

BODY IMAGE

*Gender Subtexts In The Popular Print Media Available In South Africa
At The Beginning Of The 21st Century*

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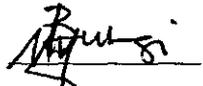
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the contents in this thesis constitute my own original work, which has not previously been presented to another institution, either in part or as a whole for the purposes of obtaining a degree.


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Abstract

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In this dissertation, I present the results of an analysis of the role of female body image in the promotion of commercial products in magazines that are available in South Africa at the beginning of the 21st century. The South African legislation is progressive towards promoting gender equality. But the central problem is that there are still gaps between the progressive legislation and the attitudes and beliefs of South Africans towards gender equality, particularly in the use of female body images in magazine adverts by the advertising industry. This gap between *de jure* and *de facto* is due to gender differences and stereotypes that have been entrenched in every aspect of our lives (for example, in language, culture, religion, and so on).

According to Deacon (1997:376-410) and Pease and Pease (2000:60-61), because of the gendered social environment in the ancestral world, our brains (as females and males) evolved differently within the continuing gendered social environment. So, our fore brain, which is responsible for thinking, reasoning and planning processes, has helped us to reconstruct our gendered social environment by the formulation of legislation that promote human rights including the right to equality. However, the legislation on equality is not sufficient to reconstruct our environment. The evidence is that within the good legislation that has been made in South Africa, the advertising industry is continuing with the biased portrayal of female and male body images in the magazine adverts, in particular. Besides, the female body image is still portrayed in stereotypical roles. For example, the female is presented in passive roles and as objects as well as sex objects.

However, the consumers do not adequately challenge the advertising industry about this gendered portrayal of the female body images in magazine adverts because the consumers themselves have a gendered view of the world. Therefore, other social programmes (in schools

and communities) should supplement legislation that has been made in order to try and reconstruct the gendered social environment in South Africa. But, there are still areas for further research in the area of gender and body image to try and uncover the effects that the body image has on the consumers.

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Writing Conventions

I wish to draw the attention of the reader to the following conventions that I am following in this study:

1. I am using the abbreviated Harvard style of referencing, for example Wellman 1992: 108, meaning Wellman 1992, page 108.
2. When reporting current events from the print media I provide the name of the publication, followed by the date of publication in brackets as in (Natal Mercury, 25/2/98).
3. I have made a conscious effort to limit the use of footnotes as far as possible in order to facilitate the uninterrupted reading of the dissertation.

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Chapter 1

ORIENTATION

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Gender equity as part of a broader programme of transformation forms a central component of legislative acts in the new dispensation in South Africa, for example, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996. Although the principal constitutional mechanism for ending the subordination of women is the right to equality guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, which could be interpreted as mandating only formal equality, the 1996 Constitutional dispensation goes beyond formal guarantees. This broader scope can be discerned in the requirement that the constitutional court should be a representative body in relation to race and gender, and in the constitutional establishment of a Commission on Gender Equality, which is an institution of state promoting gender equality.

However, gender inequality is not simply a matter of the law acting to suppress women, but it is also as a result of the deeply rooted societal (sometimes patriarchal) attitudes and values structured by stratified codes and covenants that have become rigid laws and customs which are taken in and of themselves as values. Women themselves often hold these values as much as the men do. In addition, many cultural arguments continue to be used today to justify the denial of women's rights. These include arguments designed to defend the full range of practices that lead to women suffering and to justify the exclusion of girls and women from educational and other opportunities, which would make them independent. The problem, therefore, is how to make the values expressed in constitutional principles and legal acts part of the belief systems of the citizens of South Africa.

This study seeks to contribute to the process of transformation by analyzing the gender subtexts in the print media available in South Africa in the 21st Century, and by exploring the role that social institutions could play in helping to implement the principle of gender equality embodied in the constitution and other legislation.

This study focuses on analysing the role of female body image in the promotion of commercial products in magazines that are available in South Africa at the beginning of the 21st

century.

In the present chapter, I will provide a brief outline of the structure of this dissertation.

In chapter 2, I state the problems that will be investigated and I motivate why it is important to study the implicit gender subtexts contained in the South African print media.

In chapter 3, I define and discuss the key concepts used in this study.

In chapter 4, I survey current academic literature on how gender stereotypical roles, beliefs, and attitudes are entrenched in our society and how femininity is constructed through popular culture and fairy tales. I discuss the different points of view that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society giving a background of the South African situation and gender. I also trace the gender stereotypes from the ancient times and the traditional culture then I discuss gender stereotyping that exists in different contexts like workplace, legal system and politics and finally, I highlight the gender gaps that still exist in the media and the educational system in South Africa.

In chapter 5, I review current literature on how gender differences are entrenched in the language that is used in our society discussing gendered terms, the gendered speech, the different communication styles between men and women, and then I comment on non-verbal communication.

In chapter 6, I outline the philosophical framework on which this study is based highlighting some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I discuss the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study is based. And, I apply the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. Thereafter, I outline the research methodology for analyzing body image in the adverts of selected magazines.

In chapter 7, I analyze the adverts from different magazines that are available in South Africa in the 21st century. In analyzing the magazines, I first analyze the gender of the body image that accompanies different types of adverts. This will show how the communicator has a gendered view of the recipient. Then, I analyze body images from a limited number of adverts. In doing so I analyze the medium and how the recipient interacts with the medium in decoding messages.

In chapter 8, I present the research results and analysis of the results. Then I suggest some strategies for proceeding from gender equity legislation to commonly subscribed gender

sensitive values for all South Africans.

In the final chapter, I present the conclusions of my research and make a number of recommendations with regard to body image and gender subtexts at school level, and regarding the need for further research about how gender stereotyping related to non-verbal communication and body image affect learner-performances and conclusions that educators make about learners in schools.

Chapter 2

STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS

In the previous chapter, I gave a brief outline of the structure of this dissertation. In this chapter, I will show that while South Africa as a country has one of the best legislation that promote gender equality, the legal statutes alone are not sufficient to change the lives of all South Africans. I will highlight some attitudes of South African men and women towards gender that create a gap between the progressive legislation and the real lives and beliefs of the people in South Africa.

WHY A STUDY OF GENDER SUBTEXTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRINT MEDIA IS NECESSARY

Gender equality and the gender-related legislation in present-day South Africa

The constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, embodies a firm commitment to ensuring gender equality. The principle of gender equality permeates the entire text of the Constitution and particularly it is enshrined in the Preamble and the Bill of Rights. To promote the achievement of equality there are other statutes that are designed to support gender equity like The Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, The Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. 75 of 1997, South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996, Labour Relations Act, No. 66 of 1995, and other new legislation.

The emphasis on equality is evidence of a shift in the law's approach to women, as far as the enhancement of their legal status is concerned. But although the legal status of South African women has been dramatically improved, the constitution and other legislation cannot address the practical obstacles to equality, nor can it guarantee the achievement of actual political, social and economic equality.

Attitudes to gender equality in present-day South Africa

The nature of equality secured in legal compacts such as the 1996 constitution does not necessarily mean equality in practice. Although placing equality on the statute book does serve

a normative function, it does not lead to a change in women's lived experience. It is clear that, on their own, law and legal institutions cannot secure equality for women but that attitudes, values and the belief systems of all South Africans need to be renewed. This is clearly illustrated by the comment of a South African man quoted in a British newspaper:

I agree with women's rights, but not in my home – I myself am not prepared to change.

Murray 1994:36

Such statements indicate that while much of the blatantly discriminatory legislation has been removed from the statute books, the major challenge is to get to the heart of hidden discrimination; that which makes the dividing line between equality on paper and equality in reality. This statement also draws attention to the public and private divide, which distances the family from legal intervention and leaves the family unregulated and thus leaving the woman at the mercy of the man in the house.

Again, besides that women tend to be unequal to men in many areas of life, it should also be noted that there are differences amongst women themselves and that these differences translate into different levels of inequality and oppression. For example, African women, rural women, women with disabilities, poor women, young women and women whose social circumstances comprise a combination of these attributes, tend to suffer additional obstacles in accessing justice and other opportunities in life. The problem is in which way can the legal rights on paper be translated into reality and in which way can they be supplemented by social change which will determine that they change all South African women's lives in practice.

Racial discrimination and gender discrimination

Racial as well as gender inequality is entrenched in our society. In theory, we generally all consider it just as unfair to discriminate against people based on gender as to do based on race. However, gender inequality pervades our social relations in ways, which are subtler and therefore more insidious than racial discrimination. Many of those who are deeply offended by racial discrimination take gender discrimination for granted. In addition, gender discrimination may be inferred from the fact that it is not without foundation. There are significant biological differences between men and women and the kinds of discrimination to which women are

subject are often attributed to these natural differences. According to Murray 1994:85

... throughout history, facts which have their origin in the way society and its institutions are structured have been cast as natural. The effect of attributing to nature the work of society is to render such facts inevitable and unchangeable. More than that, it is to suggest that to try and change this reality is unnatural and hence in some sense immoral.

This is true of the characterization of South African women's role in society. According to Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (1999:13), the results of the focus group discussions that were conducted in five provinces of South Africa (Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Gauteng, North Western Province and Free State Province) revealed that some men viewed the concept of gender equality as Western and an attempt to undermine African culture. However, it is not all men and not only the men who can be blamed for gender inequality and its consequences. There are women who view the concept of gender equality in the context of internalized oppression as a disturbance in their lives. For instance, Helen Gardiner (2001:42) in her article in the "Joy" magazine expressed her belief that a man is God's first choice for a position of apostle. A woman can only take that position if there is no suitable man. Furthermore, Helen Gardiner clearly expressed her belief that women need to submit themselves to their husbands in marriage so that God will reward them though it is not clear in the article what the nature of the reward will be. There are, however, different views—which I will discuss in chapter 4—that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I highlighted that the South African legislation is progressive towards promoting gender equality. I then highlighted the gaps that exist between the progressive legislation and the attitudes and beliefs of South Africans towards gender equality. In the following chapter, I will discuss the fundamental concepts, which I will employ later on during the more detailed analysis of the gender subtexts that are found in the present-day South African print media.

Chapter 3

KEY CONCEPTS

PREVIEW

This chapter deals with the key concepts of this study. Here I will present brief, general characterizations of the fundamental concepts, which I will employ later on during the more detailed analysis of the gender subtexts that are found in the present-day South African print media.

COMMUNICATION CODE

According to Mersham and Skinner (1999:17), a communication code is a collection of related signs and / or symbols and all the rules that regulate their use in communication. For example, there are verbal and non-verbal codes that involve mainly the senses, that is, visual, tactile, sound, and so on. In this study, it is in this understanding that the concept will be used.

COMMUNICATOR

According to Steinberg (1994:14), a communicator is a person who is involved in a communication process who is the message source. In this study, the concept of communicator will be used to describe people who are the sources of adverts in magazines—both the teams working in the magazine-publishing industries and the teams working in the advertising agencies.

ENCODING

Mersham and Skinner (1999:18) describe encoding as the process whereby the communicator translates his/her inner thoughts, feelings and linguistic signs, graphic signs, colour, models, and so on, so that the recipient can decode them and make meaning out of them. In this study, it is in this understanding that the concept will be used.

FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY

In Schaun and Flanagan (1992:41), it is claimed that Sociologist, Talcot Parsons, describes femininity as associated with expressiveness and relationships while masculinity is associated with goal-directedness". It is also claimed that another sociologist, Nancy Chodorow, states that femininity is associated with "being" while masculinity is associated with "doing". In this study, femininity will be used to mean the social meanings of being a woman and masculinity will mean the social meanings of being a man. Therefore, since societies are different the meanings of both femininity and masculinity will be relative to each society at a given time and space.

GENDER EQUALITY AND GENDER EQUITY

Wolpe, Quinlan and Martínez (1997:38) report that there is lack of clarity and absence of consensus, about the differences between equality and equity and that the consultations with the provinces in South Africa and a range of stakeholders indicated that these two concepts may mean different things to different people and that they are often used interchangeably. According to Okwaki Abagi (2000:19), gender equality means that men and women must be equal—they should be treated with equal concern and respect, and should be entitled to develop to their full human potential. For example, girls and boys must equally easily be able to go to school and stay there, men and women must get paid the same salary for doing the same work. And that they must be provided with equal protection from exploitation and violence, women and men must be able to get the job they choose and the qualifications they need for that particular job.

Wolpe, Quinlan and Martínez (1997:40) define gender equity as being "concerned with the promotion of equal opportunity and fair treatment for men and women in the personal, social, cultural, political and economic arenas". Therefore, gender equity involves providing an enabling and empowering environment, resources and making sure that teaching-learning processes do not militate against the development of one or both genders. In this study, it is in this understanding that the concepts are used and they are not used interchangeably.

GENDER IDENTITY

According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:5), gender identity refers to the subjective feelings of maleness or femaleness—femininity or masculinity—irrespective of one's sex and it is learnt over time. Therefore, as Gordon and Kalha (2000:5) further state, it is possible to be genetically of one sex with a gender identity of the opposite sex. This implies that one's gender may not necessarily be synonymous with that of one's sex. And according to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:2), many researchers believe that forming a gender identity is a lifelong process. In this study, the concept of gender identity is used as Gordon and Kalha have defined it.

MEDIUM

Steinberg (1994:15) defines medium as the physical means by which messages are transmitted or transported between people in communication and according to Mersham and Skinner (1999: 9) the medium is a mode of transport for the message to its destination. In this study, the concept will be used to mean both the magazine and the advert in the magazine.

RECIPIENT

According to Steinberg (1994: 14), the recipient is the person who is involved in the communication process who is the message receiver. In this study, the concept of receiver will be used to mean people in the society who read the adverts in the magazines and it will be used interchangeably with the terms 'consumer' and 'viewer' with a similar meaning.

SEX AND GENDER

Gordon and Kalha (2000:9) have defined sex as a biological term referring to people and animals, being female or male depending on their sex organs or genes. Sex therefore refers to the different biologically determined characteristics of individuals that make the male or female and it is universal. In Oakley (1985:158), it is claimed that Stoller explained that one's sex therefore is determined by an algebraic sum of chromosomes, external and internal genitalia, gonads, hormonal states and sex characteristics and most people fall under one of the two separate bell curves the one of which is called 'male' and the other called 'female'.

Contrary to sex, gender, as defined by Schaun and Flanagan (1992:2) refers to the social meanings of being a man or a woman—the opportunities one have, the choices one makes, the

expectations others hold and even how one sees herself / himself are intimately linked to general societal attitudes about men and women. According to Pillemer and Shackleton (1999:10), gender is the idea developed by people of what it is to be a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, what is masculine or feminine behaviour and it can be determined in many ways. For example, behaviour, dress, gestures, occupation and roles played by the different sexes in society and each individual's gender is influenced by class, ethnicity ('race'), religious beliefs, sexual orientation, age, current family roles and exposure to other ways of being and geographical location among other things. It is in this understanding that the two concepts are used in the study.

SEX ROLES AND GENDER ROLES

According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:8), a sex role is a function or role which a male or female assumes because of the basic physiological or anatomical differences between the sexes. For example, females get pregnant and they breastfeed babies, males fertilize ovum and they produce spermatozoa, which determine the child's sex. Therefore, sex roles are universal and never change with history.

In contrast, gender roles are based on our biological sex, but they are not natural roles, or God-given, rather, they are defined by our society. Gordon and Kalha (2000:8) claimed that Basow defined a gender role as referring to society's evaluation of behaviour as masculine or feminine, for example, cooking, childcare and house care are feminine roles, while fishing, hunting, repair work in the home are masculine roles in most societies. It is in these definitions that the two concepts are used in the study.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed the general characterizations of the fundamental concepts, which I will employ later on during the more detailed analysis of the gender subtexts that are found in the present-day South African print media. In the following chapter, I will discuss how gender stereotypical roles, beliefs, and attitudes are entrenched in our society. I will also discuss the different points of view that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society. To do so, firstly, I will discuss the South African situation and gender, secondly, I will trace the gender stereotypes from the ancient times and the traditional culture, thirdly, I

will discuss gender stereotyping that exists in different contexts like workplace, legal system and politics, fourthly, I will discuss how femininity is constructed through popular culture and fairy tales, lastly, I will highlight the gender gaps that still exist in the media and the educational system in South Africa.

Chapter 4

ENGENDERED SOCIETY

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter, I discussed brief, general characterizations of the fundamental concepts that will be used in this study of analysis of the gender subtexts in the available print media in South Africa. In this chapter, I will discuss how gender stereotypical roles, beliefs, and attitudes are entrenched in our society. I will also discuss the different points of view that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society. To do so, firstly, I will discuss the South African situation and gender, secondly, I will trace the gender stereotypes from the ancient times and the traditional culture, thirdly, I will discuss gender stereotyping that exists in different contexts like workplace, legal system and politics, fourthly, I will discuss how femininity is constructed through popular culture and fairy tales, lastly, I will highlight the gender gaps that still exist in the media and the educational system in South Africa.

GENDER EQUALITY AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY Apartheid and Patriarchy

Before South Africa became a democratic country in 1994, the struggle for liberation was mainly focusing on “apartheid” which is discrimination in terms of race. Yet, South Africa was also influenced by some patriarchal attitudes that reinforced gender discrimination. The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) in Gauteng which is an independent institution established in terms of the South African constitution has identified similarities between “apartheid” and patriarchy as systems that contributed a lot in reinforcing racial and gender discrimination respectively. According to the CGE, both systems grossly violate human rights and there is discrimination between groups, for instance, in “apartheid”, it is whites discriminating against blacks and in patriarchy, it is men discriminating against women. In both systems, the root of the problem is unequal power relations based on race in “apartheid” and on sex in patriarchy. This unequal power relation manifests itself in different forms, for example, social attitudes, complexes, stereotypes, focus on the physical and others.

Manifestations of the social attitudes are patronising attitudes of whites in apartheid. For example, “our blacks are happy and grateful” and in patriarchy the patronising attitudes of men, for example, “women like staying at home “ or “ women enjoy cooking”.

In both the systems, there is internalized oppression that manifests itself as complexes. For example, the blacks would have an attitude of “Whites are better.” In patriarchy, the women would accept their situation no matter how it is; for example, “My husband beats me for my own good” or “My husband should decide for me, he is the head of the family.”

In both systems, there is focus on the physical of the inferior group. The whites have many myths and stereotypes about the physicality of blacks, in patriarchy women are sex objects, and as some feminists put it, that a woman’s body is an object of gaze. In Briggs and Copley (1998:298), it is argued that Berger notes that men act and women appear. Men look at women and women watch themselves being looked at. Berger as cited by Briggs and Copley (1998:298), further argues that men create a sense of identity by extending out from their body, using it to control objects and others. On the other hand, women work with and within their body, the female body communicates not the women’s power over others, but her presence and how she takes herself.

Both systems have stereotypes. For example, whites believe that “blacks are loud and lazy” and men believe that “women are talkative”. The other manifestations that are similar in both systems are law and education, politics and violence. In order to fight both systems the inferior groups need to be self-assertive and empowerment of the oppressed groups is the suitable strategy.

While the similarities have been identified between apartheid and patriarchy, the main difference between the two systems is that we all generally agree that discrimination based on race is unfair whereas we do not all agree that discrimination based on gender is unfair. However, while we agree that discrimination based on race is unfair, this form of discrimination has been practiced not only in South Africa but also throughout the world in many countries. Furthermore, while the discriminated groups have struggled to fight against being discriminated, they themselves have discriminated against other races. For instance, South African ‘Africans’ did not like the terms that were coined by the whites in South Africa who called them “Kaffirs” but the Africans in South Africa have coined the terms like “Makwerekwere” to call foreign Africans who come from other African countries. This reveals

that our nature (brains) function by categorization (stereotypes). According to Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988:67), we do not perceive stimuli in isolation; we immediately categorize them into a group according to similarities. The similarity is usually between the object being categorized and the ideal / or typical example of the category. This helps the brain to speed up information processing time by simplifying and making processing easier, but it can lead to misinterpretation and stereotyping when we overlook the unique characteristics of an entity.

The Right to Equality

South Africa has an appalling human rights record as it has a long and tragic history of racial discrimination, political oppression, social injustices, judicial repression and economic exploitation and these were globally reflected as the denial of the human rights. This large-scale denial of human rights reached its peak in the system of apartheid—a nationalist policy that institutionalised racial discrimination. The groups that were affected by these injustices, amongst others, were blacks (mostly Africans), physically and mentally challenged individuals, women of all ages and races, the poverty-stricken communities and lately the HIV positive people. The country has also a long history of the struggle to fight for the promotion and protection of human rights, social justice and respect of human dignity. Though this struggle mainly focused on the fight against racial discrimination, when the democratic government took over in 1994, it had to deal with all forms of discrimination, hence the Bill of Rights. The 1994 elections of a non-racial democratic government put an end to this history. Enshrining the Bill of rights in the Constitution was one way of ensuring that this history does not repeat itself.

In terms of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996 which outlines the Bill of Rights, everyone is equal before the law and is protected against any unfair discrimination either directly or indirectly, by the state or any person on the basis of any one or more of the grounds outlined, for example, gender, race, religion, and so on. The right to equality is one of the human rights that are embedded in the Bill of Rights. It includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms.

The South African Government has commitment to ensure that the right to equality, gender equality in particular, is implemented. Since South Africa is now a democratic country, the state, as well as all its citizens, has an obligation to ensure that democratic values prevail

within the country. And one of the democratic values is fairness to everyone. The concept of fairness means that no individual or groups of people should be treated as second-class citizens.

According to Murray (1994: 86), fairness requires that women's disproportionate child-care burden, which is itself unfair, should not cast its shadow on their working lives. Women's child-care burden should not prejudice their opportunities to be hired and promoted, their terms and conditions of employment and their remuneration and termination of employment. According to Murray (1994: 86), fairness means that both men and work should also be required to adapt to women at work on equal terms. It is unfair to require women to adapt and fit in the workplace if they are to be equal to men. Secondly, the South African government and its citizens have to commit themselves to the implementation of gender equality in order to achieve economic efficiency. According to Murray (1994: 86), policies that promote equality are said to be efficient in terms of human resources in the end because they allow enterprises to draw from a larger, richer and more varied pool of talent and skilled work. Therefore, eliminating gender discrimination is likely to enrich the country as a whole, since there will be more people with a variety of skills in the economic sphere.

GENDERED TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Gender Differences: Is it nature or nurture?

Many writers including Gordon and Kalha (2000); Schaun and Flanagan (1992); Pillemer and Shackleton (1999) claim that much research has been done to confirm that gender differences between male and female are socially and culturally constructed. The society develops an idea that is based on sex differences about how men and women should behave (Pillemer & Shackleton (1999: 2-10). Then the socialisation process of boys and girls from birth and throughout life by institutions like the family, school, church and society will entrench this socially constructed idea. Gordon and Kalha (2000:8) distinguish between sex roles and gender roles and say that the functions that males or females perform because of their basic physiological or anatomical differences, like getting pregnant and breastfeeding for females and producing spermatozoa for men are sex roles. These are God-given and are the same across generations, cultures, races, nations and countries. On the other hand, the gender roles, like child rearing and cooking for women and fixing things for men, are socially constructed and they differ with families, cultures, races and generations.

Since the gender-roles are constructed based on the sex of the people, girls/boys, male/female, they have been assumed God-given and innate. As the boys and girls are socialised, dominant perceptions codified in the language used, different toys and clothes for girls and boys, books, media images, gender roles, and so on, entrench the feelings of maleness in boys and femaleness in girls. However, Gordon and Kalha (2000:5) also say that each person has subjective feelings of maleness or femaleness (gender identity), which might not necessarily correspond with one's sex. An individual might identify himself or herself with the gender of the opposite sex. However, while gender differences are often explained to have been created by social / cultural institutions like the family, church, school, and so on, which provided differing social environments for males and females, it has not been adequately addressed by social theories as to why such institutions were created in the first place.

In contrast to the view that gender differences are socially constructed, Pease and Pease (2000:4-6) argue that while psychologists and sociologists have attributed our behaviours and preferences to socialization, scientific research has shown that men and women have different perceptions, attitudes, preferences and behaviours because of different hormones and different brain structures that resulted from the evolution of human beings. This argument is because men were originally lunch-chasers who had to go out to search for food and women were child-bearers who had to remain in the caves and protect their babies and as a result, men and women developed different specialised skills that enabled them to do their different jobs efficiently. Then over million of years the physical bodies and brain-structures of men and women evolved and changed differently because of the different jobs that men and women did (Pease and Pease 2000:4). Therefore, when adults socialize girls and boys differently, giving them different toys and clothes, this does not construct the behaviour but "exacerbates it" (Pease and Pease 2000:10) because the behaviour is genetical/innate.

Furthermore, Rosenor (1995:77) argues that Kimura at the University of Ontario also claims that brain differences between males and females determine the behavioural differences between males and females. Pease and Pease (2000:61) claimed that a German Scientist, Gunther Dornier, a leading pioneer in social science, advanced the theory that between six and eight weeks after conception the foetus receives certain amounts of female hormones (if it is a female foetus) and male hormones (if it is a male foetus) that configure the brain for female or male traits and behaviours respectively. According to this theory, gender identity is determined

at this time.

However, while Pease and Pease (2000:61-63) argue for the view that brain differences between male and female determine gender differences, at the same time they say that sometimes a foetus receives a dose of hormones of the opposite sex, and when this occurs a baby girl to a greater or lesser extent will be born with a masculine brain and a baby boy to a greater or lesser extent will be born with the feminine brain and depending on the amounts of the hormone received, some people will not show a bias for either male or female thinking. This brain configuration evidence concretises the view that people are generally unique. The brain structure of an individual whether male or female does not solely correspond with one's sex, therefore the behaviour, preferences and attitudes of an individual will also not always correspond with one's sex yet the socialisation process by society is based on the sex of a person. Again, Pease and Pease (2000:8) acknowledge the fact that the characteristics they attribute to females and males as different sex groups might not apply to all members of each group, and this qualifies these characteristics as stereotypes. These characteristics are unfair to the people who do not possess them and they therefore do not show real behaviour differences.

Malamuth (1996:8-31) argues for the theories of evolution that in the evolutionary history men and women faced different problems because of the different roles that they played, as a result the two human species evolved differently. Malamuth's theory of the co-evolved strategy says that men select females for short-term sexual relationships and women select males for commitment and long-term relationship, which involves commitment to nurture the young. These "selection differences" resulted from the inherent sexual behaviour of the two genders in the ancestral environment. According to Malamuth (1996:8-31), the consumption of sexually explicit media by men and women reflects this underlying "co-evolution strategy" where men are more attracted to interacting entities that are shown by the media. This corresponds with the "visual stimulus" in men, which was sharpened by hunting and fighting enemies, and the tactile and auditory stimulus for women, which was sharpened by remaining in the caves and nurturing the babies in the ancestral world. However, there is no evidence that Malamuth's theory will apply across different cultural groups for instance, in African communities where a female with a well-rounded body, and not curves, is preferred. But theories by Pease and Pease (2000:61-63) and Malamuth (1996:8-31) omit to emphasise that though the brains evolved differently, it was nurture impacting on nature. So, the

differences are not God-given and thus changeable. Again, these theories omit to acknowledge that while our hindbrain evolved with the stereotypical memories, our forebrain (the neo cortex) is the locus of conscience, planning, reason, worrying and ambition (Guyton 1979:339). We are not helpless followers of nature because we have the front brain that makes us unique to animals. When nature calls, we reason out if what we shall be doing is appropriate. And, because of this power to reason, as human beings we shall never justify our injustice actions by ascribing it to nature because nature has also provided us with the front brain that gives us the ability to alter and reconstruct the natural calls.

The social contract of marriage

However, arguments such as the social theories and Pease and Pease (2000:61-63) arguments will make us move in circles with regard to the transformation process because gender differences are not a matter of 'nurture or nature' but they are a matter of 'nature and nurture'. Although Deacon (1997:407), refers specifically to language and symbols he states that the key to the co-evolution perspective is to recognize that the evolution did not take place inside or outside the brain, but it was a matter of interface, where culturally evolutionary processes affected biologically evolutionary processes. According to Deacon (1997:376-410), in almost all traditional societies of the human species, males and females, had never seen themselves as individual males and females who live their lives separately, but had perceived themselves within the context of a relationship—pair bonding relationship. Because of the basic drive for men to have children, and females to bear children, a female needed a male who would get her pregnant and a male needed a female who would bear him children. Males had to judge which female to bond with—not only good looking female who is presumably healthy and would therefore give birth to healthy children, but also a woman who could nurture the family. Therefore, males became the deciding species and thus the leader. Because the female had to get pregnant and nurture children, she could not hunt for herself therefore, she would bond with a male who could provide her with meat in particular, as well as protection from enemies since she could not hunt for herself or fight enemies when pregnant or lactating. Then the male and female had to reach a contract (marriage contract) saying that the male would provide meat to a female who could sexually exclude herself for him and the female would bond with a male who could provide meat for her. Therefore, all gender biases and stereotypes,

cultural practices, philosophy of life in societies can be traced back to this marriage contract where the image of a man was that of a leader and provider as against the female image of fertility and nurturance. Then the female and male had to reach some form of agreement that the male would provide meat only to the female who would only provide sex exclusively to him and so as to ensure that he was not providing meat to a female who was carrying another man's genes. The contract was biased because the man could have sexual access to more than one female as long as he was able to provide for all of them while the female had to sexually exclude herself for only one man.

But, the contract between the two parties was not enough because at times the male and female had to separate for longer periods when the male went for hunting. So, in order to ensure that the two parties remained true to each other even during times of separation, the contract was extended beyond the two parties and it became the social contract where other members of the society became involved. Therefore, other members of the society—kinship and other women—had the responsibility to ensure that the female remained true to the male that she was bonded with. While other males also had the responsibility to ensure that the male remained true to the female he was bonded with. But, for males, the responsibility was relaxed because the contract allowed males to have sexual access to more females if he could provide for all of them.

While the traditional cultures differ with different societies, these images of a male leader and provider as well as a female birth giver and nurturer underpin almost every culture and part of all human life. This social responsibility to ensure that the female provides sex only to the man she is bonded with still prevails in most societies. So, all the socialization of girls and boys was/is directed towards the establishment and continued existence of this contract between male and female which was / is still viewed as a way of perpetuating life. For instance, the different gendered roles for boys and girls and the initiation processes in many African cultures are preparing girls and boys for this marriage contract and because the rules were strict for the female, hence we have harsh practices for girls, for example, there is still practice of female genital mutilation in other countries. The *lobola* (bride price) that is paid in many cultures is one way of making this pair bonding a social contract since when *lobola* is paid the negotiations are between two families and not the two bonding parties. In Western cultures, the courts and the priests are involved to make the contract public and regulate it.

In most societies, with the exception of cannibal communities, killing other people is a punishable act. However, the rules are relaxed where killing was done because the images of men or women in the marriage contract were going to be affected. For example, when there is competition for scarce resources or when enemies are attacking the family, the image of a man as a provider and protector respectively would be affected. In these circumstances, the man is therefore mandated to kill in order to fight for the scarce resources or in order to protect the family. When the image of a woman as a birth giver and a nurturer who is only dedicated to the man that provides for her is affected, the rule of law is relaxed or sometimes the killing is condoned by the society. In some African countries, in cases of infidelity femicide is condoned or sometimes even done by the society in the form of stoning. But, it is not only in traditional societies where the rule of law is relaxed, also in Western cultures. For example, in war, if a person does not kill the opponents, s/he can be found guilty of treason. Again, when homicide was performed in the heat of passion, extenuating circumstances will be found in court. For instance, when a man finds his spouse having sexual intercourse with another man and the spouse kills the man or the wife or both on the spot, the extenuating circumstances will be found in court as against the premeditated murder that is a straight forward punishable crime. However, the stereotypical images of men and women as they relate to the marriage contract are not only reflected in the behaviour and customs of the people, but are also symbolically entrenched in many areas of people's lives.

Gender and the African Culture

Gender stereotypical roles of men and women are entrenched throughout traditional cultures and they have become part of the lives of the people. For example, according to Müller and Ritz-Müller (2000:70) the anthropomorphic symbolic layout of the Dogon Village reflects the Dogon's conception of the universe and humanity as well as an underlying idea that focuses on the couple, which through its bond guarantees fertility and the survival of humanity. See Figure 1.

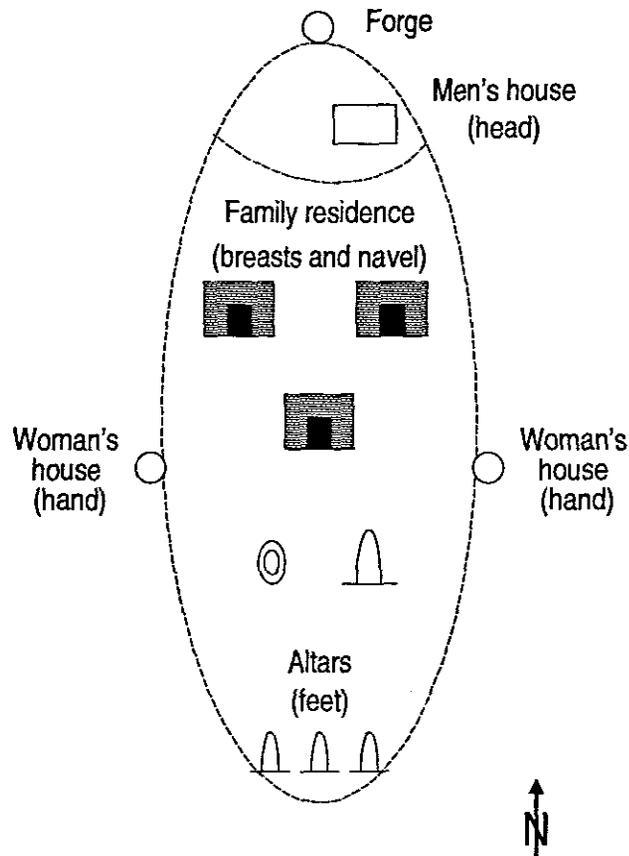


Figure 1: Traditional anthropocentric layout of a Dogon Village in Mali

Figure 1 shows a layout of a Dogon Village in Mali. The layout is an oval shape. At the top end of the oval is the forge for iron smelting which offsets slightly to the right close by the man's house, with the forge and the man's house representing the head of the anthropomorphic layout of the village. Slightly lower down in the position of the female breasts and the navel are the family residences. Halfway down the oval, on the periphery of the oval on both sides are woman's houses that represent the hands that do the work. About two-thirds down the oval next to one another in the position of genitalia are the stones for extracting oil. On the left representing female genitalia and to the right of it the altar for sacrifices representing male genitalia. At the very bottom of the oval are three further altars representing the feet of the anthropomorphic layout of the village. The forge is always facing due north. The Dogon Village is a clearly chauvinistic perspective of the world where the women's roles were

childbirth and work while the men were leaders and provided sperm.

In prehistoric times, a woman was a symbol of fertility and artists would then draw the image of a woman with exaggerated breasts and hips. Figure 2 shows The “Venus” of Laussel (with exaggerated hips and breasts) that was discovered in 1911 by a Physician, J.G. Lalanne. This was carved into the wall of a limestone rock shelter, named Laussel, in the Dordogne near Lascaux (“Women in Prehistory”, The “Venus” of Laussel by Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe 09 March 2003. <http://www.arthistory.sbc.edu/imageswomen/laussel.html>)



Figure 2: The "Venus" of Laussel

According to Ross *et al.* (1961:35), with reference to a similar statuette, The Venus of Willendorf, a mother goddess was common among the male cult. The concept of fertility was valued because people were worried that animals would be finished, as some game became less. People had the belief that father sun would unite with mother earth and then the land would be fertile; there will be many game and many crops. This religion was not a worship of sex but a worship of fertility on which their survival was dependent. Hence, many statuettes were presented with exaggerated breasts and hips as a symbol of fertility.

In many African societies, the image of the woman has always been that of a fertility symbol. The woman's social roles were that of reproduction and nurturing. The image of a

woman was that of a nurturer and she was responsible for reproduction / fertility. So, the young girls were prepared for these roles at a very early age. According to Meyer (2001:164), the young African girls would wear fertility dolls in the Ivory Coast. In many African societies, a woman who cannot get pregnant has an inferior position in the family and in the society. Meyer (2001:165) says that motherhood in African societies was a way of escaping from an inferior position in society. According to Meyer (2001:167), this maternal image of a woman—pregnant or breastfeeding—was popular among African sculptors as it presented a woman as a fertility symbol and thus glorifying the perpetuation of life as you will see the sculptures in Figures 3,4,5 and 6 below. According to Meyer (2001:163), during the period before 1950 in many African societies the woman was important for fertility as she ensured the continuity of kinship when she became pregnant and gave birth to children. And, when a woman gave birth to children, she was proving that the man (partner) was fertile. Therefore, Meyer (2001:164) states that a woman's status in the society was dependent on the number and quality of her pregnancies. Motherhood would thus elevate the status of a woman in society. This led to couples wishing to give birth to a child immediately after marriage.



Figure 3: Ku'ngan fertility statue, Cameroon, Bamileke. Hardwood with a crusted patina and a plait made of tufts of hair and raffia fibre. H: 82cm. Musee Barbier-Mueller, Geneva (Meyer 2001:166)

Figure 3 shows a fertility statue of a mother who is giving birth to the twins. Her mouth is open as she is crying with pains. One baby's head is already out and she is holding her stomach. According to Meyer (2001:165), the soothsayers of the Kun'gan society, among the Bamileke of Cameroon, would show this statue to a woman who was consulting them for fertility issues. The nature of the statue signifies the maternal deaths and sterility that was common.



Figure 4: Figure of a woman breast-feeding, Poro brotherhood. Ivory Coast. Senufo. Hardwood with black patina. H: 65 cm. Musee Barbier-Muller, Geneva. The figure oozes with oil from past sacrifices.

(Meyer 2001:168)

Figure 4 shows a statue of a woman with a child at each breast. According to Meyer (2001:167), the statue was popular among the Senufo farmers who regarded fertility as important and this statue received many applications of oil during Poro ceremonies.



Figure 5: Mother and child. Zaire. Mbala.
Wood. H: 54-cm. Musee royal de l'Afrique centrale,
Tervuren.
(Meyer 2001:170)

Figure 5 shows a statue of a mother and child images of the matrilineal society of the Mbala in Zaire. According to Meyer (2001:168), this was a symbol of the chief's authority.



Figure 6: Mother and child. Zaire. Yombe.
Wood. H: 42-cm. Musee royal de l'frique
centrale, Tervuren.
(Meyer 2001:171)

Figure 6 shows the mother and child statuette of the Zaire, Kongo and Yombe. Jewellery on the woman indicates that she belongs to a wealthy family. According to Meyer (2001:168), the smile on the woman's face brings the element of humanity and ancestor worship that was common.

Gender and Ancestors

Most African societies believe in ancestors. According to Magubane (1998:28), ancestors are typically the deceased senior males of the agnatic group. But all old people who die, women no less than men, become ancestral spirits and can therefore influence the lives of their descendants. Ancestors communicate with their descendants through dreams, omens and

sometimes through the *izangoma* (traditional spiritual consultants). While a woman can be an ancestor, the femaleness of a woman ancestor is not emphasised. When a married woman dies, she belongs to the ancestors of her husband's family not of her family where she was born. Usually, ancestors are not thought of as females, the concepts¹ that refer to ancestors are gender-free, for example, *amadlozi* (the spirits), *izinyanya* (the spirits), *izithutha* (they function in stereotypically set rules), *abaphansi* (they are in the spiritual world), *abangasekho* (they are no longer with us), *abakithi* (they are of our clan), with the exception of one concept, '*obabamkhulu*', (meaning 'our forefathers') which is male biased though it is not used with an aim of differentiating between female and male ancestors. Again, a person's ancestors are from his/her paternal clan and not maternal side. A child that was born outside marriage has to be sent to his/her father's home for rituals to be done even when the child is staying with his/her mother's family. But, the only female deity whose femaleness is clearly identified in Nguni culture was a female—uNomkhubulwane. UNomkhubulwane was known as The Rain Princess and she was responsible for crop fertility. According to Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1995:131), uNomkhubulwane had her own crop field that was cultivated by all the women in the society. As they ploughed the crop field, they would sing a song that was known as Nomkhubulwane's special song, which was encouraging that woman, should plough and men should return home.

Nomkhubulwane's Special song

"Nang'uMagejana nango! (Here is Magejana here!)

Sibiz'amabele awomame! (We call mother's wheat)

Wo hhaye! Buyani madoda, (Come back men)

Niz'ekhaya! Wo hhaye hhaye!" (Come back home)

Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1995:131

Women would then plant all different crops in Nomkhubulwane's crop field and leave it

¹ The explanations given for the concepts referring to ancestors are not literal explanations. They are explanations that give the notion of each concept as it is understood within the Nguni communities.

there. When the crops grew up no one removed the weeds and no one harvested from that crop field. When there was no rain coming in, the nation would go up the mountain to ask for rain from uNomkhubulwane so that it rains and the crops will grow then it would rain sometimes even before they reach their homes from the mountain.

Traditional Practices

According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998: 23) the results of the research conducted by *National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research (NIPILAR)* in provinces showed that traditional schools still exist where girls and boys are taken for initiation and circumcision. Some families and communities strongly believe that one cannot fully be a woman or a man without having gone through the practice.

Girls' initiation process is focused on entrenching gender stereotypes and gender roles, that women, will forever be inferior to men, and that their purpose in life is to serve the man's needs be it sexually or otherwise. Different tribes have different ways of initiation for their youth. For example, the Basotho girls' initiation takes place at home and is led by women. And in the Northern province, the Venda girls have their traditional schools called Musevhetho, Vhusha, Tshikanda and Domba. There is much secrecy surrounding initiation for girls so that it has been difficult to establish as to whether any genital mutilation takes place in any of the researched communities as compared to other African countries. Even people who have full knowledge of what goes on in the traditional school are reluctant to share their experiences for fear of being bewitched. Unfortunately, these rituals irrespective of their physical harm lead to girls being married at an early age or falling pregnant while at school. Therefore, their health status, access to education and social well-being is affected negatively most of the time.

There is less secrecy surrounding the circumcision of boys at traditional schools. Boys get involved in this practice as early as five years. It usually takes place in the mountains and is run by elderly men during the winter months. There are major problems that are associated with the practice, for example, most often the incision becomes septic and infected, and sometimes lead to death. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998: 25) it is estimated that in the Northern Province about one hundred and fifty of such cases are admitted to hospitals every year. Pressure amongst boys to circumcise is so strong that if uncircumcised they are called names. Some parents in the urban areas take their sons for circumcision at the hospital to avoid being

she reported child abuse to the police and at one stage; she was accused by the mother of the abused child of intervening in the family affairs. A male principal voiced their concerns that marriage was accorded high status in the community. As a result, girls were deprived of education sometimes when they were about to finish school, at grade eleven. For example, parents would take their daughters out of school to do all the chores—fetch water, fire wood, and so on—in the man’s home with the hope that she would gain favour from the man and his family and the man would decide to marry her. The principal described this practice as a painful situation where decisions about the girls’ lives were made and because the parents were involved, the girls found themselves powerless to object to the decisions.

There has been growing attempts by the South African Government through its departments (both national and provincial) and the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) to implement gender equality in South Africa though at times some flaws had been identified. For instance, in 2002 the Department of Education (DoE) issued a publication titled, “Issues on Gender in Schools, an introduction to teachers” to sensitise educators about gender bias in the behaviour of male learners and in the classroom practice of educators with some strategies of developing positive gender images among learners with an aim of reducing the extent of sexual harassment in schools. Furthermore, the South African Government has tightened legislation, the Education Laws Amendment Act No. 53 of 2000, to dismiss all educators who are found guilty of serious misconduct including child sexual abuse of learners, but this piece of legislation has not yet been translated into an achievable Plan of Action (Dickerson, Leanne, ‘I can Hear Him Laughing At Me In My Dreams’ <http://www.panos.org.uk/news/July2001/SouthAfrica.htm>. Again, according to the Human Rights Watch report in (South African Policy, Africa Policy: <http://www.africaaction.org/docs97/sa9708.hrw.htm>) the government of South Africa has tried to improve the response of the criminal justice system to sexual violence against women. However, some flaws have been identified in the medico-legal system. For example, sexually assaulted women have to travel long distances to access medical and legal services and sometimes they are faced with unsympathetic and inefficient treatment from police and medical personnel who are not adequately trained to deal efficiently with such cases.

However, the South African government cannot be held solely responsible for the delays in the full implementation of gender equality in South Africa. In trying to implement

gender equality, government officials and commissioners are sometimes faced with either resistance or minimal cooperation on the part of societies, as the inequalities of gender have become part of the values and belief systems of the South African society. For instance, recently there has been growing debates about what leads to violence against women and girls. In almost all the 'Child Abuse' and 'Sexual harassment' Workshops for educators and principals of schools that I facilitated (2000-2001)—in the KZNDEC, Empangeni Region for the Transformation and Gender Equity Unit (TGE)—there were heated debates by some educators and principals of schools (both females and males) who argued that it is the types of clothes that women and girls wear which seduce men to rape and sexually harass women and girls.

Again, while the government of South Africa has provided women protection against domestic violence through the Domestic Violence Act No. 116, of 1998 most women and girls still suffer in silence as they passively accept gender violence. (Andersson, Neil and Carlsson, Charlotte 1998: http://www.oneworld.org/owe/news/owns/ciet_en.htm)

Furthermore, in trying to protect and promote the rights of young girls, the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC), since 1999, had initiated interventions in the form of research, conferences and seminars to sensitise communities and to open up public debates to challenge the practice of virginity testing with a view of educating the public about human rights and to inform government policy to stop this practice of virginity testing. ("Virginity Testing Conference Report" <http://www.cge.org.za>). The CGE and the HRC's concerns had been that this practice is unconstitutional as it violates the girls' right to privacy, perpetrates gender inequalities which demand sexual purity from females as against sexual freedom for males and also puts the blame of sexual activity to the young girls who—by virtue of the social system—do not have power to decide or negotiate sex with boys or men and have no power to defend themselves when sex-based violence occurs. However, the two commissions had been faced with arguments from communities, mostly women 'testers' as well as mothers of the girls who are regularly tested, who insisted that the practice was necessary and should be continued. It is therefore evident that gender inequalities had been entrenched in the lives of people and most South African citizens thus take the inequalities as natural and normal. There are, however, different views that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our societies.

VIRGINITY TESTING (UKUHLOLWA KWEZINTOMBI)

The mother did 'virginity testing' in a Zulu family to all the daughters who had reached the stage when they had relationships with men. In the Zulu culture, young men and women when they were in love were not allowed to have penetrative sex but they were educated in their community groups that they might do unpenetrative sex (*ukusoma*).

The mother would occasionally do virginity testing so that daughters who had boyfriends would not engage in penetrative sex for fear that they would be found out when the testing is done at home. (Translated and summarised from Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1995:116).

Like many Zulu customs, this practice disappeared with civilization, which brought about social change and there were no longer organized community youth groups where sex education was offered. Then, recently some societies in KwaZulu-Natal had decided to revive this practice, claiming that it will help reduce HIV/AIDS and teenage pregnancy and help testers to detect child sexual abuse. However, its revival has raised concerns and debates by some organizations like the Commission on Gender equality (CGE) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) as well as individuals. Some of the concerns are that:

The practice is no longer a private, family thing between the mother and the daughters, but women who are not related to the girls do it in the community and the virgin girls are given certificates, which give them social respectability (Jackson 2002:127). The media also publicises these events further.

- The reliability of the test is questionable, for instance, in one incident quoted in a conference (12 –14 June 2000 in Richards Bay, KwaZulu-Natal) a girl was tested and certified a virgin by the testers only to deliver a full term baby two months later, which meant that the girl was seven months pregnant at the time of the test which she passed.
- Testers are sometimes young women themselves, and one tester who was not married confirmed in a conference in Richards Bay that she herself had a child and that she had never been tested.
- It reinforces the double standards between female 'purity' and 'sexual freedom' (Jackson 2000:127) though some testers claim that they had started testing the boys, their explanation of the boy's test cannot be scientifically proven.
- The rights of the girl-child are violated as girls as young as six years are tested and though testers say that girls give consent to the test and they are not forced, arguments are that the child under the age of sixteen years cannot give consent in terms of the South African constitution. The testers claim to be reducing the HIV/AIDS and teenage pregnancy which are national problems yet on the other hand they say virginity testing is only done in certain societies and they insist that the test is optional—only done to those members of the community who like the test and consent to it.

STEREOTYPING GENDER

Sex Role Stereotypes

Sex-role stereotypes are the rigidly held and oversimplified beliefs that males and females possess distinct (and similar) psychological traits and characteristics. These beliefs are widely held in society. In some societies, for example, the following stereotypes are thought to pertain to males and females only. Females are thought to be emotional, not aggressive, and not good at making decisions, dependent, gentle and tactful. Males are thought to be unemotional, aggressive, and good at making decisions, independent, rough and blunt.

Stereotypes can reflect the generally observable characteristics of a particular sex group. However, stereotypes tend to generalize and therefore, they are unfair to those people who do not possess those stereotypical traits or characteristics. They therefore do not show real behaviour differences.

Sex-role stereotypes can have both positive and negative effects on females and males in society. If the stereotype describing a sex group is negative, it could have negative effects on some members of that group and vice versa. According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:15), the two main effects of sex-role stereotypes on individuals are conformity and self-image. Many people tend to conform to the stereotype in two main ways, that is, impression management and self-fulfilling prophecy. Men and women may start behaving in the way stereotypes portray their respective sex in order to be accepted by the society. Girls may tend to conform to the negative stereotypes; for example, they may be shy, quiet and submissive. According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:15) studies done in the United States showed that some girls deliberately performed less well than their boy friends in the “hard”, or “masculine”, subjects so as not to embarrass them. Boys, on the other hand, will behave in the opposite way, by trying to be good at ‘hard subjects’, because society expects them to be good. They may also try to be aggressive and assertive just to impress others that they are “real men.” People who conform to stereotypes through impression management do not necessarily believe in the stereotype. They merely conform to the stereotype in order to impress the other members of the society.

According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:16) the effect of sex-role stereotypes is much more deeply rooted when people conform through what is known as “self-fulfilling prophecy”. In this type of conformity, people tend to believe in the stereotype. They regard the stereotype

as the best way to behave as females or males. For example, if they are male, and they are believed to be good at Science, they will psychologically set themselves a positive goal to achieve highly in Science in order to fulfill the stereotype. They will work hard and even overwork themselves in order to achieve good results in this subject. On the other hand, if females are viewed as 'not good at Science they may unconsciously set a negative goal for them to fulfill the stereotype and not achieve good results at Science. And through conformity, there might be many women and men behaving in stereotyped ways.

Sex-role stereotypes can also affect a person's self-image. According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:160) research findings based on American society indicated that, generally, female tend to have a somewhat more negative self-image than do males and this is due to the fact that sex-role stereotypes contain many more negative characteristics of females than males. According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:16), research findings showed that in early adolescence, levels of self-esteem by females and males are almost the same. However, by the time they reach late adolescence, self-esteem appears to be correlated with sex-typed role performance for both sexes. Females tend to think of themselves as less important than men and they have significantly lower self-esteem than males.

At a societal level, sex-role stereotypes can have negative or positive effects when used as standards by which to evaluate others. For example, stereotypes attributed to women have generally led to prejudice and discrimination against women particularly in the world of employment. The main way in which sex-stereotypes are transmitted from one generation to another is through the socialization process.

According to Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988:576) gender stereotypes are beliefs about the typical personal attributes of males and females. For example, according to the traditional gender stereotypes, women are believed to be nurturing and gentle whereas men are believed to be independent, assertive and competent. Gender stereotypes can be cultural where a society has some beliefs about typical personal attributes of males and females or they can be personal where an individual has some beliefs about typical personal attributes of males and females. Personal gender stereotypes can be the same as / or different from cultural stereotypes.

Maleness is often associated with attributes such as superior, above, thinking, active, powerful, positive, successful, ruler and independent. Femaleness is often associated with attributes such as inferior, below, passive, powerless, life giver, negative, not successful,

compliance and dependent. For example, the Sun God above is the source, supplier of energy and the earth below is the experiencer of the energy supplied by the sun and is the source of agricultural produce, and it is often associated with fertility, hence, Mother Earth.

Research has found that gender typed stereotypical images surround us from television, media adverts, religion, literature, arts and so on and that these portrayed stereotypes have an effect on people's lives. According to Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988: 447) we may form schemas of certain types of males (businessmen, fathers) and certain types of females (beauty queens, mothers). Then when we meet a person / hear about a person, we draw from the schema and we react to him / her based on the stereotype especially when we have less information about the person.

The danger with stereotypes is that they oversimplify and are sometimes wrong leading to self-fulfilling prophecy. According to Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988: 450-451) the problem is that people believe the stereotypes and they hardly examine stereotypes. If people meet a person who does not fit the stereotype, they often say that he/she is the exception instead of changing the stereotype. For example, within the Zulus success and wisdom is attributed to males. When a woman is successful or displays wisdom or intelligence people will not acknowledge that women can also possess those attributes. Instead, she will be commended with the 'metaphor' *uyindoda* meaning you are a man and the implication is that she is an exceptional woman who is like a man.

Another problem with stereotypes that Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988: 450-451) identified is that they exaggerate differences between groups and minimise differences within groups. For example, Morrell (2001: 3-4) argues that grouping South African men under one masculinity is a stereotype in itself as it ignores the diversity of South African men. Furthermore, this might also magnify the differences that exist between men and women whereas there are similarities between men and women as well.

The 'Mother' Concept Stereotype

According to Lakoff (1987:5-6), every time we see something we categorize it. Categorization is part of our thinking, perception, speaking and action as we try to make meaning of the knowledge in the world that surrounds us. We use categories all the time and without this ability to categorize we could not function at all so, categorization help us to

function. According to Lakoff (1987:6), most categorization is automatic and unconscious. For instance, when we define something we define it in relation to a category. Lakoff (1987:80) mentions at least two concepts of mother—the mother as a birth giver and the mother as a nurturer. And, when we speak of mothers, we understand them in relation to these stereotypical models of the category. According to Lakoff (1987:80), our mental model of mother is the mother who gives birth to children and stays home all day to nurture them—a homemaker mother. All concepts of mother will then be defined in relation to these two stereotypical models of birth and nurturance. For example, Lakoff (1987:80-82) states that a biological mother is not responsible for nurturance whereas an adoptive mother is defined in relation to nurturance. A working mother is defined in relation to nurturance and in contrast to the homemaker mother who is responsible for nurturance. In the Nguni culture, particularly the Zulu culture, the concept of mother is understood in relation to the nurturance model and not the birth model. A married woman, who has given birth to children, is a mother to every child of the nation and all children will therefore call that woman, *umama* (mother). The difference will be the responsibilities that each woman will carry for that particular child. If the woman is closely related to the child then she will carry more responsibilities towards that child. For example, the concept of stepmother does not exist in the Zulu culture and in the Zulu language because what the English language calls ‘stepmother’, in Zulu culture those are the ‘real’ mothers of the child. They carry full responsibility towards the child in the absence or presence of the biological mother. The sisters to the child’s mother are also the ‘real’ mothers of that child who also carry full responsibility towards the child. If the father of the child has brothers and they are married, those wives are also mothers to that child. So, the concept of ‘aunt’ *ubabekazi*, in the isiZulu language refers to a sister to the child’s father only.

In a study that was conducted in relation to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, in Scottsburg district in KwaZulu-Natal, Bennideen (2001:125-126) discovered that both male and female adolescents, across racial groups said that they would trust their mothers and not their fathers when they encounter a personal health crisis. This also signifies the mother as a nurturance model.

The Paradox of Gender

According to Rosenor (1995:13), when attributes or behaviours associated with women are considered negative or of little value, gender is seen as relevant. When attributes or behaviours associated with women are considered positive or valuable, gender is seen as irrelevant. Previously, in the corporate world the command-and-control management style was dominating in most organizations. And because females possessed behaviours like power sharing and consensus building, they were considered as weak and thus unfit for leadership roles. In this case, gender was an explanation, that is, women could not be good leaders because they possessed these leadership traits. Later on, the effectiveness of the command-and-control management style was questionable and the interactive/participative leadership style was viewed positively in the executive suite. As the interactive leadership style made way into the corporate world, the same behaviours (that is, power sharing, consensus building, living with ambiguity) began to be viewed in a more positive light, but they were no longer considered female. When these qualities were viewed negatively, they were presented as “female” and thus unreliable and weak. But when they are associated with interactive leadership style, which is considered effective in organizations, the same qualities are often presented as gender-neutral. According to Rosenor (1995:13), the irony about the paradox of gender is that in some organizations men are being developed to be interactive leaders while women are still hitting the glass ceiling because they are interactive leaders. Rosenor (1995:12) further argues that the paradox of gender is one other factor at work that causes women to hit the ceiling when moving up the corporate ladder.

The One-best-Model and the Difference as Deficiency

When the issue of gender equality is raised in the workplace, the typical male response is that women want to be acknowledged that they are different from men yet they want to be treated the same as men. Rosenor (1995:33) argues against this typical male reaction by saying that women do not want to be devalued or seen as less competent because they are different from men. Rosenor further argues that it is difficult for men to understand this dilemma because of the two mental models (that is, One-best-model and Difference-as-Deficiency) that have been deeply rooted in the workplace culture as well as in societies. In male-dominated societies, maleness is seen as the norm, and men who control power use themselves as the

frame of reference. Anything that differs from this is defined as abnormal or different.

The dictionary meaning of the word “different” is “the condition of not being the same in quality.” According to Rosenor (1995:33) the word “difference” then inherently suggests a measurement based on some standard” and if the standard is considered to be the “best”, then those who differ from it are considered to be the “worse”. So, the state of being different is viewed negatively. In the workplace and in societies the male figure has been viewed as a standard against which the female figure is measured. And since the female is different from the “best model-male”, it follows that it is difficult to view the different female figure positively. Because of this, woman’s issues are often considered trivial and unimportant.

Because of these two mental models, many professional women are being devalued both at a personal and organizational or institutional levels. The two mental models manifest themselves in many subtle attitudes and behaviours that constantly erode women’s self-esteem in the workplace in particular. The attitude of male as a norm can manifest itself when people talk about a “female lawyer” “female doctor” or a “female pastor”. Such phrases imply that it is not expected of a female to be a doctor, a pastor, or a lawyer. People don’t speak of their “male doctor” or the “male pastor” which means that these professional are expected to be males because the mental models for the professions are male, and when this is not so, a special description seems to be necessary.

Women professionals are devalued even when they are praised for their competences. According to Rosenor (1995:35), even praise for a woman’s competence may make her feel like an anomaly, because it is often expressed in a tone of surprise. The praise is accompanied by undertones of “we never expected this from you.” And often there is no reason why the competence was not expected from that woman except that it is just that she is a female.

According to Rosenor (1995:35), it is not only through words that women are devalued. Women are judged according to their physical appearance rather than their intellectual ability. Professional women have to face a daily problem of “what to wear” as they have to consider the sexual aspects of their clothing which men do not. Each item of clothing that a woman wears makes people give a particular type of judgment. For example, a woman will be judged as “unprofessional” by just wearing a short skirt, or “tempting” by wearing a V-necked blouse, or “too masculine” when wearing a tailored suit, and so on. And daily a woman has to walk a fine line between looking feminine and looking professional.

Affirmative Action and Tokenism

As stated in the previous section, women are not only devalued at a personal level but also at an organizational level. According to Rosenor (1995:42) if a woman competes with a man for a job or promotion and wins, her victory is attributed to special treatment or affirmative action mandates, not to her ability. If a man wins, he is assumed more competent than those with whom he competed. Affirmative Action Policy is here viewed as a policy that is meant to affirm incompetent women and not as the policy that is aimed at accelerating the promotion of competent women. The rate of promotion of women into senior positions is very slow. And Rosenor (1995:53) gives an example that the percentage of women partners in large law firms in America remained far below the percentage of male partners even when education and experience were held constant.

In Rosenor (1995:38), it is claimed that Sharon Timmer discovered that even when women do get positions at the top, they are often victims of “tokenism”. The “token women” have to shoulder the burdens that men don’t have to carry. They are visible and easily scrutinized. When a man employed fails in his job, another man would be employed. But when an employed woman fails in her job, it is often decided that women can’t do the job. This devaluation of women in the workplace is manifested in many other subtle ways. For example, according to Rosenor (1995:34) having a family is a plus for male executives and a minus for females, and many other ways.

Gender Equality and Employment

In Murray (1994: 65), it is claimed that Catherine O’Regan of the University of Cape Town had stated that in South Africa almost over a third of all employees in formal employment are women. But this figure does not include women whose work fall outside the area of formal employment like women who work in the homes of other people (domestic workers) and in subsistence agriculture. Most of the women employees are found in low-status, poorly-remunerated work and it is doubtful if the new equity policies will be effective enough to bring about equity as the reasons for this inequity are complex.

There’s a range of factors that cause gender inequity in the corporate world. Some employers (who are mostly male) discriminate against women. The new equity policies can help up to a certain extent to curb the discrimination that results from employer behaviour. But

other complex social factors might not be covered by legislation. The unequal sexual division of labour in relation to housework and child-care makes women to be heavily burdened with household responsibilities that prevent them from full involvement at the workplace. In many senses, the formal employment sector is designed around a male worker, who need not concern himself with domestic work. Ordinary hours of work leave little time for domestic duties or child-care responsibilities. Most women in the formal work force therefore perform both labour in the formal employment sector and in the home and this makes it more difficult for them to operate equally with men in the formal employment sector.

Again, the unequal power relations between men and women in society, and in the home in particular, contribute a lot to inequities that exist in the employment sector. In most communities it is the husband who decides for the woman whether to work or not, and what type of work to do and where to work. And men will therefore not easily allow their wives to do the types of jobs that will make the woman to be away from home for long hours. These unequal power relations between men and women go along with the status that men have in society. Since the man has more power, he thus has more status in the society. And the advancement of women in employment indirectly threatens the status of the men (husband) in the society. So, the woman is most often caught between the two choices: either to advance in her career and sacrifices her marriage or to sacrifice her career advancement and be a good wife to her husband. More research is needed in this area because women who are in positions of power and authority at work experience marriage disintegration and the blame is often shifted to the woman and her job or status in her job.

South African Women in Politics

In Boezak (1999: 13), it is claimed that the Commission on Gender Equality has stated in a report of the United Nations to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 that "Nowhere, is the gap between *de jure* and *de facto* equality among men and women greater than in the area of decision-making." According to Boezak (1999: 13), no country in the world today has yet achieved an equal representation of men and women in the corridors of power. The *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* calls on Governments to take measures to ensure women's equal access to, and full participation in, power structures and decision-making by creating a gender balance in government and administration; integrating women into

political parties, increasing women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership and increasing women's participation in the electoral process and political activities. However, the South African government is progressive in promoting participation of women in decision-making processes in the country. Not only did it place women in parliament, the South African government established a day care center within its premises immediately after the 1994 elections so that women in parliament would function without having to worry about the safety of their children.

In the South African Constitution, Act No. 108 of 1996, gender equality is of fundamental value and Section 9(2) provides for measures that may be taken to promote the achievement of equality for people disadvantaged by unfair discrimination and that includes women. According to Boezak (1999: 15) under the terms of the interim constitution the South African 1994 elections were held on the basis of a proportional representation system in which seats were allocated to parties according to their percentage of the vote. Since, the African National Congress (ANC) instituted the 30% quota for women, 27% of the total National Assembly seats were held by women. According to Boezak (1999: 17), the South African's 16% women in Cabinet compared favourably with the global figure of 5.7% and regional average of 11,9%. This figure has been remarkably increased by the second democratic elections in 1999.

However, placing women in parliament is only the first step towards bringing about gender equality in the sphere of decision-making. Since parliament is so patriarchal and power is obvious, there is a danger that women parliamentarians can be swallowed by its culture, its ethos values and priorities. As it is claimed in Boezak (1999: 20) that Thenjiwe Mtinso (The 1999 Secretary General of the ANC) stated, "access only delivers numbers. Women who enter the sphere of parliament should also be gender activists and have an understanding of the workings of patriarchy, overt and covert, if they are to make an impact. If they do not commit themselves to gender transformation in all its diversity, they are likely to be either marginalized, or focus only on practical gender interests or even be absorbed into the patriarchal agenda." But it is not only women's responsibility to change gender relations in parliament but men policy makers also have a responsibility. Therefore, working on transformation towards gender equality calls for a coherent and integrated approach.

According to Boezak (1999: 38), parliament is as patriarchal as many institutions in

society. Patriarchy as a system, an ideology and practice impacts in different ways on the lives of women parliamentarians. In Boezak (1999: 21), it is claimed that in a research carried out by Hanna Britton of Syracuse University (1997), women from all parties in South Africa stated that men in parliament are outwardly supportive of women, however, most women believed that men are not genuine in their approval and most men are not proactive in their support. According to Boezak (1999: 21), both men and women in parliament have shared some difficulties since 1994, but Britton's research report revealed that from the interviews conducted there were some striking differences between men and women. Men felt that they have a voice in government and an influence on its direction and they hardly mentioned their personal lives as challenges or obstacles to their participation.

Gender roles as defined by families and societies do not suddenly change for women as they enter Parliament. Families and societies continue to expect women parliamentarians to perform socially defined women's roles. Then it is totally up to the women parliamentarians to try to balance these with their parliamentary responsibilities. In Boezak (1999: 39) it is claimed that the research report revealed that most women who were members of Parliament found political fulfillment at the expense of personal fulfillment." The relatives, especially the in-laws found it difficult to accept, let alone support, a woman who goes to parliament and leaves her family. The report showed that most women were expected to make a choice between Parliament and family responsibilities as if these were mutually exclusive. The research report also showed that there were complaints from women Members of Parliament that their marriages and friendships were breaking up because of commitment to Parliamentary responsibilities.

Pay Equity

According to McCann (1994:3), pay equity refer to the general goal of raising wages for jobs traditionally underpaid and undervalued primarily because of the preponderance of workers who are women. The long-standing discrimination by employers has produced a segregated occupational system in which jobs dominated by white males consistently pay higher wages than jobs of similar complexity held by women. The new anti discrimination statutes cover only wage disparities among occupants of the same jobs.

According to McCann (1994:9), her analysis of the struggle over pay equity emphasises

the ways in which legally defined wage-setting practices have contributed to the maintenance of gender and class hierarchies in modern American society. The most important manifestation of these hierarchical traditions is in institutionalised patterns of job segregation. According to McCann (1994:26) the labour markets are divided into two general occupational and job groupings: a primary segment, which typically includes a complex array of internal ladders allowing performance-based upward job mobility and steady wage increases. The second segment is a secondary segment, in which limited mobility options, low job training, and poor working conditions characterize jobs. And dominant cultural norms, expectations, and organizational relations combine to “channel” women into entry-level jobs primarily in the latter secondary labour markets. In these secondary labour markets work is devalued, and positions tend to offer few opportunities for advancement, provide little return for increased investment (educational) in human capital, stay crowded with competitors, pressure during periodic labour shortages. This high incidence of job segregation accounts in large part for widespread wage discrimination against women. According to Triemann and Hartmann (1981:28) the empirical relationship between job segregation and low wages for women is undeniable, and the influential 1981 National Academy of Sciences study concluded that not only do women do different work than men, but also the work that women do is paid less. The more an occupation is dominated by women the less that occupation pays and these disparities have little to do with educational differences.

According to McCann (1994:28), the primary tool used to document such disparities is a job evaluation study. Job evaluation is a technique for assessing the relative “worth” of work in terms of: the skill, training, experience, and responsibility required of workers; the forms of personal contact; and general work conditions. But there are many arguments around job evaluation schemes that are used. According to McCann (1994:31), job evaluation techniques and statistical calculations are almost never translated automatically into remedial wage scales. Most job evaluation schemes are arbitrary and they overvalue actual work performance. As a result, these schemes actually contribute to what McCann (1994:32) calls “a merit-blind system of inequality” that which is biased against women the majority of whom are in the lowest categories of wage earners. Job evaluation schemes overlook the primary factors that account for differences in pay between male and female-intensive occupations. For instance, they overlook the market forces of supply and demand. Many male occupations are paid better than

women's jobs because workers for the former are in short supply while workers for the latter are in great abundance. So, equal treatment is a demand for "sameness" in the evaluation of job skills.

The problem of job segregation therefore highlights the limitations of anti-discrimination policies. Although these policies have reduced wage discrimination between men and women performing the same jobs, they do not deal with the problem of wage discrimination among different jobs in which men and women are unequally concentrated. According to McCann (1994:27), equity proponents point out that affirmative action policies seeking to integrate women into traditionally male jobs are inadequate to do the task. Because of large gender disparities in the job market the scale of required job crossovers would be enormous and would take centuries to complete. At the same time, men are unlikely to move into traditionally female jobs unless wages in those jobs are raised. Again, affirmative action neither benefits women already in the workforce nor removes the substantial costs and obstacles still faced by women competing in male-dominated workplaces. Besides financial hardships, according to McCann (1994:96) there are also social deprivations and indignities of boring routines, unrecognised skills, unhealthy work conditions, low status, short mobility ladders and arbitrary treatment to which many women workers are often subjected. The typically poor working conditions suffered by clericals, nurses, social workers, retail salespersons, service workers, and other such women workers have stemmed in large part from the archaic forms of social control regulating such segregated jobs and affirmative action policies hardly address that.

Sexual Static and Sexual Harassment.

In Rosenor (1995:65), it is claimed that Carol Tavries suggests that if the workplace performance standards were female, men would be seen as different and therefore deficient. Tavries does not mean that women in the workplace should replace men but she emphasises that the differences between sexes should be analysed nonperjoratively and that standards should be based on competence and not gender. Now gender is a barrier to the full utilization of women and according to Rosenor (1995:66) sexual static accounts for this.

Sexual static can be ascribed to gender differences that rise to a subtle phenomenon that is not considered in discussions of women in the workplace. Though men at the top may not

like to admit, they feel confused or uncomfortable to work with women beside them. On the other hand, women may also not like to admit that they are the cause of male discomfort in the workplace.

According to Rosenor (1995:65), this static is “like a snow on the television set or noise on the radio that interferes with messages being communicated”. In the workplace, messages communicated between men and women are difficult to understand because of sexual static in the air.

Rosenor (1995:68) categorises the sources of sexual static into three: role confusion, garbled communication and culture clash. As women enter the corporate world, there is much confusion about the changing roles of men and women at work. Most of us grew up with specific expectations about how we are supposed to behave as girls and boys as well as women and men. These expectations are reinforced by everyday experience and in most societies, girls learn that their role in life is to provide service and support, and boys learn that their role in life is to command and control. When girls and boys become adults and enter the workforce, they experience sex role “spill over”. The sex role expectations of childhood spill over into work environment, where men are expected to control and women are expected to provide service and support. According to Rosenor (1995:71), the word-association exercise that she did with men and women at work revealed that when men interact with women at work, they view them initially in a sexual rather than a work context. And when men see women in terms of their sexuality or as they see their wives or mothers and sisters then they are forced to change gears when they encounter women as peers, competitors or leaders. And it is this sense of having to change gears that is a major source of sexual static for men. Again, culture clash may generate sexual static because it challenges male values and behaviours. Women do not want male values to be replaced but to be expanded so that they are inclusive of the female values.

According to Murray (1994:119), as affirmative action programmes encourage more women into occupations that were traditionally male-dominated, the problem of sexual harassment to females in the workplace increases. The increase in the frequency of sexual harassment can be attributed to the fact that male supervisors and colleagues would fight back for their male values with the last weapon available to them, that of sexual coercion. In Murray (1994:109), Managay Reddi of the University of Durban Westville broadly defines sexual harassment as referring to the imposition of unwanted and repeated sexual requirements in the

work environment. It occurs in the context of relationships of unequal power, most often, it undermines a person's work performance, and it threatens that person's work security and livelihood. Sexual harassment can be physical or psychological. The physical forms can be verbal innuendos, inappropriate gestures, pinching, kissing, grabbing, hugging, patting, leering, touching, brushing against or rape. Psychological forms can be relentless proposals of physical intimacy or subtle hints that may culminate into covert or later overt requests for dates and sexual favours. The consequence of sexual harassment is that the submission to or the rejection of the conduct by the individual forms the basis for employment decisions and conditions affecting that particular individual. The submission to or rejection of it may lead to the individual gaining or losing such opportunities as employment, promotion or salary raise. According to Murray (1994:119), sexual harassment is not an expression of sexual desire, but from a feminist point of view, it is a demonstration by men of power politics. Men use it to remind women that a female's fundamental role status in society is that of a sex object and that women hold their positions in the workplace on male sufferance. So, as affirmative action programmes start to function, the law should also be tailored to fit specifically this unique form of discrimination: sexual harassment. Women also should be empowered to be able to recognize and deal with this form of discrimination.

GENDER AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEGAL SYSTEM

In South Africa, gender equality has at last received formal legal recognition. This has been fully realized by the fundamental right to equality enshrined in our Constitution, Act No. 108 of 1996. South Africa has also voiced its commitment to gender equality through becoming a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in October 1995. Gender Equality has also been formally achieved through the promulgated Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination, Act No. 4 of 2000, The Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 and many others. However, the formal legal recognition of gender equality will not automatically achieve equality in practice. The drafting, application and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of decision makers (mainly males currently and sometimes females) who have their own individualistic stereotypes about women and men. In spite of the good legislation that South Africa has enacted in statute books, gender bias still exists in the justice system when decisions made or actions taken are based on

pre-conceived or stereotypical notions about the nature, role or capacity of men and women as well as the myths and misconceptions about the economic and social realities of men's and women's lives.

In Murray (1994: 185), it is claimed that Michelle O'Sullivan has identified stereotyping and male identification as the two areas, amongst others, where women seem to be disadvantaged in the administration of justice. In Murray (1994: 188) it is also claimed that Norma Wikler argues that whilst there are many other stereotypes, in most judicial decision-making, women are limited to three stereotypes: "Mary", the chaste, domestic and unsuited to positions of authority, "Eve", the eternal temptress and "Superwoman", who can hold down a job or two, raise children, clean her house, and never need respite or help from the children, their father or society. The "Mary" stereotype woman is the schizoid male image of women that denotes females as morally superior yet intellectually inferior. A woman who may be stereotyped as "Mary" may be perceived to possess the characteristics of a wife or mother. According to Murray (1994: 188) because a homemaker is often perceived as an appropriate role for a woman, in a divorce case the typecasting of a woman in this role may contribute to a financially beneficial judgement for the woman concerned. According to Murray (1994: 190) certain excerpts from some of the judgements on divorce cases surveyed indicate that certain judges remain particularly attached to the concept of a woman who symbolises "Mary" whose only appropriate goal is motherhood.

While those women who remain within their traditional stereotypes of good wives and mothers are treated with protective paternalism and they receive generous divorce settlements, women who venture outside those boundaries by asserting themselves apart from their husbands, for instance, as career women, are disadvantaged and punished by lack of recognition of status or financial hardship. According to Murray (1994: 195) in the divorce cases involving professionals surveyed, the judges considered the masculine traits of ambition and self-sufficiency inappropriate in a wife and damaging to a marriage. So the perception that women cannot simultaneously conduct successful careers and maintain the role of a good wife contribute towards judges attributing the blame for the breakdown of the marriage to the wives who have made significant career gains while married.

Another subtle form of gender bias that still exists in the justice system is male identification. Male identification is about shared perspectives and it plays a role in the unfair

administration of justice. According to Murray (1994: 197), in the cases surveyed male identification is revealed as the tendency of male judges to see things the way a litigant would to the exclusion of other perspectives particularly those of women. Murray (1994: 197) gives an example of another case that was heard in Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court where a police officer, Anton Weitz, was charged with eight counts of indecent assault, seven of which involved police officers. Anton Weitz was found guilty on four and the magistrate, Campbell, said that he believed that the sexually assaulted police officers had over-reacted, and in a jocular manner he added, "We men must learn to keep our hands to ourselves." In this case the magistrate identified closely with the accused when he used "we men" to describe all men. The magistrate's comment that the police officers over reacted further reinforced the lack of seriousness and light-hearted approach to offences of this nature. This is one example but in many cases, male identification trivializes the offences and negates any chance of treating sexual offences with any degree of seriousness.

In Murray (1994: 202), Susan Estrich argues that in rape cases the legal system has focused more on determining a woman's fault than a man's and rape prosecutions served to stigmatise all but a few women as liars and whores and as vindictive and spiteful, and as villains rather than victims. Susan further argues that the legal system has been criticised for this, the criticisms were largely true, and they still are. Admission of sexual history in rape trials is one other way of letting in subtleties that stigmatise women in courtrooms. According to Murray (1994: 218), the same issue of irrelevant sexual history evidence has been brought to consciousness in the legal system but there is still grave uncertainty in the law about what should be allowed under the head of sexual history evidence. There is still no settled idea of how it should be regulated.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY THROUGH SOCIALIZATION

Gender Identity

According to Gordon (2000:5) gender identity refers to subjective feelings of maleness or femaleness (i.e. femininity or masculinity), irrespective of one's sex and it is learnt over time. And, according to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:2), many researchers believe that forming a gender identity is a lifelong process. Gordon and Kalha (2000:5) further state that it is

possible to be genetically of one sex with a gender identity of another sex. For example, transsexuals identify themselves with the gender of the opposite sex. This implies that one's gender may not necessarily be synonymous with that of one's sex.

But the society, through the socialization process (which includes dominant perceptions codified in the language used, different toys and clothes used for boys and girls, etc.), entrenches the feelings of maleness in boys and femaleness in girls and societies have their own subtle and obvious ways of disciplining any individual who deviates from the societal rule. For example, a girl who likes to play with cars instead of dolls is termed a "tomboy." And this term is not only said to indicate to the girl that she is different, but often it is accompanied by the undertones that send a message to the girl that she is different and that difference is ugly and not acceptable. To the boys the feelings of maleness are entrenched more harshly and firmly. For example, a girl who likes boys' clothes can be acceptable by society as a 'tomboy' but a boy in girls' dresses is no laughing matter.

Children become members of the society through the socialization process. According to Gordon and Kalha (2000:17) the socialization process has what are known as socialization agents, e.g. parents, teachers, peers, community members, and socialization forces e.g. school, media, language, play, art and music, religion, and other phenomena and paraphernalia.

According to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:2) attitudes about men's and women's roles in public life, family and childbearing issues, concepts about race and class, notions of sexuality, and other factors all contribute to ideas about gender differences. In short, what it means to be male or female is determined by particular standards in culture, which in turn shape the choices we make. Rather than being born with an understanding of the meaning of masculinity or femininity, we learn these standards over time. For example, boys are socialized to be able to focus their sexual interests around sexual acts isolated from the context of a relationship and to see persons who are younger than themselves as their appropriate sexual partners, while girls are socialized to see older persons as their appropriate sexual partners. Images of the way society interpret gender surround us. The child is usually associated with the smaller circles of family, home and neighbourhood, yet these are being influenced or manipulated by outside processes. So, whilst the child is embedded in her/his environment, every aspect of human life is moulding her/his gender identity. From the definitions of the 'real man' or the 'ideal woman' to standards of beauty in advertising, to the 'proper' roles of husband and wife, gender images

represent the cultures' ideals. Whether or not one aspires to these ideals, they nonetheless influence the roles one will choose, the identity one develops and the anxieties one must face.

ENGENDERING IDENTITY THROUGH POPULAR CULTURE

Very powerful messages about gender identity are conveyed through popular culture. These images translate into specific behaviours and pressures for both sexes. For example, the cultural phenomena, fairy tales and sports, have formative influences in the socialization of masculinity and femininity.

In Briggs and Copley (1998:296), it is claimed that Cantor (1978) states that many research projects on women in the media, especially those carried out in the social sciences, claim that their images are not very realistic or not representative of women's position in our highly differentiated and complex society. Real women are much different and more diverse than their representations in the media seem to suggest. Black, older, disabled, lesbian, fat, poor or Third World women are almost nonexistent in the popular culture. The types of women that appear in the media are the models every girl-child would dream to be like. According to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:385), another area of gender representation is the "body beautiful" industry for women. Incessant information about diets, cosmetics, body-structuring exercises, make-up, even surgery make up a foundation of a booming advice industry...creating a near-obsessive focus on achieving the "Perfect female body". And the abundance of men, on the other hand, that flood the front pages of newspapers or the screens of sports channels are the types of men every boy-child would dream to be like.

In Briggs and Copley (1998:296) it is claimed that Coward (1982) argues that "representation is not the only issue, many feminist studies of images of women, especially those from the humanities, have examined how images of women are used to convey meaning to gender and other values. Although these studies differ widely from each other, one inescapable conclusion of this work is that women are usually related to (hetero) sexuality, nature and tradition." In Briggs and Copley (1998:296), it is also claimed that Kartz (1995) states that femininity is also more closely related to whiteness, whereas masculinity tends to understate differences in colour. White and African men alike are connected to masculinity. This is apparent in the male sports subculture, where men value size and strength across racial and even class boundaries. According to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:384), Goffman's study

shows how femininity is depicted in adverts using women's gestures, body postures, expressions and their physical placement in relation to men. Women in photographs are shown posed to convey messages of powerlessness, subordination, dreaminess, and especially childishness, displaying all of the physical gestures and postures that are usually associated with children. Older women are shown with babyish pouts, the head wistfully cocked to the side or tucked down, eyes looking up in a "seduction-gamin" style, displaying clownish gestures and facial expressions of mischief or childish glee. In that way, they are just appearing as objects for display to the viewer. And through these positions, they are displayed as weak and dependent.

In contrast, in Briggs and Cobley (1998:297) it is claimed that Kartz states that many advertisers use images of physically rugged or muscular male bodies to masculinize products and services geared to elite male consumers. The powerful male body is at one time a metaphor for the financial security offered by an insurance firm, at others for powerful cars. Kartz (1995:140) further stresses that; males perpetrate violence like that on screen in real life overwhelmingly. Males constitute the majority of the audience for violence films, as well as violent sports such as football and hockey. What is being sold is not just "violence" but rather a glamorised form of violent masculinity.

GENDER IDENTITY AND FAIRY TALES

Folklores and fairy tales were meant to inculcate societal values at a very early stage in the development of a child. And each nation/society has its own folklores and fairy tales that are passed from generation to generation through the powerful word of mouth or in print. The powerful lessons that we receive, even as children, through these folklores and fairy tales remain with us into adulthood, shaping our behaviours, our images of self, our perception of our place in the world. Folklores across cultures teach lessons about values and skills. To the boys, folklores teach mostly about the skills of intelligence, courage and strength to overcome life's trials. To the girls, folklores teach mostly about 'endurance', particularly in marriage or home environment that leads to success. According to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:245), male and female researchers question the social values that fairy tales convey, particularly their representation of gender differences and the pervasive, cultural messages they send about the development and social place of girls and women. Not only the social position of girls and

women is portrayed, but also the social position of boys and men is conveyed through folklores and fairy tales. Images of helplessness and power that reinforce unequal patterns in society are conveyed.

Folklores have heroines as characters that little girls can identify with. In Schaun and Flanagan (1992:251), it is claimed that in 'The Blue Fairy Book' the heroines are portrayed as passive, submissive and helpless. They seldom demonstrate initiative or action, but rather wait passively to be saved, whether by a prince's kiss or a hero's brave exploits. For example, in the 'Sleeping Beauty' only the Prince's kiss removed the wicked fairy's spell. Cinderella does not do anything about her suffering. She endures suffering and only her cries arouse the godmother. The message conveyed to the little girls is that they should endure suffering. But to the males, the message is that women in distress are interesting. Some heroines show a kind of strength in their ability to endure, but they do not actively seek to change their situations. Again, these stories infer that beauty leads to success. This is also the image that is reinforced by the magazine adverts' collocation of the stars with products that have nothing to do with the success of the model. In Schaun and Flanagan (1992: 245), it is claimed that Marcia Lieberman states that in these fairies the importance of being beautiful is a pervasive premise for girls conveying the message that "being the fairest of them all" is essential to women's success. The girl character in fairies only depends on her beauty for success. She waits passively to be chosen and being chosen is her ultimate reward. In "The Sleeping Beauty", the prince was tempted to kiss the girl because of her beauty that suggest that the power of a girl to attract a man is in her beauty. To the masculine imagination this creates a notion that women are there waiting to be chosen by a man. Rather than winning the prize, more often than not the girl is herself a "prize" or "object" to be won.

And young men in fairies often win the prize if they are active, bold, and lucky. And because most often the girl is his prize, she belongs to him like any other object that belongs to him. Whatever that the woman does: the way she dresses, how she carries herself, she's doing it to gain a man's favour. It can thus be argued that this can be the origin of some of the myths and misconceptions around rape and child abuse. One current myth going around in some communities being that a girl wearing a mini-skirt is asking for rape. In Schaun and Flanagan (1992: 245), Marcia explicates that beauty in fairy tales is portrayed as having a commercial advantage even in stories where marriage is a punishment like in 'Bluebird', and where the

suitor is ugly, and where a beast like in "The Beauty and The Beast" woo the girl.

The beautiful, single daughter is often noted for her docility, gentleness and good temper. In some stories, like 'Pocahontas', the beautiful daughter is described as clever and beautiful or pretty and intelligent though the cleverness or intelligence is not evidenced thereof in the story. In another version of Cinderella, the stepmother tells her daughter to cut her foot (mutilate herself) so that it fits into the shoe. The daughter has to endure the pain. In Schaun and Flanagan (1992: 260), it is claimed that Marcia explains that the girls learn from their mothers at a very early age that they had to endure suffering in order to be beautiful. For example; piercing of ears so that girls can wear ear rings: China girls endure the pain throughout the night when their feet are tied tightly in order to create a lotus foot (small feet); African girls endure the pain of a hot iron when their hair are straightened and so on. In fairy tales there are no examples of powerful women with whom children can identify meaningfully as role models. The few powerful good women in fairy tales that can provide alternatives to the younger, passive heroine are all fairies. They are rarely on the scene: they only appear to save young people in distress, and then they are off again. These good fairies have gender only in a technical sense. To children they probably appear as women only in the sense that dwarfs and wizards appear as men. They are not human beings. They are asexual, and many of them are old. A girl may hope to become a princess, but it is doubtful if she can ever hope to become a fairy. In the case of wicked but human women, it is corollary to being ill natured, as with Cinderella's stepmother and stepsisters. Also Hansel and Gretel's mother is portrayed as bad as she did not love her children. She orders her husband to send them away to the forest. She is punished somehow as she dies and leaves her children who live happily with their father.

Whether human or extra human, women who are either partially or thoroughly evil are generally shown as active, ambitious, strong-willed, and most often ugly. Schaun and Flanagan (1992:258) analyse that these stories establish a dichotomy between those women who are gentle, passive and fair, and those who are active, wicked, and ugly. Women who are powerful and good are never human; those women who are human, and who have power or seek it, are nearly always portrayed as repulsive. A couple of girls are not portrayed as being either perfectly admirable or as wicked. According to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:259), the princesses in the 'Yellow Dwarf', 'Goldilocks' and 'Trusty John' are described as being spoiled, vain, willful; the problem is that they refuse to marry anyone. These princesses are

portrayed as reprehensible because they refuse to marry; hence, they are considered “stuck up”, as children would say. Because Bellisima had refused to marry, she is forced by a train of circumstances to promise to marry the ugly Yellow Dwarf. Perhaps it will be argued that these stories show archetypical female behaviour, but one may wonder to what extent they serve as training manuals for girls and boys.

Men in fairy tales are portrayed as king, prince and in positions of power and they are rich who implies that being rich gives a man some power. For the growing boy this exerts pressure that he needs to seek to gain wealth because that is where his power is. This can be argued further that it is not this pressure which makes the young boy to resort to getting wealth at all costs whether lawfully or unlawfully. In Schaun and Flanagan (1992:245) it is claimed that Marcia gives analysis that the idea of “marriage as a major happy ending” dominates the fairy tales and it is linked with becoming wealthy, the only means of social mobility for women. In “Rumpelstiltskin”, marriage is portrayed as a reward where the miller’s daughter is told to spin straw into gold. If she succeeds, she will marry the king and be a queen but if she fails, she will die. The miller’s daughter spins straw into gold for the king and gets marriage as a reward. Sadly, she is the one who is capable of producing wealth not for herself but for the king and here marriage is far more important not to her but to her father, who wants her to marry the king.

So, the fairy tales entrench the gender stereotypical roles of females and males at a very early life that is the direct opposite of the values enshrined in the South African constitution.

GENDER GAPS THAT STILL EXIST IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which South Africa ratified on 16 June 1995 and on 15 December 1995 respectively both affirm social and economic rights as well as civil, political and human rights for children and women. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:39) the research study that was conducted in Northern Province, Free State, North West and Gauteng provinces showed that educators, parents and children are aware that children, like other South Africans, have rights that are equally protected by the constitution and the Bill of Rights. However, they displayed very little understanding as to the practical realities of such rights. There was not much awareness that some traditional practices

are discriminatory against girls and women implying that in practice girls can still be discriminated against while the applied traditional practice is not necessarily viewed as an infringement of their rights. Cultural norms, religious beliefs and traditional role stereotyping still contribute greatly to discriminatory knowledge, attitudes and practices. Clear areas of discrimination against girls and women that still exist in South Africa are education, HIV/AIDS, Child Abuse, Domestic Violence and Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Media and Traditional Influences.

GENDER GAPS IN EDUCATION

In terms of the constitution of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996 the right to basic education should be claimed by all citizens irrespective of age, sex, race or class. But it seems there is lack of proper monitoring mechanisms to ensure that this right is realized. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:15) in the study that was conducted by The National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research (NIPILAR) in Northern Province, Gauteng, and Qwa-Qwa not all policy and legislation in education attest to this. According to Human Rights Watch-South Africa (2001:2), girls are a majority of out-of-school children and, women comprise a sizeable majority of illiterate adults. Discrimination against girls based on gender still perpetuates the educational gap between boys and girls. While there are barriers that girls face in getting to school, there are also obstacles that girls encounter in the school environment. These obstacles make the girls either not to perform well at school or quit the school altogether.

Barriers to Access in Education

According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:27), access to early childhood education is still dependent on the family's financial position, and the availability of early childhood development centres in the community and it is not based on the sex of the child. However, where parents cannot afford educate, older girls are often burdened with the responsibility of looking after younger siblings. The girls tend to deputise their mothers. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:27), the study demonstrated this by the results from the Qwa-Qwa part of the study that the rate of absenteeism was 20,2% boys and 36,8% girls. The same pattern was reported in Gauteng and the Northern province. Reasons for staying away from school ranged from lack of food, baby-sitting and sickness. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:28), the

NIPILAR Study revealed that another subtle form of discrimination prevails when families wish to send their children to private schools for better education. In Qwa-Qwa, it was observed that often boys gain access to private schools as compared to girls who are kept in local government schools. Parents used various excuses for this discriminatory practice like, insufficient funds, concern for the safety of girls and boys' better chances to succeed and finally take responsibility of the family. What is sad is that the parents claimed that their "discriminatory" decisions were based on protecting the basic interests of their children.

Obstacles in the School Environment

According to Human Rights Watch-South Africa (2001:3), school environments present a major problem that has not received sufficient scrutiny since many girls who surmount the numerous barriers that block access to school meet discriminatory treatment once at school. In most South African schools, girls are required to provide cleaning and maintenance services for the school, while boys and teachers use the time for academic work or leisure. *Girls' self confidence is destroyed by negative treatment that they get at school from educators and boys. For example, in some schools they are made to sit at the back of classrooms. Teaching materials that portray women and girls as inferior may further erode their self-confidence.*

According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:280) while girls outnumber boys in higher grades, there is a distinct difference in their quality of achievement. Of the candidates who wrote *matric examination in 1996, 56% were girls and 44% were boys. However, 60% of those who failed were girls, with more boys gaining matric exemption as compared to girls. The poor performances by girls reflect some of their aspirations in life. From the study more than 55% of girls indicated that they would wish to study as far as matric, while the majority of boys wanted to obtain some tertiary or degree qualifications. Gender stereotypes are still entrenched in the choice of careers negatively affecting girls. Their choice is limited and rarely earns them descent salaries. The Study also showed that girls rated themselves as average and aimed for lower qualifications. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:28) when girls and boys were asked to indicate their career choices, girls mentioned careers like teaching, nursing, secretary (traditionally female jobs), whereas boys wanted to be engineers, doctors, lawyers, police, mangers and magistrates. A few girls, mostly from the urban areas, showed interest in similar careers like boys. Educators and parents showed less initiative in encouraging girls to think*

beyond the traditionally female careers. The schools had no formal career guidance as part of the curriculum. Very few girls get to learn of the possibility of following any career of their choice, irrespective of their gender. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:15), gender stereotypes also influence the choice of subjects, where the majority of boys do science subjects and girls take humanities. The few girls in Maths, Technology and Science (MTS) are further disadvantaged by the lack of female role models as educators in the MTS stream. Again, male characters predominate both in text and illustrations of books used in the MTS. All this sends a message that MTS stream is the domain for men.

Gender-based violence in South African schools is another serious form of discriminatory treatment that compromises the learning environment and educational opportunities for girls. Girls are the victims of physical and sexual abuse in schools. They are raped, sexually assaulted, abused, and sexually harassed by their male classmates and even by their educators. According to Human Rights Watch-South Africa (2001:3) in South Africa, some girls have left school entirely because of their experiences with sexual violence. According to Human Rights Watch-South Africa (2001:6), school officials often conceal sexual violence and delay action against perpetrators of such violence. Girls who do report abuse are often further victimized and stigmatised by educators and learners. It is rare that school authorities take steps to ensure that girls have a sense of security and comfort at school or counsel and discipline boys who commit acts of violence.

In South Africa there is no National Policy and clear guidelines which direct schools as to how they should respond to acts of violence that occur in the schools. The few educators that are willing to intervene positively are not sure as to how to act and most often, they fear for their own safety. As a result many girls are forced to leave school altogether, because they feel unsafe and they are not willing to remain in an environment that has failed to protect them. Much as girls have gained access to schooling, their right to education is not yet fully realised.

GENDER AND THE HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC

Besides the general understanding that women in African countries have been subordinated under men, and as a result, they cannot negotiate sex with their male partners, there are also other gender imbalances with regard to HIV/AIDS epidemic. For instance, the female condom has been an issue in most countries that are affected by HIV/AIDS. While the

male condom is available in abundance, the female condom is not easily available.

Again, there had been arguments that women and youth are sidelined in major conferences that deal with the HIV/AIDS issues. For instance, according to (Gender-AIDS 2002 as reprinted by Charlene Smith on 6 May 2002. E-mail: gender-aids@healthdev.net) the International conference on Home and Community Care held in Thailand in December 2001 issues around youth were not dealt with in the main conference but were dealt separately in the side-conference (<http://www.hivan.org.za/printtrtemp.asp?id=860> 2002-10-24)

CHILD ABUSE, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The CRC Survival and Protection Rights, and CEDAW recommendations on gender based violence (which South Africa ratified) call for the eradication of all forms of abuse, neglect and gender-based violence on girls and women. In general, communities condemn the ill treatment of children whether through punishment, sexual abuse, and cruelty of any form – but within homes, they practice this privately. Again, educators are aware that corporal punishment is outlawed, but they use it regardless of the consequences. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:35), the NIPILAR Study showed that parents believe that they have the right to punish their children anyhow. Punishment administered at home and at school is based on the discretion of the individual parent and educator and the gender divisions that exist in punishment seem to reinforce gender roles. Besides corporal punishment other forms of punishment used include: the withdrawal of privileges (home); being made to stand on one leg with hands raised (school); being shouted at (home and school); cleaning the classroom or toilets (girls at school); and working in the garden (boys at school). South Africa does not have proper mechanisms to adequately protect the rights of the girl child against sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:6), the National Crime Prevention Strategy, identifies child victims and offenders as priority groups but, provincial policy plans do not adequately budget for the Child Protection Units (CPUs). They received only 0,15% of the entire police budget while reported crimes against children increase daily.

The media ranging from rape, assault, harassment and femicide reports high incidents of child abuse daily. According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:16) the NIPILAR Study showed that in 1993, 4 736 cases of rape were reported to the CPU and this number increased to 13 859 in

1996. The CPU does not keep any gender-disaggregated data, therefore one assumes that most if not all rape cases refer to girls.

The research report on the opinions of boys on gender-based violence is that it is unacceptable especially when practised in the home. However, they maintain that it is their right to assault girls when they “misbehave”, for example, if she terminates a love affair or is seeing two boyfriends at the same time. This behaviour is only acceptable if it is initiated by a boy and does not warrant punishment. Sporadic media reports indicate that gang rapes and violence is a *common feature in most schools*. The Femicide Research Project revealed that girls as young as thirteen years old have been murdered by their partners.

According to Vilakazi-Tselane (1998:34), for girls the impact of abuse is to learn that male violence is the condition against which their rights and freedom are negotiated. Their early learning is that submission is a survival skill. An overwhelming 70% of learners from farms and the informal settlement in Gauteng reported to have been touched indecently or forced to have sex with someone well known to them. There is a high level of insecurity within their immediate circles or guardianship. The study showed that learners reported that they preferred to discuss and share their personal problems with educators and friends. However, much as most children in need of advice prefer educators, it is important to note that not all educators honour their role as expected to act in loco parentis. It has been observed that some educators are the source of sexual abuse and harassment towards female learners.

GENDER AND THE MEDIA

Media Bias

There is great inequality in the mass media that needs to be redressed. According to Boezak (1999:52), different studies have shown that the treatment of issues of importance to women has been given insufficient coverage by the media. In Boezak (1999:16), it is claimed that the inadequacy in the coverage of women’s issues by news media is attributed to news being a masculine narrative by the semiotic approach. This approach claims that the distinction between “hard” and “soft” news has institutionalised a gendered division of news, with the “hard” and “serious” or “important” news being more masculine, and human-interest lifestyle news more likely to be feminine. Hence, the statement “News is about men, by men, through men’s eyes.” Since, news is a masculine narrative it has more prestige and authority in mass

media than other programmes and the journalists seek the most powerful sources like the elite leaders in society, to make news. According to Boezak (1999:162) all journalists that were interviewed for the Media Monitoring Project's Study made the point that as women occupy fewer of the powerful positions in our society, they feature less prominently than their male counterparts. There is not only the low coverage of women's issues by the media, but also a lack of diversity in the coverage of issues that concern women. In Boezak (1999: 161) it is claimed that The Media Monitoring Project Study coded the coverage into twelve topics, that is, business, politics, education, violence against women, health, human rights, media, arts and culture, gender equality, crime, beauty contests, hair and others. From these twelve topics, the study discovered that there were more news items about gender inequality and violence against women than any other issue. And in Boezak (1999: 161), it is claimed that the study showed that reporting on women was most often about their victim status. Women invariably feature in the news as victims of crime, abuse and domestic violence, poverty, broken relationships and marriages, drought, war and disaster. Often when women feature in the news whether as victims, achievers, professionals, skilled workers or politicians, they are frequently identified according to their marital status and their experiences are personalised or romanticised. Women who are the victims of domestic violence are often depicted as being involved in "lovers disputes" or "love triangles" or they are pictured on their wedding day. When it comes to women who defy easy categorization by their strong leadership qualities, the paradox of gender is often very clear in the treatment of these women by the media. The media often ignores or nullifies their skills, abilities and achievements by treating them as objects. In Boezak (1999: 164), it is claimed that Jessie Duarte, Gauteng MEC, stated in a newspaper article, "I have yet to read an article which describes in derogatory terms a man's appearance. It is what a man says that is important, not the colour of his teeth or the thrust of his chest."

In The Sunday Times Newspaper, 17 February 2002, in South Africa, two articles appeared which featured a male (Mohlala) who has progressed to being a Company Executive Officer and a woman (Vasie Naidu) who has progressed to being a head of a station in the police department. However, the article about Naidu contained the following terms and phrases that were extracted from the article that denote her victim status:

Topic: The Woman cop who survived a Baptism of Fire

Phrases and terms were: Vasie Naidu has earned her stripes in some of South Africa's bloodiest nineties trouble-spots, Lived through massacres, survived the baptism of fire, endured her share, thanks her lucky stars, coolie bitch, strut her stuff, hostile towards her, through me in the deepend, she was spared, female Indian officers, woman cop, policewoman, the first woman ever to head the station, was a vivacious mother of two who takes every opportunity to spend time with her family/ her biggest supporter is her husband.

Sunday Times 17, February 2002

In this article, there was a lot of emphasis about her woman status. Though there were some terms that were referring to her success, most terms and phrases were referring to her victim status and there were comments about her social roles. Compared to the article about Mohlala that appeared in the same issue of Sunday Times newspaper, there is evidence of gender bias. The following terms and phrases were extracted from the article about Mohlala:

Topic: This is not a fairy tale: The security guard who became a CEO

Phrases and Terms were: outstanding South Africans, rose against all odds, leading individuals, helped society for the better, refused to be condemned to perpetual peasantry, anyone who wanted to achieve big things in life, bright child, passed matric, registered persevered, choice, his productivity at work, promoted, rose up the ranks again, graduated, his first degree, promoted first supervisor job, I could afford a car I bought myself one, self confessed workaholic, newly acquired status at work, complete honors degree, complete a number of management diplomas, climb the senior management ladder at Eskom, customer service regional manager, eloquent, help others become successful professionals, people who inspire him.

Sunday Times 17, February 2002

In this article, we read about Mohlala's qualifications and achievements and there is nothing mentioned about his social roles and his family whereas we did not read anything about Naidu's qualifications in the previous article.

According to Boezak (1999: 166) in satirizing women, the SA media also draws from the stereotypes of female behaviour and these stereotypes are based on patriarchal discourses and are irrelevant to personal worth. The themes in satirisation of women that can be located in patriarchal discourse include passivity, masculation, demonisation, and infantilisation. Emasculation surfaces when women act beyond the limits / boundaries imposed by masculine discourses of female subjectivity. For example, the media can depict a positive attribute of assertiveness a negative stubbornness when possessed by a woman. Demonisation of women occurs when a woman's evil nature is expressed through witchcraft. Because of the confines of women to subjectivity that have been set up by the society, women are not expected to be aggressive. If a woman goes beyond these societal confinements and becomes aggressive, the media will demonise her. The infantilisation of women, particularly in political cartooning is common. Woman are depicted as little girls who are naïve and incapable of making decisions.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed how gender stereotypical roles, beliefs, and attitudes are entrenched in our society. I discussed the different points of view that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society and in doing that firstly, I discussed the South African situation and gender, secondly, I traced the gender stereotypes from the ancient times and the traditional culture, thirdly, I discussed gender stereotyping that exists in different contexts like workplace, legal system and politics, fourthly, I discussed how femininity and masculinity are constructed through popular culture and fairy tales, lastly, I highlighted the gender gaps that still exist in the media and the educational system in South Africa. In the following chapter, I will discuss gendered terms, the gendered speech, the different communication styles between men and women and then I will comment on non-verbal linguistic signs.

Chapter 5

GENDERED LANGUAGE

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter, I discussed how gender stereotypical roles, beliefs, and attitudes are entrenched in our society. I discussed the different arguments that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society and in doing that firstly, I discussed the South African situation and gender, secondly, I traced the gender stereotypes from the ancient times and the traditional culture, thirdly, I discussed gender stereotyping that exists in different contexts like workplace, legal system and politics, fourthly, I discussed how femininity and masculinity are constructed through popular culture and fairy tales, lastly, I highlighted the gender gaps that still exist in the media and the educational system in South Africa. In this chapter, I will discuss how gender differences are entrenched in the language that is used in our society. To do so I will discuss gendered terms, the gendered speech, the different communication styles between men and women. Then I will comment on non-verbal communication.

GENDERED TERMS

Feminists have long advocated against the use of sexist language particularly in English. Hence, authors of English language books like Kahn and Kerr-Jarret (1991:89) have advised writers *not to use old-fashioned words that are discriminatory, over-deferential, belittling or conveying demeaning attitudes towards women particularly when the corresponding male term is either absent or does not have a corresponding meaning.* For instance, traditional forms of words that have sexist connotations are now often replaced by gender-neutral terms. The word, Ms is now increasingly used instead of the traditional Mrs or Miss; chairperson or chair instead of chairman; Programme Director instead of Master of Ceremonies; bartender instead of barman.

Contrarily, certain scholars have argued that both females and males have been equally responsible to shape the language and that people have learnt to talk from females—mostly their mothers or nannies. Besides, the term sexist has been used to refer to the language that

discriminates against women, yet societies have used language to stereotype men as well. Schaun and Flanagan (1992: 132–139) explain three anti-male uses of language that are evident in Modern English. Firstly, gender-exclusive language is used, which omits males from certain contexts. For example, the term used to describe the university, alma mater, means nourishing mother and thus excludes men. Secondly, gender-restrictive language is used, which confines men within their socially prescribed masculinities. For example, societies expect that men should be tough and brave and this means that they should have the ability to fight, dominate others and be involved in risky behaviour. Men who deviate from this are ridiculed by negative terms such as pantywaist, milksop, sissy, coward and spineless (Schaun & Flanagan 1992:134). Thirdly, is language that reinforces negative stereotypes about men. The use of the suffix -er in some derivations that define persons who are in conflict with the law like murderer, killer, gangster, swindler, and mobster and the use of the free morpheme man in the compound concepts hit man (Schaun & Flanagan 1992:137) and gunman, associate men with evil or crime. However, certain words like terrorist, criminal, and crook are linked to men yet their form is gender neutral. Then, the link between these words and the man evildoer might be in the cognitive world.

As Dirven and Verspoor (1998:14) stated, “Language resides not in dictionaries, but in the minds of the speakers of that language” and as Steinberg (1994:49) said, “Meanings reside in people, not in words.” language is the translation of what is in the human mind. In their minds, human beings conceptualise the world according to how they have experienced it. As human beings conceptualise the world, their view of the world translates into language.

According to Dirven and Verspoor (1998:14-15) each person conceptualises the world differently, therefore, different people categorize one thing differently and each person’s choice between alternatives is construal. Evidence is that various languages may construe one thing differently. For example, what the English Language construes as baby in IsiZulu it is construed as umntwana and in Afrikaans it is construed as baba. When people use language to communicate, they share their own individual perspectives of the world as Klopper (1999:293) expressed it “Communication is a meeting of minds....” Therefore, people who live together and share the same natural resources, end up sharing common perspectives of the world, they “...see eye to eye....” (Klopper 1999:293), evidenced by the whole group of people using the same concepts to mean the same entities in the world. The concepts formed will then translate

into the same language shared by the members of that particular group of people. So, the language used by any given society will reveal the lived experiences of that particular society.

According to the Conceptual Dictionary (as cited in Loots, 2001:12), the lived experiences of any given society become the culture of that particular society. Though most often culture has been assumed to be innate and God-given and therefore could not be changed, Frere (as cited in Loots, 2001:9) argues that because of governance, which has mostly been in the hands of men in societies, there exist gender and power differences within societies and where men determine culture. Since culture is the lived experiences of a society, it is therefore not neutral. It reflects the power differences existing in that particular society. For, language is an attribute of culture, in any language, many words are culture-specific and they have language-specific meanings, which reflect the historical and cultural experiences of the people who speak that particular language (Dirven and Verspoor 1998:145). A language might have a number of words, which describe a single domain of meaning and that is called lexical elaboration (Dirven & Verspoor 1998:145). Lexical elaboration reflects cultural facts. For example, in isiZulu language a wife can be *inkosikazi*, *iqadi* or *ikhohlwa*. This reflects Zulu culture. Culturally, a Zulu man has three wives and the three words identify the three wives. If a man decides to have more than three wives, the younger wives are not identified as they are attached to any of the three wives. For instance, there would be younger wives attached to inkosikazi and their houses would be built next to *inkosikazi's* house.

On the other hand, in trying to explain gender differences, the evolutionary theories have the view that in the ancestral world gender differences were not a power issue but a matter of seeing "... eye to eye...." (Klopper 1999:293) As determined by circumstances, gender roles were clearly defined. A man was the lunch-chaser and a woman was a nest-defender (Pease & Pease 2000:13), and they lived harmoniously in their differentiated roles. A woman had to be attached to a man in order to get food and a man had to provide food for a woman who was willing to bear his children. Human language was then shaped by this pair bonding. Because the role of the female was to give birth and raise children, women have always been associated with children. In (Schaun and Flanagan 1992: 133) it is claimed that Walter J. Ong argues that in social sciences the term mother has always been equated with parent. As a result, these two terms are often used interchangeably except for non-custodian parent, which has commonly been associated with the father. The idea of the mother as the primary parent is evident in

expressions like mother tongue (IsiZulu equivalent expression is *ulimi oluncelwe ebeleni* / which means language sucked from the mother's breast), which excludes the male as the parent. The recent term that is used to describe the transmission of the human-immuno-deficiency virus (HIV) from mothers to babies is mother-to-child-transmission (MTCT). Jackson (2002:144) argues against the use of this term by saying that while the term is biologically appropriate in a narrow sense when focusing on the passing of maternal infection from the mother to the baby, it excludes the father of the child who might have been responsible to pass the infection to the mother in the first place. As a result, the father is excluded from the responsibility of protecting the child from infection by taking action to protect the mother, especially because most women in Africa do not have power to make decisions concerning their sexual relationships with their spouses. Therefore, the term parent-to-child-transmission is more appropriate as it is inclusive of both parents.

Since the role of a man in the ancestral world was to hunt, fight enemies and provide sperm, he had to be brave, tough and virile. He also had to display dominance over other men. Then the English Language has many terms to ridicule a man who fails to support his family, or maintain a certain standard of life or perform sexually (Schaun & Flanagan 1992:136). Besides the physical toughness, men are expected to be emotionally 'tough' according to the prescriptions of the society. In order to maintain their 'status', men themselves use insults to put down other men and sometimes women as well. According to Salisbury and Jackson (1996:166) boys learn early to use insults, which come in the form of sexual abuse, mocking humour, name-calling or racist remarks as a language of control to keep other boys at a distance and to display their own power. Boys do not only use language as a weapon to slam at other boys or girls, but also as a shield to protect their status in the group. When they speak in their groups, boys say what will be acceptable to the group, which will not daunt their status. In order to affirm their 'coolness' and their active virility, boys use many 'fucks' in their language (Salisbury & Jackson 1996:168).

According to Steinberg (1994:47) concepts, which are labels given to objects or persons, do not only identify those entities, but also define them according to all the characteristics that are associated with that label. For example, isiZulu language has a long list of terms that define men and women. It is interesting to note that the meanings of these terms clearly reflect the differentiated gender roles that are expected from men and women. See

Figures 7 and 8.

POSITIVE TERMS	NEGATIVE TERMS
-Isoka / a male who has many girlfriends and is popular with females	-Isishimane; isigwadi / a male who has one or no girlfriend
-Iqhawe / a brave man who fights and conquers all other men	-Ivaka, igwala, amanzi ² / a coward
-Ingqwelc / a boy who can fight and conquer all other boys in a group	-Umahlalela, uqhwayilahle / unemployed male
	-Umnqologombetshe ni umachoba izintwala zikanina ³ / a boy who is often at home not away with other boys
	-Impohlo / a man who is not married

Figure 7: Words used to define a male in IsiZulu

From Figure 7 it is clear that the terms that are used to define a male all lead him to ascribe to the socially prescribed gender roles. If he subscribes to social roles, he is called by positive terms as against when he does not conform to the stereotypical roles in which case he will be called by negative terms.

² The literal meaning is water

³ This means he stays at home killing lice from his mother's hair by pressing each louse in between his thumbnails.

Positive Terms	Negative Terms
- <u>Itshitshi</u> / a young virgin female who is not allowed and does not have a boyfriend	- <u>Igqinkehli</u> / she got pregnant and has a baby before marriage
- <u>Iqhikiza</u> / is allowed to have a boyfriend or already has a boyfriend	- <u>Umjendevu; uzendazamshiya</u> ⁴ / she has gone past the societal expected age of marriage for a woman and is still not married
- <u>Ingoduso</u> / lobola (bride price) has been paid for her and is about to marry soon	- <u>Ingobhiya; umgodi onganukwanja</u> / insulting terms to define a woman who is at the stage when she can have a boyfriend but does not have one
	- <u>Isifebe; unoyile; unondindwa; isikhebeleshe</u> / insulting terms for a woman who has more than one boyfriend or who has left one boyfriend for another one
	- <u>Umabuya emendweni</u> ⁵ / a woman divorcee
	- <u>Inyumba</u> / a married woman who cannot bear children (who is infertile)

Figure 8: Words used to define a female in IsiZulu

From Figures 7 and 8 it is clear that a woman is expected to be committed to one man and bear his children. So, she has to preserve her youth by not sleeping with other men. Again, she has to marry whilst she is at a childbearing age as defined by society. On the other hand, the man must be attached to a woman or women who will bear his children. He must provide food, necessities to the woman and children. Again, he must be brave and tough to protect his family. So, all the terms with positive connotations refer to women and men who conform to these socially constructed gendered roles. The negative terms, some of which are insulting, refer to women and men who deviate from these expected roles.

GENDER AND COMMUNICATION

Genderlects

Men and women are often said to have different communication styles and Tannen as cited by Bress (2000:26) terms these fundamental differences between men and women's ways of communicating, 'genderlects.' Bress (2000:26) stated that Tannen maintains that a man's world focuses on competition, status and independence (the guiding principle being: "we are separate and different"), meanwhile, a woman's world focuses on intimacy, consensus, and interdependence (the guiding principle being: "we are close and the same"). Both Tannen and John Gray as cited by Rosener (1995:74-75) believe that women speak and hear a language of

⁴ The literal meaning is that she was left out when all other girls got married.

⁵ She came back from marriage.

connection and intimacy, and men speak and hear a language of status and independence. Men communicate to obtain information, establish their status, and show independence whilst women communicate to create relationships, encourage interaction and exchange feelings. According to Rosener (1997:76) men speak declaratively whereas women's sentences are surrounded by I'm not sure.... or I'm sure... and so on.

Bress (2000:27), in his research where he observed the experienced and the inexperienced teachers, discovered that gender differences in communication styles do result in different teaching styles. The results of his research showed that with inexperienced teachers, women tend to be over-female, for example, instructions are not as clear as they could be and men tend to be over-male for example, they may ignore problems or engage in an over-detailed lecturing style. But teaching becomes much more efficient over time so that experienced teachers did not show much gender differences in their teaching styles. He concludes that his findings on teacher gender and teaching styles can be useful in at least two ways. Firstly, teacher trainers should be aware of the possible correlation between a trainee's gender and teaching style. Secondly, experienced teachers need to be aware of any residual gender influence in their teaching. In both cases, monitoring and adapting teaching styles can help.

However, there are different reasons for these differences in communication between men and women. Bress (2000:26) states that these perspectives on life and the genderlects that go with them are learnt in early childhood in same-sex groups. As they grow, boys and girls are socialized to play in single-sex groups. And because of the competition for status which is at the heart of masculinity in their communication, boys learn to compete in hierarchical groups, while girls learn to cooperate in small groups in which mutual liking is important. Therefore, Tannen as cited by Rosener (1995:74), states that men and women live in different worlds; thus, conversation between them is like cross-cultural communication. Gray as cited by Rosener (1995:75), believes that it's not just a matter of different worlds but different planets; hence, the title of his best seller, "Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus".

According to Rosener (1997:76), women speak differently from men because of their low self-esteem but also because they think while they talk. As they talk, women are processing information at the same time. Gray (1992: 67) agrees with a view that men and women think and process information very differently. Women think aloud, sharing their process of inner discovery with an interested listener. A woman discovers what she wants to say through the

process of just talking. This process of just letting thoughts flow freely and expressing them aloud helps her to tap into her intuition. In contrast, men process information very differently. Before they talk or respond, they first silently “mull over” or think about what they have heard or experienced internally and silently they figure out the most correct or useful response. They first formulate it inside and then express it. This process of thinking quietly could take from minutes to hours and if he does not have enough information to process an answer, a man may not respond at all.

Again, in Rosener (1995:77), it is claimed that Bogen, a renowned neurosurgeon who has spent his life studying the brain, argues that there are gender differences in the brain that result in different communication styles. It is also claimed that the early work of Jerre Levy and the work of Kimura at the University of Western Ontario, supports Bogen’s view. Kimura further supports the argument by saying that it would be amazing if men’s and women’s brains were not different, given the gross morphological and often striking behavioural differences between men and women which are not restricted to their different roles in parenting and reproductive behaviour. To justify this argument further, Rosener (1995:77) claims that De Lacoste-Utamsing discovered that the Corpus Callosum, a mass of nerve fibres that connects the brain hemispheres, is larger in women than in men and this suggests that women may process information differently because there is more communication between the right and the left halves of the brain. Women seem to order information housed in their brains in ways not yet well understood, and to arrive at answers by putting the information together in a holistic fashion. This is what is meant by “women’s intuition”. The word “scatterbrained” also associated with women, describes a way of thinking in which there is no apparent cohesive organization of data. It suggests that information is floating around in disconnected pieces and that the thought process is not linear or logical. But, men process information in a linear or logical manner. Furthermore, Restak (2000:64) reports neurological research indicating that in general females have better verbal skills than males while males have better spatial and mathematical skills due to the fact that females’ brains contain pro rata more grey matter and males’ brains contain pro rata more white matter. However, note that these are averaged calculations and in the case of individuals, there would be females with more white matter than males and, conversely, there would be males with more grey matter than females. O’Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1996:552) state that the use of “bad language” is regarded as

macho rather than plain vulgar when it is used by men. According to O'Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1996:551) female English speakers' language is comprised of terms like nice, lovely and many specific colour terms because of the traditional tasks (knitting, baking, serving, decorating, cooking) that were performed by women though there is no evidence that women have more acute colour perception than men. And, male English speakers have more lexicons that are related to traditional tasks that were performed by men as well as lexicons related to male-dominated sports, for example, bricklaying, sea fishing and football and boxing respectively.

The differences in communication styles between men and women can be traced back to the evolutionary processes. Men were hunters and therefore had to keep quiet so as not to scare the animals away, while women were gatherers and thus the communication skills for the two genders evolved differently. As gatherers, women evolved as a cohesive group because they had to keep in touch with the group all the time by singing or telling stories or speaking to one another. According to O'Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1996:551) female English speakers are considerate of other person and they often use face-saving language like politeness formulas (Would you... Could you please...) in commands or requests as well as verbal hedges (perhaps, maybe, well) instead of a straight no answer. Face-saving language maintains the other person's reputation, dignity and credibility. The cognitive differences most often identified by researchers are the "better" performance of men on certain spatial tasks and in mathematical reasoning, and the "better" performance of women on verbal fluency tasks and tests of perceptual speed. These differences are thought to be associated with the way the brain is organized. According to Rosenor (1995:77) the word 'better' is used to characterize the differences and it is this that causes arguments, since mental processes women are "better" at are often devalued outside the laboratory in society.

Types of Communication

Deacon (1997:376-410) uses the standard semiotic distinctions of the three types of communication: icons, index and symbols. Briefly, icons are the best examples of entities in the environment, representing other members in their categories. For example, Mandela is a positive icon for diplomacy, while Hitler is his negative counterpart. Indices are entities in the environment that serve as indications of something else. For example, a wagging forefinger

indicates admonition while a clenched fist indicates a threat. Open palms of hands facing upwards indicate a welcoming or accepting attitude. Finally, symbols are signs that collectively form a system. All signs in the system primarily refer to one another before combinations of them refer to entities in the environment. The letters of the alphabet are symbols that are used in relation to one another to represent written words. Speech sounds (phonemes) refer to one another as a symbol before combinations of such phonemes can represent the meanings of spoken words. Lexical items (morphemes) first, refer to each as a symbol set before particular lexemes can be combined with one another to form sentences that represent the interaction between entities in the real world. So, the language is a symbol of the mental models that we have. And, the mental models that we have depend on what we have experienced (folk mental model) or on what we have learnt (empirical mental models). All role models, including the role models that will be analysed in Chapter 7 are icons.

Figure 9 shows Kate Winslet, a British model that became a symbol of beauty and ordinary females with ordinary body built could identify with. The first image is Kate in her normal body image. She was the symbol in the eyes of the females because from her success she became their role model. She became the icon of success. When her digitally enhanced image in the second image of figure 9, was portrayed in the cover of the GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly) Magazine, all mass media, newspapers and television, commented and reported negatively on this digitally enhanced image.



Kate Winslet presented in her normal image



Kate Winslet in her digitally enhanced image

Figure 9: Kate Winslet

The critical question was why was there a universal outcry when this digitally enhanced image was presented? The answer that no one provided is that an icon of feminine beauty had been misappropriated as a male sex symbol. A vamp image of Kate had been projected in a magazine aimed at the male audience and her symbolic value as a female icon for ordinary women was so badly tarnished that the mass print and electronic media roundly condemned the destruction of her as a role model for ordinary females.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed how gender differences are entrenched in the language that is used in our society. I discussed gendered terms, the gendered speech and the different communication styles between men and women. In the following chapter, I will discuss the philosophical framework on which this study is based as well as the research methodology that

will be used in the study. In doing so, I will highlight some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I will discuss the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study is based. Thereafter, I will apply the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. Then I will discuss the research methodology that will be used in the study.

Chapter 6

PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter, I discussed how gender differences are entrenched in the language that is used in our society. I discussed gendered terms, the gendered speech and the different communication styles between men and women. In this chapter, I will discuss the philosophical framework on which this study is based. In doing so, I will highlight some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I will discuss the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study is based. Then, I will apply the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. Thereafter, I will discuss the research methodology that will be used in the study.

THEORIES OF COMMUNICATION

As Mersham and Skinner (1999: 7-8) said, communication takes place only when all three elements—communicator, medium and recipient—of what they called the ‘trptych of communication’ are present. While the communicator and the recipient are actively involved in the process of communication, they cannot directly interact with each other without the medium. In trying to explain the ‘trptych of communication’, many scholars have developed theories concerning the three elements of communication. Besides, several scholars have developed different theoretical approaches to try to explain the dynamics of communication.

In Jansen and Steinberg (1991:47-51), it is claimed that Erving Goffman (1922-1982), a Canadian-born sociologist formulated the theory, which says that the (human) participants in the communication process play social roles, which do not necessarily coincide with their individual personal self. Participants, which Goffman (as cited by Jansen & Steinberg 1991:47) has called ‘performers’, act the social roles in communication in order to maintain a stable pattern of behaviour and therefore participants are known to each other not by their individual characteristics but by the social roles that they perform. So, according to Erving Goffman’s theory, *the communicator and the recipient (as performers) perform social roles and therefore*

they wear costume and act out behaviour that is relevant to the situation so that they project the 'correct image'—the image that is socially acceptable. According to Jansen and Steinberg (1991:50), Goffman's theory was particularly formulated for application in verbal communication in small groups and institutions though it can be tested in certain contexts of mass media communication. Goffman's theory successfully highlighted the human element and the social aspect in the communication process—that conscious human beings can share meaning and adopt each other's view of the world. However, Goffman's theory overemphasised the social dimension of the interaction of the individual elements in the communication process and omitted to highlight social role and the influence of the medium element of communication.

Alfred Schutz (1899-1959), an Austrian philosopher and sociologist adopted a phenomenological approach to communication by blending the theory of communication by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) with that of Max Weber (1864-1920), a German sociologist (Jansen & Steinberg 1991:51-52). Schutz theory says that the world around us, full of knowledge is a reality for us and each one of us views the world from his / her own position which he calls 'vantage position'—a biographically determined position. Our personal history and our experiences as well as our opportunities and limitations of our situations shape our actions. Therefore, two people will view the same situation differently and express themselves differently because their personal history and experiences have positioned them in two different vantage points to view the world. In his theory, Schutz (as cited by Jansen & Steinberg 1991:54) coined the concept of typification where he says that we classify people, events, objects, etc. into different classes according to the different features. Schutz's theory came up with basic source of inter-subjectivity that when people share the same space and communicate face-to-face (directly), they enter into a we-relationship which enables them to see the world as our world and in direct communication they see each other as you (thou) and can then identify with each other. According to Schutz theory, this direct communication is contrasted with indirect communication where the personal impact of partners is reduced as the distance is increased—when one moves away from face-to-face communication. Therefore, in indirect communication people enter into a they-relationship where they only identify with each other as typical performers of typical roles. Schutz (as cited by Jansen & Steinberg 1991:56) has shown how the process of communication operates in the context of social construction and has

shown the basic source of inter-subjectivity. However, Schutz's theory omits to highlight the position of the medium as one element of communication during the communication process. Though the medium is not a human being, it is however, shaped by the human being and Schutz' theory does not clarify the influence that the communicator and the recipient have on the medium. Again, Schutz's theory does not explain the limitations of contexts in which his theory will apply. For instance, where communication occurs in contexts where there is power, gender differences, racial, cultural and language differences it is doubtful that people will still identify with each other and enter in a we-relationship. However, I will not discuss this further as it is outside the limitations of this thesis.

According to Jansen and Steinberg (1991: 67), Roland Barthes broadened the semeological approach to communication by stating that the socio-cultural background of the user of the text (message which can be a graphic image) influences the meaning, which is communicated by the text itself. So, according to Roland Barthes' theory, the construction of meaning is an interactive process between the user and the text (message). Because of the socio-cultural background of the user, the images that the text evokes will be the images that are influenced by what already exists in the society. This study is based on a blend of theories from the symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to the process of communication.

GENDERED ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

The world around us—which is a historical, economical, cultural, religious, social and gendered world—has great influence on us as individuals and as groups in societies. Our perceptions and construction of meaning is influenced by how we have experienced this world around us. Each one of us has experienced this world differently and therefore each one of us will have his/her own autobiographical view of the world. Therefore, our view of the world will never be objective / neutral but it will always be biased because of this autobiographical influence. In the process of communication, the three elements of communication—communicator, medium and recipient—are not neutral elements. The communicator has his / her own autobiographical view of the world which will influence how s/he shapes the message.

In order for the communication process to take place, there should be an idea that the communicator wants to communicate to the recipient. This idea is linked to the purpose of that

communication process which will take place. But before the communicator starts the process of communication, s/he has to study/observe the recipient so that s/he will know how to shape the idea in such a way that effective communication takes place. However, the communicator's conclusion about the nature of the recipient will also be influenced by his/her (communicator's) autobiographical view of the world. So, the communicator will shape the message not only according to how s/he has experienced the world—autobiographical view of the world—but also according to how s/he has perceived the recipient. Therefore, the medium and the message element of communication will not be neutral, as it will be influenced by the communicator's purpose of communication as well as his/her view of not only the world but also of the recipient. The recipient's autobiographical view of the world will influence the meaning that s/he decodes from the message.

Because of our socialisation and experiences in the world, we have a gendered view of the world. Therefore, in mass media adverts the communicator will have a gendered view of the world and of the recipient. And as s/he shapes the message, this gendered view of the world will influence how s/he shapes the message so that the message will also carry the gender subtexts. However, the recipient is also not neutral as s/he also has a gendered view of the world. Therefore, the meaning that s/he decodes from the message will be influenced by his/her gender as a person. All the three elements of communication carry gender subtexts and have their own entrenched gender stereotypes.

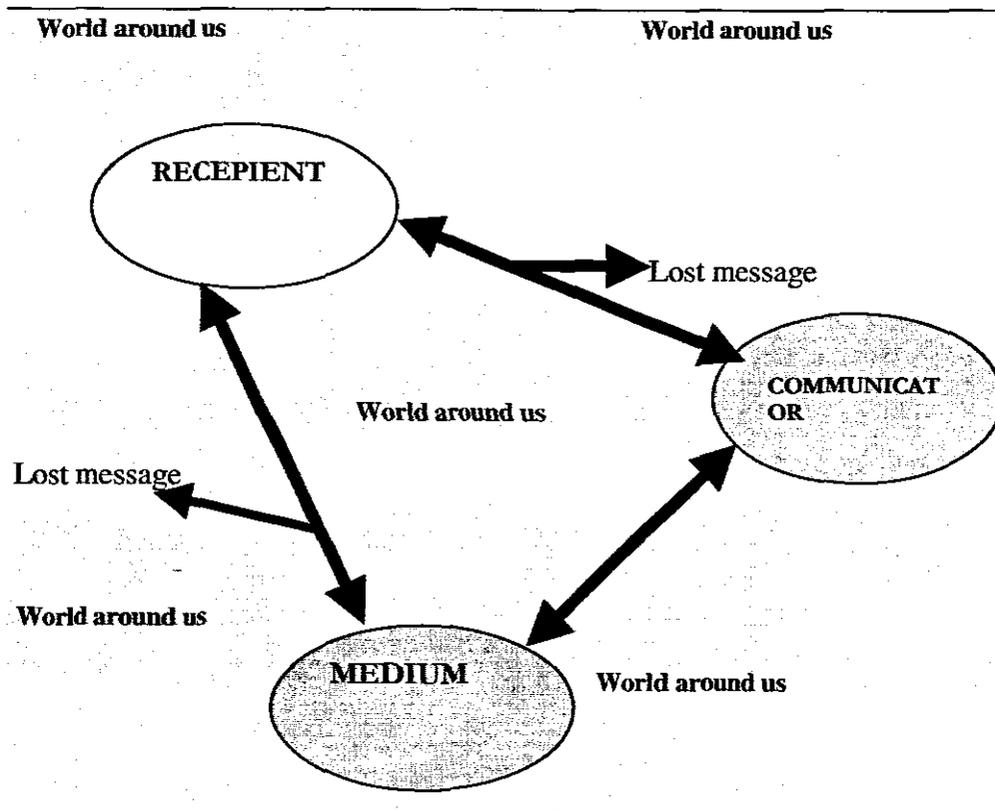


Figure 10: The Basic Model to illustrate The Blended Theory of Communicating an Idea / Advert

In media adverts, the mass communicator is not neutral and is driven by profit. The teams working in the advertising agencies and in the publishing companies are gendered members of the society. Advertising and publishing are profit-making businesses. So, making profit is the purpose of communication in advertising. But the adverts themselves will not reveal this economic drive. So, the mass communicator plays a social role. The mass communicator has their view of the world according to how they have experienced the world. For instance, the mass communicator views the consumers as gendered and racial groups. This is evidenced by the fact that different magazines are aimed at different sectors of the South African communities. Some magazines are aimed at Afrikaans speaking communities, females, males, and so on. The community at which the magazine is aimed will determine the number and types of products that are advertised, the nature of the context in adverts and the gender of the body image that accompanies the adverts for different products. The number and type of

products, the context in the adverts and the body images accompanying the adverts will be integrated together in such a way that they carry the message together with the social stereotypes.

The recipient of mass communication is not just the passive recipient of messages communicated to them by the media. The recipient is actively involved as they decode messages from the print media. The recipient has their autobiographical view of the world, which will make them to be subjectively involved when decoding and making meaning of the images that are portrayed in print media adverts.

APPLICATION OF THEORY TO ANTI-RAPE ADVERT FEATURING CHARLIZE THERON

In 1999, SABC broadcasted a non-commercial public service advert featuring Charlize Theron as an anti-rape campaign. According to the intensive study that was done by Vuleka Productions as commissioned by the Commission on Gender Equality, the idea of these types of adverts originated from a group of people led by Jane Raphaely, editor of Femina magazine. According to a report by Vuleka Productions the purpose was to try and make South African men also take responsibility in fighting rape so that issues of rape do not only become 'women's' concerns. Therefore, the team that coined the advert was the communicator that wanted to communicate a message to South African men that men should also take initiative in fighting rape. It is evident that the communicator had observed the recipient—South African men—that they were not taking responsibility to fight the problem of rape.

So, the medium was the advert that was broadcasted on SABC. As the communicator

ANTI-RAPE CAMPAIGN FEATURING CHARLIZE THERON

The following is a full transcript of the English version of the advert:

Hi, I'm Charlize Theron. People often ask me what the men are like in South Africa. Well, if you consider that more women are raped in South Africa than in any other country in the world, that one out of every three women will be raped in their lifetime in South Africa, that every 26 seconds a woman is raped in South Africa, and perhaps worst of all, that the rest of the men in South Africa seem to think that rape isn't their problem; it's not that easy to say what men in South Africa are like, because there seem to be so few of them out there.

(Jupiter Drawing Room 1999)

This is followed by a visual projection of the words: 'Real men don't rape' with the logo of Rape Crisis – Cape Town and the Trauma Centre appearing.

Other distinguishing aspects of the advert include the following:

Theron is speaking in an American accent, convincing to the degree that most viewers who did not know that she was a South African by birth assumed that she was an American

Naturally a blonde, she has dyed her hair brown

She is wearing a gold cross in one ear, which is highlighted in the camera angle

Her dress is nondescript, if not slightly conservative

There is no background music, or any effort to make the setting welcoming, thus making the focus of the viewer/listener entirely on Theron.

Report by: Vuleka Productions
submitted to the Commission on Gender Equality (1999)

www.cge.org.za

shaped the medium, they had their own gendered view of the world because of how they had experienced the world. We can say that their experiences were that the rate of rape is increasing in South Africa. The medium was therefore influenced by the purpose of the message (to awaken South African men to take responsibility to fight rape), the communicator's experiences of the world (increasing rape statistics in South Africa) as well as the communicator's view of the recipient (South African men were not taking responsibility in fighting rape. Rape was only women's concern). Then, all the viewers of SABC who saw the

advert were the recipients.

As the recipients interacted with the advert, their decoding of the message was influenced by the individual's view of the world and their gender. According to the report by Vuleka Productions, many different interpretations came out of the advert. For instance, some people found the advert 'sexist' towards men and 'offensive'. Some found it 'informative' and some white men thought that the advert was directed to them since Charlize Theron is a white woman. So, as the viewers interacted with the advert, different emotions were evoked from individuals. The emotions elicited different responses and to some the emotions that were evoked led to action. For example, a group of men and one woman petitioned against the advert to the Advertising Standards Authority (Gender, Advertising and Broadcasting, Report by Vuleka Productions submitted to the Commission on Gender Equality 1999. www.cge.org.za) and the advert was eventually removed from the SABC screen. Though according to the report, Carol Bower, Rape Crisis Director, said that the arguments about the advert helped in promoting the Rape Crisis Organisation, I think the idea of getting the support of South African men to take responsibility in dealing with the crime of rape which is committed by other men to women was marginalized because of the way how we perceive the world—we perceive the world as we are, and we are what we are because of our experiences of the world which we have accumulated within the context of a gendered society.

Summary

In this section, I discussed the philosophical framework on which this study is based. In doing so, I highlighted some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I discussed the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study is based. Thereafter, I applied the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. In the following section, I will discuss the research methodology that will be used in the study. In doing so, I will discuss the inductive approach that will be used, and then I will discuss how the first and the second analysis of the adverts will be conducted.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Research Method

Inductive approach

In this study, qualitative research methods of analysis will be used. The inductive approach as described by Babbie and Mouton (2002: 273) will be used where the emphasis will be on developing inductively based new interpretations and theories of description of events, rather than approaching the social actors with deductively derived hypothesis. In order to maintain objectivity thus enhancing validity and reliability of results, triangulation according to paradigms will be done where the analysis will be based on symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication.

Body Image: Statistical Analysis of Adverts

Therefore, magazines that are available in South Africa in the period between January and December 2002 will be randomly selected for analysis. The first analysis will be done to determine the communicator's perspective of the recipient as well as to give a general view of the context in which the adverts appear. In this first analysis, the gender of the accompanying body images in all adverts will be analyzed. The adverts from all selected magazines will be grouped into 20 groups. The grouping of adverts was developed from the groupings of sections in the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) Code of Practice. The sections in the ASA are as follows:

Appendix A: Media and related products and advertising containing health claims

Appendix B: Liquor advertising

Appendix C: Hair and scalp product

Appendix D: Mail order advertising

Appendix E: Advertising for slimming

Appendix F: References to diseases in advertising

Appendix G: Advertising of breast milk substitutes, baby feeding bottles and tests

Appendix H: Advertising of cigarette products

Appendix I: Advertising of timesharing

Appendix J: Advertising of cosmetics

Appendix K: Advertising containing environmental claims

Appendix L: Advertising of unit trust

(ASA Code of Practice 1999)

Report by Vuleka Productions

Gender, Advertising and Broadcasting

The ASA sections formed the basis on which the following 21 groups of adverts were developed for analysis purposes. The formed groups were:

- Liquor Adverts
- Adverts for baby products
- Hair and Scalp Products from magazines of South African origin.
- Hair and Scalp Products from magazines of American origin
- Hair and Scalp Products from magazines of UK/British origin
- Car Products
- Slimming, Energy and Cellulite Products
- Insurance, Medical Aid and Banking Products
- Health Care and Medicinal Products
- Education products
- Cosmetic and Skin Products from magazines of South African origin
- Cosmetic and Skin Products from magazines of American origin
- Cosmetic and Skin Products from magazines of UK/British origin
- Jewellery (bracelets, rings, bangles, necklaces)
- Machinery (cell phones, calculators, computers, organizers)
- Cigarette (including smokeless tobacco)
- Household Goods (appliances: washing machines, dish washers, fridges and other household detergents like dish washing soap, and washing soap)
- Fashion
- Watches
- Sunglasses
- Perfume

Body Image: Analysis of individual Adverts

The second part will be analysis of the medium and to explore the interactive processes in which the recipient engages in to decode messages from the adverts. Here, a limited number of body images will be selected for analysis from different magazines and each body image will be analysed. To analyse image the event schema and the semantic codes of non-verbal communication that are salient in each body image will be analysed and where there are more than one body images the semantic role relationships between entities will also be analysed. The analysis of each image will be integrated with the analysis of the interactive process that the recipient will engage in as s/he decodes messages from the advert. However, it should be noted that no specific set of criteria would be used for each image. The approach adopted here will be emphasis of the most salient signs in each image.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed the philosophical framework on which this study is based. In doing so, I highlighted some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I discussed the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study is based. Thereafter, I applied the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. I then discussed the research methodology that will be used in the study. In doing so, I discussed the inductive approach that will be used, and then I discussed how the first and the second analysis of the adverts would be conducted. In the following chapter, I will analyse the adverts from different magazines that are available in South Africa in the 21st century. In analysing the magazines, I will first analyse the gender of the body image that accompany different types of adverts. This will show how the communicator has a gendered view of the recipient. Then, I will analyse body images from a limited number of adverts. In doing so I will be analysing medium and how the recipient interacts with the medium in decoding messages.

Chapter 7

GENDER SUBTEXTS IN MAGAZINE ADVERTS

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter, I discussed the philosophical framework on which this study is based. In doing so, I highlighted some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I discussed the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study is based. Thereafter, I applied the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. I then discussed the research methodology that will be used in the study. In doing so, I discussed the inductive approach that will be used, and then I discussed how the first and the second analysis of the adverts would be conducted. In this chapter, I will analyse the adverts from different magazines that are available in South Africa in the 21st century. In analysing the magazines, I will first analyse the gender of the body image that accompany different types of adverts. This will show how the communicator has a gendered view of the recipient. Then, I will analyse body images from a limited number of adverts. In doing so I will be analysing the medium and how the recipient interacts with the medium in decoding messages.

THE COMMUNICATOR

By nature, human beings are mortal but medical science, the health and food industries are in a constant struggle to try to beat mortality. There are indirect claims by science that damaged skin can be repaired, symptoms of ageing can be softened or hidden. The medical science is not only looking at the superficial aspect as the process of plastic surgery—to remove wrinkles—organ transplants as well as growing research on stem technology (cloning) are all attempts to turn back the tide of ageing. Again, there is increase in the referral to alternative medicine as opposed to mainstream medicine.

However, it is not only the medical science that is trying to fight off the ageing process, the health and food industry has many theories that healthy living improves the quality of life and the most commonly quoted metaphor being that 'You are what you eat.' Furthermore, the fashion industry also promotes the illusion of youthfulness by projecting younger models in

advert. Mature models are not projected because they are symbols of mortality of human kind. They will remind us that humans are not ageless.

The communicator plays a major role to promote this image of vitality and youthfulness. When advertising products, there are facts that are not revealed. For example, unless a person sets himself / herself to think about it, it is not easily clear in adverts that the portrayed models are young not because of the products but because of their age. They are there (in the adverts) because they had to replace the maturing models and when the current models start to mature, the younger models will also replace them and the cycle goes on and on. Again, alcohol beverages are advertised without clear hangovers and all alcoholism with all its consequences.

However, the communicator is not only supportive of the 'illusion' of agelessness, but it is also not gender sensitive. Almost all products that promote this 'illusion' of agelessness are associated with females by advertising them with the female body image. Again, the female body image is utilised in a variety of ways in adverts. For instance, in female body images that are aimed at the male audience the sexuality component is emphasised. On the other hand, in female body images that are aimed at the female audience the illusion of vitality and youthfulness is emphasised. Again, the magazines themselves are clearly gendered. There are magazines that are aimed at females like W MAGAZINE, MARIE CLARE and TODAY'S BLACK WOMAN and there are magazines that are aimed at the male audience like the GQ GENTLEMAN'S QUARTERLY, MAXIM for men.

Liquor Adverts

Figure 11: Liquor adverts					
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Male	Male & Male	Female & Male	Product
Pace, June 2002		1			
W Magazine, May 2002	1			1	1
ELLE, May 2002	1			1	
GQ Gentleman's Quarterly, May 2002	3	2	2	2	2
MAXIM, May 2002	2		1	6	7
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002				1	
Total	7	3	3	11	10

In Figure 11, advertisements for liquor products that appeared in six magazines (that is, PACE, W MAGAZINE, ELLE, GQ, MAXIM and HARPER'S BAZAAR) were grouped together. The PACE magazine is of South African origin and its market is African communities, mostly 'urban'—Africans who live in township areas. W MAGAZINE, ELLE and HARPER'S BAZAAR are magazines of American origin and they are aimed mostly at female readers. GQ and MAXIM are also of American origin but they are aimed at male readers. The number of liquor advertisements, which appeared in two magazines aimed at male readers, was far more than the number of liquor advertisements that appeared in four magazines aimed at female readers and this shows that liquor is associated with males. However, out of twenty-four liquor advertisements that were accompanied by a body image, six were accompanied by the male body image, seven had a female body image and eleven had both female and male body images. While liquor is marketed to the male as the consumer, the female is present, not as the consumer, but as an element to complete the social context for entertainment for the male consumer. In adverts that were accompanied by a female body image, the woman was portrayed as being seductive or available for sex. Women posed with suggestive looks and positions and the accompanying texts were overloaded with suggestive terms. For instance, in the advert for *Vive Cuervo* the picture of a woman with a suggestive look and smile was accompanied by the text that said, "Bad girls make good company." (MAXIM May 2002:89). In another advert for *Bacardi*, the accompanying picture showed a woman holding a glass of liquor in one hand and stripping off her clothes with another hand. The accompanying text said, "Veterinarian by day / Bacardi by night" (MAXIM, May 2002: 63). In adverts where the picture portrayed both female and male images, there was an element of humour and the product was

advertised in the context of entertainment, where the woman together with liquor provided good time for men. The accompanying texts had suggestive terms like, "Catch of the day." (GQ, May 2002: 135), "Tempting." (GQ, May 2002: 86 and ELLE, May 2002: 25), "Inviting." (W MAGAZINE (May 2002: 67), "Distinctive." (MAXIM, May 2002: 210).

Adverts that were accompanied by a male body image were put in the context of business and the accompanying text gave information about the quality of the product. For instance, in the advert for *Viking fjord*, the picture of a man who was formally dressed in a tie was accompanied by the text, which said,

...senior Bartender, The Campbell Apartment. Started bartending fourteen years ago...attentive service in an elegant atmosphere... a drink he served for President Clinton.

GQ, May 2002: 95.

In the advert for *Vodka*, two men fully dressed in overcoats were busy working and the accompanying text said,

When crafting our rye Vodka... crafted using traditions over 500 years old....

GQ, May 2002: 67.

In the advert for *KWV Brandy*, the picture portrayed a man who was well groomed and formally dressed. The accompanying text said,

Consistently the world's best. The symbol of perfection....

PACE, June 2002: 5.

In this advert, the picture together with the text provided information about the quality of the product and in a subtle way the quality of life of the man portrayed.

Baby Products

Figure 12: Adverts for Baby Products			
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts			
	Female & Baby	Baby	Product
Pace, June 2002	2		
Bona, August 2002	2	3	
OK Weekly, May 2002		1	1
Drum, Sept 2002		1	
Total	4	4	1

In Figure 12, most products were advertised without a body image in the picture. A few adverts which were accompanied by a picture, the body image was that of a female together with a baby and there was no male body image in any of the adverts. This absence of male images in advertising baby products reflects and reinforces the societal stereotype of putting the burden of childcare to the woman. This stereotype distances the male parent from his parental role in the upbringing of the children. Again, in this group the stereotype of the “Perfect Body” and “Agelessness” which a woman has to achieve is reinforced in a subtle way. The accompanying texts of adverts for skin baby products implied that both the woman and the baby could use the product. For example, in the advert for *Gentle Magic*, there was an image of a woman and a baby with their faces put together and the accompanying text said,

... no matter who you are or how old you may be, nothing protects and preserves the natural beauty of your skin the way Gentle Magic does....

PACE, June: 125, 75.

This, in a subtle way, reinforces the stereotype that a woman has to work on her skin so that she acquires a smooth youthful skin which is like that of a baby, and the product will help her achieve that.

Hair and Scalp Products in magazines of South African origin

Figure 13: Adverts for Hair & Scalp Products in Magazines of South African origin			
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts			
	Female	Male	Female & Female
Pace, June 2002	7	1	
Bona, August 2002	4	1	
Clicks Club card July / August 2002	11		
Essentials, June 2002	38	1	
Marie Claire, June 2002	46		1
Fairlady, 24 July 2002	13		
Total	119	3	1

In Figure 13 six magazines of South African origin—PACE and BONA aimed at African communities, FAIRLADY and MARIE CLAIRE aimed at female readers; and CLICKS CLUB CARD and ESSENTIALS family magazines— where advertisements for hair and scalp products appeared were grouped together. Out of one hundred and twenty three advertisements in all six magazines, one hundred and twenty had female body images and only three had male body images thus reinforcing the stereotype of the “Beauty myth” for women. The CLICKS CLUB CARD MAGAZINE is aimed at people who buy at Clicks—a Health, Home and Beauty Store and the store has products for both male and female but in the magazine, female body images accompanied hair and scalp products. There was no advert for hair and scalp products that was accompanied by a male body image.

In magazines that are aimed at African communities, PACE and BONA, some degree of emphasis on relaxed hair being the beautiful hair was evident in words like, “silky hair”, “straight up gorgeous” (PACE, June 2002:1,2, and 45. Celebrities were made to appear using and being appreciative of the products advertised. For example, in the advert for *Soft ‘n free’ Hair Products* (PACE, June 2002), a young African television actress who acts in a popular television soap “Generations” was portrayed. The image appeared in the inside of the cover page that was a glossy paper to emphasize luxury. The cast shadows in the picture emphasised the texture of the leather jacket that she was wearing and the picture was a close-up to express the importance of an actress. The camera had made a value-judgement by recording the actress from a low angle to give the impression of overpowering strength that she appeared to have. The actress appeared to be looking down on us, but as viewers, we looked at her from a low angle—figuratively she was somebody to ‘look up to’. This advertisement, through its

photomontage, capitalised on the needs of the viewer—the South African youth in townships—as to enable her to identify with the actress in the advert and it ensured that the buyers of the product believed that they would acquire such modernity and prestige. The young actress was depicted in such a way that she appeared to be enjoying enormous popularity because of her fame as an actress and her luxurious appearance and environment in the picture. The words “treat yourself—I do” made her appear to be appreciative of the product and the picture induced a sense of longing in the recipient to participate in her situation. However, the direct connection between the quality of the product and the beautiful hair of the actress as well as the direct connection between the product and the depicted actress’s successful career were remote but the identification process was set in motion. Together with the product, the concept of beauty as a prerequisite for success was sold and the old gender stereotype that a woman needs to be beautiful in order to be successful in life was reinforced.

In another advert for Darling Hair Care Products, the accompanying text said, “Thank you Darling!” and it was signed, “Tebogo K” then down it was written, “S.A. Dance Champion” (PACE, June 2002:16). In the advert for *Dark and Lovely Hair Relaxer*, the accompanying text said, “Straight up gorgeous” and on the female body image it was written, “Model: Tarnia White”. This association of the products with celebrities capitalises on the needs of the reader and persuades them to think that if they buy and use the products they would acquire such popularity and status like the celebrities.

In the few adverts that were accompanied by male images, the male was not just posing for the photo but was in action. The accompanying text gave information about the quality of the product. For example, in the advert for *Kamillen Hair Products*, the accompanying body image portrayed a well-groomed, formally dressed male who was holding a phone and writing at the same time. He appeared to be busy though there was no background to the image. The accompanying text focused more on the quality of the product as it said,

...enhance your best feature. When you use Kamillen, you get the best in hair care. Get your hair looking good, and keep it that way... Tried and trusted for over 50 years

PACE, June 2002:146

Hair and Scalp Products in magazines of USA origin

Figure 14: Hair & Scalp Products in Magazines of American origin					
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Female & Female	Male	Female & Male	Product
Today's Black Woman, May 2002	28	1	1		2
W Magazine, May 2002	2	1			
ELLE, May 2002	3			1	4
MAXIM, May 2002	1		1	2	
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002	2				
Total	36	2	2	3	6

In this group, not many hair care products were advertised and out of forty-three adverts with body images, thirty-eight had a female body image, three had both female and male body images and two had a male body image. In this group only TODAY'S BLACK WOMAN MAGAZINE, May 2002— a magazine that is aimed at black women— had twenty-eight adverts accompanied by female body images, other magazines had a range of one to three adverts. A range of the products which were advertised in TODAY'S BLACK WOMAN MAGAZINE were hair relaxers, hair conditioners, hair colouring products, hair styling products whereas in other magazines in this group, adverts were limited to products which protect hair from breaking during blow-drying or brushing, hair colouring for blonde hair and one advert for hair salons in America. The stereotype of the "Western standard of beauty" which an African woman has to strive to achieve is reflected in a subtle way.

Hair and Scalp Products in magazines of UK / British origin

Figure 15: Hair and Scalp Products in Magazine of UK / British Origin		
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts		
	Female	Female & Female
Top Health and Beauty, May 2002	2	
Shortcuts, April 2002	4	
OK Weekly, 16 May 2002	2	2
Total	8	2

In this group, not many hair care products were advertised with the accompanying body images. All ten adverts had a female body image while none had a male body image and none had female and male body images together. The SHORTCUTS MAGAZINE is a magazine that shows a wide range of styles for short hair and is aimed mainly at a young white woman. While

there were numerous hairstyles for hair that were advertised in the SHORTCUTS MAGAZINE, April 2002, only four adverts for hair care products appeared with an accompanying body image. Of these, two advertised products for rapid growth of hair and two advertised products for hair styling.

Car Products

Figure 16: Adverts for Cars				
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts				
	Female	Male	Male & Male	Female & Male
Speed, Issue No 71 May/June 2002	7	23		4
BMW, May 2002	1	12		
Mercedes Enthusiast, May 2002	3	13		
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002				1
Cars, October 2002	1	7		1
MAXIM, May 2002	2	1		
Top Car, October 2002		6		1
Fairlady, June 2002	1			
GQ, (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002			1	1
Oprah, August / September 2002	1			
ELLE, May 2002				
W Magazine, May 2002	1			1
OK Weekly, May 2002				1
Total	17	62	1	10

In this group, numerous car products are advertised without any body image accompanying the advert. Only adverts that were accompanied by a body image were counted and observed. Sixty-three adverts were advertised with a male body image as against seventeen adverts, which were accompanied, by a female body image. In most adverts where there was a female body image, the woman was just posing for a photo and not doing anything. It was only in few adverts where the women were in action. Of these in one advert, the woman was driving the car, in the two adverts, women were just touching the car, and there was no clear meaning in what they were doing. In the advert for international motor show, one young girl was showing the car and the other young women were standing next to other cars that were on show. (CARS, October 2002, Pages 2 and 3 and TOP CAR, October 2002, pages 66 and 67). In an advert for *Mercedes Benz*, the car was put on stage and the women were modeling on stage. In this advert, the onlookers were viewing both the car and the modelling women on stage (GQ,

May 2002, page inside cover page). Where the image was that of a man, the male appeared in action either driving the car, fixing a car or car parts, fixing the car engine or tyre. In one advert that appeared in MERCEDES ENTHUSIAST of 7 May 2002:74, the car covers were advertised with a female body image. The woman was the salient feature in the picture, as she appeared larger than the car covers advertised. The camera focused on her more than the other parts of the advert. She appeared to be wearing a swimsuit and her body was covered with a transparent piece of cloth. The accompanying text that was written across the female image said, “Beautiful bodies need covering.” This forced the connection between the bodies of the expensive cars that need to be covered by the products that were advertised and the body of a woman. This advert gave a notion that a woman is a ‘body’ and a body belongs to someone. And her beauty as a body is equated to that of a car—clear objectification.

Slimming, Energy and Cellulite Products

Figure 17 Adverts for Slimming, Energy and Cellulite Products			
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts			
	Female	Male	Female & Male
Bona, August 2002	1		1
Today's Black Woman, May 2002	5	1	1
W Magazine, May 2002	1		
ELLE, May 2002	2		
MAXIM, May 2002		3	1
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002	1		
Clicks Club card, July/August 2002	5	1	
Top Health & Beauty, May 2002	5		
Shortcuts, April 2002	1		
GQ Gentleman's Quarterly, May 2002		1	
Essentials, June 2002	3		
OK Weekly, May 2002	1		
Total	25	6	3

In Figure 17, most products were associated with female body images. Twenty-five were advertised with a female body image as against six that were advertised with a male body image. The products that were advertised with a male body image were mainly energy products while the products that were advertised with a female body image were mainly those for slimming and cellulite. This reinforces the stereotype that while the man is busy building up his body for strength the woman should work towards perfecting her body for viewing.

Insurance, Medical Aid and Banking Products

Figure 18: Adverts for Insurance, Medical Aid and Banking Products						
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts						
	Female	Male	Female & Male	Female & Baby	Baby	Product
Bona, August 2002	2	2				
Clicks Club Card, July/August 2002			1			
African decisions, April-June 2002	1	2				
W Magazine, May 2002			1			
GQ Gentleman's Quarterly, May 2002		1				
Pace, June 2002				1	1	
Drum, September 2002						1
Oprah, August / September 2002	2					
Total	5	5	2	1	1	1

In Figure 18, products grouped were financial products. The distribution of adverts looked equal—five adverts were advertised with a female body image and five adverts were advertised with a male body image. However, the products that were associated with the female body image were medical aid and insurance products, promoting longevity whereas other financial products that were linked to male body image were investment products. And, the OPRAH MAGAZINE is a contemporary magazine aimed at women. It had to link its adverts to female images anyway. AFRICAN DECISION is a magazine aimed at the male audience.

Health Care and Medicinal Products

Figure 19: Adverts for Health Care and Medicinal products							
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts							
	Female	Fem & Fem	Male	Male & Male	Female & Male	Fem, Male & Baby	Product
Pace, June 2002				1			
Clicks Club Card, Jul/ Aug 2002	1		1		4		5
Essentials, June 2002	1					1	
Mari Claire, June 2002	1						
Top Health & Beauty, May 2002	3						
Oprah, August / September 2002		1					
Fairlady, July 2002		1					1
ELLE, May 2002			1				
Bona, August 2002			1	1			1
Total	6	2	3	2	4	1	7

In Figure 19, eight products were linked to female body images only and five were linked to male body images only. However, all magazines where these products appeared were

either the magazines that are aimed at the female audience or family magazines. All magazines that are aimed at the male audience did not have these health care and medicinal products being advertised. This perpetuates the stereotype of a female as the caregiver in a society.

Education Products

Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Female & Female	Male	Male & Male	Product
Pace, June 2002	1				
Bona, August 2002	1	1			1
African Decisions, Apr-June 2002			1		
Today's Black Woman, May 2002					
W Magazine, May 2002	1				
Drum, September 2002				1	1
Oprah, August / September 2002	1				
Total	4	1	1	1	2

In Figure 20, adverts in this group only appeared in magazines that are aimed at the African Communities. A few adverts in this group on education were accompanied by body images and most adverts were not linked to body images. Two adverts showed male body images as against five that showed a female body image. While it might look encouraging that education products were associated with female body images, it is discouraging that all adverts with female body images were advertising distance learning courses which emphasised 'learning in the comfort of your own home' while enjoying your full life. One advert was about courses on *Interior Decoration, Business Management and Child Day Care Management*—stereotypical jobs for women (TODAY'S BLACK WOMAN, May 2002). One advert with a male body image, which appeared in AFRICAN DECISIONS MAGAZINE, had its accompanying text saying,

Precision, Technology, Creativity. International exchange opportunities with our partner universities abroad.

African decisions, April-June 2002:62

In this group of adverts, education for women was put within the confines of the home and social life. In a subtle way the adverts implied that a woman can be educated but she needs

to be at home so that she fulfils all the gender roles and social responsibilities which had been given to her by society. Again, her education should be in line with the roles, for example, childcare and house decoration. On the other hand, the man is encouraged not only to move out of the home in order to enter the corporate world but to move out of the country into the global world.

Cosmetic and Skin Products in magazines of South African origin

Figure 21: Adverts for Cosmetic and Skin Products in magazines of South African origin					
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Female & Female	Female & Male	Female & Baby	Product
Oprah, Aug - Sept 2002	10	1	1		4
Fairlady, 24 June 2002	3	2			4
Pace, June 2002	2			2	1
Bona, August 2002	3				13
Clicks Club Card, July/August 2002	15	1	2		14
Essentials, June 2002	4				2
Marie Claire, June 2002	2			1	12
Drum, Sept 2002	1				
Total	40	4	3	3	50

In Figure 21, all products were advertised in magazines that are aimed at the female audience and in family magazine. Again, none of the adverts were accompanied by the male body image. This reinforced the 'beauty' that is associated with women. Adverts that were associated with the male body images were advertising products that are related to bodybuilding.

Cosmetic and Skin Products in magazines of American origin

Figure 22: Adverts for Cosmetic and Skin Products in magazines of American origin				
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts				
	Female	Male	Female & Male	Products
Today's Black Woman, May 2002	4			1
W Magazine, May 2002	8		1	1
GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002		3	12	4
MAXIM, May 2002		2	2	2
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002		2		3
ELLE, May 2002	13			3
Total	25	7	15	14

In Figure 22, twenty-five adverts were accompanied by the female body image as against seven that were accompanied by a male body image. This also perpetuates the association of the beauty myth with female. Adverts that were associated with the male body image were advertising products that are related to bodybuilding.

Cosmetic and Skin Products in magazines of UK / British origin

Figure 23: Adverts for Cosmetic and Skin Products in magazines of UK / British origin				
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts				
	Female	Female & Female	Female & Male	Product
Top Health & Beauty, May 2002	15		1	
OK Weekly, May 2002	5	1		4
Shortcuts, April 2002	5			
Total	25	1	1	4

In Figure 23, products were advertised in magazines that are aimed at the female audience and twenty-six products were linked to female body images. There was no advert that was accompanied by a male body image and only one advert in the TOP HEALTH AND BEAUTY MAGAZINE was linked to the male and female body images. This shows that the stereotype of beauty is clearly associated with females.

Jewellery (bracelets, rings, bangles, necklaces)

Figure 24: Adverts for Jewellery (bracelets, rings, bangles, necklaces)				
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts				
	Female	Female & Female	Male & Female	Product
ELLE, May 2002				5
W Magazine, May 2002	5	1		6
Clicks Club Card, Jul/Aug 02				2
Marie Claire, June 2002				1
OK Weekly, May 2002				1
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002	2		2	5
Total	7	1	2	20

Adverts for jewellery were advertised mainly in the magazines aimed at the female audience and they were products for women. However, twenty products were not associated with a body image as against seven that were associated with the female body images. The communicator wanted to show the products clearly by excluding every other thing in the picture. No products were linked to the male images only. Most products were not linked to body images; they were advertised as products themselves.

Machines (cell phones, calculators, computer equipment, organizers)

Figure 25: Adverts for Machines (cell phones, calculators, computer equipment, organizers)				
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts				
	Female	Male & Female	Male & Male	Product
ELLE, May 2002				1
GQ, May 2002			1	1
MAXIM, May 2002				5
Clicks Club Card, July/August 2002				2
OK Weekly, May 2002				1
Drum, September 2002	1			3
Fairlady, June 2002		1		
Total	1	1	1	13

In Figure 25, most adverts in this group were not linked to the body image. These are machine products that are not usually associated with females.

Cigarette (including smokeless tobacco)

Figure 26: Adverts for Cigarette including smokeless tobacco)		
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts		
	Male	Product
GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly), may 2002		3
MAXIM, May 2002	1	
Harper's Bazaar, My 2002		
Total	1	3

In Figure 26, cigarette products were advertised and all adverts appeared mainly in magazines that are aimed at the male audience. None of the adverts was accompanied by a female body image. This shows that women are associated with the stereotype of 'purity'.

Household goods

Figure 27: Adverts for Household goods (washing machines, fridges, dishwashers, cleaning agents)		
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts		
	Female	Product
Bona, August 2002		1
Essentials, June 2002		4
OK Weekly, May 2002		3
Fairlady, June 2002	1	
Oprah, August / September 2002		1
Total	1	9

In Figure 27, the products that were advertised were household appliances mainly those that are used by females to do their house chores. However, the products were not linked to the body images and only one was linked to the female body image, and that was a washing powder. This clearly shows the stereotype of not associating the machine with females.

Fashion (clothing, swimwear, shoes, handbags, lingerie, stockings)

Figure 28: Adverts for Fashion (clothing, swimwear, shoes, handbags, lingerie, stockings)					
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Female & Female	Male & Male	Male & Female	Product
ELLE, May 2002	65	1		2	3
Today's Black Woman, May 2002	8				1
Pace, June 2002	3		3	2	1
W Magazine, May 2002	15				
GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002	4		4	10	1
Maxim, May 2002	1		6		
Bona, August 2002	5				
Clicks Club Card, July/August 2002	2				
Essentials, June 2002	9				
Marie Claire, June 2002	78	3	2		1
OK Weekly, May 2002	1				
Drum, September 2002	8				1
Fairlady, June 2002	5			2	
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002	62	4			7
Oprah, August/September 2002	16				4
Total	282	8	15	16	19

In Figure 28, many products were advertised in this group and most of them were linked to the female body images. The purpose of fashion is to create an illusion of beauty and healthiness that is associated with females. Healthiness and beauty is also related to fertility because it is presumed that a beautiful woman is healthy and will therefore give birth to healthy babies.

Watches

Figure 29: Adverts for Watches					
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Female & Male	Female & Female	Male	Product
ELLE, May 2002	2	1	1		6
Today's Black Woman, May 2002					1
Pace, June 2002					1
W Magazine, May 2002	3				11
GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002				3	4
Maxim, May 2002					5
Clicks Club Card, July/August 2002					1
Marie Claire, June 2002	1				
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002					3
Total	6	1	1	3	32

In Figure 29, many adverts for watches were not linked to body images, they were advertised as products themselves, a similar trend that was observed in the adverts for jewellery products. However, seven products were linked to female body images as against only three that were linked to male body images.

Sunglasses

Figure 30: Adverts for Sunglasses			
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts			
	Female	Female & Male	Product
ELLE, May 2002	6	1	1
W Magazine, May 2002	2	2	
GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002			1
Maxim, May 2002			5
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002	5		1
Total	13	3	8

In Figure 30, sunglasses were advertised with the female body images. The models that were linked to the sunglasses mostly did not wear a smile. According to Mersham and Skinner (1999:21), a person who is wearing dark glasses hides his/her feelings and thoughts because we can read a person's feelings and thoughts through his/her eyes. No advert in this group was linked to a male body image.

Perfume

Figure 31: Adverts for Perfume					
Gender of the accompanying body image in adverts					
	Female	Female & Male	Female & Female	Male	Product
ELLE, May 2002	1	1			
Pace, June 2002		1		1	
W Magazine, May 2002	1	1			
GO (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002	1	1			
Maxim, May 2002		1		1	
Clicks Club Card, July/August 2002	1	1			
Marie Claire, June 2002	4				
OK Weekly, May 2002			1		
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002	2	1			1
Total	10	7	1	2	1

In Figure 31, perfume was mainly associated with female body images. Eleven adverts were linked to female body images as against two that were linked to male body images. The two adverts that were linked to the male body images associated perfume with power. Again, one perfume for women was associated with power to seduce men.

From the analysis of the body images that accompanied the adverts in magazines (Figures 11 to 31 above), there were clear trends that indicated that the traditional gender stereotypes still exist in the advertising industry. The stereotype of the 'Beauty myth' that is associated with females was clearly identified. Adverts for beauty products; hair and scalp products, slimming and cellulite products, cosmetics and skin products, fashion products and jewellery were mainly linked to female body images. The stereotype of a female as the caregiver was also clear as adverts for health care and medicinal products, insurance and medical aid products as well as education products were linked to female body images. The stereotype of a female as a sex object was clearly identified as liquor products that were mainly advertised in magazines that are aimed at the male audience were linked to the female body image, sometimes both female and male body images. And, the female was projected as available to entertain the male image. The stereotype of a male as the machine expert was also evident as most car products were clearly linked to male body images. Due to the preponderance of the female body images in the magazines, the following section is particularly dedicated to look at the female body images.

THE MEDIUM IS NOT NEUTRAL

Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) as cited by Jansen and Steinberg (1991:27) had long proposed in his theory that the “medium is the message” emphasising that the medium element in communication has greater influence than the message that is communicated. Mersham and Skinner (1999:9-11) stated that the medium is the mode of transport for the message that is communicated to its destination and they came up with an analogy that the medium is like a bucket of water, which can be of any shape, material or size.

Gretchen Craft Rubin in the article that appeared in ELLE magazine of May 2002 stated that e-mail is the medium of communication, but it can also be the message. For instance, sending e-mail at 4:00 A.M. may give an impression that a person is working very early in the morning or is putting in a late night. Again, responding to e-mail promptly, may give an impression that a person is serious with his/her work and vice versa.

Zettl (1999:10) also stated that the medium has great influence in shaping the idea / message that is communicated. According to Zettl (1999:4-5) though not all things are art, they have the potential of “serving as raw material for the aesthetic communication effect called art” because when the elements of applied media aesthetic—light, space, time, motion and sound—are combined in a context, they can “produce” a particular communication effect. The natural elements of light waves are extended by technologies to create the contexts for the products that are advertised. The magazine page is still a flat piece of paper but light, colour, dimensions and shadows are integrated to create ‘perfect’ body images—perfect facial and body symmetry. According to Zettl (1999:10), the control of light orientates us to our outer environment (objects, their sizes and shapes) as well as our inner environment (emotions, feelings). Therefore, the mass communicator manipulates light; camera, space and shape to combine the elements that are most appropriate in order to mould an idea so that it elicits a predictable response from the recipient and the recipient is most often not aware that their emotions are being manipulated. But Zettl (1999: 10) also says that a well-calculated context can serve as a stimulus that determines how people should react or perceive the event and even when people are aware that they are manipulated, it is very difficult for them to resist the power of the context. For example, people who are on board in the South African Aircraft watching “Just a Joke” actions that are projected on the screens will laugh because the motions, dimensions, colours, and so on, combined to form acting images on the screens were well calculated to elicit

a humorous response from the viewer. Therefore, people's reactions to a particular context can be predicted and advertisers use this power of the context to direct / dictate the consumer's response. In magazine adverts, the medium is the graphic images and the texts that accompany the graphic images.

Semantic Role Relationships of Images

Semantic role analysis is usually used to analyse symbolic roles in verbal or written language, but these role relationships with equal effect can be used to analyse body images on graphical representation, including photographs. In this section, a limited number of female body images from magazines will be analysed.⁶

In the images of the adverts, elements of light, colour, shape, size and dimensions are combined to produce an event schema where the participants in the picture (advert) have certain "roles" or are in a particular action or state. According to Dirven and Verspoor (1998:82), roles that the entities have can be 'active' when the entity is the source of energy and 'passive' when the entity is undergoing an action. Entities that are a source of energy (active) are referred to as Agents and those that are undergoing an action are referred to as Patients. Dirven and Verspoor (1998: 83) have classified event schemas into seven types—"being" schema, "experiencing" schema⁷, "doing" schema, "happening" schema, "having" schema, "moving" schema and "transferring" schema, according to the roles of the participants in the event schema.

THE RECIPIENT AND THE PERCEPTUAL PROCESS

In order for effective communication to take place the recipient element should be actively involved in the communication process. According to Mersham and Skinner (1999:18) when the recipient interacts with the medium, s/he receives the ideas that have been encoded by the communicator and decodes them—that is, s/he transfers the signs and symbols into meaningful information. Then, the process of interpretation takes place where the recipient interprets the message. The perception process has great influence during the decoding and

⁶ As part of the analysis, the semantic role relationships of the images in the adverts will also be looked at.

⁷ According to Dirven and Verspoor (1998:81-84) in the being schema the entity plays an essive role. It is less involved and is thus referred to as a patient and s/he undergoes an action. The experiencing schema shows how does someone feel, hear, see, and so on. The entity is therefore an experiencer or a patient.

interpretation process.

According to Steinberg (1994:35), during the perception process we select, organise and interpret information. Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988:61) say that during perception we try to get a meaningful whole out of the given information. As we select information we tend to pay more attention to the more salient features of the perceptual field—the more salient features can be fore-grounded entities, brightly coloured or well-lit elements or anything that makes the 'unusual'. According to Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988:70) the most salient feature for most of us is our own 'self'. Therefore, when the perceptual field has a human element, we tend to focus our attention more to the humans and our perceptions of other people are strongly influenced by our perceptions of our own self. Again, Steinberg (1994:36) says that our experiences—our values, beliefs and attitudes—influence our selection. We select information that reaffirms our values, attitudes and beliefs.

However, Sears, Peplau and Freedman (1988:67) say that we do not perceive salient stimuli in isolation. We immediately categorise them into a group according to similarities and the similarity is usually between the object / entity that is being categorized and the ideal or typical example of the category—the prototype. Each time we are confronted with a new situation, we do not try to understand it afresh. Instead, we draw on our knowledge of past similar situations for making interpretations, and this is how schemas help us to process information very quickly. Schemas might also contain expectations of that might happen. The expectations determine how pleasant / unpleasant we find that particular situation. Therefore, they produce emotional response. The images that we see in magazine adverts act as stimuli that evoke a response from us. Then we perceive situations as dynamic wholes so that they make sense to us. In order to decode the messages from the images, we use non-verbal codes of communication particularly visual codes.

Body Language

The whole of the human body is a means by which to express what happens in a man's inner being.

The way he walks, he stands or slouches, how his eye shines or is dull, every facial expression, every sound of his throat, and every movement of his mouth—everything in and on him is a continuous, ever-changing projection of his inner feelings in respect to the outside world.

Van Weelden (2002:1)

Mehrabian (Non-verbal Communication, Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972, <http://www.donnellking.com/index.htm>, 2003-01-17) in his research found that seven percent of the emotional meaning of a message is communicated through explicit verbal channels, thirty eight percent is communicated by paralanguage,⁸ and fifty five percent is communicated through non-verbal communication. According to Mersham and Skinner (1999:19) body language will include areas like facial expressions, gestures, gaze behaviour and body posture that are portrayed in the images. However, the interpretation of body language is relative. There can be a variety of interpretations from one body language expression. For example, Mersham and Skinner (1999: 19) state that a smile may be interpreted as a sign of “friendliness, amusement, and understanding—but also nervousness or self-justification” depending on the context. But a smile can also have little to do with a person's emotions but can just be a technique of communication like a ‘posed smile’ on the faces of the models that are portrayed in the magazine adverts. Again, the interpretation of body language depends on the culture of the individual. For example, Mersham and Skinner (1999: 21) state that in Western culture avoidance of eye contact is interpreted negatively—a person may be interpreted as dishonest whereas in most African cultures avoidance of eye contact is interpreted as a sign of respect and it is therefore an expected gaze behaviour. In South Africa where schools impose the Western culture, learners are taught to stand up when an educator (adult) enters the classroom, at home the African culture –particularly the Zulu culture—requires that you sit down or kneel down when speaking to an adult person as a sign of respect. Again, standing inside the house is not an acceptable sign of behaviour.

⁸ Paralanguage refers to how the voice was used when communicating the message.

So, as we interact with the adverts and interpret the images we bring into the graphic text our whole 'individual self'—our background and past experiences, culture, beliefs, values and attitudes into that text. Schaun and Flanagan (1992:188-189) also say that we also bring our common understanding of the language and our beliefs about what the words say, our understanding of meanings and our beliefs about what the words say are mainly guided by the community we are living in. According to Schaun and Flanagan (1992:188-189) part of what we bring into the text is our gendered self. As men and women, our different life experiences have shaped how we view the world and thus determine our areas of focus on the text we are interacting with as well as the elements we respond to. That also determines how open we are to another point of view. For example, perception of attractiveness is sex-specific because it is based on the evolutionary pair bonding selection criteria (Gary F. Marcus "Beauty and the Beast within us." February 27, 2001 SPY CollegeTermPapers.com 2002-12-24) states that evolution has shaped our minds and how we learn. Females value socio-economic status, prestige and wealth, which are linked to commitment whereas males value attractiveness, healthiness and youthfulness, which are linked to reproductive capacity. Males will therefore be attracted to exaggerated feminine traits like smaller jaw and fuller lips and females will be attracted to wealthy, fit males. Therefore, the images in the magazine adverts try to address these gender differences in the selection processes of males and females.

So, making sense of the text is subjective. It depends on our individual gendered self. As a result, one graphic image can evoke different emotions in different people and the more emotion we see in the graphic image, the more we become emotionally involved when interacting with that image. According to Damasio (1996:127), we have two emotional centers in the prefrontal cortex of the brain. The left hemisphere is concerned with positive emotions and the right hemisphere is concerned with negative emotions. In order to make a balanced decision, the two centers should be working together at the same time. Damasio (1996:127) states that the conceptual knowledge and emotions that are relevant to the particular experience are co-indexed whenever they are saved in our long-term memory. So, when we encounter a new event according to Edelman (1989:64), we see it as something that we can remember or something that is similar to what we know and can remember. This comparison between the present and the past that we can remember goes on all the time but we are not aware of it. So, all interpretation is analogical. We observe a new event, then past memories are awakened, and

are involved in the process of interpretation and then they are superimposed to the new situation. Then the interpretation will be the 'expectation' (what was expected). We superimpose what we know (the remembered past) on what we do not know (the new event). Therefore, in magazine adverts, the stereotypical knowledge that we have accumulated through our experiences (cultural, religions, language, and so on) is superimposed to the images in the adverts, and the interpretation would be the "expected". The recipient (as interpreter) is not objective but subjectively involved. In the following images, I will illustrate how the images can evoke different emotions from different people as they interact with the image.

“Oh Shit!”

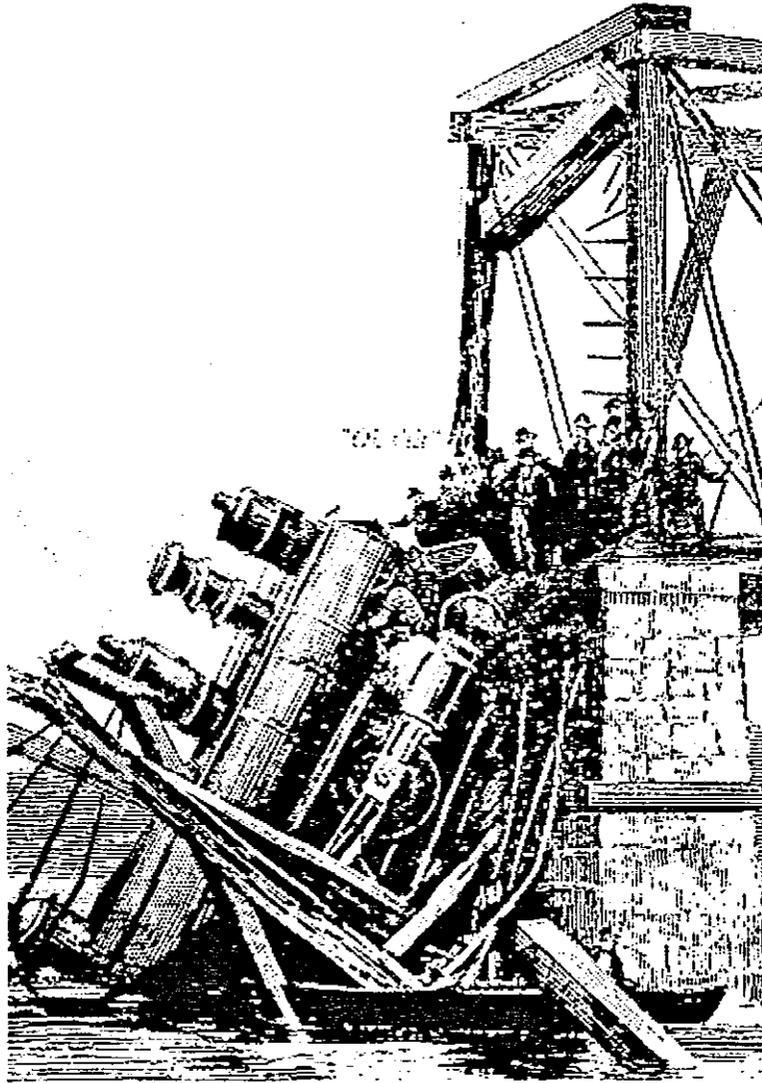


Figure 32: “Oh Shit!”

Figure 32 is a chauvinistic image with the male language accompanying the image. When I interact with Figure 32, it might not be easy to recognise what is happening in the picture. I need to have prior knowledge about trains some years back. Prior knowledge will then lead to identification when I will be able to see that a train has broken through the built up area. Then, I can assume a prior event that before this picture was taken the train was reversing. This picture will evoke some emotions in a person who is interacting with the picture depending on the beliefs, values, attitudes and the gender of that person. To one person, depending on their gender, the words “Oh Shit!” which accompany the picture can be amusing⁹ whereas to another person they might be distasteful. Again, the gender of the person interacting with this image might determine their interest and the time spent interacting with the image. For instance, males might spend more time interacting with the picture than females.

⁹ Humour occurs when the outcome is not what was expected or that which was predicted.

NYC WTC September, 11 2001



Figure 33: NYC WTC September, 11 2001¹⁰

Figure 33 has two pictures and the salient features in the two pictures are the burning buildings. The exaggerated gothic structure of the buildings make them salient as they represent the position of human beings—the humans stand upright. The buildings have also been foregrounded. The aeroplane is moving across the horizontal plane towards the direction of the second building, which is behind the already burning building. If I do not know the events of September 11, 2001 in New York City, I might not be able to recognize what is happening in the picture except that the buildings are on fire. So, prior knowledge of the events will help me to remember the events of September 11, 2001. In the pictures, there is emphasis of the vertical dimension of the buildings as against the horizontal dimension of the aeroplane. Before the hitting by an aeroplane, the buildings were in a “being” schema—they just existed. Because they just existed, they did not evoke any emotions in a consumer. After the hitting by the aeroplane, they were the experiencers as they are burning. There maybe some emotion involved particularly to a person who was affected by the events of September 11, 2001 in America. The

¹⁰ These images originated from The United States of America and were circulating among academics. In South Africa, they were passed from one academic to another immediately after the events of September 11, 2001 in New York City.

NYC WTC September, 11 2001

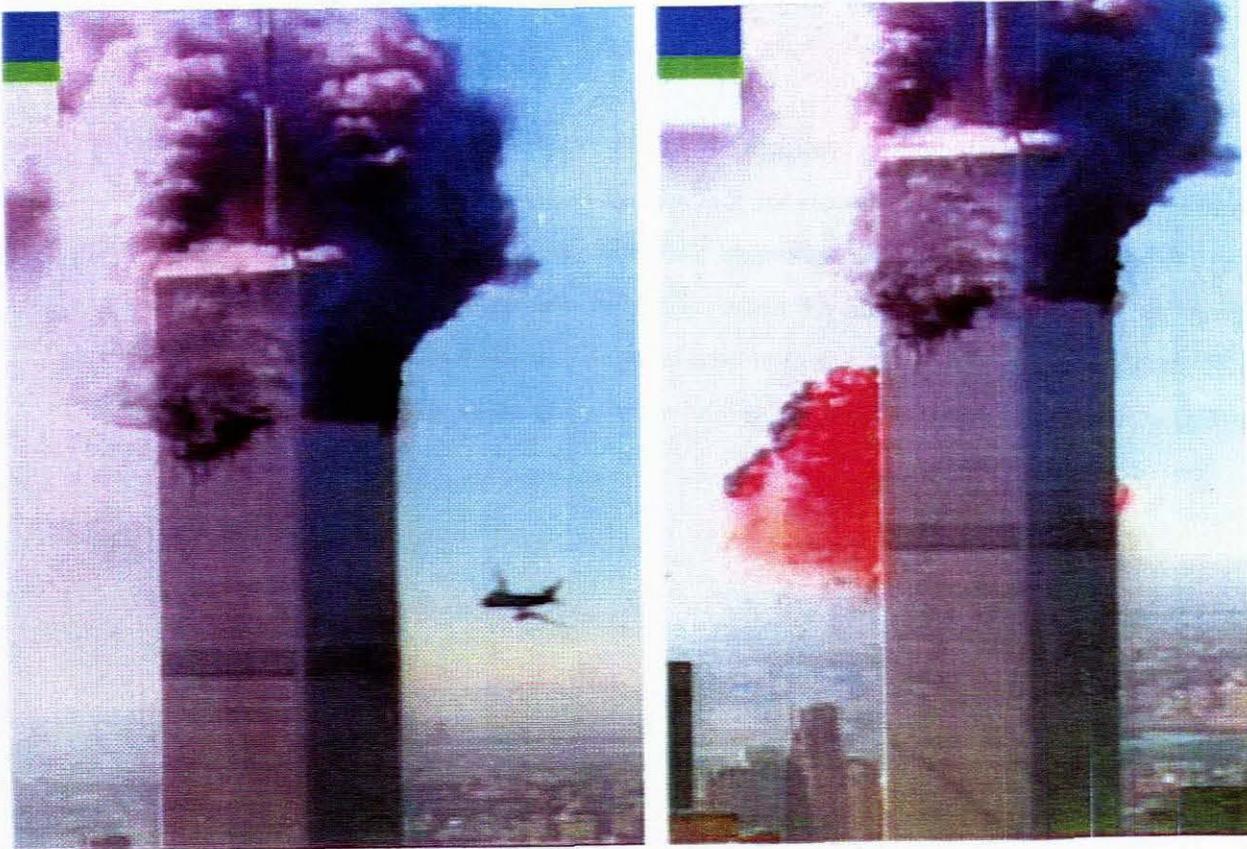


Figure 33: NYC WTC September, 11 2001¹⁰

Figure 33 has two pictures and the salient features in the two pictures are the burning buildings. The exaggerated gothic structure of the buildings make them salient as they represent the position of human beings—the humans stand upright. The buildings have also been foregrounded. The aeroplane is moving across the horizontal plane towards the direction of the second building, which is behind the already burning building. If I do not know the events of September 11, 2001 in New York City, I might not be able to recognize what is happening in the picture except that the buildings are on fire. So, prior knowledge of the events will help me to remember the events of September 11, 2001. In the pictures, there is emphasis of the vertical dimension of the buildings as against the horizontal dimension of the aeroplane. Before the hitting by an aeroplane, the buildings were in a “being” schema—they just existed. Because they just existed, they did not evoke any emotions in a consumer. After the hitting by the aeroplane, they were the experiencers as they are burning. There maybe some emotion involved particularly to a person who was affected by the events of September 11, 2001 in America. The

¹⁰ These images originated from The United States of America and were circulating among academics. In South Africa, they were passed from one academic to another immediately after the events of September 11, 2001 in New York City.

image can evoke emotions that were stored in memory immediately after the events. As Edelman (1989:64) states, long-term memories that are stored in our brains are evoked through the process of the hippocampus. And, when the memories are stored; they are stored together with the emotions that were involved. Similarly, when the memories are evoked, the emotions that were involved are also evoked. The pilot who is in the aeroplane and is willfully driving towards the second building is therefore in the “doing” schema. After the burning, the buildings were no more.

Disbelief

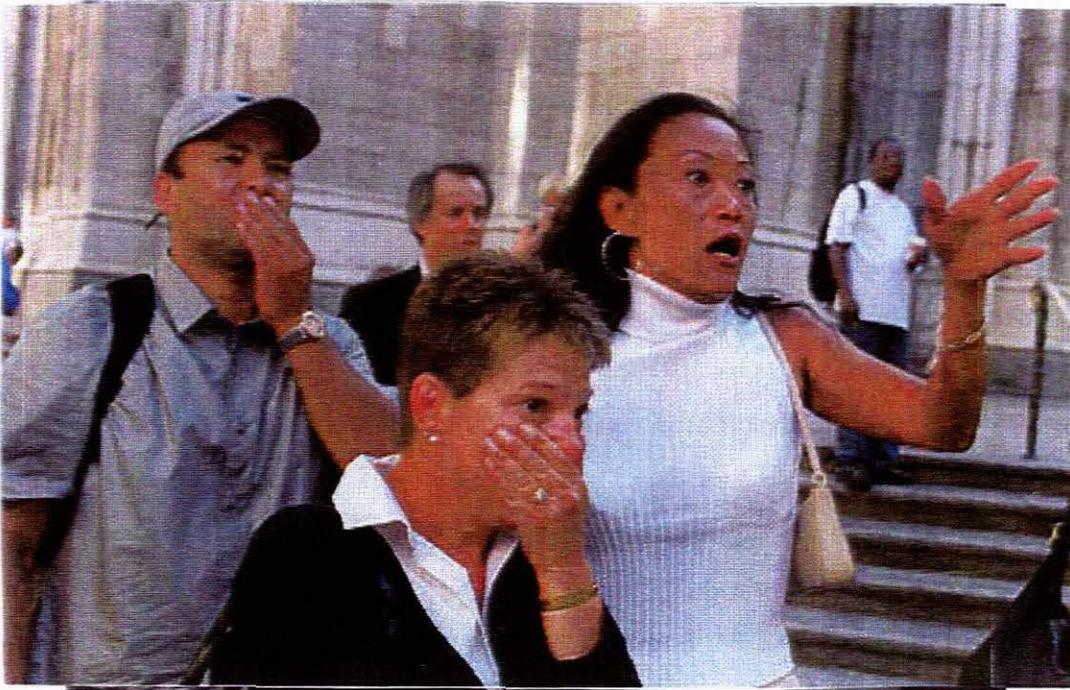


Figure 34: Disbelief¹¹

In Figure 34, this picture will draw more of our attention because there is a human element in this image. Again, there is more emotion involved. As human beings, we have an anthropocentric worldview. We tend to focus our attention more on entities like us—people or animals. We also pay more attention to the most salient features of an event. The features can be more salient if they are fore grounded, increased in size, well lit and have bright colours. So, in this picture the two females and one male have been fore grounded and well lit. When we perceive the events, we immediately categorize them so that they make sense to us. Already I have categorized them in terms of gender. The two females and one male show facial and hand gestures. The event schema in the picture is the experiencing schema and they are the experiencers. Their facial gestures give us a cue about their emotional state. They are horrified or they are in disbelief. I might not be able to identify them as people that I know. If I do not know what they are looking at, I might be curious to know. But I know the events of September 11, 2001 I can then identify them as Americans. I have already formed assumptions that they

¹¹ See footnote 10 above.

are Americans. They might not be Americans; they might be people from other countries who happened to be in America at the time of the events. As I am interacting with the picture I become emotionally involved, therefore, I become the experiencer. My emotional involvement will depend on me and on the context of the event. As a South African viewing an American event, that might be a bit distant for me. It might even be more distant if I also have my own unresolved personal issues. For example, if I am or my close relative is terminally ill, or I am very poor the horrified Americans in the picture will be the last thing I can worry about. Again, when I have categorized them as Americans, my emotional involvement will depend on the person schema that I have of the Americans. If I regard the Americans as arrogant, my emotional involvement will be different from when I regard them as just people like us. If I was affected by violence at one stage in my life and my house was burnt, the picture can evoke powerful feelings of pain in me and I might find it difficult to think about the people in the picture. The knowledge that I have will influence my emotional involvement. If I have been in America and I have seen the tower before the event, this picture can evoke intense feelings.

Weary woman



Figure 35: Weary woman¹²

In Figure 35, there is also a human element and there is more emotion involved. In this picture, the salient features are a woman who is fore grounded together with the male image next to her. There is another body image and an ambulance at the background. The woman is walking as though she is in a daze and seems to be oblivious to what is going on around her. The low-key lighting and the control of shadows on the face emphasize 'disorientation' and weariness. Her facial expression orientates us into her inner emotions and we can read that she is not thinking of anything now. Her face is completely expressionless and that communicates her emotional state and mirrors the intensity of her feelings. She is shocked by what has happened. She experiences shock and the event schema is the 'experiencing' schema. As Gibson, Swartz and Sandenbergh (2002: 36), state that sometimes in our lives we are confronted with the experiences that are beyond our capacity to manage and think about them. These experiences evoke strong feelings in us, including the feeling of being helpless and unable to think. And that is her state. As we interact with the picture, the woman's emotional

¹² See footnote 10 above.

state evokes some emotions in us though the emotions might differ according to our 'individual self'. Some people may become sorry for the woman, some may be angry with the people who were behind the destruction of the buildings and some people may remember their sad events that happened in their lives in the past. Therefore, as we interact with the picture we are emotionally involved and thus we become the experiencers.

Women Embracing



Figure 36: Women Embracing¹³

In Figure 36, there are two women embracing each other. The two women have been made salient by the camera that focused on them to the exclusion of every other entity in the surrounding environment. One of them survived the events of September 11, 2001. So, the camera directs us that we should focus on the two women. The camera also highlights the face of one woman and from the 'embracing' and the facial gestures of the woman we can assume prior events that before the picture was taken they did not believe they would see each other again. From the way they embrace each other we can see that prior to this picture, they did not

¹³ See footnote 10 above.

believe that they would see each other again. We can also observe that they are co agents as they are both embracing each other. They are experiencing joy or happiness that they are together again. The event schema is the 'experiencing' schema. Again, as we interact with the picture, their emotional state will also evoke some different emotions in us. For instance, some may be happy for the two women. Again, in this picture we see the area of non-verbal communication, that of spatial relationships or proxemics. Humans are highly territorial and each person has his/her personal space, which should be respected. (The Body Proxemics. 2002-12-24 <http://members.aol.com/katydidit/bodylang.htm>). This personal space can only be violated when people are closely related or are intimate friends. However, sometimes this personal space is violated in situations of extra duress. This picture is therefore ambiguous. We cannot say whether the two women were closely related to each other or that the situation had made them to violate each other's personal space as they are closely embracing each other.

Images of Models in Adverts

Although the body images that have been discussed above have also been manipulated by the use of light, colour and dimensions, the entities in the pictures were presented with some emotional expressions; hence, we are able to be emotionally involved when we interact with them.

Contrarily, when the body images of models in adverts are projected, the advertisers want to focus our attention to specific areas by using the elements of light, colour and dimensions and by the control of light, the camera manipulates our emotions and inner thoughts. For instance, the body images of models can be projected with facial and body gestures, which do not necessarily orientate the recipient to their inner thoughts and emotions. They present gestures that are more technical to complete the perfection of the posture. For example, the smile on the faces of the models is mostly a posed smile (and some of them do not smile anymore) which is not different from the smile that is worn by dolls / dummies in shop windows. The images are also manipulated according to the product that is advertised. For example, when a skin product is advertised the light will be manipulated to make the skin smoother in order to show the effect of the product. Models in magazine adverts are mostly shown at the level of being. They just exist as objects on the pages of magazines. The level of being opens up for other possibilities in the interpretation. For instance, when an entity is

shown at the level of being, we can think of its function or we can associate it with other objects, and so on. Therefore, when the male recipients interact with a female image in an advert, they might focus on her body curves and then view her as a sex object (function) whereas when the female recipients interact with the same image, they might focus on her body size (attributes) and then want to model themselves in that image. Depending on how much of her body is exposed and her race, if she is an African and is scantily dressed, the African male recipients might associate the model image with the sex workers and will not be attracted to her. So, to most male recipients the images of models in magazine adverts will evoke the desire for intimacy whereas to most females they will evoke the desire to model themselves in that particular image. I will then analyse the following individual female body images that were taken from different magazine adverts.

Shape Model

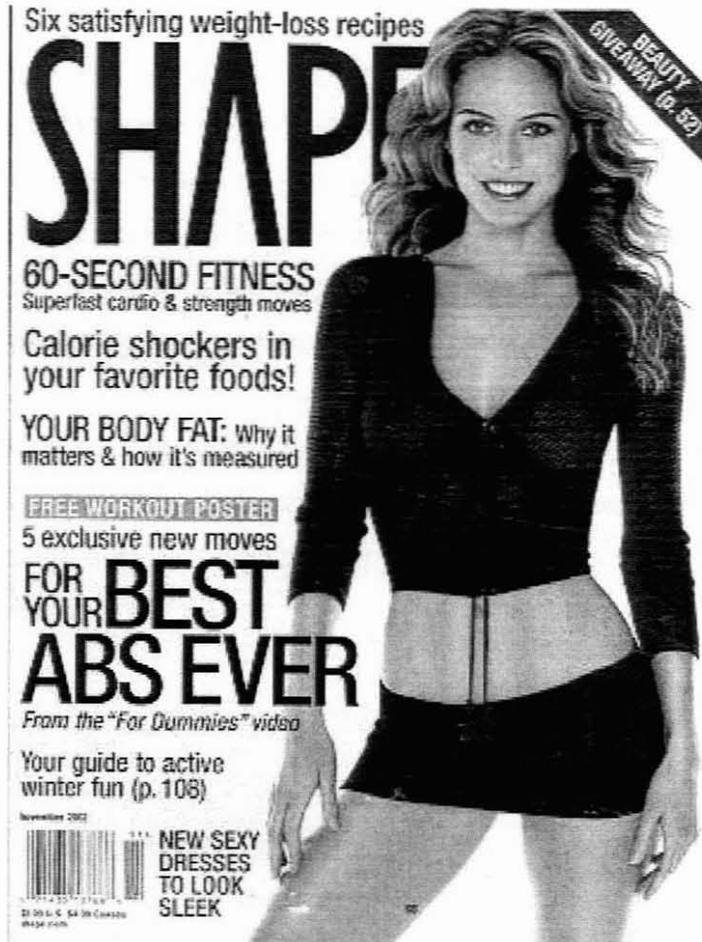


Figure 37: Shape Model
November 2002

The model in Figure 37 appeared in Shape magazine cover pages. On the narrative aspect of the event, the model is shown with 'perfect' body shape, size and in 'correct' proportions. The body image has 'correct' facial and body symmetry. The smile on her face is a posed smile. The camera has highlighted the face and the body that appear bright and contrasted with maroon coloured clothes she is wearing. Brightness gives an illusion of healthiness and beauty but sometimes emptiness. The smile on her face is an association of pleasure and healthy living. Her arms are on her side and they are not communicating any meaning. Her posture is just to show her 'well-curved' body. We cannot say what she is thinking about, but we can tell about her feelings. She is experiencing happiness or satisfaction.

The magazine SHAPE is about body shape, the image is projected as experiencing happiness because the products in the magazine have shaped her body. Though it is not clear, her tips of her fingers, thighs and two vertical dark parallel lines on her abdomen look as though she is wearing an electronic device on her body maybe to contract her muscle. If this is an electronic device, then the event schema is the 'experiencing' schema. She is the experiencer.

On the interactive process, the image invokes an experiencing schema. Different viewers will have different reactions to the image. As she is projected with a perfect body, that has a perfect size and shape, most females, white and African, middle to upper class, will envy her body and wish to be in her situation. But the African working class females might not see anything in particular as the shape of the body is not of priority to them. The white males might look at her well-curved body with appreciation, while the African males might not be interested to look at her at all, as she is a white model. They might not identify with her and she might be a bit distant to them.

Seductive Bodysuit



Figure 38: Seductive Bodysuit
Harper's Bazaar, May 2002, page 146

In Figure 38, the control of shadows has been manipulated in such a way that the body curves are emphasised. The body image is slightly facing on the side to clearly show the 'perfect' body shape—a symmetrical body. Again, the image has no emotion. She is presented with a blank face. Though she is looking at the recipient, her eyes do not reveal what she is thinking or what her feelings are. We cannot tell what the model is thinking or how she is feeling. The event is a 'being' schema.

Gallia Skin Product



Figure 39: Gallia Skin Product
Clicks Club Card, July-August 2002

In Figure 39, on the narrative aspect, the communicator is advertising a skin product, so they wanted a 'skin' in order to advertise their product range. So, the model is facing at the back to show the back—a wide skin surface. Because the skin product is being advertised, the face of the model is not important to the communicator, so she is looking at the side. The body has been made to be a 'perfect' shape by the control of shadows, to create an illusion of a 'perfect' body image. And if the body is 'perfect', the recipient will obviously assume that the model has a perfect face. However, her body posture does not orientate us to her inner thoughts and feelings. We do not know what the model is thinking or what her feelings are. She is not wearing even a 'posed' smile on her face. When we focus on the model, we can say she is just being there. She exists. So, the event schema is the 'being' schema. However, on an implicational level when we focus on the product that is fore grounded, the product is 'doing' something on the model. Therefore, the model is the experiencer. In that case, the event schema is the 'experiencing' schema and the model is the experiencer. The product is the agent and the model is the patient.

Different viewers will have different reactions as they interact with the image. Most white females, and African middle and upper class females will envy the model for her perfect sized body and beautiful skin, while white males might focus on the curves of her body. But

African males might not be interested since she is white.

BACARDI O



Figure 40: BACARDI O
GO, May 2002, Page 107

In Figure 40, on the narrative aspect, the body image is shown with deep orange colour to brighten the environment and emphasise the colour theme of the advert. The liquor is Bacardi O, so the 'O' is emphasised by the O-shaped frame of the picture of the woman. So, the communicator needed only the face of the image of the woman. She is holding a glass, but the way she is holding a glass is more of a posed technique than a 'natural' act where we can predict that she is going to drink the contents of in the glass. The model is not wearing any smile on her face and is not presenting with any emotion. We cannot say what she is thinking of or what are her feelings. The product is fore grounded. The communicator does not want the viewer to bond with the model but with the product. The model acts as a human element just to draw the attention of the viewer since human beings are anthropocentric in nature. We are more drawn to entities that are more human like us. After the recipient's attention is drawn to the advert by the presence of the model, then the recipient's focus is directed at the product not the

model. On the interactive process, the females might not be much interested in the model, but males might associate the liquor that is being advertised with the model.

Sasol Dual Fuel



Figure 41: Sasol Dual Fuel
Marie Claire, June 2002, Page 129

In Figure 41 the communicator wanted to create humour to advertise Petrol, they needed a woman's hair that is blown by a strong wind to show how effective their petrol is in moving your car, and your hair will be blown. So, the hair has been made salient by excluding other parts of the body. The event schema is the 'experiencing' schema. She is the experiencer as the wind is blowing her hair and scarf away. Again, she has a smile on her face, which also shows us that she is experiencing exhilaration. We can assume therefore, that she is moving at a fast speed and the situations where the wind can blow a person's hair like this is when the person is in a sports car or a 'convertible' car. At an implicational level, it means if you buy the product, it will make you experience the inner emotion of pleasure. Then, it will depend on the values and belief systems of the individual recipient as to how they interact with the picture. Most people, young males and females, across races who like car products might be interested in the image and can even imagine themselves 'cruising' like the model in the image. Some people might find it funny that it appears as if the hair product is being advertised yet it is not—

it is petrol. Then the accompanying text says, “Hair by Duel Fuel”...so now you can feel free to let your hair down....” The woman’s hair is manipulated to sell a product that has no connection whatsoever to the woman’s body. It is only used to bring the element of humour.

Sexy Lingerie 1



Figure 42: Sexy Lingerie 1
www.VictoriasSecret.com

In Figure 42, the communicator wanted a body to advertise their lingerie. So, the body of the model is well lit and provides a good contrast for the dark silky lingerie that is being advertised. So, the chest is pushed a little forward and the hands of the model are not at the back but still she is also making meaningless hands gesture. She is wearing a posed smile probably to show her teeth. Here, the model is not looking at us. So, we cannot focus on her face. The event schema is the ‘being’ schema. Most male recipients will focus more on the breasts and the females will focus on the body and lingerie. However, both females and males will be interacting with the image in the same way as they interact with the images of objects—they will not be emotionally involved. For instance, the female consumers will be viewing the model’s bodies in the same way as they will be viewing lingerie that is being advertised.

Revlon Hair Products



Figure 43: Revlon Hair Products
Pace, June 2002, Page 3

In Figure 43, the picture of a young African model occupies a large part of the camera's field of view. It dominates the space and the size of the picture expresses the special importance of the subject – the model. But, the product is foregrounded. The model is smiling but it is a posed smile. We cannot say what she is thinking about but we can say that she is experiencing satisfaction about herself or she is feeling good about herself. So, the model is experiencing satisfaction about her, thus the event schema is the 'experiencing' schema. Again, at an implicational level the model is satisfied because the product has done something to her—worked on her hair. Therefore, before the picture was taken the product was working on the model—then the product was the agent and the model was the patient. The camera focuses on the woman's face / body who appears against a dark background. Cast shadows emphasise the texture of the hair. The light and shadows do not orientate us to the inner thoughts of the model. So, as we interact with the picture we do not become emotionally involved. African viewers,

both male and female, can identify with the image. Female viewers might envy her for her hair. African male viewers might be interested to look at the model because she is presented with African beauty and African dignity. While the model is wearing modern clothes, she has not revealed much of her body and that will make her even more interesting to African male viewers. African dignity is measured by, among other things, how much revealing your clothes are. If you cover your body adequately, you become dignified and thus interesting. When you reveal more of your body and dress skimpily, you lose your dignity and you are immediately categorized as a 'slut' and then become annoying particularly to the African male viewers.¹⁴

The accompanying text that says, "keep South Africa beautiful" appears as a stamped sign. This sign in reality appears near or on the rubbish bins placed in public areas, for public use on the roads. In reality, the words tell South African citizens to throw the rubbish into the proper rubbish bins provided instead of leaving it lying around on the streets, everywhere. As it appears in the advert, it makes the advert sexist and racist. It is racist in the sense that it reinforces the Western standards of beauty for African women that the natural African hair is not beautiful. African women have to straighten their hair if they want to be "beautiful". It is sexist as it powerfully reinforces the stereotype of the beauty myth that a woman has to work on her beauty as prescribed for her in order to be accepted in society. If she does not conform to the prescribed standards of beauty, she is not worth as she is equated to garbage that should be thrown away.

¹⁴ African males become annoyed when they see an African female wearing clothes that are revealing more of her body. However, they do not care about females who are not Africans, for example, Whites, Asians, and so on.

Rimmel Lipstick



Figure 44: *Rimmel lipstick*
Clicks Club Card Magazine, July 2002, Page 15



Figure 45: *Rimmel lipstick*
Clicks Club Card Magazine, July 2002, Page 21

In Figures 44 and 45, the two pictures that appeared on different pages of the *CLICKS CLUB CARD MAGAZINE* show the necks and faces of a models wearing lipstick. There is emphasis on the colour of the lipstick to highlight full lips. The lighting is focused on the faces and there are shadows. There is not much emphasis on 'perfect' facial symmetry' because the communicator wanted us to focus on the lips. In the first image, the model is not smiling and her mouth is presented with a baby pout and full lips and both the baby pout and full lips invoke huge sexual emotions. If she were smiling the baby pout on her mouth would be disturbed. The product is fore grounded and the event is a 'being' schema. The model is just being there on a page. But at an implicational level, before the picture was taken, the product was the agent and the model was the patient (undergoing action). On the second image, the model is experiencing some emotion. She is smiling which shows us that she is satisfied with herself or with what the product is doing for her. She is experiencing satisfaction, thus the event schema is the 'experiencing' schema. The images also imply that the models are not using the product for themselves, but to get the attention of men—to sexually arouse men.

Both male and female viewers will focus on the lips of the models but with different 'eyes'. The females will be looking at the lips and wishing that they have a similar product that

will make their lips look like that of the models. The male viewers might be looking at the lips wishing that they had a woman with similar lips to kiss.

The women are looking with seductive eyes and the lips are parted as if ready for romance. The accompanying text written on the woman in the first picture says, "Lips that scream with colour". The word "scream" is suggestive that when the buyer wears this lipstick the lips will powerfully invite men. Down the page the text says, "...a lipstick that not only moisturises, but screams with colour. Get it on." The words "Get it on" written in red capital letters and the word "moisturises", bring a notion of being ready for sex as the words in sexual context imply readiness for sex. The accompanying text that is written on the woman in the second picture says, "Make up your own language." This implies that when a woman wears this lipstick she is saying something. The lipstick is her way of speaking. Both adverts objectify women as they focus on just a part of the woman's body, the lips. That makes the woman's body to be an object for scrutiny. The stereotype of the sex object is reinforced. The adverts implicate women as seducers of men who do all kinds of techniques to invite men. Particularly, the implication is that when a woman wears lipstick she is inviting men for sex.

Merry Widow



Merry Widow



Floral Embroidal

Figure 46: Merry widow and Floral Embroidal (www.VictoriaSecret.com)

In Figure 46, it is interesting to note that the words that accompany the body image say ‘merry widow’ but the face does not communicate any happiness to the recipient. She is not smiling but showing her teeth. Again, the words ‘merry widow’ emphasise the victim status where ‘widow’ means that she has lost her man and the word ‘merry’ means that she has found a new man but only after she has lost her body shape. So, the lingerie will bring back her body shape. She is shown with a ‘perfect’ body. The body is well lit to highlight the white lingerie that is being advertised. The model is presented as being there—therefore, the event schema is the ‘being’ schema.

Floral Embroidal

In Figure 46, the model is also the ‘correct’ body size and body shape. She is looking down and we cannot have eye contact with her. In both the Merry, widow and Floral embroidered the schema is a ‘being’ schema.

Most female recipients will admire the models’ bodies, they may focus on the lingerie that is advertised and wish to have such bodies, and such lingerie while the males will focus on the breasts and panty area. However, no emotional reaction will be invoked in the viewers. The consumers will be viewing the models as they view any other object.

Handbag

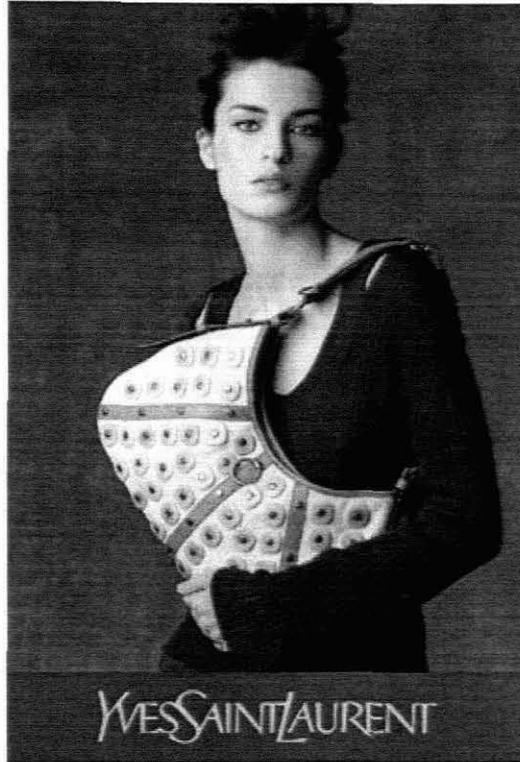


Figure 47: Handbag, (<http://neimanmarcus.com>)

In Figure 47, the communicator wanted to advertise the bag. So, in the picture the bag is well lit against the dark background of the picture itself as well as the model's clothes. Though her face is also well lit her hair is not well groomed. She is not smiling and we cannot read any of her inner emotions or thoughts. To the communicator, the bag that is advertised is more important than the model. So, the model is not smiling or showing any emotion. Therefore, the viewer will not have any emotional reaction to the model. The communicator does not want the viewer to bond with the model but with the product. Male viewers might not be interested in the advert; some may be interested in the model particularly as she appears bright with a 'beautiful' skin. Female viewers will focus more on the handbag itself. The event is a 'being' schema. The model just exists on a page to provide a shoulder to hang the bag. The way the model has been made to hold the bag is unnatural. She holds it so that the recipient has a full view of the bag and thus the bag is fore grounded.

Convertible Push up Bra



Figure 48: Convertible Push up Bra
(www.VictoriasSecret.com)

In Figure 48, the model's face is half concealed so that we do not focus on it. The product is foregrounded. Breasts have been made more salient by pushing the chest forward and the area above the bra is well lit. This emphasises the voluptuousness of the breasts. Her arms are at the back so that they are not on the way of the recipient to see the bra that is advertised. Therefore, her hands are not making any meaningful gestures. She is not smiling, we therefore cannot tell what her thoughts and emotions are. She just exists. She is presented at the level of 'being'. We are not orientated to her inner thoughts. So, as we engage with the picture, we do not become emotionally involved. Both male and female recipients will focus more on the breasts area but with a different 'eye'. For instance, males might be seeing the breasts as organs for 'sexual' entertainment while the females might be envying the model for her breasts and wishing they themselves had breasts like that.

Diamante Butterfly V-String



Figure 49: Diamante Butterfly V-String
(www.VictoriasSecret.com)

In Figure 49, the communicator wanted the buttock area on which they would advertise their V-String underwear. The rest of the body is not needed so, the model's head is completely concealed from the viewer. When the viewers interact with this image different people will focus on different areas. For example, some male viewers might be interested to look at the area between the buttocks as against the female viewers that will be interested to look at the V-String and the shape of the model's body. Again, she is presented at the level of 'being'. We cannot tell what her emotions or her thoughts are. So, both male and female viewers will be viewing her body as they would view any other object. They will not become emotionally involved.

Shaping Pantyhose



Figure 50: Shaping Pantyhose
(www.VictoriasSecret.com)

In Figure 50, the model is standing in a position that looks uncomfortable. The communicator wanted the thigh and the waist to show how the advertised pantyhose shape the body. So, the model's face is concealed and we are not orientated to her inner emotions and thoughts. The communicator does not want the recipient to bond with the model but with the product. So, as we interact with the image our emotions are not invoked. She is presented at the level of 'being'. Both male and female recipients will focus on the shiny pantyhose and the shape of her body but with a different 'eye', but some male viewers might focus also on the area near the breast. The female viewers will be looking at the pantyhose while male viewers might be focusing on the thigh itself.

Swimwear



Figure 51: Swimwear
(www.VictoriaSecret.com)

In Figure 51, the model is presenting with a 'posed' smile that does not tell us much about her thoughts but we can see that she is happy though it is a 'posed' happiness. The colour stripes on her panty are straight down while on the bra they are a bit curved to emphasise the voluptuousness of the breasts. She is experiencing happiness so; the event schema is the experiencing schema. But, her hair looks wet to tell us that she has been swimming. Her body posture does not evoke any emotions in us. So, we see her as we would see any other advertised object. The female viewers will focus on the swimwear and wish that they obtained such swimwear for themselves so that they will be in her position. The female viewers will also envy her for her body and wish that they had such a well-sized and proportioned body to show as she is freely showing it. The male viewers will focus on the body curves, the waist and panty area as well as the breast area.

Convertible Halter Bra



Figure 52: Convertible Halter Bra
(www.VictoriaSecret.com)

In Figure 52, the model is presented with her hands up and the chest pushed out in order to show us the bra that is being advertised. She is facing away from the viewer and that reduces eye contact between her and the recipient. She is projected at the level of 'being' where she just exists on a page. The event schema is the 'being' schema. We cannot read her emotions or her inner thoughts. When we interact with the image, we therefore do not become emotionally involved. We view her as we would view any other objects that exist on a page. The male viewers will focus on the breast while the female viewers might focus more on the bra itself.

White Stretch Dress



Figure 53: White Stretch Dress
WWW.ELLE.COM

In Figure 53, the model is standing not in a natural body posture—legs far apart in order to demonstrate the stretch of the dress that is being advertised. We cannot tell what her thoughts or emotions are. Her gestures that she is making with her arms, her cuffs of the legs and her hair show that she is swinging her body. This emphasises the stretch of the dress. The female viewers will focus on the dress and wish to have such a dress that is able to accommodate such action and mobility. They might also wish to have a body of that size which will fit such a dress. Some male viewers might look at the body size but some might not be interested in this image. She is presented at the level of ‘being’. The event schema is a ‘doing’ schema though there is no object.

Ankle Wrap Sandal



Figure 54: Ankle wrap sandal
(www.VictoriasSecret.com)

In Figure 54, the model has to sit with one leg to the front in order to show us the strip of a sandal that runs around the leg as well as the high heel of the sandal. Her look on the face is a posed look and she is not wearing a smile. Her teeth are showing though she is not smiling. So, the male recipients will focus more on the thighs and breasts and the female recipient will focus more on the sandal itself. She is presented at the level of 'being'. We cannot read her emotions or her inner thoughts. As we interact with the image, we do not become emotionally involved.

Impulse Perfume

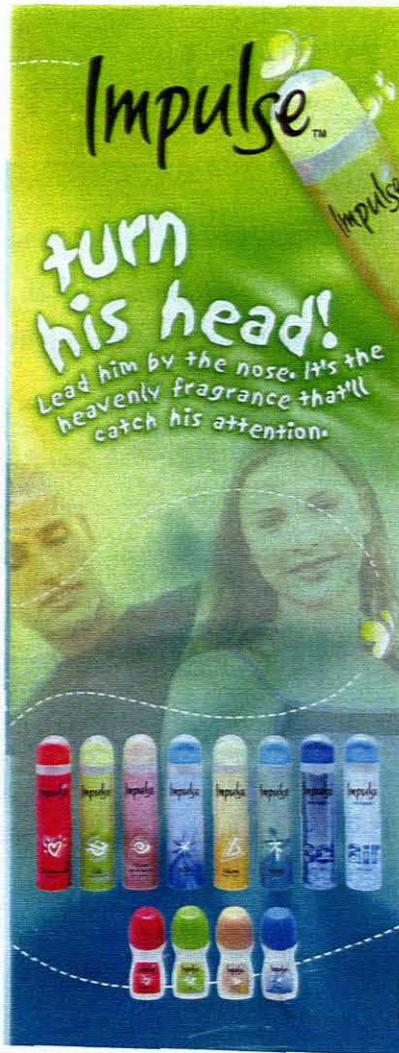


Figure 55: Impulse Perfume
Clicks Club Card Magazine – July 2002, Page 2

In Figure 55, the advert is clearly gendered. The picture depicts the product range for the perfume for females and a young woman and a man. The lighting of the picture is soft and it visualises the concept of seduction. The product is foregrounded. The female image is focusing on the viewer while the male image is focusing on the female image. There is slight expression of emotion as the woman in the picture is smiling satisfactorily and the man behind seemingly follows her. The man's posture shows his helplessness, as he appears to have yielded to the seduction of the woman. The accompanying text that says, "Turn his head (in bigger letters) lead him by the nose. It's the heavenly fragrance that'll catch his attention" accomplishes the expressive function of the picture as it clearly states the gender stereotype that woman power lies in how well she can seduce men for sex. So, at an implicational level the picture means that if the woman wears the perfume, she wears it not for herself, but in order to

draw men's attention to her. Therefore, the buyer of the perfume will then be successful in seducing men. The woman is the experiencer of satisfaction because of the product and the man is the experiencer of the perfume. The words "lead him by nose" emphasize the notion of being in control. Again, the words "lead him by the nose" have a negative connotation that a man who is led by a woman is not man enough, he has lost his power to control. To reinforce the stereotype that it is an abnormal situation when a woman takes the lead and the man follows, the woman character who is leading in the advert is a seductive woman, and thus a bad woman in terms of the societal prescriptions. The female viewers might react by wishing to have the product so that they themselves will smell nice. The females might want the product for themselves and not to seduce men. While females might want the product for themselves, the male viewers might then wish to be next to a female who smells nice—they might wish to be in a position of the male image in the advert. And, male viewers might think that a woman who is wearing such a perfume is wearing it for men and not for herself.

Fire and Ice Perfume

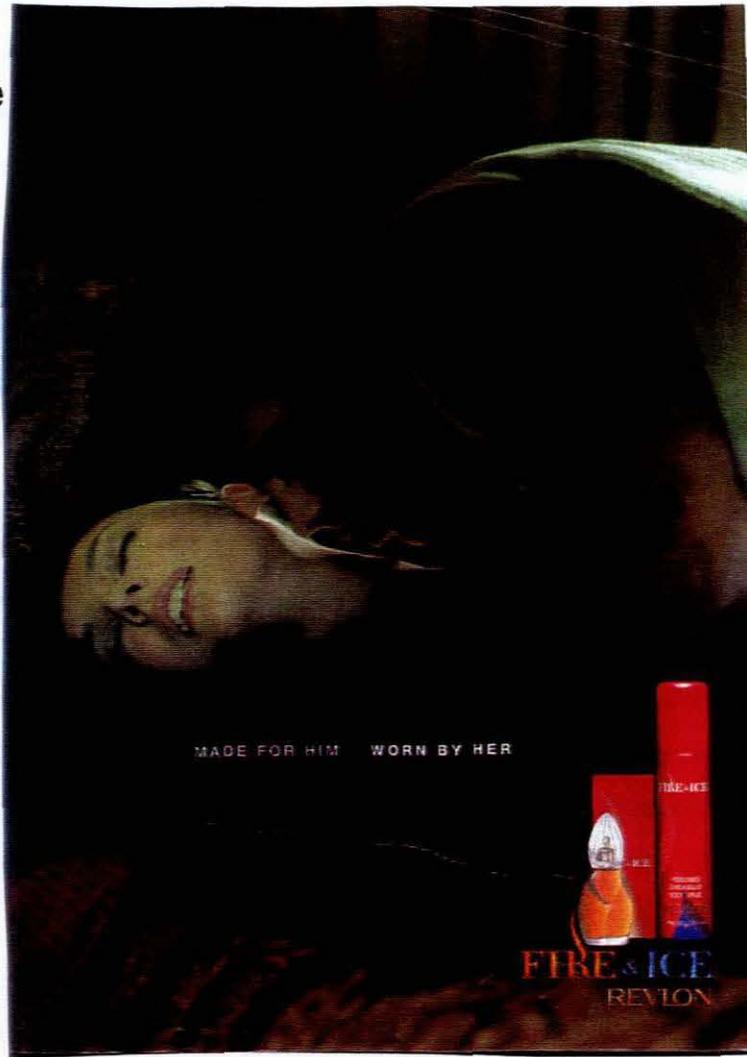


Figure 56: Fire and Ice Perfume by Revlon Company
Pace Magazine, June 2002, Page 7

In Figure 56, the picture portrays a man and a woman and the product is fore grounded. The male participant is kissing the female participant. So, the male is the source of energy (the Agent) and the female undergoes the action (is the Patient). A low-key lighting used in this picture together with the facial expression and postures of the characters portrayed indicate to us that the scene reflects a romantic scene or a love-sexual mood. Selective lighting against the relatively dark background to draw the viewer's attention to the woman illuminates the face of a woman in the picture and again, the lighting of the woman's face expresses the feeling of ecstasy, alluding to a woman who has orgasm. The female is experiencing ecstasy, the male is an agent and the female is the patient. Lighting to show the softness and gentleness of the woman that blends with mood has reduced the facial texture of the woman's face. The fact that

the light source seems to strike the face of the woman from above creates a normal mood as we expect the light to come from above. This Photomontage visualises the concept of romance and sexual pleasure and forces the connection between this concept and the product, the perfume. The advert promises the buyers (users) of this perfume sexual pleasures and an attractive way of life. The photomontage of this advertisement ensures that, the buyer of this perfume believes that they will acquire such highly regarded sexual attractiveness. The accompanying text which says, '*Made for him / Worn by her*' is put strategically alongside the woman figure as if labelling her. At an implicational level, it therefore suggests that a woman should wear the perfume in order to attract a man for sex. This romantic scene together with the accompanying text objectifies the woman as it suggests that the woman together with the perfume is made for the sexual pleasures of a man. The gender stereotype that female power is confined to her desirability as a sexual object is implied in the advert. It will depend on the background, beliefs, attitudes and values of the recipients. Both male and female viewers might wish to be in that romantic situation. Some females might even go to an extent of wanting to have the product so that they will wear it when they are with their partners.

Gill Skin Care Range Product

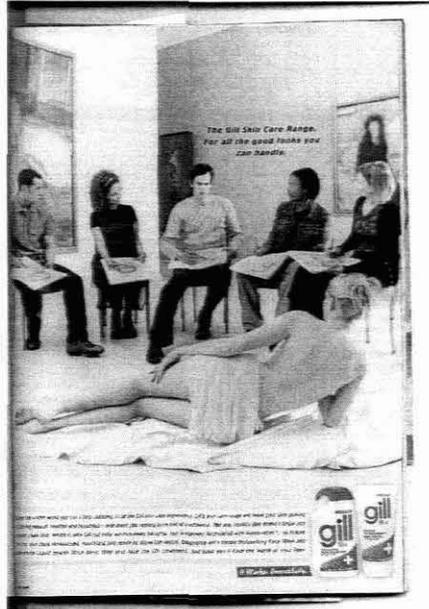


Figure 57: Gill Skin Care Range Products
Clicks Club Card Magazine, July 2002, Page 45

In Figure 57, the picture depicts an art class and a model lying down. The model is naked only a cloth / towel covers her private parts. Five people are sitting on the chairs and they appear to be discussing the model that is lying down. They all have pens and some writing pads to show that they are ready to sketch the model's image. The reader is guided to see the woman who is being discussed and sketched because the four people in the picture are looking at the male character that is at the centre and is seemingly controlling the discussion. The male character that is at the centre is looking at the woman. The male character at the centre is the Agent and the four people are co agents. The model lying down is the Patient. In this advert, the woman is made an object of discussion by both men and women. The viewer sees the model as the object of discussion because the five other characters in the picture are seeing her that way. The camera therefore has made the observed object (the model), to be the 'subjectivated' object as it has interpreted the five characters' way of looking at the woman. The product that is being advertised—Gill Skin care product—is fore grounded. At an implicational level, the narrative is that if the viewer uses the product she will have a beautiful skin that she will be able to show like the model in the advert. The stereotype of the 'beauty myth' is emphasised. The female viewers might wish to buy the product so that they will have a

beautiful skin that they would like to show. The male viewers might not be much interested.

Bacardi Limon



Figure 58: Bacardi Limoni (Liquor)
GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly), May 2002, Page 86

Figure 58 is a clearly gendered advert. The picture depicts men and women who are having a good time because of the product. Selective lighting has been used to emphasize one-man character in the picture while de-emphasizing others by keeping them relatively blurred. The male character is slightly fore grounded and he is looking at the glass he is holding. Again, the product is fore grounded. A mirror reflects the glass so that we are then shown what this man is looking at. The glass is half filled with liquor and there is a reflection of a woman in the bottle. There is an element of humour in this advert in that the man, probably because of intoxication by liquor, does not only sees liquor in the glass but also a woman. But, also, liquor is associated with the woman. This objectifies woman as it makes the glass of liquor together with the woman to be literally in the man's hand. The woman is an object, like liquor, to give

men a good time. Again, the stereotype that good time for men revolves around liquor and women is reinforced. The narrative aspect is that the product is for males. The male that is drinking liquor in the picture (he is having it in the glass in his hand) and the advert appeared in the magazine that is aimed at the male audience. However, the product is advertised within the social context where there are also female images. So, the product is associated with pleasure. At an implicational level, the advert says to the male viewer if he buys the product it will bring him in such happy situations where he will be in company of beautiful women. The images in the picture are the experiencers and they experience pleasure. Male viewers might wish to be in that situation where they are in company of females.

Men's Perfume

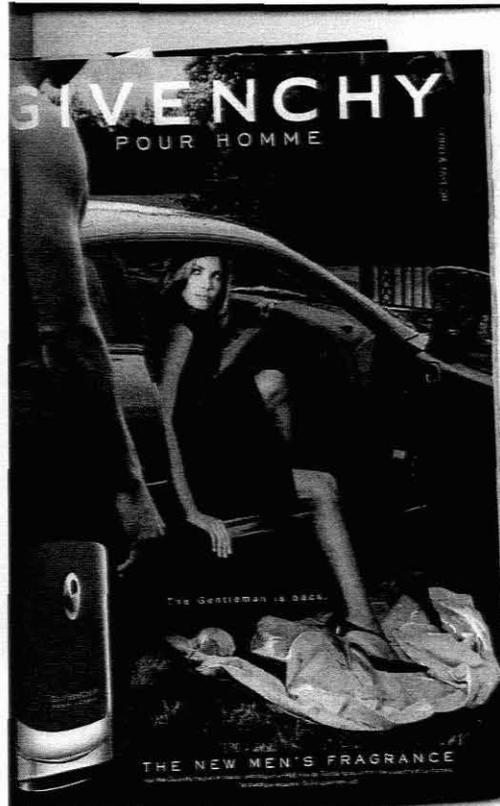


Figure 59: Men's Perfume
GQ, May 2002 Page 56

In Figure 59, the male perfume is advertised. The product is foregrounded. The picture shows a woman who is driving a car (probably it is her car) and is formally dressed. This indicates to us that she has some status or she is a professional woman. Then the male character has taken off his shirt and has put it down so that the female as she gets off the car steps on the shirt and not on the mud. That portrays the idea of chivalry. By lying his shirt down the male is making an offer and by stepping on it, the female is accepting the offer. At an implicational level, the narrative is that if the male uses the product, he will feel free to take off his shirt because he will smell 'nice'. Again, with such a smell, women of high status will accept his offers. Most male recipients would wish to be in that situation where beautiful women of high status accept their offers. The female is the experiencer as she experiences the perfume.

Sky Blue

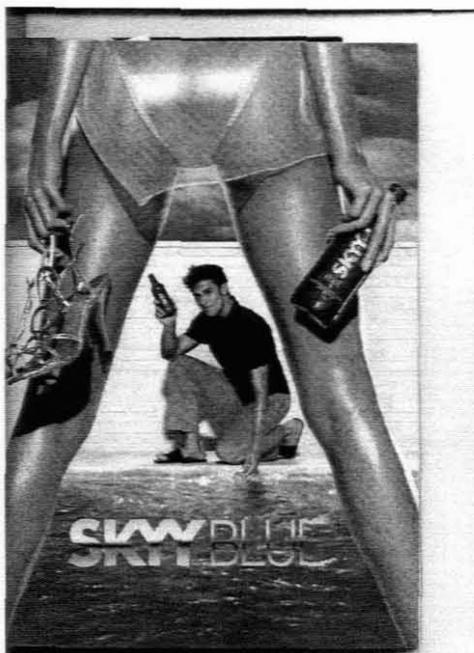


Figure 60: Sky Blue
GQ May 2002

In Figure 60 the male image is showing the product and the female image is projecting the female sexual image as she's standing with her legs wide apart facing at the direction of the man. We can see the male character through the space between the wide apart legs of the female. The product is fore grounded. The scene is near the sea and we can see through the transparent nylon, the woman's shiny underwear or swimwear at the buttock area. At an implicational level, the man is showing the product to the woman and the woman displays her availability for sex to the man. The male is the agent and the woman is the experiencer. Male viewers might focus more on the legs and the panty area of the female image.

Chapter 8

RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the adverts from different magazines that are available in South Africa from the period between January 2002 and December 2002. In doing so, I first analyzed the gender of the accompanying body image in different adverts in order to determine the communicator's view of the recipient as well as the context in which the adverts appear in magazines. Then, I analyzed a limited number of body images from different adverts in order to determine the nature of the medium and how the recipient decodes the messages from the medium. In this chapter, I will present the research results and analysis of the results. Then I will recommend some strategies for proceeding from gender equity legislation to commonly subscribed gender sensitive values for all South Africans.

STATUS QUO REMAINS Gendered Communicator

This study has found out that the communicator has a gendered view of the society. This is evidenced by the gender differentiation in magazine issues themselves as well as adverts. The magazines are designed to target specific gender groups in the society. For instance, some magazines are designed specifically for women, for example, FEMINA and FAIRLADY. Some magazines are designed specifically for the male audience like GO (GENTLEMEN'S QUARTERLY), and MAXIM for men. Only one magazine was discovered to be targeting specifically the homosexual community, that is, THE PASSPORT MAGAZINE. There were magazines that were targeting the family unit, for example, ESSENTIALS, CLICKS CLUB CARD magazine.

However, besides this gendered differentiation the study discovered that class and racial differentiation of magazines still prevails. Few magazines target specifically Afrikaans speaking communities, like FINESSE, and magazines that targeted specifically African Groups, BONA and DRUM magazines. BONA and DRUM magazines were available in English as well as in other African languages like IsiZulu, IsiXhosa, and so on. But PACE magazine which is also

targeting African communities was only available in English. The researcher did not come across any magazine that was available in any one of the Indian languages or that targeted specifically Indian Communities. While this might sound like a language issue as well as a racial and class analysis, it has serious gender implications. It is true that the print media, including magazines, may not be popular especially to gender activists because it perpetuates stereotypes, but it is equally true that magazines are also a valuable source of information that we need for our daily living. For example, magazines educate people about healthy ways of living, the correct ways of raising children, prevention of certain types of diseases, and so on. And many researchers have confirmed that the biggest group of South African citizens—African women—is semi-literate. Therefore, if a bulk of magazines that are available in South Africa is written in English, this means that African women are still denied access to information that they need for their daily living.

However, not only the magazines are clearly gendered, but also the adverts in the magazines are gendered as well because the products in magazines are advertised with the assumption that each gender is responsible for the stereotypical social roles. For example, the content of the magazines that are targeting the family as a unit is mainly directed at women. This, in a covert way perpetrates the stereotype of a female as a nurturer in the family. Again, no magazine that is targeted to the male audience advertised baby products. Since the South African legislation allows men to gain custody of their children in courts, this means that a man who has gained such responsibility will have to start reading a lot of magazines targeted at the female audience in order to sharpen his skills of single parenting. This might not be a comfortable thing to do in a homophobic society. However, a man who will risk his face and buy magazines that are aimed at women will not have role models since there is absence of a single male parent in those magazines. The above example shows that while the CGE and other gender activists try to sensitize people about gender and the importance of participating in traditional stereotypical roles of the opposite gender, the environment is still not enabling and empowering to accommodate change. While the female was still associated with traditional stereotypical jobs—house chores—the male was still stereotyped as the machine expert. It is not only the calculators and the computers that were associated more with the male body images but the appliances that are used by the very woman who does the house chores (for example, fridges and washing machines) were associated with the male machine expert.

However, there were not many adverts that portrayed a woman as a homemaker doing house chores.

Old Stereotypes

In magazine adverts, this study found that the old stereotypes of the beauty myth, woman as a sex object, objectification of women and a woman as a fertility symbol and a homemaker still prevail. Products that 'beautify' the body were advertised with the female body image and they were abundant in magazines that are aimed at the female audience. Almost all the products were linked to the young models, and the prevalence of the young models with symmetrical bodies and symmetrical faces and the absence of the mature models as well as the abundance of adverts for the skin products that preserve youthfulness, all implicate the child bearing age of a woman that a woman who is attractive is a woman who is at a child bearing age. Again, the woman is presented as a sexual object and everything that she uses or has including parts of her body are described to as sexy. For instance, phrases like 'sexy lips', 'sexy legs', 'sexy lingerie', 'sexy cuts', 'sexy shoes' and so on were found in the adverts for products.

UTILITARIAN FEMALE

In magazine adverts, this study found that the emphasis on the image of a woman has shifted from being that of a "homemaker" and a perfect "mother" to a new kind of female—utilitarian female. The female body image is used to sell a wide range of products in all issues of magazines including the magazines that are targeted to the male audience. It is only in traditionally stereotypical male dominated domains like machines that the female body image is not used quite often. The utilitarian female is a new image of a female that is far below the traditional stereotypical images of 'mother' 'child bearer' homemaker' and 'nurturer'. The traditional stereotypical images of a woman usually portrayed women talking about merits of washing powders and serving their husbands and families. When analyzing how media have portrayed women images in these traditional stereotypical roles Magezi (1996:91-95), states that the image of a woman has been that of a servile homemaker, an object or shown in other family roles. Magezi (1996:94) also points out that the image of woman in the media has been able-bodied, slim, white wealthy and heterosexual and this is not the true representation of

women. While these images portrayed traditional gender stereotypes, the image of a woman was still 'active' though in a gendered way. The new utilitarian female is presented in a Stoic position. The communicator uses the perfect body of a female to advertise a particular product and will only utilize one part of the body, that which is relevant to the product that is being advertised. To do so, the camera will focus on that part of the body and the woman will be made to sit, or stand in a position that will make only the needed part of the body salient. As a result, women stand or sit in unnatural positions or twist their bodies because they have to show the needed part of the body in a way that the communicator needs it. Again, the female body image is used to draw the attention of the viewer to the advert. The communicator uses the advantage that by nature, human beings are anthropocentric; they are more drawn to entities that look like them. So, the models in adverts are used to capture the attention of the recipient. But when the recipient starts to focus on the advert, his/her attention is diverted from the model to the product. The communicator does not want the recipient to bond with the model but with the product.

This study also discovered gross manipulation of the female body image in advertising of products. In the products that advertised fashion, like clothes, handbags, lingerie, and so on, the models were stripped off all non-verbal codes of communication—facial expressions, gaze behaviour, gestures and posture and these codes of communication are what distinguish us from other species and entities in the universe—they make us human beings.

Mersham and Skinner (1999:20), describe that people have long described the eyes as the 'windows to the soul of a person' because they orientate us to the inner emotions of a person. For example, from the eyes of a person, we can see 'hatred' and then we speak of evil eyes. IsiZulu language has a long list of words (verbs and phrases) which describe a person's inner thoughts and emotions as we see them through his / her eye—s/he looks at us. But the model's eyes do not open up for the recipient to see their inner thoughts and emotions. Their look is stripped off all the emotions and thoughts. Sometimes they are made to look away from the recipient or when they advertise sunglasses, they even conceal their eyes further.

-nduluzo	-Looking without seeing and thinking of anything
-nyonkoloza	-Look with hatred
-jejemuza	-Look with hatred
-ngquluzo	-Look with emptiness of thought
-kluluzo	-Look with a warning, evil or jealous eye
-khipha amehlo	-Look with anger
-gqolozela	-Look with resistance
-hlahla amehlo	-Scared/no able to respond appropriately
-cwebisa amehlo	-Feel like crying

Figure 62: A few isiZulu terms and phrases that describe emotions or inner thoughts of a person that is seen through the person's eyes.

Again, in our daily living gestures and postures those human beings make consciously orientate the recipient into the inner emotions of the communicator. Though the interpretation of gestures and body posture may differ with societies and cultures, nevertheless, they communicate thoughts and or feelings. But the gesture and body posture that the models in magazine adverts make are not natural non-verbal communication codes. They are posed meaningless gestures and postures that are made just to enhance the viewing of the product that is being advertised with that particular model. Therefore, the models are stripped off the very aspects, which make us to be human beings—thoughts and feelings.

In many instances, a person who is viewed as inhuman (meaning not human) is a person who has shown lack of thoughts or feelings. For instance, most people will describe a murder incidence as inhuman behaviour where a murderer had no feelings and thoughts about the other person and his/her family. And models are stripped off their non-verbal communication codes of revealing their human characteristics (thoughts and feelings). They are presented with meaningless gestures.

However, we cannot describe models as inhuman. When I look at an example of a murderer that I referred to above, the murderer took a knife or a gun and killed a person That murderer acted but it is only that their action were not in line with what the society expects of a human being. That murderer has stooped to below the level of human beings to the level of

animals that do not have thoughts and feelings—and some people will refer to that act as ‘animalism’.

When the models are stripped off all their thoughts and feelings, they do not act out anything they just exist. They do not present with animalism in them because animals do have some form of ‘body language’—animal language. The model’s gestures are emotionless. Though people have often stated that a smile is worth thousand words, but a smile on the faces of the models in adverts is worthless, a smile that is not communicating any message. It is just meaningless. So, in these adverts the models were used to ‘hang’ the fashion clothes. At an implicational level, the models were used as one would use clothes hangers. The difference between the models and the clothes hangers is only that they are human beings but because they are stripped off all what makes us different from objects, they were used as what I can call ‘human hangers of clothes’.

Therefore, when we interact with the images of models in adverts, we see them as we see all other objects. We do not engage with them emotionally. We can appreciate their ‘beautiful bodies’ in the same way that we appreciate beautiful watches or dresses when they are advertised. For instance, it is unlikely that when a male recipient looks at the image of a model on a page he reacts and says, “Ah! What a beautiful woman! I wish she was my girlfriend.” But it is likely that he would say, “Oh! What a beautiful woman! I wish I had a girlfriend like that.” This would imply that the model is an example of what the real person—the real girlfriend—should be. Female recipients would respond by saying, “Oh! What a beautiful body! I wish I had a body like that.” And not “I wish I was her.” The responses might be different when the recipients are interacting with other images in the magazines, not the images of the models. For instance, when a person who has won a large sum of money is portrayed in a magazine the recipients might respond by saying, “I wish I was him/her.”

When products that work on the persons body were advertised like the skin or hair products, the models were presented with a posed smile on their faces in order to show that they were experiencing happiness/exhilaration/satisfaction because of the product that was being advertised. This was done to make the recipients wish to be in that situation and experience what the models are experiencing.

The models are the examples of what real people should be. They are the prototype. For instance, when the shops advertise clothes, they advertise one size—the prototype size. When

the consumer sees the item that is being advertised, s/he will not buy that prototype size but will go to the shop to buy his/her real size because the prototype is not his/her real size.

THE BATTLE OF CODES

Much as we can analyze and say that the models are being used in adverts to fulfill the communicator's goals, the models allow themselves to be used. They willingly go and model in the products that are being advertised. Models also do not often see that they are being used as objects and most females would not see that the female body image is objectified in the magazine adverts. It is also possible that the communicator themselves are not aware that they are biased in the way they are using the male and female body images and that they are objectifying the female body image in the adverts. The question of gender is the battle of two codes: one code is the genetic code captured in our DNA and the other code is the cultural code that is generated by the forebrain. Deacon (1997:376-410) stated that the ancestral environment that was biased in terms of gender shaped the human mind in the long run over centuries of time. That made almost all cultures to be chauvinistic and because what was stored in the memory of the human brain was chauvinism, the human beings both male and female accepted the gender-biased environment as a way of life. Our brains tell us to be biased whether we are female or male. When we are male, we discriminate against females and when we are female, we accept gender discrimination as a 'normal' way of life. We not only accept gender differences and differentiation but we also nurture the environment so that it exacerbates the disparities between the two genders. And we have entrenched the gender disparities in every aspect of our lives (culture, religion, language, jobs, and so on) because that is how our brains perceive the world.

However, to say that gender differences and differentiation are natural in our brains due to the evolutionary processes does not make the differences and the differentiation correct and acceptable. We are like a child that is born with a congenital disease, the disease is natural because the child was born with it but that does not make the disease correct and acceptable. It is natural because it occurred during the natural processes of growth and development of the baby during pregnancy and the child was born with it but it is not correct because it occurred because of the distorted environment that the mother was exposed to during pregnancy. Because it is not correct, we shall then struggle to find out what has led to the child to be born

with this congenital disease and then using our fore brains to think, reason and plan we shall then alter the environment so that when the mother gets pregnant again the conditions in the environment do not lead to the delivery of a baby with a similar congenital disease.

So, the first code is the natural code that we have inherited from our ancestors in our DNA that tells us to stereotype male and female. The other code is the cultural code that is generated by our fore brain. We, as human beings have the neo cortex that has the power to think and reason and that makes us human and distinguishes us from other species. We therefore do not helplessly follow nature but we reconstruct the planet to suit our needs. Part of the restructuring process is the rules and regulations that we make and the rules that we make are the cultural code that is generated by our fore brain. We think, reason and plan for what is suitable for us, and if these rules and regulations include all equity relationships including gender equity, it means in the very long term we can bias the evolution of the human brain to adapt and adjust to equity behaviour. If nurture impacted on nature in the evolutionary processes then we have to reconstruct nurture so that it impacts on nature again. Even if it takes a long time we cannot start sooner enough to bias our brains. So, the constraints of the law protect us from reverting to the biased nature—and by making the laws we are protecting ourselves against ourselves. Therefore, it is our responsibility to ensure that the rules that have been made are implemented if we have to bias our brains.

STRATEGIES FOR PROCEEDING FROM GENDER EQUALITY LEGISLATION TO COMMONLY SUBSCRIBED GENDER SENSITIVE VALUES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

However, because the bias starts from our brains and is entrenched in every aspect of our lives, the rules that we have made are not sufficient. They exist to guide us to operate within the constraints of what we have thought, reasoned and planned to be correct. But gender transformational programmes should penetrate every aspect of our lives, more so our biased brains, so as to ensure that all the engendered parts in our lives get the new equitable nurturance, which in the long term will bias the natural code. African community has different experiences of the world; they have a gendered view of the world according to how they were engendered by nature and the society. So, their interpretation of the messages of transformation is influenced by this autobiographical view of the world. Therefore, vigorous interrogation of

human communication and the understanding of the functioning of our brains should supplement existing transformational programmes.

Again, Zetll (1999:5-10) states that when the communicator uses the basic elements of applied media aesthetic like light, space, and so on, to create a well calculated context, our emotions and reactions are manipulated. And as recipients of mass communication, the communicator manipulates our emotions and responses and Zetll (1999:6-10) states that though the communicator has an ethical obligation not to abuse the power of context in advertising to manipulate the recipient, it is only when we educate our perceptions that we can counteract the biased view of the world that is perpetrated by the communicator and we can do this by infiltrating communication science as a subject in education. The National Curriculum Statements should be revised to provide for the introduction of communication science as a subject in schools. In this subject, body image, communication and perception, language and communication, literacy skills in applied media aesthetics should be included. However, this subject in schools will only be effectively taught if there are educators that are qualified to teach that subject effectively. So, the curriculum in tertiary institutions for pre-service educator training should include communication in education as a subject. A large percentage of South African citizens are being educated within the adult literacy programmes. In these programmes for adult education, body image and basic pictorial communication should be infiltrated.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

MY THESIS IN RETROSPECT

In this study, I focused on analysing the role of the female body image in the promotion of commercial products in magazines that are available in South Africa at the beginning of the 21st century.

In the first chapter, I provided a brief outline of the structure of this dissertation.

In chapter 2, I stated the problems that would be investigated and I motivated why it was important to study the implicit gender subtexts contained in the South African print media.

In chapter 3, I defined and discussed the key concepts that were used in this study.

In chapter 4, I surveyed current academic literature on how gender stereotypical roles, beliefs, and attitudes are entrenched in our society and how femininity is constructed through popular culture and fairy tales. I discussed the different points of view that explain how gender differences became entrenched in our society giving a background of the South African situation and gender. I also traced the gender stereotypes from the ancient times and the traditional culture then I discussed gender stereotyping that exists in different contexts like workplace, legal system and politics and finally, I highlighted the gender gaps that still exist in the media and the educational system in South Africa.

In chapter 5, I reviewed current literature on how gender differences are entrenched in the language that is used in our society discussing gendered terms, the gendered speech, the different communication styles between men and women, and then I commented on non-verbal communication.

In chapter 6, I outlined the philosophical framework on which this study was based highlighting some symbolic interactionism, phenomenological and semeological approaches to communication. Then I discussed the philosophical approach which blends these approaches and on which this study was based. And, I applied the blended philosophy on the anti-rape advert, which featured Charlize Theron on the SABC in 1999. Thereafter, I outlined the research methodology for analysing body image in the adverts of selected magazines.

In chapter 7, I analysed the adverts from different magazines that are available in South

Africa in the 21st century. In analysing the magazines, I first analysed the gender of the body image that accompany different types of adverts. This showed how the communicator has a gendered view of the recipient. Then, I analysed body images from a limited number of adverts. In doing so, I analysed the medium and how the recipient interacts with the medium in decoding messages.

In chapter 8, I presented the research results and analysis of the results. Then I suggested some strategies for proceeding from gender equity legislation to commonly subscribed gender sensitive values for all South Africans.

In this chapter, I present the conclusions of my research and make a number of recommendations with regard to body image and gender subtexts at school and tertiary levels, and regarding the need for further research about how gender stereotyping related to non-verbal communication and body image affect learner-performances and conclusions that educators make about learners in schools.

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

The central problem that this study has found is that the body image plays a major role in the promotion of commercial products in the background of dynamic changing perceptions within the post apartheid South Africa under the positive influence of gender equality legislation. While in the South African society females are making real contributions and have made some significant gains in many areas, in the domain of mass media communication, particularly the use of female body images to promote a variety of products like fashion, hair and scalp products, skin products, and so on, the problem of gender stereotyping remains. The use of the female body images does not only stereotype females as sex objects but also as ordinary objects for 'hanging' the fashion that is advertised. Female body organs; the skin, the lips, the face, hair, and so on, are used as display areas to 'put' or demonstrate the advertised products. In short, through the use of the female body image in the magazine adverts, females are reduced in many ways; their body size is reduced to a prototype size that we see in the adverts in the magazines; their age is reduced when only the young models are presented in the adverts, and not only the age is reduced but also they are presented with babyish pouts; their skin texture is reduced to a smooth, fine ideal surface; their body organs are reduced to a limited number when the camera 'chops' out the rest of the body organs only to reveal the

'necessary' body organ(s); and they are reduced to below humanity when they are stripped off all their thoughts and emotions (that which makes them unique as human beings) and they are presented as objects and as sex objects. They are dehumanized. This indicates that while the South African legislation is progressive in promoting gender equality and equity, the mass media is continuing in their 'corners' perpetuating the stereotypes as if nothing has happened.

However, the gendered body image, particularly the dehumanization of the female body image, that the communicator portrays in the adverts is not well challenged by the recipients because the recipients themselves have a gendered view of the world. Because of the gendered life in the ancestral world, our brains as males and females evolved differently and, these different evolutionary processes of the brain occurred within the continued gendered social environment. So, nurture (social environment) impacted on nature (brain) within the gendered nurture (social environment). Our fore brains, the site of thinking, reasoning and planning has helped us to make equality legislation that help us to reconstruct our gendered environment and then live within the constraints of what is correct. Since, every aspect of our lives (language, culture, brain, religion, and so on) has been gendered, the legislation that we have made is not sufficient to reconstruct the environment. The legislation has to be supplemented by gender equality programmes that will attempt to reconstruct the nurturing environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Therefore, I recommend that alongside the progressive legislation that we have in South Africa, vigorous interventions that will penetrate every area of our lives by different institutions should take place. For instance, in the legislation that governs the advertising industry, there should be specific clauses about the use of the body image in adverts. That should include, among other things, the equitable use of the female and male body images in a variety of adverts, specifics about the role that the accompanying body image is playing in the advert and some specifics about stereotyping by associating certain types of products with a specific gender. In their advertising, the advertising industry should explore some innovative alternatives that will create an enabling environment by moving away from using the body image without losing on their sales.

The National Department of Education should review the National Curriculum Statements so that it includes communication science as a subject that is taught in schools. This

subject should include, among other things, gender and the body image, non-verbal communication and basic elements of media aesthetics as topics. When learners are educated early in life about the processes in communication and about basic elements of media aesthetics, they would learn to improve their perception. Since they will be aware of how the mass media manipulates the recipient, they will learn to be critical in their interaction with mass media. That would minimize the perpetuation of gender stereotypes through mass media.

The curriculum in tertiary institutions that are responsible for pre- service and in-service teacher training should include communication as a subject so as to prepare educators for implementing communication, particularly non-verbal communication in schools. Besides, educators would not be easily manipulated by mass media because they would be critical when interacting with mass media.

The Commission on Gender Equality should work with educational institutions (schools, tertiary institutions and adult education and training institutions) to creating programmes that will empower the recipient of mass media communication across all age groups in communities so that they understand the basic elements of mass media and that will protect them from manipulation by mass media and will enable them to recognize gender stereotypes that are perpetuated by mass media through the use of female body image. Again, more people who would be capacitated to challenge mass media about the use of the utilization, dehumanization and sexualisation of the female body images in mass media, print media adverts in particular.

However, there are still areas that need to be researched with regard to the body image and gender. For example, more research has to be done to find out what are the actual messages that are decoded by the recipients, particularly the youth (female and male), from the abundant female body images that are linked to the adverts in the magazines. Again, how much does body image in relation to gender, affect teaching and learning in schools and how much does it affect the perceptions and conclusions (in the form of reports) that educators make about learners in schools. Another critical area that needs much to be researched is to find out if there is any link between the abundant emotionally and cognitively empty, sexualized and objectified female body images that are presented in the adverts and the high rate of the violent crimes against women and girl children that are experienced in South Africa.

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