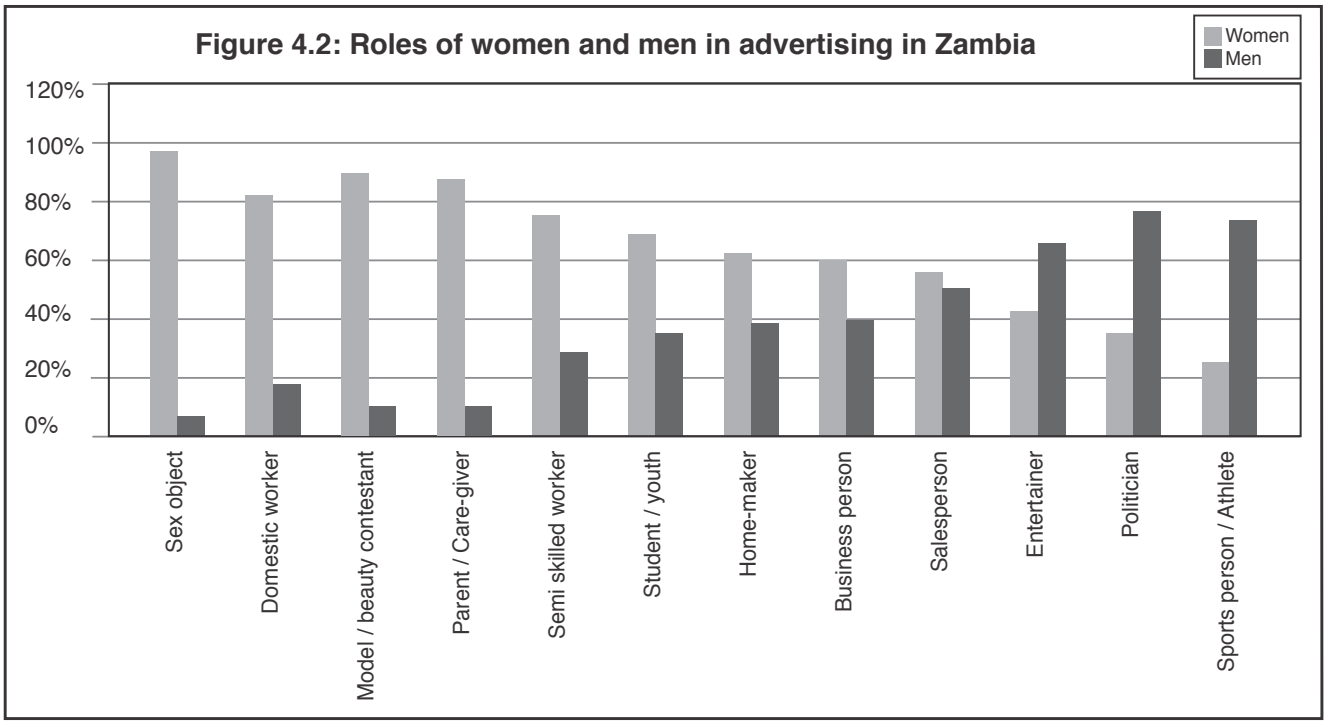
An example is the Standard Chartered Bank advertisement that appeared in the *Times of Zambia* (6 December) consisting of a big white-and-black picture, taking up three quarters of the space, of two men in executive suits wearing hard hats shaking hands and smiling. It is advertising an international trade account for small and medium-scale entrepreneurs.

This advert is gender blind because it ignores the fact that women can also run successful small and medium-scale business. Standard Chartered Bank is targeting only men for this empowering service. It is important to use inclusive images that encourage both men and women who want to run successful businesses.



Stereotypes

As in the case of news content, gender biases in advertising are not just about whether women and men are present or absent; but also about how they are portrayed.



In a pattern similar to the other countries, Figure 4.2 shows that women in advertising in Zambia predominated in the roles of model/beauty contestant/sex object; domestic worker; parent/care giver; semi skilled workers; students, youth and home makers. Men predominated in the roles of salesperson; entertainer; politician and sports persons. An interesting exception to the rule is the fact that a higher proportion of women (60%) featured as business persons than men (40%). As elsewhere, stereotypes in advertising in Zambia are both blatant and more subtle.

Blatant stereotypes

Although the research suggested that there are fewer blatant than subtle stereotypes or of cases of gender blind advertising, such stereotypes are evident in certain advertising trends as well as in several specific examples picked out by the monitors.

Dominating the scene

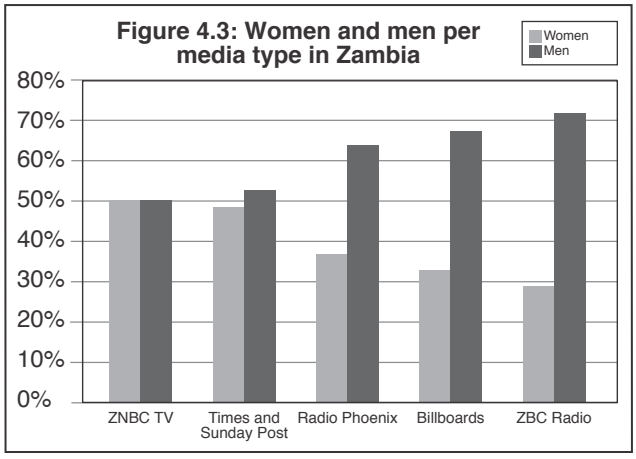
"Change your life with MTN" (*Times of Zambia,* 6 December) is an example of blatant stereotyping in the print media. The advertisement consists of a big picture of a jubilant man in the left top corner, taking up a quarter of the advert, and a very small, almost invisible picture of a woman talking on a mobile phone near the bottom of the advert.



This advertisement is an example of a blatant stereotype as it perpetuates male domination. The looming picture of the man suggests that he is more important while the tiny picture of a woman secretary reinforces the stereotype that women are subordinate to men. The advertisement shows how advertisers and their clients often portray women in marginal roles while elevating men to positions of power and control.

Women are more likely to be seen than heard

As in the other countries in the study women are more likely to be seen in images than heard as voices in advertising in Zambia. However, unlike other countries in the study where this is true of still images, in Zambia women are more numerous on TV and in print media than in billboards (in which men predominate).



However, as in the case of other countries in the study, women's voices are under represented in radio. Zambia had 30% female voice-overs, one percent more than the regional average of 29%. Zambia came second after Mauritius which had 38% female voice-overs. South Africa and Zimbabwe had the lowest figure at 24%.

"A boy's place is in school"



Men's voice-overs may suggest that advertisements are targeting men even when they may in fact be targeting women and men. For example, an advertisement on *Radio Phoenix* (8 December, 2007) about a private school with only male voice-overs gave the impression that only boys deserve a good education. The school is in fact open to both boys and girls.

Powerful men, feeble women



Another case of blatant stereotyping picked up by the monitors is the Apple Max drink advertisement (ZNBC TV, 6 December, 2006). A woman is ascending the stairs with a bottle of Apple Max drink in her hand, while a man is descending. The two meet in the middle of the stairway. The man is dressed like a gangster giving the woman the creeps as she looks over her back. While walking up she misses a step and crashes to the foot of the stairway. The man laughs at her, picks up the drink and starts drinking it thirstily while smiling at the sprawled woman.

In the advert the man is portrayed as powerful, fearsome and domineering while the woman appears as a frightened, unsteady person. When she falls the man does not care about her safety – he does not bother to find out whether she is hurt despite causing her fall – but he is only interested in her drink, which he does not even bother to ask for.

As if that is not enough the woman smiles at the heartless man, reinforcing submission and tolerance of ill-treatment, which is common in instances of gender-based violence. This advert not only fuels marginalisation of women but promotes violence against them as well because it implies that women should endure pain without complaining, especially when it is caused or inflicted by men.

Customer is king!



The lion king advertisement by Cell Z on ZNBC-TV (4 December) also demonstrated the effect of male voices and voice-overs. A roaring lion and a king's crown with a male voice-over in the background says: "To us our customer is king. Be a king with our off-peak rates; fit for the king."

The advertisement carries the masculine symbol of a lion. It uses a king's crown and the word king as a very important person, likening him to the service provider's customer. This implies that only male subscribers of Cell Z are important. It also implies that only men subscribe to the network, which is not true. The female subscribers are treated as insignificant despite the millions of Kwacha they are pumping into the company through talk time purchases. If off-peak rates are fit for a king, they should as well be fit for the queen!

Subtle stereotypes

Because they reinforce notions that society regards as normal, subtle stereotypes are potentially as damaging as the more blatant stereotypes. As in other case study countries, women and men in Zambia tend to be strongly associated with certain kinds of products and roles. This is one of several ways in which subtle stereotypes are perpetuated.

Figure 4.4: Most advertised products in Zambia

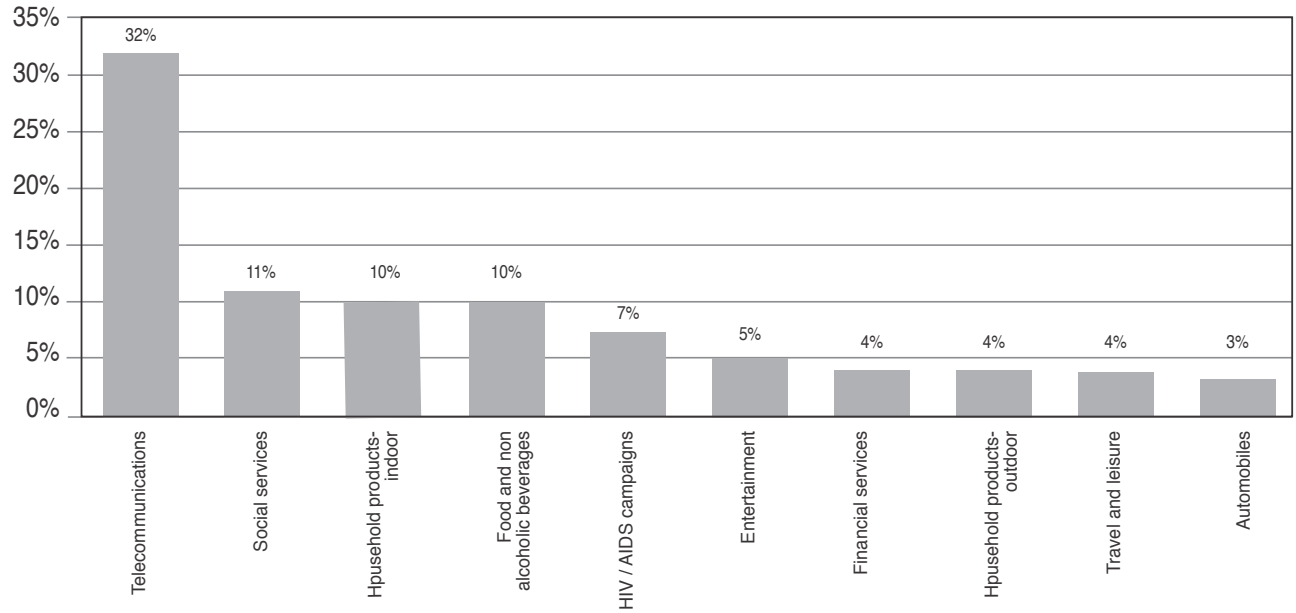


Figure 4.4 shows that the most advertised products are telecommunications, social services, household products (indoor), food and alcoholic beverages, with household products (outdoor); travel and leisure and automobiles among the least advertised. As in other countries in the study, women tend to be associated strongly with certain types of products, such as indoor household goods, food and beverages.

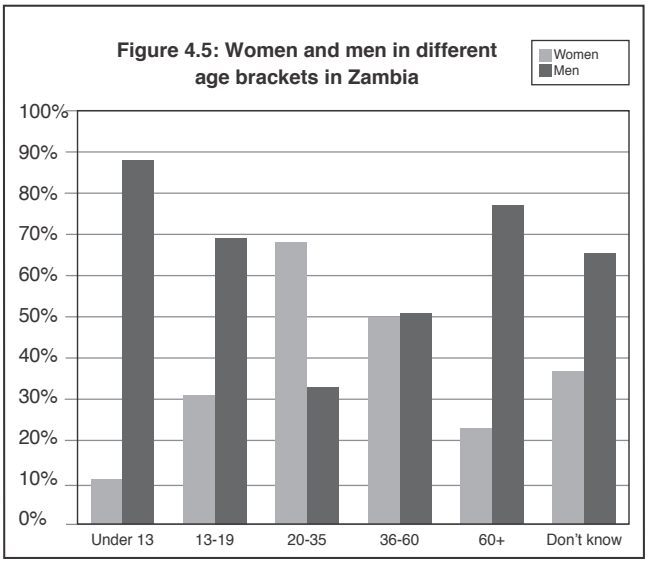
An example of ways in which subtle stereotypes are perpetuated through advertising is the advertisement that appeared in a newspaper of a young woman dressed in sports gear relaxing on grass with a packet of milk and a glass beside her. She appears to be reading something, a book or magazine. The caption says that the milk can be used as a side drink, or in cooking or baking. This advert reinforces the stereotype both that women's faces are a way of attracting attention as well as the fact that they are responsible for cooking.



Another case is Fashion Bonanza's Radio Phoenix advertisement on 8 December, 2007. A voice advertises mainly women's wear. The advertiser targets women as though men are not interested in new fashion.

Older women are invisible

One of the ways in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in the media is through older women being made invisible. Figure 4.5 shows that women in Zambia predominate in advertising in the 20-35 age categories. Women are about equally represented in the 36-60 age categories. But after the age of 60 women virtually disappear from advertisements.



Who gets to party?

The Y'ellow groove advert by MTN' on ZNBC-TV (12 December, 2006) demonstrated how much older women are made to look unattractive in advertisements. The advertisement concerns two young women dancing at a night club and a husband dancing in a kitchen with his wife, who is shown wearing an apron and holding a cooking stick. This is followed by a picture of a young man dancing beside his car, dressed in a suit and a businessman dancing behind his office desk.

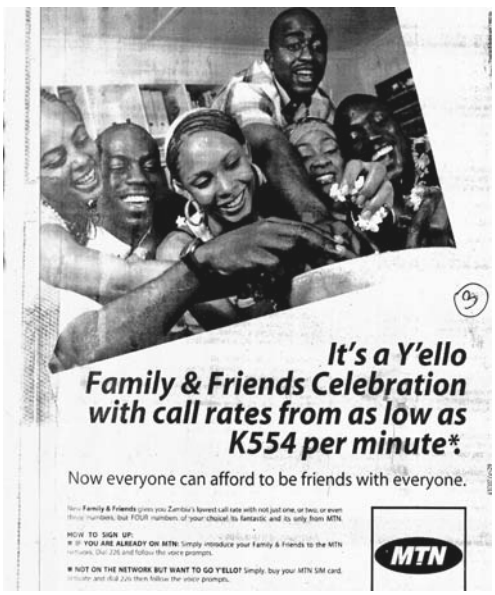
There are no older women shown dancing in the night club, reinforcing the perception of women enjoying a night out as immoral. In the home the man is not doing anything while the wife is cooking, perpetuating the belief that a woman's place is the kitchen. Only men are shown with a car and sitting in an office implying that women do not feature in the professional category.

Gender awareness

The monitoring did reveal, however, a number of examples of gender aware reporting. Some of these are summarised below:

Everyone needs a friend

The Y'ello Family & Friends Celebration (Times of Zambia, 8 December) concerning lower phone call rates is anexample of how the more progressive telecommunication adverts are targeting all sectors of society. This advert is gender aware because it is gender balanced – three men and three women. All of them are smiling and are carefully mixed so that no one appears more prominent that the other. The advert sends a positive message that women and men are equal. It highlights the fact that both women and men are users of information and communication technology (ICT).



Women and men as partners



Another case concerns two men and two women advertising talk time. The women and men speak as equals. The men treat the women advertisers in the conversation with respect. Such advertisements promote positive attitudes towards women.

Gender violence is everyone's business



Zambia is the only country in the study that yielded an example of social advertising. The "Commemorating Sixteen years of Sixteen Days of Gender Activism" advertisement on ZNBC-TV (6 December, 2006) comprised a mute (silent) drama. It shows a husband shouting abuse at his wife, who is trying to defend herself by answering back. The man behaves like a wounded beast, accusing his wife of being brainless by using gestures. The man sends her packing, swaggering with pride as he watches her go. At her parents' home her mother tells her to go back to her abusive husband because it is against tradition for a wife to live her matrimonial home on her own. It is the husband who should take her back. At the end of the short drama there are voices of women and men condemning the man's and his mother-in-law's actions, and calls on women to report domestic violence to the police. It also urges mothers not to force their daughters back into abusive relationships.

This advertisement speaks volumes on what anguish women go through in the privacy of their homes. It highlights how society allows the abuse of women by their husbands or partners because it is 'normal' and how harmful traditions perpetuates the violation of women's human rights. It features messages that condemn the abuse and challenges women still trapped in abusive relationships to take full control of their lives and move out. Such adverts help to change attitudes and perceptions about violence against women in society.

Conclusions

While Zambia is making great strides towards promoting more gender aware advertising, and features a high proportion of women among its subjects, the qualitative monitoring suggests that lurking beneath these numbers is still a high level of blatant and more subtle stereotyping.

The aggressive advertising campaigns around new communication technologies illustrate the dichotomy that advertisers find themselves in. On the one hand their natural inclination is to ignore the existence of women or treat them as mere objects to attract customers. On the other hand the commercial imperatives are to reach out far and wide, to women and men, young and old. Greater research is required into the market effects of gender stereotyping and conversely the benefits of more balanced and sensitive approaches.



Chapter Five
Zimbabwe

5

Key facts

Women are more likely to feature in advertisements than in news content: In Zimbabwe women constituted 43% of subjects in advertisements; higher than the regional average of 41% and the second highest after Zambia which had 47% women subjects. However, this is almost double the proportion of women in news content in Zimbabwe (22% in the Global Media Monitoring Project conducted in 2005).

Women are more likely to be seen than heard: Women predominated in the print media and in billboards, with a much lower presence in radio and TV. Women also constituted a mere 24% of voice-overs, compared to the average in the study of 29%.

Older women are virtually absent from advertisements: The only age category in which women predominated in the Zimbabwe survey was in the under 13 age bracket. Men constituted four times as many women in the 36-60 age brackets and there were no women in the 60+ category.

Women dominated in roles that linked them with the home: For example the domestic worker category had 100% women. Men dominated in business settings, with women only 14% of those portrayed in business.

Financial services and household products were the most popular during the monitoring period which coincided with the festive season: Among the less advertised products are automobiles and parts as well as telecommunications. The latter featured among the most advertised products in other countries in the study.

There are strong associations between products and gender: Women were especially strongly associated with household and food products.

Zimbabwe still has a high proportion of blatant stereotypes. Zimbabwe had the highest proportion of blatant stereotypes in the study (21%) and the lowest proportion of gender aware adverts (13%). ZTV in particular featured several blatant stereotypes.

But there are examples of gender aware advertising emerging, especially in non-traditional areas like financial services: As in other countries in the study, the monitoring featured examples of gender aware advertising in which women and men feature as partners or in non-traditional roles. Examples of this were in the financial sector (more advertised than in other countries in the study) in which women featured as customers with financial muscle and interests rather than as bank tellers (as is often the case).

This chapter of the report is based on the findings of the Zimbabwe advertising monitoring research that covered 267 advertisements in November to December 2006. The four-country *Mirror on the Media* project which sought to establish gender trends in media advertising also took place in Mauritius, South Africa and Zambia.

BACKGROUND

Zimbabwe shares borders with Zambia in the north, Mozambique in the east, Botswana in the west and South Africa in the south. Following a long and protracted liberation struggle against white-rule, the country became independent in 1980. In the years following independence, the country made enormous strides in the fields of health and education. This legacy is still evident today in Zimbabwe's literacy rate which stands at 83%, one of the highest in Africa.

Media context

Zimbabwe's Constitution guarantees all of its citizens freedom of expression, which as the country's Supreme Court has ruled in several cases: "is one of the most precious of all the freedoms and is a vitally important right and an indispensable condition for a free and democratic society"[1] Freedom of expression, especially in the public domain, is premised on the belief that everyone in society has rights and entitlements by virtue of being citizens.

Zimbabwe's media continues to face a number of difficult challenges which include, among others, a stringent media legal environment; a small pool of trained journalists and editors to meet the information challenges and media needs of the population; a polarised media which falls into the camps of "government-controlled" or "government-supported" media versus "opposition media" and "independent media" and a decline in quality journalistic training.

The functioning and growth of an independent and pluralistic media in Zimbabwe is hampered by the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), which replaced the Law and Order Maintenance Act previously used to harass journalists and the 2002 Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act which requires for journalists to be licensed. These licenses can be revoked if journalists write false stories or defamatory articles, and they can be imprisoned or fined. This Act also put in place a statutory media council to regulate the media's operations, and a commission, the Media and Information Commission (MIC) which issues licenses.

The 2001 Broadcasting Act, while paving the way for private broadcasters, also gives the responsible Minister the powers to close or take-over a station without giving reasons. No foreign investment is allowed in applying for the licenses which last for only one year.[2] In addition to the MIC, other media regulatory bodies include the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) and the Post Office and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (POTRAZ).

1 Media Law and Practice in Zimbabwe, Geoff Feltoe, published by Konrad Adenauer Foundation, p.7
2 Southern African Media Directory 2004/5, Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2004

Advertising

Representative bodies

In Zimbabwe the advertising agencies all register with the Media and Information Commission (MIC). This registration process is compulsory and all media outlets in Zimbabwe register with this umbrella body. At the time of the study there were 42 registered agencies. Of the 42 agencies, 16.6% had women in top positions.

The advertising agencies also register with the Advertising Media Association (ADMA). This is the representative body for the agencies. Joining the association is voluntary, but it is in the best interest of the agency to join. Membership is open to the following categories of media operators or proprietors: radio, television, newspapers, periodicals published in Zimbabwe, magazines, cinema, outdoor and direct mail. The objectives of ADMA are to:

- Maintain the highest standards of ethics in all advertising media.
- To promote and protect interests of the advertising media.
- To support the maintenance of fair and reasonable advertisement charges by members.
- To prevent persons from using media for advertising immoral or other matter which, is against public interest.

Advertising agencies also register with another representative body, the Zimbabwe Association of Accredited Practitioners in Advertising (ZAAPA). Membership to this body is voluntary but limited to those agencies registered with ADMA.

The Code of Standards does not specifically mention gender stereotyping. Clause 3.1.5 notes that: *Every effort shall be made to ensure that no advertisement contains anything, which is likely to offend susceptibilities of any section of the community. In the event that any group makes a justifiable complaint, the ASA Committee shall be convened and make a ruling.* Clause 3.1.9 says: "*No advertisement shall endeavour to create a sense of inferiority in the mind of the person or persons who do not use the product or service being advertised by the advertiser*.' And clause 3.1.10 notes that, "*No advertisement shall contain any visual element which, by itself, or in combination with words used in connection therewith, is likely to convey a misleading impression, or if the reasonable inference to be drawn from such advertisement infringes any of the provisions of this Code*."

At the time of writing none of the complaints that had been lodged concerned gender stereotyping. The only complaint that had been lodged concerned the alleged copying of the slogan of another advertisement by another agency.

Advertising research

The Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation (ZARF), established in 1997, undertakes independent market research on behalf of advertisers, the media, publishers, advertising agencies and public relations consultancies. The Foundation's principal objectives, as recorded in its Constitution, are:

- To promote, sponsor, arrange, authorize, commission, manage, control, or cause to be arranged, organized, conducted, authorized or commissioned, the obtaining of all kinds of advertising research, media audience research, surveys, investigations and reports.
- Likewise to do all things and carry on any activities related to or associated with the above areas, with power to act through its duly authorized agents, employees and contractors and other interested parties, and to

employ companies, firms and persons for such purposes, and generally do all things necessary and incidental in order to give effect to any of the objectives of the Foundation.

The Foundation comprises a board of directors representing its "members" - The Advertising Media Association, The Association of Zimbabwe Advertisers, The Communications Industry Association and The Zimbabwe Association of Accredited Practitioners in Advertising.

Media monitored

The monitoring covered four media houses from 3 December to 16 December 2006: a total of 267 advertisement. The media covered included:

- **Print Media:** The Herald newspaper, a state run daily; and The Zimbabwe Independent (a privately owned paper).
- **Television:** The monitoring covered the country's only Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) from 8pm - 9pm.
- **Radio:** The monitoring covered Radio Zimbabwe from 8.00 am to 9.00 am.
- **Billboards:** 9 billboards on major roads through the capital city Harare including Samora Machel Avenue; Borrowdale road; the Airport road and Enterprise road.

FINDINGS

If items regarded as gender neutral (in most cases having no human content) are excluded, over two thirds of the items monitored exhibited gender bias of one kind or the other (classified either as subtle stereotypes, blatant stereotypes or gender blind). Less than one third were regarded as gender aware. Compared to other countries where blatant stereotypes formed the lowest of the three categories of gender bias, in Zimbabwe monitors identified a high proportion of blatant stereotypes.

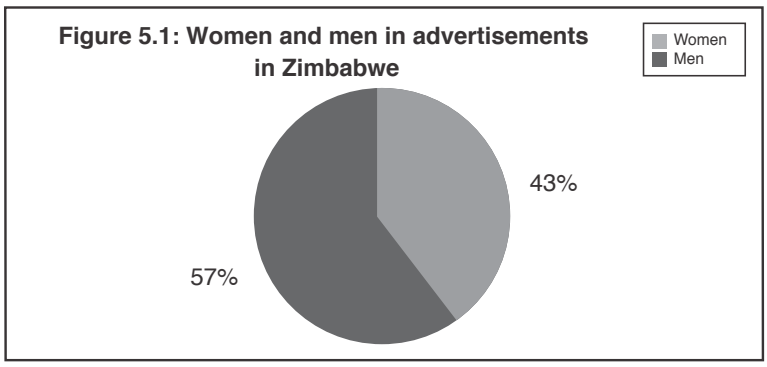
Gender blindness

A basic test of gender blindness (or awareness) is the extent to which women and men are represented in content as compared to their representation in society.

Women are more visible in advertising than in the news

Figure 5.1 shows that women constituted 43 percent of the subjects (images and voices) in the Zimbabwe research: second highest in the study to Zambia which had 47% women subjects in advertisements monitored. This is just about double the proportion of women in news content (women constituted 22% of news sources in Zimbabwe in the Global Media Monitoring Project conducted in 2005).

Figure 5.1: Women and men in advertisements in Zimbabwe



Missing images

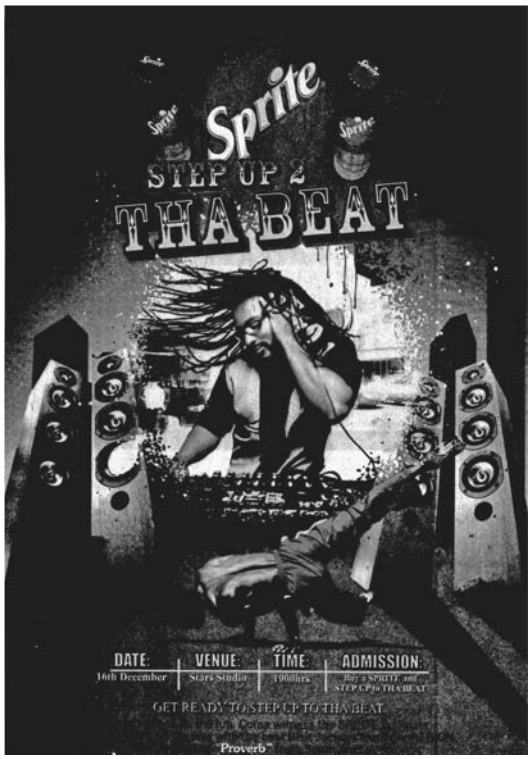
Several examples in the monitoring also showed that even though a higher proportion of women feature in advertising, there are many instances in which they are treated as though they do not exist. A case in point is the billboard advertising mineral water. The picture shows a male athlete drenched in sweat drinking the product. The caption reads, "nature's best, Aqualite, pure, cool and refreshing."



The male audience felt the advertisement related to the product. The female audience felt that the product gives the impression that it is only men who are athletic and get thirsty.

In another advertisement, a DJ spins music with speakers on either side of him, while a man break dances to the music he is playing. Only men feature in the advertisement, although the product is one of interest to women as well.

An advertisement on ZTV (8 December) concerned nugget shoe polish. It features eight flashy men dressed in suits. The men are shown dancing and singing about their "blackness" to a thrilled audience. There are no women featured on stage with the men. Although the men are advertising a product used by both women and men, only men feature. Male audience felt that there was an exaggeration in the dancing of the men showing "blackness".



Stereotypes

As in the case of news content, gender biases in advertising are not just about whether women and men are present or absent, but also about how they are portrayed.

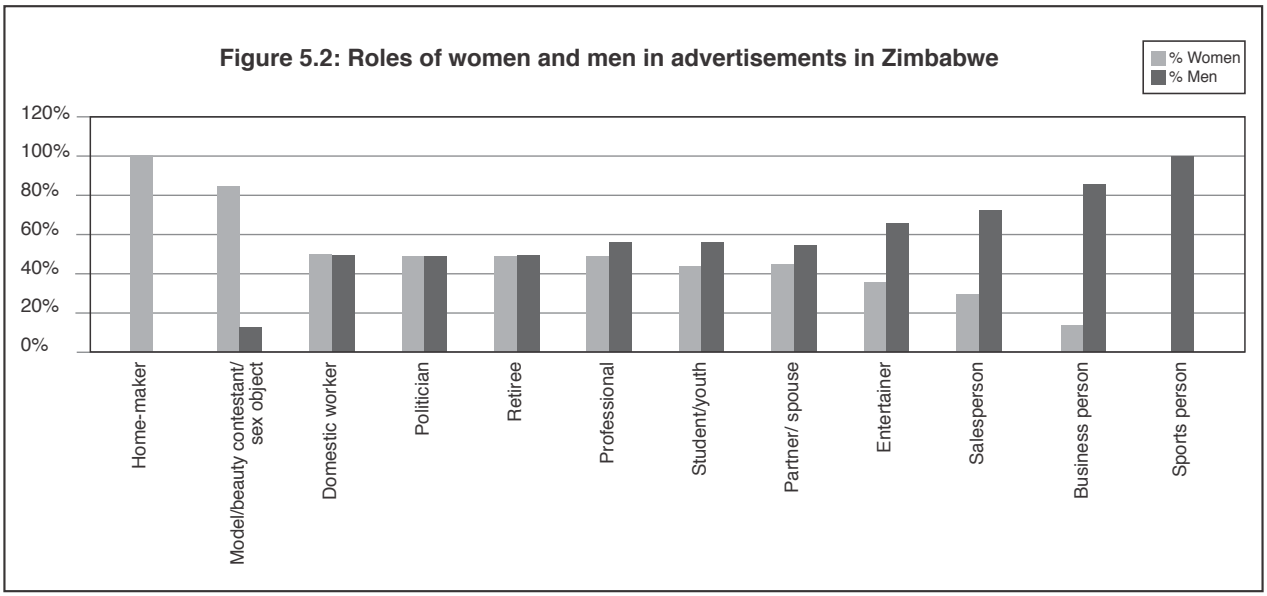


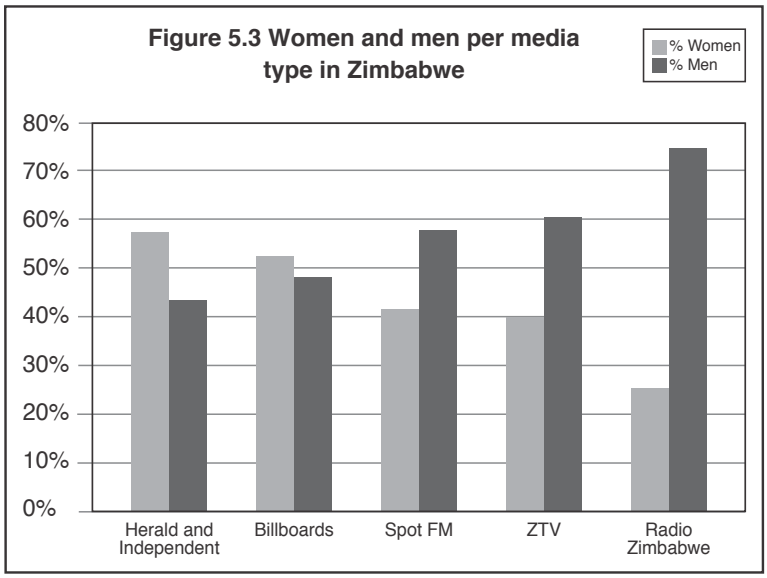
Figure 5.2 shows that, women dominate in roles such of homemaker, model/beauty contestant and sex object whilst men appear as professionals, business people and sports persons. Some of the areas in which women appeared (surprisingly) almost at par or equal with men are as domestic workers; politicians; retirees and as partners/spouses. This shows that there are beginning to be some changes in the gender division of labour. But by and large roles assigned to women and men tend to perpetuate blatant or more subtle forms of stereotypes.

Blatant stereotypes

Although the research suggested that there are less blatant than subtle stereotypes or of cases of gender blind advertising, such stereotypes are evident in certain advertising trends as well as in several specific examples picked out by the monitors.

Women are more likely to be seen than heard

As is the case in other countries in the study, women appear more in still images (print and billboard) than in TV or radio in Zimbabwe. Women subjects in print media came to 57% of the total and in billboards to 51% of the total compared to 40% for TV and 25% for radio. This suggests that women are valued more for their looks than for their intellectual capabilities.



What does smoking have to do with bra size?

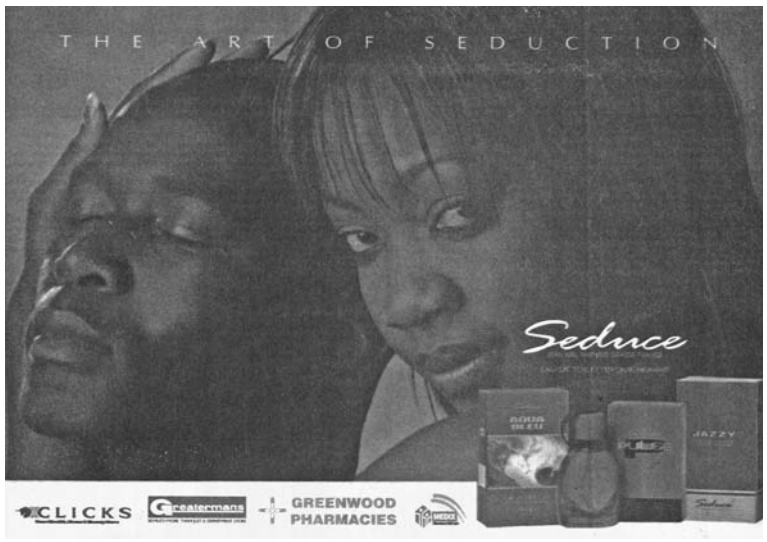
Billboards displayed the highest proportion of blatant stereotypes. For example, the billboard at the beginning of this chapter is for Pacific cigarettes. It shows a female in a low cut gown lying on the ground with a teacup next to her. The caption reads, "Storm in a D cup." The product being advertised is also shown, but is so marginal that it is difficult to tell what is being advertised.

In this advert the woman is presented as a sexual object with no relationship to the product. The caption is more related to advertising women's underwear (D cup is used in relation to underwear) rather than cigarettes. The male focus group felt that there was nothing wrong with the woman posing for the advert. To them it was just a way of attracting the target market. The female audience saw no relationship between the model and the product and found the advertisement to be demeaning of women.

Women as seducers

In an advertisement in *The Herald* (4 December) a woman gazes out at the viewer, with her hand wrapped around her lover's face. The implication of the advert is that the man after using Seduce is able to get any woman. The impression is that this beautiful woman is seductive.

This is an example of a blatant stereotype about women as not only beautiful but also cunning and able to manipulate men until they have them under control. The male audience



said the advertisement would entice them to buy the perfume. The female audience felt that the advert did not really relate to the product. They said it is difficult to tell from the advert which sex is being targeted.

Men are the voices of authority

Another way in which blatant stereotypes are reinforced is through male voice-overs being used more frequently in adverts compared to female voice-overs. Women constituted 24% of all voice-overs in advertisements in Zimbabwe (lower than the regional average of 29%). Thus, for example, a male voice is used in a radio immunisation advertisement to urge women to take their children for immunisation. Male voices, signifying authority, are even used for advertisements of grocery products.

Man to man: the Miss Tourism pageant



In an advertisement on radio (14 December 2006) a well-known television presenter and disc jockey is announcing the Miss Tourism Zimbabwe beauty pageant. He announces the date and venue and urges the public to vote for their favourite contestants. He announces at the end: "celebrating the beauty of Africa's paradise."

In this advertisement, men speak for and about women. Considering that this advert is about a female beauty pageant, the advert could have given a past winner or used a combination of voices to present the pageant making it inclusive, as there are women who may be convinced to attend. The advertisement suggests that the beauty pageant is being put on exclusively for men. The male focus group argued that the man's voice had a ring of familiarity and would attract everyone to listen to the advert. The female audience said they felt left out.

Subtle stereotypes

Because they reinforce notions that society regards as normal, subtle stereotypes are potentially as damaging as the more blatant stereotypes. As in other case study countries, women and men in Zimbabwe tend to be strongly associated with certain kinds of products and roles. This is one of several ways in which subtle stereotypes are perpetuated.

Figure 5.4: Most advertised products in Zimbabwe

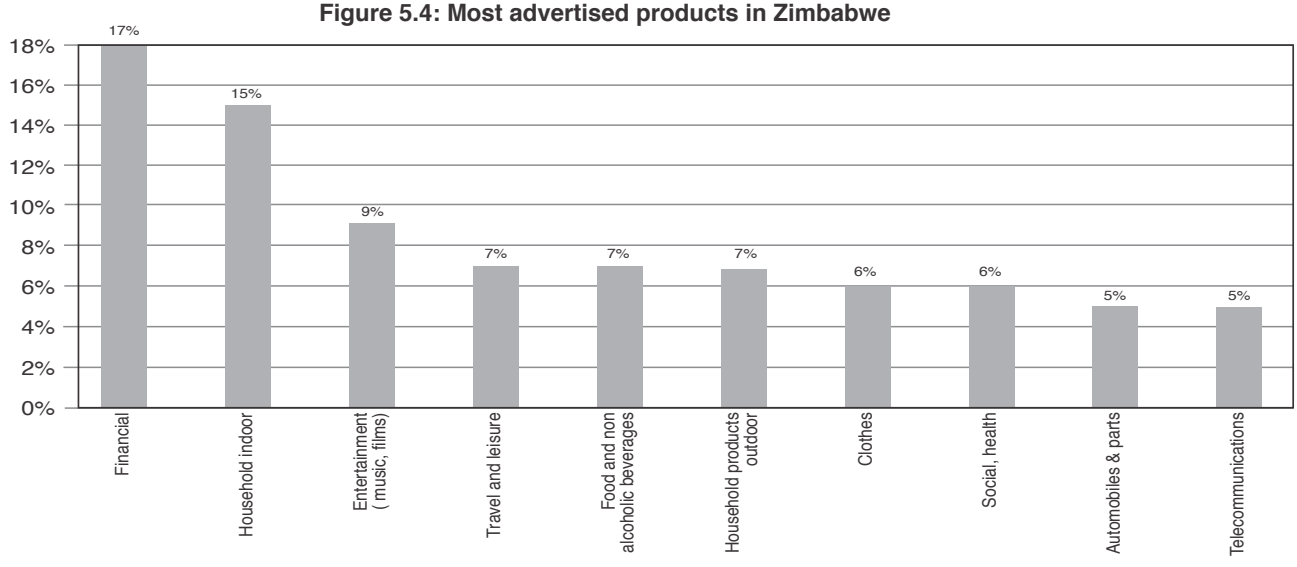


Figure 5.4 shows that the most advertised products in Zimbabwe over the monitoring period were financial services; household (indoor goods); entertainment; travel and leisure; food and alcoholic beverages. Among the less advertised products are automobiles and parts as well as telecommunications. As in other countries, one of the ways in which subtle stereotypes are perpetrated in advertising is the way that women and men in Zimbabwe are strongly associated with different types of products.

"A woman's place is in the home"

The advertisement (ZTV 12 December) markets a locally manufactured cooking aid/spice called Karinga. The advert shows a woman cooking for her family, who are sitting at a dinner table, excitedly waiting for the meal. The family is then shown eating the sumptuous stew prepared by the woman using the spice.

The advertisement perpetuates the stereotype that only women cook for their families. While it is true that women cook in most households, it is equally a fact that men, especially bachelors also prepare their meals. There is no reason therefore to project women as the only cooks and ignore men who also play that role.

Younger women in the focus group resented being viewed as housewives, while older women took the view that the advert is appropriate. Men participants maintained that the cooking spice is targeted at the right audience.

Another example concerns an advertisement for a new washing powder called Vanish. It shows a woman sitting with pink bubbles around her, a pile of clean laundry and a jar of the washing powder.



The advertisement subtly reinforces the stereotype that women are responsible for washing clothes. The advertisers may have focused on a particular market, which is women, but it is not only women who do laundry or buy the washing powder. This advert is packed in a way that makes it seem normal to have a woman advertising a detergent.

Another advertisement (Radio Zimbabwe, 8 December) had two women in dialogue, one advising the other about how Jik can be used to purify water and therefore prevent a cholera outbreak. It ends with the other woman going out to buy Jik.

The advert had no male voice-overs, reinforcing the notion that men do not do household duties or have a concern for the health and welfare of their families. This advert shows how the media has normalised the roles society has ascribed to women and men respectively. This advert falls within the traditional stereotype where a woman's place is in the private domain doing household chores.

The male audience felt that the advert related to the product, as did the female audience. Both audiences did not pick out any issues of gender stereotyping, although women felt the setting could have changed from rural to urban.

The man who can't say sanitary towels



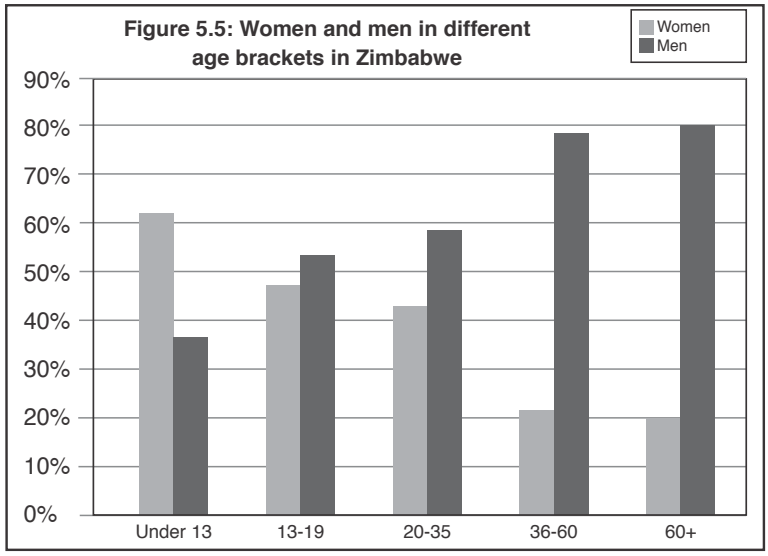
Another example of how subtle stereotypes are reinforced is the advertisement (ZTV, 4 December) featuring a male customer and a female salesperson. The man enters the shop and fidgets, failing to state exactly what he wants. The woman salesperson asks the man what he wants and he beats about the bush saying he wants "something comfortable" for his partner. When he is about to leave the shop, the salesperson tells him to wait, as she now knew what he wants: sanitary ware. She then suggests he buys Farai sanitary pads, which she describes as the best. The man buys them and leaves the shop looking relieved.

On one hand, the advertisement could be said to challenge stereotypes in that it features a man in an advert on sanitary ware. But the advert also subtly reinforces the stereotype that it's taboo and embarrassing for a man to buy sanitary pads for his wife. An interesting question to ask is what impact the advert would have had if it had featured a man walking up confidently and asking for sanitary ware!

Older women are invisible

Another way in which subtle stereotypes are reinforced in advertising is in the way that older women are made invisible. As in other countries, the only category in which women dominate is in the under 13 category. Thereafter there is a progressive decline in the proportion of women, with only 20% women in the over 60 category.

Figure 5.5: Women and men in different age brackets in Zimbabwe



Gender Awareness

Although the majority of items monitored demonstrated gender bias of one kind or the other, the monitoring also yielded examples of gender aware advertising. These examples are of advertising that is inclusive and emphasises shared concerns and responsibilities between women and men.

One life!

The billboard is an advertisement for a local church, its location and the times of its services as well as contact numbers. The billboard has a group of men and women from all walks of life and all races singing. The caption reads, "celebrate life." Women and men, white and black have been included, no doubt to reach out to a wide audience. Male and female audiences felt that the advertisement related to the product and that each of them could relate to it.



Women in non-traditional roles

In another advertisement (*The Independent*, 8-14 December) a young, professional woman stands contemplating her financial options. This advertisement is clearly designed to appeal to professional women.



Men in the focus group felt that the advertisement would have related more to them if a man had been used. The older women expressed similar views, but were also impressed about a woman being into finance. Younger women felt the focus on a woman is justified as it is reaching out to a new market.

An advertisement on ZTV (4 December) shows a professional woman sitting in her office behind a computer. The woman then talks about the professional way the bank has handled her finances and how happy she was banking her money with the financial institution.

Like the previous one, this advertisement reaches out to a new market. Instead of being bank tellers, women are depicted as account owners. This shows that women also make it in the corporate world. Female audiences felt the advertisement related to the product and were pleased that a woman was selling the idea. The male audience generally felt the same, but a couple felt that a man, would look better in a financial advertisement.

Partnerships for progres

The monitoring did in fact yield examples of both women and men in financial advertisements. A radio advertisement featured two voices, a woman and a man, encouraging everyone to join Barclays Bank. They went on to speak about the benefits of doing so. The advertisement used simple, accessible language. Women and men in the focus groups found the advertisement clear and inclusive.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the fact that women feature more prominently in advertisements in Zimbabwe than in news content, gender biases still abound. Women are more likely to be seen than heard; they are not the voices of authority; older women are virtually non- existent and many advertisements still treat women as objects. However, there are also examples emerging of more progressive and inclusive approaches that recognise women as professionals and independent consumers and seek to reach out to this new market.



Chapter Six Conclusions and Recommendations

6

Overall, the study shows that despite some progress, there are still several gender biases in advertising. These range from women being treated as non-existent (especially in sports and financial advertising); to being used as objects to attract attention with no relation to the product (for example standing in front of a car) to the numerous subtle stereotypes regarding the roles of women and men in society.

However, there are a growing number of advertisements that challenge these tired stereotypes by reaching out to women in their own right as professionals and appealing to women and men as partners. In focus groups, women and men were quick to pick out these examples that they found inclusive and more respectful of women.

The study shows how in countries like Mauritius where there has been a highly successful civil society campaign against sexist advertising billboards have literally come tumbling down. This suggests that the advertising industry is not as impervious to reason as might have been assumed. Specific recommendations include:

Gender and media activists:

- Conduct campaigns to publicise the findings and devise strategies for increasing gender awareness and sensitivity in the advertising industry.
- Broaden media literacy, consumer awareness and activism, especially the taking up of complaints against sexist advertising through regulatory bodies.
- Conduct further research into the extent to which sex actually sells, and conversely measures that can be taken to grow female audiences and markets.
- Sensitise advertisers and advertising agencies to the role that advertising plays in socialisation and in either perpetrating or challenging stereotypes.

The advertising industry

- Adopt Codes of Conduct that define sexist advertising and seek to promote more inclusive, gender-aware advertising.
- Involve women in the drawing up of such guidelines.
- Encourage complaints of a gender nature and act on these as such cases play a significant role in prompting debate and change.

Gender ministries

- Publicise the findings of research such as this and engage with advertisers on more progressive approaches.
- As in the case of Mauritius, encourage and support annual awards for gender sensitive advertising.

While women are more likely to feature in advertising than in news content, they are more likely to be seen than heard. Despite women constituting half of all consumers, they are often either ignored, or portrayed in ways that perpetuate blatant and more subtle forms of gender stereotypes. These are the key findings of the fifth issue of *Mirror on the Media*, a Gender Links series that tracks topical issues in gender and the media. Case material for the study is drawn from Mauritius, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.





