Advertising to Low-Income Consumers:

Portrayals of Women in *Drum* Magazine Advertisements 1981-2010

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Dedication

Dedicated Albertina, Mwabi, Chaabila, Vitima, Michelo, and Chimuka.

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Abstract

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Message source characteristics have an important effect on information processing and persuasion. Although well-researched in high-income countries and Western contexts, portrayals of women as messages sources in low-income and emerging markets contexts has received far less attention. This research examines the portrayal of women as message sources in advertisements appearing in *Drum* magazine 1981-2010, an important time period that captures South Africa's transition from Apartheid rule to a time when the equality of women has been recognised more formally. *Drum* magazine has been the leading South African general interest family magazine targeting primarily low-income black readers for the entire period of interest. Using content analysis techniques, coders analysed message source images in 244 randomly selected advertisements for the presence of physical characteristics and cultural characteristics associated with the message source. They used standardised criteria drawn from the literature and the results show high intercoder reliability. Fit to several models was assessed using a multilevel latent variable modelling approach in which advertisements were nested within years, controlling for the economic and product category effects. The best-fitting model identified five types of portrayals of women in advertising that varied temporally across two types of years in which the advertisements appeared. Five types of portrayals differ in the physical characteristics and cultural characteristics of the women portrayed as message sources: a) the *Ambitious Woman*, b) the *Emerging Woman*, c) the *Traditional Woman*, d) the *Modern Woman* and e) the *Community Woman*. Two types of years differ significantly in the appearance of the five types of portrayals of women, primarily in the emphasis of cultural characteristics and the prevalence of demeaning and empowering portrayals of women: a) *Years of Emphasised Agency* and b) *Years of Emphasised Connectedness*. Message source portrayals in advertisements intended to communicate with low-income consumers have not been studied previously. This is also the first study to examine longitudinal trends in advertising in an emerging market undergoing rapid transition. Implications for marketing theory and practice, limitations and suggestions for future research are outlined.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines the portrayal of women in print advertisements that appeared in the leading South African magazine serving low-income consumers during three decades of transition from Apartheid rule. Advertising researchers have studied images of people portrayed in print advertisements from several perspectives, producing an impressive body of research. Their research shows that the mere image of a message source (i.e., the central person in an advertisement) can have an important effect on attitude formation and change. Several explanations have been offered for these effects. Theories of attitude formation and change suggest that consumer assessments of message source characteristics help determine the process by which consumers respond to an advertising message and the depth and duration of persuasive effects (e.g., compliance, identification or internalisation, see Kelman, 1961). Research on dual process theories of attitude change shows that even the nonverbal images of a message source can communicate important information that affects consumer attitudes and behaviour (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984; Petty & Cacioppo, 1990; Chaiken, 1980; Johnson & Eagly, 1990). Message source effects remain an important topic for research in advertising and consumer research (e.g., Clark, Evans, & Wegener, 2011).

The portrayal of women is an important subdomain in the source effects literature (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Davis, 1990; O'Kelly & Bloomquist, 1976). Research in this subdomain is motivated by three broad factors. Firstly, media portrayals of women can provide insights into the social and cultural landscape regarding the treatment of women in society as well as an indication of the roles, status, and relative power of women (Hovland, MacMahan, Lee, Hwang, & Kim, 2005). Secondly, the media and advertisements in particular influence consumers' discourses, values and attitudes regarding the role and status of

women in society (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997). Finally, longitudinal studies make it possible to examine developments and trends in gender relations (Ahmed, Grace, Stelfox, Tomlinson, & Cheung, 2004; Hovland, et al., 2005; Plous & Neptune, 1997; Sexton & Haberman, 1974; Soley & Kurzbard, 1986).

The Current Research

In the current research, I examine advertisements that appeared in *Drum* magazine during the 1981-2010 time period. I chose *Drum* magazine as the context for the case study for two reasons. First, *Drum* has been the leading magazine for Black readers in Living Standard Measures (LSM) 1 to LSM 6 for more than half a century (The South African Advertising Research Foundation has long classified consumers according to objective living standard measures (LSMs), ranging from lowest LSM 1 to the highest LSM 10. LSM indicators include variables such as ownership of major appliances, type of housing, and urbanisation. See the South African Advertising Research Foundation website http://www.saarf.co.za for details). It is the leading South African general interest family magazine targeted primarily at black readers with low living standards. *Drum* was started by Jim Bailey in 1951. In 1953, the magazine started producing East African and West African editions. From the first issue in March 1951, the magazine was produced as a monthly until April 1965 when political bans forced it to go biweekly as a supplement to *The Golden City Post* newspaper. The current owners Media24 acquired the magazine in 1984. In its early years, the magazine pioneered black investigative journalism and photojournalism in South Africa and the rest of Africa. *Drum* is an important title that "…has always been a contemporary and relevant publication reflecting SA (South African) culture" (de Bruin, 2005). Second, although the living standards of many black South Africans have been rising during the 1981-2010 time period, *Drum* has been consistently

positioned to serve the needs of low-income readers and remained market leader for the entire time period. *Drum* has 2.3 million readers weekly. According to the South African Advertising Research Foundation's (2007) AMPS 2009AB, readers are primarily black (Black 94.3%, Coloured 4.2%), females (61%) with low living standards (SAARF-LSM classes LSM 1 to LSM 6, 60%). Forty percent have some high school education, 40.8% have matriculated, and only 17% have achieved a higher formal educational certification. Twenty seven percent are unemployed.

The data collected in the current research is from 244 advertisements, which were selected randomly from *Drum* magazine issues during the period. The timeframe was chosen in order to capture advertisements from the Apartheid era, the time of transition to democracy and the post-Apartheid era. I collected two types of data. The first type of data comprises *objective, physical measurements of the advertising stimulus*. The physical characteristics of the female images portrayed as central characters in each print advertisement were assessed by multiple coders according to objective criteria (e.g., size, posture, attire, function ranking, or portrayed role, which were measured directly by multiple coders) culled from prior studies. The second type of data comprises *subjective assessments of cultural content in the advertisements* (i.e., values and social axioms) by multiple coders who were selected from the target market segment. The cultural assessments were based on two well-known culture scales: Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) (Schwartz et al., 2001) and Leung and Bond's social axioms survey (SAS) (Leung & Bond, 2004). Both types of data were analysed using a multilevel latent class modelling approach in which advertisements were nested within years.

Justification and Contribution of this Study

There are two main justifications for this study. Firstly, South Africa is a fast changing emerging market in which a relatively young democracy is emerging from the legacy of the Apartheid system in which the human rights of women and people of colour were not fully recognised. Transition from Apartheid rule has brought about significant changes in the political, socioeconomic, and regulative environments. Significant milestones in the transition from Apartheid rule include the democratic elections of 1994 and the adoption of the new Constitution which affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom for all in 1996. One of the independent institutions called for by the Constitution to strengthen and support constitutional democracy is the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE, Act No. 108, 1996: Section 187(1)). Its aim is to "…promote respect for gender equality and the protection, development and attainment of gender equality". In 1999, the CGE's research on gender, advertising and broadcasting concluded that, "…while great sensitivity is now displayed towards race, gender remains a neglected dimension of advertising" in South Africa (Commission for Gender Equality, 1999: p 5). The situation does not appear to have changed appreciably in the decade since that pronouncement. This suggests the importance of understanding how women and men are portrayed in the media and advertising in particular. This investigation focuses on the portrayal of women because previous inquiries indicate that women are more likely to be portrayed negatively.

Secondly, marketplace globalisation has increased awareness of important fundamental differences between high income countries (HIC) and emerging markets (EM) societies, which include basic differences in socioeconomic, cultural and regulative institutions. Most prior research on source effects has been undertaken in HICs. In comparison, low-income consumers in EMs are characterised by socioeconomic institutions usually associated with low human

development (i.e., low formal education, literacy and numeracy, relative youth, low access to print media and books) as well as important cultural and regulative differences. Conceptually, these differences make it unclear if theories developed elsewhere apply in EMs, suggesting the "need to test even our most established theories in EMs" (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006, p. 345). Practically, these differences suggest the need for locally adapted marketing programmes (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006; Dawar & Chattopdhyay, 2002; Prahalad & Hammond, 2002). Thus, the different institutional contexts should cause us to question the wisdom of assuming the generalizability of theories and empirical findings from HICs to the EMs and spur us to undertake more research in EMs (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006).

It is in this vein that Dawar and Frost (1999) call attention to the differences between HICs and EMs and Prahalad and Hammond (2002) propose serving low-income customers as a profitable business strategy. EM consumers often do not respond to standardised marketing programmes that were developed in HICs, which is understandable as only about 3% - 20% of EM consumers have a standard of living comparable to those of HICs (Burgess & Nyajeka, 2007). EM consumers are different, and it is not likely that their preferences will significantly converge with those of HIC consumers, hence the call for the adoption of different marketing programs for EM consumers (Dawar & Frost, 1999) and the current research into advertising to low-income consumers.

Emerging Market Institutional Context

In what ways do EMs differ from HICs? Drawing on institutional economics (North, 1990) and sociology (Scott, 2001), Burgess and Steenkamp (2006) recently provided a framework for understanding the typical characteristics of EMs. They identify three main pillars of societies that underlie institutions in all societies, namely the socioeconomic, cultural and

regulative systems. The *socioeconomic system* includes social, political, economic and demographic factors while the *cultural system* deals with people's beliefs, attitudes, habits, norms and behaviours. The *regulative system* deals with formal rules and the consequences of compliance or non-compliance; and the presence and effectiveness of regulatory and related institutions.

The socioeconomic system in EMs is characterised by dynamics, demographics, and diversity. The dynamics aspect refers to rapid rates of economic and social change. The rapid pace of change impacts on social identities, values and consumer behaviour (Burgess & Harris, 1999). The demographic profile of EMs is generally youthful and diverse (see Table 1). This diversity produces one of the most distinguishing characteristics of EMs: a bifurcated market in which one segment enjoys living standards comparable to HICs while others live in conditions of extreme poverty (Batra, 1999). Burgess and Steenkamp refer to the bifurcated segments as the "urban elite" (generally about 5-20 % of the population) and "mass-market", respectively. South Africa's urban elite exhibit many of the characteristics associated with the urban elite in EMs elsewhere. They have relatively high levels of formal education and usually are employed in South Africa's modern formal economy. Access to global media and awareness of global brands and advertising campaigns is high, with preferences for global brands common in many product categories (Alden, Steenkamp & Batra, 2006)

In the current research, the focus is on mass market consumers. It would be fair to say that many have living standards that are at or near the level of subsistence (Ruth & Hsuing, 2007). Subsistence entails conditions of economic constraint and interdependence that affects every element of daily life (see the excellent volume edited by Viswanathan & Rosa, 2007). Word-of-mouth communication is an important source of product information and advertising messages

may be repeated in conversations with close others (Viswanathan, Sridharan, & Ritchie, 2010). Social influence on consumption patterns is high (Arnould, 1989). The conditions of subsistence living standards, low formal education, illiteracy, innumeracy, cramped living conditions, often inadequate access to basic potable water, electricity and formal healthcare shape their media and product consumption patterns (Burgess, 2002). They prefer smaller packages, more frequent purchases, intensive distribution, and have low product knowledge amongst other things (Weidner, Rosa, & Viswanathan, 2010). Print media "has a long shelf-life" as it passes from family to family, which results in very high readership per issue (South African Advertising Research Foundation, 2010).

Table 1

Comparison of Institutional Systems in EMs and HICs

Institutional subsystem	Emerging markets	High income markets
Socioeconomic subsystem		
Dynamics	Rapid social, political and economic change	Moderate social, political and economic change.
Demographics	Young, growing, large pool of under-educated.	Older, stagnant, well-educated
Diversity	Extreme differences in household size and income, living standards, access to human development resources	Smaller differences in household size and income, living standards, access to human development resources.
Cultural subsystem		
Hierarchy vs. egalitarianism	Hierarchy emphasised	Egalitarianism emphasised
Embeddedness vs. autonomy	Embeddedness emphasised	Autonomy emphasised
Regulative subsystem		
Rule of law	Moderate abuse of public office for private gain, moderate reliance on legal rights enforceable in courts of law, investor rights lower, legal outcomes more unlikely.	Low abuse of public office for private gain, high reliance on legal rights enforceable in courts of law, investor rights higher, legal outcomes more likely.
Stakeholder influence on corporate governance	Government, civil society, supply chain stakeholders influence high	Government, civil society, supply chain stakeholders influence moderate

Source: Burgess & Steenkamp (2006: p. 342)

These living conditions in EMs affect cultural systems, which may be observed in the cultural emphases reported by Israeli social psychologist Shalom Schwartz (2006; Schwartz et al., 2001). At the cultural level, Schwartz has identified three dimensions in his study of the values of more than 250,000 people in more than 70 countries. *Hierarchy versus egalitarianism* captures how responsible behaviour is assigned and maintained in a society. *Embeddednesss versus autonomy* concerns the individual's relations to the collective. *Mastery versus harmony* concerns people's relations to society and the environment. EMs are distinguished by the high priority placed on hierarchy and embeddedness (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006). The cultural system reflects societal priorities for values, beliefs and behaviours that people within a society consider appropriate and the roles and status they accord individuals and groups within a society. Consequently, the cultural system steers individual and group beliefs and behaviours towards institutional priorities, while proscribing incompatible beliefs and behaviours (Scott, 2001; Steenkamp & Geyskens, 2006).

Burgess and Steenkamp (2006) argue that institutional context is an important consideration in any study, especially when it differs significantly from prior research. They assert, moreover, that EMs provide natural laboratories in which the generalisability of theories may be tested and more may be learned about underlying mechanisms, so that true contingency theories may be proposed. The three distinct but interrelated pillars of institutions that they identify—the socioeconomic, cultural and regulative systems—have been identified as vital ingredients of a country's institutional context. Formal and informal institutions prescribe and proscribe gender roles and status that are reflected in advertising.

Researchers acknowledge that advertising can play a significant role in the production and maintenance of inequality due to the way people are portrayed in advertisements (Cortese, 1999;

Lyonski, 1983). The importance of researching the trends in gender role portrayals also is acknowledged; especially as research on gender role portrayals has produced inconsistent results (Wolin, 2003). However, little is known about the portrayal of low-income people in print advertisements intended to communicate with them, especially women. Most print advertisements are designed by people employed in the formal financial sector, who typically have high formal education but little day-to-day contact with people who have low incomes (Kuzwayo, 2000). As Burgess (2003) has noted, diversity within EMs often exceeds that between HICs, making it difficult for urban elite advertisers to understand their mass-market target audiences. Will advertising messages to low-income consumers (i.e., the mass-market) reflect their institutional context or that of the urban elite who design the advertisements? More specifically, will portrayals of women reflect their institutional context? Do print advertisements to low-income consumers exhibit patterns in gender portrayals? If so, do these patterns vary over time in response to changing institutional factors?

Research Objectives

The overall objective of this study is to identify patterns in the portrayal of women in print advertisements targeting low-income South Africans and to identify temporal variations in the use of these patterns during the period 1981-2010. More specifically,

1. To assess the images of females portrayed as a message source in print advertising executions in *Drum* magazine for two types of characteristics.
    a) Physical characteristics of the images of women as they are portrayed in the advertising stimulus, which relate to their roles, physical traits and postures, are measured by multiple coders who examine the advertisements.

b) Cultural characteristics (i.e., value priorities and social axioms) associated with the women's images by multiple coders selected from the target audience of *Drum* magazine.

2. To identify patterns in the portrayal of women in the period 1981 to 2010 and identify temporal variations in their implementation using the multilevel latent class modelling approach.

In addressing the above research objectives, this study makes empirical and practical contributions. *Empirically*, the study puts together a list of advertising stimuli and cultural characteristics culled from different sources that can be applied to study advertisements. I have not been able to find evidence of a similar study being undertaken. *Practically*, the study examines how South African print advertisers have responded to the rapid transition that low-income consumers and the country are experiencing. It examines how advertisers portray low-income consumers in print advertisements and makes recommendations for advertising practitioners. The study therefore contributes practically by providing guidelines for the design of advertisements targeted at low-income consumers and depicting women. The study also examines source effects in the context of low income consumers in a highly dynamic environment in transition, which is an important and understudied context. The study is the first to rigorously examine the portrayal of women depicted as a message source in advertisements intended to communicate with low-income consumers. It is also the first to rigorously examine longitudinal trends in advertising in an emerging market undergoing rapid transition. Further, this study assesses the generalisability of theories and models that are well established in the developed high-income, Western countries in an emerging market context. The results therefore

make an important contribution to the emerging markets' advertising, source effects, and gender literatures.

Although there is a rich body of extant research on source effects and message source research, most of this research has been undertaken in contexts that are different from the context of the present study. For this reason, this research which is exploratory, will not seek to test any hypothesis. However, based on the conclusions I draw about the relationships between and amongst the various variables of interest in the literature, I will present a number of propositions.

Summary

This chapter presented an overview of the current research, its objectives and its motivation. Its objectives are two-fold. First, to identify patterns in the depiction of women portrayed as central characters in print advertisements appearing in *Drum* magazine. There has been little research on the content of print advertisements in emerging markets, which is unfortunate for conceptual, methodological and practical reasons that are noted. This gap provides the justification for this study.

For the last half century, *Drum* has been positioned as a leading consumer magazine for low-income consumers in South Africa. Though South Africa's development trajectory is idiosyncratic, its institutional context exhibits typical emerging markets characteristics. Due to its status as a market leading publication for low-income consumers for half a century, *Drum* magazine provides an excellent opportunity for case study analysis of the depiction of women in print advertising intended for low-income consumers in an emerging market. This study will therefore contribute to closing the gap in what is known about the applicability of specific theories and models, contribute to the availability of tools for analysing advertisements, and

provide practical guidance for advertising practitioners regarding the portrayal of women in advertisements.

The second objective is to examine temporal changes, if any, in the depiction of women as central characters in print advertisements appearing in *Drum* magazine. Empowerment of women and other previously disadvantaged sectors of the population is a frequent topic of discourse in post-Apartheid South African government, business, and society in general. To illustrate, one-third of Members of Parliament are now women, women outnumber men in tertiary education enrolment and graduate programmes, and they frequently serve in senior positions in government and business. Notwithstanding that South Africa's ranking is relatively low on both indices, it is noteworthy that the ranking on the UN gender inequality index (#82) is significantly higher than on the UN human development index (#110) (UNDP, 2010). Notwithstanding these encouraging signs, it is not evident how these changes affect women in low-income communities and how they are portrayed in advertisements. For example, according to a recent Gender Links study, gender biases in occupational categories in media content are still pronounced with women predominating as homemakers (78%), beauty contestants (67%), social workers (64%), and sex workers (60%). Further, women are more likely to be identified by a personal tag that refers to their social roles than men, e.g., mother, wife, or daughter (Rama, 2010). Based on the foregoing discussion, the following propositions are made:

- Proposition 1: Negative portrayals of message sources in advertisements have declined significantly over the years because of the increasing empowerment of women since the advent of democracy.

- Proposition 2: The penetration of message sources presented in high ranking functions in advertisements has not increased significantly over the years because gender biases in occupation categories in media content are still pronounced.
- Proposition 3: The prevalence of message sources presented in home settings as homemakers has not declined significantly over the years because women are predominantly presented as homemakers in media content.

Very few studies have investigated the content of advertising in an emerging market context and there have been almost no longitudinal studies (a notable exception being Tse, Belk, & Zhou, 1989). This is unfortunate for conceptual and practical reasons. Conceptually, this paucity of research means that it is not always clear the extent to which established theories apply in emerging market contexts. Practically, there is no guidance regarding what stimuli, cultural characteristics, and contextual cues advertisers could use for the low-income consumers. The current research is intended to address these issues.

Structure and Overview of Thesis

The rest of the thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature on gender portrayals covering both the physical characteristics and cultural characteristics of the message source. The review also addresses information processing in advertising. Chapter 3 details the research objectives, the development of data collection instruments, and the sampling procedure. The chapter also explains the coding procedure, reliability issues, and data capturing and analysis. The study results and discussion are presented in Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 5 offers the conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

It is argued that society and social behaviour can be explained by examining everyday forms of social interaction including those depicted in advertisements (See, for example, Goffman, 1979; Schaeffer & Lamm, 1992). Sanctioned by the dominant culture, the media tend to portray traditional gender roles regarding women and men. For example, men and masculinity are profiled as all-important, dominating, and workplace oriented while women and femininity are profiled as nurturing, compliant, and home and housekeeping oriented (Connell, 1987). According to *identity theory*, individuals construct shared meanings through interactions with others, including the interactions seen in advertisements (Charon, 1995). Identity theory posits that identities such as one's gender identity are constructed from, reinforced, and validated by different types of information that an individual encounters in life (Milkie, 1994). Advertisements are among the many influences people encounter and, with other media messages, impact on people's expectations, attitudes, opinions and behaviours (Cortese, 1999). Hence, the portrayal of women in advertisements is an important topic for research.

People are socialized into gender roles (Goffman, 1979; Lindsey, 1997; Strinati, 1995) mainly through two mechanisms namely differential treatment and identification (Weitz (1977). Differential treatment refers to the different ways in people are treated based on their own and society's gender-related assumptions. Identification on the other hand, refers the development of feminine and/or masculine self-images by identifying with females and/or males in advertisements, for example. To illustrate, if both women and men are consistently exposed to images of women portrayed as homemakers, they may come to believe that a woman's main role is that of a homemaker. This identification and self-image may impose restrictions on both female and male gender roles.

Researchers frequently have attributed the learning that people acquire from the media to two theories of socialisation: social learning theory (Moschis & Churchill, 1978) and cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986; Morgan & Signorielli, 1990). According to *social learning theory* (Bandura, 1977), people learn from others that they observe in daily life. Advertising messages also provide opportunities for social learning, as consumers observe the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of people portrayed in the visual images and text of advertisements and then choose appropriate cognitive and affective responses. Social learning theory frequently provides a basis for explaining message source portrayals in advertising (Bailey, 2006; Clark, Martin, & Bush, 2001; McCullick, Belchner, Hardin, & Hardin, 2003; Skill & Wallace, 1990).

Cultivation theory holds that beliefs and attitudes acquired through long-term exposure and interaction with socialisation agents, such as advertising, shape consumers' perceptions of social reality (Gerbner, et al., 1986; McQuail, 2000; Morgan & Signorielli, 1990). If the media carry distorted and stereotyped texts and images, these distortions and stereotypes may influence consumers' perceptions of reality as well (McQuail, 2000). This is especially true when consumers do not have direct contact with those being portrayed in the media (Morgan & Signorielli, 1990). Cultivation theory goes further to suggest that how people are portrayed and covered in the media may also influence how they come to perceive themselves and relate to others in society (Shrum, 1996). Thus, the physical and cultural characteristics associated with a message source in a print advertisement potentially contain important information from which people learn.

Physical Characteristics of the Message Source

This section discusses the physical characteristics of the message source under the headings gender display characteristics and social role characteristics and then reviews some literature on gender role stereotyping for four decades starting from the 1970s.

Gender display characteristics. Goffman (1979) contends that power relations are an important aspect of gender representations in advertisements portraying women and men in social scenes. In the current research, these power relations are investigated by interrogating six characteristics or gender display categories that Goffman associated with the female message sources in advertisements, which include *relative size*, *feminine touch*, *function ranking*, *family scenes*, *ritualisation of subordination*, and *licensed withdrawal* (see Table 2).

Goffman's display categories have been adopted and used frequently in the literature (e.g., Belknap & Leonard II, 1991; Hovland, et al., 2005; Kang, 1997; Lazier-Smith, 1988; McLaughlin & Goulet, 1999; Sirikaya & Sonmez, 2000). Goffman did not intend to propose mutually exhaustive gender display categories. His categories represent fuzzy classifications that are not always mutually exclusive. Two methods of coding have arisen in the literature. Moore (1990) recommends coding the dominant gender display category. Belknap and Leonard (1991) suggest that all identifiable categories should be coded. In practice, I found that Moore's recommendation lead to better content analysis across multiple coders. Consequently, I used that approach in the current research (for details, please see Chapter 3.

Table 2

Coding Categories based on Goffman's (1979) Scale

Category	Description and category dimensions
Relative size	Person is larger, taller, elevated over others; person is heavier or in the foreground.
Feminine touch	Person's hands or fingers are used to caress, touch, or trace the outline of an object. Person's face is used instead of hand or fingers to touch objects or other people. Person touches her/himself.
Function ranking	Person is instructor or is being served by person of other sex or is in superior occupational role compared to person of other sex.
Family scenes	Parent and child of same sex are similar in appearance or appear to share special bond, parent seen as protector through distancing from family.
Ritualisation of subordination	Person shown in positions and poses that imply inferiority or deference such as the following: Bowing, lowering oneself. Person shown on floor or bed or in other spatially lower positions. Person of other sex elevated above person. Person in bashful knee bend or leaning on someone. Person in canting posture where head or body is tipped lower. Person is smiling in response to others. Person is dressed like a child or posed like a child. Person is prey in mock assault or teased or being held possessively (around shoulder or hand).
Licensed withdrawal	Person shown as withdrawn from the scene or 'tuned out'. For example, person covers mouth or face with hands, turns gaze from other(s), with middle distance looks, dreamily talking on phone, emotional displays, snuggling or nuzzling others, being supported by others as in grief embrace. Person is 'tuned out' from the scene because he/she feels protected.

Source: Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim, 2005:893

Researchers have supplemented Goffman's gender display categories with several other categories. *Body display* refers to provocative dress or nudity. *Independence/self assurance* refers to the appearance of independence, confidence and autonomy (Kang, 1997). *Facial exposure* refers to showing a model's face. According to Archer, Iritani, Kimes, and Barrios (1983), showing a woman's face emphasises her personality and character while not showing a woman's face hides her personality and character. *Body parts* refers to the display of the message source's body or body parts such as lips, legs and butts, in a way that dehumanises or objectifies her (Archer, et al, 1983; Cortese, 1999; Kilbourne & Jhally, 2000). These characteristics are measured in the current research.

Table 3

Categories and Category Dimensions: Physical and Role Characteristics

Category (variable)	Category dimension detail
Product category	Food, beverages, health and beauty, household, financial services, travel, transport, and leisure, retail, business to business, government/education, media promotion, others
Product advertised	Housekeeping products, non-housekeeping products, unknown
Typical product users	Males, females, unisex
Nature of main activity in the advertisement	Housekeeping activity, non-housekeeping activity, other
Location (i.e. setting) of the activity	Home, away from home, staged settings, other
Decision making/exercise of authority situation	Present, absent, unknown/unclear
Family scene	Present, absent
Function ranking	Present, absent
Relative size	Present, absent, or not applicable (i.e., solo models)
Feminine touch	Present, absent
Ritualisation of subordination	Present, absent
Licensed withdrawal	Present, absent
Manifestation of independence	Present, absent, unclear
Presence of narration or voice from the model	Present, absent
Nature of the narration	Advice, other, not applicable
Role of the narrator	Housekeeper (homemaker), professional, other
Target of the narration	Female, male, both
Extent of dressing	Demure, suggestive, partially-clad, nude
Clearly visible facial exposure	Present, absent
Body parts (display of parts of body)	Present, absent

Social role characteristics. The social roles assigned to women in advertisements have been another area for fruitful inquiry and are examined in the current research (see Table 3 which presents the categories and category dimensions for physical characteristics and social role characteristics). Four broad classes of gender role portrayals have been used in prior research, namely traditional roles, non-traditional roles, decorative roles, and roles depicting women as equal to men (e.g., Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009). *Traditional gender roles* depict women as reliant on men, such as in the roles of the housewife. Dependency is manifested when women are portrayed as reliant on men for protection, in need of reassurance, and not makers of important decisions. Housewife roles are those that suggest that the woman's place is at home, that the woman's chief role is to be a good wife, and that the woman's main concern is housekeeping (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009). *Non-traditional gender roles* portray women in non-traditional activities, as career oriented, and with voices of authority. In non-traditional activities, women are shown participating in activities outside the home such as sports, for example. Women are portrayed as career oriented when they are portrayed in professional occupations, as entertainers, and in other work-outside-the-home roles. Women are depicted as voices of authority when they are assigned the role of experts (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009). In *decorative roles*, women are used for decorative purposes or to drape products to make them more appealing to their target markets (Bailey, 2006; Chestnut, LaChance, & Lubitz, 1977; Reid & Soley, 1981; Smith & Engel, 1968) as a form of sexual appeal (Reid & Soley, 1983). Women portrayed in decorative roles usually are shown seeking beauty and physical attractiveness and as sex objects, even when sex is unrelated to the advertised product (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009). In and *roles depicting women as equal to men*, women are not shown in any female role

stereotypes. They are portrayed as equal to men mainly in order to appeal to the different segments of readers that include both women and men (Lyonski, 1985).

Researchers in the social sciences and communication fields have studied the portrayal of women in the media for a long time (e.g., Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Hovland, et al., 2005; Lindner, 2004; Morna & Ndlovu, 2007). Although almost all of this research has been undertaken in the US and other highly industrialised Western countries, some studies have been conducted in emerging market countries or across cultures(e.g., Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, & Kropp, 1999; Karande, Almurshidee, & Al-Olayan, 2006; Maynard & Taylor, 1999; Sengupta, 2006). In the next section, I will review some important prior studies regarding gender portrayals in advertising. Specifically, I will identify some important studies examining gender role stereotyping in print advertisements in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s as well as some cross-cultural studies (see Table 4). The review is intended to illustrate some major themes and trends in gender portrayals during the period under investigation. Consistent with approaches adopted by previous researchers of portrayals in advertising (e.g., Klassen, Jasper, & Schwartz, 1993; Venkatesan & Losco, 1975), the review is conducted by decade.

Marketing programmes including advertising are designed for specific target markets. Target markets often are defined using sociodemographic characteristics such as age, race, income and gender (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Gender often is relevant due to factors such as product characteristics, purchase and consumption preferences within a society and cultural expectations for social roles and relations. Gender is compatible in use with generally accepted criteria for good segmentation variables (identifiability, accessibility, measurability, substantiality, responsiveness to marketing programmes, and profitability) (Darley & Smith,

1995). Accordingly, segmenting markets on the basis of gender often makes good business sense.

Implementing advertising strategies based on gender segmentation can sometimes present problems when the intention to communicate gender-relevant messages is perceived by the target audience as portraying negative images or undesirable gender role stereotypes. The social roles women play has changed dramatically in recent years as women have made gains in different spheres of life. Compared to a few decades ago, women in many countries are more likely to possess a tertiary educational qualification, hold a high quality professional and technical position, benefit from more equal distribution of work in the domestic household and benefit from improved protection of their human rights (Fugate, Decker, & Brewer, 1998). This rapid change, while still not fully signifying gender equity, has focused attention on gender role stereotyping in advertising since the 1970s. Research on gender role stereotyping in advertising has produced inconsistent results. Some studies have reported the presence and increasing incidence of gender bias (e.g., Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Ferguson, Kreshel, & Tinkham, 1990; Sexton & Haberman, 1974; Soley & Kurzbard, 1986). Other studies have reported the presence of gender bias but found it to be decreasing (e.g., Allan & Coltrane, 1996; Barry, Gilly, & Doran, 1985; Busby & Leichty, 1993). Some studies find that women are predominantly portrayed as sex objects in advertising (e.g., Archer, et al., 1983; Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Kang, 1997; Krassas, Blauwkamp, & Weaseling, 2001).

Most studies, however, find that women generally are not portrayed favourably and that they tend to be portrayed in narrowly defined traditional roles (e.g., Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Lyonski, 1983; Sengupta, 1995). When women are featured in advertisements, they typically are not portrayed as decision makers in the

context of important matters, in or out of the domestic household (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Maake, 2006; Pretorious, 1996). This is important because people within a society will accord some activities more status than others. Consequently, the nature and number of portrayals reflects the roles and the relative power assigned to women and men in a society (Hovland, et al., 2005). For example, because it is unpaid, housekeeping activities or housework is perceived as less important than working for financial remuneration (Kessler-Harris, 2003). As a result, housekeeping activities may be accorded low status, which is then associated with gender identity expectations (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Research has further found that advertisers frequently use women as decorative accessories in advertisements, to make the products more appealing to target audiences (Chestnut, et al., 1977; Mourier, 1988; Reid & Soley, 1981, 1983; Smith & Engel, 1968). While there are other important factors like parental influences for example (Cunningham, 2001), advertising plays a role in the construction and reproduction of gender identity through the socialisation effects of the way it portrays people.

Table 4

Some important content analysis studies: 1970s – 2000s

Authors (year)	Study description	Main finding
1970s		
Sexton & Haberman (1974)	Longitudinal content analysis of 1827 magazine ads	USA study. Women portrayed in very limited roles. 84% in traditional roles. Decline in housewife and mother roles.
Venkatesan & Losco (1975)	Longitudinal content analysis of 14378 magazine ads	USA study. Women portrayed mainly as sexual objects, physically beautiful, and dependent on men. Downward trend observed.
1980s		
Soley & Kurzbard (1986)	Content analysis of 1698 magazine ads	USA study. While the percentage of ads with sexual content was constant, ads were becoming more explicit. Women more likely to be portrayed in sexually suggestive ways.
Lyonski (1983)	Content analysis of ads in 22 magazine	USA study. Declining stereotyping.
Ruggiero & Weston (1985)	Longitudinal content analysis of 1827 magazine ads	USA study. Women more likely to portrayed in traditional roles.
1990s		
Plous & Neptune (1997)	Longitudinal content analysis of 1800 ads	USA study. Female body exposure 4 times greater than males.
Klassen et al. (1993)	Longitudinal content analysis of 3550 ads	USA study. Ads with traditional roles decreasing while equality and reverse-sex roles were increasing.
2000s		
Sengupta (2006)	Content analysis of 194 ads	Canadian study. By introducing race and gender in the equation, it was found that while old stereotypes, some new ones are being formed.
Ahmed et al. (2004)	Longitudinal content analysis of 919 USA print ads	Canadian study. Presence of gender bias found as female patients were significantly under-represented in cardiovascular.
Cross-national studies		
Wiles et al. (1995)	Content analysis of 1772 magazine ads	USA, Sweden and Netherlands. Cultural biases and stereotypes found. Men more likely to be depicted in working roles. More nonworking roles for both men and women.
Al-Olayan & Karande (2000)	Content analysis of 1604 magazine ads	USA and 22 Arab countries. Arabic ads depict women differently. Women mainly featured if their presence is related to the advertised product. Women depicted fully covered/dressed.

In addition to the identity cues associated with the message source, non-source cues (e.g., setting or location, background, language or text) may contribute to the persuasive potential of an advertising message (Brumbaugh, 2002). Several studies have found that females and males tend to be used to advertise different types of products (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Marecek et al., 1978). They find that males are more likely than females to be featured in advertisements for products types that are typically not used at home (called non-housekeeping products in the current research). On the other hand, they find that women were more likely than men to be featured in advertisements for products used in the household (called housekeeping products in this study). A distinction can also be made between high value products and low value products (Elliott, 1995). Women tend to be associated more with low value products than men.

Women in advertisements are more likely to be confined to certain settings or locations. The use of separate or unequal settings or locations for females and males may be used to convey the message that females should be confined to "their place" as housekeepers, mothers, wives, and sex objects (Welter, 1966). The location of activities may reveal inequalities in the status of women compared to men. This may lead to less value being placed on activities performed in some places (e.g., the kitchen), leading to a lower perceived status for those performing such activities. This argument is consistent with the view that masculine or instrumental roles are all important, dominating, and workplace oriented while feminine or expressive roles are nurturing, compliant, and home oriented (Connell, 1987). Women are also more likely to be portrayed in family scenes and as providers of service to others (e.g., husbands, family members and friends) (Maake, 2006).

It has been noted that one way gender stereotypes are perpetuated is through ensuring that women are seen (portrayed as images) but not heard (by not allowing them to have a voice as

narrators in advertisements) (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007). Therefore, the narrator or spokesperson, the role assigned to the narrator, and the target audience of the narration are important because they reveal something about the communication strategy of the advertiser. Power relations may also be revealed by narration and voices, for example, by analysing who explains the product features in an advertisement, who listens or who is targeted by the persuasive communication, and whose voice (the man's or the woman's) is the expert's voice or the voice of authority (Bell, Kravitz, & Wilkes, 2000).

Decorative models may also be used as spokespersons or narrators in advertisements. The use of physically attractive models, especially females, as spokespersons or narrators in advertising is employed because studies show that it attracts attention and improves brand recall and attitudes towards the advertised product (Kamins, 1990). The importance of the physical attractiveness of the models in enhancing communication effectiveness is well acknowledged in the literature (e.g., Chaiken, 1979; Debevec, Madden, & Kernan, 1986). However, there is less clarity on the impact of using attractive models on purchase behaviour (Caballero, Lumpkin, Madden, & 1989; Joseph, 1982).

As a way to get their advertisements noticed in the midst of clutter, some advertisers use sexually oriented appeals including varying the extent of dressing, facial exposure, and body display. Sexual appeal refers to the extent of sexual explicitness in an advertisement (Putrevu, 2008). The use decorative models is another form of sexual appeal (Reid & Soley, 1983). Evidence also suggests that advertisements featuring attractive models of the opposite sex are rated higher by readers than advertisements featuring models of the same sex as the reader (Baker & Churchill, 1977). And though the use of sexual appeals applies to both females and males, it's more likely to be used for female models (Soley & Kurzbard, 1986). Even

advertisements in general interest magazines (like *Drum*) have been found to contain sexually oriented appeals (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996; Putrevu, 2008; Severn, Belch, & Belch, 1990; Soley & Kurzbard, 1986)

The use of sexually oriented appeals is based on the assumption that "sex sells" (Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988). However, according to some studies, compared to non-sexually oriented appeals, the use of sexually oriented appeals is not effective in terms of enhancing recall, advertising perceptions, and brand evaluation (Alexander & Judd, 1986; Severn, et al., 1990). It is also argued that the use of sexually oriented appeals detracts from the advertised product or brand in that the reader's attention is more focused on the sexual stimuli than the advertised product or brand (Steadman, 1969). In an experiment to test responses to advertisements featuring demurely dressed, seductively dressed, and nude models; advertisements featuring nude models were found to be the least appealing to the subjects (Peterson & Kerin, 1977).

After conducting an extensive review of research on the use and effectiveness of sexual appeals in advertising, Courtney and Whipple (1983) concluded that though the use of attractive models increased the reader's attention, overt sexual appeals reduced levels of recall. Consequently, they questioned the use of sexual appeals for non-sexually related appeals. Despite the effectiveness of sexual appeals being questionable, their use by advertising practitioners is widespread because attracting the reader's attention is a legitimate advertising objective (Reid & Soley, 1983).

Gender role stereotyping in the 1970s. Sexton and Haberman (1974) undertook their study amidst claims by activist organizations that women were not allowed the same variety of life patterns that men enjoyed. Activist organizations particularly objected to advertising stereotypes that portrayed women as washers of clothes, cleaners of floors, and beautiful but

dependent companions of man amongst other things. To determine the extent to which such stereotypes were present in magazine advertisement, Sexton and Haberman performed a content analysis of 1827 advertisement in five US magazines (*Good Homekeeping, Look, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated,* and *TV Guide*). Their investigation covered specific product classes (tobacco, non-alcoholic beverages, automobiles, home appliances, office equipment, and air travel) and time spans (July 1950 through June 1951, July 1960 through June 1961, July 1970 through June 1971). The study findings corroborated the activist organizations' claims in that the advertisements examined reflected women in very limited and/or narrow roles with only 16% of the advertisement portraying women in non-traditional roles. Further, the trends over the two-decade period under investigation showed no indication of moving away from portraying women "… as social people appearing in a predictable environment" (Sexton & Haberman, 1974, p. 45). Though the number of women portrayed in working situations was noticeable, the women were restricted to traditional tasks, rarely were they depicted in a leadership capacity. On a positive note, a substantial decrease in the number of advertisement portraying women as housewives and mothers over the period 1950 to 1971 was observed.

In the 1970s, critics were unrelenting with their claims that advertisement exhibited stereotypical portrayals of women. It was in this environment that Venkatesan and Losco (1975) undertook a comprehensive content analysis covering the period 1959-1971, arguably a period that saw significant social changes regarding the place and status of women in US society. Venkatesan and Losco (1975) divided the 1959-1971 period into three sub periods namely the pre-women's movement period (1959-1963), the active civil rights, equal rights, and social changes period (1964-1968), and the awareness period (1969-1971). The purpose of the study was to examine the portrayal of women's roles in print advertisement and to investigate the

changes in such roles. A total of 14378 advertisement from general magazines (*Reader's Digest, Time, Saturday Review,* and *Life*) women's magazines (*Harper's Bazaar, Cosmopolitan, Ladies' Home Journal,* and *Better Homes & Gardens*), and men's magazines (*Argosy, Esquire, Sports Illustrated,* and *Evergreen Review*) were examined. Their main findings were that the relative percentage of women appearing in advertisement remained unchanged at about 40% during the period under investigation. The three roles most frequently shown about women were that they were sexual objects, physically beautiful, and dependent on men. However, the portrayal of women as sex objects declined between 1959-1963 and 1964-1971, possibly due to pressure from the women's movement. Generally, a downward trend in portrayals considered unfair, unrepresentative, and/or obnoxious was observed despite the highest percentage of advertisement in men's and general magazines depicting women as sexual objects and dependent on men (Venkatesan & Losco, 1975).

Gender role stereotyping in the 1980s. Prior to Soley and Kurzbard's (1986) study, previous content analyses of portrayals in magazine advertisements focused on the roles in which women were portrayed (e.g., Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Sexton & Haberman, 1974). While research had been undertaken to examine the effectiveness of sexually oriented advertising appeals (e.g., Steadman, 1969), Soley and Kurzbard (1986) claimed that little research had been undertaken to examine the actual use of sex in advertising. It's in this context that their study sought to generate a systematic analysis of the sexual content of magazine advertisement produced in 1964 and 1984. Specifically, Soley and Kurzbard (1986) wanted to determine whether there was a change in the quantity of sex in advertisement by investigating the degree of dress or undress and the proximity of male and female models in the advertisement. Their investigation involved a sample of 1698 advertisement (586 from 1964 and 1112 from 1984)

drawn from general interest magazines (*Time* and *Newsweek*), women's magazines (*Cosmopolitan* and *Redbook*), and men's magazines (*Esquire* and *Playboy*). They found that while the percentage of advertisement with sexual content had remained constant, sexual illustrations had became more overt and the tendency to present sexual content in visual rather than verbal form had increased. Further, females were more likely than males to be portrayed in sexually suggestive ways. Of the three magazine categories investigated, general interest magazines had recorded a marked rise in the presence of sexually suggestive advertisement than the others.

Other studies in the 1980s included those by Lyonski and Ruggiero and Weston (Lyonski, 1983; Ruggiero & Weston, 1985). Lyonski (1985) did a content analysis of advertisement in 22 magazines from 1974-1975 and 1979-1980 and found that stereotyping had declined marginally. Ruggiero and Weston (1985) analysed advertisement in ten magazines from 1971-1980 and found that unlike advertisement in new magazines, advertisement in established magazines were more likely to profile women in traditional occupations.

Gender role stereotyping in the 1990s. While they recognized the valuable research that had been undertaken on gender portrayals since the groundbreaking content analysis of gender bias in magazine advertisements by Courtney and Lockeretz in 1971, Plous and Neptune (1997) were of the view that previous studies had at least two major limitations. The first limitation was that they tended not to control for changes over time regarding important aspects like the products advertised and public perceptions of sexuality. Products and perceptions of sexuality change and had most likely been different over time and across studies (including those that replicated previous studies). The second limitation was that measures of sexual content have generally tended to use women models. It could be possible however that sexual objectification

was not just applicable to women. Plous and Neptune (1997) sought to explore the possibility that racial and gender bias was increasing in magazine advertisements. To avoid the confounding effects of the two limitations identified above, they restricted their choice of advertisement to fashion advertisements and developed a coding procedure that aimed at estimating the amount of body exposure in advertisements (to reduce the subjectivity inherent in using terms such as "sex object" and "alluring" as in most previous studies). Using a sample of 1800 print advertisement drawn from 1985-1994 issues of two predominantly White female fashion magazines (*Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour*), two predominantly Black female fashion magazines (*Ebony* and *Essence*), and two predominantly White male fashion magazines (*Esquire* and *Gentleman's Quarterly*), they found that regarding gender biases, female body exposure was greater than male exposure by a ratio of 4 to 1, suggesting that "…gender biases in magazine advertising persisted, and in some cases increased, between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s" (Plous & Neptune, 1997, p. 627).

Klassen et al. (1993) contributed to the study of advertisements in a different manner from prior content analyses in that they sought to investigate how men and women, together, were portrayed. Using Goffman's frame analysis (Goffman, 1979), the authors' conceptual framework consisted of traditional advertisements ("…defined as those that use scenes, characters, relative placement, expressions, identities, and roles that are stereotypically identified with women and men" (Klassen, et al., 1993, p. 32), reverse-sex advertisements (defined as those that show "…women and men in ways that are precisely the opposite of those stereotypically associated with members of each sex and thus undermine the social expectation of the roles and position women and men play" (Klassen, et al., 1993, p. 32), and equality advertisements (defined as those "…that portray women and men in ways that neither conform

or conflict with stereotypical understandings" (Klassen, et al., 1993, p. 33). Klassen et al. (1993) also relied on Goffman's (1979) explanations and classification system of the subtler messages or "opaque goings-on" in advertisements namely relative size, the feminine touch, licensed withdrawal, function ranking, and the ritualisation of subordination. Klassen et al. (1993) examined a total of 3550 advertisements drawn from issues of *Ms.*, *Newsweek*, and *Playboy* from 1972-1989 (divide into three analysis periods: 1972-1977, 1978-1983, and 1984-1989). They found that the proportion of advertisements with traditional poses decreased across the three analysis periods while the proportion of reverse-sex poses and equality poses increased over the same periods. Overall, though the results of this study were supportive of previous studies (e.g., Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971) in finding a disproportionately high number of advertisements depicting women in traditional poses, there was also evidence that such traditional depictions had been declining since the early 1980s. Equality portrayals on the other hand had been increasing as other studies had also suggested (e.g., Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988).

Gender role stereotyping in the 2000s. The interest in gender issues continued in the 2000s. In 2004, Ahmed et al. (2004) published the results of a study whose objective was to determine if females and males were equally likely to be featured in cardiovascular advertisements. Using US editions of general medical and cardiovascular journals for the period January 1996 to June 1998, Ahmed et al. (2004) drew a sample of 919 unique advertisements which they examined for factors including gender, age, race, and the roles of the primary figure and the majority of the people featured in the advertisements. The researchers concluded that there was significant under-representation of females in cardiovascular advertisements and recommended that physicians needed to be aware of this gender bias (Ahmed, et al., 2004).

Sengupta (2006) took the study of gender in advertising further by examining the intersection of race and gender to avoid the mistake of generalising research findings to all women based on non-inclusive samples as some studies have done (e.g., Frisby, 2004). Sengupta (2006) compared how White, Black, and East Asian women were portrayed in advertisements in fashion magazines targeted at adolescent girls. Based on a sample of 194 advertisements from three Canadian teen fashion magazines, Sengupta (2006) found evidence of a correlation between race and type of product advertised. While Black women were widely used in clothing advertisements, East Asian women were more prominent in advertisements for technology products. There was also evidence of a correlation between race and the importance of the model in the advertisement with White women occupying more major or important roles than all the other women. The conclusion that was drawn from this study was that older stereotypes are still present in advertisements (e.g., White beauty ideal, hypersexual Black women) and new stereotypes are being conceived (e.g., technologically savvy East Asian women).

A recent study on gender and advertising in Southern Africa (based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis and focus groups) found that despite accounting for about 52% of the population, only 41% of the models appearing in advertisements (both images and voices) were female (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007). Despite this 41% representation, 62% of the advertisements featuring models were found to either disregard females or stereotype them in some way. This study also found that "women are more likely to be seen than heard" (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007, p. 5) in that their images are more likely to be used than their voices. Men were more likely to be portrayed as the voice of authority. The assignment of roles based on one's gender was found to play a major role in the reinforcement of stereotypes with females

accounting for 82% and 60% of the models portrayed as sex objects and homemakers; respectively while 68% of those portrayed in business were male. The study also found a strong association between the type of product advertised and the gender of the models used. There were more male models used to advertise financial services. On the other hand, more females were in advertisements for household goods, food, and cleaning material. However, the study also acknowledged the presence of "gender aware" advertisements (i.e., those that are gender balanced and perceive females and males as partners (Morna & Ndlovu, 2007).

Gender role stereotyping in cross-cultural studies. Though the majority of gender role portrayal studies have been undertaken in the Western high income industrialised countries, particularly the USA, some researchers have undertaken cross-cultural and international studies (e.g., Ford, LaTour, Honeycutt, & Joseph, 1994; Gendall & Blakeley, 1990; Razzouk & Harmon, 1986; Sengupta, 1995). Following below is a review of a few of these cross-cultural and international studies.

Wiles and associates undertook a cross-cultural study in the early 1990s to assess gender role portrayals in advertising across three countries in which women had made significant advancements in many spheres including the workplace and politics (Wiles, Wiles, & Tjernlund, 1995). This was a departure from most studies at the time which tended to focus on the US, thus limiting the extent to which gender role portrayals could be generalized to other countries and cultures. Using the Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) scheme to analyzing the content of advertisement, they analysed 387 advertisements from US magazines, 282 advertisements from Swedish magazines, and 1053 advertisements from Dutch magazines, covering five magazine categories (namely; news and general interest, sports, entertainment, women's, and business). Amongst other things, they found that in all three countries, advertisements were more likely to

depict men in working roles than women, despite the significant advancements that women had achieved in the real world. Further, in working roles, Dutch and Swedish magazines tended to show more men in high-level executive positions than women. However, in all cases, depictions in nonworking roles (that is; family, recreational, or decorative roles) outnumbered depictions in working roles significantly, with the difference for men being more significant than for women. On the whole, the study found that cultural biases and stereotypes were present in the magazine advertisements that were examined.

Al-Olayan and Karande (2000) sought to build on the well-acknowledged existing literature on cross-cultural differences in advertising by extending the research to the content analysis of magazine advertisements from the US and the Arab world (made up of 12 Middle Eastern countries and 10 African countries). The key questions addressed in the study were the depiction of men and women (with emphasis on the extent to which and how women were shown in the advertisements), the use of comparative advertising, the information content in advertisements, and the use of price appeals. Al-Olayan and Karande (2000) analysed 540 US advertisements (drawn from the March-May 1998 issues of *Time, Family Circle* and *Vogue*) and 1064 Arab world advertisements (drawn from the March-May 1998 issues [for pan-Arabic magazines] and January-March 1999 issues [for Egyptian, Lebanese, and the U.A.E. magazines] of *Al Majalla, Sayidaty, Hia, Rose El Youssef, Nisf Dunia, Hawaa, Al-Hawadeth, Wajaa, Snob, Al Shuruq, Kul Al Usra, Zahrat,* and *Al Khaleej*). Regarding the depiction of women, they found that in addition to using fewer people than US advertisements, Arabic advertisements portrayed women differently. Advertisements in Arabic magazines mainly featured women if their presence related to the advertised product. Further, when women were used, they were shown in

long dresses with their bodies fully covered and the advertisements focusing on how the advertised product could benefit the women.

Gender role stereotyping in advertisements to low-income consumers. The gender role stereotyping literature reviewed has produced a treasure trove of findings on explicit and implicit stereotyping in advertisements and its effect on consumers. It is fair to say that gender role stereotyping research has produced an impressive stream of research from diverse perspectives that is important in its own right. It is natural that the valuable insights that this literature provides about the physical characteristics and/or roles assigned to women in advertisements be extended to the study of the portrayal of women in print advertisements targeting low-income and subsistence consumers. It is this line of enquiry that this study addresses in addition to investigating the cultural characteristics associated with the images of women in the advertisement (as outlined in the section dealing with cultural characteristics of the message source below).

In the present study, I only examine the following roles: decision making, involvement in family activities, performance of housekeeping and non-housekeeping activities, and involvement in narrator or spokesperson roles.

Following the foregoing discussion, the following propositions are presented:

- Proposition 4: The penetration of messages sources depicted in decision making roles has not increased significantly over the years because women are less likely than men to be depicted in positions of authority.
- Proposition 5: The penetration of messages sources involved in narrator or spokesperson roles has not increased significantly over the years because women are less likely than men to be depicted as voices of authority.

- Proposition 6: The prevalence of message sources involved in housekeeping activities has remained higher than those involved in non-housekeeping activities over the years because women are more likely to be portrayed in traditional roles.
- Proposition 7: The prevalence of message sources involved in family roles has not declined significantly over the years because women are more likely to be portrayed in traditional roles.

Cultural Characteristics of the Message Source

The images of women depicted in advertisement also communicate cultural information (Brumbaugh, 2002; Grier & Brumbaugh, 1999; Penaloza & Gilly, 1999; Pollay, Tse & Wang, 1990; Tse, Belk, & Zhou, 1989). Cultural values have long been known to correlate with consumer behaviour (Henry, 1976). In international marketing, culture traditionally is operationalised using values (Usunier & Lee, 2009). Marketing and advertising research has been influenced most by the value contents and structure theory of Israeli psychologist Shalom Schwartz (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, et al., 2001). Working with researchers in EMs, Schwartz developed the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) for use in contexts including low-income consumers in EMs (see Schwartz, et al., 2001). Schwartz has validated his theory and scales in studies of more than 250,000 respondents in more than 70 countries, including South Africa and even among young teenage girls in Uganda (Schwartz, et al., 2001). His value dimensions, which help structure the content analysis in the present research, have been tested extensively in South Africa (e.g., see Burgess, 2002). The theoretical contents are summarised in Table 5 and discussed in more detail below.

The most recent large-scale programmatic approach to measuring cultural dimensions has been orchestrated by Leung and Bond (Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez, & Gibson, 2005).

Researchers working in more than 40 countries, including South Africa (see Burgess, 2011), helped develop the social axioms theory and measurement scales and validated its measurement properties (Leung & Bond, 2004; Leung, et al., 2002; Leung et al., 2010). The SAS measures five social axiom dimensions, which are summarised in Table 7 and discussed in detail below.

Values. Values are central in many consumer behaviour theories and have important effects on attention, cognition and other aspects of information processing and on other stages of the consumer decision-making process (Burgess, 1992), as well as in other domains that interest marketers, such as job seeking behaviour (Feather & O'Brien, 1987).Values are enduring, desirable transsituational goals that vary in importance and serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1994). Implicit in this definition of values as goals is that (1) they serve the interests of some social entity, (2) they can motivate action - giving it direction and emotional intensity, (3) they function as standards for judging and justifying action, and (4) they are acquired both through socialization to dominant group values and through the unique learning experiences of individuals" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21). As important goals of individuals or groups, values direct attention and motivate behaviour (Schwartz, 1996).

Table 5

Value Constructs, Definitions, and Examples

Value construct	Definition	Examples of PVQ items
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	He likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. He wants people to do what he says.
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.	Being very successful is important to him. He likes to stand out and to impress other people.
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	He really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him.
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.
Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring.	He thinks it's important to be interested in things. He is curious and tries to understand everything.
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.	He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He wants justice for everybody, even for people he doesn't know.
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.	He always wants to help the people who are close to him. It's very important to him to care for the people he knows and likes.
Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.	He thinks it is important to do things the way he learned from his family. He wants to follow their customs and traditions.
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectation or norms.	He believes that people should do what they are told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.
Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	The safety of his country is very important to him. He wants his country to be safe from its enemies.

Source: Schwartz et al. (2001: p 521)

Schwartz's major innovation was to propose a theory on the contents and structure of human values, in which compatibilities and conflicts can be represented by proximity or opposition in a circular structure of relations. His value types are theorised as convenient samplings of a motivational continuum. Schwartz's (1994, p.21) theory on value content and structure rests on the following reasoning:

> *In order to cope with reality in a social context, groups and individuals cognitively transform the necessities inherent in human existence and express them in the language of specific values about which they can then communicate. Specifically, values represent, in the form of conscious goals, responses to three universal requirements with which all individuals and societies must cope: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and requirements for the smooth functioning and survival of groups.*

The ten motivational types of values, which are summarised in Table 5, may be summarised by two orthogonal dimensions of values namely self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence, and openness to change vs. conservation (Figure 1). According to Schwartz (1992, p. 43), the self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence orthogonal dimension of values refers to "values in terms of the extent to which they motivate people to enhance their own personal interests (even at the expense of others) versus to transcend selfish concerns and promote the welfare of others, close and distant, and of nature". The values types that make up the self-enhancement value domain and the self-transcendence value domain are power and achievement, and benevolence and universalism respectively. On the self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence orthogonal dimensions, the self-enhancement values are in conflict with the self-transcendence values. The resultant self-transcendence on this dimension is determined by assessing the extent to which a person prioritises self-transcendence values over self-enhancement values (i.e., resultant self-transcendence = self-transcendence - self-enhancement).

The openness to change vs. conservation orthogonal dimension of values refers "values in terms of the extent to which they motivate people to preserve the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions versus following their own

emotional and intellectual interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions' (Schwartz, 1992, p. 43). The values types that make up the openness to change value domain and the conservation value domain are self-direction, stimulation and hedonism, and tradition, conformity, and security, respectively. On this orthogonal dimension, the openness to change values are in conflict with the conservation values. The resultant conservation on this dimension is determined by assessing the extent to which a person prioritises conservation values over openness to change values (i.e., resultant conservation = conservation - openness to change).

Values are the most widely used construct in the study of culture (Hofstede, 1984; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1994) that is used to describe and explain cultural differences. As an important aspect of culture, values are influenced by the culture in which the individuals or groups reside (Hofstede, 1984; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1994). They are relatively stable and consistent over time and are rarely prone to dramatic changes (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1994). Building on prior work studying values in specific cultures or countries (e.g., Rokeach, 1973); Schwartz developed his theory on values content and structure and measurement scales in diverse cultural contexts (Burgess, Schwartz, & Blackwell, 1994; Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, et al., 2001).

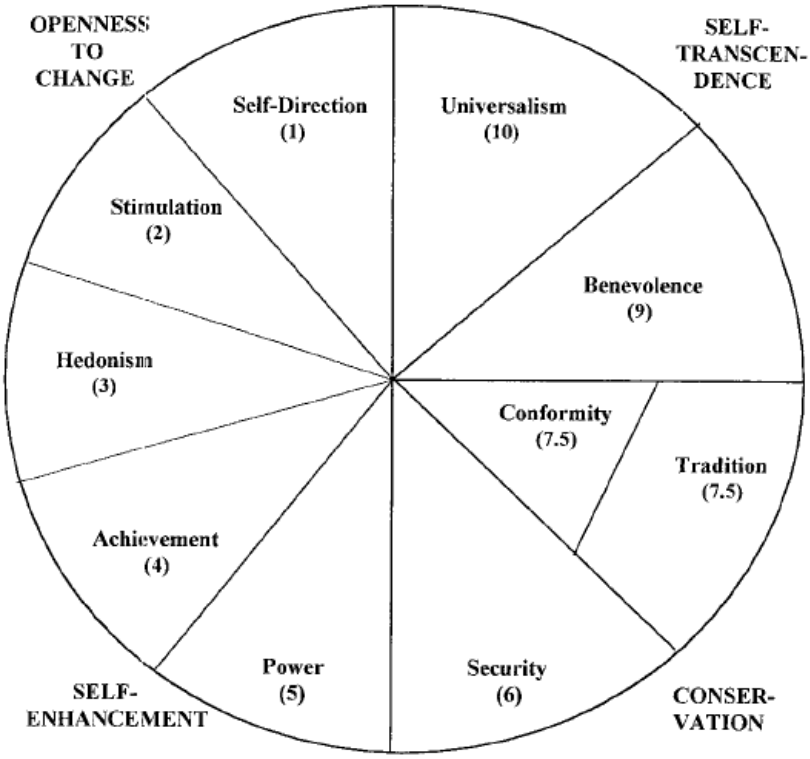

Figure 1. Theoretical model of relations amongst value types and value domains (Source: Schwartz et al., 2001, p. 522)

It is fair to say that Schwartz's proposal of a new theory on the universal contents and structure of human values and its validation in more than 70 countries, represents one of the most impressive programmatic approaches to the study of a construct in the history of psychology. His extensive efforts to engage and work with EM researchers in the development of his theory and measurement scales have produced a values theory and scales that are most more appropriate for application in EMs, not only in advertising and marketing research but in diverse domains such as organisational behaviour, institutional theory and cross-cultural marketing (Licht, Goldschmidt, & Schwartz, 2005; Smith, Peterson, & Schwartz, 2002).

South African values. South African values have been studied extensively. In his studies of large, nationally representative samples, Burgess (2002) found that the PVQ scale was reliable and valid, finding also that the value priorities of South Africans and the four Apartheid legacy race groups (i.e., White, Black, Coloured, and Asian) were remarkably stable for the years 1997-2001. He also found the relative ordering of value priorities to be very similar across groups (Table 6). Irrespective of race, the three most important values were security, benevolence, and universalism. The three least important values on the other hand were stimulation, hedonism, and achievement. More recently, in a study of South African social axioms and values in a large, representative metropolitan sample, Burgess (2011) finds that the value priorities of South African population remained remarkably stable in all groups.

Table 6

Value Priorities amongst South African Population Groups: 1997-1999, 2001

Mean ratings	1997				1998				1999				2001			
	A	B	C	W	A	B	C	W	A	B	C	W	A	B	C	W
Value types																
Benevolence	5.24	4.95	5.15	5.40	5.35	4.75	5.28	5.44	4.97	4.84	5.20	5.45	4.51	4.91	5.04	5.21
Universalism	5.06	4.93	5.00	5.01	5.13	4.76	5.14	5.01	5.11	4.82	5.04	4.99	5.07	4.97	5.41	5.44
Conformity	4.26	4.80	4.43	4.55	4.93	4.96	5.05	4.88	4.87	5.00	5.00	4.88	4.35	4.53	4.47	4.21
Tradition	4.57	4.57	4.42	4.47	4.68	4.47	4.50	4.34	5.47	4.59	4.51	4.38	4.53	4.53	4.87	4.30
Security	5.32	5.17	5.16	5.44	5.42	5.04	5.36	5.36	5.24	5.05	5.22	5.28	5.00	5.16	5.34	5.34
Power	4.34	4.57	3.98	4.07	2.84	3.71	2.85	3.08	2.87	3.90	2.73	3.12	3.49	3.59	2.34	3.41
Achievement	4.24	4.60	3.83	4.19	4.06	4.50	4.10	4.30	4.09	4.55	4.07	4.16	4.31	4.78	4.12	4.10
Hedonism	4.14	4.47	3.85	4.02	3.95	4.34	3.96	4.12	3.86	4.45	4.08	4.19	4.53	4.65	3.71	4.39
Stimulation	3.83	3.89	3.55	3.90	3.62	3.92	3.65	3.94	3.71	4.06	3.77	3.97	4.21	4.58	3.75	4.14
Self-direction	4.68	4.72	4.46	4.82	4.41	4.49	4.46	4.78	4.44	4.61	4.60	4.88	4.67	4.96	4.91	4.91
Value domains																
Self-transcendence	5.21	5.02	5.14	5.28	5.24	4.76	5.21	5.22	5.21	4.83	5.12	5.22	4.79	4.94	5.22	5.21
Conservation	4.41	4.69	4.43	4.51	5.01	4.82	4.97	4.86	4.90	4.88	4.91	4.85	4.63	4.74	5.89	4.61
Self-enhancement	4.17	4.59	3.90	4.13	3.45	4.11	3.47	3.69	4.05	4.22	3.40	3.64	3.90	4.19	3.23	3.75
Openness to change	4.26	4.30	4.01	4.36	5.08	4.22	4.10	4.39	4.08	4.34	4.19	4.43	4.44	4.77	4.33	4.52

Source: Burgess (2002: pp 42-44) (Key: A: Asian, B: Black, C: Coloured, W: White)

Social axioms. Culture comprises more than value emphases, at the individual or group level. Leung and Bond argue that human behaviour is motivated by two fundamental questions that every individual and group must answer (Leung, Au, Xu, Kurman, Niit, & Niit, 2007; Leung, & Bond, 2008):

1. What goals will be pursued in life?
2. How will these goals be pursued?

Leung and Bond propose that values provide the answer to the first question while social axioms answer the second question. Social axioms are the most recent large-scale, programmatic approach to measuring culture (Leung, et al., 2005). Social axioms add predictive power over and above that of values, when included in models to explain human behaviour (Leung, et al., 2002). Social axioms are general beliefs that people hold about the world and how things work in the world (Leung, et al., 2002). Leung and associates argue that social axioms "play a central and organising role in people's belief systems, and that their major function is to enhance the survival and functioning of people in their social and physical environments" (Leung, et al., 2002, p. 288).

Leung, Bond and their associates identify five factors of belief or social axioms that may be applicable in different cultures; namely social cynicism, reward for application, social complexity, fate control, and religiosity (originally called"spirituality") (Leung, et al., 2002). These social axiom dimensions are summarised in Table 7. As general beliefs that people hold about the world and how things work in the world, social axioms add predictive power over and above that of values, in behavioural analysis (Bond, Leung, Au, Tong, & Chemonges-Nielson, 2004).

South African social axioms. In a study of social axioms in South Africa, (Burgess, 2011) found that consistent with his previous investigation of South African values priorities, similarities were evident across all South African race groups. Social axioms that received the most endorsements amongst South African race groups were reward for application and religiosity followed by social complexity, social cynicism, and fate control.

Table 7

Social Axioms, Definitions and Examples

Social axiom	Definition	Example
Social cynicism	Social cynicism represents a negative assessment of human nature and social events.	Kind-hearted people usually suffer losses.
Reward for application	Reward for application refers to the position that the investment of human resources will lead to positive outcomes.	Hard working people will achieve more in the end.
Social complexity	Social complexity refers to the view that there are multiple solutions to social issues, and that the outcome of events is uncertain.	One has to deal with matters according to the specific circumstances.
Fate control	Fate control refers to the general belief that social events are influenced by impersonal, external forces.	Fate determines one's successes and failures.
Spirituality (or religiosity)	Spirituality (or religiosity) refers to the view that spiritual forces influence the human world and that religious institutions exert a positive effect on social outcomes.	Religious people are more likely to maintain moral standards.

Source: Bond et al. (2004: pp 178-179)

Ubuntu and ancestor relevance. In addition to the five social axioms identified by Leung and associates (Leung, et al., 2002), the present study also investigates two social axiomatic themes that are important and prevalent amongst black South Africans. These are *ubuntu* and

ancestor relevance. The cultural concept of ubuntu reflects the communal nature of living in African communities. Though some researchers argue that it is difficult to define ubuntu (Mokgoro, 1998; Tambulasi & Kayuni, 2005), its essence is evident in the social values that it espouses. Ubuntu is about the interconnection between the people, their common humanity, and their responsibility to each other (Nussbaum, 2003). Ubuntu as a way of life encourages supportiveness, communism, cooperation (Koster, 1996: p. 111), compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony, and humanity (Nussbaum, 2003: p. 1). According to Tutu (1999), in the context of ubuntu, people are open and available to each other, they affirm each other, and are not threatened by the success of others because they consider themselves part of the community. Ubuntu is "a pervasive spirit of caring and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness – that individuals and groups display for one another" (Mangaliso, 2001, p. 24). Self-interest is expected to be suppressed according to the norms of ubuntu (Mangaliso, 2001). Aspects of ubuntu in African community find expression in all spheres of like including social relations. One therefore expects aspects of ubuntu to be evident in advertisements in a magazine like *Drum* that is targeted at predominantly black African readers. Hence the following proposal:

- Proposition 8: There is a high prevalence of advertisements that emphasise ubuntu in magazines like *Drum* that are targeted at predominantly black readers.

Ancestors are considered to be relevant in African people's lives (Maku, 2006). This is because it is believed that they continue to influence people's lives by providing guidance and other blessings to the living but also punishing the living who do not respect the ancestors. Ancestor relevance, like ancestor reverence, should not be confused with ancestor worship. According to Berg (2003), only God is worshipped. This suggests the proposition that:

- Proposition 9: There is significant evidence of ancestor relevance in advertisements in magazines like *Drum* that are targeted at predominantly black readers.

It is not evident that these value priorities and social axioms in the general population groups of South Africa as discussed above would be found in the images of women in advertisements in a general interest magazine targeted primarily at low-income consumers such as *Drum*. It is this question, amongst others, that this study addresses. The importance of addressing both the physical and cultural characteristics of women in advertisements as central characters is premised on the assumption that how women are portrayed influences the persuasiveness of advertisements and how the advertisements are processed as discussed in the following section.

Advertising Images and Social Influence: An Information Processing Perspective

The information processing perspective provides the dominant explanation for cognitive processes associated with advertising, perception and learning in consumer behaviour research (e.g., McGuire, 1976; Bettman & Park, 1990). The source effects literature is influenced most by Kelman's (1961) information processing perspective on opinion formation and change (see the excellent meta-analysis by Wilson & Sherrell, 1993).

Processes of social influence. Kelman proposed compliance, identification, and internalisation as basic processes that people adopt in response to social influences, such as advertisements (Kelman, 1961). *Compliance* takes place when the person receiving the social influence accepts it because the person desires a favourable reaction from the influencing agent, e.g., acceptance into a social group, avoiding expulsion from social group. In the compliance process of opinion formation and opinion change, change is implemented by the person receiving the social influence because they perceive it as a way to obtaining what they want and not

because they believe in its content. The influencing agent's source of power here is in the means control; they provide or withhold what the person receiving the social influence desires. Compliance can occur in response to advertisements, such as when advertisers offer a needed price discount that is relevant to needs in the social unit (e.g., family). However, because advertisers typically are removed in time and geographical distance from subsistence consumers, compliance is unlikely to be chosen as a relevant response to an advertising image depicting women.

Identification is a process of opinion formation and opinion change that takes place when the person receiving the social influence adopts a behaviour derived from the influencing agents based on the association between this behaviour and a satisfying self-defining relationship to the influencing agent. That is, behavioural change takes place because the person perceives it to be instrumental to creating or maintaining a self-defining relationship with the influencing agent. As this implies, behavioural change is not motivated by intrinsic satisfaction. Unlike behaviour change under compliance, a person motivated to adopt a behaviour by the process of identification will behave accordingly in private and in public. Identification is not motivated by the desire to satisfy the influencing agent—the person's adopted behaviour is linked to the external influencing agent but fully integrated in the person's value system. Under identification, the influencing agent's source of power is his or her attractiveness or similarity to the recipient of the social influence. An influencing agent is considered attractive if he or she occupies a desirable role or a reciprocal role to the one the person desires.

The third process of opinion formation and opinion changes is *internalisation*. It takes place when the person receiving the social influence adopts a new behaviour because the new behaviour is considered to be in alignment with the person's value system, i.e., the content of the

adopted behaviour provides intrinsic rewards for the person. In this case, the behaviour change becomes integrated with the person's values and ultimately independent of the external influencing agent. Under internalisation, the influencing agents draws his or her power from his or her credibility, that is, the extent to which statements attributed to him or her are considered truthful and valid. Credibility depends on the influencing agent's expertness and truthfulness (Kelman, 1961).

Processing message content. In the advertising decision making process, advertisers have to decide on the message content (i.e., what to say) and design the actual message (i.e., how to say it). The message content contains the intertwined informational (i.e., the basic facts about the advertised product like name, benefits, and price) and persuasive elements (i.e., information that is used to attract audience attention and encourage adoption or action). Taken together, the informational and persuasive elements form the appeal, that is, the basic reason for the consumer to buy or the means by which specific consumer responses are solicited. The appeal forms the underlying content of an advertisement (Weilbacher, 1984).

But how do people process the appeals in persuasive communication like advertisements? The information processing model outlined below explains how people process persuasive advertisements. The IP model is a mental model which suggests that for advertisements to be effective, they must communicate clear, believable and understandable messages that would result in high recall. The information processing model assumes that in order for advertising to work, a hierarchy-of-effects type of process (e.g., attention → interest →desire → action) is required. According to the information processing model, to be most effective, advertisements must be processed by consumers with high levels of attention and active involvement (Heath & Feldwick, 2008).

Nonverbal communication. Despite its widespread use, some researchers have challenged aspects of the information processing model (Gordon, 2005; Heath, 1999; Lannon & Cooper, 1983). Its emphasis on the verbal unique selling proposition, the sales role of advertising, and its subordination of emotional issues in favour of rational content-based appeals are some of the issues critics have raised against the information processing model (Heath & Feldwick, 2008). Because the key assumption of the information processing model is that advertising works best if it provides rational messages (Heath & Feldwick, 2008), the evaluation of persuasive advertising effectiveness has as a consequence been predominantly based on the measurement of cognitive thinking rather than feelings/affect (Wiles, et al., 1995). But it has been found that advertising still works at low attention levels when exposure repetition is increased even if consumers process advertisements without any attention or even remembering seeing the advertisement at all (D'Sousa & Rao, 1995). This evidence contradicts the assumption of the information processing model that attention is required for an advertisement can be processed.

Both emotions and factual knowledge and reasoning are important in persuasive communication (Damasio, 2003). For Heath and associates, it is emotional or creative content rather that rational informational content that builds favourability in brand choice decisions. Hence, the use by advertisers of visual images or nonverbal communication including attractive models to create favourable affect responses in addition to providing information to foster cognition (Heath, Brandt, & Nairn, 2006).

The importance of nonverbal elements in persuasive communication is three-fold. Firstly, nonverbal elements in persuasive communication can amplify persuasive messages in that they can lend support, modify, or emphasise the verbal elements. This improves the processing of messages by the target audience (Argyle, 1973) and reinforces or clarifies the meaning of the

verbal elements (Knapp, 1972). According to this line of argument, it is important for marketers to pay attention to nonverbal communication. Secondly, nonverbal elements tend to be more effective in reaching the target audience's emotions or affective states than verbal communication (Goffman, 1961; Watzlawick, Deavin, & Jackson, 1971). Since it is a responsibility of marketing to influence consumer preferences, the ability to trigger the target audience's emotions or affective responses through nonverbal elements in persuasive communication is important. Finally, nonverbal communication can be used to investigate the match or consistency between verbal elements and nonverbal elements of communication. This facilitates inquiry into the extent of sincerity and depth of the persuasive communication, the communicator's difficulties in crafting the behaviours portrayed in the message, and the importance of nonverbal and verbal elements to specific target audiences. The consistency argument suggests that marketers should incorporate nonverbal elements in their persuasive communication as a sincerity check or to monitor communicational conflicts.

Evidence from dual-process theories on attitude formation and change. The process of persuasion is complex and dependent on various factors including context, situation, and individual differences. Two widely accepted dual process models of persuasion namely the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) (Petty& Cacioppo, 1986) and the Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM) (Chaiken, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) both acknowledge that multiple factors affect persuasion and suggest two routes to persuasion namely the systematic or central route and the heuristic or peripheral route. Both the ELM and the HSM assume that people desire and work towards making correct judgements or acquiring correct attitudes to help them make sense of themselves and the world around them. The ELM and the HSM also acknowledge that the

extent of elaboration (i.e., the level of effort) used in information processing depends on the individual's motivation and ability to process persuasive communication (Hallahan, 1999).

The systematic (central) route to persuasion suggests that the audience apply considerable cognitive resources to assess the validity of the arguments in persuasive communication, hence the emphasis on elaboration involving careful and thoughtful consideration of the arguments. The systematic (central) route to persuasion is known to lead to more enduring judgments and attitude change due to the extensive and critical elaboration of the persuasive communication undertaken by the audience. On the other hand, the heuristic (peripheral) route to persuasion suggests that the audience apply little cognitive resources to assess the validity of the arguments in persuasive communication. Instead of elaborate processing, the audience rely on simple cues in the persuasion context without careful and thoughtful scrutiny of the persuasive arguments in the communication. The heuristic (peripheral) route to persuasion is known to result in short-term judgments and attitude change due to the simple and intuitive inferences and little elaboration undertaken by the audience. Whether the systematic (central) route or the heuristic (peripheral) route is taken in the processing of persuasive communication depends on the motivation of the audience and the extent of cognitive resources that the audience invests in processing of the communication (Chaiken, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Petty& Cacioppo, 1986).

When faced with persuasive messages, readers may use a high-involvement information processing approach at one end of the elaboration continuum (the readers' motivation to think and evaluate information is high) or a low-involvement information processing approach at other end of the elaboration continuum (the readers' motivation to think and evaluate information is low). Readers can operate at any point on the elaboration continuum depending on the reader's

motivation to think and evaluate information (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). In the face of persuasive messages that employ rational appeals, readers are more likely to adopt a high-involvement information processing approach. This deliberate and high cognition approach relies on evidence and reasoning and results in more enduring attitude change (Petty, Haugtvedt, & Smith, 1995). Instead of using persuasive messages that will require high-involvement information processing and high cognition from readers, advertisers can also use messages that require low-involvement information processing and rely on emotional or affective responses rather than high cognition (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). When persuasive communication falls into this category, the result tends to be temporary rather than enduring attitude change (Petty, et al., 1995). Examples of persuasive communication that fall into this category include celebrity endorsements, use of decorative models, visual sexual appeals, and other visual appeals. In the belief that rational and moral appeals will not attract attention to their advertisements and products, advertisers often seek to use emotional appeals including the use of attractive models in advertising. This belief is based on the assumption that people will take the peripheral (heuristic) route rather than the central (systematic) route to information processing. Source characteristics and contextual cues in advertisements may serve as peripheral cues (Whittler & Spira, 2002).

The Covariates: Inflation, Unemployment, and Product Category

Inflation. Inflation is of interest to marketers because it affects consumer behaviour and hence marketing strategies including advertising responses. As consumers change their consumption behaviour in response to inflationary trends, advertisers normally respond by adapting their strategies to optimise the realisation of the advertising objectives. Changes in advertising appeals and execution strategies that encourage consumption may therefore be

evident in advertisements (Shipchandler, 1976). For example, one expects increased use of persuasive communication such as celebrity endorsements, use of decorative models, visual sexual appeals, and other visual appeals during periods of high inflation (these are typically characterised by low unemployment and rising prices) as marketers seek to attract attention to their advertisements and products, in the belief that the source characteristics and contextual cues referred to previously will serve as peripheral cues and encourage information processing on the peripheral (heuristic) route (Whittler & Spira, 2002). In South Africa, inflation is officially measured by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI is a social and economic indicator that measures changes in the general price levels of a basket of goods and services used by households over time. The South African annual inflation (CPI) figures for the years 1981-2010 as determined by Statistics South Africa are used as an independent variable.

Unemployment. During the period under investigation, the unemployment rate in South Africa varied from a low of 9.8% in 1981 to a high of 30.4% in 2002. Though there some individual differences, the unemployment status affects consumption and therefore the types and levels of marketing activities in an economy. People tend to consume more during periods of employment than they do in periods of unemployment (Carbone & Hey, 2004) mainly due to the income effect (Grossman, 1973). In times of declining unemployment and reduced consumer spending, advertisers are likely to use advertising appeals that encourage consumption to counter or minimise the impact of reduced consumer spending.

Product category. The literature acknowledges that persuasive messages in advertisements may be influenced by the product type or category (e.g., Kamins & Gupta, 1994; Liebermann & Flint-Goor, 1996). The product category influences may influence both the type of promotion used and its effectiveness. Differences have also been observed in consumer

responses to promotion across product categories (Inman & McAlister, 1993; Narasimhan, Neslin, & Sen, 1996).

In the present study, I have used three variables namely inflation, unemployment, and product category as covariates with the type of message source characteristics used in advertisements. Covariates or control variables are variables one expects to influence the type of persuasive messages (and therefore the kind of physical characteristics and cultural characteristics associated with the message source) used in advertisements. Covariates "may be used to describe or predict (rather than define or measure) the latent classes" (Vermunt & Magidson, 2005, p. 4).

The Current Research

In this study, the physical and cultural characteristics are investigated as previously outlined. Advertisers freely combine these stimulus and cultural characteristics in advertising messages. For instance, an advertisement depicting the message source as a narrator could depict her as caring for her family's welfare (i.e., conservation or self-transcendence values) or as a business professional engaged in tough negotiations (i.e., self-enhancement values). Other elements in the advertisement could depict religiosity or fate control and the central figure could be large or small compared to others in the advertisement. In a particular advertising execution, a marketer can choose, avoid, or combine any of the characteristics measured in the present research. This is important in the case of the current research because we employ multilevel latent variable modelling. Latent class analysis rests on the assumption that, conditional on latent class membership, the manifest variables are mutually independent (i.e., the local independence assumption). I provide evidence to support this assumption when reporting the results.

Summary

This chapter argued that advertisements have an important influence on consumers because through the socialisation process, the persuasive messages in advertisements can influence the modification or formation of personal and group identities as predicted by the identity theory. Socialisation into gender roles takes place through differential treatment and identification. Two important theories of socialisation are the social learning theory and the cultivation theory. Both these theories predict that the portrayal of message sources in advertisements purveys messages from which consumers learn, hence the importance of understanding the type of persuasive messages that are contained in the physical characteristics and cultural characteristics associated with the message sources.

According to Kelman's (1961) seminal theory on processes of opinion change, advertisements are a form of social influence on consumers. Advertisements contain both verbal (text) and nonverbal components which are processed through the central and/or peripheral routes of information processing as explained by the dual process models of persuasion. The nonverbal components of advertisements are more likely tobe processed via the peripheral route which does not make significant elaborative demands on the consumer. Though there is a rich corpus of research that has been undertaken on the portrayal of messages sources in advertising (some of which was highlighted in this chapter), I have found no evidence of research on message source portrayals in advertisements targeted at low income consumers. This thesis is an attempt to contribute addressing the dearth of relevant research undertaken in the context an emerging market country.

In the next chapter, I explain how the research was carried out.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Objectives and Approach

The overall objective of this study was to identify patterns in the portrayal of women in print advertisements targeting low-income South Africans and to identify temporal variations in the use of these patterns during the period 1981-2010. To realise this, the study sought a) to assess the images of females portrayed as a message source in advertisements in *Drum* magazine for two types of characteristics: the physical characteristics and the cultural characteristics associated with the message sources and b) to identify patterns in the portrayal of women in the period 1981 to 2010 and identify temporal variations in their implementation using the multilevel latent class modelling approach.

In order to identify patterns in the portrayals of women in advertisements and variations in their use across time, a case study approach was chosen. Advertisements were collected from randomly chosen years and issues of *Drum* magazine during the period 1981-2010. Using content analysis techniques, advertisements featuring a female message source were examined by two sets of multiple coders. The first set of coders assessed the physical images for standard characteristics that are detailed in following sections. The second set of coders were drawn from the target audience (i.e., low-income and subsistence consumers). They assessed the advertisements for cultural information using a standard set of cultural statements. This approach is similar to advertising content analyses conducted previously (e.g., Cho, et al., 1999; Hovland, et al., 2005; Karande, et al., 2006; Lindner, 2004; Sengupta, 1995). The data were then analysed using the multilevel latent class modelling approach (Vermunt, 2003, 2008, 2011).

Sample

The sample universe for this study is all the advertisements that appeared in *Drum* magazine in the period 1981 – 2010 that met the following criteria. Advertisements that did not portray women as a message source (i.e., central figure) were excluded. The images of the portrayed in the advertisement needed to be large enough physically to assess. After pretesting, it was decided to exclude any advertisements in which the women portrayed were smaller than 4.5 centimeters (i.e., approximately one quarter of an A4-sized magazine page). Advertisements larger than a full page (including double-page spreads) were also excluded because it proved difficult to capture the images for testing due to the binding and the images usually were smaller than 4.5 centimeters when the advertisement was reduced to fit one page. Advertisements larger than one page are not common in *Drum* magazine.

To meet the criteria of representativeness and sample size to make generalisations with confidence, multistage sampling was used. The original sampling plan was to pick a sample from every second year from 1980 to 2010. However, the selection of the years and months from which magazines were sampled was also influenced by practical considerations mainly the availability and the condition of magazines in the archives of the publishing company. When a particular year's magazines were not found on at least two visits to the archives or were in an unusable condition, the following year's magazines were substituted for them. Once a year was selected, the next step was to select a random sample of months from which advertisements were selected. A random number table was used to sample the months which were assigned number ranging from 1 to 12. For each month selected, a census of qualifying advertisements was included in the sample. This sampling procedure resulted in a sample of 244 advertisements

distributed as follows: 28 (1981), 18 (1982), 13 (1985), 12 (1987), 14 (1990), 6 (1992), 7 (1994), 19 (1996), 18 (1998), 12 (2000), 9 (2002), 19 (2004), 19 (2006), 25 (2008), and 25 (2010).

Duplicate advertisements (i.e., defined as advertisements that are similar in all aspects and appear more than once in the same year) were excluded in line with recommendations in previous content analytic studies. This would not have been the case if the objective of the investigation was to determine the total advertising weight or total audience exposure to the advertisement where treating duplicate advertisements as separate advertisements is recommended (Huhmann & Brotherton, 1997). However, where the objective is more focused on understanding the message, as in this study, duplicate advertisements may be excluded (Carlson, Grove, & Kangun, 1993). If the same advertisements appeared in subsequent years, they were not considered duplicate advertisements and were therefore coded again. This is consistent with the overarching intent to develop an understanding of how advertising messages depict models. This also avoids the danger of advertisers whose advertisements have a higher appearance frequency inflating the results and creating a skewed impression of the real picture regarding the messages that are used in advertisements.

Content analysis

Content analysis refers to "…the systematic, objective, and quantitative analysis of advertising conducted to infer a pattern of advertising practice or the elements of brands' advertising strategies such as brand positioning, selling proposition, and creative tone" (Davis, 1997, pp. 392-393). Content analysis can be objective, systematic, and quantitative (Davis, 1997; Kassarjian, 1977) or qualitative (e.g., Holsti, 1969; Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1997).

The quantitative content analysis approach is implemented in the current research. Coders assessed advertisements for a standardised set of characteristics. The characteristics were culled

from prior content analytic studies using a two-step approach. First, categories of interest were identified. Second, the dimensions of each category were identified. Categories refer to "…the universe of information that will be extracted during the content analysis" (Davis, 1997, p. 400).

The success of content analysis depends on how well the categories are formulated and rooted in the research problem. For this reason, as categories were developed and their measurement framed, the categories were assessed for:

a) Comprehensiveness: the categories must be comprehensive enough not to exclude any important data, and

b) Clarity and relevance: the categories must be clearly labelled and relevant to the research problem as informed by theory, prior research or personal knowledge (Davis, 1997).

The categories and applicable dimensions for the physical characteristics used in the current research as discussed previously are summarised in Table 8 (See Appendix 1 for coding instrument).

The measurement of cultural characteristics was based on the Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz, et al., 2001) and the Social Axioms Survey (Leung, et al., 2002; Leung & Bond, 2004). For cultural characteristics relating to values, coders were asked to examine the advertisements and indicate whether, in their view, each value (as detailed in Table 5) is important or not as a guiding principle in the life of the primary woman in the advertisement on a three-point Likert scale (0 = Not important, 1 = A little important, and 2 = Very important). The coders were also provided the opportunity to code "I don't know" where they were not sure about a cultural characteristics presence in an advertisement. However, this response was not used by any of the coders for any of the advertisements. Similarly, for cultural characteristics

relating social axioms, the coders were asked to examine the advertisements and indicate how much the primary woman in the advertisement believes that each social axiom (as detailed in Table 7) describes her life and the way her life works on a three-point Likert scale with a provision for "I don't know" (See Appendix 2 for copy of the data collection instrument). Again, the "I don't know" option was not used by any coder for any of the advertisements.

In the case of both types of assessment, independent coders examined and rated the advertisements for the presence of these category dimensions after a training session.

Table 8

Category Dimensions for the Physical Characteristics of the Message Source

Category (variable)	Category dimensions	Sources
Type of product being advertised (What product is being advertised?)	Housekeeping products, Non-housekeeping products, Unknown	Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Culley & Bennett, 1976; Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Elliott, 1995, Marecek, Piliavin, Fitzsimmons, Krogh, Leader & Trudell, 1978
Typical product users	Males, Females, Unisex (non-gender specific)	Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Culley & Bennett, 1976
Nature of main activity in the ad (What activity is being performed?)	Housekeeping activity, Non-housekeeping activity, Other, Unknown	Courtney & Lockeretz (1971; Harris-Kessler (2003), Maake (2006); Plakoyiannaki & Zotos (2009)
Location (i.e., setting) of the activity (Where is the activity being performed?)	Home, Workplace, Staged settings, Other,	Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Maake, 2006; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos (2009), Welter, 1966
Decision making (Does the ad present a decision making	Present, Absent, Unknown (Difficult to discern)	Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Maake, 2006;
Family scene	Present, Absent	Goffman (1979); Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim (2005); Maake, 2006
Function ranking	Present, Absent	Goffman (1979), Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim (2005)
Relative size	Present, Absent, Not applicable (solo models)	Goffman (1979), Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim (2005)
Feminine touch	Present, Absent	Goffman (1979), Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim (2005)
Ritualisation of subordination	Present, Absent	Goffman (1979), Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim (2005)
Licensed withdrawal	Present, Absent	Goffman (1979), Hovland, McMahan, Lee, Hwang & Kim (2005)
Manifestation of independence	Present, Absent, Unknown (Difficult to discern)	Kang (1997)
Presence of narration or voice from the model	Present, Absent	Plakoyiannaki & Zotos (2009)
Nature of the narration	Advice, Other, Not applicable	Plakoyiannaki & Zotos (2009)
Role of the narrator	Housekeeper (homemaker), Professional (or worker), Other	Plakoyiannaki & Zotos (2009)
Target of the narration	Female, Male, Both	Bell, Kravitz & Wilkes (2000)
Extent of dressing	Demure, Suggestions, Partially clad, Nude	Kang (1997)
Clearly visible facial exposure	Present, Absent	Archer, Iritani, Kimes & Barrios (1983)
Body parts (display of parts of body)	Present, Absent	Cortese, 1999; Kilbourne & Jhally, 2000

Data Capture for Multilevel Latent Variable Modelling

The data were collected using pen and paper for the physical characteristics. The pen and paper forms were entered into an Excel spreadsheet. Ten percent of the advertisements were checked for each coder to ensure faithful translation into the spreadsheet. To collect the cultural characteristics data, coders assessed the advertisements on computer screen and recorded their assessments on a coding sheet using a 3-point scale for each value or social axiom. Data were then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet. Both sets of data were then consolidated into one Excel spreadsheet, which was then imported to SPSS (version 19) for the subsequent analyses using SPSS, Statistica (version 9) and Latent Gold for the analyses. The preliminary descriptive statistics and cross tabulations were computed using SPSS. Statistica 9 was used for measurement validation of the data using partial correlations, Pearson correlations, and multidimensional scaling (smallest space analysis). All latent class analyses were conducted using Latent Gold 4.5.

Summary

This chapter presented the research approach and the methodological decision that were made in undertaking this study, starting with the sampling process and criteria for inclusion of advertisements in the sampling frame. The design of the coding instruments and the data capturing process for the multilevel latent variable modelling were outlined. The next chapter presents the results and discussion.

Chapter 4: Results

Reliability and Validation Assessment

Intercoder reliability and nomological validity were assessed prior to model-fitting. These analyses were conducted in three phases detailed below.

Intercoder Reliability

Intercoder reliability was assessed using Krippendorff's reliability index, α (alpha), which is the standard in the content analysis literature. All analyses were conducted in SPSS version 19 using the SPSS macro provided by Hayes and Krippendorff (2007). Krippendorff's α reliabilities were determined for each of the variables relating the physical and cultural characteristics in the present study. Krippendorff's α emphasises the reproducibility of the data (Krippendorff, 2004). Reproducibility as a measure of reliability involves the examination of the coding instrument used for data collection by multiple coders to gauge the extent of agreement. High levels of agreement indicate reproducibility and suggest that the data collected is trustworthy for analysis and subsequent decision making. Though there are many measures of reliability (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken, 2004), Krippendorff's α is advantageous because it can be used for different scales of measurement, for multiple coders, for data sets that have missing data, and it addresses all the criteria that are required of good measures of reliability (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). The adequacy of Krippendorff's α has been demonstrated, hence the proposition to consider it "…the standard reliability statistic for content analysis and similar data making efforts" (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007, p. 81).

Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) recently summarised the reasons why Krippendorff's α is considered to meet all criteria generally associated with good reliability measures:

- It assesses levels of agreement between multiple coders. Krippendorff's α is not limited by the numbers and permutations of coders. This means that having a large number of coders does not impose difficulties in estimating intercoder reliability,
- Krippendorff's α is rooted in the data generated by coders,
- Krippendorff's α is presented in a numerical scale. It has two numerical scale points, that is, 0 for the absence of reliability and 1 for perfect reliability,
- Krippendorff's α takes into account the level of measurement of the data. It therefore measures levels of agreement across nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio data, hence making comparisons possible, and
- Krippendorff's α has known or computable sampling behaviour. Its bootstrap function means that approximations in the distribution of α are unnecessary.

In content analysis, researchers differentiate between *objective content* (information on the surface level that can be measured objectively) and *subjective content* (information that must be inferred subjectively from image content). Unlike objective content, which is more concrete, content analysis of subjective content relies on personal opinion to interpret (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). This has implications for levels of agreement. In the current study, while the physical characteristics of message sources are measured at the objective level, the cultural characteristics are measured at the subjective level. Taken together with the fact that value types and domains are fuzzy rather than discrete factors (Schwartz, 1994) and that there may be meaning differences across the population or between people (Burgess, 2011), more disagreements were expected amongst the coders for cultural characteristics than the coders for physical characteristics. For the foregoing reasons, two groups of independent coders were employed. Because coders of objective content need not be representative of the magazine

readership and university students were readily accessible, students were trained to code the objective content relating the physical characteristics of the message source. Two adult coders (a female and male) drawn from drawn from *Drum's* target market and who are familiar with the magazine were used to code the subjective content in the advertisements. These coders were also trained by the researcher in the type of subjective content of interest namely values and social axioms. The employment of separate coders acknowledged that objective content needed to be treated differently from subjective content as detailed in the following sections.

Though the literature does not provide standards of acceptable reliability, it provides rules of thumb to facilitate assessment inter-coder reliability. I use these rules of thumb in the discussion here. The levels of acceptable reliability reported by Bereleson (1952) range from 66% to 95%. Kassarjian (1977) recommends that studies with reliability coefficients of less than 80% should be treated with caution. Lombard and colleagues argue that coefficients of less than 0.70 are acceptable in exploratory research and propose that for indices such as Cohen's kappa that are considered conservative, lower coefficients may be acceptable (Lombard, Synder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002).

Objective assessment of the physical characteristics of the message source. The following process was employed to objectively assess the physical characteristics in the advertisements.

Selection and training of coders. The initial coding of advertisements was undertaken by independent and trained coders in line with recommended practice (Krippendorf, 1980). The initial coding facilitated checks for reliability and validity (Gross & Sheth, 1989; Lewis & Neville, 1995) before the subsequent coding of all the advertisements in the sample. Given the impact of the coders on the dependability of the coding process, independent individuals with

similarities in background were selected to undergo training which covered the entire coding procedures from explaining terms and categories to practising coding. The process followed was as follows: a) the assistance of three students of advertising (two in their third year of study and one in his fourth year of study respectively) from a university in Cape Town was employed, b) to ensure that they would work independently from each other, the coders were unknown to each other and were trained separately, c) the training sessions for each of the coders lasted about two hours and took place in the researcher's office, d) at the end of the session each coder was provided three advertisements to content analyse on their own. These were later reviewed together with the researcher. At the end of this process, two coders were employed while the other was dropped for consistently providing unreliable coding.

Pre-testing. The remaining two coders were further requested to content analyse 17 (7% of the total sample size) advertisements independently of each other. It is acceptable practice in content analysis studies to check for reliability and validity by having approximately five percent of the advertisements recoded by independent coders (Gross & Sheth, 1989; Lewis & Neville, 1995). The percentage of agreement between the researcher and/or the coders is one way of checking for inter-coder reliability (Krippendorf, 1980). But how does one select content for recoding and determine the proportion of advertisements to be recoded? There are different approaches to both parts of the question. Regarding content selection, Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (1998) recommend random selection while Krippendorf (1980) does not see the need for randomisation. Kaid and Wadsworth recommend sampling 5 – 7% of the advertisements to recoded (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989) while Wimmer and Dominick recommend sampling 10 – 20% (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997). In this case, a convenience sample of 17 advertisements was selected. These were issued to the coders after their hands-on training. The percentage of

agreement of 94.1% is well above the recommended minimum 80% (Davis, 1997; Kassarjian, 1977). Based on this level of reliability, it was assumed that the clarity of categories and category dimension in the codebook/code sheet was acceptably high to proceed with the coding process.

Intercoder reliability index. The data collected for all the 244 advertisements was then assessed for intercoder reliability using the more stringent Krippendorff's α as described previously. The intercoder reliability for the physical characteristics ranged from 0.85 to 1.00 (Table 9) (See detailed Krippendorff's α reliability estimates in Appendix 3). These levels reliability are acceptable according to the criteria recommended Bereleson (1952), Kassarjian (1977), and Lombard and colleagues (2002).

Subjective assessment of the Cultural Characteristics of the Message Source. The coding of advertisements for cultural values was also undertaken by two coders representative of the magazine's readership after briefing sessions. The data collected for all the 244 advertisements was assessed for intercoder reliability using Krippendorff's α. This resulted in intercoder reliabilities ranging from 0.50 to 1.00 (Table 10) (See detailed Krippendorff's α reliability estimates in Appendix 3). Except for one variable (i.e., ancestor relevance), these levels of reliability are also acceptable according to Bereleson (1952), Kassarjian (1977), and Lombard and colleagues (2002). But in this study, the subjects of part of the investigation (i.e., value types and value domains) have some unique characteristics that could have affected the inter-coder reliability.

According to Schwartz, the partitioning of values into value types and domains on the circular structure of values acknowledges that value types and domains are convenient and fuzzy sets whose underlying motivational differences are continuous and not discrete (Schwartz, 1994).

There may therefore be overlaps in meaning, especially near the borders of value types that are next to each. For example, both power and achievement values are about social esteem but differ in that power focuses on realising and maintaining social esteem within the general social system while achievement focuses on showing successful performance in real interactions.

Table 9

Krippendorff's αs for physical characteristics

Variable	Krippendorff's α
ACT: Nature of main activity in the ad (What activity is being performed?)	0.85
BOD: Body parts	1.00
DEC: Decision making (Does the ad present a decision making situation?)	1.00
FAC: Clearly visible facial exposure	1.00
FAM: Family scene	1.00
IND: Manifestation of independence	0.87
LOC: Location (i.e., setting) of the activity (Where is the activity being performed?)	1.00
NAR: Presence of narration or voice from the model	1.00
NAT: Nature of the narration	1.00
CAT: Product category (e.g., food, health and beauty)	1.00
PRO: Type of product being advertised (What product is being advertised?)	1.00
RAN: Function ranking	0.89
RIT: Ritualisation of subordination	0.96
ROL: Role of the narrator	1.00
SIZ: Relative size	1.00
TAR: Target of the narration	0.98
TOU: Feminine touch	0.98
USE: Typical product users	1.00
WIT: Licensed withdrawal	0.86
DRE: Extent of dressing	1.00

In emerging markets, scale reliabilities may be lower and standards of reliability that are typical in the developed countries (α being greater than .7, for example) are not always realisable (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006). In addition, reports of inter-coder reliability in previous studies could not be used for comparative purpose because none were found due to the novelty of this kind of study, i.e., content analysis of values and social axioms in print advertisements. It is in

this light that the inter-coder reliability and the results of the content analysis of the cultural characteristics on the advertisements should be viewed.

Table 10

Krippendorff's αs cultural characteristics

Variable	Krippendorff's α
POW: Power	0.95
ACH: Achievement	0.95
HED: Hedonism	0.98
STM: Stimulation	0.99
SDN: Self-direction	0.99
BEN: Benevolence	0.99
UNV: Universalism	0.99
TRD: Tradition	0.99
CNF: Conformity	1.00
SEC: Security	0.99
SC: Social complexity	0.99
CY: Social cynicism	0.80
FC: Fate control	1.00
RA: Reward for application	0.95
RE: Religiosity	0.99
UBU: Ubuntu	0.98
AR: Ancestor relevance	0.50

Nomological Validity

To assess the nomological validity of the coding instruments, the correlations of the different items in the coding instruments were examined. The data were captured on three levels of measurement in the current research: dichotomous (binary) and multichotomous measurements for physical characteristics (categorical) and Likert scale (continuous) measurements for cultural characteristics. Assessing nomological relations thus required the employment of three types of correlation coefficients: tetrachoric correlations for the dichotomous (binary) items, polychoric correlations for the multichotomous categorical measurements, and simple correlations for Likert scale measurements. The simple correlations

and tetrachoric correlations were determined using Statistica 9 (Statsoft, Inc., 1984-2009) while the polychoric correlations were determined using LISREL 8.8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2006).

The correlation coefficient (*r*) is a measure of the relationship between two variables that allows comparisons across scales (because it is measured in standard deviation units). It presents one approach to assessing validity. When correlation coefficients are used to assess validity, evidence of validity is established if variables correlate well with each other in the expected or predicted direction. The presence of both convergent and discriminant validity is necessary for one to demonstrate nomological or construct validity. Cohen (1988) provides guidelines for the interpretation of effect size estimates when the correlation coefficient is used in the social sciences. According to Cohen (1988), effect sizes may be defined as either small (*r*=.10), medium (*r*=.30), or large (*r*=.50). Cohen (1988, p. 13) cautions that "Many effects sought in personality, social, and clinical psychology research are likely to be small" and attributes this to the measures that are used and to the fact that the issues investigated in the social sciences are often subtle rather than obvious. It is in this context that I discuss the intercorrelations between the different variables in this study as summarised in Table 11.

Table 11

Effect Size Estimates using Cohen's (1988) Benchmarks

	Effect sizes and number (percentage) of intercorrelations				
	Large: *r*=.50	Medium: *r*=.30	Small: *r*=.10	Trivial: *r*<.10,	Total
Tetrachoric correlations	13 (46.6)	1 (3.6)	7 (25.0)	7 (25.0)	28 (12.5)
Polychoric correlations	8 (8.8)	20 (22.0)	42 (46.2)	21 (23.1)	91 (40.6)
Simple correlations	3 (2.9)	6 (5.7)	27 (25.7)	69 (65.7)	105 (46.9)
Total	24 (10.7)	27 (12.1)	76 (33.9)	97 (43.3)	224 (100.0)

An examination of the correlation coefficients in Appendices 3 and 4 as summarised in Table 11 reveals the following. Over 77% of the intercorrelations are in the categories trivial or small, using Cohen's (1988) benchmarks. This is compatible with discriminant validity, that is, it provides support that the items in the coding instrument assess different concepts. High correlations suggest that items in an instrument are so closely related that they measure very similar concepts. This leads to the problem of multicollinearity which is typically addressed by removing one of the highly correlated items from an instrument. The need for this line of action does not arise in this case. Only 10.7% of the correlations had large effect sizes (*r*>.50) and no 90% confidence interval includes unity (i.e., 1.0), suggesting discriminant validity.

Some high correlations were anticipated due to the meanings associated with the constructs. For example, high correlations for presence of narration (NAR), nature of narration (NAT), and role of the narrator (ROL) were anticipated, as these variables refer to the portrayal of the message sources as a narrator or spokesperson (See Appendix 4). Similarly, high correlations were expected between ubuntu (UBU) and benevolence (BEN) because these two variables are premised on the concept of concern for others (See Appendix 5) and are expected to

converge. To the extent that the variables that one expects to be related to each other exhibit some correspondence, the results provide support for the convergent validity and discriminant validity and evidence for nomological (i.e., construct) validity.

Configural verification

The theorised circumplex structure of value relations is incompatible with structural equation modelling approaches (i.e., confirmatory factor analysis, see Burgess, 2011). The motivational value types (see Table 4) are theorised as convenient points on a circular motivational continuum in which every value type is related to the other value types (see Figure 2). Fit to the theorised structure of nomological value relations can be assessed using the configural verification approach (Schwartz, et al., 2001), which employs smallest space analysis (SSA, Guttman, 1968). SSA is a nonmetric multidimensional scaling technique. Fit to the theorised structure is assessed using Kruskal's 1964 *stress* fit index, which measures deviance from a theorised dimensional structure, and by observing the location of the value types in relation to their theorised order on the circular structure (Schwartz, 1994). The SSA was conducted using Statistica 9 (Statsoft, Inc., 1984-2009). Detailed results are reported in Appendix 6 (See also the correlation matrix in Table 12).

The fit of the Pearson intercorrelations matrix of value relations to a two-dimensional SSA model (stress = .12) comfortably met the criteria of .14, suggested by Schwartz (1992) as an indicator of good fit. As noted earlier, value types in closest proximity on the circular structure are most compatible in their motivational content, while value types with conflicting motivational types are expected to be located in opposition. Small departures from the theorised structure are expected (e.g., regions emerging on the periphery of theorised theorised dimensions or in reverse order) due to small differences in meaning across culture. These small departures

are observed most often when samples comprising less than 400 cases are analysed (Schwartz, 1992), which is the case in the present research.

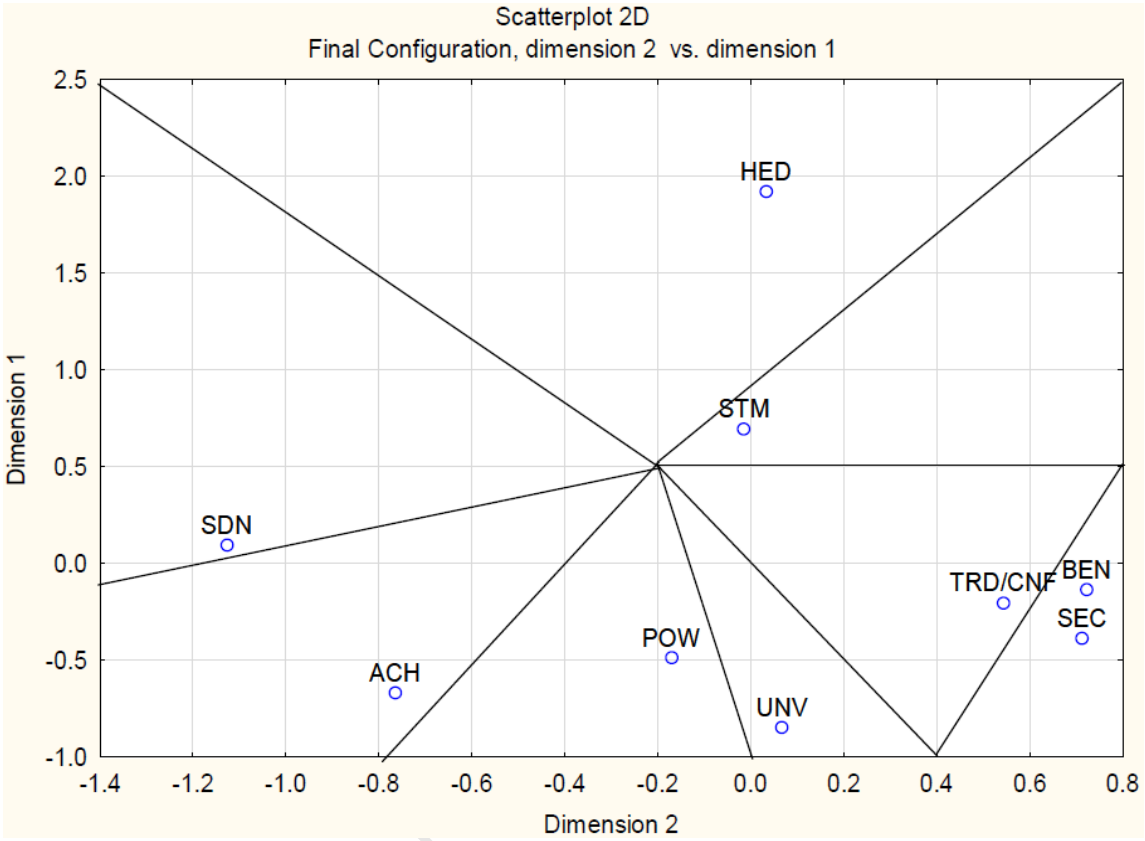

Figure 2: Multidimensional Scaling 2D Scatter Plot (Values Structure)

Inspection of the SSA plot also suggests a good fit to the theorised structure. The order in which the value types power and achievement is the same as predicted by the theoretical model. In the openness to change value domain, the value types hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction are adjacent to each other, but their order of appearance has changed to self-direction, hedonism, and stimulation. The location of self-direction here suggests that it is perceived as a self-enhancement value. This is reasonable given that amongst low income consumers, the pursuit of self-direction (with its focus on independent thought, action-choosing, creating,

exploring) may be interpreted as prioritising self-interest and therefore part of the self-enhancement value domain. In the self-transcendence value domain, benevolence emerges jointly with security while universalism takes the place of security. The location of security in the self-transcendence value domain is not in line with the theory and structure of values, but it is not novel in the study of values amongst black South Africans. Schwartz, et al (2001) also found this unusual location of security in the self-transcendence value domain. They attribute this finding to the Apartheid history of South Africa. Amongst black South Africans, security is connected more with the struggle for justice and equality rather that the maintenance of the status quo. Except for security which emerged in the self-transcendence region, the value types in the conservation value domain appear as expected according to the theory and structure of values.

Table 12

Multidimensional Scaling Final Configuration (Correlation Matrix)

Final Configuration (Correlation matrix) Stress = .1221734		
	Dimension 1 (DIM. 1)	Dimension 2 (DIM. 2)
POW (Power)	-0.484	-0.170
ACH (Achievement)	-0.664	-0.767
HED (Hedonism)	1.922	0.034
STM (Stimulation)	0.699	-0.014
SDN (Self-direction)	0.097	-1.125
UNV (Universalism)	-0.845	0.065
BEN (Benevolence)	-0.136	0.723
TRD/CNF (Tradition/Conformity)	-0.204	0.543
SEC (Security)	-0.385	0.711

The SSA results are impressive considering that people can be expected to report their own values far more accurately than the values of strangers that they observe in pictures. Also, advertisements often present contrived or fictional situations in which values may be unrealistically portrayed. It is therefore possible that incompatible value types may be crafted into the same advertisement and be perceived by the coders. These points highlight the danger of interpreting these results in a deterministic fashion without regard to the context of the study. Using the criterion that the maximum possible separation between any pair of values is two places in either direction on the circular structure (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), the SSA results indicate a good fit to the theorised structure.

To recap, this section has demonstrated the reliability and validity of the data used in this study. First, the intercoder reliability on each item in the instruments was assessed and found to be acceptably high. Second, the nomological validity of the data was examined using tetrachoric, polychoric, and raw correlations as appropriate. The results support the nomological and hence the discriminant and convergence validity. Finally, the configural verification of the Schwartz values structure was performed using smallest space analysis. The observed spatial differences were found to be consistent with the theory.

Univariate Statistics

The advertisements in the sample represented a range of product categories with health and beauty products accounting for 49.6% of the 244 advertisements analysed, followed by food and financial services at 9.4% and 9.0% respectively (Table 13). An analysis of the types of advertisement (classified by product type, typical product user, and the location of the advertisement) revealed that 92.2% of the advertisements are for non-housekeeping products, 72.1% are for unisex products (gender-neutral products used by both men and women), and that

though some advertisements featured home settings (13.5%) and work settings (6.1%), most advertisements featured staged settings (80.3%, Table 14). When the different product categories are dichotomised into housekeeping products and non-housekeeping products (as defined previously), the majority of the advertisements falls into the latter. Table 15 summarises the profile of the sample. Detailed univariate statistics are presented in Appendix 7.

Table 13

Product Categories

Category	Number	Percentage
Food	23	9.4
Beverages	8	3.3
Health and beauty	121	49.6
Household	21	8.6
Financial services	22	9.0
Travel, transport and leisure	1	0.4
Retail	10	4.1
Government/education	14	5.7
Media promotion	3	1.2
Other	21	8.6
Total	*244*	*100.0*

The results for the cultural characteristics as coded by multiple coders are presented in Table 14. Regarding the value types, achievement scored the highest mean rating (M = 1.51, SD = 0.785) followed by power (M = 1.08, SD = 0.847). One value domain namely self-enhancement (M = 1.29, SD = 0.616) had the highest mean rating.

These findings reveal that the advertisers through message sources in the advertisements placed in *Drum* magazine emphasise the following messages in order of priority. Firstly, achievement: the message sources in the advertisements convey the message that personal success is important and can be realised through demonstrating one's competence in performing the appropriate tasks, and thus achieving some social esteem. Secondly, power: the

advertisements also convey the message that social status, prestige, and control over resources including people are important and can engender social esteem.

In addition to values, social axioms were used to measure the cultural characteristics in the advertisements on the same scale as was used to measure values. Reward for application was the highest rated social axiom followed by social complexity (M = 1.04, SD = 0.845). The current findings regarding social axioms show that advertisers in *Drum* favour message that convey the general belief that investing one's effort, knowledge, and planning will produce positive outcomes(Leung, et al., 2002). Taken together with the findings on value priorities (where achievement and self-enhancement were the top value type and value domain respectively), this means that advertisers tout the general belief that hard work, knowledge, and careful planning are rewarded with positive outcomes and that personal success and the attendant social esteem can be realized through demonstrating one's competence.

Two other cultural construct namely ubuntu and ancestor relevance were measured on the same scale as the cultural values and social axioms. The profile of the sample on the variables are higher for ubuntu (M = 0.54, SD = 0.810) than for ancestor relevance (M = 0.01, SD = 0.781).

Table 14

Descriptive Statistics of the Cultural Characteristics of the Message Source

Value type	Mean	Standard deviation
Power	1.08	0.846
Achievement	1.51	0.785
Hedonism	0.84	0.944
Stimulation	0.04	0.278
Self-Direction	0.07	0.328
Universalism	0.08	0.350
Benevolence	0.46	0.818
Tradition/Conformity	0.30	0.634
Security	0.14	0.475
Value domains		
Openness to change	0.32	0.331
Self-enhancement	1.29	0.616
Conservation	0.30	0.634
Self-transcendence	0.23	0.387
Resultant conservation	-0.02	0.760
Resultant self-transcendence	-1.07	0.734
Social axioms		
Social cynicism	0.02	0.163
Reward for application	1.04	0.845
Social complexity	0.04	0.259
Fate control	0.01	0.128
Religiosity	0.06	0.314
Other cultural constructs		
Ubuntu	0.54	0.810
Ancestor relevance	0.01	0.781

Types of Portrayal of Women and Types of Years

The research objectives of this study concern two types of differences in the portrayals of women in *Drum* magazine advertisements. First, differences are observed *within* the advertisements. This objective can be realised by examining the portrayals of women in the advertisements for similarities in the physical and cultural characteristics associated with the women appearing as the central figure or message source in each advertisement. The advertisements can then be grouped meaningfully, based on these similarities, in order to identify different types of portrayals of women in advertisements that have appeared in *Drum*. Second,

differences in the appearance of different types of advertisements are observed *between* time periods, due to the changing institutional context of low-income and subsistence markets in South Africa.

Thus, the focus of the study can be seen as the portrayals of women in advertisements that are nested within the years that the advertisements appeared in *Drum*. Expectations for different types of advertisements and different temporal patterns in their appearance can be examined using a longitudinal multilevel latent variable modelling approach (Vermunt, 2003, 2011; Wedel & Kamakura, 2000). I employ this approach in the current research following the three-step procedure recently proposed by Lukočienė, Varriale and Vermunt (2010). After briefly outlining several advantages of this approach, I will provide details for the model that I implement and then report the empirical results for tests of alternative models, including model fit indices.

Multilevel Latent Variable Modelling

The adoption of latent variable modelling is a recent innovation in advertising research but latent class models are not a new technique. First observed in the work of Pearson in the 1890s and developed further in the work of Clogg, Goodman, Lazarsfield, among others, during the last half of the 20th century (see Hagenaars & McCutcheon, 2002; Magidson & Vermunt, 2004; McLachlan & Peel, 2000), latent class models came to prominence in advertising and marketing research due to the pioneering work of Wedel, Kamakura, Desarbo and Steenkamp among others (Wedel & Desarbo, 2002; Wedel, et al., 1999; Wedel & Kamakura, 2000; Wedel, ter Hofstede, & Steenkamp, 1998). Most recently, Vermunt, Magidson and their associates have proposed several new extensions of the latent class model and demonstrated their implementation in marketing (e.g., Bijmolt, Paas, & Vermunt, 2004; Magidson & Vermunt, 2002; Magidson & Vermunt, 2004).

Multilevel latent variable models (MLVM,Skrondal & Rabe-Hesketh, 2004; Vermunt, 2003, 2011) are the most popular extension of the latent class model. The use of MLVMs in longitudinal research has grown considerably in recent years. MLVMs facilitate the modelling of finite mixture distributions within multiple levels of a hierarchical structure, while controlling for the effects of covariates at the various levels of the model. For instance, in the present research, I examine patterns of advertisements within years, controlling for the effects of unemployment, inflation and product category effects at the level of years.

The fitting of latent class models presents the researcher with considerable complexity. Lukočienė, Varriale and Vermunt (2010) recently called attention to the additional complexity encountered when fitting MLVM models. Notably, determining the number of latent classes at each level of the model can be very complicated. Several approaches to fitting MLVMs have been used traditionally. The most popular approach in marketing is to estimate models for all relevant lower- and higher-level combinations. As an example, Bijmolt, et al. (2004) estimated combinations of models ranging from 1 to 15 at the lower-level and from 1 to 8 at the higher-level. Including other model modifications, they fitted more than 100 models. One obvious disadvantage of this approach is that it requires the fitting of a very high number of models, which is temporally- and computationally-intensive. Another problem arises in that this approach does not allow the use of different fit indices to examine fit at each level of the model (i.e., due to the simultaneous estimation).

To overcome these problems, Vermunt and his associates (Lukočienė, et al., 2010; Vermunt, 2010) propose a three-step procedure. In the first step, alternative models are fitted at the lower-level for a one-group model. In the second step, using the number of classes that provided the best fitting model in Step 1, the fit of alternative models at the higher-level is

examined. In the third step, alternative models are evaluated holding the number of higher level classes constant to those of the best-fitting model observed in Step 2. This three-step procedure has several advantages over the traditional method of model-fitting. It is computationally more efficient, which has important implications for time and computer resource efficiencies. It also allows the use of different fit indices at each level of the model, which is important because simulations show that different fit indices are indicated at different levels of the model (see Lukočienė, et al., 2010).

Longitudinal Multilevel Latent Variable Model Definition

The model implemented in the current research is a longitudinal MLVM in which portrayals of women in advertisements to low-income and subsistence consumers are nested within years (see Figure 3). The model can be thought of as a latent class model (i.e., finite mixture model) in which prior class membership probabilities are assumed to be random (Vermunt & Magidson, 2005a). Latent class modelling has several advantages over traditional clustering approaches, such as k-means clustering (Magidson & Vermunt, 2002). It is a model-based, probabilistic approach to classification, as opposed to the ad-hoc classification provided by k-means clustering. Variables do not need to be standardised in latent class models. Whereas traditional clustering provides no guidance in determining the number of clusters, latent class modelling provides various diagnostics for guidance in choosing the number of clusters, such as the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and the adjusted version of Akaike Information Criterion (AIC^3) statistics. Lower-level and higher-level units can be clustered simultaneously and fit measures used to determine the number of clusters at each level of the model.

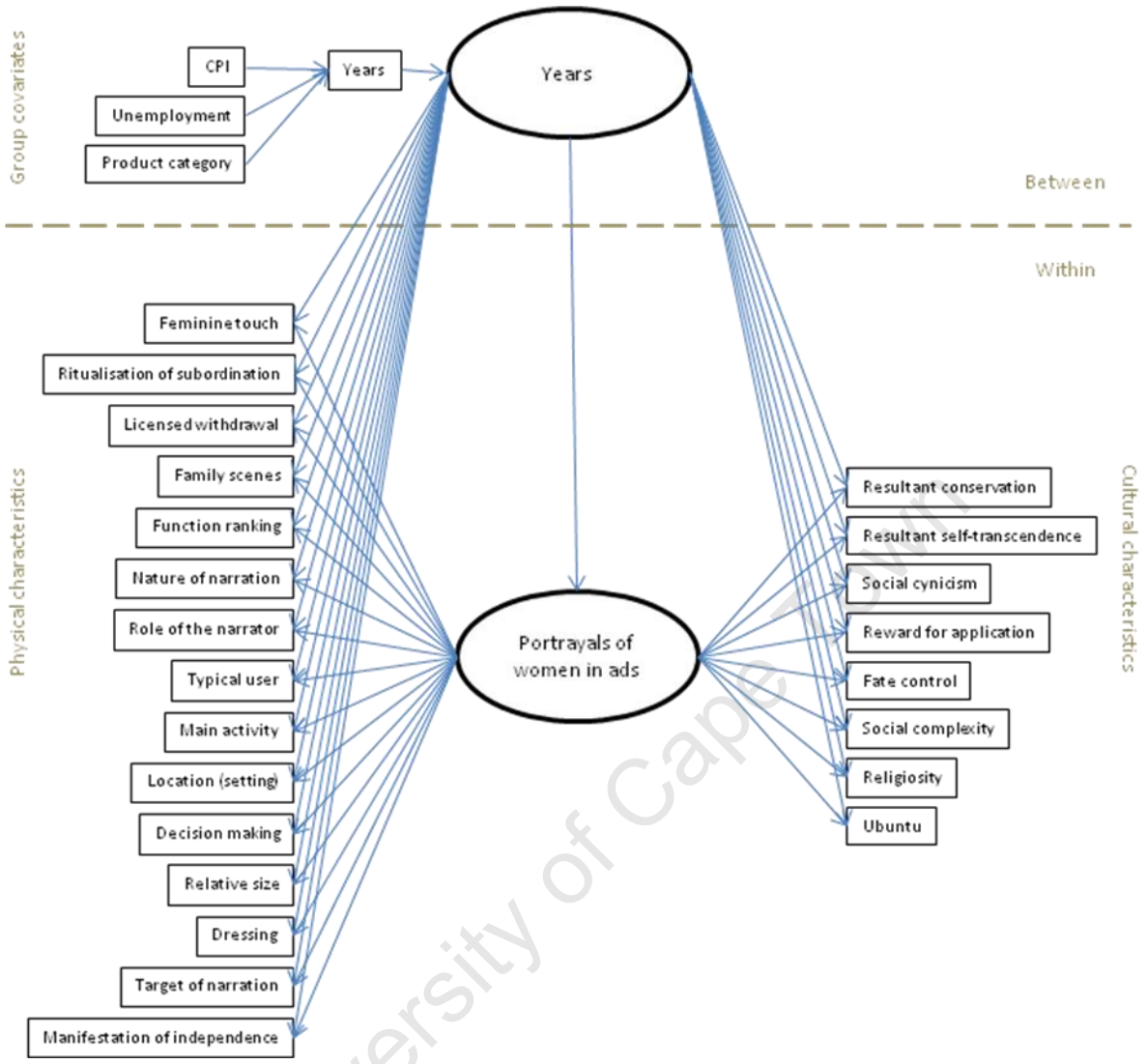

Figure 3: The Multilevel Latent Variable Model

In the current research, the empirical model assumes that each advertisement is a member of only one lower-level latent class (of five unobservable lower-level "portrayals of women in advertisements" latent classes) and one higher-level latent class (of two unobservable higher-level "years" latent classes) and that local independence exists. Lower-level observations within higher-level units are assumed to be mutually independent given cluster membership of the higher-level units (i.e., the well-known "local independence assumption" of latent class models

which states that conditional on latent class membership, the manifest variables are mutually independent). Covariates can be included at either level of the model. In the present research, the annual consumer price index and unemployment rate (from archival data) were included as covariates at the higher level of the model. The product category featured in each advertisement was also included as a covariate at the higher level of the model to capture the effects of industry-level differences, such as competition effects and traditional advertising approaches. The model was implemented using LatentGOLD 4.5.

Fitting the Model

Model specification. The models were fitted to the data using maximum likelihood estimation, using the three-step procedure (i.e., Lukočienė, et al., 2010) described above. For all analyses, nominal variables were coded using effect coding. Standard errors and Wald statistics were estimated using the "Robust" method, which "sandwiches" the inverse of the outer-product matrix by the Hessian information. Standard errors and Wald statistics obtained by the Robust method are less affected by distributional assumptions about the indicators and the dependent variable (Vermunt & Magidson, 2005b). To increase the chances of finding the global maximum solution for each model, 50 models with random starting values were run for 100 iterations and the best fitting solution was chosen as the starting value for the analysis. All models converged normally within a short number of additional iterations. Classification of advertisements was based on modal assignment to the class having the highest membership probability, based on posterior probabilities.

Model fit criteria. Model fit is reported in Table 15, which indicates the number of parameters for each model. Several fit indices are reported, which include the log-likelihood (LL), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC, Schwarz, 1978), the Akaike Information

Criterion (AIC, Akaike, 1974), the adjusted versions of the AIC statistic, AIC^3 (Bozdogan, 1993) and the Consistent Akaike Information Criterion (CAIC, Bozdogan, 1987). Simulation studies show that the BIC and CAIC statistics perform somewhat better when choosing the number of classes for MLVMs, AIC^3 performs well with nominal data and that AIC tends to over-estimate the number of classes (Lukočienė, et al., 2010). When models include combinations of nominal and continuous data the BIC statistic may be preferred, assuming that models are a mixture of two types of models (Lukočienė, et al., 2010). When alternative models are compared, the lowest value for BIC, AIC, AIC^3 and CAIC indicate the best-fitting model.

Several classification statistics are also reported. These statistics are helpful when assessing how well a particular model classifies cases into clusters. In the current research, due to the classification of cases based on modal assignment, the *Classification Errors Statistic* reports the proportion of cases that are expected to be misclassified by the model and varies between 0 and 1. The closer the value of the classification errors statistic to zero, the better. The *Entropy* R^2 is a pseudo R^2 statistic that is interpreted similarly to the R^2 statistic in linear regression. Entropy R^2 indicates how well one can predict class memberships based on the observed variables (indicators and covariates). It varies between 0 and 1, with values closer to 1 indicating better predictions. It is reported for the lower-level latent classes (called "Clusters" in LatentGOLD output) and higher-level latent classes (called "GClasses" in the output). Further details regarding fit indices including log-likelihood statistics, classification statistics, classification table, and covariate classification statistics are presented in Appendix 8.

Table 15

Fit Measures for the Multilevel Latent Variable Models

Model	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	AIC^3(LL)	CAIC(LL)	Number of parameters	Classification error	Entropy R^2 Clusters	Entropy R^2 Gclasses
Step 1									
1-Cluster 1-GClass	-3134.51	6521.705	6361.024	6407.024	6567.705	46	0.000	1.000	1.000
2-Cluster 1-GClass	-51.3916	630.1172	294.7833	390.7833	726.1172	96	0.000	1.000	1.000
3-Cluster 1-GClass	423.8752	-45.7635	-555.751	-409.751	100.2365	146	0.001	0.998	1.000
4-Cluster 1-GClass	708.9875	-341.335	-1025.97	-829.975	-145.335	196	0.002	0.995	1.000
5-Cluster 1-GClass	900.5788	-449.865	-1309.16	-1063.16	-203.865	246	0.000	0.999	1.000
6-Cluster 1-GClass	1022.087	-418.228	-1452.17	-1156.17	-122.228	296	0.000	0.999	1.000
7-Cluster 1-GClass	1123.901	-347.203	-1555.8	-1209.8	-1.2027	346	0.000	0.999	1.000
Step 2									
5-Cluster 2-GClass	909.1902	-373.705	-1292.38	-1029.38	-110.705	263	0.001	0.997	0.918
5-Cluster 3-GClass	912.4432	-286.829	-1264.89	-984.887	-6.8293	280	0.001	0.998	0.804
5-Cluster 4-GClass	917.2264	-203.014	-1240.45	-943.453	93.9865	297	0.000	0.999	0.759
Step 3									
1-Cluster 2-GClass	-3134.51	6527.198	6363.024	6410.024	6574.198	47	0.000	1.000	0.000
2-Cluster 2-GClass	-42.8168	640.4329	287.6337	388.6337	741.4329	101	0.000	1.000	0.560
3-Cluster 2-GClass	432.8238	-14.2231	-555.648	-400.648	140.7769	155	0.002	0.996	0.637
4-Cluster 2-GClass	738.434	-328.818	-1058.87	-849.868	-119.818	209	0.000	0.999	0.750
5-Cluster 2-GClass	**910.3251**	**-375.975**	**-1294.65**	**-1031.65**	**-112.975**	**263**	**0.000**	**0.999**	**0.782**
6-Cluster 2-GClass	1027.94	-314.579	-1421.88	-1104.88	2.4211	317	0.002	0.996	0.830

Results of the 3-step procedure. The results are summarised in Table 15. In the first step, models were estimated for 1 to 7 lower-level classes after constraining the number of GClasses to unity. Models with higher numbers of Clusters would not converge due to the high number of parameters that had to be estimated relative to the number of advertisements in the sample. Classification errors were low and the entropy R^2 statistic was near unity. BIC and CAIC indicated that a 5-Cluster model performed best. Three GClass models were estimated in the second step. The number of Clusters was constrained to 5-clusters and the GClasses were increased incrementally from 2 to 4. According to the fit indices, model fit deteriorated when compared to the 5-Cluster 1-GClass model. Classification errors and Entropy R^2 remained very

good for the 5-Cluster 2-GClass model. This is important because closer inspected showed that the a) bivariate residuals for the 5-Cluster 1-GClass model were unacceptably high and b) results for the 5-Cluster 2-GClass model identified two interesting and significant GClasses. Thus, in the third step, 6 models were estimated in which the GClasses were constrained to 2 classes. The 5-Cluster 2-GClass model is preferred according to the BIC, Classifications Errors and Entropy R^2 statistics and was selected for further examination in the present research.

Bivariate residuals: LatentGOLD provides information concerning the bivariate residuals (Table 16). Bivariate residuals provide a formal measure of the extent to which a model reproduces the observed relation between two variables (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004). They are used in a similar fashion to modification indices in covariance structure modeling. The distribution of the bivariate residuals is approximated by a chi-square distribution with 1 degree of freedom. Bivariate residuals exceeding 6.63 and 10.83 are significant at $p_{X^2} \leq$ 0.01 and $p_{X^2} \leq$ 0.001, respectively and indicate that the local independence assumption does not hold, which suggests that the model falls somewhat short of explaining the association in the corresponding two-way table (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004). The absence of significant bivariate residuals is a local indication of model fit that can be used in addition to the global measures such as BIC and CAIC.

It is important to examine bivariate residuals because high residuals provide evidence that the assumption of local independence does not hold in a particular relationship between two variables. This is an indication that something not captured fully by the model explains the relationship between the variables. In this study only 10 (i.e., 3%) and 19 (i.e., 6%) bivariate residuals are significant at $p_{X^2} \leq$ 0.01 and $p_{X^2} \leq$ 0.001 respectively. The lack of local independence indicated by the significant ($p_{X^2} \leq$ 0.001) bivariate residuals among, for example,

the variables nature of narration, the role of the narrator, and the target of narration is expected because they all relate to the portrayal of message sources in narrator or spokesperson roles. Similarly, lack of independence is expected between the location or setting of an advertisement and nature of activity performed. Overall, the bivariate residual results suggest that the model performs very well.

Table 16

Bivariate Residuals

Indicators	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU	TOU	RIT	WIT	FAM	RAN	NAT	ROL	USE	ACT	LOC	DEC	SIZ	DRE	TAR	IND
Resultant conservation	.																						
Resultant self-transcedence (RST)	1.64	.																					
Social cynicism (CY)	0.01	0.40	.																				
Reward for application (RA)	6.06	5.75	0.94	.																			
Social complexity (SC)	0.27	0.36	0.09	0.10	.																		
Fate control (FC)	0.01	0.37	0.00	0.21	0.24	.																	
Religiosity (RE)	0.44	0.00	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.00	.																
Ubuntu (UBU)	0.52	0.47	0.00	0.72	0.70	0.12	0.28	.															
Feminine Touch (TOU)	1.18	4.77	0.00	0.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	.														
Ritualisation of subordination (RIT)	2.43	3.18	0.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	.													
Licensed withdrawal (WIT)	0.03	3.41	0.00	1.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.96	0.14	.												
Family scenes (FAM)	3.23	0.17	0.00	5.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.17	6.58	0.29	.											
Function ranking (RAN)	0.16	2.16	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.97	0.63	0.56	0.01	.										
Nature of narration (NAT)	0.47	0.37	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.70	1.39	0.41	0.67	0.39	.									
Role of narrator (ROL)	0.20	1.34	0.00	2.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.88	2.46	1.19	2.51	2.00	14.29	.								
Typical user (USE)	0.41	4.04	0.00	0.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.29	3.95	1.99	3.34	0.09	1.24	1.46	.							
Nature of activity (ACT)	5.86	0.09	0.00	2.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.27	0.70	1.37	1.57	3.33	0.61	5.66	1.52	.						
Location/setting (LOC)	1.19	0.09	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.34	2.98	4.91	5.33	2.16	4.01	2.94	13.02	.					
Decision making (DEC)	1.26	1.32	0.00	4.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23	0.68	0.69	2.09	4.89	0.54	1.28	0.41	4.10	0.89	.				
Relative size (SIZ)	1.18	0.19	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.51	4.63	4.10	15.83	4.99	1.40	2.61	5.89	1.24	1.17	2.90	.			
Dressing (DRE)	0.16	0.86	0.00	3.52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.77	1.20	4.61	5.57	0.38	1.23	1.15	6.84	1.04	1.65	0.87	2.27	.		
Target of narration (TAR)	0.23	1.44	0.76	2.59	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.64	2.53	1.12	0.56	0.14	12.81	25.26	5.38	1.27	1.43	0.73	2.79	1.81	.	
Manifestation of independence (IND)	1.11	4.05	0.00	2.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.11	5.44	29.93	1.69	0.74	0.78	1.91	4.01	1.36	1.52	1.60	1.08	3.26	1.79	.

Covariates	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU	TOU	RIT	WIT	FAM	RAN	NAT	ROL	USE	ACT	LOC	DEC	SIZ	DRE	TAR	IND
Consumer price index	1.70	2.23	0.00	6.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.07	0.51	4.90	0.30	9.34	2.64	8.09	2.09	11.26	11.69	7.75	2.91	0.72	10.54
Product category (CAT)	5.16	0.69	0.00	2.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.95	0.30	0.05	3.22	5.19	0.87	0.46	9.95	3.83	3.98	5.57	0.91	2.00	3.84	1.16
Unemployment rate (EMP)	2.17	0.08	0.00	17.57	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.03	1.00	8.07	0.51	4.47	2.09	6.56	4.66	7.18	23.95	5.68	3.81	2.32	6.86

Model Parameters

Detailed results for the model parameters are reported in Appendix 9. Here I briefly summarise the findings for the parameter estimates.

Table 17

Parameter Estimates for Indicator Variables

Indicators	Wald statistic	p-value	R^2	Intercepts	Overall estimate	Wald statistic	p-value
Resultant conservation (RCO)	310.98	0.00	0.41	RCO	0.28	29.12	0.00
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)	167.87	0.00	0.15	RST	-0.95	109.83	0.00
Social cynicism (CY)	60.25	0.00	0.68	CY	0.16	57.43	0.00
Reward for application (RA)	28.37	0.00	0.05	RA	1.03	50.18	0.00
Social complexity (SC)	26.47	0.00	0.84	SC	0.40	24.79	0.00
Fate contro (FC)	1.69	0.43	0.38	FC	0.07	1.68	0.20
Religiosity (RE)	2676.25	0.00	0.93	RE	0.32	2649.80	6.2e-578
Ubuntu (UBU)	541.69	0.00	0.87	UBU	0.90	284.10	0.00
Feminine touch (TOU)	27.23	0.00	0.04	TOU		22.10	0.00
Ritualisation of subordination (RIT)	22.41	0.00	0.05	RIT		55.82	0.00
Licensed withdrawal (WIT)	20.37	0.00	0.02	WIT		65.07	0.00
Family scenes (FAM)	11.80	0.02	0.13	FAM		56.50	0.00
Function ranking (RAN)	44.89	0.00	0.06	RAN		48.03	0.00
Nature of narration (NAT)	29.59	0.00	0.04	NAT		64.78	0.00
Role of narrator (ROL)	67.53	0.00	0.09	ROL		111.65	0.00
Typical users (USE)	19.94	0.01	0.03	USE		34.70	0.00
Nature of activity (ACT)	164.59	0.00	0.09	ACT		127.34	0.00
Location/setting (LOC)	161.53	0.00	0.03	LOC		45.49	0.00
Decision making (DEC)	76.77	0.00	0.02	DEC		98.44	0.00
Relative size (SIZ)	40.55	0.00	0.02	SIZ		49.05	0.00
Dressing (DRE)	69.92	0.00	0.03	DRE		107.48	0.00
Target of narration (TAR)	96.94	0.00	0.08	TAR		63.86	0.00
Manifestation of independence (IND)	19.17	0.01	0.01	IND		66.62	0.00

Model for Indicator Variables. The model for indicator variables (summarised in Table 17) is similar to a measurement model. It formally tests the assumption that the clusters are different from each other on particular characteristics. The Wald statistic assesses the statistical significance of parameter estimates. It tests the significance of explanatory variables in a statistical model. A significant result provides evidence supporting the inclusion of an

explanatory variable in the model. As Table 17 shows, for both indicator variables and intercepts, the results for all characteristics, except fate control (FC, p=0.43) are significant, indicating that they differ across clusters. These results therefore provide support that the model adequately differentiates the advertisements based on the portrayal characteristics measured in the current research.

Model for Clusters. Table 18 presents a summary of the model for clusters showing the Wald statistic and p-value of each of the five clusters. The significant p-value associated with the Wald statistics in the model for clusters indicates that the GClasses discriminate between the five clusters and should be retained in the model. The five clusters are a) the *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), b) the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), c) the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), d) the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and e) the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

Table 18

Parameter Estimates of the Model for Clusters

Model for Clusters

Intercept	The *Ambitious Woman*	The *Emerging Woman*	The *Traditional Woman*	The *Modern Woman*	The *Community Woman*	Wald	p-value
GClass1	-4.06	-4.50	21.97	19.93	-33.33	14.49	0.01
GClass2	-11.77	-19.37	16.73	9.29	5.12	16.25	0.00

Model for Covariates. In examining the patterns of advertisements over the years, three covariates were controlled for, namely consumer price index (CPI, see Appendix 10), product category (CAT), and employment status (EMP, see Appendix 11). An examination of the model for covariates (Table 19) shows that the Wald statistics associated with each of the three

covariates for each GClass are significant. This means that the covariates also discriminate between the clusters.

Table 19

Parameter Estimates for Covariates

Covariates	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Cluster4	Cluster5	Wald	p-value
GClass1 : CPI	0.20	0.21	-1.10	-0.83	1.52	16.55	0.00
GClass2 : CPI	0.29	0.38	-0.27	0.11	-0.51	18.42	0.00
GClass1 : CAT	-0.12	-0.19	0.12	0.11	0.08	27.18	0.00
GClass2 : CAT	0.15	-0.35	0.03	0.00	0.17	15.69	0.00
GClass1 : EMP	0.39	0.37	-0.68	-0.76	0.69	15.42	0.00
GClass2 : EMP	0.49	0.83	-0.66	-0.55	-0.11	27.86	0.00

Note: The *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

Error Correlations. An assumption of the multilevel latent variable model is that errors will not be correlated. Error correlations are estimates of within-cluster correlation for continuous indicator variable. The error correlation are summarised in the table in Appendix 12. The results show that the errors meet the assumption of no correlation.

The Five Types of Portrayals of Women in Advertising (Lower-Level Class Profiles)

The 5-Cluster 2-GClass model was selected for further examination in the present research. In this section I present the five different types of portrayals of women (i.e., lower-level class profiles). These are labelled the *Ambitious Woman,* the *Emerging Woman,* the *Traditional Woman,* the *Modern Woman,* and the *Community Woman*. The *Ambitious Woman* message source portrayal is the type in which there is a high priority on self-enhancement values and openness to change values while emphasising reward for application as the means to the realisation of the goals in the stated values. Except for the higher priority placed on both self-enhancement and openness to change and the emphases on social cynicism and social complexity, the *Modern Woman* portrayal is similar to the *Ambitious Woman.* The *Emerging Woman,* the *Traditional Woman,* and the *Community Woman* all place priority on conservation values and self-enhancement values. However, the *Traditional Woman* places the highest priority on conservation followed by the *Emerging Woman* and then the *Community Woman*. The *Traditional Woman* portrayal which places the highest priority on conservation also places the least priority on self-enhancement values followed by the *Emerging Woman*. Amongst the three message source portrayals, the highest emphasis for reward for application is in the *Emerging Woman* portrayal. All the three portrayals also emphasise ubuntu, the highest endorsement being the *Traditional Woman* portrayal followed by the *Emerging Woman* portrayal. These types of portrayals are outlined below with emphasis on their similarities and differences. The profiles for each characteristic are presented graphically in the bi-plots (Figures 4-7) based on the detailed profile output in Appendix 13.

Portraying the *Ambitious Woman*. The first type of portrayals of women in advertisements is the *Ambitious Woman*. *Ambitious Woman* is the most common message source portrayal of the five types. It accounts for some 60% of the advertisements assessed in this study. The typical users of the products in this class are unisex (69%). The performance of 'other' activities is most probable (82%) in this type of portrayal followed by non-housekeeping activities (8%). The second highest probability of the advertisement being set in the home (12%) after *Emerging Woman* is observed in this class. It is one of the two types of portrayals (with *Modern Woman*) that prioritise openness to change values. All the five types of portrayal also prioritise self-enhancement values, with *Ambitious Woman* having the second highest value score (-1.26). Except for reward for application, all the social axioms including ubuntu are absent in *Ambitious Woman* (Figure 4).

When the message source is portrayed as *Ambitious Woman*, the third highest probability (after *Emerging Woman* and *Traditional Woman*) of using the feminine touch (23%) is observed. Together *Emerging Woman*, women in this class are the only ones that display licensed withdrawal (12%). Only *Ambitious Woman* (3%) and *Traditional Woman* (16%) portrayals show women in higher ranking functions. Compared to other portrayals *Ambitious Woman* is least likely to show message sources as larger (19%) than other models in an advertisement. The use of demure dressing (77%) and manifestation of independence (76%) are second and fourth highest in *Ambitious Woman* portrayals (Figure 13).

Regarding role portrayals, *Ambitious Woman* is second most likely to depict women involved in family scenes (11%) and in decision making roles (10%). However, this involvement in narrator or spokesperson roles as providers of advice (5%) is the second lowest after *Modern Woman*. Decision making roles are only employed in *Ambitious Woman* (10%)

and *Emerging Woman* portrayals (16%) (Figure 5). An example of an advertisement that fits *Ambitious Woman* type of portrayal is provided in Appendix 14, Exhibit 1).

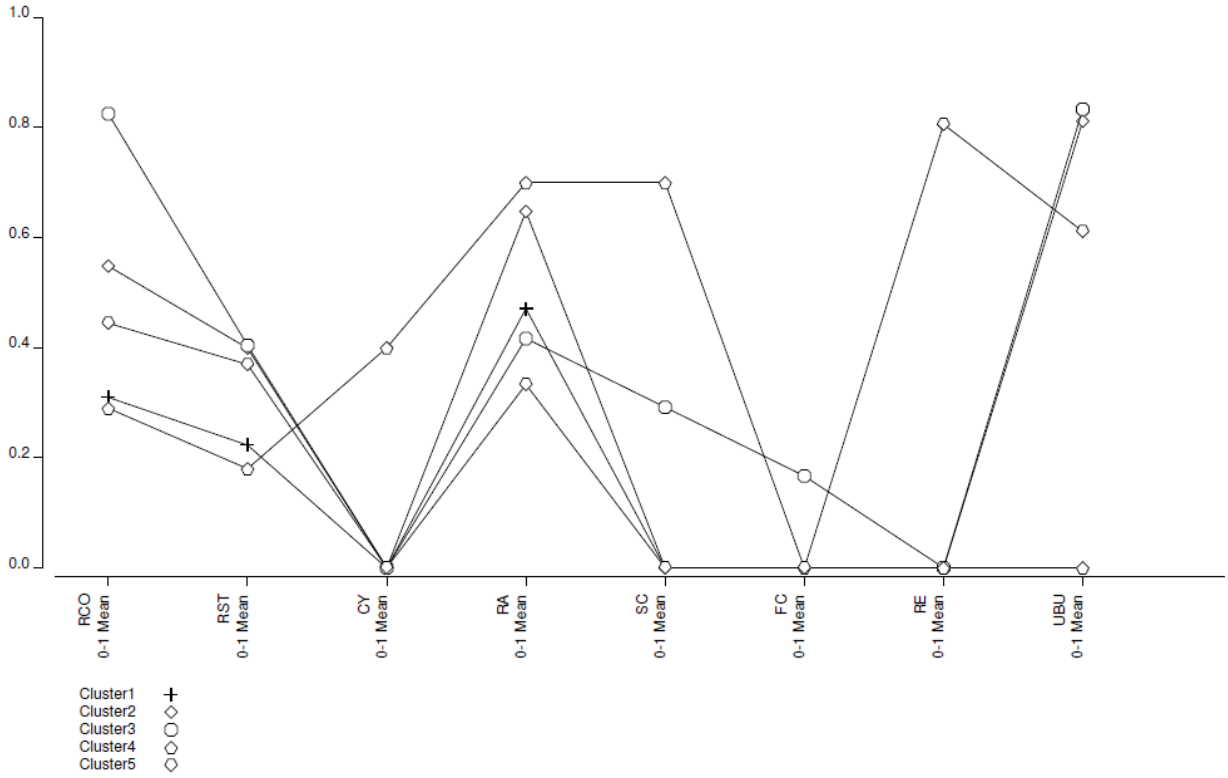

Figure 4. Bi-Plot for Cultural Characteristics. Note: The *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

Portraying the *Emerging Woman*. *Emerging Woman* is the second most common after *Ambitious Woman* (representing 25% of the advertisements). *Emerging Woman* is used in advertisements for products that are primarily targeted at unisex users (76%). Housekeeping activities are 300% more likely to be used in this *Emerging Woman* than in *Ambitious Woman*. Though 'other' settings (47%) and staged settings (34%) are preferred locations, this type of portrayal has the highest penetration of advertisements set in the home (19%). *Emerging Woman*

has the second highest emphasis on conservation values (0.49) while its score on self-enhancement values is the fourth highest (-0.67) amongst the five types of portrayals. Unlike *Ambitious Woman*, when message sources are portrayed as *Emerging Woman*, there is also an emphasis on ubuntu (1.62) and reward for application (1.29). Though the emphasis on ubuntu is second highest in this class, self-enhancement values are also present (Figure 4).

When the message source is portrayed as *Emerging Woman*, the use of feminine touch is 4% lower than in *Ambitious Woman* while the use of ritualisation of subordination is 5% higher. *Emerging Woman* does not portray women in high ranking functions, but it is 47% more likely to portray them as relatively larger than *Ambitious Woman*. Though the prevalence of manifestation of independence (76%) is similar to *Ambitious Woman*, the use of demure dressing is slightly lower at 75%. Compared to *Ambitious Woman*, the women in this class are over three times more likely to be involved in family scenes and 40% more likely to be shown as narrators or spokespersons providing advice. However, when women are depicted as providers of advice; it is mainly in 'other' roles (10%) and housekeeper roles (9%). Similar to *Ambitious Woman*, the narration is mainly targeted at both females and males (16%). *Emerging Woman* has the highest probability of showing women in decision making roles (16%). See Appendix 14, Exhibit 2 for an example of an advertisement that illustrates the *Emerging Woman* type of portrayal.

Portraying the *Traditional Woman*. This is the third most common message sources portrayal (8% of the advertisements). The advertisements in this class are targeted at unisex users (83%). The main activities performed by women portrayed as *Traditional Woman* are non-housekeeping (32%) and other activities (67%). Staged settings and other settings are the preferred settings for these advertisements. *Traditional Woman* places the highest priority on conservation values (1.42) and ubuntu (1.67) but the least priority on self-enhancement values (-

0.65). This is the only type of portrayals that uses fate control (0.33). The fourth highest emphasis on reward for application is observed in this class (0.83).

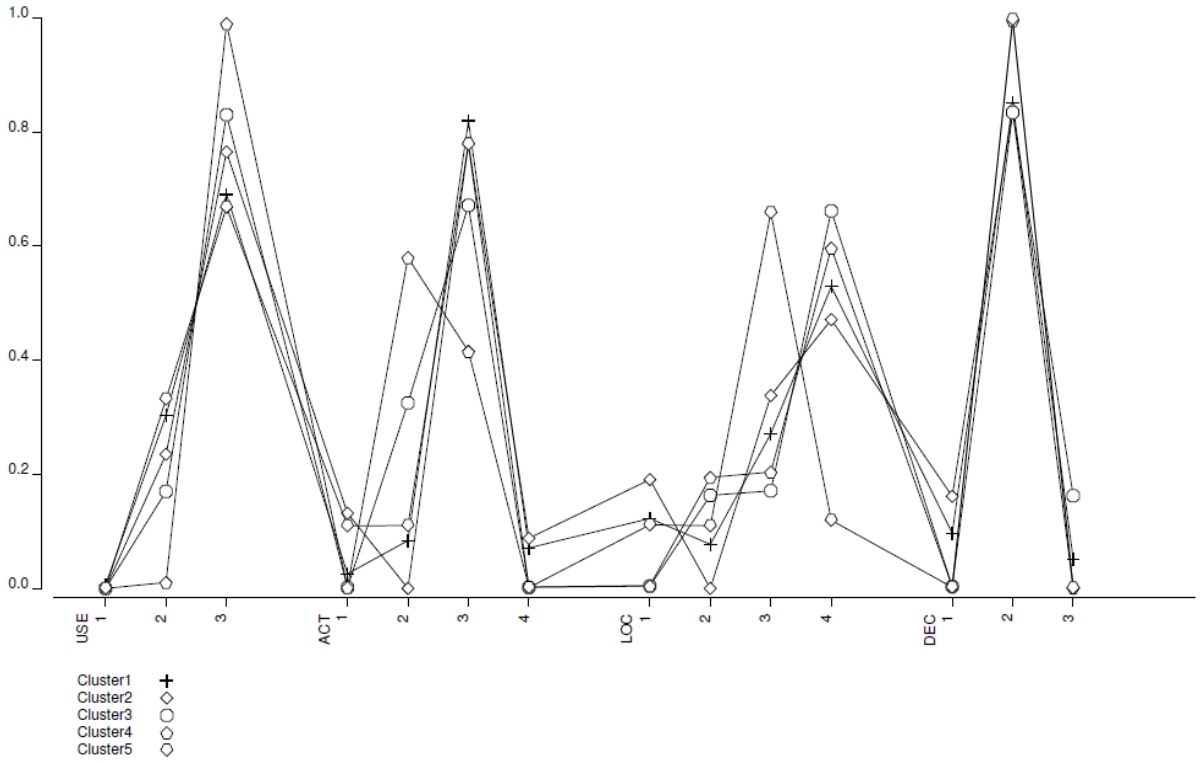

Figure 5. Bi-Plot for Physical Characteristics (A). Note: The *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

The highest penetration of feminine touch (49%) and function ranking (16%) are associated with *Traditional Woman*, but it does not exhibit any ritualisation of subordination and licensed withdrawal. *Traditional Woman* has the second highest probability (33%) of depicted message sources as relatively larger than other models. It, jointly (with *Modern Woman*) has the highest likelihood of showing message sources that are demurely dressed (99%) and manifesting independence (83%). *Traditional Woman* is more likely than other types of portrayals to show

women involved in family scenes (49%) and the provision of advice (16%) in housekeeper roles (16%). It does not feature women in decision making roles at all. See Appendix 14, Exhibit 3 for an example of an advertisement that fits the *Traditional Woman* type of portrayal.

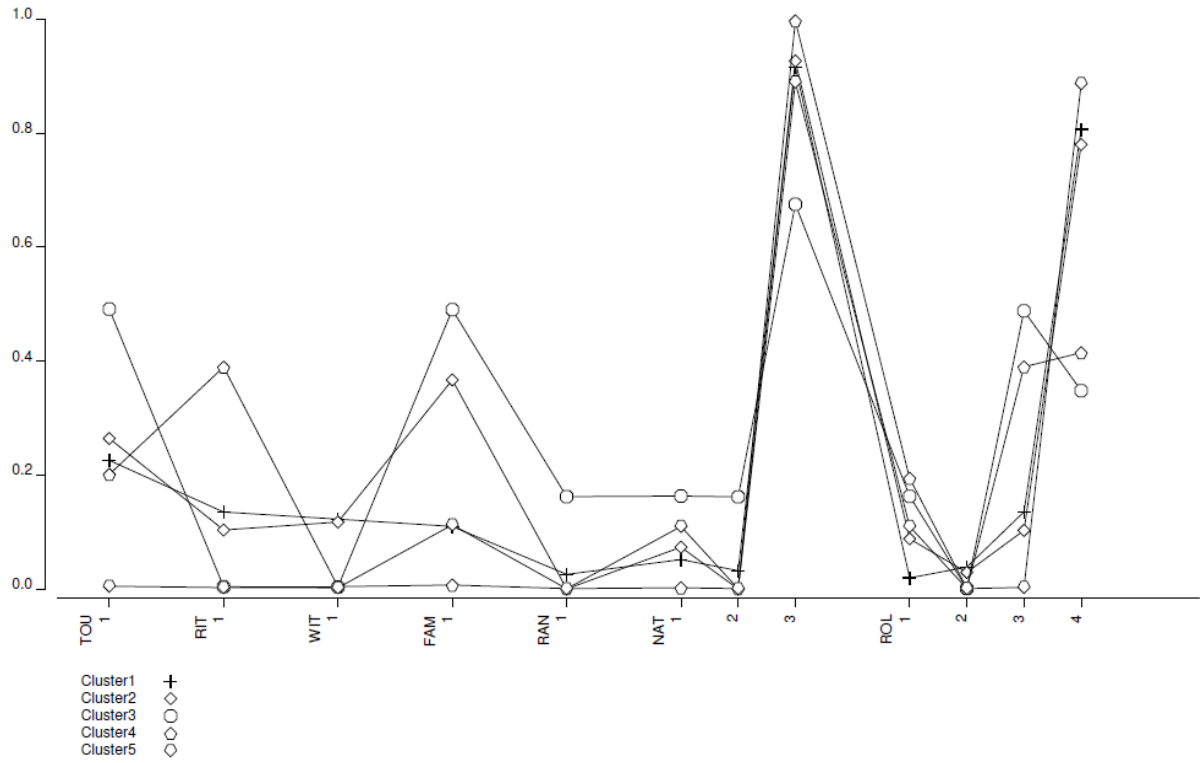

Figure 6. Bi-Plot for Physical Characteristics (B). Note: The *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

Portraying the *Modern Woman*. *Modern Woman* is the fourth most common type of portrayal. The typical users of the products advertised in this class are unisex (99%). The highest probability of non-housekeeping activities (58%) and work settings (19%) are observed in this class. Accounting for 5% of the advertisements, *Modern Woman* has the highest priority

for both openness to change values (-0.37) and self-enhancement values (-1.40) here. The emphases on social cynicism, reward for application, and fate control are the highest in *Modern Woman.* It also has the highest probability of depicting women in positions of ritualisation of subordination (39%) and the second lowest probability of being shown in situations involving feminine touch (20%) and in situations where the relative size of the message source is larger (20%). In addition, *Modern Woman* is highly likely to show women that are demurely dressed and manifest independence (99% in each case). It does not feature women in high ranking functions or who exhibit licensed withdrawal. Involvement in family scenes, narration, and decision making are very low to absent in *Modern Woman*. See Appendix 14, Exhibit 4 for an example of an advertisement that shows the *Modern Woman* type of portrayal.

Portraying the *Community Woman*. *Community Woman* is the last and smallest type of portrayal and accounts for 3% of the advertisements. The advertisements in this class are mainly for products targeted at unisex users (67%) and feature housekeeping and non-housekeeping activities equally (11%). Besides 'other' settings, home setting (11%), workplace setting (11%), and staged settings (12%) are also used in *Community Woman*. It has the least emphasis on conservation values (0.15) and the third highest emphasis on self-enhancement values (-0.77). This is the only class in which religiosity is used, but reward for application (0.67) and ubuntu are also used (1.22).

Community Woman has the highest probability of depicting message sources as relatively larger than other models (44%). It does not show women in postures of ritualisation of subordination and licensed withdrawal, or in high ranking functions. Its use of feminine touch is the lowest amongst the five types of portrayals (1%). In addition, *Community Woman* has the lowest prevalence of demurely dressed women (67%) and the third highest prevalence of women

manifesting independence (78%). See Appendix 14, Exhibit 5 for an example of an advertisement that shows the *Community Woman* type of portrayal.

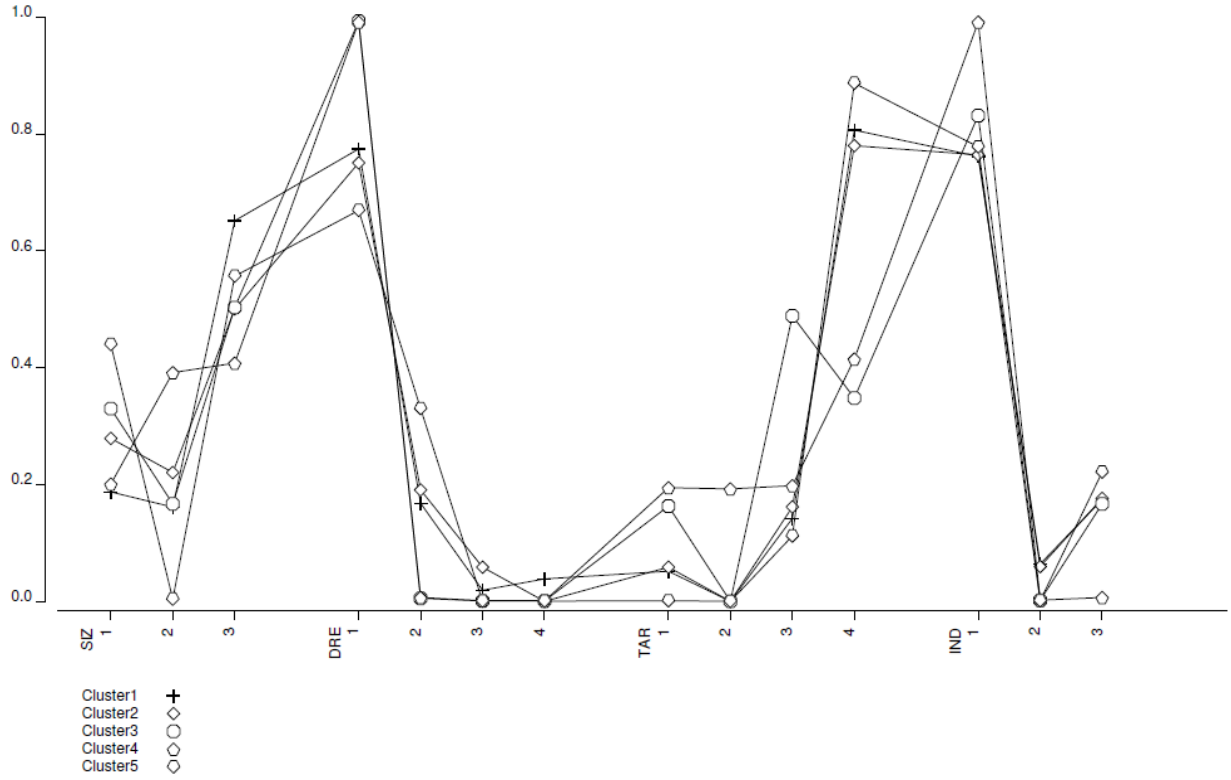

Figure 7. Bi-Plot for Physical Characteristics (C). Note: The *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

The Covariates

Covariates "may be used to describe or predict (rather than define or measure) the latent classes" (Vermunt & Magidson, 2005, p. 4). In the present study, I have used three variables as covariates namely inflation (CPI), employment status, and product category to examine how they covary with the type of years as described above. The bi-plot in Figure 8 shows that inflation (CPI) and employment status were different across the five clusters, suggesting that advertisers

could have responded to these external stimuli in the design of their advertisements. On the other hand, product category does not appear to discriminate as much as inflation (CPI) and employment status between the five clusters.

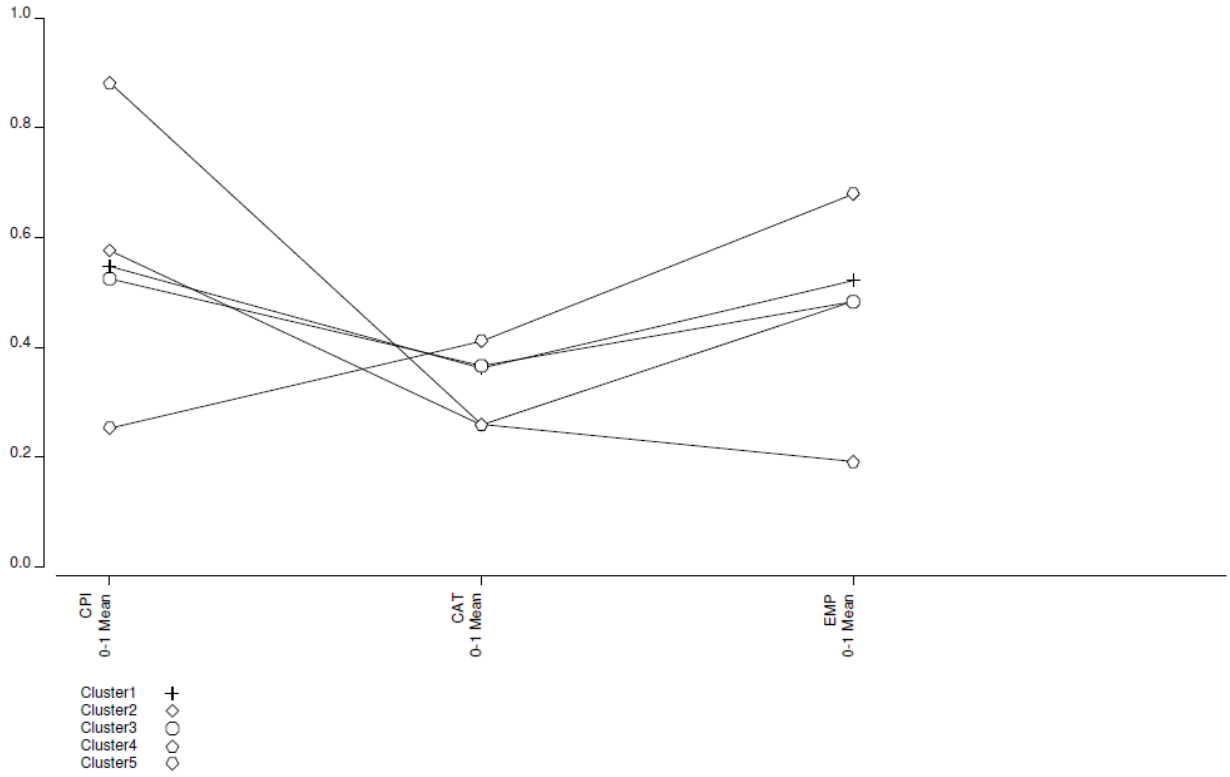

Figure 8. Bi-Plot for Covariates. Note: The *Ambitious Woman* (Cluster 1), the *Emerging Woman* (Cluster 2), the *Traditional Woman* (Cluster 3), the *Modern Woman* (Cluster 4), and the *Community Woman* (Cluster 5).

The Two Types of Years in Which Portrayals Appeared (Higher-Level Class Profiles)

The findings for the higher level of the 5-Cluster 2-GClass multilevel model (i.e., the two GClasses) are discussed in this section (see Tables 20-22 and Appendix 13 for details). The two types of years are differentiated more on the perceived cultural characteristics associated with messages sources than on the objective physical characteristics that were assessed for each advertisement. Amongst the variables used to assess the prevalence of cultural characteristics; ubuntu (UBU), social complexity (SC), and resultant conservation (RCO) show prominent differences between the two GClasses (respectively, 0.32, 0.28, and 0.23 on the possible 2-point range). On the other hand, the perceived differences on physical characteristics between the two types of years were generally small and ranged from 1% to 7% (see Tables 20-22 and Appendix 13 for details).

The larger type of year, accounting for 71% of the years, can be thought of as years of *Emphasised Agency*, in which self-enhancement and openness to change are depicted as important values to the message source. Message sources appear to place less importance on others, on tradition or religiosity. They are shown to be less cynical, probably because they are less reliant on others. Years of *Emphasised Agency* includes 11 of the 15 years covered in the present study namely, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008.

Table 20

Profile of Types of Years (A)

	Years of Emphasised Agency	*Years of Emphasised Connectedness*
GClass Size	71%	29%
Indicators		
Resultant conservation (RCO) Mean	-0.05	0.28
Resultant self-transcendence (RST) Mean	-1.08	-0.98
Social cynicism (CY) Mean	0.01	0.10
Reward for application (RA) Mean	1.04	1.02
Social complexity (SC) Mean	0.03	0.31
Fate control (FC) Mean	0.01	0.08
Religiosity (RE) Mean	0.01	0.14
Ubuntu (UBU) Mean	0.48	0.80

The smaller of the two types of years accounts for 29% of the years. These years comprise 1990, 1992, 2000, and 2010. The second type are years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. Although the message source is shown as placing importance on self-enhancement, it is pursued within the confines of taking care of others. They are shown as able to navigate complex social relations in multiple ways and, perhaps as a result of their experiences with such complexity, as more cynical about social relations. They appear to place much higher endorsement on religiosity and Ubuntu. Below, before detailing the two types of years, I outline some key external features of the South African socio-economic environment during years of *Emphasised Connectedness* because they have been determined to be different from the norm by the multilevel latent variable model.

The first year in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* is 1990, the year that Nelson Mandela and his fellow revolutionaries were released from prison and opposition parties were unbanned to begin negotiating the dismantlement of the Apartheid state. The early 1990s in South Africa

were characterised by great uncertainty in both the socio-political and economic sectors. Because of the armed struggle by liberation movements against the apartheid government, there were fears of civil war and mass flight of whites from the country. Economic sanctions were affecting the economy. The economic stagnation of the 1980s continued into the early 1990s. On the political front, the then state president F.W. de Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid formations and released Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990 (Cheru, 2001; Usborne, 2010). This uncertainty and instability was still in place in 1992 the second year in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. In March 1992, the National Referendum was held and in June, the legal system of Apartheid was repealed. But the same month, political violence broke out between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. In September the same year, the Bisho Massacre took place when the army of the Ciskei homeland opened fire at about 100000 protesters. These events added to the economic and political instability (Christopher, 2001).

The third year in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* is 2000. In line with the rest of the world, the major concern that affected most economies was the Y2K (Year 2000) phenomenon and how it would affect information technology (Mutula, 2001). South Africa also held its second democratic elections in 2000. The fourth and final year in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* is 2010. Like the rest of the world, South Africa was just emerging from global financial crisis in 2010. It registered a 3% annual economic growth rate mainly due to the rebounding global demand for commodities and spending on the 2010 FIFA World Cup and related infrastructural spending. However, the country also experienced some disturbances including a massive strike involving about one million government employees. The tensions in the socio-economic environment were exacerbated by lagging employment opportunities,

failures in service, and some job losses due to the global financial crisis referred to previously (Loos, n.d).

Table 21

Profile of Types of Years (B)

	Years of Emphasised Agency	*Years of Emphasised Connectedness*
GClass Size	71%	29%
Indicators		
Feminine touch (TOU)		
Absent	76%	73%
Present	24%	27%
Ritualisation of subordination (RIT)		
Absent	87%	88%
Present	13%	12%
Licensed withdrawal (WIT)		
Absent	88%	93%
Present	12%	7%
Family scene (FAM)		
Absent	81%	77%
Present	19%	23%
Function ranking (RAN)		
Absent	98%	95%
Present	2%	5%
Nature of activity (NAT)		
Advice	6%	8%
Other	2%	5%
Not applicable	92%	87%
Role of the narrator (ROL)		
Housekeeper	4%	10%
Professional	3%	2%
Other	13%	23%
Not applicable	79%	65%
Typical product user (USE)		
Males	0%	0%
Females	28%	23%
Unisex	72%	77%
Nature of activity (ACT)		
Housekeeping	6%	4%
Workplace (professional)	7%	19%
Other	80%	72%
Unknown	7%	4%

Table 22

Profile of Types of Years (C)

	Years of Emphasised Agency	*Years of Emphasised Connectedness*
GClass Size	71%	29%
Indicators		
Location (setting) (LOC)		
Home	14%	9%
Workplace	6%	10%
Staged settings	29%	29%
Other	51%	52%
Decision making (DEC)		
Present	11%	7%
Absent	85%	88%
Unknown	4%	6%
Relative size of central figure (SIZ)		
Present	22%	26%
Absent	18%	19%
Not applicable	60%	55%
Extent of dressing (DRE)		
Demure	77%	84%
Suggestive	17%	13%
Partially	3%	2%
Nude	3%	1%
Target of the narration (TAR)		
Females	6%	9%
Males	0%	2%
Both (females and males)	15%	23%
Not applicable	79%	65%
Manifestation of independence (IND)		
Present	77%	81%
Absent	6%	4%
Unknown	17%	16%

Years of *Emphasised Agency.* Openness to change values and self-enhancement values appear to be important values that are prioritised by message sources in these years. These years are called Years of *Emphasised Agency* because of the higher emphasis on individualism in advertisements. Although self-transcendence and conservation are prominent in this class of advertisements, openness to change and self-enhancement are more prominent in the motives of the message source. When compared to Years of *Emphasised Connectedness*, resultant conservation and resultant self-transcendence are significantly less emphasised. Besides reward for application and ubuntu, there does not seem to be any significant emphasis on social axioms. The priority placed on openness to change suggests that message sources in these years were shown to be concerned about pursuing their own intellectual and emotional interests rather than maintaining the status quo. On the other hand, the importance of self-enhancement suggests that message sources were also shown to be concerned about pursuing their own personal interests. However, the emphasis on ubuntu is an indication that the pursuit of the personal interests by the message sources was partly for the benefit of the social groups they belonged to, that is; the pursuit of the message sources' personal interests was also meant for the enhancement of their membership groups. This is clear when one considers that ubuntu is about caring, community, supportiveness, and responsibility to each other. Perhaps due to their belief that hard work is a prerequisite to achieving positive outcomes, message sources tended to rely on themselves and therefore placed little emphasis on fate control and social cynicism.

Ninety seven percent of the advertisements in years of *Emphasised Agency* are from the *Ambitious Woman* and *Emerging Woman* portrayals discussed above. The typical users of the products in these years are unisex (72%). The performance of 'other' activities is highest (80%) in these years followed by non-housekeeping activities (7%) and then housekeeping products

(6%). The most preferred location for advertisements in years of *Emphasised Agency* was staged settings. Home settings were more likely than in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. In terms of physical characteristics, years of *Emphasised Agency* were less likely to feature women using the feminine touch, but more likely have them in situations of licensed withdrawal and ritualisation of subordination respectively. The years of *Emphasised Agency* were also less likely to show women in high ranking functions, relative size, demure dressing, and manifestation of independence.

Regarding role portrayals, years of *Emphasised Agency* were less likely to feature women as narrators or spokesperson providing advice. Where women were used as narrators, it was in roles other than those of housekeeper or professional. The portrayal of women in family scenes in years of *Emphasised Agency* was less than in years of *Emphasised Connectedness, but* years of *Emphasised Agency* were more likely to show women in decision making roles.

Years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. In these years, message sources appeared to prioritise conservation values and self-enhancement values; even though the emphasis on self-enhancement values was lower than it was in years of *Emphasised Agency*. The endorsement of the social axioms social cynicism, social complexity, fate control, religiosity, reward for application, and ubuntu were all higher than they were in years of *Emphasised Agency*. The priority on conservation values means that the massage sources were shown to be concerned about preserving the status quo and existing relationships in the years that were partly characterised by instability and uncertainty. This appears to suggest that in tough times, connectedness is important as people try to rely on each other and rekindle or reemphasise their spirit of ubuntu. Given the inclusion of the year 2010 whose highlight was the hosting of the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa, it seems that the spirit of connectedness also emerges

during times of uncommon positive experiences. The prioritisation of self-enhancement values during these years of *Emphasised Connectedness* indicates that message sources were also shown to be concerned about pursuing their own personal interests. However, this pursuit of personal interests was guided by the higher endorsement of ubuntu which suggests that as in the case of years of *Emphasised Agency*, the personal interests were partly for the enhancement of the membership groups to which the message belonged. Compared to years of emphasised agency, all social axioms received higher endorsements in years of emphasised connectedness. These higher endorsements could be due to, for example, people being highly cynical because they have been disappointed by other people and institutions, heightened perceptions of uncertainty and complexity due to instability, and increased spirituality.

Unlike the years of *Emphasised Agency*, the representation of the five types of portrayals is more evenly spread in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* as follows: a) *Ambitious Woman* portrayals: 37%, b) *Emerging Woman* portrayals: 19%, c) *Traditional Woman* portrayals: 23%, d) *Modern Woman* portrayals: 13%, and e) *Community Woman* portrayals: 9%. *Ambitious Woma*n and *Traditional Woman* type of portrayals together account for 60% of the advertisements that appeared in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*.

In years of *Emphasised Connectedness*, women were more likely to be depicted using feminine touch and to be portrayed in higher ranking functions and in bigger relative sizes. Both the use of demure dressing and manifestation of independence were higher in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. Regarding role portrayals, the women in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* were more likely to be involved in family scenes and to be providers of advice. However, they were less likely to be involved in decision making.

Summary

To recap, five types of portrayals were identified namely, *Ambitious Woman*, *Emerging Woman*, *Traditional Woman*, *Modern Woman*, and *Community Woman* portrayals. The major similarities and differences between these types of portrayals included the following. While all the types of portrayals shared an emphasis on self-enhancement values, only two of the types of portrayals (*Ambitious Woman* and *Modern Woman*) emphasised openness to change, but they accounted for 65% of the advertisements. Differences emerged in the distribution of social axioms in the types of portrayals. For example, reward for application appears in all the types of portrayals followed by ubuntu in three (i.e., *Emerging Woman*, *Traditional Woman*, and *Community Woman*). Social complexity appears in two, while fate control and religiosity appear in one. In terms of physical characteristics, significant differences were observed in the distribution feminine touch, ritualisation of subordination, and relative size. For role portrayals, the major differences were in the distribution of family scenes, and nature of narration.

The two types of years differed as follows. In terms of cultural characteristics, while message sources in years of *Emphasised Agency* prioritised openness to change values and self-enhancement values, they focussed on conservation values and self-enhancement values in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. They were also more likely to emphasise the social axioms social cynicism, social complexity, fate control, religiosity, ubuntu in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. Message sources were more likely to be shown performing workplace activities and to feature in workplace settings in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. On the other hand, they were more likely to be depicted in home settings years of *Emphasised Agency*. Although feminine touch was more likely to be used in years *Emphasised Connectedness*, licensed withdrawal and ritualisation of subordination were less likely to be used. The message sources

were also more likely to be portrayed in superior functions, to be demurely dressed, and to manifest independence in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. In years of *Emphasised Connectedness*, message sources were more likely to be portrayed in family scenes, as providers of advice, and in housekeeper roles, but they were less likely to be portrayed in decision making roles.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The overall objective of this study was to identify patterns in the portrayal of women in print advertisements targeting low-income South Africans and to identify temporal variations in the use of these advertisements during the period 1981 to 2010. More specifically, the study sought to assess the images of women portrayed as message sources in print advertisements in *Drum* magazine for two types of characteristics namely the physical characteristics and cultural characteristics associated with the women's images. The study also sought to identify patterns in the portrayal of women in the period 1981 to 2010 and identify temporal variations in their presentation using the multilevel latent variable modelling approach. The main justification for undertaking this longitudinal content analysis study was to make methodological and practical contributions to the study of advertising stimuli in an emerging market context.

A sample of advertisement was content analyzed by independent coders after appropriate training and briefing in the use of the data collection instruments designed to measure the physical characteristics and cultural characteristics. Both instruments yielded Krippendorff's α inter-coder reliability indices for each item ranging from 0.85 to 1.00 for the physical characteristics instrument and 0.50 to 1.00 for the cultural characteristics instrument. The optimal latent class analysis model that I chose was composed of five clusters at the level of the advertisements and two groups at the temporal level as described in the previous chapter. The key findings of the process are summarised and discussed below following a recap of the key sample characteristics. The key characteristics of the sample of advertisements that should be taken into account in evaluating these findings include the large penetration of health and beauty products (49.6% of the sample). The distribution of the other product categories ranged from less than one percent for travel, transport and leisure to 9.4% for food. The majority of the

advertisements in the sample were targeted at non-gender specific audiences (72.1%) and were for non-housekeeping products (92.2%). Very few of the advertisements were set in the home (13.6%) or workplace (6.2%) environments. The sample was therefore not biased in favour of either products targeted at women or men.

Following below is a discussion of the images of women portrayed as message sources (the five types of portrayals of women in advertising) and longitudinal patterns in the portrayal of women (the two types of years in which the portrayals appeared). Following these, I present the implications, contribution and limitations with proposals for future research.

The Five Types of Portrayals of Women in Advertising

Five different types of portrayals of women were identified. These five types of portrayals have differences and similarities that are consistent with the social dynamics, demographics, and diversity – that reflect traditional and modern, and old and young – that are typical of emerging markets (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006).

Physical characteristics associated with the message source. According to the literature, the differential treatment of women in advertisements takes different formats including the assignment of physical characteristics such as relative size, feminine touch, function ranking, licensed withdrawal, and ritualisation of subordination (Goffman, 1979). Other characteristics include dressing (as a measure of body display), facial exposure, and the display of body parts that may be sexually suggestive (Archer, et al, 1983; Cortese, 1999; Kang, 1997, Kilbourne & Jhally, 2000). The analysis of the five types of portrayals for physical characteristics associated with the portrayal of message sources shows that feminine touch was present in all types of portrayals but was surprisingly more prevalent in when message sources were portrayed as the *Traditional Woman* where one would expect to find a more utilitarian use and portrayal of hands.

Ritualisation of subordination was likely to be used in three types of portrayals (the *Ambitious Woman*, the *Emerging Woman*, and the *Modern Woman*) and was more prevalent in the *Modern Woman* type of portrayals. Licensed withdrawal, on other hand, was only observable when message sources were portrayed as the *Ambitious Woman* and the *Emerging Woman* advertisements. The literature suggests that portraying women in a manner that evinces these three characteristics subordinates or denigrates them and may therefore create or sustain stereotypes against women.

An interesting observation is the absence of these characteristics (with the notable exception of feminine touch) when message sources are portrayed as the *Traditional Woman* and the *Community Woman* portrayals. This suggests that advertisers may use other cues to stimulate processes of identification and internalization in these types of portrayals (e.g., see Kelman, 1961). The use of feminine touch, ritualisation of subordination, and licensed withdrawal, for example, might be more appropriate for the *Modern Woman*, the *Emerging Woman*, and the *Ambitious Woman* types of portrayals.

The depiction in women superior functions, in relatively larger sizes, in demure dressing, and in ways that manifest their independence or autonomy is perceived as non-denigrating to women. Surprisingly for a country where women now frequently serve in senior positions in government and business, only two of the five types of portrayals (i.e., the *Ambitious Woman* and the *Traditional Woman*) showed women in superior or higher ranking functions. Surprisingly, the *Traditional Woman* had the higher distribution of function ranking. This could be an indication that as far as the coders were concerned, family roles are of superior ranking in in the context of *Drum* readers, contrary to the perception that housework is ranked lower than working for financial remuneration (Kessler-Harris, 2003). Family scenes were evident in all the

types of portrayals but were more concentrated in the *Traditional Woman* and *Emerging Women* portrayals. The women were depicted as relative larger in size in all types of portrayals except the *Modern Woman* advertisements. The manifestation of independence was evident in all types of portrayals but was highest in the *Modern Woman* advertisements where the women 99% more likely to be demurely dress.

The roles assigned to message sources in the advertisements in this study do not reflect the empowerment of women and the roles many women presently occupy in government and business. Though these roles may be categorized into traditional, nontraditional, decorative, or equality roles (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009), in the present study, more specific roles were investigated. These roles include the activities performed by the message source, decision making roles, family roles, and narrator or spokesperson roles. The main activities perfomed by the messages sources in all the five types of portrayals fall under the category dimension "other". Differences in the type of activities are however observed in the performance of housekeeping activities and workplace activities as the main dimensions of interest on this category. The *Modern Woman* portrayals and the *Traditional Woman* portrayals were more likely to show women performing non-housekeeping activities and in workplace settings. These portrayals are empowering in that they show women in ways in non-traditional roles.

Message sources in decision making roles were only evident in the *Ambitious Woman* and the *Emerging Woman* portrayals. Even though these two groups account for 85% of the advertisements in the sample, the penetration of decision making in the two portrayals was only about 13%. This finding lends support to the view that women do not do perform important roles such as decision making (e.g. Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Maake, 2006; Pretorious, 1996). When the improvements in the status of women in South Africa are taken into account,

this find is dissappointing and not reflective of what is obtaining in the target market where women frequently serve in senior positions.

Family roles on the other hand were evident in all types of portrayals, but they were more salient in the *Traditional Woman* portrayals and the *Emerging Woman* portrayals. The involvement of women in narrator or spokesperson roles was also present in all types of portrayals with the *Traditional Woman* portrayals having the highest penetration. This shows that women are not entirely denied voices of authority roles in the advertisements in *Drum* magazine. Interestingly, it is in the *Traditional Woman* portrayals that women were more likely to be involved in narration. Taken together with the physical characteristics that were most likely to be associated with these women, it becomes clear that when women are portrayed as the *Traditional Woman*, they are less likely to be subjected to denigration. But what is the nature of the narration and in what roles are women featured as narrators or spokespersons?

When message sources are portrayed as narrators, they are more likely to be depicted as providers of advice mainly in the roles of housekeeper in all types of portrayals (e.g., "…use Sta-Soft fabric softener when you do your family's wash" [from a 1981 advertisement]; "My home is now complete, thanks to a loan from RCS!" [from a 2010 advertisement]). But they are also portrayed as narrators in professional roles (e.g., "Children are naturally healthy, if their food is naturally healthy", Mrs. Lindy Nxumalo, dietician and mother [from a 1996 advertisement]; "Put three CVs in front of me – I would probably pick the one with the Damelin qualification", Shaakira Martin, Account Manager, Voice Recruitment [from a 2008 advertisement]). The target of communication when women are used as narrators or spokespersons is both females and males, but the *Traditional Woman* and the *Modern Woman* portrayals are also targeted at significant females only audiences.

I therefore conclude that despite some message sources being portrayed in demeaning manner (e.g., ritualisation of subordination), the portrayal of message sources in nontraditional roles (e.g., decision making and involvement in workplace activities) suggests that advertisers have some sensitivity towards how message source are characterized in advertisements and are changing, albeit not in giant steps. But in the absence of prior studies of the portrayal of messages source in advertisements targeted at low-income and subsistence consumers, it is not possible to comment on whether the situation is improving or not. Further, the present study was a case study involving one magazine targeted at a defined target audience.

Cultural characteristics associated with the message source. We know from previous studies that the value priorities of South Africans emphasize, in order of importance, security, benevolence, and universalism (Burgess, 2002). A subsequent study on value priorities found that the most emphasised values, in order of importance, were security, self-direction, and benevolence (Burgess, 2011). In the present study, the value priorities perceived in the advertisements were in the self-enhancement value domain in all the five types of portrayals, the conservation value domain in the *Emerging Woman* portrayals, *Traditional Woman* portrayals, and *Community Woman* portrayals; and the openness to change value domain in the *Ambitious Woman* portrayals and *Modern Woman* portrayals.

I begin my discussion of the five types of portrayals with the portrayals of the *Ambitious Woman* and the *Modern Woman*, because of similarities I will outline below. In some 60% of the advertisements in which messages sources were portrayed as the *Ambitious Woman,* there was an emphasis on openness to change values and self-enhancement values and only one social axiom: reward for application. Except for self-direction which falls in the openness to change value domain, these findings on value priorities are different from previous studies of values in

South Africa which found the value priorities to be higher for security, benevolence, and universalism (Burgess, 2002; 2011). Self-enhancement values were also prioritised when women were portrayed as the *Ambitious Woman*, meaning that these advertisements placed some focus on the basic values of power, achievement, and hedonism. A type of portrayal that is very similar to the *Ambitious Woman* in its emphasis on openness to change values, self-enhancement values, and reward for application is the *Modern Woman*. However, when women were portrayed as the *Modern Woman,* advertisements were rated 23%, 11%, and 49% higher on openness to change values, self-enhancement values, and reward for application, respectively. Also, unlike the *Ambitious Woman* portrayals, when women were portrayed as the *Modern Woman,* the social axioms social cynicism and social complexity were also used.

The current findings suggest that the *Ambitious Woman* and the *Modern Woman* portrayals in the advertisements in *Drum* are not consistent with previous studies and the target market on the dimensions addressed below. These portrayals carried openness to change messages that encouraged consumers to follow "their own emotional and intellectual interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 43) by pursuing self-direction and stimulation basic values as opposed to maintaining the status quo and the certainty it provides. This is consistent with Burgess' (2011) findings. However, the two types of portrayals also carried messages relating to self-enhancement values meant to motivate and encourage consumers to "enhance their own personal interests (even at the expense of others)" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 43) by following power, achievement, and hedonism basic values. This means that these portrayals focussed on self-interest (the underlying motivational factor in self-enhancement values) and independent thought and action (the underlying motivational factors in openness to change). The findings on self-enhancement values appear to be at variance with the kind of ubuntu-inspired

social axioms one would expect to find amongst the readers of *Drum* (see discussion below). While self-enhancement has self-interest as the underlying motivational factor (Schwartz, 1992), ubuntu, similar to self-transcendence values, is about community, sharing, and concern for other (Mangaliso, 2001). But it is absent in both the Ambitious Woman and the *Modern Woman* portrayals which together account for about 65% of the advertisements in this study. The finding on openness to change was not unexpected considering that previous findings have identified it one of the South African value priorities.

There does not appear to be differences on the means to the goals as the overwhelming endorsement of reward for application shows. Research shows that South Africans are similar in their endorsement of social axiom dimensions. Across all population groups, reward for application receives the most endorsement amongst the social axiom dimensions (Burgess, 2002, 2011). Message sources in the *Ambitious Woman* portrayals and the *Modern Woman* portrayals were seen to endorse reward for application, suggesting that they believed that to obtain desired positive results, they needed to invest effort, knowledge and careful planning. This is an appropriate axiom to accompany the self-enhancement value priorities discussed above even though the values' appropriateness for the readers of *Drum* needs further interrogation. This is in light of the expected emphasis placed on ubuntu amongst the readers targeted by *Drum*. In the *Modern Woman* portrayals, message sources were also seen to exhibit social cynicism and social complexity. This means messages sources were not only seen to convey mistrust and negative expectations about social institutions and human nature, they also seen to be adept at managing issues in the face of uncertainty and complexity. The presence of these social axioms is consistent with the literature (Leung, Au, Xu, Kurman, Niit, & Niit, 2007; Leung, & Bond, 2008)

in that the advertisers not only provided the goals (expressed in the values); they also suggested the means (expressed in the social axioms) that could be used in pursuit of the desired goals.

I discuss the *Emerging Woman*, the *Traditional Woman*, and *Community Woman* types of portrayals together because they have a common thread, namely their emphasis on conservation values and self-enhancement values. The current findings regarding the cultural characteristics in these three portrayals show that except for security (a conservation basic value), they are not consistent with previous studies on South African values and social axioms. As previously explained, the emphasis on self-enhancement values is inconsistent with both previous findings and the target market for readers of *Drum*. On the other hand, the endorsement of conservation values, security in particular, is in line with previous findings.

Despite this similarity however, the three types of advertisements are different in the depth of emphasis on particular characteristics. For example, even though the *Emerging Woman* portrayal was the most common of the three, the emphasis on conservation values in this class was 65% lower than in the *Traditional Woman* portrayal and 13% lower than in the *Community Woman* portrayal on self-enhancement values. Further, the emphasis on conservation values in these portrayals means that message sources were perceived to emphasize the basic values of conformity, tradition and security. These basic values have as their underlying motivation self-restriction, social order, and resistance to change (Schwartz, 1992). As one would expect, conservation values were highest when women were portrayed as the *Traditional Woman*. When they were portrayed as the *Emerging Woman*, there was a relaxation in emphasis on conservation, presumably because message sources were emerging from the traditional as aspiring to the modern lifestyle. The results also suggest that advertisers tended to vary the level of self-enhancement values inversely to the level of conservation values, except in the case of the

Community Woman portrayals where despite the emphasis on conservation being the lowest, self-enhancement values were rated the highest.

The emphasis on reward for application appears to vary directly with the depth of conservation values. For example, there was a lot more emphasis on reward for application when women were portrayed as the *Emerging Woman* suggesting that there was likely to be emphasis on hard work and achievement than in the other portrayals. All the three types of portrayals have a high prevalence of ubuntu. Like other social axioms, ubuntu should provide guidelines regarding how to realize the goals that people pursue in life. These findings suggest that there is a greater manifestation of ubuntu as a guiding belief when women are portrayed as the *Traditional Woman* followed by the *Emerging Woman.* The presence of social complexity and fate control when message sources are portrayed as the *Traditional Woman* shows they are more adept at dealing with social complexities while also acknowledging the role of fate on one's life.

The coexistence of ubuntu and self-enhancement values in the types of portrayals suggests that advertisers sometimes employ messages that may be perceived as conflicting in advertisements. The use of multiple and sometimes conflicting appeals (as in the *Traditional Woman* portrayals, for example) in advertisements could be a call for more research on the needs and priorities of the target or audience, low-income and subsistence consumers (see Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006 for example). This could also prove to be a hindrance to the persuasive effectiveness of the advertisements as discussed under implications below.

The Two Types of Years in Which Portrayals Appeared

Message source portrayals were different for each two types of years (i.e., *Emphasised Agency* and *Emphasised Connectedness*) as detailed in the previous chapter. Though self-enhancement values were preferred in both types of years, message sources were less likely to exhibit self-interest years of *Emphasised Connectedness.* Further, while message sources focussed on conservation values in years of *Emphasised Connectedness,* their focus in years of *Emphasised Agency* was on openness to change.

An examination of the social axioms shows that all of them were used in the two types of years. The emphases in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* were greater than those in years of *Emphasised Agency*. In addition to espousing reward for application, message sources years of *Emphasised Connectedness* also had a lot more cynicism but they were adept at managing the complexities life presented. Messages sources encouraged ubuntu and the benefits of religious beliefs (religiosity).

The two types of years also show that though feminine touch had a higher penetration in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*, the penetration of licensed withdrawal and ritualisation of subordination was lower in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. Taken together, this suggests that message sources were less likely to be denigrated in years *Emphasised Connectedness*. This is also supported by fact that function ranking, relative size, type of dressing, and manifestation of independence were also more favourable in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*.

The role portrayals during years of *Emphasised Connectedness* show that women were more likely to be assigned the non-traditional roles of narrating and providing advice, even though this was mainly in the role of housekeepers. Though the involvement of women in family scenes was higher in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*, their involvement in decision

making roles was lower. Women were also more likely to be involved in workplace activities and to appear in workplace settings in years of *Emphasised Connectedness*. Overall, years of *Emphasised Connectedness* appear to have been more empowering in terms of the types of portrayals of women. This was not the case for years of *Emphasised Agency*.

To conclude, we can learn a number of things from the advertising practices in the two types of years. During periods of uncertainty, instability, or when uncommon positive experiences occur (years of *Emphasised Connectedness*), people prioritised their self-interests, but at the same time there was a sense of connectedness with others. This connectedness with others means that a process of enhancing others takes place together with self-enhancement. In times of instability and uncertainty (i.e., the Emphasised Connectedness), message sources were perceived to have increased cynicism and mistrust of people and social institutions, but they were seen to be empowered to deal with the complexity of people and social relations. The reduced portrayal of message sources in denigrating ways in years of *Emphasised Connectedness* compared to years of *Emphasised Agency* suggests that advertisers used more rational informational content to encourage high involvement information process. This would be appropriate given that in times of instability and uncertainty, people make very deliberate decisions. Irrespective of the type of year, there appears to be an underlying motivation to help others in the appeals used in the advertisements.

Implications

Despite the use of some characteristics that may be considered denigrating to women, the present study found elements of empowering portrayals as well. Some cultural characteristics perceived in the advertisements are in opposition to each other (e.g., ubuntu and self-enhancement values). Given the target market of *Drum*, I find that there is a mismatch between

some of cultural and physical characteristics that were use. While acknowledging that this was a longitudinal study that includes data from the democracy years, it is important to underline the lag between what we see in the results and the current situation in South Africa. These issues raise several implications that I discuss below.

Use of denigrating characteristics. The use of denigrating characteristics in portrayals contributes to stereotyping. According to identity theory, what people observe in the media is used to construct, reinforce, and validate identities. This raises concerns about the presence of demeaning images or the absence of empowering images in advertising. For instance, the frequent absence of women message sources in high ranking functions may influence consumers not to associate such functions with women. While it is not possible to state categorically that there was a differential treatment of women message sources (due to the absence of comparative data relating to male message sources), it is possible to draw from socialisation theories and argue that advertisements in *Drum* in the period under investigation could have contributed to shaping the attitudes and behaviours of its readers towards women. Social learning theory predicts that consumers learn from what they observe in advertisements. With long term and repetitive exposure as is typical with most advertising campaigns, people change or acquire new beliefs and attitudes as predicted by cultivation theory.

Conflicting messages and mismatch between advertisements and readers. As a source of social influence, advertisements affect consumers through any of three processes, namely compliance, identification, and internalisation (Kelman, 1961). The last two of these are particularly important in the case of this study because they imply that in order to maximise the persuasive effects of advertisements, the .advertiser has to use message sources that enhance the potential for identification and internalisations by the target consumers. In order for

identification to take place, consumers must find the message source attractive. With the changes taking place regarding the status of women as alluded to earlier, it is not likely that women would identify with message sources that portray women in a stereotypical manner or present cultural characteristics that are in direct opposition to their current beliefs as was the case in the *Emerging Woman*, the *Traditional Woman*, and the *Community Woman* portrayals that focus on self-enhancement values and ubuntu. For internalisation to take place there must be an alignment between the consumers' value systems and those of the social influence or message source. This alignment depends on the perceived credibility of the message, i.e., the extent to which consumers believe the message source to be an expert and truthful. Messages with multiple and conflicting appeals as is the case in the five clusters are likely to suffer credibility issues. Messages that fail to foster identification and internalisation are more likely to ineffective and to increase the elaboration demands on the consumer.

The use of demeaning images and conflicting messages could be a call for more research to understand the consumer behaviour of low-income and subsistence consumers better. This is important because the target consumers (a mass market that is predominantly low-income and black) and advertising practitioners who in the main belong to what Burgess and Steenkamp (2006) refer as the "urban elite" may always have share meanings and values.

Contribution and Limitations

Contribution. The current research makes empirical and practical contributions. Source effects research postulates that source cues or characteristics influence the persuasive effects of messages. This suggests that it is important that advertisers consider the likely effects of the source characteristics they employ as they craft advertising appeals and executions.

Empirically, the current research contributes by collecting an array of advertising assessment criteria that has not been collected in one study previously. The multidisciplinary approach to assessment was informed by prior research in advertising, psychology and communications literatures and includes the assessment of physical and cultural characteristics depicted in advertisements, as well as the primary and secondary data that were used to control for economic and industry competition effects. Moreover, measurement properties were assessed rigorously and were very good; suggesting that the measurement approach could be used by other researchers.

Practically, the study provides new insights into designing advertisements for low-income consumers by documenting advertising practices in *Drum* magazine during three decades. The results record stable patterns in the use of source and non-source characteristics by advertisers, based on the judgment of independent coders. These patterns illustrate that advertisers often include multiple or conflicting messages in their physical and cultural portrayals of message sources. This is important because multiple or conflicting visual messages are shown to diminish advertising effectiveness by confusing audiences, making inappropriate cognitive demands on cognitive resources and negatively impacting on the nature, depth and content of information processing. Practitioners would benefit by including the measurement criteria brought together to assess advertisements in the current research in the guides or checklists they use to evaluate advertising strategies.

This study has made an attempt to contribute to this important topic in advertising and consumer research by identifying the source and non-source characteristics that South African advertisers use to advertise to low income consumers. Though South African advertisers mainly use positive cues and assign *non-traditional* role characteristics to women, they also employ

some source characteristics and role characteristics that may be considered demeaning. Consistent with the post-modernistic view which questions the position that one meaning exists to explain reality, it is important in this case to note that role characteristics that may be construed as demeaning by coders and other audiences may in fact be considered positively by the targeted low income consumers and that traditional portrayals are not necessarily demeaning. This finding is consistent with prior research in the highly industrialized countries, where the majority of the previous studies reviewed earlier were undertaken, and suggests a similar opportunity to improve South African advertising.

The five different types of portrayals of women in advertisements provide an important basis for assessing advertisements in practice. Though there were some similarities, the cultural characteristics and physical characteristics employed varied across the types of portrayals. These types of portrayals were nested in types of years. Two types of years were identified. Advertisers varied the aggressiveness of their advertising depending on the type of year; they were less aggressive in the years that had some instability or uncertainty. This suggests that advertisers can make better informed decisions by examining these patterns in advertisements over time, in relation to their expectations for a future advertising period.

Limitations and future research. Despite the advantage of applying a longitudinal perspective to a sample of advertisements from a period spanning three decades, this study has two main limitations. First, the research is intended to present a longitudinal case study of the advertisements that appeared in the most important magazine serving low-income consumers. While this presents an opportunity for depth of analysis, it is not clear if the findings will apply to other low-income print or electronic media advertisements. This limitation offers an opportunity for future research focusing on a) advertisements from a broader spectrum of

magazines covering more diverse audiences, and b) different product types. The research propositions made in this study would provide a good point of departure in future research.

The second limitation of this study is that it focused exclusively on women as message sources. A gender perspective would have required the inclusion of male message sources for comparison purposes and to acknowledge that the way women are portrayed has a lot to do with power relations in society. This limitation also presents an opportunity for future studies to undertake content analyses of advertisements featuring both female and male message sources. The third limitation is that only one emerging market country was included in the study. The inclusion of other countries would enrich our understanding of advertising practice in a broader context and is encouraged as a future direction of research.

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APPENDIX 1

Data Collection Instrument 1: Physical Characteristics

Advertising to Low-Income Consumers:
Women Portrayed in *Drum* Magazine Advertisements 1981-2010

Code Book/Code Sheet

Advertisement ID number: Brand:
Coder ID number: Date/Issue

Product category:
a) Food
b) Beverages
c) Health and beauty
d) Household
e) Financial services
f) Travel, transport and leisure
g) Retail
h) Business to business
i) Government/Education
j) Media promotion
k) Other (Specify)

Direction for coders: Please complete a code sheet for each advertisement by crossing (X) your answers. There is no need to consult anybody after the briefing by the researcher. However if you are in any doubt about anything, stop the coding and go back to the researcher.

1. What product is being advertised? (Type of product)
   Category dimensions:
   a) Housekeeping product
   b) Non-housekeeping product
   c) Unknown (Difficult to discern)

2. Who are the typical product users of the advertised product (Target market)?
   Category dimensions:
   a) Males
   b) Females
   c) Both males and females (The product is not sex-specific)

3. What is the activity being performed by the models in the advertisement?
   Category dimensions:
   a) Housekeeping activity
   b) Workplace (professional) activity
   c) Other activity
   d) Unknown

4. Where is the activity being performed (i.e., location or setting of the activity)
Category dimensions:
    a) Home
    b) Workplace
    c) Other place
    d) Staged settings

5. Does the advertisement involve a decision making situation?
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Unknown (Difficult to discern)

6. Is the relative size of the message source superior to other models? (e.g., the message source is larger, taller, darker, elevated over another person, person is heavier or in the foreground)
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not applicable (Solo models)

7. Is the message source using the feminine touch (e.g., the message source's hands or fingers are used to caress, touch or trace the outline of an object, the message source's face is used instead of hands or fingers to touch objects or other people, the message source's touches herself. This category excludes the utilitarian use of hands)
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No

8. Does the message source display ritualisation of subordination (e.g., the message source is shown in a position of deference-bowing, lowering oneself, the message source is shown on the floor or bed, a person of the other sex elevated above the message source, the message source is show in bashful knee bend or leaning on someone. The message source is in canting posture where head or body is tipped lower. The message source is smiling in response to others. The message source is dressed like a child or posed like a child or in a flirtatious manner. The message source is prey in mock assault or teased or being held possessively around shoulder or hand).
Category dimension:
    a) Yes
    b) No

9. Does the message source display licensed withdrawal (The message source is distracted and not involved with what is going on around her. Covers mouth face with hands, turns gaze from other(s), with middle distance looks, dreamily talking on phone, emotional displays, snuggling or nuzzling others, being supported by others as in grief embrace).
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No

10. Is the message source portrayed in a family scene (Person portrayed as caretaker, e.g., as mother. Parent and child of same sex are similar in appearances or appear to share special bond parent seen as protector through distancing from family)
Category dimensions:
a) Yes
b) No

11. Is function ranking evident in the way the message source is depicted? (Is the message source portrayed in superior or higher occupational role? Is the message source shown as an instructor or being served by male or is in superior occupational role compared to males.
Category dimensions:
a) Yes
b) No

12. What is the extent of dressing of the message source in the advertisement (Dressing is demure when it is modest, well-behaved and therefore everyday dressing. This category includes shorts but excludes short shorts and underwear. Dressing is suggestive when it leaves part of the models' upper body exposed. This includes unbuttoned blouses, muscle shirts and short shorts. When models are depicted in underwear or bath suits, they are partially clad. But when they are depicted in states of undress with genitals concealed or as silhouettes or covered with a towel, they are coded as nude)
Category dimensions:
a) Demure
b) Suggestive
c) Partially clad
d) Nude

13. Is narration or voice from the message source present?
Category dimensions:
a) Present
b) Absent

14. What is the nature of the narration?
Category dimensions:
a) Advice
b) Other
c) Not applicable

15. What is the role of narrator? (Who is doing the talking in terms of their social or functional/professional role?)
Category dimensions:
a) Housekeeper (homemaker)
b) Professional
c) Other
d) Not applicable

16. Who is the target of the narration (Who is being talked to? This need not be people in the advertisements. The reader of the advertisement may also be the target of the narration)
Category dimensions:
    a) Female(s)
    b) Male(s)
    c) Both Male(s) and female(s)
    d) Not applicable

17. Does the message source manifest independent/self assertiveness? (The presence or manifestation of independent/self assertiveness can be gauged by examining the overall message or big picture of an advertisement rather than focusing separate aspects of the manifest content)
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Unknown (Difficult to discern)

18. Is the message sources facial exposure clearly visible?
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No

19. Does the advertisement show only the body or parts of the body (without clearly visible facial exposure) of the message source?
Category dimensions:
    a) Yes
    b) No

APPENDIX 2

Data Collection Instrument 2: Cultural Characteristics

What we see in women in advertising
Your opinion is important to us.

Women Portrayed in *Drum* Magazine Advertisements 1981-2010
Thank you for participating in this study. We will be reviewing some advertisements that appeared in *Drum* magazine between 1981 and 2010.

We'd like you to tell us about the primary woman appearing in each advertisement. By "primary woman", we mean the woman who is the largest and who is the central female in the advertisement.

We are interested in your impressions about what the primary woman is like. After viewing each image, we'll be asking you two broad questions about each advertisement.

First, we'd like your opinion about the primary woman's values. Values are beliefs that we all hold about goals and ways of behaving that are important in life. Values act as guiding principles and may apply in any situation we encounter in life.

Please look carefully at the primary woman's image in each advert. For each advertisement, we will provide a brief description of ten different values. *Basing your opinion only on what you see in the advertisement*, please tell us whether you think that each value is important or not important as a guiding principle in that primary woman's life.

The second question that we ask will be about beliefs that people sometimes hold about life and how life works. We show you a special type of belief that psychologists refer to as "social axioms". Social axioms are social because they refer to the social world rather than oneself. Social axioms are axioms because they refer to basic premises that people hold, rely upon and use when making sense of the social world and choosing how to behave in it.

Please look carefully at each advertisement a second time. *Basing your opinion only on what you see in the advertisement*, please tell us how much you think that the primary woman believes in each social axiom.

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this study. We sincerely appreciate your help.
Sincerely,

Mlenga Jere
Senior Lecturer
UCT Graduate School of Business

What we see in women in advertising
Your opinion is important to us.

Advertisement no.:_____ **Coder no.: _____**

	Basing your opinion only on what you see in the advertisement, please tell us whether you think that each value is **important or not important as a guiding principle in the life of the primary woman** in this advertisement**.** **Click the appropriate box ☒. You can change your answer by clicking the box a second time.**				
	Values	**Not important**	**A little important**	**Very important**	**I don't know**
1.	**Power** *Definition:* Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. *Examples:* She likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. She wants people to do what she says.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
2.	**Achievement** *Definition:* Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. *Examples:* Being very successful is important to her. She likes to stand out and to impress other people.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
3.	**Hedonism** *Definition:* Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself. *Examples:* She really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to her.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
4.	**Stimulation** *Definition:* Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life. *Examples:*She looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She wants to have an exciting life.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
5.	**Self-direction** *Definition:* Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring. *Examples:* She thinks it's important to be interested in things. She is curious and tries to understand everything.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9

6.	**Universalism** *Definition:* Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. *Examples:* She thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She wants justice for everybody, even for people she doesn't know.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9

	…important or not important as a guiding principle in the life of the primary woman…	**Not important**	**A little important**	**Very important**	**I don't know**
7.	**Benevolence** *Definition:* Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. *Examples:* She always wants to help the people who are close to her. It's very important to her to care for the people she knows and likes.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
8.	**Tradition** *Definition:* Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. *Examples:* She thinks it is important to do things the way she learned from her family. She wants to follow their customs and traditions.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
9	**Conformity** *Definition:* Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectation or norms. *Examples:* She believes that people should do what they are told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
10	**Security** *Definition:* Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. *Examples:* The safety of her country is very important to her. She wants her country to be safe from its enemies.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9

Basing your opinion only on what you see in the advertisement, please tell us you opinion about **how much the primary woman** in this advertisement believes that **each social axiom describes her life and the way her life works**. **Click the appropriate box ☒. You can change your answer by clicking the box a second time.**

Social axioms	Not important	A little important	Very important	I don't know
Social cynicism *Definition:* Social cynicism represents a negative assessment of human nature and social events. *Examples:* People and institutions should not be trusted. Kind-hearted people usually suffer losses.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
Reward for application *Definition:* Reward for application refers to the position that the investment of human resources will lead to positive outcomes. *Examples:* Hard working people will achieve more in the end. Hard work and planning are the way to get ahead in life.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
Social complexity *Definition:* Social complexity refers to the view that there are multiple solutions to social issues, and that the outcome of events is uncertain. *Examples:* One has to deal with matters according to the specific circumstances. One's behaviors may be contrary to his or her true feelings.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
Fate control *Definition:* Fate control refers to the general belief that social events are influenced by impersonal, external forces. *Examples:* Fate determines one's successes and failures. Individual characteristics, such as appearance and birthday, affect one's fate.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
Spirituality (or religiosity) *Definition:* Spirituality (or religiosity) refers to the view that spiritual forces influence the human world and that religious institutions exert a positive effect on social outcomes. *Examples:* Religious people are more likely to maintain moral standards. Belief in a religion makes people good citizens.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9

	Ubuntu *Definition:* Ubuntu refers to the belief that all people are interconnected. The belief that "I am what I am because of who we all are." *Example:* She is always generous and takes the wishes of others into account before choosing how to act. She is open and available to others and does not feel threatened because others are able or good. She feels diminished when others are humiliated or diminished.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9
	Ancestor relevance *Definition:* Ancestor relevance is sometimes confused with ancestor worship, which it is not. Ancestor relevance refers to the belief that those who die can remain relevant in this life and deserving of veneration. *Example:* She often says a prayer for her mother and father, who have passed away. She sometimes finds herself talking to those who have passed on, as if they were still here. She believes in showing respect to the dead and recalling them during family gatherings.	☐0	☐1	☐2	☐-9

APPENDIX 3

Krippendorff's α Reliability Estimates

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: ACT

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.8509	.7465	.9254	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.8770
.8000	.1300
.7000	.0020
.6700	.0010
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: BODY

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0180
.8000	.0180
.7000	.0180
.6700	.0180
.6000	.0180
.5000	.0180

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: DEC

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: FACE

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0010
.8000	.0010
.7000	.0010
.6700	.0010
.6000	.0010
.5000	.0010

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: FAM

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: IND

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.8683	.7974	.9392	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.8310
.8000	.0350
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: LOC

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: NAT

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: NAR

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: CAT

	Alpha	Units	Obsrvrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: PRO

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: RANK

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.8870	.5481	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.6220
.8000	.2600
.7000	.0810
.6700	.0810
.6000	.0280
.5000	.0120

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: RIT

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.9609	.9024	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0140
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: ROLE

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples: 1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: SIZE

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: TAR

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.9776	.9441	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: TOU

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.9769	.9422	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0010
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: USER

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.0000
.8000	.0000
.7000	.0000
.6700	.0000
.6000	.0000
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate: WIT

Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.8616	.7464	.9539	244.0000	2.0000	244.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin	q
.9000	.7210
.8000	.1520
.7000	.0040
.6700	.0010
.6000	.0010
.5000	.0000

Number of bootstrap samples:1000

APPENDIX 4

Tetrachoric and Polychoric Correlations

Tetrachoric Correlations for (Binomial) Physical Characteristics (Cos Pi Formula)

	TOU	RIT	WIT	FAM	RAN	NAR	FAC	BOD
TOU	1.00							
RIT	0.00	1.00						
WIT	0.29	0.10	1.00					
FAM	-0.17	-1.00	-0.13	1.00				
RAN	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	0.03	1.00			
NAR	-0.08	-0.71	-0.49	-0.06	-0.04	1.00		
FAC	0.24	-0.74	1.00	0.13	1.00	0.20	1.00	
BOD	0.04	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	0.07	-0.92	1.00

Trivial (r<.10) = 7, small (r=.10) = 7, medium (r=.30) = 1, or large (r=.50) =13, Total +28

Polychoric Correlations for (Ordinal) Physical Characteristics

	AD #	YEAR	CAT	PRO	USE	ACT	LOC	DEC	SIZ	DRE	NAT	ROL	TAR	IND
AD #	1.00													
YEAR	0.99	1.00												
CAT	0.27	0.33	1.00											
PRO	0.33	0.33	-0.02	1.00										
USE	-0.23	-0.29	0.31	-0.51	1.00									
ACT	0.23	0.21	-0.02	0.46	-0.35	1.00								
LOC	-0.16	-0.17	-0.12	0.25	-0.34	0.62	1.00							
DEC	0.50	0.53	0.26	0.14	0.06	0.32	0.03	1.00						
SIZ	0.03	0.00	0.02	-0.36	-0.27	-0.14	0.20	-0.31	1.00					
DRE	0.18	0.18	-0.17	0.14	-0.41	0.32	0.21	0.16	0.31	1.00				
NAT	-0.27	-0.27	-0.07	-0.03	0.18	0.28	0.19	-0.03	-0.25	0.03	1.00			
ROL	0.11	0.10	0.08	0.08	-0.05	0.32	0.24	0.23	-0.23	0.37	0.78	1.00		
TAR	0.03	0.04	0.08	-0.06	0.17	0.21	0.14	0.16	-0.27	0.24	0.84	0.92	1.00	
IND	0.41	0.39	0.18	0.39	-0.16	0.10	-0.09	-0.01	0.20	0.38	0.24	0.50	0.45	1.00

Trivial (r<.10) = 7, small (r=.10) = 42, medium (r=.30) = 21, or large (r=.50) =8, Total 91

APPENDIX 5

Pearson Correlations

Raw Correlations for Cultural Characteristics

	POW	ACH	HED	STM	SDN	UNV	BEN	TRD/ CNF	SEC	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU
POW	1.00														
ACH	0.12	1.00													
HED	-0.27	-0.19	1.00												
STM	0.07	-0.04	0.02	1.00											
SDN	-0.04	0.00	-0.15	-0.04	1.00										
UNV	0.10	-0.01	-0.12	-0.03	-0.05	1.00									
BEN	0.00	-0.07	-0.14	0.02	-0.06	0.05	1.00								
TRD/CNF	-0.02	0.07	-0.15	0.05	-0.06	-0.03	0.51	1.00							
SEC	0.11	-0.09	-0.12	-0.05	-0.04	-0.03	0.41	0.25	1.00						
CY	-0.03	-0.07	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.06	-0.05	-0.03	1.00					
RA	0.29	0.26	-0.31	0.07	0.07	-0.12	0.15	0.28	0.14	-0.05	1.00				
SC	0.01	-0.04	0.00	-0.03	-0.04	0.01	0.04	0.04	-0.05	0.45	0.02	1.00			
FC	0.07	-0.04	-0.06	-0.01	-0.01	0.35	0.12	0.12	-0.02	-0.01	-0.08	-0.01	1.00		
RE	-0.03	-0.15	0.01	-0.03	-0.04	0.22	-0.11	0.08	-0.06	-0.02	-0.06	-0.03	-0.01	1.00	
UBU	0.09	-0.10	-0.15	-0.07	-0.02	0.31	0.58	0.54	0.30	-0.07	0.16	-0.02	0.12	0.18	1.00

Trivial (r<.10) = 69, small (r=.10) = 27, medium (r=.30) = 6, or large (r=.50) =3.Total = 105.

APPENDIX 6

Multidimensional Scaling Correlation Matrix

Final Configuration (Correlation matrix) D-star: Raw stress = 2.811419; Alienation = .1854931; D-hat: Raw stress = 1.209034; Stress = .1221734			
	Distance	D-star	D-hat
D(8,7)	0.192	0.192	0.192
D(9,7)	0.249	0.247	0.247
D(9,8)	0.247	0.249	0.249
D(2,1)	0.623	0.431	0.431
D(9,1)	0.887	0.623	0.623
D(6,1)	0.431	0.766	0.766
D(4,1)	1.193	0.793	0.793
D(8,2)	1.388	0.799	0.799
D(7,6)	0.967	0.841	0.841
D(8,4)	1.061	0.851	0.851
D(7,4)	1.114	0.887	0.887
D(4,3)	1.224	0.958	0.958
D(5,2)	0.841	0.967	0.967
D(7,1)	0.958	1.061	1.061
D(6,2)	0.851	1.114	1.114
D(8,1)	0.766	1.118	1.118
D(8,6)	0.799	1.193	1.193
D(9,6)	0.793	1.224	1.224
D(6,4)	1.546	1.263	1.263
D(5,4)	1.263	1.305	1.305
D(5,1)	1.118	1.388	1.388
D(9,5)	1.898	1.504	1.504
D(4,2)	1.557	1.517	1.517
D(9,4)	1.305	1.546	1.546

APPENDIX 6

Multidimensional Scaling Correlation Matrix (Continued)

Final Configuration (Correlation matrix) D-star: Raw stress = 2.811419; Alienation = .1854931; D-hat: Raw stress = . 1.209034; Stress = .1221734			
	Distance	D-star	D-hat
D(6,5)	1.517	1.557	1.557
D(7,5)	1.863	1.580	1.580
D(8,5)	1.695	1.695	1.695
D(7,2)	1.580	1.863	1.863
D(9,2)	1.504	1.898	1.898
D(6,3)	2.767	2.162	2.162
D(9,3)	2.404	2.170	2.170
D(7,3)	2.170	2.186	2.186
D(8,3)	2.186	2.404	2.404
D(5,3)	2.162	2.415	2.415
D(3,2)	2.707	2.707	2.707
D(3,1)	2.415	2.767	2.767

APPENDIX 7

Univariate Statistics

Type of Advertisements (Classified by Type of Product, Typical User, and Location (Setting)

Category (variable)	Category dimension (level)	Number	Percentage
Type of product	Housekeeping product	17	7
	Non-housekeeping product	225	92.2
	Unknown	2	0.8
	Total	244	100.0
Typical product user	Males	1	0.4
	Females	67	27.5
	Unisex	176	72.1
	Total	244	100.0
Location (setting)	Home	33	13.5
	Workplace	15	6.1
	Staged settings	196	80.3
	Total	*244*	*100.0*[*]

[*]Rounded up

APPENDIX 7

Univariate Statistics (Continued)

Physical Characteristics Associated with the Message Source

Category (variable)	Category dimension (level)	Number	Percentage
Type of product	Housekeeping product	17	7
	Non-housekeeping product	225	92.2
	Unknown	2	0.8
	Total	244	100.0
Typical product user	Males	1	0.4
	Females	67	27.5
	Unisex	176	72.1
	Total	244	100.0
Location (setting)	Home	33	13.5
	Workplace	15	6.1
	Staged settings	196	80.3
	Total	*244*	*100.0*[*]
Relative size of central figure	Present	55	22.5
	Absent	43	17.6
	Not applicable	146	59.8
	Total	*244*	*100.0*
Feminine touch	Present	57	23.4
	Absent	187	76.6
	Total	*244*	*100.0*
Ritualisation of subordination	Present	30	12.3
	Absent	214	87.7
	Total	*244*	*100.0*
Licensed withdrawal	Present	27	11.1
	Absent	217	88.9
	Total	*244*	*100.0*
Relative size of central figure	Present	55	22.5
	Absent	43	17.6
	Not applicable	146	59.8
	Total	244	100.0
Feminine touch	Present	57	23.4
	Absent	187	76.6
	Total	244	100.0

APPENDIX 7

Univariate Statistics (Continued)

Physical Characteristics Associated with the Message Source (continued)

Category (variable)	Category dimension (level)	Number	Percentage
Ritualisation of subordination	Present	30	12.3
	Absent	214	87.7
	Total	244	100.0
Licensed withdrawal	Present	27	11.1
	Absent	217	88.9
	Total	244	100.0
Function ranking	Present	5	2.0
	Absent	239	98.0
	Total	244	100.0
Facial exposure	Present	237	97.1
	Absent	7	2.9
	Total	244	100.0
Body display	Present	4	1.6
	Absent	240	98.4
	Total	244	100.0
Extent of dressing	Demure	189	77.5
	Suggestive	42	17.2
	Partially	7	2.9
	Nude	6	2.5
	Total	244	100.0
Manifestation of independence	Present	188	77.0
	Absent	14	5.7
	Unknown	42	17.2
	Total	244	100.0
Nature of activity	Housekeeping	14	5.7
	Workplace (professional)	19	7.8
	Other	194	79.5
	Unknown	17	7.0
	Total	244	100.0
Family scene	Present	46	18.9
	Absent	198	81.1
	Total	244	100.0

APPENDIX 7

Univariate Statistics

Physical Characteristics Associated with the Message Source (continued)

Category (variable)	Category dimension (level)	Number	Percentage
Decision making	Present	27	11.1
	Absent	208	85.2
	Unknown	9	3.7
	Total	244	100.0
Presence of narration	Present	54	22.1
	Absent	190	77.9
	Total	244	100.0
Nature of narration	Advice	16	6.6
	Other	38	15.6
	Not applicable	190	77.9
	Total	244	100.0
Role of the narrator	Housekeeper	12	4.9
	Professional	9	3.7
	Other	33	13.5
	Not applicable	190	77.9
	Total	244	100.0
Target of the narration	Females	14	5.7
	Males	1	0.4
	Both (females and males)	39	16.0
	Not applicable	190	79.9
	Total	244	100.0

APPENDIX 8

Model fit indices and statistics

5-Cluster 2-GClass Model						
Number of groups	15					
Number of cases	243					
Number of parameters (Npar)	263					
Activated Constraints	0					
Robustness Effect	0.8548					
Random Seed	217522					
Best Start Seed	217522					
Log-likelihood Statistics						
Log-likelihood (LL)	910.33					
Log-prior	-557.56					
Log-posterior	352.77					
BIC (based on LL)	-375.98					
AIC (based on LL)	-1294.65					
AIC3 (based on LL)	-1031.65					
CAIC (based on LL)	-112.98					
Classification Statistics						
	Clusters	GClasses				
Classification errors	0	0.07				
Reduction of errors (Lambda)	1	0.76				
Entropy R-squared	1	0.78				
Standard R-squared	1	0.79				
Classification log-likelihood	16903.14					
AWE	-30127.93					
Classification Table	Modal					
Probabilistic	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Cluster4	Cluster5	Total
Cluster1	154.93	0	0	0	0	154.93
Cluster2	0.07	68	0	0	0	68.07
Cluster3	0	0	6	0	0	6
Cluster4	0	0	0	5	0	5
Cluster5	0	0	0	0	9	9
Total	155	68	6	5	9	243
Covariate Classification Statistics						
	Clusters	GClasses				
Classification errors	0.4	0.29				
Reduction of errors (Lambda)	0	0				
Entropy R-squared	0.13	0				
Standard R-squared	0.06	0				

APPENDIX 9

Model parameters

	Cluster1	s.e.	z-value	Cluster2	s.e.	z-value	Cluster3	s.e.	z-value	Cluster4	s.e.	z-value	Cluster5	s.e.	z-value	Wald	p-value	R^2
Resultant conservation (RCO)																		
Mean	-0.58	0.06	-10.05	0.22	0.14	1.59	1.14	0.15	7.79	-0.64	0.09	-7.49	-0.13	0.12	-1.11	310.98	0.00	0.41
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)																		
Mean	-0.31	0.08	-3.96	0.28	0.09	3.24	0.30	0.11	2.61	-0.45	0.14	-3.16	0.18	0.11	1.59	167.87	0.00	0.15
Social cynicism (CY)																		
Mean	-0.16	0.02	-7.58	-0.16	0.02	-7.58	-0.16	0.02	-7.58	0.64	0.08	7.58	-0.16	0.02	-7.58	60.25	0.00	0.68
Reward for application (RA)																		
Mean	-0.09	0.13	-0.68	0.27	0.14	1.91	-0.19	0.31	-0.62	0.37	0.12	3.18	-0.36	0.17	-2.14	28.37	0.00	0.05
Social complexity (SC)																		
Mean	-0.40	0.08	-4.98	-0.40	0.08	-4.98	0.19	0.17	1.10	1.00	0.30	3.36	-0.40	0.08	-4.98	26.47	0.00	0.84
Fate control (FC)																		
Mean	-0.07	0.05	-1.29	-0.07	0.05	-1.29	0.27	0.21	1.29	-0.07	0.05	-1.29	-0.07	0.05	-1.29	1.69	0.43	0.38
Religiosity (RE)																		
Mean	-0.32	0.01	-51.48	-0.32	0.01	-51.48	-0.32	0.01	-51.48	-0.32	0.01	-51.48	1.29	0.03	51.48	2676.25	0.00	0.93
Ubuntu (UBU)																		
Mean	-0.90	0.05	-16.86	0.72	0.08	9.41	0.76	0.13	5.86	-0.90	0.05	-16.86	0.32	0.14	2.27	541.69	0.00	0.87

	Cluster1	s.e.	z-value	Cluster2	s.e.	z-value	Cluster3	s.e.	z-value	Cluster4	s.e.	z-value	Cluster5	s.e.	z-value	Wald	p-value	R^2
Feminine touch																		
Present	-0.28	0.19	-1.49	-0.38	0.20	-1.89	-0.88	0.25	-3.55	-0.21	0.40	-0.51	1.75	0.42	4.18	27.23	0.00	0.04
Absent	0.28	0.19	1.49	0.38	0.20	1.89	0.88	0.25	3.55	0.21	0.40	0.51	-1.75	0.42	-4.18			
Ritualisation of subordination																		
Present	-0.67	0.25	-2.71	-0.52	0.29	-1.81	1.18	0.51	2.30	-1.37	0.39	-3.51	1.37	0.53	2.61	22.41	0.00	0.05
Absent	0.67	0.25	2.71	0.52	0.29	1.81	-1.18	0.51	-2.30	1.37	0.39	3.51	-1.37	0.53	-2.61			
Licensed withdrawal																		
Present	-1.13	0.29	-3.95	-1.11	0.27	-4.11	0.71	0.55	1.29	0.62	0.61	1.01	0.91	0.56	1.62	20.37	0.00	0.02
Absent	1.13	0.29	3.95	1.11	0.27	4.11	-0.71	0.55	-1.29	-0.62	0.61	-1.01	-0.91	0.56	-1.62			
Family scene																		
Present	0.08	0.17	0.46	-0.69	0.22	-3.10	-0.95	0.44	-2.14	1.50	0.54	2.77	0.06	0.20	0.32	11.80	0.02	0.13
Absent	-0.08	0.17	-0.46	0.69	0.22	3.10	0.95	0.44	2.14	-1.50	0.54	-2.77	-0.06	0.20	-0.32			
Fubction ranking																		
Present	-1.18	0.48	-2.45	1.88	0.55	3.42	-2.17	0.69	-3.16	0.59	1.33	0.45	0.88	1.11	0.79	44.89	0.00	0.06
Absent	1.18	0.48	2.45	-1.88	0.55	-3.42	2.17	0.69	3.16	-0.59	1.33	-0.45	-0.88	1.11	-0.79			
Nature of narration																		
Advice	-0.70	0.49	-1.43	1.50	0.61	2.48	-0.37	0.77	-0.48	-1.61	1.29	-1.25	1.19	0.78	1.53	29.59	0.00	0.04
Other	1.53	0.69	2.20	-2.54	1.04	-2.45	2.32	0.96	2.42	0.16	1.69	0.10	-1.47	1.33	-1.10			
Not applicable	-0.82	0.39	-2.12	1.04	0.59	1.76	-1.95	0.57	-3.44	1.45	0.99	1.47	0.28	0.69	0.41			
Role of the narrator																		
Housekeeper	-1.88	0.42	-4.46	-0.60	0.41	-1.46	0.51	0.83	0.62	0.61	0.85	0.72	1.36	0.72	1.88	67.53	0.00	0.09
Professional	1.93	0.66	2.92	1.42	0.74	1.91	-1.43	1.51	-0.95	-1.33	1.62	-0.82	-0.58	1.33	-0.44			
Other	0.01	0.38	0.03	-0.50	0.47	-1.07	1.55	0.81	1.92	1.25	0.95	1.32	-2.32	0.81	-2.88			
Not applicable	-0.06	0.34	-0.17	-0.32	0.32	-1.01	-0.63	0.59	-1.08	-0.53	0.68	-0.78	1.55	0.52	2.95			
Typical user																		
Males	2.21	1.64	1.35	-1.96	1.85	-1.06	-0.28	3.77	-0.07	0.71	4.06	0.17	-0.69	3.23	-0.21	19.94	0.01	0.03
Females	-0.64	0.83	-0.77	1.27	0.96	1.33	0.23	1.96	0.12	-1.74	2.08	-0.84	0.88	1.63	0.54			
Unisex	-1.58	0.86	-1.83	0.69	0.94	0.73	0.05	1.92	0.03	1.03	2.06	0.50	-0.19	1.64	-0.12			
Nature of activity																		
Housekeeping	-0.38	0.54	-0.69	2.27	0.57	3.96	-1.79	1.17	-1.52	-1.72	1.26	-1.36	1.62	0.61	2.65	164.59	0.00	0.09
Workplace (professional)	-0.33	0.31	-1.06	-5.17	0.56	-9.28	2.27	0.69	3.30	2.73	0.65	4.19	0.49	0.39	1.26			
Other	-0.59	0.28	-2.15	0.37	0.34	1.10	0.45	0.60	0.75	-0.14	0.59	-0.24	-0.09	0.39	-0.24			
Unknown	1.29	0.50	2.57	2.52	0.63	4.01	-0.93	1.09	-0.86	-0.87	1.20	-0.72	-2.02	1.03	-1.97			
Location (setting)																		
Home	0.68	0.31	2.19	2.50	0.42	6.01	-1.96	0.78	-2.52	-1.89	0.87	-2.18	0.67	0.47	1.43	161.53	0.00	0.03
Workplace	0.26	0.31	0.83	-4.44	0.45	-9.76	1.71	0.70	2.44	1.78	0.73	2.45	0.69	0.31	2.24			
Other	-0.63	0.25	-2.54	0.97	0.33	2.95	-0.38	0.69	-0.55	-0.31	0.71	-0.44	0.35	0.36	0.97			
Staged settings	-0.30	0.24	-1.25	0.96	0.33	2.90	0.63	0.51	1.24	0.42	0.44	0.94	-1.70	0.77	-2.21			
Decision making																		
Present	0.46	0.51	0.92	2.87	0.53	5.47	-2.15	0.81	-2.65	-0.50	1.06	-0.47	-0.69	0.84	-0.83	76.77	0.00	0.02
Absent	-1.54	0.34	-4.55	0.34	0.37	0.91	-0.82	0.62	-1.33	0.82	0.82	1.00	1.21	0.78	1.54			
Unknown	1.08	0.52	2.07	-3.21	0.60	-5.39	2.97	0.85	3.51	-0.32	1.37	-0.24	-0.51	1.12	-0.46			
Relative size																		
Present	-0.50	0.20	-2.44	-0.25	0.23	-1.09	-0.04	0.52	-0.08	-0.59	0.52	-1.14	1.37	0.40	3.43	40.55	0.00	0.02
Absent	0.38	0.24	1.62	0.55	0.38	1.45	0.30	0.74	0.41	1.11	0.50	2.21	-2.34	0.71	-3.30			
Not applicable	0.11	0.14	0.81	-0.30	0.25	-1.22	-0.26	0.45	-0.58	-0.52	0.29	-1.82	0.97	0.40	2.45			
Extent of dressing																		
Demure	-1.67	0.38	-4.39	-0.42	0.41	-1.03	1.12	0.83	1.34	0.98	0.92	1.07	-0.01	0.73	-0.01	69.92	0.00	0.03
Suggestive	-0.44	0.41	-1.06	0.97	0.46	2.10	-1.31	1.01	-1.30	-1.27	1.09	-1.17	2.05	0.84	2.43			
Partially	0.06	0.74	0.08	2.44	0.75	3.24	-0.47	1.69	-0.28	-0.43	1.83	-0.23	-1.59	1.48	-1.08			
Nude	2.05	0.78	2.62	-2.99	0.88	-3.40	0.67	1.81	0.37	0.72	1.95	0.37	-0.45	1.56	-0.29			
Target of narration																		
Females	1.04	0.67	1.57	0.91	0.76	1.20	1.00	1.46	0.69	-0.52	0.67	-0.77	-2.43	1.50	-1.62	96.94	0.00	0.08
Males	-2.67	1.55	-1.72	-2.11	1.78	-1.18	-0.64	4.10	-0.16	4.99	1.47	3.39	0.42	3.47	0.12			
Both (females and males)	0.52	0.61	0.86	0.39	0.67	0.58	0.57	1.43	0.40	-2.03	0.77	-2.65	0.55	1.30	0.42			
Not applicable	1.10	0.57	1.94	0.81	0.63	1.28	-0.93	1.41	-0.66	-2.45	0.72	-3.40	1.46	1.21	1.21			
Manifestation of independence																		
Present	-0.99	0.29	-3.40	-0.96	0.31	-3.11	0.27	0.62	0.44	1.41	0.66	2.12	0.27	0.49	0.55	19.17	0.01	0.01
Absent	1.29	0.47	2.73	1.23	0.47	2.59	-1.11	1.04	-1.07	0.03	1.13	0.03	-1.44	0.95	-1.52			
Unknown	-0.30	0.32	-0.92	-0.27	0.35	-0.77	0.83	0.79	1.05	-1.44	0.82	-1.76	1.17	0.58	2.03			

Intercepts	Overall	s.e.	z-value	Wald	p-value
Resultant conservation (RCO)					
Mean	0.28	0.05	5.40	29.12	0.00
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)					
Mean	-0.95	0.09	-10.48	109.83	0.00
Social cynicism (CY)					
Mean	0.16	0.02	7.58	57.43	0.00
Reward for application (RA)					
Mean	1.03	0.15	7.08	50.18	0.00
Social complexity (SC)					
Mean	0.40	0.08	4.98	24.79	0.00
Fate control (FC)					
Mean	0.07	0.05	1.29	1.68	0.20
Religiosity (RE)					
Mean	0.32	0.01	51.48	2649.80	6.2e-578
Ubuntu (UBU)					
Mean	0.90	0.05	16.86	284.10	0.00
Feminine touch					
Present	0.90	0.19	4.70	22.10	0.00
Absent	-0.90	0.19	-4.70		
Ritualisation of subordination					
Present	1.59	0.21	7.47	55.82	0.00
Absent	-1.59	0.21	-7.47		
Licensed withdrawal					
Present	2.11	0.26	8.07	65.07	0.00
Absent	-2.11	0.26	-8.07		
Family scene					
Present	0.97	0.13	7.52	56.50	0.00
Absent	-0.97	0.13	-7.52		
Fubction ranking					
Present	3.00	0.43	6.93	48.03	0.00
Absent	-3.00	0.43	-6.93		
Nature of narration					
Advice	-0.10	0.41	-0.24	64.78	0.00
Other	-2.80	0.55	-5.05		
Not applicable	2.90	0.36	8.04		
Role of the narrator					
Housekeeper	0.29	0.28	1.02	111.65	0.00
Professional	-2.83	0.64	-4.42		
Other	0.34	0.31	1.12		
Not applicable	2.19	0.27	8.10		
Typical user					
Males	-5.05	1.54	-3.29	34.70	0.00
Females	1.64	0.80	2.06		
Unisex	3.41	0.78	4.36		
Nature of activity					
Housekeeping	-1.04	0.46	-2.27	127.34	0.00
Workplace (professional)	0.10	0.27	0.36		
Other	2.64	0.27	9.77		
Unknown	-1.70	0.50	-3.41		
Location (setting)					
Home	-1.12	0.28	-3.96	45.49	0.00
Workplace	-1.16	0.30	-3.87		
Other	0.97	0.27	3.60		
Staged settings	1.32	0.32	4.08		
Decision making					
Present	-0.98	0.43	-2.29	98.44	0.00
Absent	3.20	0.32	9.92		
Unknown	-2.23	0.46	-4.81		
Relative size					
Present	0.13	0.17	0.76	49.05	0.00
Absent	-0.90	0.21	-4.37		
Not applicable	0.77	0.11	6.98		
Extent of dressing					
Demure	3.72	0.38	9.86	107.48	0.00
Suggestive	0.96	0.41	2.33		
Partially	-1.69	0.69	-2.43		
Nude	-2.99	0.75	-4.01		
Target of narration					
Females	0.33	0.58	0.57	63.86	0.00
Males	-5.20	1.36	-3.83		
Both (females and males)	1.86	0.54	3.42		
Not applicable	3.01	0.49	6.09		
Manifestation of independence					
Present	2.30	0.28	8.15	66.62	0.00
Absent	-2.44	0.45	-5.42		
Unknown	0.14	0.32	0.43		

Error Variances	Cluster1	s.e.	z-value	Cluster2	s.e.	z-value	Cluster3	s.e.	z-value	Cluster4	s.e.	z-value	Cluster5	s.e.	z-value
RCO	0.21	0.05	4.17	0.83	0.09	9.10	0.14	0.05	2.94	0.11	0.02	5.45	0.76	0.14	5.42
RST	0.41	0.06	6.87	0.62	0.11	5.58	0.16	0.02	7.23	0.54	0.31	1.74	0.31	0.07	4.43
CY	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.00	0.00	2.07	0.64	0.21	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.24
RA	0.67	0.04	15.34	0.70	0.11	6.57	0.80	0.21	3.86	0.64	0.27	2.34	0.61	0.10	5.89
SC	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.36	0.10	3.71	0.52	0.23	2.27	0.00	0.00	1.24
FC	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.54	0.34	1.58	0.00	0.00	1.64	0.00	0.00	1.24
RE	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.00	0.00	2.07	0.00	0.00	1.64	0.15	0.04	3.71
UBU	0.00	0.00	3.41	0.18	0.02	10.48	0.24	0.06	4.09	0.03	0.02	1.64	0.84	0.11	7.75

Model for Clusters																	
Intercept	Cluster1	s.e.	z-value	Cluster2	s.e.	z-value	Cluster3	s.e.	z-value	Cluster4	s.e.	z-value	Cluster5	s.e.	z-value	Wald	p-value
GClass1	-4.06	8.64	-0.47	-4.50	8.28	-0.54	21.97	6.11	3.59	19.93	29.01	0.69	-33.33	15.59	-2.14	14.49	0.01
GClass2	-11.77	14.17	-0.83	-19.37	14.86	-1.30	16.73	22.50	0.74	9.29	24.53	0.38	5.12	14.79	0.35	16.25	0.00

Covariates	Cluster1	s.e.	z-value	Cluster2	s.e.	z-value	Cluster3	s.e.	z-value	Cluster4	s.e.	z-value	Cluster5	s.e.	z-value	Wald	p-value
GClass1 : CPI																	
	0.20	0.37	0.54	0.21	0.36	0.59	-1.10	0.29	-3.86	-0.83	1.26	-0.66	1.52	0.75	2.02	16.55	0.00
GClass2 : CPI																	
	0.29	0.30	0.95	0.38	0.38	1.01	-0.27	0.48	-0.57	0.11	0.48	0.23	-0.51	0.19	-2.66	18.42	0.00
GClass1 : CAT																	
	-0.12	0.08	-1.62	-0.19	0.11	-1.77	0.12	0.08	1.48	0.11	0.10	1.10	0.08	0.22	0.39	27.18	0.00
GClass2 : CAT																	
	0.15	0.11	1.29	-0.35	0.42	-0.83	0.03	0.13	0.26	0.00	0.14	0.01	0.17	0.20	0.82	15.69	0.00
GClass1 : EMP																	
	0.39	0.31	1.23	0.37	0.31	1.19	-0.68	0.21	-3.23	-0.76	1.03	-0.75	0.69	0.38	1.81	15.42	0.00
GClass2 : EMP																	
	0.49	0.55	0.89	0.83	0.50	1.66	-0.66	0.82	-0.81	-0.55	0.92	-0.59	-0.11	0.58	-0.18	27.86	0.00

Model for GClasses								
Intercept	GClass1	s.e.	z-value	GClass2	s.e.	z-value	Wald	p-value
	0.44	0.49	0.90	-0.44	0.49	-0.90	0.80	0.37

APPENDIX 10

South African Annual Inflation (CPI) (Metropolitan Areas – All Items): 1981-2010

South African annual inflation (CPI) (Metropolitan areas – all items): 1981-2010

(Base year: 2008 = 100)

Year	Index	%	Year	Index	%	Year	Index	%
1981	7.8	+15.28[c]	1991	30.6	15.5	2001	66.1	5.8
1982	8.9	+14.1	1992	34.8	13.7	2002	72.1	9.1
1983	10.0	+12.4	1993	38.2	9.8	2003	76.3	5.3
1984	11.2	+12.0	1994	41.7	9.2	2004	77.4	1.4
1985	13.0	+16.1	1995	45.3	8.6	2005	80.0	3.4
1986	15.5	+19.2	1996	48.6	7.3	2006	83.7	4.6
1987	17.9	+15.5	1997	52.8	8.6	2007	89.7	7.2
1988	20.2	+12.8	1998	56.4	6.8	2008	100.0	11.5
1989	23.2	+14.9	1999	59.3	5.1	2009	107.1	7.1
1990	26.5	+14.2	2000	62.5	5.4	2010	110.9[a]	3.5[b]

[a] Average for January to June indices

[b] Estimate based on January to June indices

[c] Source: http://www.inflation.eu/inflation-rates/south-africa/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-south-africa-1981.aspx (23/12/10)

APPENDIX 11

South African Unemployment Rates (% of Total Labour Force): 1981-2010

South African unemployment rates (percent of total labour force): 1981-2010

Year	%	Year	%	Year	%
1981	9.824	1991	20.16	2001	29.40
1982	10.76	1992	21.21	2002	30.41
1983	12.54	1993	22.16	2003	27.96
1984	13.72	1994	22.89	2004	26.21
1985	15.45	1995	16.71	2005	26.73
1986	16.05	1996	19.32	2006	25.54
1987	16.59	1997	20.95	2007	22.69
1988	17.24	1998	25.20	2008	21.86
1989	17.83	1999	23.35	2009	24.30
1990	18.78	2000	25.61	2010	24.80[a]

[a] IMF forecast

Source: EconStats, World Economic Outlook (WEO) data, IMF

(http://www.econstats.com/weo/V021.htm, 24/12/10)

APPENDIX 12

Error correlations

Cluster 1	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU
Resultant conservation (RCO)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social cynicism (CY)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Reward for application (RA)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Social complexity (SC)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fate control (FC)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Religiosity (RE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ubuntu (UBU)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cluster 2	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU
Resultant conservation (RCO)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social cynicism (CY)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Reward for application (RA)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Social complexity (SC)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fate control (FC)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Religiosity (RE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ubuntu (UBU)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cluster 3	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU
Resultant conservation (RCO)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social cynicism (CY)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Reward for application (RA)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Social complexity (SC)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fate control (FC)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Religiosity (RE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ubuntu (UBU)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cluster 4	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU
Resultant conservation (RCO)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social cynicism (CY)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Reward for application (RA)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Social complexity (SC)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fate control (FC)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Religiosity (RE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ubuntu (UBU)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

APPENDIX 12

Error correlations (Continued)

Cluster5	RCO	RST	CY	RA	SC	FC	RE	UBU
Resultant conservation (RCO)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social cynicism (CY)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Reward for application (RA)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Social complexity (SC)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fate control (FC)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Religiosity (RE)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ubuntu (UBU)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

APPENDIX 13

Cluster and GClass profiles

	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Cluster4	Cluster5
Cluster Size	60%	25%	8%	5%	3%
Indicators					
Resultant conservation (RCO)					
Mean	-0.30	0.49	1.42	-0.37	0.15
Resultant self-transcendence (RST)					
Mean	-1.26	-0.67	-0.65	-1.40	-0.77
Social cynicism (CY)					
Mean	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.80	0.00
Reward for application (RA)					
Mean	0.94	1.29	0.83	1.40	0.67
Social complexity (SC)					
Mean	0.00	0.00	0.58	1.40	0.00
Fate control (FC)					
Mean	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.00
Religiosity (RE)					
Mean	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.61
Ubuntu (UBU)					
Mean	0.00	1.62	1.67	0.00	1.22
Feminine touch					
Present	77%	74%	51%	80%	99%
Absent	23%	26%	49%	20%	1%
Ritualisation of subordination					
Present	86%	90%	100%	61%	100%
Absent	14%	10%	0%	39%	0%
Licensed withdrawal					
Present	88%	88%	100%	100%	100%
Absent	12%	12%	0%	0%	0%
Family scene					
Present	89%	63%	51%	99%	89%
Absent	11%	37%	49%	1%	11%
Fubction ranking					
Present	97%	100%	84%	100%	100%
Absent	3%	0%	16%	0%	0%

APPENDIX 13

Cluster and GClass profiles (Continued)

	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Cluster4	Cluster5
Cluster Size	60%	25%	8%	5%	3%
Indicators					
Nature of narration					
Advice	5%	7%	16%	0%	11%
Other	3%	0%	16%	0%	0%
Not applicable	92%	93%	67%	100%	89%
Role of the narrator					
Housekeeper	2%	9%	16%	19%	11%
Professional	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Other	14%	10%	49%	39%	0%
Not applicable	81%	78%	35%	41%	89%
Typical user					
Males	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Females	30%	24%	17%	1%	33%
Unisex	69%	76%	83%	99%	67%
Nature of activity					
Housekeeping	3%	13%	0%	0%	11%
Workplace (professional)	8%	0%	32%	58%	11%
Other	82%	78%	67%	42%	78%
Unknown	7%	9%	0%	0%	0%
Location (setting)					
Home	12%	19%	0%	1%	11%
Workplace	8%	0%	16%	19%	11%
Other	27%	34%	17%	20%	66%
Staged settings	53%	47%	66%	60%	12%
Decision making					
Present	10%	16%	0%	0%	0%
Absent	85%	84%	83%	99%	100%
Unknown	5%	0%	16%	0%	0%
Relative size					
Present	19%	28%	33%	20%	44%
Absent	16%	22%	17%	39%	0%
Not applicable	65%	50%	50%	41%	56%
Extent of dressing					
Demure	77%	75%	99%	99%	67%
Suggestive	17%	19%	1%	1%	33%
Partially	2%	6%	0%	0%	0%
Nude	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%

APPENDIX 13

Cluster and GClass profiles (Continued)

	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Cluster4	Cluster5
Cluster Size	60%	25%	8%	5%	3%
Indicators					
Target of narration					
Females	5%	6%	16%	19%	0%
Males	0%	0%	0%	19%	0%
Both (females and males)	14%	16%	49%	20%	11%
Not applicable	81%	78%	35%	41%	89%
Manifestation of independence					
Present	76%	76%	83%	99%	78%
Absent	6%	6%	0%	0%	0%
Unknown	17%	18%	17%	1%	22%
Covariates					
Inflation (CPI)					
1-2	16%	15%	33%	0%	78%
3-5	21%	24%	0%	0%	11%
6-9	28%	21%	17%	0%	0%
10-12	12%	19%	50%	80%	0%
13 - 15	23%	22%	0%	20%	11%
Mean	9.46	9.88	9.12	14.38	5.11
Product category (CAT)					
1-2	9%	24%	17%	0%	11%
3-3	52%	49%	33%	40%	33%
4-6	17%	15%	0%	60%	33%
7-10	22%	13%	50%	0%	22%
Mean	4.62	3.59	4.67	3.60	5.11
Unemployment rate (EMP)					
1-2	17%	24%	17%	60%	0%
3-6	26%	18%	50%	40%	11%
7-9	16%	19%	0%	0%	0%
10-11	19%	25%	17%	0%	89%
12-14	23%	15%	17%	0%	0%
Mean	20.57	19.79	19.78	13.78	23.81

APPENDIX 13

Cluster and GClass profiles (Continued)

GProfile

	GClass1	GClass2
GClass Size	0.71	0.29
Clusters		
Cluster1	0.69	0.37
Cluster2	0.28	0.19
Cluster3	0.02	0.23
Cluster4	0.01	0.13
Cluster5	0.01	0.09
Indicators		
RCO		
Mean	-0.05	0.28
RST		
Mean	-1.08	-0.98
CY		
Mean	0.01	0.1
RA		
Mean	1.04	1.02
SC		
Mean	0.03	0.31
FC		
Mean	0.01	0.08
RE		
Mean	0.01	0.14
UBU		
Mean	0.48	0.8
TOU		
Absent	0.76	0.73
Present	0.24	0.27
RIT		
Absent	0.87	0.88
Present	0.13	0.12
WIT		
Absent	0.88	0.93
Present	0.12	0.07
FAM		
Absent	0.81	0.77
Present	0.19	0.23
RAN		
Absent	0.98	0.95
Present	0.02	0.05
NAT		
Advice	0.06	0.08
Other	0.02	0.05
Not applicable	0.92	0.87

	GClass1	GClass2
GClass Size	0.71	0.29
ROL		
Housekeeper	0.04	0.1
Professional	0.03	0.02
Other	0.13	0.23
Not applicable	0.79	0.65
USE		
Males	0	0
Females	0.28	0.23
Unisex	0.72	0.77
ACT		
Housekeeping	0.05	0.04
Workplace (professional)	0.07	0.19
Other	0.8	0.72
Unknown	0.07	0.04
LOC		
Home	0.14	0.09
Workplace	0.06	0.1
Staged settings	0.29	0.29
Other	0.51	0.52
DEC		
Present	0.11	0.07
Absent	0.85	0.88
Unknown	0.04	0.06
SIZ		
Present	0.22	0.26
Absent	0.18	0.19
Not applicable	0.6	0.55
DRE		
Demure	0.77	0.84
Suggestive	0.17	0.13
Partially	0.03	0.02
Nude	0.03	0.01
TAR		
Females	0.06	0.09
Males	0	0.02
Both (females and males)	0.15	0.23
Not applicable	0.79	0.65
IND		
Present	0.77	0.81
Absent	0.06	0.04
Unknown	0.17	0.16

APPENDIX 14

Exhibit 1: An example of *Ambitious Woman* type of portrayal

Exhibit 2: An example of *Emerging Woman* type of portrayal

Exhibit 3: An example of *Traditional Woman* type of portrayal

Exhibit 4: An example of *Modern Woman* type of portrayal

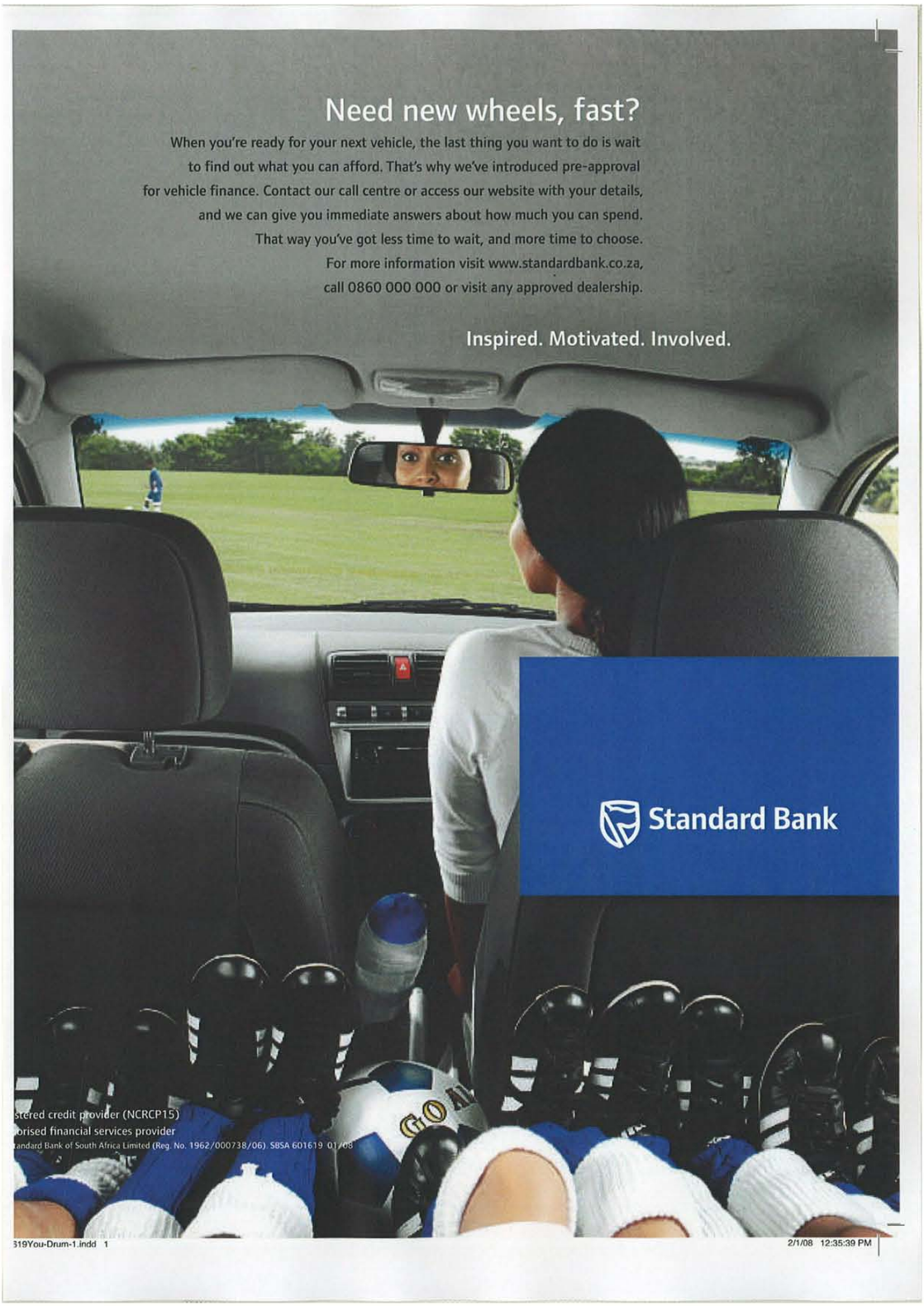

Exhibit 5: An example of *Community Woman* type of portrayal

Dear Dolly

I AM a boy aged 20 and in love with a girl of 16. We love each other and got married last year, but she goes with many boys. One day she left home at about 7pm and I discovered that she went to sleep outside with another boy. I asked her where she went to sleep and she told me that she went home. Please help me before I marry another one. — Cyprial, Krugersdorp.

I'm surprised that you can think of marrying again after your present unhappiness. Ask your wife what is bothering her and why she needs to ve lots of boys. Perhaps you can give her another chance but if she remains the same, you may have to separate.

I AM 18 years and in love with a girl who is in Form Four and I am in Form Two. She says she will not marry me because I do not have a job. What can I do to make her my girlfriend? — M.K., Sebokeng.

To begin with, cimplete your education as it's impossible to obtain a good job without schooling. As all this will take at least another three years, I would forget the girl as she is bound to find someone with a job, as that means so much to her. There are lots of other girls.

SHE is 15 and I am 16. We are both at school and I love her very much. I know that she loves me too. But one day when I was sick, she did not even bother to come and see me. I have made love to many girls in my area but I think she is the sweetest. Now she passes me in school and won't see me. This hurts me as she seems to have forgotten me. I fail to understand her actions and feel she is not to be trusted. If she does not come back to me, I shall hang myself. Please help me. — M.M., Lenasia.

You probably lost her because of your behaviour. She must have heard about your conquests and felt that you are not to be trusted. Try to ask her what has brought on this change.

I AM a Form Two girl, aged 16 and the boy I am in love with is 17. What worries me is that whenever he meets me he asks for sex. I fear I will be pregnant before my education is over. The other thing is that I get very many letters from boys. Please, I need your help before I get lost. — Young Kid, Ermelo.

There is no harm in being friends with boys, so do not bother about the letters. I think you should concentrate on your education and ignore your boyfriend's demands. Once you are of age, ask your doctor about contraceptives. Never risk getting pregnant, as boyfriends often leave the girl without helpin

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Germolene Ointment Reg. No. g per 100 g: Anhydrous Lanolin 47,614 (tin) 38,716 (tube); Starch 7,840; Zinc Oxide 7,840; Methyl Salicylate 2,960; Phenol 1,184; Menthol 0,012; Octaphonium Chloride 0,300.

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