

**Advertising as Culture: A Study of How Television Advertisements
Represent Work in South Africa**

by

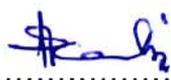
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DECLARATION

I, Sydney Friendly Kankuzi, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that all acknowledgements have been properly made. I further declare that I have never before submitted this work for an award of a degree to any university.

Signed..........

Date.....

Sydney Friendly Kankuzi

Durban, 2004

Dedication

To my dear wife Hannah and our precious son, Kumvana

Thanks and Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to acknowledge the effort of my Supervisor, Marc Caldwell and Professor Keyan Tomaselli in guiding this study. Secondly, I appreciate constructive comments made by all lecturers and students of the Department of Culture, Communication and Media studies during seminars in which my research proposal was discussed. Last but not least, I thank my dear Wife Hannah for her patience during my years of study at the University of KwaZulu Natal.

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Abstract

The present study investigates how television advertising represents work in South Africa. It uses the 1998 Employment Equity Act as an index of analysis. Using the constructionist approach to media representations and a re-examination of George Gerbner's cultivation hypothesis as its point of departure the study examines fifty-four television advertisements that were randomly selected over a four-week period SABC 1, 2 and 3, and e.tv. Overall the study points out that images of work that are portrayed by television advertising in South Africa tend to marginalise certain demographic groups in certain types of occupational categories and work roles. However, it hesitates to apply ideals of the 1998 Employment Equity Act on this observation to conclude that advertising representations discriminate against the respective demographic groups in the occupational categories and work roles. The study justifies this hesitation in two ways. Firstly, it raises theoretical problems that would arise if one applied ideals of the 1996 Employment Equity Act wholesale on advertising representations of work. Secondly, it points out important weaknesses of quantitative content analysis which incapacitates it from grasping subtle tendencies which may help give a more comprehensive picture of advertising representations.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Background and Context of Study

1.0 Aims and objectives of study

The present study explores how television advertisements broadcast over a four-week period (2nd to 30th May) on SABC 1, 2 and 3, and e.tv represent work in South Africa (See appendix B for a short description of each advertisement). The study uses the concept advertising to refer to “all the ways that individuals and organisations publicise the goods and services that they have to offer, and promote a positive image of themselves” (Graham Murdock and Noreen Janus 1985:9).

Likewise, it uses the concept culture to refer to a set of shared social practices concerned with shared meanings. Through these social practices people generate shared meanings, which enable them to interpret the world in roughly similar ways (Hall 1997a: 3). For example, people who belong to a culture that plays the sport of wrestling are able to understand that it is nothing but a sport despite its violent scenes. In other words, the study perceives culture as the aspect of human life that “underlines the crucial role of the symbolic domain at the very heart of social life” (Hall 1997a: 3). Furthermore, the study uses the concept work ordinarily to refer to all types of activities that people engage in by themselves or on hire to earn a living.

Generally, the study is concerned with how television advertising content represents the distribution of various types of occupational categories such as elementary occupations and the professions, and roles that emerge from them such as street vending and teaching respectively. However, it particularly examines how the social categories of race and gender intersect the distribution of these occupational categories and roles. In order to achieve these goals the study pursues the following three objectives:

- a) to identify the categories of work emerging from the sample during the study period;
- b) to establish the symbolic positioning of work roles depicted in the advertisements stratified by gender and race;

- c) to establish the relationship between the indices or representation of race and gender and work roles and the 1998 Employment Equity Act of South Africa.

The study also pays special attention to the relationship between the work roles portrayed and the product or service being advertised. William Leiss et al (1990:259) observes that advertising tends to make connections between the elemental codes of person, product and setting to interpellate the audience, a situation which is known as lifestyle format of advertising. The setting is used to interpret the person code thereby inferring the relationship of the individual to the group or social context such as class, status, race, role relations and gender. For example, Merris Griffith (2001:17) observes that advertisements about certain type of products targeted at women may depict most women characters in settings that the author generally associates with the lifestyle of women. This, for example, means that an author who believes that women are meant to do domestic chores is likely to depict them in a home environment.

1.1 Nature and Scope of Study

The study is comparative in so far as it investigates whether the images of work portrayed by advertisements conform to equity ideals of the emerging South African labour market after over forty years of apartheid¹. This task is achieved first by comparing the images of work portrayed by the advertisements with current employment trends in the South African labour market. Then the results are critiqued in the light of relevant provisions of the 1998 Employment Equity Act² of South Africa. The Act is used to critique advertising representations of work because it puts forward equity ideals of the emerging South African labour market. This critique is, however, made with caution. The study questions the use of government legislation

¹The term, 'apartheid' was coined in the late 1930s by the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA), which called for a policy of 'separate development' of the races in order to promote White supremacy in the country. However, apartheid was only officially implemented when the Afrikaner National Party came into power in 1948 under the leadership of Prime Minister Malan. Apartheid laws prevented Africans, Coloureds, and Indians and women from participating easily and fairly in the country's labour market because they regarded them as inferior to Whites and males respectively. As a result of this discrimination serious inequalities in the distribution of work roles developed along gender and racial lines throughout the apartheid era with Whites and males dominating most prestigious work roles like engineering and senior management.

² When apartheid was abolished in 1994 the new African National Congress government introduced a new Labour Law, which included the 1998 Employment Equity Act in order to 'level up the playing field' for all South Africans. As a result of this new labour law a new labour market that cherishes the country's democratic ideals is expected to prevail in the country.

as a benchmark against which to measure reality. It, therefore, does not perceive the Employment Equity Act as a reality in and of itself but rather as a symbolic benchmark which should not be allowed to determine research outcomes.

Advertising was chosen as a genre through which representations of work could be studied because of two reasons. Firstly, work is a common theme in advertising alongside leisure, the urban, and the wilderness (Richard Tansy and Michael Hyman 1990:3). Advertising needs to present the products or services that it is trying to promote in a form that the audience may understand. Oftentimes, it does this by exploiting shared experiences, attitudes, and values, of the intended audience. In the light of this observation work automatically becomes a common theme in advertising and more so because work is central to all cultures (Tansy and Hyman 1990:3). Secondly, as a socio-cultural phenomenon, advertising is a rich source of ideas both about and for a heavily mediated world (Matthew Soar 2000:3). The practice of advertising entails appropriating and transforming symbols and ideas thereby recycling cultural models and references through social interaction networks (Leiss et al 1990:5). This observation means that as advertising tries to exploit the common experiences, attitudes and values of the audience it in turn generates messages about how advertisers perceive members of the audience and the world in which they live.

1.2 Relevance of Study

The present study is relevant in two ways. Firstly, during the past years in South Africa and elsewhere studies about advertising representations have tended to give less attention to the theme of work despite its prominence in the genre. The past three decades were dominated by research on representations of men and women in television advertisements, and how various stereotypes differ from country to country over time (Adrian Furnham and Elena Farragher 2000:2). Some of these studies touch on the theme of work, but they do so only in passing. Tansy and Hyman (1990), for example, only tackle the theme in relation to other cross-cultural themes in Brazilian and American car advertisements. Allan-Reynolds (1997) and Jenny Pretorius (1999) touch on it briefly as they try to elaborate the general stereotypical representation of women in the South African media. Similarly, Alexander Holt (1998) explores it in a very general way because his study is mainly concerned with racial stereotyping in television advertising on SABC during the apartheid era. It is hoped

that the findings of the present study will contribute towards the closure of this gap, especially considering that advertising tends to have cultivation effects on audience members, especially those that mirror them (Furnham and Farragher 2002:2).

Secondly, since the introduction of Democracy in South Africa in 1994 the use of government legislation and white papers as a benchmark against which to measure reality and construct research proposals has become something of a talking point. Unfortunately, not many scholars question the governmental benchmark, assuming it as the baseline from which to construct a research proposal and measure the outcomes. In this light the study is significant to South Africa because it positions itself critically in a society that is fast becoming slave to political correctness and literal interpretations of media messages. It sheds light on the problems and challenges that arise when the media are forced to achieve political correctness in a multicultural society.

1.3 Limitations of Study

Rhodes (1989:112) argues that studies about media representations of gender are problematic because they tend to generalise their findings to all women while ignoring their ethnic and racial identities. The present study pays particular attention to women of different racial groups of South Africa in its effort to show how work is crisscrossed by social categories of gender and race. However, it does not deal with the category of ethnic groups because it is almost impossible to identify simply by watching advertisements unless the characters are clad in their traditional gear, which rarely happens in South African television advertising. Similarly, although most television advertisements use English as a lingua franca the accents of characters, for example those of African origin, may not help identify their respective ethnic groups because they are too similar to each other.

1.4 Structure of Dissertation

The dissertation unfolds in six chapters including the present one. Chapter 2 briefly outlines the historical background of television advertising and work in South Africa. It gives a background for appreciating the importance of television advertising representation in general and of work in particular in South Africa. This task is achieved firstly, by highlighting how the political ideology of apartheid impacted on

advertising representations in general and of work in particular. In doing so it discusses the suspicion of the South African government about the sub-text of advertising and how it in turn demands that advertising representations should reflect the ideals of the new South Africa. Thirdly, it highlights the historical importance of work as social economic experience in the country, which in turn explains the importance of its representations in the media. In discussing the importance of work in South Africa the chapter introduces the 1998 Employment Equity Act and the debates that have surrounded it over the years, and why it becomes an index of analysis in a study of representations of work.

Chapter 3 describes and critiques the theoretical and methodological framework employed by the study. It defines the concepts of representation, language and culture, and how they are intertwined together. Furthermore, it describes and critiques the constructionist theory of representation in relation to two theoretical perspectives of representation, namely the reflective approach and the intentional approach thereby highlighting how advertising constructs reality. Furthermore, it describes and critiques the tradition of cultural indicators analysis in general and cultivation analysis in particular and how they use the methodology of content analysis. This step affords it to critique theoretical and methodological debates surrounding cultivation analysis and content analysis over the years, and how these debates affect the present study.

Chapter 4 applies the methodology of quantitative content analysis to the sample of advertisements. Frequency distribution tables are used to illustrate the distribution of work categories and work roles and how they are crisscrossed by the social categories of race and gender. Attention is also given to how the distribution of work roles relates with different advertised products/services.

The findings of the study are discussed in Chapter 5. The discussion describes patterns of distribution of work roles that emerged from the sample. It compares them with relevant employment trends in the present South African labour market and critiques them in the light of the 1998 Employment Equity Act.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by critiquing how the methodology of cultivation analysis and the theoretical assumption behind the Employment Equity Act affect the interpretation of the results of the study. It uses relevant arguments that some stakeholders have raised against the Act and principles of semiotic analysis to elaborate the challenge of applying the provisions of the Act and quantitative content analysis on the results of the study.

Chapter 2

A Brief Historical Background of Television Advertising Representations and Work in South Africa

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a brief historical account of television advertising representations and work in South Africa, and how the former represents the latter. The purpose is to develop an understanding of relevant historical developments within the country's television advertising industry and labour market that may help explain the importance of television advertising representations of work in South Africa. The discussion unfolds in two stages, starting with developments within the television advertising industry followed by developments within the South African labour market. The discussion introduces the 1998 Employment Equity Act and debates that have surrounded it over the years. It also explains how the present study uses the Act as an index for analysing advertising representations of work.

2.2 Television Advertising Representations of Work in South Africa

In South Africa television advertising was launched in 1978 in a politically charged environment during the regime of Prime Minister B.J. Vorster. This was the case because the ruling National Party generally believed that television was a source of evil. Vorster's predecessor, H.F. Verwoerd and the party, for example, referred to television as the 'evil black box' that could displace God in people's hearts and destroy the supremacy of Afrikaans language and culture (Bernard Cros 2003:1). In these circumstances, television advertising was conducted in a manner designed to promote the ideals of apartheid. For example, advertisements aired on the first channel, TV1 tended to portray first world type pejorative stereotypes of Blacks who were more often than not depicted as menial workers (Van der Walt, 1989:58). It was not until a year later that television advertising began to undergo positive transformation when the regime of P.W. Botha, who succeeded Vorster, decided to use television

advertising as an ideological apparatus to replace the use of coercion. In 1979, for example, the regime authorised partial racial integration in advertising content on TV1 by allowing Blacks and Whites to appear in the same advertisements, though not in the same camera frame (Holt 1998:89, 103).

According to Holt (1998:116-118) the partial racial integration in advertising content that was initiated by the Botha regime had important implications for the ways in which work and employment were represented in advertising. By the mid 1980s beer advertisements had fully integrated images of Blacks and Whites by depicting them as social equals. Holt rationalises that this racial integration was possible because naturally beer products easily suit a wide variety of integrated situations of the middle class or the white-collar corporate culture.

Holt (1989:122) further points out that a growing Black middle class in the 1980s also impacted positively on television advertising representations of work. More Blacks were now contributing to the economy as white-collar and blue-collar workers and as consumers. It therefore, became imperative for advertising representations to tone down pejorative racial stereotypes. As a result of this advertising began to represent a non-ethnic Black middle class¹ that reflected an emerging business sector that was pre-supposedly based on a non-racial class structure. However, advertisers were prohibited from using English in advertisements targeted at Black audiences. This step was taken regardless of whether the Blacks could communicate in English or not. For example, universal English words e.g. 'chips', and 'toothpaste', which Blacks had adopted into their vernaculars, were prohibited in advertisements that were targeted at them. But advertisers' efforts to use 'culturally appealing' language also caused breakdown of communication. Eventually, the prohibition of English in advertisements targeted at Blacks led to the introduction of two new categories of advertising

¹ Non -ethnic Black middle class in this context refers to a Black middle class that was not associated with its ethnic values and lifestyle. In terms of advertising representations, members of the non ethnic Black middle class were portrayed without making extra effort to show that they belong to a particular ethnic group. In other words, their physical Black identity was adequate to identify them as consumers.

stereotypes: ethnic stereotypes that conformed to those aired on Radio Bantu², and stereotypes that emphasised an emerging Black middle class (Holt 1998:104).

Advertising on TV1, TV2 and TV3³ took a new turn when M-Net was launched in 1986 as the first pay-commercial television channel in South Africa (Currie 1991:9-10). M-Net did not use much local content⁴ in its programming. However, its advertising content tended to display more racial integration than was found on SABC channels. The higher representation of integration possibly suited M-Net's commercial imperatives. Thus M-Net posed a threat to SABC television, which reacted by revisiting its advertising restrictions. It began to allow advertisers to depict the emerging Black middle class without necessarily including the ethnic stereotype that had been ubiquitous until this time. Again beer advertisements, for example, those for Castle Lager, spearheaded this new tendency of racial integration (Holt 1998:116 -117).

Holt (1998:109-116, 119) further observes that the practice of having separate television channels for Blacks and Whites, and different languages for different ethnic groups in the 1980s sharply structured consumer markets on racial and ethnic lines, a development which did not reflect the reality on the ground. Market research, for example, had established that overall many urban Black viewers of TV1 and TV2 were more conversant with English than any one of the Black

² Radio Bantu, was established in 1959 to broadcast in the vernaculars of the homelands (Cros 2003:3). The implication was that its programming and advertisement content featured stereotypes that were wrongly believed by the South African government to reflect the needs of each target ethnic group. For example, if members of a particular ethnic group were believed to be lazy advertisements on radio Bantu would repeatedly use the belief to represent them in that way hence consequently exaggerating reality

³ In 1982 Botha's regime opened TV2 and TV3 to cater for Blacks (Richard Collins 1993:86, 99). Both stations were guided by a language policy that dictated that all programming be done in the vernacular of their target ethnic groups. TV2 was targeted at Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, and Ndebele groups although its inception programming was only done in Zulu and Xhosa. Similarly, TV3 broadcast to the Tswana, North Sotho, South Sotho and the Venda although programming first started with Sotho only (Collins 1993:99).

⁴ M-Net was required to allocate 75% of its annual expenditure of 12 million Rand on the production of Afrikaans programs but the actual content was not exacting (Collins 1993:86, 99).

ethnic languages in which the stations were broadcasting. Further than this, the Blacks were willing to adopt some elements of Western lifestyle in order to compete effectively in an industrial society dominated by Whites.

Television advertising representations witnessed radical positive transformation during the regime of F.W. de Klerk spanning from 1989 to 1994. The regime made considerable effort to reform the country's media industry. Pejorative racial stereotyping of Blacks almost phased out and racial integration in advertisement content generally improved (Holt 1998:107,116).

The media reforms that the De Klerk regime initiated were motivated by two main factors. Firstly, there was need to promote a positive image of the then emerging democratic South Africa to the international community and to respond to new market dynamics, which the previous regimes had ignored. By the end of the 1970s, for example, Black consumption expenditure had surpassed that of Whites in many ways. In 1979 the all Media Products Survey (AMPS) carried out by the South Africa Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) revealed that Blacks topped the consumption of some products, e.g. whiskies and deodorants, and a number of selected services (Shahida Cassim 1987: 34). Furthermore, it had been projected that by the mid 1980s Black consumer expenditure was going to surpass that of Whites (Brits and Reekie 1985:162). Secondly, the regime was trying to respond to pressure from pressure groups like the Film and Allied Workers Organisation (FAWO), which demanded that broadcasting should be "re-organised in the best possible way for all people in South Africa, both as consumers and citizens" (Willie Currie 1991:11).

The debate surrounding advertising representations in general and television advertising representations in particular was, nevertheless, carried over into post-apartheid South Africa. The country's advertising industry has from time to time come under sustained pressure to address unfavourable racial representations in its advertising content and specifically to reflect the ideals of the new democratic dispensation. In 2001, for instance, the South African Advertising Research

Foundation stopped using references to race after being criticised that it promoted racism in the consumer market⁵. In connection with this move a senior member of the SAARF, Paul Haupt, is on record as saying, although the task of the SAARF is not of a watchdog it is necessary for the organisation to promote transformation in the advertising, media and marketing industries⁶. On 6th and 7th November 2001 the Communications Portfolio Committee's (Parliamentary Monitoring Group) 'public hearings on racism in the advertising and marketing industry' accused the advertising industry of displaying racial imbalances in its content among other racially discriminating employment practices⁷. In March 2004 some Black consumers reported to the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa (ASASA) about a Doom insecticide advertisement that they alleged had misrepresented Blacks by portraying them as less intelligent human beings⁸

The above developments point to the fact that advertising representations are a crucial issue in South Africa that it cannot be taken for granted. It is against this background that the present study is motivated to examine advertising representations of work in the light of the provisions of the 1998 Employment Equity Act. The section that follows gives a brief outline of historical developments that led to the establishment of the Employment Equity Act, which also helps to show why advertising representations of work are important in South Africa.

⁵ Portfolio Committee on Communications Hearing into Transformation of the Advertising and Marketing Industry' Available at <http://www.gsci.gov.za/docs/portcom/02saarf.html/#intro>

⁶ 'Race Must Go, Says SAARF' *Media Toolbox*. 9th December, 2004. Available at <http://www.mediatoolbox.co.za/pebble.asp?p=40&relid=3004>

⁷ <http://www.lawlibrary.co.za/notice/updates/2001/issue45.htm>

⁸ Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa. 'Recent Rulings' Available at <http://www.asasa.org.za>

2.3 A Brief Historical Background of Work in South Africa

South Africa has a labour force of approximately 9 million people who operate in a labour market that is sharply segmented into a formal sector and an informal sector⁹. The formal sector offers very limited employment at relatively high wages (Geeta Kingdon and John Knight 2001a: 15). Ironically, the informal sector, including subsistence agriculture, absorbs only 2.2 million people (Frans Barker 2003:3). This population accounts for 19% of the labour force and is quite low by developing country standards (Geeta Kingdon and John Knight 2001b: 5).

The South African labour market is also characterised by rampant unemployment. Using the strict definition¹⁰ of unemployment it is rated at about 30%, i.e. 4.5 million people. When the expanded definition¹¹ of unemployment is used the rate of unemployment rises to 40%, which translates to 7.7 million jobless people (Barker 2003:3). Furthermore, "62% percent of these 7.7 million people have never held a job before" (Kingdon and Knight 2001a: 13). In recent years the labour market has seen a substantial decline in the demand for labour caused by low economic growth and declining labour intensity. From the late 1980s every 1% economic growth has been accompanied by a job decline of between 0.33% and 0.52% (Barker 2003:3 -5, 44). The above scenario implies that securing work is a huge challenge in South Africa hence the way the media represents work should not be taken for granted.

However, the challenge surrounding work in South Africa takes a further twist when one considers that it is crisscrossed by racial and gender inequality as a result of the long history of apartheid. Country Studies US (2003)¹² offers a brief

⁹ Frans Baker (2003:97) defines the informal sector as "that part of the economic activity of the country that is not recorded in its national accounts, in other words the statistically unrecorded part".

¹⁰ The strict definition includes only persons who took active steps to find a job (Barker 2003:3).

¹¹ The expanded definition takes into account all unemployed persons including those who have stopped taking active steps to seek jobs (the so called of unemployment) (Barker 2003:3).

¹² A Country Study: South Africa. Available at <http://countrystudies.us/south-africa/25.html>

summary of how different apartheid laws were used to manipulate the labour market to the advantage of the White minority in the country. For example, the Population Registration Act (No.30) of 1950, which provided the basis for separating the population of South Africa, provided that South Africans be classified as White, Coloured, or Native (later called Bantu) people. Later amendments emphasised one's appearance to prevent light-coloured Coloureds, Africans and Indians from passing as Whites. In practice, though, this meant that a person's skin colour was used as criteria for deciding the type of job that they could secure. Consequently, many skilled jobs and managerial positions were reserved for Whites and qualified Indians and Africans were legally excluded from most senior level jobs. At the same time, lucky Indians and Africans who managed to secure better jobs were paid lower wages by virtue of their racial origin.

African, Coloured and Indian workers were also victims of laws that provided for racial separation on geographic, social, and political grounds. The Group Areas Act (No. 41) of 1950, for example, extended the provisions of the Native Land Act (No.27) of 1913 and created a situation whereby South Africans resided in separate areas according to their race. Practically, however, Whites were privileged to live in areas with greater job opportunities because their racial group was in control of most economic activities.

Similarly, the Native Laws Amendment Act (No. 54) of 1952 subjected African men and African women to influx control and pass laws. Section 10 of the Act prohibited both of them from remaining in an urban area for longer than seventy-two hours without special government permission that confirmed their status as legally employed persons. This restriction reduced chances of Africans to secure jobs in the urban areas because they were not allowed enough time to concentrate on job-hunting in the urban areas.

Furthermore, the Bantu Education Act (No. 47) of 1953 provided for the allocation of separate educational facilities for Africans under the control of the Ministry of native Affairs instead of the Ministry of Education. In essence the type of education that was given to these Africans was designed to train them according to their designated opportunities in life, for example, as semi-skilled workers. Similarly, the Extension of University Education Act (No.45) of 1959 prohibited Africans, Coloureds, and Indians from attending institutions that were reserved for Whites. Apart from a few exceptions, separate colleges and universities were established for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians. The result was that Africans, Coloureds, and Indians were ill-prepared to compete effectively against Whites in the labour market. However, it should be born in mind that this problem was necessary because apartheid required cheap and constant supply of labour to continuously exploit the country's great mineral wealth¹³. The following two statements¹⁴ that H. F. Verwoerd made in 1954, before became Prime Minister of South Africa testify to this assertion.

When I have control of native education I will reform it so natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them.... People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for natives.

There is no place for him [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.... For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aims absorption in the European community.... Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.

Last but not least, through the Industrial Conciliation Act (No.28) of 1956 the Minister of Labour was able to reserve certain categories of work for members of specified racial groups. This provision implied that whenever the Minister felt that

¹³ Secretariat for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. 'Effects of Apartheid on the Status of Women in South Africa, 1980', *World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women Copenhagen*, July 1980. Available at <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/women/effects.html>

¹⁴ Ibid.

employment opportunities for Whites were under threat from other races he could re-categorise them as a White-only territory.

Although apartheid was primarily a racial ideology it intersected with conservative class and gender ideologies. According to Sisonke Msimang (2001:5) Afrikaner women were, for instance, victims of Afrikaner patriarchal conservatism, which enjoyed the support of the apartheid state. Afrikaner religious beliefs included a strong emphasis on the theoretically biblically based notion that women's contributions to society should normally be approved by, or on behalf of, men¹⁵. Afrikaner women were, therefore, automatically discouraged from participating in the employment sector, which was regarded as an area of specialisation for men.

Msimang (2001:5) further observes that self-employment was also made a taboo for married White women in general unless they got the support of their husbands. For example, banks could not disburse loans to married White women unless they received permission from their husbands. Furthermore, the education system was deliberately designed to encourage White women to take courses in nursing and teaching, which were believed to be suitable careers for women. White women who managed to break these patriarchal barriers eventually tended to do clerical and secretarial work. Towards the end of the 1970s university enrolment began to even out for White men and White women. Comparatively, therefore, the general participation of White females in the pre-democratic South African labour market was far better than that of their Black counterparts. For example, due to their low educational qualifications most Black women were employed as domestic workers, office cleaners, office tea ladies, and farm workers. However, significantly all women were generally paid low wages and oftentimes no benefits at all because they were generally regarded as socially and physically inferior to males.

¹⁵ A Country Study: South Africa. Available at <http://countrystudies.us/south-africa/25.html>

Of the 1,508,080 women workers who were employed in 1970, the majority were either service workers; mainly domestic servants, numbering 724,020, or farm workers, totaling 655,040. Both of these areas of work exclude unemployment benefits or other forms of social security and are exempt from minimum wage guidelines. Furthermore, the average earnings of African women [were] less than half those of African male workers, and [amounted] to only 8 per cent of the income of White males¹⁶.

The inequitable distribution of jobs on gender and racial grounds crossed over into the new South Africa. In 1998, for instance, a huge gender-racial divide was observed about the distribution of managerial positions in the public sector where White males and White females occupied 56% and 5% of all managerial positions respectively. Similarly, African males and African females occupied 29% and 7% of the managerial positions respectively. Furthermore, Indian males and Coloured males occupied 4% and 3% of the managerial positions respectively while their female counterparts occupied only 1% each (Orkin 1998:4). Within the private sector "a survey of 455 South African firms indicated that White males constituted 89% of senior managerial positions. Black males occupied 6% while the remaining 5% were shared by Coloured or Indian males" (Msimang 2001:5). Likewise, in 1999, while 72.82% of the information technology work force was male 70.19% of the total workforce was White. The remaining positions were not only inequitably distributed amongst Africans, Asians and Coloureds who accounted for 13.41%, 8.31% and 8.10% each but were also dominated by males¹⁷. These statistics show that Blacks and more so Black women are marginalised in the labour market.

Since the demise of apartheid in 1994 the South African government and other stakeholders have been trying to redress employment inequalities. The Commission on Gender Equality, for instance, was set according to Section 187

¹⁶ Secretariat for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. 'Effects of Apartheid on the Status of Women in South Africa, 1980', *World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women Copenhagen*, July 1980. Available at <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/women/effects.html>

¹⁷ Academy for Educational Development. Available at <http://projects.aed.org/SouthAfrica.hotmail>

of the Constitution of South Africa "to promote gender equality and to advise and make recommendations to Parliament or any other legislature with regard to any laws or proposed legislation which affect gender equality and the status of women"¹⁸. Over the years a number of statutes have also been passed to promote equal opportunity to all South Africans to participate in the labour market. The 1998 Skills Development Act¹⁹, for example, is designed to help improve skills in the work sector and it pays special attention to previously disadvantaged groups such as Africans, Coloureds, Indians and women through education and training (Barker 2003:9-10). Another statute of central importance to the present study, is the 1998 Employment Equity Act²⁰. The rationale behind this Act is that, it is not enough to abolish discriminatory labour laws. The country must take positive steps to put right the inequalities caused by these laws. The Act has the following two objectives:

- (a) promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination; and
- (b) implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups²¹, to ensure their equitable representation in employment in all occupational categories and levels in the work force.

Section 6(1) promotes fair treatment of workers by prohibiting unfair discrimination. It says that

No person may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against an employee in any employment policy or practice, on one or more grounds including race, gender, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic and social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion,

¹⁸ The Commission on Gender Equality. Available at <http://www.cge.org.za>

¹⁹ The 1998 Skills Development Act. Available at <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/legislation/1998/act98-097.html>

²⁰ The Employment Equity Act (Act No. 55 of 1998). Available at <http://www.labour.gov.za/legislation/index.jsp>

²¹ Designated groups refer to Africans, Coloureds, Indians and women, or people with disabilities

HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language and birth.

Affirmative action, which is provided for in chapter 3 of the Act provides a mechanism for bringing equality into the work place. Section 1 of chapter 3 provides for two categories of designated employers: those who employ fifty or more employees; given employers with whom a collective agreement is made for the purpose of the Act. Section 14 provides for a third category whereby other employers may voluntarily agree to comply with the provisions of Chapter 3 as if they were designated employers. Apart from these categories the Labour Court has discretion to direct any employer to comply with the provisions of Chapter 3 as if they were a designated employer. Section 61(2) prohibits any practices that may prevent employees from becoming designated employees. Similarly, Section 57 extends affirmative action measures to temporary employment services to protect temporary employees. All these provisions of categories of workers help to show the South African government's intention to ensure that as many people as possible benefit from affirmative action.

The Employment Equity Act attaches great importance to the actual number of workers from a given sexual group or racial group ascribed a particular role at a given workplace. Section 20 stipulates that any designated employer is required to draw an employment equity plan as an additional requirement of affirmative action. The plan must cover a period not shorter than one year and not longer than five years. Among other things an employment equity plan must "set numerical goals to achieve the equitable representation in occupational category and level in the work force".

The Employment Equity Act is one of the most controversial statutes of South Africa and consequently, it has attracted criticism from left, right and center over the years. For example, "the Democratic Party (DP) opposed the Bill in parliament on the grounds that it would create another inefficient bureaucracy" (Msimang 2001:5). Similarly, Tony Twine, the director of a Johannesburg-based economics consulting firm, Econometrix (Pty) Limited, criticised the Employment

Equity Bill for being detrimental to the country's economic growth and for overprotecting workers at the expense of the future of the business²². Rachel Jafta (1998:5) criticised it saying, affirmative action policies do not only allow the practice of double standards but they also reinforce "negative stereotypes, racial tension and a stigmatisation that thwarts the efforts of members of the preferred groups to pursue their goals on merit and hard work rather than preferential treatment" (Jafta 1998:5). Furthermore, from time to time far right opposition parties such as the Democratic Party have openly expressed fears that the Employment Equity Act may end up 'selling' out the Afrikaner male (Msimang 2001:5).

As South Africa celebrates ten years of democracy the debate continues. On 1st June 2004 News24.com²³ reported that the Freedom Front Plus urged government to stop applying affirmative action measures on White matriculants on applying for their first jobs. The party argued that enough time had passed for Blacks to catch up with Whites since schools were opened to children from all races twelve years ago. The party accused government of practising discrimination in disguise against White boys and girls.

The debate is also being experienced within the ruling African National Congress²⁴. For example, in July 2004 Minister of Defence, Mosiuoa Lekota suggested that time had now arrived for South Africans to stop looking at themselves as people of different races but just as South Africans. Similarly, the Minister of Sports, Makhenkhesi Stofile said he would want to see teams being representative but not based on man-made quotas.

²² Edmunds M. and Soggot M. 'Parliament Faces the Big Divide' *Weekly Mail and Guardian* on-line of 13th February 1998 <http://www.sn.apc.org/wmail/issues/980213/NEWS5.html>

²³ FF+: End of Affirmative Action'. *News24.com*, 1st June 2004. Available at http://www.news24.com/News24/Sout_Africa/Matric2003/0,,2-7-1539_1466088,00.html

²⁴ Affirmative Action is Here to Stay'. *Cape Times On-line Edition*. Available at <http://capetimes.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=269&fArticleId+=2149320>

In reaction to criticisms like the ones cited above defenders of affirmative action tend to see those who are not in favour of affirmative action simply as wanting to preserve White privileges that the apartheid era perpetrated at the expense of other races. For example, Msimang (2001:5) criticises the Democratic Party, whose supporters she says are mostly White urban dwellers, of wrongly perceiving that “the benefits of challenging racism and sexism [are] outweighed by concerns about running a more efficient government”. On a general note Msimang (2001:5) further observes that the opponents of affirmative action are motivated by nothing but fears that its measures may be inefficient or difficult to monitor bearing in mind the sophistication that is now characteristic of the language of race and racism in the country.

2.4 Conclusion

It is important to conclude this chapter by mentioning that in spite of the controversy surrounding the provisions of the Employment Equity Act it remains an important tool that the South African government is using to bring change in the country’s labour market. As former Minister of Labour, Tito Mboweni once said, the Act is “one of the most important and central instruments to bring about change in the South African workplace” (Msimang 2001:5). This observation means that naturally, the Act becomes an index for analysing media representations of the distribution of work in South Africa. It is in the light of this observation that the present study uses the Act to establish how advertising representations represent work. However, it problematises this presupposed role of the Act by questioning the extent to which it may be performed in relation the genre of advertising. This issue is discussed in detail in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 3

Theoretical and Methodological Framework of Study

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological framework of the present study. Firstly, it defines the concept of representation, showing how it relates to language, meaning, and culture. Thereafter, it looks at three theoretical perspectives of representation namely, the reflective, intentional and constructionist approaches. In doing so it highlights epistemological assumptions behind each of these approaches. Special effort is made to show how the constructionist approach draws from the works of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the French philosopher Roland Barthes. This is done in order to show how the language of advertising inevitably constructs meaning as a way of preparing for a discussion on the relevance of the provisions of the Employment Equity Act as an index for analysing advertising representations of work in South Africa. Thereafter, the chapter turns to theoretical and methodological concepts of cultural indicators analysis, which find expression in the mass communication approach and the broad sociological approach for studying cultural indicators. Through this it critically assesses relevant theoretical and methodological problems surrounding George Gerbner's cultivation hypothesis and establishes how the problems impact on the present study.

3.1 A Brief Overview of the Process of Representation

"Representation is the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning" (Stuart Hall 1997b: 61). A sign is anything that stands for something (Umberto Eco 1976:16). Therefore, it follows that language may use all sorts of signs besides the written and spoken word (Hall 1997a: 4-5). Roland Barthes (1972a:119) for example, regards a photograph as a speech in the same way as a newspaper article. He rationalises that pictures are a

kind of writing in so far as they are meaningful¹. In this light the present study regards television advertising as a language, and each sampled advertisement as a speech that uses electronically produced signs to produce meaning shared by members of a given society.

The central role that shared meanings play in the domain of culture points to an important relationship between culture and language, namely that both are concerned with shared meanings. In the light of the above definition of representation it follows, therefore, that “language provides one general model of how culture and representation work” (Hall 1997a: 6). It is against this background that the present study conceptualises television advertising as a signifying system that produces cultural meanings about work in South Africa.

There are three theoretical approaches that attempt to explain how the process of representation articulates meaning: the intentional, reflective, and constructionist approaches. Hall (1997a: 1) observes that, “meanings can only be shared through [a] common access to language”. No wonder, each of these approaches is based on certain epistemological assumptions about how language functions.

3.1.1 The Intentional Approach to Representation

The intentional approach to representation holds the view that “it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. Words mean what the author intends them to mean” (Hall 1997b: 25). This is the case because epistemologically, the intentional approach is informed by intentional theories of language, which assume that language use is an intentional activity. “A sentence has meaning because people utter it with certain intentions” (Mark Platts 1979:86). One intentional theory, for example, draws a distinction between sentence meaning and utterer’s meaning. The latter is defined in terms of utterer’s intentions, which

¹ Barthes (1972:119) traces this understanding of language to the period before the invention of the alphabet where objects or drawings, as in pictographs, were accepted as speech.

implies that essentially the theory “aims to define sentence-meaning in terms of the notion of utterer’s meaning” (Platts 1979:86). The assumption is that one may not know the meaning of a linguistic expression unless they are fully aware of the author’s intention.

The intentional approach puts forward a substantial argument. In everyday life there are many expressions whose meaning cannot be known without knowing the author’s intention first. For example, the expression ‘God bless you’ may either mean a wish for a blessing or a wish for a curse depending on the author’s intention. However, as a general theory of representation the approach is flawed because it exaggerates the role of the individual as a source of meaning in language. Communication cannot occur unless people share linguistic conventions and codes. As Hall (1997b: 25) contends

[People’s] private intended meanings, however personal to [them], have to enter into the rules, codes, and conventions of language to be shared and understood. Language is a social system through and through. This means that [people’s] private thoughts have to negotiate with all the other meanings for words or images which have been stored in language which [their] use of the language system will inevitably trigger into action.

The intentional approach cannot inform the present study because it denies the social character of the meaning of advertising representations. Advertisers do not use private language. Rather, they use signs in a manner that members of the audience can understand, otherwise they would not be able to communicate with them.

3.1.2 The Reflective Approach to Representation

The reflective approach to representation advocates that meaning is intrinsic to things that are found in the real world, therefore, language mirrors reality (Hall 1997b: 24). The word ‘dog’, for example, simply mirrors the animal dog that exists in the real world. The approach is sometimes called mimetic after the notion of mimesis, which fourth century BC Greeks employed to explain how language and art mirror nature (Hall 1997b: 24). Epistemologically, the reflective approach subscribes to the mapping view of language, which holds

that “there is a common world out there and ... languages are analogous to maps of this world” (George Grace 1987:6). To put it in a different way, “each language is an empty code – a code which is entirely uncommitted to content and for which any conceivable subject matter constitute potential content” (Grace 1987:8).

In the light of the above epistemological assumptions the reflective approach to representation triggers one fundamental question, namely why different languages represent reality differently if at all meaning is intrinsic to things. For example, why do different advertisers present the same product or service differently to consumers? The mapping view of language tries to rationalise this fundamental problem by arguing that the problem is not with language per se but rather with the fact that “[people’s] access to knowledge of this world is imperfect, different peoples (speaking in different languages) have arrived at slightly different understanding of it” (Grace 1987:6). However, one may counter-argue that this explanation is flawed because it contradicts the very central idea of the reflective approach. This is the case because saying that people have imperfect access to knowledge about the world is as good as saying that language does not reflect the reality about that same world.

The mapping view of language also assumes that the process of representation is independent of the extra-linguistic environment. The implication of this position is that if one wants to understand how a language represents a particular reality they must “analyse the synchronic structures of [that] language without considering ... anything beyond the kind of features which figure in linguistic descriptions” (Grace 1987:8). Put differently, the epistemological assumptions that guide the reflective approach to representation do not recognise any connection between the process of representation and culture, which means the approach may not be used satisfactorily to explain how advertising articulates cultural meaning.

It may also be argued that the view that language mirrors reality gives the impression that the reflective approach is mainly concerned with the physical

world where “visual signs bear some relationship to the shape and texture of the objects which they represent” (Hall 1997b: 24). The approach may, therefore, not be able to explain the meaning of ‘fictitious’ signs, which refer to the imaginary world. This is a crucial point especially concerning media representations that tend to draw from the fictitious world. For instance, some advertisements feature cartoons of animals and objects. Definitely, such cartoons do not mirror an objective world that exists out there although advertising uses them to generate various meanings about products and services. In other words, the reflective approach has limited application to the study of advertising representations because it lacks versatility.

3.1.3 The Constructionist Approach to Representations

The constructionist approach holds the view that meaning is socially constructed because the material world in which things and people exist is separate from symbolic systems that give it meaning (Hall 1997b: 25-26). As Jonathan Potter (1996:98) explains, proponents of this approach believe that “reality enters into human practices by way of the categories and descriptions that are part of those practices. The world is not [already] categorised by God or nature in ways that [people] are forced to accept. It is constituted in one way or another as people talk about it, write about it, and argue it”. Grace (1987:3) clarifies this point by observing that the construction of reality may be seen in both the way people select subject matter or objects and their characteristics that they want to talk about and how they talk about them. Therefore, unlike the reflective approach, the constructionist approach sees the effective environment as more cultural than natural. Consequently, it places emphasis on the role of cultural constructs in the way people understand and respond to the external world as opposed to the part played by characteristics of the external world itself.

The fact that people select what they want to talk about and how they want to talk about it implies that they have imperfect access to knowledge of the real world. In essence what they access is data about the world, which they theorise to create its models. Language reflects these models (Grace 1987:6).

It is, however, important to bear in mind that the constructionist approach recognises that there are limits to which meaning is socially constructed. The real world imposes some constraints on the process of representation, which consequently prevent people of different cultures from having completely random experiences (Grace 1987:6). For example, although different cultures have different ways of understanding family relationships their understanding of roles of parents, and children tend to have a lot in common.

The constraint that the real world imposes on how language constructs reality connotes that the real difference between the constructionist approach and the reflective approach is the way each one of them emphasises the extent to which language cannot construct that reality. The reflective approach is more rigid than the constructionist approach on this matter. This difference needs not be taken for granted because as Grace (1987:6) points out,

Differences of emphasis can be most important – fully as important as differences of empirical fact and even much more so. What is really important is what questions are effectively askable by those who take a particular view as their point of departure. The important differences between basic views of language (or of any other subject matter) are in what is regarded as problematic and what is taken for granted.

The constructionist approach, for example, problematises the process of representation in many ways that the reflective approach does not (Grace 1987:10), a fact that renders the former a more dynamic way of understanding the process of representation. For example, it assumes that there is no satisfactory way for separating what is said from how it is said. This is an important claim to advertising representations because true meaning of an advertisement lies in how the content is presented to the audience. This is why sometimes consumers accuse advertisers of misrepresenting certain social groups.

Similarly, the constructionist approach holds that culture does not only shape language but it also finds expression in it. As a result language and culture are so inseparable from each other that it is impossible to say where one ends and where the other begins. In turn this inseparability of language from culture

implies that language-culture systems have individual ways of choosing what can be said and how to talk about it. For example, the language of advertising is different from the language of journalism because of the choices that each one of them has to make to generate meaning. Thus the constructionist approach puts forward a versatile view of the process of representation because theoretically it acknowledges the existence of language-culture systems that have significantly different views about the world.

3.2 The Constructionist Approach in Media Studies

As far as the study of media representations is concerned the fundamental argument of the constructionist approach namely that, reality is a social construct was first theoretically expressed through the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (Hall 1997b: 30). Saussure wanted “to determine the forces operating permanently and universally in all languages, and to formulate general laws which account for all particular linguistic phenomena historically tested” (Ferdinand de Saussure 1983:6). His theory of language as a sign system, may summarily be understood through three binary distinctions popularly known as the Saussurean trio: langue/parole, signifier/signified, and syntagmatic/associative (Andrew Tudor 1999:73).

Saussure believed that speech is “an individual act of the will and the intelligence” (Saussure 1983:14). However, he also observed that speech is only possible because it is governed by rules that all members of a language community share about their language. Therefore, he distinguished between langue, the deep structure of language and parole the actual speech. For him, distinguishing language itself from speech is as good as distinguishing “what is social from what is individual” (Saussure 1983:13). Langue gives language a social character because speech cannot be meaningful unless society agrees on rules that structure the language. In other words, Saussure implies that language constructs reality. Saussure contended that the concepts

langue and parole could be extended to other sign systems and be studied through a science called semiology² (Saussure 1983:68).

Saussure conceptualised a linguistic sign as containing two elements namely, signifier (the form e.g. the spoken or written word) and signified (the meaning, which is a concept). He saw no direct connection between the signifier and the signified and, therefore, concluded that signs are arbitrary (Saussure 1983:15). Here again he emphasised the fact that meaning is socially constructed. "Any means of expression accepted in society rests in principle upon a collective habit, or on convention" (Saussure 1983:68). For example, there is nothing intrinsic in the animal that we call 'dog', which qualifies it to be such. The name was created through social convention.

The arbitrariness of signs led Saussure to further argue that meaning is relational. A sign obtains value only in relation to other signs within its semiological system. For example, chess pieces do not obtain their value from any intrinsic characteristics but from the positions that they occupy on the chessboard. Any object could replace a Knight, for instance (Saussure 1983:108-109). Thus for Saussure language is not only autonomous of reality but it also constructs it. As Potter rightly points out, Saussure was against "the idea that there are natural sets of things such as rivers and streams waiting to be named by any group of humans who happen to evolve language in their vicinity; rather each language produces its own distinct conceptual world" Potter (1996:70).

² The term semiology is often used interchangeably with semiotics [see for example, Potter (1996:69) and Leiss *et-al* (1990:198)]. However, Keyan Tomaselli (1996:29) argues that the two are only similar but not the same. On the one hand semiology is concerned with the text alone thereby ignoring the context i.e. the political, economic, social and historical processes out of which specific texts arise. Thus it eliminates the text-context relationship from the study. On the other hand, semiotics, which mainly draws from the works of the American Philosopher Charles Peirce "incorporates not only how things come to mean, but how prevailing meanings are the outcomes of encounters between individuals, groups and classes and their respective cosmologies and conditions of existence. These social and cultural categories are criss-crossed by other lines of tension such as gender, psychology, religion, language, ethnic and nationalistic forms of domination and or resistance. Overlaid on all these is culture" (Tomaselli 1996:29).

Saussure saw two sets of relationships between signs, which are responsible for constructing meaning, namely syntagmatic and associative relations (Saussure 1983:122). Signs get into a syntagmatic relationship when they relate with each other on a horizontal plane. For example, in the sentence *John is good* we know that lexical items *John*, *is*, and *good* are subject, verb and object respectively and are grammatically correct. In simple terms the associative relationship of signs refers to the relation that a sign has with others similar to it outside the syntagmatic chain. The associative relationship is concerned with options that a language user has when choosing signs to put together on the syntagmatic plane in order to produce a desired meaning. In the above example, the author could well have used the subject *Mary* instead of *John*, the verb *was* instead of *is*, or the object *bad* instead of *good*. Saussure's disciples tend to use the expression paradigmatic relationship to describe this associative relationship (Tudor 1999:59).

Although the Saussurean model of sign systems puts forward the above-mentioned important insights about the representation systems it cannot fully explain how meaning is produced in media representations due to several reasons. Firstly, it does not deal with the true social character of language because it regards language as a closed system in which meaning could be studied and predicted scientifically (Hall 1997b: 35). Secondly, the model is preoccupied with the internal relationship between the signifier and signified thereby ignoring how it could "[refer people] to the world of things, people, and events outside language in the real world" (Hall 1997b: 34).

The above weaknesses of Saussure's model imply that one needs to apply it in a modified manner if they are to conduct a comprehensive study of how the media in general and advertising in particular construct meaning. As Hall (1997b: 35) observes Saussure's followers tend to apply the model in a loose and open-ended way to study how meaning is constructed in various sign systems. It is in this light that the present study is informed by the work of Roland Barthes, who makes one of the most important applications of Saussure's ideas (Potter 1996:71).

Barthes argues that any sign system operates on two planes: the plane of experience and the plane of analysis. On the experiential plane the signifier and the signified are so inseparable from each other that people only see one thing, the sign. For example, although a bunch of roses signifies passion people tend to ignore the signifier (roses) and the signified (passion) and consequently only see the sign, passionified roses. On the plain of analysis the signifier (conceptual rose), the signified (passion) and the sign (the actual rose) are treated as separate items. Barthes contends that the plane of analysis provides a comprehensive understanding of how the process of representation articulates meaning because it provides two semiological systems. On the one hand, he sees a system of signification that articulates the literal meaning of signs. He calls this system the language object and the meaning thereof produced denotation. On the other hand he sees another signification system that is created when the meaning of the language object is turned into a signifier of a subsequent semiological system. He calls this second order semiological system myth (Barthes 1972b: 123) and its meaning connotation.

Barthes (1972b: 17) uses images such as, photographs, paintings, drawings, theatre and cinema to illustrate how denotative and connotative meaning operate. He observes that at first sight each of these images is a message without a code and the reader sees it as having an analogical relation to its object. However, the way the same representation is treated in a particular cultural context produces another level of meaning. Therefore, denotation refers to the literal meaning of an image while connotation refers to the manner in which society communicates what it thinks of that image. Thus connotation is the imposition of a second meaning on an image (Barthes 1972b: 17, 20). A hypothetical example of a photograph of Congolese women and children who are waving at South African peacekeeping troops may help illustrate Barthe's point. The denotative meaning is that Congolese women and children are waving at South African troops. However, if one surreptitiously adds a new signifier to this meaning thereby turning it into a

signifier it produces another meaning, namely that the Congolese welcome the presence of South African troops in their country.

The notions of denotation and connotation as described above imply that myth is not an object but a meta-language (Barthes 1972b: 123). It is in the light of this observation that Barthes (1972b: 126) further observes that meaning is produced either linguistically or mythically, a situation that gives an ambiguous identity to the signifier. On the one hand, the signifier is the final term of the linguistic system while on the other it is the first term of the mythical system. To avoid confusion, Barthes uses the terms meaning and form to describe the final term of the linguistic system and the first term of the mythical system respectively. To simplify matters he uses the analogy of 'fullness' and 'emptiness' to illustrate how the ambiguous signifier operates within each of the two systems. As a meaning the signifier is full because it has a sensory reality that eyes can grasp and thereby automatically postulating a reading. For example, during the first sight of the above-mentioned hypothetical photograph anyone may read that Congolese women and children are waving to South African soldiers. As a form the signifier is empty because on the plane of myth the linguistic meaning loses its essence. It "leaves its contingency behind; it empties itself, it becomes impoverished, [its] history evaporates, only the [sign] remains" (Barthes 1972b: 127). One has to put the signifier in a cultural context in order to fill it with a new meaning i.e. the connotative meaning. Potter (1996:72) supports Barthes's view by using the example of a police report. He observes that if the police report that a suspect was wearing stonewashed jeans they may do so not only to describe what the suspect was wearing at that particular time but also to suggest their age and social class because some age groups and social classes do not wear stonewashed jeans.

On both the linguistic plane and the mythical plane the signified is a concept. However, unlike the form it is not abstract. It is filled with a situation that allows for a new history to be implanted in the myth. In other words, the concept "is determined, it is at once historical and intentional; it is the motivation which causes the myth to be uttered" (Barthes 1972b: 128). Going back to the example of the photograph of South African soldiers and Congolese women and children the drive behind the myth could be said to be South Africa's military and humanitarian might on the African continent. In this regard it may be observed that on its own the drive behind myth implies a shallow, isolated and impoverished meaning for the form. As a form, for example, the waving of Congolese women and children at South African troops does not say much to the reader. Its connotative meaning is dependent on the concept of the military and humanitarian might of South Africa, which brings into the picture the respective histories of South Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and their present difficulties, ambitions, desires, aspirations. etc.

The above tendency of the concept supports the claim that meaning is constructed when the relationship between the signifier and signified draws from things, people, and events, etc outside the semiological chain. This is why Barthes points out that the mythical concept is not a purified essence of reality but rather some appropriated aspect of that reality. The claim is strengthened by the fact that one concept may be articulated by more than one signifier (Barthes 1972b: 129). For instance, there are definitely many images that may signify the military and humanitarian might of South Africa besides the above-mentioned photograph.

Barthes (1972b: 131) uses the term signification to refer to the new sign that develops on the plane of myth. He rationalises that the term is appropriate because it emphasises the double function of myth. Once again he stresses the fact that meaning is a social construct by observing that the process of signification naturally distorts meaning because the concept and meaning of myth are always in a relation of deformation. The concept distorts the

meaning but it does not abolish it because a linguistic meaning already constitutes the form of the myth (Barthes 1972b: 132). For example, in the above example about the police report the pair of stonewashed jeans is changed into a signifier but it remains intact because the concept needs it.

Barthes further stresses the social construction of meaning when he observes that, “the mythical signification is never arbitrary: it is always in part motivated, and unavoidably contains some analogy” (Barthes 1972b: 136). The photograph about the South African peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo provides a sufficient example. In order for South Africa's military and humanitarian strength to get hold of the waving women and children and the South African soldiers there must be identity between the women and children and the soldiers. It is, for example, a known fact that Congolese rebels tend to abuse and kill innocent women and children therefore, whoever manages to protect these women and children emerges a hero.

The observation that motivation is chosen amongst other possible options further supports the claim that meaning is socially constructed (Barthes 1972b: 138). As pointed above different signifiers could be used to signify the military and humanitarian might of South Africa. For example, a photograph of a sophisticated warplane flying over the city of Durban could convey the same meaning. In other words, by opting for another signifier instead of this one the author constructs a meaning of their choice.

A careful look at Barthes' theorisation of how signs articulate meaning clearly echoes one of the key ontological assumptions of the constructionist view of language namely that, what is said is as important as how it is said. Barthes believes that if one is to decipher the complete meaning of any kind of message they must pay as much attention to what is being said as to the manner in which it is presented.

A major weakness of Barthes' conceptualisation of sign systems, though, is that he is so preoccupied with how society constructs meaning that he overlooks the role of the reader in decoding the meaning. He "treats cultural meanings as a given currency which is shared by everyone who is at all acculturated to contemporary popular culture" (Theo van Leeuwen 2001:92). In other words he presupposes that members of the audience are cultural dupes who absorb preferred meanings encoded in media messages. For instance, in his entire seminal essay titled 'Myth Today' he says nothing about how the audience reads mythical speech, which implies that he takes it for granted that all readers are victimised by it in the same way.

Stuart Hall's (1980) theory of encoding and decoding contradicts Barthes' position. Hall argues that any text is subject to three different types of reading. First, one reader may accept the preferred meaning of the author. Secondly, another reader may negotiate the content to suit their worldview. Still more, another one may reject the preferred meaning completely.

Despite the above criticism, however, Barthes' conceptualisation of sign systems offers a versatile understanding of how the process of representation produces meaning. Although he talks about the text he attaches great significance to context. Essentially, he is skeptical about the realism of the text. "Rather than treat realism as a consequence of discourse naively reflecting the world, he asks [the reader] to consider realism as an artful assemblage of language that creates the effect of naïve representation" (Potter 1996:74). This is the case because Barthes pursues a triadic model of the sign. Firstly, it has "an interior relation which unites its signifier to its signified; then two exterior relations: a virtual one that unites the sign to a specific reservoir of other signs it may be drawn from in order to be inserted in discourse; and an actual one that unites the sign to other signs in the discourse preceding or succeeding it" (Barthes 1972b: 204).

The importance that Barthes attaches to context in order to understand sign systems makes it plausible for the present study to argue that although he regards himself as a semiologist essentially he is a semiotician. His work has a strong leaning towards the work of Charles Peirce, the father of semiotics. Peirce put forward three categories of signs namely, icons, indices, and symbols. An iconic sign has a physical resemblance with the thing that it signifies e.g. a photograph. Indexical signs do not resemble the thing that they signify but they draw attention to the thing to which they refer, hence their meaning is conventional. For example, a wind vane draws attention to wind direction although it has no physical relationship with the wind. Finally, a symbolic sign has no obvious relationship with the idea that it represents. For example, in the traffic lights system red has no direct relationship with the idea of stopping (Tomaselli 1996:30-31). In other words iconic signs and indexical signs generate what Barthes calls denotative meaning and connotative meaning respectively. Barthes' work is important for understanding how the language of advertising constructs meaning.

3.3 The Relevance of the Constructionist Theory on the Language of Advertising.

The semiotic approach to the study of advertising "suggests that the meaning of an [advertisement] does not float on the surface just waiting to be internalised by the viewer, but is built up out of the ways that different signs are organised and related to each other both within the [advertisement] and through external references to wider belief system" (Leiss, et al, 1990 201). An advertisement that promotes the rights of homosexuals in South Africa, for example, may not be easily transferable to Nigeria because the two countries may have different belief systems on this matter.

Semiotics argues that advertising generates meaning in different stages. First and foremost it transfers the meaning of one sign to another within the syntax of the given advertisement. Just as is the case with any text signs in a given advertisement are juxtaposed without necessarily being linked by a narrative. This is the case because they are assumed to have the same meaning

although the connection is random (Judith Williamson 1978:25). For example, a popular Surf Excel television advertisement juxtaposes the washing powered with a television celebrity named Chichi without necessarily linking the two by a narrative. The Gorgeous Chichi cat walks down a street and comes to a building site where to the astonishment of male bricklayers she takes mortar and places it on a brick wall as if she is a builder. Then a voiceover comments on the power of Surf Excel to remove dirt and stains from clothes and to facilitate easy ironing.

Essentially, there is no link between Chichi and Surf washing powder except for the fact that what Chichi's personal gorgeous looks mean to South Africans is what the washing powder is trying to mean to them too. This means that Surf Excel earns the meaning that it shares with Chichi simply by association although to the reader the relationship may seem a natural one. Williamson (1978:25) sums up this thought when she says, "the advertisement presents this transference of meaning to [the viewer] as a fiat accompli, as though it were simply presenting two objects with the same meaning, but in fact it is only in the advertisement that this transference takes place".

Leiss, et al, (1990: 202) observes that the transfer of signs is incomplete within an advertisement. The reader needs to complete it. For instance, the Surf Excel advertisement does not explicitly say that the clean wash and the easy ironing that one experiences with the washing powder is like the one that the audience experiences through Chichi's gorgeous clothes. Williamson (1978:25, 44) drives this point home when she asserts that advertising leaves a gap, which the reader must fill so that they can become both listener and speaker, subject and object. The reader is given two signifiers and is required to make a signified by exchanging them. However, the linking work is not done in the advertisement but in its form hence it draws the reader into the transformational space between the units of the advertisement.

The transfer of meaning can also not take place unless the first signifier already has significance to the audience (Leiss, et al, 1990: 203). For example, in the above example, the reader needs to know what Chichi already stands for within the world of television and glamour. The reader needs to know that she is a symbol of gorgeous appearance especially to the African community of South Africa. In other words advertising uses “already existing mythological language or sign system and [appropriates] a relationship that exists in that system between signifier [Chichi] and signified (glamour, beauty) to speak of its product in terms of the same relationship” (Williamson 1978:25). However, the transfer of meaning in advertisements also works through the process of differentiation because in reality there is little difference between brands of the same category (Williamson 1978:24). For example, all Surf washing powders work more or less in the same way. In this way the image of Chichi together with the context in which it is portrayed differentiates Surf Excel from all other brands within its range.

Williamson (1978:25) uses the term ‘referent system’ to refer to the sign system from which the product draws its image arguing that the sign is lifted out of it to be placed in the concerned advertisement so that it may be referred back to. In other words, referent systems are important because “they constitute the body of knowledge from which both advertisers and audiences draw their inspiration” (Leiss, et al, 1990: 203).

Writing from a pragmatics point of view Kieko Tanaka (1998:6) criticises semiotics’ assumption about a pre-existing body of knowledge, saying it is misleading because it does not explain the criteria that members of the audience use to choose relevant information from a wide range of knowledge that they have at their disposal. However, a careful look at Tanaka’s argument shows that he wrongly assumes that it is the job of the semiotician to predict exactly which personal experience a given reader will use to interpret a given message. On the contrary, from a semiotics point of view it does not matter which experience or knowledge a reader would exactly use to decode the meaning of a given advertisement as long as one keeps in mind that the

readers' socio-cultural knowledge and experiences play an important role in how they read media messages.

The fact that advertising creates meaning through the use of referent systems implies that it generates meaning through both denotation and connotation (Leiss, et al, 1990:205). For example, denotatively, the Surf Excel advertisement tells the reader that Surf Excel is a powerful washing powder that leaves the washing looking gorgeous like Chichi's clothes. However, at the denotative level it tells the reader that Chichi is a symbol of gorgeousness. Furthermore, the fact that all the bricklayers that are shown in this advertisement are not only male but also that they are perplexed when they see her placing the mortar on the wall tells the reader that bricklaying is a job that is meant for males. All this information does not come from within the text. This is why Hall observes that codes of connotation depend on shared social and cultural knowledge "derived from social practices, the knowledge of institutions, the beliefs and legitimations which exist in a diffused form within society, and which order society's apprehension of the world in terms of dominant meaning patterns" (Hall 1973:176).

Tanaka (1998:2) also takes issue with the idea of denotation and connotation saying the distinction between the two is not clear hence any attempts to separate them is misleading. He particularly points out that the way people perceive things is not independent of cultural knowledge and this fact is supported by cognitive psychology which says perceptual systems transform information from sensory representations into conceptual representations. This relationship means that, "the central thought processes integrate information derived from the senses with information stored in memory, determining what is actually perceived. Thus even the processing of information derived from the senses is affected by cultural knowledge" (Tanaka 1999:2).

Tanaka is putting forward a valid argument here but the problem is that it has limited applicability. For example, a person may be able to know that a black image of a cell phone with a red diagonal line across it placed at the entrance of a banking hall means that cell phones are prohibited in the hall. However due to cultural knowledge, the person may wrongly think that they are prohibited to control noise rather than to control crime.

The validity of the distinction between denotation and connotation in the language of advertising is supported by theories of market segmentation and resonance within advertising. The theory of market segmentation conceptualises audiences as being fragmented into small market segments that require specialised operative codes due to their cultural differences.

Advertisers like working with narrowly defined groups rather than with diffuse, broadly based general audiences. The more narrowly one can define an audience and the more specialised the knowledge one can draw from, the more certain one can be of speaking to people in a language they will respond to (Leiss, et al, 1990:208).

Market segmentation is usually based on the target audience's income, geographical location, social-economic status, personality, usage patterns brand loyalty, and lifestyle (Jhally 1989:123). Advertisers use psychographic research to identify patterns of lifestyle of the intended audience by combining their demographic data with various well-established psychological attributes. Psychographic research would, for example, be interested to establish how people spend their working time and leisure time, how they relate with their immediate environment, and how they view important social issues (Joseph Plummer 1979:125-6). For example, it may not be worthwhile to use images of rugby players in an advertisement targeted at African residents of KwaMashu, an area on the peripheral of Durban, who spend their leisure time watching football rather than rugby.

Furthermore, the resonance theory of communication recognises the crucial role played by shared socio-cultural knowledge and experiences in the creation of meaning. It argues that advertisements are effective when they evoke personal experiences of viewers. Therefore, the critical task of the

advertisers “is to design package of stimuli so that it resonates with information already stored within an individual and thereby induce the desired learning or behavioural effect” (Jhally 1989:12129). There is no doubt that some of this knowledge is cultural. One, however, needs to know that resonance is not synonymous with reflection. This is the case because in essence “advertising draws its materials from the experiences of the audience, but it reformulates them in a unique a way. It does not reflect meaning but rather reconstitutes it” (Jhally 1989:12129). Currently, there is growing consensus among scholars that “the images in commercials are of idealised rather than typical people” (Furnham and Farragher 2000:2). As Leiss et al (1990:200) observes that:

Advertising indeed draws deeply from the dispositions, hopes and concerns of its audiences, but it reformulates them to suit its own purposes, not reflecting meaning but rather reconstituting it. Looking at advertisements today is a bit like walking through a carnival hill of mirrors, where the elements of our ordinary lives are magnified and exaggerated but are still recognisable.

For example, a recent television advertisement about Wimpy Big Mouth Burger shows a man opening his mouth wide with the help of his fingers in preparation to eat the burger. This is a typical exaggeration of how one prepares to eat a big burger but still the action is recognisable by the audience because it more or less taps from their personal knowledge and/or experiences about burgers.

In his discussion of how advertising represents gender roles the American Sociologist Erving Goffman (1979: vii) articulates a similar idea.

Advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we think men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other (Goffman 1979: vii).

Furthermore, the language of advertising constructs social reality through its effort to address large numbers of people within a short time. Ideally, advertisers are capable of designing advertisements that can interpellate each person individually. However, they do not do this due to resource constraints.

Their option, therefore, is to produce very short advertisements that draw from the dreams, desires, and aspirations of thousands or millions of consumers. They do this by drawing from what they believe is knowledge that they share with the audience, which in turn helps them interpret the way the audience thinks (Leiss, et al, 1990:200). However, practically there is no way a thirty-second advertisement could mirror the shared experiences and dreams of so many people. Consequently, the images that are seen in advertisements are merely a reconstituted reality. As Furnham and Farragher (2000:2) point out, “due to time constraint imposed upon them, and the need for effective communication of the advertiser message ...some degree of stereotyping is inevitable”. Chiara Giaccardi (1995:113) sums it all by pointing out that advertising has three fundamental aspects namely, a reality referred to; a new perspective; a communicative aim. Advertisers look at reality and make deliberate decisions to present it in a particular way to meet their goal of persuading the audience to purchase a given product or service.

At this point it is important to note that the above observations about how the language of advertising constructs meaning reveal that it is inevitable for advertising to construct reality. As Jhally (1987:142) sums it all, “[successful] advertising absorbs and fuses a variety of symbolic practices and discourses. The substance and images woven into advertising messages are appropriated and distilled from an unbounded range of cultural references [and recombined artfully] around the theme of consumption”. This point is crucial because it has important implications on the applicability of the Employment Equity Act as an index for analysing advertising representations of work. A detailed discussion of this matter is given in the concluding chapter of the present study.

3.4 Cultural Indicators

Cultural indicators are indices used for monitoring culture. They measure cultural dynamics such as values, motives, beliefs and ideas, which find expression in ideological texts and how different groups of people internalise them (Nol Reijnders and Harry Bouwman 1984:33). Considering that culture is

essentially abstract, these indices enable researchers to collect and analyse cultural material “in a way that renders a small set of stable statistical time-series measures that can be used to indicate the content of the products of communication presented to the public” (Richard Peterson and Michael Hughes 1984:444). Thus ideally, “a central aspect of cultural indicators [is] the periodic analysis of trends in the composition and structure of message systems, cultivating conceptions of life relevant to social and public policy” (George Gerbner 1970:69).

George Gerbner coined the term cultural indicators in 1969 “as a way to measure the pervasiveness of violence in [American] television programming” (J. Zvi Namenwirth 1984:93). Afterwards he used it regularly to monitor American television by developing and applying a variety of indicators, of which the most famous is the violence profile (Rosengren 1984:14-18). However, cultural indicators may be related to other types of media and other social aspects apart from violence. For example, a multi-disciplinary Swedish project entitled Cultural Indicators: The Swedish Symbol System 1945 –1975 Research Program (CISSS) is concerned with various newspapers genres e.g. advertising and obituaries (Reijnders and Bouwman 1984:42). Other well-known cultural indicators include “the sex, age, professions/occupations and race of the persons in the world of television” (Reijnders and Bouwman 1984:33). The present study is concerned with the cultural indicator of professions/occupations, especially how it is crisscrossed by the social categories of race and gender in television advertising.

According to Rosengren (1984:17-20) cultural indicators have substantive, theoretical and methodological dimensions. The substantive dimension is concerned with the substance of cultural processes manifested in all kinds of media. Examples of substantive cultural processes include violence, religion, politics, the economy, inter-group relationships e.g. between elites and the masses, and women and men. Substantively, although the present study is concerned with work it is also interested to establish its relation to race and gender.

The theoretical dimension of cultural indicators deals with three theoretical problems namely, the nature, causes, and effects of culture. One may deal with one, two or all of these at a time depending on the objectives of study. A researcher concerned with causes of culture seeks to understand factors responsible for cultural change. For example, if a primetime soap opera suddenly begins to use sexist language one may investigate the cause of that change. The effects dimension is concerned with functions of culture in the present mass media–saturated society. It holds that the most important thing about media messages is how they affect the audience in the long run. Finally, researchers concerned with the nature of culture look at elements of culture and their internal relations. The theoretical dimension of the present study is concerned with the nature and effects of culture in that it is concerned with how advertising represents work bearing in mind that these images may affect people's perception about work in the long run.

The methodological dimension of cultural indicators recognises three widely known research traditions in the human and social sciences namely; content analysis, survey research, and secondary statistical analysis. In a typical scenario each of these methodological approaches tends to focus on a specific theoretical problem. Survey research and statistical analyses are associated with causes of cultural change and effects of culture respectively. Content analysis is mostly associated with the nature of culture. Methodologically the present study uses content analysis because although it recognises cultivation effects of media messages its objectives do not require it to conduct audience research to establish the effects of advertising representations.

In summary, the present study is concerned with work as a substance of culture. Theoretically, it looks at the nature of culture particularly how work is presented in relation to race and gender. Methodologically, it falls within the research tradition of content analysis.

3.4.1 Principal Approaches of the Cultural Indicators Tradition

Reijnders and Bouwman (1984:34-37) distinguish between two divergent approaches within the cultural indicators tradition: the broad sociological approach and the mass communication approach. The broad sociological approach is mainly concerned with cultural change in general and particularly cultural trends in the media. It does this by relating cultural development to wider social and economic changes, hoping to obtain insights into the cohesion of the social and economic fields (Reijnders and Bouwman 1984:34-37). A perfect example of the broad sociological approach is the Swedish project, which draws researchers from the disciplines of psychology, sociology, political science, theology, and philosophy from the Universities of Lund and Stockholm. The project, which started with a focus on daily and weekly newspapers, strives “to construct cultural indicators for different areas of post war Swedish society – to construct standardised instruments for measuring various aspects of the symbol system in the cultural environment as conceived in a broad perspective” (Reijnders and Bouwman 1984:42).

The mass communication approach is mainly associated with the work of Gerbner. It primarily emphasises how mass media messages influence the way society understands the world particularly in the long-term. Reijnders and Bouwman (1984:39) put forward three ways in which the approach analyses the media namely, Institutional Process Analysis (IPA), Message System Analysis (MSA) and Cultivation Analysis (CA) The IPA is concerned with aspects of television production. It assumes that television production receives pressure from various stakeholders e.g. investors, writers, political figures and audiences. For instance, shareholders of a given television station are likely to encourage the station to broadcast only those programs that are not detrimental to their profit.

The aim of Message System Analysis is to generate an in-depth understanding of media content. For instance, one may want to understand issues that television producers emphasise, tendencies that characterise programming, and how television structures phenomena. Methodologically,

Message System Analysis employs the research tradition of content analysis (Reijnders and Bouwman 1984:39). The rationale is that content analysis produces content indicators that reveal “shared representations of life, the issues, and the prevailing points of view that capture public attention, occupy people’s time, and animate their image-making in communications” (Gerbner 1973:562). The present study subscribes to Message System Analysis in so far as it uses it to establish tendencies that advertising representations of work emphasise.

The major challenge of MSA is to define concepts that the researcher wants to measure and to determine units of analysis, and corresponding measuring categories. For example, Bruce Owen (1972) criticises Gerbner’s definition of violence for being too broad. A careful look at challenges of this type, however, reveals that they are not necessarily challenges of Message System Analysis but rather of content analysis. For example, when Wober (1978:315) criticised Gerbner’s cultivation hypothesis for failing to be replicated amongst British viewers, he responded by pointing out that Wober’s content analysis was faulty (Reijnders and Bouwman 1984:42).

Cultivation analysis holds the view that “the message systems of a culture [do] not only inform, entertain, and satisfy the public but they also form common images, create publics, and shape a range of attitudes, tastes, and preferences of the public” (Gerbner 1973:567). Gerbner sees television as the dominant medium in the symbolic environment to the extent that he concludes that it is “not a window on or a reflection of the world, but a world itself” (Denis McQuail and Sven Windahl 1993:100). Typical cultivation analysis involves identifying prevailing televised images of violence and correlating them with data collected from audience research using survey. Nevertheless, apart from images of violence on television cultivation analysis is also interested in establishing other images that dominate various sectors of the world of television like is the case of the present study, which is concerned with advertising representations of work.

Generally cultural studies reject cultivation analysis because it thinks that the latter subscribes to the much-criticised hypodermic model of media effects, which conceives a passive homogenised audience in a world full of difference (Andy Ruddock 1998:118). Paul Hirsch (1980), for example, argues that television may have effects on the viewer but the effects are likely to be more complex than how cultivation analysis conceptualises them. In the light of this he accuses Gerbner of using information that helps him advance his shallow concept of mainstreaming. He, for example, argues that Gerbner does not take into consideration important demographic factors such as sex, education, and geographic location, which impact on how people watch and understand television. Judith van Evra (1990:169) supports Hirsch's argument through a study that found that ethnic minorities tend to handle perceived reality in more sophisticated ways than dominant groups. Denis McQuail (1987:99-100) supports Hirsch's argument by observing that, "it is almost impossible to deal convincingly with the complexity of posited relationships between symbolic structures, audiences behaviour and audience views, given the many intervening and powerful social background factors". Robert Hawkins and Suzanne Pingree (1983) share these sentiments because they could not find conclusive proof of the direction of the relationship between television viewing and how the subjects perceived social reality. They, therefore, theorise a reciprocal relationship between television viewing and viewer attitude, saying that television viewing causes the construction of social reality in a particular way, but this construction may also be influenced by direct viewer behaviour. The point that all the above-quoted critics are trying to make is that although there may be correlation between television exposure and beliefs and/or attitudes of viewers there is no guarantee that there is a causal relationship.

Cultural critics who attach great importance to viewer agency also disagree with the cultivation hypothesis. They argue that it undermines differences in the way viewers interpret the social reality that they encounter on television. This is the case because in the real sense television messages are subject to multiple interpretation, which may be caused by diverse factors such as viewer motivation and how they personally identify with characters. For

example, Joseph Domminick (1990:514) established that pass-time viewers and habitual viewers tend to be more affected than planned and motivated viewers by television messages.

Last but not least other cultural critics argue that the fears that cultivation analysis has about the creation of homogenised audiences and mainstreaming are not justifiable because viewers do not necessarily use television characters for social comparison. For example, John Condry (1989:139) argues that viewers tend not to worry about whether they are personally similar to or different from people whom they see on television. Although television personalities tend to be young, slender, and attractive, there is no evidence that heavy viewers are more concerned with their personal health and weight than light viewers.

It is undisputable that cultural theorist put forward substantial arguments against cultivation analysis considering that we live in a world characterised by different versions of reality. Definitely, it would be naïve to expect that an individual media message would exert the same kind of influence on all its readers. For example, there is no guarantee that a Black Label advertisement would cause each and every person who reads it to start thinking about that beer in the preferred way of the author. As pointed out elsewhere in this chapter the idea of homogenised audience is refuted by Hall's (1980) widely acclaimed theory of encoding and decoding. However, more importantly, what is interesting about the above criticisms that cultural studies levels against cultivation analysis is that in essence they do not touch the heart of the concerns of cultivation hypothesis. As James Shanahan and Michael Morgan (1999:5-6) contend, cultivation analysis is not about media effects in their pejorative sense as conceptualised by the hypodermic needle theory of communication. Cultivation analysis is not concerned with explaining whether watching a certain violent movie would guarantee the transference of the violent behaviour into the lives of the members of the audience.

Cultivation is about the implications of stable, repetitive, pervasive and virtually inescapable patterns of images and ideologies that television ...provides.... Cultivation research approaches television as a *system* of messages – a system whose elements are not invariant or uniform, but complementary, organic and coherent – and inquiries into the functions and consequences of those messages *as a system*, overall, in *toto* for its audiences. The focus of cultivation analysis is on the correlates and consequences of cumulative exposure to television in general over long periods of time (Shanahan and Morgan 1999:5)

This means that contrary to the belief of many cultural critics cultivation analysts do not see the process of communication as a transparent one through which the television industry forces its desires upon passive audiences. It is significant to note that this is the very idea that Ruddock (1998) tries to put forward in an effort to show that cultural studies and cultivation analysis are similar to each other because they both reject the tenets of effects model of communication for the same reason. He explains that:

When cultivation analysis speaks of the process of homogenisation, it does not argue that TV produces uniformity. Mainstreaming refers to a reduction of difference, which is very different to the idea of the direct effect. It is not an 'empiricist' concept in its pejorative sense, since it assumes that neither the meaning nor the effects of television content are transparent (Ruddock 1998:119).

Ruddock (1998:119) further observes that the claim that cultivation analysts do not support the empiricist conceptualisation of mainstreaming is supported by Gerbner's alternative 'resonant thesis'. This thesis holds that television messages tend to be more powerful when they reflect the viewer's social experience, a situation, which Brian Clifford, et al, (1995:6) calls the 'double dose effect'. For example, Gerbner's Cultural Indicators Project found that heavy viewers of television violence are far more likely to overestimate their chances of being victims of violence if they live in a high crime neighbourhood (Michael Hughes 1980: 288). This is an interesting observation because usually people tend to believe things that they have some knowledge or experience about. For example, a person who lives in a war-torn country is likely to believe a rumour about an impending civil war.

Ruddock stresses that it is easy to understand that cultivation analysis does not support the effects tradition because naturally, “mainstreaming and resonance cannot co-exist within a positivist paradigm that assumes that if effects happen at all, they are manifest and uniform” (Ruddock 1998:119). This is easy to understand if one considers that Gerber fundamentally believes that the primary significance of communication is that it preserves a preserving social order rather than causing attitudinal and behavioural shifts (Gerbner 1973:558). It looks reasonable to expect a person who understands communication in this way to defend the active role of the audience and to argue against direct effects of communication. No wonder, Ruddock (1998:121) goes further to argue that, the cultivation hypothesis acknowledges polysemy just like Hall’s (1980) model of encoding/decoding, which is the starting point for the active audience thesis.

In the light of the foregoing observations it may be rightly concluded that the communication model behind cultivation analysis shares a lot with the semiotic view of communication, which enjoys the blessing of cultural studies. This means that the present study subscribes to cultivation analysis only in so far as it recognises that audiences are not cultural dupes although they have to deal with preferred media meanings all the time (Gerbner 1973: 558).

3.5 Content Analysis

It has been pointed out above that the present study employs content analysis as a technique for conducting a Media Message Analysis of advertisements in order to establish the cultural meanings that advertising produces about work in South Africa. This section gives a detailed discussion of content analysis and how it has been used in the study.

In simplest terms, content analysis is a “research technique that involves measuring something ... in random sampling of some form of communication” (Arthur Berger 1998:117). The first and most influential definition of content analysis is attributed to the American communication scientist Bernard Berelson (John Bowers 1970:291). Bernard Berelson (1952:18)

conceptualised content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. The technique may be used for describing patterns or trends in media portrayals; testing hypotheses about the policies or aims of media practitioners; drawing inferences about media effects, comparing media content with the real world; assessing the representation of particular groups in society (Roger Wimmer and Joseph Dominick 1983:140-142). The present study subscribes to the last two uses because the information generated about work from advertisement content is compared with existing ideals of the existing South African labour market as provided for by the 1998 Employment Equity Act.

Content analysis is argued to be systematic because it employs explicit consistent rules to select, code and analyse data (Barrie Gunter 2000:56). Each item has equal chance of being selected for analysis. The principle also applies to evaluation of data. As Wimmer and Dominick (1983:138) point out, “systematic evaluation simply means that one and only one set of guidelines for evaluation is used through out the study”. This objectivity is based on the claim that ideally personal biases and idiosyncracies of the researcher are not allowed to influence the results of the study (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:138). The claim is so strong that it is expected that when a study is replicated the same results must be produced. To ensure that this happens the researcher is required to explain clearly all operational definitions and rules for classifying variables (Gunter 2000:56). “Unless a clear set of criteria and procedures are established that fully explain the sampling and categorisation of method, the researcher does not meet the requirement of objectivity, and the reliability of the results may be called into question” (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:139).

In practice, however, objectivity in content analysis is problematic because it is based on a positivistic view³ of science. For example, how can the

³ Positivism is “an approach to knowledge through research which emphasises the model of the natural sciences: the scientist adopts the position of the objective researcher, who collects facts about the social world and then builds up an explanation of social life by arranging the

researcher completely exclude their value judgement when sampling, coding and analysing data? Value judgement is, for example, needed when deciding which media product should be subjected to content analysis, and to determine the relationship between various categories of data. It is, therefore, plausible to argue that a more reasonable way of conceptualising objectivity in content analysis would be to judge the degree to which the researcher's intrusion into the process affects the results. For example, the claim to objectivity could be questioned if a researcher who is investigating the portrayal of children in magazines generalised the results to all magazines when in practice they only selected magazines that suited their personal worldview.

Content analysis is said to be quantitative because its goal is to represent a body of messages accurately. "Quantification is important in fulfilling this objective [because] it aids [the researcher] in the quest for precision" (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:139). For example, instead of just saying that advertising portrays most men as managers content analysis can be more precise and say that out of so many images of men portrayed in a particular number of advertisements so many are portrayed in managerial positions.

The preoccupation that content analysis has with quantitative data has caused some critics to argue that it offers a superficial analysis of media content (Gunter 2000:56). Yet in practice it looks like content analysis is not a purely quantitative methodology. Berelson (1952:18), for instance qualified his definition by adding that with content analysis "inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual relationships established. Similarly, Denis McQuail (2000:493) acknowledges that content analysis can provide certain indicators of 'quality' of media although it is not very suitable for unveiling the underlying meaning of content.

facts in a chain of causality, in the hope that this will uncover laws about how society works" (Janet Finch 1986:7).

One wonders how content analysis can achieve all the above goals if it is concerned with quantitative data only. The above example about how magazines represent children may help substantiate this argument. The study may reveal that over a period of three years the magazines portrayed five children as homosexuals and ten thousand as heterosexuals. The huge gap between the totals of the two groups of children when compared with the vastness of the period covered by the study may naturally cause the researcher to think about possible connotative meanings. They may suspect, for example, that the editorial policy of the magazines does not support homosexuality. Then they may further question why the editors chose to use such an extremely huge gap to put across their sentiments against homosexuality. Questions like these one definitely generate qualitative answers although the researcher does not necessarily conduct any sophisticated qualitative data analysis.

As Bowers (1970:291) warns, to view content analysis as a purely quantitative methodology is synonymous with denying the very basic characteristic of the communication process. It appears that the real weakness of content analysis is that it is a predominantly (not purely) quantitative method that is preoccupied with manifest content (Gunter 2000:56), a tendency that makes its findings a bit too descriptive. Against this background, Leiss, et al, (1990:223) observes that:

Content analysis has been dismissed by many writers as being totally inadequate for the measurement of meaning. They claim that meaning cannot be captured when communication is broken down into discrete categories of form and content, for meaning is dependent upon the place of any particular item within an entire system of language and image. Isolating any one element alters the meaning not only of that element itself, but also the meaning of the whole structure.

In essence this is a major methodological problem of cultivation analysis. Ruddock (1998:118) observes that cultivation analysis has often been criticised for using quantitative methodologies, which deal with meaningless abstractions, which articulate generalisations that are minimally related to the actual social position and function of television. Similarly, Condry (1989:128) is concerned with the fact that cultivation analysis tends to miss subtleties in

television messages because it over-relies on content analysis. Ruddock (1998:134) tries to defend the dependence of content analysis on quantitative methods, saying that qualitative methods are equally problematic for they also make generalisations about communication process. However, this is not a convincing argument in the context of the present study because it appears that Ruddock makes this defence with only the methodology of survey, which is used in audience research in mind. It would definitely be unrealistic to argue that the problems of content analysis are similar to those of semiotic analysis. This point is illustrated in the conclusion of the present study.

Some scholars argue that there is need to include a qualitative aspect into the definition of content analysis otherwise it may seem to have nothing to do with latent content when in essence it does. Bowers (1970:291) stresses the same point when he warns that:

Although this exclusion [of latent content] is desirable in an abstract definition of content analysis, adhering to it in an explication of the method would result in a sterile treatment. Descriptions of messages are useful to students of communication only in so far as they lead to helpful inferences about the process of communication, and the process goes beyond the messages.

The above weaknesses of content analysis have led some scholars, generally known as qualitative critics, to argue for a second type of content analysis capable of handling latent content. They term it qualitative content analysis, thereby, restricting Berelson's definition to quantitative analysis. (Gunter 2000:57). Philip Mayring (2001:2) defines qualitative content analysis as "an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification". Gunter (2000:82) clarifies the point by observing that:

A fundamental distinction between qualitative and quantitative methodologies can be found in the location of meaning in media texts. Quantitative content analysis emphasises a fixed meaning of media texts that can be repeatedly identified by different readers using the same analytical framework. Qualitative content analysis procedures emphasise the capacity of texts to convey multiple meanings, depending upon their receiver.

For example, qualitative content analysis may notice that only ten percent of the characters that were featured in a given soap opera were female and may rash to conclude that soap operas discriminate against women and therefore they perpetrate gender inequality. In contrast qualitative content analysis may additionally look at other aspects of representation that may reveal certain subtleties that quantitative analysis could not detect. For example, it may find that although the females really accounted for only ten percent of the characters their marginalisation was compensated through the fact that they were ascribed more positions of power and that they were portrayed as more intelligent beings than the males.

The implication of Mayring and Gunter's observations is that quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis belong to two opposing methodological paradigms i.e. the quantitative paradigm and qualitative paradigm. Martyn Hammersley (1992:40) however, argues that this relationship is nothing to worry about because the two paradigms can be employed together because essentially. Julia Brannen (1992:24) supports Hammersley's observation and clarifies that generally qualitative researchers are more likely to use quantitative methods to support their work than vice versa. Cho Bogjin, et al, (1999:6) supports this idea when he points out that, "content analysis is a procedure for classifying qualitative information to obtain data amenable to quantitative manipulation". Furthermore, it is probably in this light that Griffith (2001:1) argues that content analysis is "the most effective way to code and count all textual elements because the methodology facilitates a detailed study of the less obvious features within a text".

The present study uses both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. It employs quantitative content analysis to conduct a Message System Analysis of the sampled advertisements in order to establish the distribution of work roles and work categories in relation to the social categories of race and gender and advertised products/services in the light of the 1998 Employment Equity Act. Effort is made to highlight relevant subtleties in the lexis and syntax of the visual selected images (Van Leeuwen 2001:92). After this the

results are critiqued qualitatively using principles of semiotics in order to highlight practical weakness of the methodology of cultivation analysis and the extent to which the Employment Equity Act may be used as an index for analysing television advertising representations of work in South Africa.

3.5.1 Steps for Conducting Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis is conducted through a series of clearly defined steps, which may vary from one study to another (Bowers 1970:291-314). The following outline is a synthesis of steps put forward by Bowers (1970:293), Wimmer and Dominick (1983:142-151), Leiss et al (1990:218-224), Berger (2000:184) and Gunter (2000:60-61).

Quantitative content analysis may start with the formulation of a hypothesis or a research question. In either case one needs to clearly explain broad issues under investigation and their corresponding research questions to avoid aimless data collection and counting. This includes an operational definition of the topic under study. In the present study this stage has been fulfilled in the introductory chapter.

Secondly, the researcher defines the population in the question. Wimmer and Dominick (1983:143) refer to this undertaking as defining the universe. The researcher specifies the boundaries of the body of content that shall be considered. In the present study this step has also been covered in the introductory chapter.

Thirdly, the researcher selects a sample on which to base the analysis. Sampling usually involves two stages (although it may entail three). Firstly, the researcher samples content sources. This is usually a difficult undertaking if one is to select a small sample from a large number of sources, in which case they may need to follow a systematic procedure (Dominick 1983:145). Such is not the case with the present study. There are five television stations in South Africa of which the four that have been chosen for the present study

target the local population of South Africa as their audience. Furthermore, the present study did not require any sophisticated sampling technique on this matter because it did not target any particular television program to collect advertisements. Once the sources have been identified the researcher needs to select dates on which content shall be collected. This is usually determined by research goals (Dominick 1983:145). For example, a comparative study is expected to select dates from different periods of the year in which the issue under investigation occurred. The present study chose a four-week period (2nd to 30th May 2004) on the basis of manageability and the fact that each week witnesses the introduction new advertisements.

Then the researcher needs to select specific content for analysis. Usually, the researcher is faced with vast amounts of content hence they need to decide how much of they need (Bowers 1970:293). The actual selection of media texts is one of the most challenging procedures of content analysis. Thus the question of objectivity naturally arises. There is no one correct way of doing this. However, the general rule is that “the larger the sample, the better – with reason, of course. If too few dates are selected for analysis, the possibility of an unrepresentative sample is increased. Larger samples, if chosen randomly, usually run less risk of being atypical” (Gunter 2000:66). Furthermore, one must always ensure that they make a random sampling of whatever it is that they are analysing while bearing in mind that it will provide a representative sample which may not be accused of researcher bias (Berger 2001:182).

The present study uses a sample of fifty-four television advertisements that were sampled from a fifteen-hour video recording of television advertisements from SABC 1, 2, and 3, and e.tv. The number of advertisements was arrived at through a series of steps. First of all, two hours of advertisements were recorded on videotape from a wide range of programs broadcast on SABC 1, 2, and 3, and e.tv over a one-week period. The corpus was then inspected for any representations of work. These initial two-hours produced a total of eighty-four different advertisements, excluding repetitions. It was found that

fifty-four advertisements (approximately 60%) portrayed images of work in one way or another. It was, therefore, estimated that four hundred and five advertisements drawing from the theme of work would be gathered from fifteen hours spread over four weeks. However, by the end of the recording period only three hundred fifty advertisements, excluding repetitions were gathered. Although the total of advertisements was smaller than the predicted one it was decided that the sample of fifty-four should be maintained because the difference would not necessarily affect the desired sample population. Thirteen advertisements were gathered from advertisements recorded in week one, followed by fourteen in week two, thirteen again in week three, and fourteen again in week four to ensure fair representation from each week.

The fourth step of quantitative content analysis requires the researcher to select a unit of analysis. The term refers to “the thing that is actually counted. It is the smallest element of a content analysis but it is also one of the most important” (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:146). The unit of analysis may be as big as a whole television program or as small as a single word in a magazine article. It may also be abstract e.g. a theme in a movie. Furthermore, a study may have more than one unit of analysis. In any case, one needs to give a clear operational definition of each unit of analysis to avoid confusion when coding data. Defining the unit of analysis also helps the researcher to sift through the data more easily and to eliminate its irrelevant aspects of the data.

The unit of analysis for the present study is each person who is depicted as a worker in the advertisements. A worker in this context refers to an adult person who is ascribed a work role. Each worker is analysed in terms of their sex⁴, race, the work role that they are doing, the category to which that work belongs, and the type product/service that the advertisement in which they are shown is advertising.

⁴ In this context sex is used as a key to understanding gender roles of workers. Gender is not about the biological make up of a person but about roles that are ascribed to them on the

After explaining the unit of analysis the researcher describes the classification system for classifying media content. The classification system is “an analytical framework that [classifies] attributes of content of interest in the research” (Gunter 2000:60). Wimmer and Dominick (1983:147) call it a category system and observe that it must be mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable. A study of representations of beauty in television drama may help illustrate this point. The researcher may, for example, develop the following categories: (1) male beauty (2) female beauty (3) old-age beauty (4) African beauty (5) American beauty. If each one of these categories is mutually exclusive the researcher should be able to put a unit of analysis (i.e. each character) in only one of each of these categories. They should not find themselves in a situation whereby they do not know whether a character’s beauty should be categorised as African or American. To ensure the exclusivity of a category system the researcher is required to provide an operational definition for each category (Berger 2000:178). When a category system is exhaustive the researcher must be able to put every unit of analysis into a predefined category (Leiss, et al, 1990:220). In the above example about different types of beauty the researcher is not expected to get into a situation whereby a certain character fails to fit in any of the categories of beauty. However, if such a thing happens they may create new categories and label them ‘other’ or ‘miscellaneous’. Finally, a category system is said to be reliable when it allows for inter-coder reliability, meaning that most coders reach a consensus on the proper category for each unit of analysis as they use the categories (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:148-149).

Common sense, pre-testing, and practice are the key determinants of the number of categories in a coding system (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:148). For instance, a study of representations of religion in the media may be said to have inadequate categories if it labeled one of them ‘Christians’. The problem would be that there are many Christian groups out there e.g. Pentecostals, Presbyterians, Evangelicals, and Catholics. Conversely, the

basis of their biological make up as male or female. Gender roles can therefore, only be known if one knows the sex of the person who is playing a given role.

study may be said to have too many categories if only a small number of subjects fell into a certain category. For example, if Pentecostals scored 43, Presbyterians 53, Evangelicals 2, and Catholics 2, the researcher may need to decide to combine the categories of Evangelicals and Catholics and re-label them 'other'. They may, however, maintain them if they have a strong motivation to do so (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:148).

The present study employs the following predetermined categories of work provided by the International Labour Organisation,⁵ which are used in South Africa: (1) Legislator, senior officials, and managers (2) Professionals (3) Technicians and associate professionals (4) clerks (5) Service workers and shop and market sales workers (6) Skilled agricultural and fishery worker (7) Craft and related trades workers (8) Plant and machine operators and assemblers (9) Elementary occupations (10) Other (11) Unknown. A number of roles arise from each of these categories (see appendices A and B).

The next step requires the researcher to code the content. Coding means "placing a unit of analysis into a content category" (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:148). Coders use standardised sheets that allow them to classify data simply by marking relevant sections of specially designed coding sheets. If coding is done manually coders use index cards whereas if data is fed direct into a computer for tabulation computer coding sheets are used. Coding is followed by data analysis and interpretation. The present study coded data using excel computer spreadsheets although most of the analysis was done manually. Coding was guided by the following questions.

1. What is the frequency distribution of work roles in relation to the sex of characters?
2. What is the frequency distribution of work roles in relation to the race of characters?

⁵ Micro-Thesaurus 10. Occupations (ILO Categories) Available at <http://www.huridocs.org/mt10.htm>

3. What is the frequency distribution of work categories in relation to the sex of characters?
4. What is the frequency distribution of work categories in relation to the race of characters?
5. What is the frequency distribution of work roles in relation to advertised service/product?

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical and methodological framework of the present study. It has analysed three approaches to representation namely the intentional, reflective, and constructionist approaches, highlighting the epistemological assumptions of each. It has also shown how the constructionist approach in the study of media representations draws from the works of Ferdinand De Saussure and Roland Barthes. The discussion argues that the media (including advertising) construct 'an impression of reality', that is, the visual which collapses the signifier into the signified creates this literal iconic impression. The theoretical and methodological dimensions of the tradition of cultural indicators have also been discussed, highlighting how they apply to the present study. Finally, it has discussed quantitative and qualitative content analyses and it has explained how each one of them is applied in the present study. Special effort has been made to show how quantitative content analysis incapacitates the methodology of cultivation analysis.

Chapter 4

Results of Quantitative Content Analyses of Television Advertisements about Work

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results of a content analysis that was conducted on television advertising about work in South Africa. Firstly, it explains how a brief quantitative analysis was conducted on the sample to establish various categories of advertised products and services that emerged from the sample. Secondly, through the use of frequency distribution tables the chapter shows how the social categories of race and gender crisscross occupational categories and work roles that emerged from the sample. Finally, it shows how the distribution of work roles relate to categories of advertised products/services which were identified in the overall sample.

4.2 Qualitative Content analysis

The first step of data analysis was to conduct a brief content analysis of the 54 advertisements to establish the types of products/services that the advertisements were promoting. Eventually, the sample yielded thirteen categories of advertised products/services, which are outlined in table 4.2.1. Generally, the advertisements were unevenly distributed across the categories, although, ties occurred between some categories namely, information and Communication Technology and food and beverage; liquor and furniture and household appliances; banking and financial services, health, nationhood patriotism and democracy; mail and delivery services, clothing and shoes, and broadcasting.

Table 4.2.1 Summary of types in the advertisement sample

Identification code	Category	Name of advertisement	Category Total
A	Information Communication Technology (ICT)	Cell C steady Chat, MTN airtime, Polka E-mail and Inter-net (featuring female characters), Panasonic equipment, Nashua Mobile, Yellow pages, Polka E-mail and Inter-net (featuring male characters)	7
B	Food and beverage	Kellog's cornflakes, KFC Cheese Fiesta, KFC general, Pick 'n Pay (wherever you are) Nescafe coffee, Albany bread, Soul Food	7
C	Liquor	Oude Meester Brandy, Black Label, Windhoek Lager	3
D	Banking and financial services	Absa Flexicard, Post bank, Nexus Financial Solutions, Absa, Visa electronic card, First National Bank	6
E	Health	Woods Great Peppermint, Vics Actu-plus, Colgate, Remedy Blue, Vicks Vaporub, Medlemon, trepsils	7
F	Furniture and household appliances	Bradlows furniture, Genesis vacuum cleaner, Bradlows audio-visual equipment.	3
G	Mail and delivery services	Speedy Services Couriers, Post Office (letters and cards)	2
H	Soap and detergents	Omo Multi Active, Sunlight Triple Action, Surf Excel, Harpic Cleaner,	5
I	Clothing and shoes	Edgars (featuring African manager) Edgars (featuring white manager)	2
J	Beauty	Body on tap hair shampoo, Herbal Essences hair shampoo, Senzani, Head and Shoulders Hair Shampoo.	4
K	Nationhood, patriotism and democracy	Anglo American, Metropolitan, Ten years of democracy, Pick and Pay, Shell, Telkom	6
L	Broadcasting	TV license, DSTV	2
M	Other goods	Cash Converters	1
Total			54

4.3 Quantitative content Analysis

The major quantitative content analysis started with a head count of male and female workers in each role as shown in tables 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. Table 4.3.1 shows that 153 male workers emerged from the sample and 16.3% of these were ascribed the role of business professional, which in turn emerged the most visible group of male workers. Bricklayers, road construction workers and shop salespersons and attendants followed with 15.7%, 12.4% and 5.9% each. The table also shows that seven ties occurred on the roles that were ascribed to these males. Labourers/cleaners and barbers represented 4.6% of the male workers each, followed by managers, and metal and machinery trade workers, who were featured in 3.3% of the representations each. Engineers, life science professional and musicians were featured in 2.6% of the representations each followed by personal service workers, unidentified workers, protection services workers, street vendors, other associate professionals, and drivers each of which covered 1.3% of the representations. Traditional healers, carpenter, senior government officials, physical scientists, and market gardeners presented 2.5% of the characters each. Nurses, tailors, shoemakers, bicycle repairers, teachers, optical and electronic equipment controllers, and social workers were visible in 0.7% of the representations each. No male character was portrayed as a secretary/receptionist, legal professional, or handcraft worker, which represented 9.1% (n = 33) structured absences.

Table 4.3.1 Frequency distribution of roles ascribed to male workers

Work role	Number of male workers	Percentage
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%
Legal professional	0	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%
Nurse	1	0.7%
Tailor	1	0.7%
Shoemaker	1	0.7%
Bicycle repairer	1	0.7%
Teacher	1	0.7%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	1	0.7%
Social worker	1	0.7%
Traditional healer	2	1.3%
Carpenter	2	1.3%
Senior government official	2	1.3%
Physical scientist	2	1.3%
Market gardeners	2	1.3%
Personal services workers	3	1.3%
Unidentified	3	1.3%
Protection services	3	1.3%
Street vendors	3	1.3%
Other associate professionals	3	1.3%
Driver	3	1.3%
Engineers	4	2.6%
Life science professional	4	2.6%
Musicians	4	2.6%
Manager	5	3.3%
Metal and machinery trade workers	5	3.3%
Baker	5	3.3%
Labourers/cleaner	7	4.6%
Barber	7	4.6%
Shop salespersons/attendants	9	5.9%
Road construction workers	19	12.4%
Bricklayer	24	15.7%
Business professional	25	16.3%
Total	153	100%

Overall percentage of male workers = 66.8% (N=229)

Table 4.3.2 Frequency distribution of roles ascribed to female workers

Work role	Female Workers	Percentage
Manager	0	0%
Teacher	0	0%
Driver	0	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%
Social worker	0	0%
Carpenter	0	0%
Musicians	0	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%
Road construction workers	0	0%
Barber	0	0%
Bricklayer	0	
Protection services	0	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	1	1.3%
Tailor	1	1.3%
Traditional healer	1	1.3%
Legal professional	1	1.3%
Senior government official	1	1.3%
Market gardeners	1	1.3%
Personal services workers	2	2.6%
Life science professional	2	2.6%
Street vendors	2	2.6%
Engineers	2	2.6%
Unidentified	3	3.9%
Secretary/receptionist	4	5.3%
Other associate professionals	4	5.3%
Nurse	5	6.6%
Shop salespersons/attendants	5	6.6%
Business professional	5	6.6%
Labourers/cleaner	6	7.9%
Baker	15	19.7%
Handcraft workers	15	19.7%
Total	76	100%

Overall percentage of male workers = 33.2% (N=229)

Table 4.3.2 reveals that hand craft workers and bakers emerged the most represented groups of female workers. Each one of them represented 19.7% of the female workers. Labourers/cleaners followed with a representation of 7.9%. Ties of scores were identified on the rest of the roles except for unidentified workers, who contributed 3.9% of the work roles. Business professionals, shop sales

persons/attendants, and nurses registered a representation of 6.6% each, followed by other associate professionals and secretaries/receptionists, who represented 5.3% each. Engineers, street vendors, life science professionals, and personal services workers represented 2.6% each. A tie of 1.3% occurred among market gardeners, senior government officials, legal professionals, traditional healers, tailors, and metal and machinery trade workers. Structured absences occurred on 42% of work roles (n = 33) as no female was portrayed as an optical and electronic equipment controller, a protection services worker, bricklayer, barber, road construction worker, bicycle repairer, shoemaker, musician, carpenter, social workers, physical scientist, driver, teacher, and manager.

After establishing the distribution of work roles in relation to gender the qualitative content analysis dealt with the distribution of work roles in relation to race. Results of this exercise are encoded in table 4.3.3 to table 4.3.6.

Table 4.3.3 shows that the sample produced 146 African workers who represented 63% percent of all workers. Furthermore, it reveals that Africans were distributed unevenly across the board. For example, 13% of them were portrayed as bakers, another 13% as bricklayers, 11% as road construction workers, 8.9% as labourers/cleaners, 8.2% as handcraft workers, 5.5% as shop salespersons/attendants, 4.8% as barbers, and 3.4% as street vendors. The roles of traditional healer, nurse, market gardener, and driver registered 2.1% representation each. Another even distribution of roles occurred about protection services workers, secretary/receptionists, managers, life science professionals, senior government officials, and personal services workers each of which scored 1.4%. Bicycle repairers, tailors, shoemakers, social workers and physical scientists featured 0.7% of the workers each. Structured absences occurred on carpenters, teachers, metal and machinery trade workers, legal professionals, optical and electronic equipment controllers, and other associate professionals.

Table 4.3.4 shows that 72 Whites, representing 31% of all workers were identified from the sample. Metal and machinery trade workers, shop sales persons/attendants, and business professionals emerged as the three most frequently represented roles

by contributing 30.6%, 9.7%, and 8.4% of White workers respectively. Metal and machinery trade workers, life science professionals, and bricklayers registered 5.6% of the workers each. Another tie occurred among handcraft workers, managers, and personal services workers, each of which featured 4.2% of the workers.

Secretaries/receptionists, engineers, carpenters and road construction workers followed with 2.8% of the workers each. A tie of 1.3% occurred among eight roles namely, senior government official, optical and electronic equipment controller, teacher, legal professional, protection services worker, tailor, nurse, and baker.

Structured absences occurred on street vendors, musicians, drivers, physical scientist, social worker, market gardeners, traditional healer, shoemaker, barber, unidentified worker, and labourer/cleaner.

Table 4.3.3 Frequency distribution of roles ascribed to African workers

Work role	Number of African workers	Intra-racial group Percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	0	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%
Physical scientist	1	0.7%	0.4%
Social worker	1	0.7%	0.4%
Shoemaker	1	0.7%	0.4%
Bicycle repairer	1	0.7%	0.4%
Tailor	1	0.7%	0.4%
Personal services workers	2	0.6%	0.9%
Senior govt. official	2	1.4%	0.9%
Life science professional	2	1.4%	0.9%
Manager	2	1.4%	0.9%
Secretary/receptionist	2	1.4%	0.9%
Protection services	2	1.4%	0.9%
Driver	3	2.1%	1.3%
Market gardeners	3	2.1%	1.3%
Nurse	3	2.1%	1.3%
Traditional healer	3	2.1%	1.3%
Musicians	4	2.7%	1.7%
Business professional	4	2.7%	1.7%

Engineers	4	2.7%	1.7%
Street vendors	5	3.4%	2.2%
Unidentified	6	4.1%	2.6%
Barber	7	4.8%	3.1%
Shop salespersons/attendants	8	5.5%	3.5%
Handcraft workers	12	8.2%	5.3%
Labourers/cleaner	13	8.9%	5.7%
Road construction worker	16	11.0%	7.9%
Bricklayer	19	13%	8.3%
Baker	19	13%	8.3%
Total	146	100%	63.8%

Table 4.3.4 Frequency distribution of roles ascribed to white workers

Work role	White	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Street vendors	0	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%
Market gardeners	0	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%
Baker	1	1.4%	0.4%
Nurse	1	1.4%	0.4%
Tailor	1	1.4%	0.4%
Protection services	1	1.4%	0.4%
Legal professional	1	1.4%	0.4%
Teacher	1	1.4%	0.4%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	1	1.4%	0.4%
Senior govt. official	1	1.4%	0.4%
Road construction workers	2	2.8%	0.9%
Carpenter	2	2.8%	0.9%
Engineers	2	2.8%	0.9%
Secretary/receptionist	2	2.8%	0.9%
Personal services workers	3	4.2%	1.3%
Manager	3	4.2%	1.3%

Handcraft worker	3	4.2%	1.3%
Bricklayer	4	5.6%	1.7%
Life science professional	4	5.6%	1.7%
Metal and machinery trade workers	4	5.6%	1.7%
Shop salespersons/attendants	6	8.4%	2.6%
Other associate professionals	7	9.7%	3.1%
Business professional	22	30.6%	9.6%
Total	72	100%	31.4%

Table 4.3.5 shows that the sample featured only 6 Indian workers who represented 2.6% of all workers. 33% of these Indian workers were represented as business professionals. Bricklayers, road construction workers, and metal and machinery trade workers contributed 16.7% of all Indian workers each. This means that twenty-seven structured absences of Indian workers occurred across the board.

Table 4.3.5 Frequency distribution of roles ascribed to Indian workers

Work role	Indian	Intra-racial group Percentage	Inter-racial group Percentage
Personal services workers	0	0%	0%
Manager	0	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%
Life science professional	0	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%
Senior govt. official	0	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%
Market gardeners	0	0%	0%
Nurse	1	16.7%	0.4%
Bricklayer	1	16.7%	0.4%
Road construction workers	1	16.7%	0.4%
Metal and machinery trade workers	1	16.7%	0.4%
Business professional	2	33.3%	0.9%
Total	6	100%	2.6%

Table 4.3.6 shows that 5 Coloured workers, representing 2.2% of all workers were realised from the sample. 40% of these were portrayed as business professionals. The roles of physical scientists, nurses, and metal and machinery trade workers featured 20% of the workers each. Thirty roles did not register any Indian worker at all, which represents 90.9% structured absences.

Table 4.3.6 Frequency distribution of roles ascribed to Indian workers

Work role	No of Coloureds	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Personal services workers	0	0%	0%
Manager	0	0%	0%
Bricklayer	0	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%
Life science professional	0	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%
Road construction workers	0	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%
Senior govt. official	0	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%
Market gardeners	0	0%	0%
Physical scientist	1	20%	0.4%
Nurse	1	20%	0.4%
Metal and machinery trade workers	1	20%	0.4%
Business professional	2	40%	0.9%
Total	5	100%	2.2%

After the distribution of work roles across the races and the sexes was established the data was inspected again to establish the distribution of work categories across the sexes and the races. Tables 4.3.7 to through 4.3.12 show the results of this exercise.

Table 4.3.7 reveals that 153 male workers emerged from the nine occupational categories. 38.6% of these emerged from the category of craft and related trade workers while 22.9% emerged from the category of professionals, 11.8% from elementary occupations, 9.8% from services workers and shop and market sales workers, 7.2% from technicians and associate professionals, and 4.6% from the category of legislator, senior official and manager. Categories of unknown, and plant and machine operators and assemblers represented only 2.0% of the male workers each. Clerks, armed forces and other did not register any male worker at all.

Table 4.3.7 Frequency distribution of male workers in each work category

Work category	Number of male workers	Percentage
Clerks	0	0%
Armed forces	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2	1.3%
Unknown	3	2.0%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	3	2.0%
Legislator, senior official, manager	7	4.6%
Technicians and associate professionals	11	7.2%
Services workers and shop and market sales workers	15	9.8%
Elementary occupations	18	11.8%
Professionals	35	22.9%
Craft and related trade workers	59	38.6%
Total	153	100%

Table 4.3.8 shows that the sample produced 76 female workers who were represented in nine work categories. The category of elementary occupations registered the largest number of workers who accounted for 33.3% of the overall female population. This category was followed by the category of crafts and related trade workers, which registered 22.4% of the workers. The third position, which represented 19.7% of the workers, was taken by the category of professionals. The category of services workers and shop and market sales workers, and that of technicians and associate professionals represented 9.2% and 6.6% of the workers respectively. Categories of clerks and unknown registered 5.3% and 3.9% of the workers respectively. The category of legislator, senior official and manager, and that of skilled agricultural and fishery workers registered 1.3% of the female workers each. Structured absences occurred in the categories of plant and machine operators and assemblers, armed forces, and other.

Table 4.3.8 Frequency distribution of female workers in each work category

Work category	Number of female workers	Percentage
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	0%
Armed forces	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1	1.3%
Legislator, senior official, manager	1	1.3%
Unknown	3	3.9%
Clerks	4	5.3%
Technicians and associate professionals	5	6.6%
Services workers and shop and market sales workers	7	9.2%
Professionals	15	19.7%
Craft and related trade workers	17	22.4%
Elementary occupations	23	30.3%
Total	76	100%

Table 4.3.9 shows that African workers were ascribed roles that belonged to ten categories. The category of craft and related trade workers contributed the largest number of workers who represented 40.4% of roles ascribed to Africans. The category of elementary occupations followed with a 24.7% representation. A tie of 8.2% occurred between the category of professionals and that of service workers, and shop and market sales workers. Technicians and associate professionals, unknown, and legislator and senior official and manager registered 5.5%, 4.1% and 2.7% respectively. Three categories namely, skilled agricultural and fishery workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers, and clerks had a tie on the score of 3 which represents 2.1% of the African workers. Structured absences were registered by categories of other and armed forces.

Table 4.3.9 Frequency distribution of male workers in each work category

Work category	Number of African workers	Percentage
Other	0	0%
Armed forces	0	0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	3	2.1%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	3	2.1%
Clerks	3	2.1%
Legislator, senior official, manager	4	2.7%
Unknown	6	4.1%
Technicians and associate professionals	8	5.5%
Professional	12	8.2%
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	12	8.2%
Elementary occupations	36	24.7%
Craft and related trade workers	59	40.4%
Total	146	100%

Table 4.3.10 revealed that the roles that were ascribed to White workers belonged to seven categories. The categories of professionals registered 41.6% of all White workers and emerged as the most frequently represented category. 19.4% of the workers were registered by the category of craft and related trade workers, which

emerged as the second most frequently represented category. The categories of technicians and associate professionals, legislators, senior officials and managers, elementary occupations, and clerks contributed 11.1%, 5.6%, 4.2% and 2.8% each. The categories of unknown, other, armed forces, elementary occupations, plant and machine operators and assemblers, and skilled agricultural and fishery workers did not ascribe any roles to White characters.

Table 4.3.11 shows that only the categories of professionals, and craft and related trade workers ascribed roles to Indians and each one of them contributed 50% of roles ascribed to Indians. This means that no Indian was assigned a role that belongs to the categories of legislator, senior official and manager, technicians and associate professionals, clerks, service workers, and shop and market sales workers, skilled agricultural and fishery workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers, elementary occupations, armed forces, other, and unknown.

Table 4.3.10 Frequency distribution of White workers in each work category

Work category	Number of White workers	Percentage
Unknown	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Armed forces	0	0%
Elementary occupations	3	4.2%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0%
Clerks	2	2.8%
Legislator, senior official, manager	4	5.6%
Technicians and associate professionals	8	11.1%
Services workers and shop and market sales workers	11	15.3%
Craft and related trade workers	14	19.4% ³
Professionals	30	41.6%
Total	72	100%

Table 4.3.11 Frequency distribution of Indian workers in each work category

Work category	Number of Indian workers	Percentage
Legislator, senior official, manager	0	0%
Technicians and associate professionals	0	0%
Clerks	0	0%
Services workers and shop and market sales workers	0	0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	0%
Elementary occupations	0	0%
Armed forces	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Unknown	0	0%
Professionals	3	50%
Craft and related trade workers	3	50%
Total	6	100%

Table 4.3.12 shows that only two categories namely, crafts and related trade workers and professionals ascribed roles to Coloureds. The former featured one work role while the latter featured four, which represent 80% and 20% of the total Coloured population respectively. Structured absences of Coloured workers therefore also occurred in the categories of legislator, senior official and manager, technicians and associate professionals, clerks, service workers, and shop and market sales workers, skilled agricultural and fishery workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers, elementary occupations, armed forces, other, and unknown.

The next task of the quantitative content analysis was to establish how work roles were distributed between males and females in each racial group. Results of this analysis are provided in table 4.3.13 to table 4.3.16.

Table 4.3.13 reveals that the sample featured 91 male African workers who represented 62.3% of African workers and 39.8% of workers across the races. Bricklayers, and road and construction workers emerged as the two most frequently represented groups of workers. The former and the latter represented 20.9% and 19.8% of all male African workers.

Table 4.3.12 Frequency distribution of Coloured workers in each work category

Work category	Number of Coloured workers	Percentage
Legislator, senior official, manager	0	0%
Technicians and associate professionals	0	0%
Clerks	0	0%
Services workers and shop and market sales workers	0	0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0	0%
Elementary occupations	0	0%
Armed forces	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Unknown	0	0%
Craft and related trade workers	1	20%
Professional	4	80%
Total	5	100%

Barbers and labourers/cleaners represented 7.7% each followed by bakers who represented 5.5% of male African workers. Ties of scores occurred on several roles. Business professionals and musicians contributed 4.4% of male African workers each. Similarly, unidentified workers, drivers, and street vendors represented 3.3%. Furthermore, protection services workers, shop salespersons/attendants, market gardeners, traditional healers, managers, and engineers contributed 2.2% of the male African workers each. There was a tie of 1.1% percent among nurses, personal services workers, life science professionals, bicycle repairers, shoemakers, social workers, physical scientists, and senior government officials. No African male was portrayed as a secretary/receptionist, tailor, legal professional, metal and machinery

trade worker, teacher, handcraft worker, other associate professional, and optical and electronic equipment controller.

Table 4.3.14 shows that overall the sample generated 55 female African workers who represent 37.7% of African workers and 24% of workers of all races. Baking and handcraft work emerged as the two most frequently represented roles in this sub-group by featuring 24.5% and 21.8% of the workers respectively. Labourers/cleaners and shop salespersons/attendants came third with 10.9% each. 5.5% of the workers were ascribed unidentified roles. Street vendors, engineers, secretaries/receptionists, and nurses contributed 3.6% of the workers the each. The roles of senior government official, market gardener, life science professional, traditional healer, tailor, and personal services worker contributed only 1.8% of the female African workers each. No female African worker was featured as manager, bricklayer, business professional, protection service worker, barber, shoemaker, bicycle repairer, legal professional, road construction worker, metal and machinery trade worker, teacher, carpenter, musician, physical scientist, social worker, other associate professionals, optical and electronic equipment controller, and driver.

Table 4.3.15 shows that the sample generated 53 male White workers who translated to 73.6% of all white workers and 23.1% of workers across the races. Business professionals accounted for 34% of the workers and emerged as the most represented role within this sub-group. A wide score margin existed between the business professionals and shop salespersons/attendants who took second position by featuring 11.3% of the male White workers. Metal and machinery trade workers, and shop salespersons and attendants emerged as the third most represented roles by contributing 7.5% of the workers each. Another score tie occurred among life science professionals, other associate professionals, and managers. Each one of them featured 5.7% of the male White workers. Road construction workers, carpenters, and engineers covered 3.8% of the representations about male White workers each. Personal services workers, protection services workers, tailors, senior government official, teachers, and optical and electronic equipment controllers featured 1.9% of the White workers each. The table also shows that not even a single White male was represented as a market gardener, community worker, physical

scientist, driver, musician, handcraft worker, baker, street vendor, legal professional, bicycle repairer, shoemaker, traditional healer, labourer/cleaner, barber, secretary/receptionist, unidentified worker, and nurse.

Table 4.3.13 Frequency distribution of work roles among male African workers

Work role	African male worker	Sub-group Percentage group	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial percentage
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%	0%
Senior government official	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Physical scientist	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Social worker	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Shoemaker	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Bicycle repairer	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Life science professional	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Personal services workers	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Nurse	1	1.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Engineers	2	2.2%	1.4%	0.9%
Manager	2	2.2%	1.4%	0.9%
Traditional healer	2	2.2%	1.4%	0.9%
Market gardener	2	2.2%	1.4%	0.9%
Shop salespersons/attendants	2	2.2%	1.4%	0.9%
Protection services	2	2.2%	1.4%	0.9%
Street vendors	3	3.3%	2.1%	1.3%
Driver	3	3.3%	2.1%	1.3%
Unidentified	3	3.3%	2.1%	1.3%
Business professional	4	4.4%	2.7%	1.7%
Musicians	4	4.4%	2.7%	1.7%
Baker	5	5.5%	3.4%	2.2%
Labourers/cleaner	7	7.7%	4.8%	3.1%
Barber	7	7.7%	4.8%	3.1%
Road construction workers	16	19.8%	11.0%	7.9%
Bricklayer	19	20.9%	13%	8.3%
Totals	91	100%	62.3%	39.8%

Table 4.3.16 reveals that the sample ascribed roles to 19 White females who represent 26.4% of all White workers and 8.3% of workers of all races. Handcraft workers, business professionals, and other associate professionals emerged the three most frequently represented roles.

The first two represented 21.1% of the female White workers each while the third one featured 15.8%. Personal services workers and secretaries/receptionists contributed 10.6% each while roles of nurse, life science professional, legal professional and baker registered 5.3% each. No White female was represented as manager, bricklayer, unidentified worker, barber, tailor, traditional healer, labourer,/cleaner, shop and salesperson/attendant, shoemaker, bicycle repairer, road construction worker, street vendor, carpenter, musician, engineer, teacher, optical and electrical equipment controller, driver, senior government official, physical scientist, community worker, nurse and market gardener.

Table 4.3.15 Frequency distribution of work roles ascribed to white males

Work role	White male workers	Sub- group percentage	Intra-racial percentage	Inter-racial percentage
Nurse	0	0%	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%	0%
Community worker	0	0%	0%	0%
Market gardener	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	1	1.9%	1.4%	0.4%
Teacher	1	1.9%	1.4%	0.4%
Senior government official	1	1.9%	1.4%	0.4%

Tailor	1	1.9%	1.4%	0.4%
Protection services	1	1.9%	1.4%	0.4%
Personal services workers	1	1.9%	1.4%	0.4%
Road construction workers	2	3.8%	2.8%	0.9%
Carpenter	2	3.8%	2.8%	0.9%
Engineers	2	3.8%	2.8%	0.9%
Life science professional	3	5.7%	2.8%	1.3%
Other associate professionals	3	5.7%	2.8%	1.3%
Manager	3	5.7%	2.8%	1.3%
Bricklayer	4	7.5%	5.6%	1.7%
Metal and machinery trade workers	4	7.5%	5.6%	1.7%
Shop salespersons/attendants	6	11.3%	8.4%	2.6%
Business professional	18	34.0%	25.0%	7.9%
Totals	53	100%	73.6%	23.1%

4.3.16 Frequency distribution of work roles ascribed to White females

Work role	Female White workers	Sub- group percentage	Intra-racial percentage	Inter-racial percentage
Manager	0	0%	0%	0%
Bricklayer	0	0%	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%	0%
Road construction workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%	0%

Driver	0	0%	0%	0%
Senior government official	0	0%	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%	0%
Community worker	0	0%	0%	0%
Market gardener	0	0%	0%	0%
Nurse	1	5.3%	1.4%	0.4%
Life science professional	1	5.3%	1.4%	0.4%
Legal professional	1	5.3%	1.4%	0.4%
Baker	1	5.3%	1.4%	0.4%
Personal services workers	2	10.6%	2.8%	0.9%
Secretary/receptionist	2	10.6%	2.8%	0.9%
Handcraft workers	3	15.8%	4.2%	1.3%
Business professional	4	21.1%	5.6%	1.7%
Other associate professionals	4	21.1%	5.6%	1.7%
Total	19	100%	26.4%	8.3%

Table 4.3.17 shows that Indian males were ascribed 5 work roles which represented 83.3% of all roles ascribed to Indians and 2.2% of all work roles realized in the sample. 40% of these male Indians were represented as business professionals. Metal and machinery trade workers, road construction workers, and bricklayers contributed 20% each. No Indian male was portrayed as manager, bricklayer, unidentified worker, protection services worker, labourer/cleaner, shop salesperson/attendant, barber, tailor, traditional healer, shoemaker, bicycle repairer, street vendor, carpenter, musician, engineer, teacher, optical and electronic equipment controller, driver, senior government official, physical scientist, community worker, business professional, nurse and market gardener.

The distribution of female Indian workers in Table 4.3.18 reveals that only one Indian female was ascribed a role in the whole sample. This single worker who was represented as a nurse represented 16.7% of all female Indian workers and 0.4% of workers of all races. This means that no female Indian was represented as manager, bricklayer, unidentified worker, protection services worker, labourer/cleaner, shop salesperson/attendant, barber, tailor, traditional healer, shoemaker, bicycle repairer, street vendor, carpenter, musician, engineer, teacher, optical and electronic equipment controller, driver, senior government official, physical scientist, community

worker, nurse, business professional, market gardener, Metal and machinery trade workers, road construction workers, and bricklayers.

Table 4.3.19 shows male Coloured workers were ascribed roles four times, which represent 80% of all Coloured workers and 1.7% of the overall population of workers in the sample. Business professionals registered the highest score, which represented 50% of all male coloured workers. One physical scientist and one bricklayer, representing 25% of male Coloured workers each took second to business professionals. The sub-group of male coloured, therefore did not register any character who was represented as manager, bricklayer, unidentified worker, protection services worker, labourer/cleaner, shop salesperson/attendant, barber, tailor, traditional healer, shoemaker, bicycle repairer, street vendor, carpenter, musician, engineer, teacher, optical and electronic equipment controller, driver, senior government official, community worker, nurse, market gardener, Metal and machinery trade workers, and road construction workers.

Table 4.3.20 reveals that only one female Coloured worker was represented in the sample. This worker who was represented as a nurse represented 20% of all Coloured workers and 0.4% of workers from all races. This means that no female coloured was represented as manager, bricklayer, unidentified worker, protection services worker, labourer/cleaner, shop salesperson/attendant, barber, tailor, traditional healer, shoemaker, bicycle repairer, street vendor, carpenter, musician, engineer, teacher, optical and electronic equipment controller, driver, senior government official, physical scientist, community worker, nurse, business professional, market gardener, Metal and machinery trade workers, road construction workers, and bricklayers.

4.3.17 Frequency distribution of work roles ascribed to Indian males

Work role	Male Indian worker	Sub-group percentage	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Personal services workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Nurse	0	0%	0%	0%
Manager	0	0%	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%	0%
Life science professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%	0%
Senior government official	0	0%	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%	0%
Market gardener	0	0%	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%	0%
Bricklayer	1	20%	16.7%	0.4%
Road construction workers	1	20%	16.7%	0.4%
Metal and machinery trade workers	1	20%	16.7%	0.4%
Business professional	2	40%	33%	0.9%
Total	5	100%	83.3%	2.2%

4.3.18 Frequency distribution of work roles ascribed to Indian females

Work role	Indian female worker	Sub-group percentage	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Personal services workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Manager	0	0%	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%	0%
Life science professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%	0%
Senior government official	0	0%	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%	0%
Market gardener	0	0%	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%	0%
Bricklayer	0	0%	0%	0%
Road construction workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Business professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Nurse	1	100%	16.7%	0.4%
Total	1	100%	16,7%	0.4%

Table 4.3.19 Frequency distribution of work roles ascribed to Coloured males

Work role	Male Coloured worker	Sub-group percentage	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Personal services workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Nurse	0	0%	0%	0%
Manager	0	0%	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%	0%
Life science professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Road construction workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%	0%
Senior government official	0	0%	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%	0%
Market gardener	0	0%	0%	0%
Physical scientist	1	25%	20%	0.4%
Bricklayer	1	25%	20%	0.4%
Business professional	2	50%	40%	0.9%
Total	4	100%	80%	1.7%

Table 4.3.20 Distribution of work roles ascribed to Coloured females

Work role	Female Coloured worker	Sub-group percentage	Intra-racial group percentage	Inter-racial group percentage
Personal services workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Manager	0	0%	0%	0%
Bricklayer	0	0%	0%	0%
Unidentified	0	0%	0%	0%
Secretary/receptionist	0	0%	0%	0%
Business professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Protection services	0	0%	0%	0%
Labourers/cleaner	0	0%	0%	0%
Shop salespersons/attendants	0	0%	0%	0%
Barber	0	0%	0%	0%
Tailor	0	0%	0%	0%
Traditional healer	0	0%	0%	0%
Shoemaker	0	0%	0%	0%
Bicycle repairer	0	0%	0%	0%
Life science professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Legal professional	0	0%	0%	0%
Road construction workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Metal and machinery trade workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Street vendors	0	0%	0%	0%
Baker	0	0%	0%	0%
Teacher	0	0%	0%	0%
Handcraft workers	0	0%	0%	0%
Carpenter	0	0%	0%	0%
Musicians	0	0%	0%	0%
Engineers	0	0%	0%	0%
Other associate professionals	0	0%	0%	0%
Optical and electronic equipment controller	0	0%	0%	0%
Driver	0	0%	0%	0%
Senior government official	0	0%	0%	0%
Physical scientist	0	0%	0%	0%
Social worker	0	0%	0%	0%
Market gardener	0	0%	0%	0%
Nurse	1	100%	20%	0.4%
Total	1	100%	20%	0.4%

The final task of quantitative content analysis was to establish the relationship between each of the thirteen categories of advertisements and the roles that it

ascribed to each racial group. To observe how both the social categories of race and gender crisscross each of the categories of products/services the data was inspected to see the number and type of roles that the latter ascribed to each of the following sub-groups of workers: male Africans, female Africans, White males, White females, male Indians, female Indians, male Coloureds, and female Coloureds. Self-explanatory frequency distribution of scores is provided in table 4.3.21 to table 4.3.33 each of which is introduced by a brief score summary

Category A: Information and Communication Technology

Advertisements about Information and Communication Technology registered ten business professionals comprising nine males and one female. 80% of these business professionals were portrayed as white males while 10% as white females, and another 10% as Coloured males. Metal machinery trade workers were the second most represented group in this category. 100% of the workers were, however, portrayed as White males. Shop salespersons/attendants were represented two times, first portraying a White male and second an African Female. Furthermore, the advertisements featured one male white manager, one male African driver, one female African personal services worker, one male White protection services worker, and one female white secretary/receptionists.

Category B: Food and beverage

Labourers/cleaners emerged as the single most represented group in advertisements about food and beverage. African males and African females were featured in 55.6% and 44.4% of the representations each. Business professionals followed with seven representations. 42.9% and 28.6% of the representations featured White males and White females respectively. African males and Indian males were featured in 14.3% of the representations each. The advertisements represented protection services workers two times all of which featured African males. Similarly, shop salespersons/attendants were represented two times, of which 50% went to African

males and another 50% to White males. Life sciences professionals and bakers were represented one time each, and in both as African males.

Table 4.3.21 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about Information and Communication Technology

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male	White female	Coloured male
Business professional (N=10)	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	0	0	8 (80%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
Driver (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0
Shop salesperson/attendant (N=2)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0	0
Personal services work (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Manager (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0
Protection services (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0
Metal and machinery trade workers (N=3)	3 (100%)	0	0	0	3 (100%)	0	0
Secretary receptionist (N=1)	1(100%)	0	0	0	0	1(100%)	0
Total	17	3	1	2	14	2	1

Table 4.3.22 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about food and beverage

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male	White female	Indian male
Business professional (N=8)	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	1 (12.5%)
Protection services N=2	2 (100%)	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0
Labourer (N=9)	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)	0	0	0
Shop salesperson/attendant (N=2)	2 (100%)	0	1 50%	0	1 50%	0	0
Life science Professional (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0
Baker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0
Total	16	7	11	4	4	3	1

Category C: Liquor

Road construction workers emerged as the most frequently represented group within advertisements about liquor. All characters were portrayed as male, 84.2% of which were African, 10.5% White, and 5.3% Indian. Business professionals followed with nine representations comprising 88.9% males and 11.1% females, 44.4% White males, 22.2% African male, another 22.2% Coloured males and 11.1% White females. Four African males were represented as musicians, two as engineers and one as a baker. The advertisements also represented one male White carpenter, one male White other associate professional, and one male Coloured metal and machinery trade worker.

Table 4.3.23 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about liquor

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male	White female	Indian male	Coloured male
Business professional (N=9)	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (22.2%)	0	4 (44.4%)	1 (11.1%)	0	1 (11.1%)
Barber (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Road construction worker (N=19)	19 (100%)		16 (84.2%)	0	2 (10.5%)	0	1 (5.3%)	0
Musician (N=4)	4 (100%)	0	4 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Engineer (N=2)	2 (100%)	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Carpenter (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Other associate professional (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Metal and machinery trade worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Total	37	1	25	0	8	1	1	2

Category D: Banking and financial services

The most frequently represented role within advertisements about banking and financial services was that of shop salespersons and attendants which represented three females 100% of which were African. The category also represented one male African labourer/cleaner, one male African barber, and one female African tailor. Similarly, one White male was represented as a business professional, one White female as a secretary/receptionist, and finally one White female as a legal professional.

Table 4.3.24 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about banking and financial services

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male	White female
Labourer (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Barber (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Shop salesperson/ Attendant (N=3)	0	3 (100%)	0	3 (100%)	0	0
Tailor (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0
Business professional (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Secretary (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Legal professional (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Total	3	6	2	4	1	2

Category E: Health products

The role of other associate professionals was featured four times and emerged as the most frequently represented of all roles featured by advertisements about health products. 100% of roles were ascribed to White females. The role of traditional healer followed with three representations comprising 66.7% African males and 33.3% African females. The roles of secretary/receptionist, life science professional, and street vendor featured one representation of African females. Similarly, the roles of Engineer and teacher featured one White male each while one Coloured male was featured as a physical scientist.

Table 4.3.25 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about health products

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male	White female	Coloured male
Traditional healer (N=3)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0
Secretary/ Receptionist (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Life science professional (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Street vendor (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Engineer (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0
Teacher (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0
Other Associate professional (N=6)	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0	0	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0
Physical Scientist (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Total	6	8	2	4	3	2	1

Category F: Furniture and household appliances

Advertisements for furniture and household appliances featured one shop and salesperson/ attendant, one metal and machinery trade worker, and one carpenter, all of which were male and White.

Table 4.3.26 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about banking and financial services furniture and household appliances

Role	Male	White male
Shop salesperson/attendant (N=1)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Metal and machinery trade worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Carpenter (N=1)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Total	3	3

Category G: Mail and delivery service

The category of mail and delivery services also registered on three roles namely, Personal services, labourer/cleaner, and driver all of which were done by African males. Table 4.3.27 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about mail and delivery services

Role	Male	African male
Personal services worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Labourer (N=1)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Driver (N=1)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Total	3	3

Category H: Soaps and detergents

The category of advertisements about soaps and detergents featured four types of roles of which bricklaying was represented the most with 85.7% male African characters and 14.3% male White characters. One African male was ascribed the role of physical scientist while one African female was represented as shop salesperson/attendant. Furthermore, one White male was portrayed as a life science professional while another as an optical and electronic equipment controller.

Table 4.3.28 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about soap and detergents

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male
Bricklayer (N=14)	14 (100%)	0	12 (85.7%)	0	2 (14.3%)
Physical scientist (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0
Shop salesperson/attendant (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0
Life science professional (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Optical and electronic equipment controller (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Total	17	1	13	1	4

Category I: Clothing

Advertisements about clothing and shoes featured two managers, one of whom was African and the other White.

Table 4.3.29 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements about clothing and Shoes

Role	Male	White male	African male
Manager (N=2)	2 (100%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
Total	2	1	1

Category J: Beauty products

The category of advertisements for beauty products featured two representations of life science professionals, which were equitable represented between one White male and one White female. Only one representation was made about shop and salespersons and attendants and it featured a White male. The same was the case with personal services work.

Table 4.3.30 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements beauty products

Role	Male	Female	White female	White male
Shop salesperson/attendant (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	1 (100%)
Personal services worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	1 (100%)
Life Science professional (N=3)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)
Total	4	1	1	4

Category K: Nationhood, patriotism and democracy

Advertisements on built around the theme of nationhood, patriotism, and democracy featured eight roles. Handcraft work emerged as the most frequently represented role by featuring fifteen characters. 80% of the characters playing this role were African females while 20% were White females. Nurses and unidentified workers made six representations each. 83.3% and 16.7% of the nurses were male and female respectively. Of these 33.3% were African females. African males, White females, Indian females, and Coloured females were featured in 16.7 % of the representations each. 50% of the unidentified workers were African males and African females respectively. Three characters were portrayed as street vendors. 75% of these were African males while the remaining 25% as females. The advertisements also featured three government officials. African males, White males, and White females covered 33.3% of the representations each. Similarly three representations were about market gardeners. However, 66.7% went to African males and the remaining 33.3% to African females. Labourers/cleaners emerged as the least represented group as they were featured two times only. In both instances the characters were African females.

Category L: Broadcasting

Advertisements about broadcasting represented only three work roles, which featured one worker each. One White male was ascribed the role of personal services worker and another one that of business professional. The remaining character, a White female, was portrayed as a secretary/receptionist.

Table 4.3.31 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements nationhood, patriotism and democracy

Role	Male	Female	African male	African female	White male	White female	Indian male	Indian female
Baker (N=19)	4 (21.1%)	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.1%)	14 (73.7%)	0	1 (5.3%)	0	0
Handcraft worker (N=15)	0	15 (100%)	0	12 (80%)	0	3 (20%)	0	0
Nurse (N=6)	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	2 (33.7%)	0	1 (16.7%)	0	1 (16.7%)
Unidentified (N=6)	3 50%	3 50%	3 50%	3 50%	0	0	0	0
Barber (N=5)	5 (100%)	0	5 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Bricklayer (N=10)	10 (100%)	0	7 (70%)	0	2 (20%)	0	1 (10%)	0
Engineer (N=3)	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	0	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0
Senior govt. official (N=3)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0
Market gardener (N=3)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0
Labourer/Cleaner (N=2)	0	2 (100%)	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0
Social worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Metal and machinery trade workers (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0
Bicycle repairer (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0

Shoemaker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Tailor (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Business professional (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Manager (N=2)	2 (100%)	1 (50%)	0	0	1 (50%)	0	0	0
Driver (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Personal services worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0
Street vendor(N=4)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0	0	0	0
Total	41	46	28	38	8	4	1	1

Table 4.3.32 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements broadcasting

Role	Male	Female	White female	White male
Personal services worker (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	1(100%)
Business professional (N=1)	1 (100%)	0	0	1(100%)
Secretary/Receptionist (N=1)	0	1 (100%)	1(100%)	0
Total	2	1	1	2

Category M: Used goods

The category of used goods portrayed four characters, as shop and salespersons/attendants who were equitably distributed between White males and African males.

Table 4.3.33 Frequency distribution of work roles in advertisements other goods

Role	Male	African female	African male
Shop salesperson/attendant (N=4)	4 (100%)	2 (50%)	2 (50%)
Total	4	2	2

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed presentation of the results of quantitative content analysis that was conducted to establish how advertising representations on South African television represent work. Through the use of frequency distribution tables it has shown how the following groups of workers are represented in relation to various work roles, occupational categories and advertised products/services by the advertisements: males, females, Africans, Whites, Indians, Coloureds, African males, African females, White males, White females, Indian males, Indian females, Coloured males, and Coloured females.

Chapter 5

Analysis of Results of Quantitative Content Analysis of Television Advertising Representations of work

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of the quantitative content analysis that was conducted on the sample of advertisements. It highlights how work roles and occupational categories were represented in relation to race and gender. The results are compared with relevant trends within the present South African labour market and are critiqued in the light of the 1998 Employment Equity Act. The discussion shows that to a large extent when the number of workers per role is counted advertising representations of work tend not to conform to the ideals laid down by the Employment Equity Act. However before the discussion begins it is important to bear in mind that the present study does not subscribe to the communication effects tradition, which advocates that media representations have direct influence on the attitudes and behaviour of readers. Rather, it subscribes to the view of cultivation analysis as originally conceptualised by George Gerbner that systematically repetitive media images may affect readers' perception of the world in which they live in the long run. However, the chapter does not discuss the extent to which the findings of the present study may be used to conclude whether images of work in television advertising discriminate certain demographic groups unfairly from the point of view of race and/or gender. The issue is reserved for the concluding chapter.

According to table 4.3.1 and table 4.3.2 from a gender perspective the overall impression that one gets from the results of the quantitative content analysis is that images of male workers tend to dominate advertising representations of work on South African television. This is the case because males and females accounted for 66.8% and 33.2% of workers who emerged from the sample that was subjected to content analysis. This means that images of

male workers appeared on screen twice as often as those of their female counterparts. The trend is also prevalent when one considers particular types of roles in which each of the two groups were represented. Images of male workers still dominated the distribution of roles because the males were visible in thirty (90.9%) of the roles while female workers were visible in only nineteen (57.6%) of them (N=33).

The afore-mentioned gender pattern conforms to the trend of employment in the current South African labour market where males and females constitute 63% and 37% of workers reported by employment equity reports. However, the pattern does not conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act because it does not reflect the gender pattern of the country's Economically Active Population (EAP) in which males and females account for 54% and 46% respectively of South Africa (Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report 2002 – 2003:6). Ironically, however, the pattern conforms to the pattern that characterised the Economically Active Population of the South African labour market fifteen years ago whereby males and females accounted for 64.3% and 35.7% (Barker 1992:5). In other words, the overall impression that the results of the present study gives is that advertising representations of work generally do not reflect the ideals of the Employment Equity Act because they tend to marginalise the participation of women.

A further examination of table 4.3.1 and table 4.3.2 indicates that the advertising representations tend to ascribe to males other than females high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. For example, male life science professionals and male business professionals were shown two times and five times more often than their female counterparts respectively. The visibility of male managers and male physical scientists was also greater than that of their female counterparts in that the latter were ascribed neither of these roles. This tendency was articulated further through the fact the representation of males in the roles of senior government official and engineer was twice as much as that of their female counterparts. Of all high status roles that require high intellectual capacity, females had higher representation than

males in only two roles namely, legal professional and other associate professional. This female dominance, however, does not have much significance because proportionately the two roles represent only one third of all high status roles that require high intellectual capacity that were ascribed to females. These roles are legal professional, senior government official, life science professional, engineer, other associate professional, and business professional.

The patriarchal tendency that characterised the distribution of high status roles that require high intellectual capacity in one way or another conforms to existing trends in the South African labour market. For example, the current representation of males in senior management positions in the real labour market is more than five times greater than that of females (Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report 2002-2003: viii). Nevertheless, this pattern of advertising representations marginalises females hence it does not support the labour market ideals that are coded in the Employment Equity Act.

The above-mentioned gender patterns are interesting because they reveal that television advertising representations tend not only to portray males and females in remarkably different ways but also that the differences tend to conform to traditional gender roles. For example, judging from table 4.3.1 and table 4.3.2 100% (N=4) of secretaries/receptionists and 83.3% (N=6) of nurses who were represented in the study were female. In other words, females were five times and four times more likely than males to be portrayed as nurses and secretaries/receptionists respectively. Similarly, females were fifteen times more likely to be portrayed as handcraft workers e.g. bead-makers and knitters. Further that this, the females had even slimmer chances of being portrayed as drivers, barbers, carpenters, shoemakers, and bicycle repairers because none of them was ascribed any of these roles.

Similarly, the results show that television advertisements tend to associate males with activities that are associated with the application of physical strength. According to table 4.3.1 and table 4.3.2 this type of gender pattern,

for example, prevailed in the role of metal and machinery trade worker, in which 3.3% and 1.3% of workers were male and female respectively. Likewise, road construction workers and bricklayers accounted for 9.2% and 10.4% of the overall population of workers respectively but none of them was female. These examples give the impression that the advertising representations do not conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act as far as the distribution of work roles is concerned.

Meredith Li Vollmer (2002: 220) warns that when examining advertising representations on television it is important to bear in mind that the larger head count of particular groups of characters does not necessarily uncover all biases that characterise their screen presence. This observation applies to the present study too. For instance, although to the casual viewer males in general dominated the work roles, substantially African males dominated them more than any other male group. According to table 4.3.13, 4.3.15, 4.3.17, and 4.3.19, for example, male Africans (N=91) were one and a quarter times more visible than their White counterparts (N=53). Similarly, their visibility was more than fifteen times greater than that of male Coloured workers (N=4) and more than eighteen times greater than that of male Indian workers (N=5).

From a racial perspective, the huge gap that characterise the dominance of African males over males from other races generally corresponds to existing trends within the South African labour market. For instance, in 2002 Male Africans accounted for 38% of the country's Economically Active Population and 40% of workers who were accounted for in employment equity reports. In comparison, White males, Coloured males and Indian males accounted for 8%, 6% and 2% of the former category and 13%, 7%, and 3% of the latter category respectively (Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report 2002 – 2003:6).

From a gender perspective, a general examination of the distribution of roles within the African group shows that African males tend to dominate the roles (see table 4.3.13 and table 4.3.14). The population of African males (N=91), for example, was more than one and a half times greater than that of their female counterparts (N=55). But what is more striking is that African females were, particularly, marginalised in high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. The African males, for instance, were visible in six roles of this type, namely senior government official, physical scientist, life science professional, engineer, and business professional which accounted for 25% of all roles (N=24) ascribed to their sub-group. In contrast, their female counterparts were represented in only three of these roles namely, life science professional, senior government official, and engineer, which accounted for 20% of roles (N=15) that were ascribed to their sub-group. Proportionately, the significance of this female share was undermined by the fact that males had an equal representation in these very same roles.

Table 4.3.13 and table 4.3.14 also show that African females dominated average status roles that require average intellectual capacity in instances that they were ascribed to the African group. The visibility of female African nurses, for instance, was twice as much as that of their male counterparts. In the same way, the visibility of African female shop salespersons/attendants was three times greater than that of their male counterparts. In essence, however, the tables indicate that African females had the highest representation in low status roles that require low intellectual capacity namely, tailor, traditional healer, market gardener, street vendor, labourer/cleaner, handcraft worker, and baker. Together, these roles accounted for 46.7% of all roles that were ascribed to the sub-group of female Africans. In contrast roles of this type accounted for only 23.2% of all roles ascribed to African males. These roles are barber, baker, driver, street vendor, market gardener, bicycle repairer and shoemaker.

The significance of the above findings is that they give the impression that advertising representations of African workers on television tend to marginalise females in high status work roles that require high intellectual capacity. Instead they tend to ascribe them low and average status roles that require low and average intellectual capacity respectively thereby failing to conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act.

Interesting patterns of male dominance in work roles were also observed about other racial groups. For example, according to table 4.3.19 and table 4.3.20 Coloured males dominated work roles that were ascribed to their racial group to the extent that their visibility was four times greater than that of their female counterparts. Comparatively, this gender divide is much bigger than the one that prevails in the South African labour market where Coloured males and Coloured females account for 6% and 5% of the Economically Active Population respectively and 7% and 7% of formally employed workers respectively (Commission for Employment Equity. Annual Report, 2002-2003:6).

Proportionately, Indian females were identified as the most segregated group in the television advertising representations of work because their overall screen presence was five times smaller than that of their male counterparts (see table 4.3.17 and table 4.3.18). This gender divide too is much greater than the one that characterises trends within roles that are ascribed to them in the present South African labour market. Indian males and Indian females account for 2% and 1% of the Economically Active Population and 3% and 2% of workers who are accounted for in employment equity reports respectively (Commission for Employment Equity. Annual Report, 2002-2003:6).

A critical analysis of representations of roles ascribed to male White workers (table 4.3.15) and female White workers (table 4.3.16) also show interesting gender patterns. Firstly, the general distribution of work roles between the two groups show that White males tend to dominate roles that are ascribed to

their racial group in television advertising representations of work. This is the case because the screen presence of White males was nearly three times greater (N=53) than that of their female counterparts (N=19). From the same table it is also clear that White females tended to be marginalised in high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. For instance, the representation of White males in the role of business professional (N=18) was four and a half times greater than that of their female counterparts (N=4). Another example may be seen in the role of manager in which White females were not visible at all although the role registered 2.8% of all White workers.

Significantly, White females had a proportionately larger representation in average status roles that require average intellectual capacity, which were ascribed to the White group. This observation is based on the fact that although White females were represented in only nine roles 33.3% of them namely, nurse, personal services worker, and secretary/receptionist were of this type. By comparison, although White males were ascribed sixteen roles only 25% of them namely, shop salespersons/attendants, metal and machinery trade worker, personal services worker, and protection services worker belong to the category of average status roles that require average intellectual capacity.

The above patterns give the impression that advertising representations of work on television tend to marginalise White females in high status work roles that require high intellectual capacity and instead tend to ascribe them average status roles that require average intellectual capacity.

The distribution of work roles within the White group also showed that television representations of work tend to marginalise Whites in low status roles that require low intellectual capacity. This is the case because only one White who also happened to be female was ascribed a role of this type namely, handcraft worker.

It should, however, be noted that proportionately, the representation of White females in high status roles that require high intellectual capacity was far greater than that of their African, Indian, and Coloured counterparts. For example, White females had a 16% and 57.1% visibility rate in the roles of business professional and other associate professionals respectively while their African, Indian, and Coloured counterparts were completely invisible in the same roles (see tables 4.3.16 to 4.3.20). Furthermore, although the overall population of female White workers was much smaller than that of female African workers their representation in the high status roles that require high intellectual capacity was proportionally greater than that of their African, Indian, and Coloured counterparts combined. At the same time, though, African females were more visible than Indian and Coloured workers in these roles.

At this juncture, it must be noted that although Africans emerged as the most dominant group in the advertising representations of work ironically, the results also show that in general Africans tended to be marginalised in certain high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. According to table 4.3.3 and table 4.3.4, for example, the overall visibility of White business professionals (N=22) was over five and a half times greater than that of their African counterparts (N=4). Similarly, the visibility of White life science professionals (N=4) was double that of their African counterparts (N=2). Furthermore, the role of other associate professional was ascribed to no African at all whereas it was ascribed to 9.7% of White workers. This is a significantly huge racial divide considering that the role of other associate professional accounted for 18.5% of all workers who emerged from the sample.

Considering that the overall representation of Africans was already bigger than that of Whites in low and average status roles that require low and average intellectual capacity respectively the above pattern give the impression that television advertising representations of work tend to marginalise Africans in high status work roles that require high intellectual

capacity. Ironically, Indians were proportionately more visible than Africans in high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. The single role of this type, namely business professional, that was ascribed to Indians accounted for 33.3% of roles that were ascribed to their group. In contrast only 10.6% of roles that were ascribed to Africans were of this type. These roles are senior government official, life science professional, manager, business professional, and engineer.

Generally, from a gender perspective the study gives the impression that advertising representations of occupational categories on television tend not to conform to the ideals cherished by the Employment Equity Act. This is the case because males dominated all occupational categories (N=12) that emerged from the sample except for the category of clerks (see tables 4.3.7 and 4.3.8). This means that at the level of occupational categories male dominance was rated at 76.9%. On average males were more than twice as visible as females in categories of craft and related trade workers, professionals, elementary occupations workers, service workers and shop and market sales workers, technicians and associate professionals, and skilled and fishery workers. They, for instance, accounted for 65% of craft and related trade workers (N=91), and 69% of elementary occupations and technicians and associate professionals (N=26) respectively.

Comparatively, the 76.9% overall male dominance at the occupational category level is much bigger than the 66.8% that they had during the head count (see table 4.3.1). This observation further shows that males tend to dominate advertising representations of work, and that these representations tend not to support the ideals promoted by the Employment Equity Act.

From a gender perspective, a further analysis of the representations of occupational categories shows that although they do not necessarily conform to the ideals promoted by the Employment Equity Act still some of them tend to conform to current trends in the South African labour market. For example, on the one hand, males and females accounted for 65% and 35% of images

of the category of technicians and associate professionals that emerged from the sample respectively (See table 4.3.7). On the other hand, males and females represented 65.7% and 34.4% of workers who received training as technicians and associate professionals in the South African workforce between 2002 and 2003 respectively (Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report 2002-2003:42).

At the same time, though, other categories revealed a much smaller gender-divide than the one that prevails in the South African labour market. For instance, males and females who were shown in the occupational category of craft and related trade workers accounted for 65% and 35% of all workers who were featured in the advertising representations respectively (See table 4.3.7). In contrast, however, males and females accounted for 90.3% and 9.7% who received training in the same occupational category within the South African workforce between 2002 and 2003. Similarly, 60% and 40% of characters whose roles belong to the category of professionals in the sample were male and female respectively. In contrast, however, males and females accounted for 70% and 30% of people who were trained as professionals during the same period respectively. Furthermore, on the one hand males and females respectively accounted for 69.2% and 30.8% of workers who were portrayed in the category of elementary occupations. On the other hand, males and females who received training in elementary occupations in the South African labour market from 2002 to 2003 accounted for 76.5% and 23.5% respectively (Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report 2002-2003:42).

From a racial perspective, the portrayal of the occupational categories revealed some significant patterns too. Firstly, according to table 4.3.9 and table 4.3.10 Whites and Africans were accorded relatively equal screen presence in the occupational categories of service workers and shop and market sales workers, technicians and associate professionals, and legislator, senior official and manager. However, considering that the overall population of African workers was two times larger than that of White workers this

distribution implies that the Africans were marginalised in the representations of these three occupational categories. This form of racial marginalisation may be elaborated further through the observation that twelve Africans who were portrayed as services workers and shop and market sales workers accounted for only 8.2% of all African workers while eleven Whites who roles belonged to the same category accounted for 15.3% of all members of their group. In other words, the representation of Africans and Whites in the above-mentioned occupational categories gives the impression that advertising representations of work tend to marginalise Africans hence do not conform to ideals cherished by the Employment Equity Act.

At this point it is also important to note that the distribution of occupational categories across the four races give the impression that television advertising representations of work tend to marginalise Africans in high status work roles that require high intellectual capacity and instead tend to ascribe them low status and average status roles that require low and average intellectual capacity respectively. For example, on the one hand, according to table 4.3.10 41.6% of representations of White workers belonged to the category of professionals. On the other hand, according to table 4.3.9, only 8.2% of representations of African workers were portrayed in the same occupational category. However, Africans had a much higher representation in occupational categories that tend to be associated with low status and low intellectual capacity in real life. For example, 40.4% and 24.7% of roles that were ascribed to Africans were registered in the occupational categories of craft and related trade workers, and elementary occupations. Ironically, although the actual population of Indians was very low proportionally, they had a much higher representation than Africans in high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. 50% of roles that were ascribed to Indians belong to the occupational category of professionals. Most importantly, this uneven distribution of images of occupational categories across the races does not conform to the ideals advocated by the Employment Equity Act.

When the categories of advertised goods/services are considered in relation to the social category of gender it is revealed that males emerged as the most dominant group. Particularly, they dominated all but three categories namely, banking and financial services (table 4.3.24), personal health products (table 4.3.25) and nationhood, patriotism and democracy (table 4.3.31). This means that images of male workers and female workers dominated 76.9% and 23.1% (N=13) of the categories of advertised products respectively. This pattern supports the observation that was made earlier in the present chapter that images of male workers tend to dominate advertising representations of work on South African television.

A consideration of the social category of race reveals that Africans emerged as the most dominant group of workers per category of advertised products. This is the case because they dominated all but five categories namely, information and communication Technology (table 4.3.21) furniture and household appliances (table 4.3.26), mail and delivery services (table 4.3.27), personal beauty products (table 4.3.30), and broadcasting (table 4.3.32) which were dominated by Whites. This means that images of African workers and White workers dominated 61.5% and 38.5% of categories of advertised products respectively, which supports the earlier observation that generally, images of Africans tend to dominate television advertising representations of work.

Also of particular interest is the fact that advertisements on the theme of nationhood, patriotism and democracy featured the largest number of female workers. African females and White females accounted for 73.7% and 21.1% of workers in this category, leaving the remainder to White males, African males, and Coloured males. This female dominance may be attributed to the general effort of advertisers' to portray female workers in a positive light in accordance with democratic ideals of South Africa although in terms of the portrayal of individual roles the representations do not necessary conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act.

The results also show that none of the categories of advertisements managed to register each and every role that was identified in the sample. The role of shop salesperson/attendant, which was the most frequently distributed of all, was visible in only seven different categories. This was followed by the category of business professionals, which was represented in 53.9% of the categories. However, what is striking about these frequently represented roles is that the majority of them tended to display a huge gender and racial divide to the advantage of males and Whites respectively. For instance, on the one hand, 64.3% (n=14) of shop and salespersons/attendants were male (see tables 4.3.21, 4.3.22, 4.3.24, 4.3.26, 4.3.28, 4.3.30, and 4.3.33). Similarly, 82.8% (n=29), 85.7% (n=7), 66.7% (n=6), and 83.4% (n=6) of workers who were ascribed the roles of business professionals, personal services workers, life science professionals, and metal and machinery trade workers respectively were male. On the other hand, from a racial perspective, Whites, Africans and Coloureds accounted for 63.6% (n=22), 31.8% (n=22) and 4.5% (n=22) of all shop salespersons and attendants respectively (See tables 4.3.21, 4.3.22, 4.3.24, 4.3.26, 4.3.28, 4.3.30, and 4.3.33). And finally, 8.6% (n=35), 65.7% (n=35), 2.9% (n=35), and another 2.9% (n=35) of Business professionals were African, White, Indian, and Coloured respectively.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion this discussion has shown that generally, advertising representations of work give the impression that they do not conform to the ideals of the labour market that are promoted by the Employment Equity Act. This is particularly the case if one counts the number of Africans, Whites, Indians, and Coloureds, males and females who are ascribed a particular work role in advertising representations. However, the big question that needs to be answered is whether the above patterns of the distribution of roles mean that advertising representations of work discriminate against the demographic groups in questions. The answer is reserved for the concluding chapter.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The results of the present study have revealed that for the most part advertising representations of work do not reflect existing ideals of employment equity in South Africa as stipulated in the 1998 Employment Equity Act. This is the case because they tend to marginalise certain demographic groups in certain work roles and occupational categories. However, there are certain theoretical and methodological issues that need to be dealt with if one is to conclude whether the role distribution patterns that have been established from the data provide conclusive evidence that advertising representations unfairly discriminate against the demographic groups in question. This concluding chapter is devoted to this task. Particularly, it establishes the extent to which the Employment Equity Act may be used as an index for analysing television advertising representations of work. Furthermore, it elaborates how the methodological problems of cultivation analysis may affect conclusions that may be drawn from the results of the present study.

In the first place, it should be observed that from a theoretical point of view it would be inappropriate to conclude that advertising representations of work that tend to marginalise certain demographic groups automatically unfairly discriminate against them as per the ideals of the Employment Equity Act. Section 3.3 of the present study has explained that culturally, it is inevitable for the genre of advertising to construct reality. Therefore, here it should be emphasised that any expectation that advertising should represent work in ways that conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act would be tantamount to forcing the genre of advertising to break its rules and serve the existing dominant political ideology for its sake.

Secondly, much as it is appreciated that repetitive media messages have long term cultivation effects it is plausible to argue that the requirement that the advertising should reflect the social reality of South Africa would be substantial if currently the industry were producing pejorative representations of certain demographic groups of workers. However, this appears not be the case. For instance, from the perspective of the constructionist theory of representation the dominance of images of male African workers in the present study may be explained merely as the result of advertisers' effort to turn the present conditions of Africans in the South African labour market into a signifier on the mythical plane of their text so that they could in turn interpellate the Africans themselves as consumers. The sample of advertisements that was used in the present study supports this postulation because more than half of the advertisements were generally targeted at ordinary South Africans, the majority of whom are Africans. Examples of these advertisements include the one for Kellogg's Cornflakes, KFC Cheese Fiesta, Black Label, Post Bank, Woods Great Peppermint, Vics Actus, Vics Vaporub, Med-Lemon, Speedy Services Couriers, Post Office (Letters and postcards), Surf Excel and the two for Polka E-mail and Inter-net services.

Against this background, it may be argued that the requirement that advertising representations should reflect employment equity ideals would be understood as the manifest result of a covert conflict between politics and culture like the one that characterised advertising representations during the apartheid era. Perhaps, a situation like this one would cause South Africa's Minister of Defence, Mosiuoa Lekota to suggest that time has come for South Africans to stop looking at themselves as people of different races but just as South Africans.

It is also important to note that some provisions of the Employment Equity Act lay down principles that may help understand the extent to which the Act may be used as an index for analysing advertising representations of work. Section 15 of the Employment Equity Act, for example, prohibits employers from employing under-qualified people in the name of affirmative action thereby

unfairly discriminating against non-designated groups. It stipulates that, “designated employers are not required to take any decision regarding an employment policy or practice that would establish an absolute barrier to prospective or continued employment or advancement of people not from designated groups”. The principle behind this provision may be applied to advertising representations from a semiotics perspective by conducting a communication test. According to Griffiths (2001:3) a semiotic communication test is conducted by substituting one signifier with another on the paradigmatic plane to see how it affects meaning on the syntagmatic plane. Two examples of advertisements from the sample will suffice to illustrate this point.

The first example is an MTN Airtime Competition advertisement featuring a male African taxi driver buying MTN airtime from a female African grocer (See appendix 3). The characters and the setting that are used in this advertisement connote that it is targeted at low class South Africans most of whom are Africans who live in townships or similar locations. However, for the sake of conforming to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act the male African taxi driver, and the female African grocer could be replaced with a White female taxi driver, and an African saleslady who works at an up market shop such as Morkels respectively. Definitely, the advertisement would not be able to interpellate its originally intended audience. Many Africans would not be able to identify themselves with the female White taxi driver because in real life Whites, let alone female Whites do not normally drive minibus taxis. Similarly, many low class South Africans may not feel that the advertisement is targeted at them because they do not identify themselves with up-market shops such as Morkels.

The second example is drawn from an advertisement for Med-lemon Hot Cold cure, which depicts an African herbalist dispensing the cure to African patients in a rural setting. The African characters and the non-urban setting that the advertisement employs connote that it is targeted at South Africans of African origin. Most herbalists are African and they tend to operate from outside urban

areas, which are inhabited by Africans. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to expect the advertisement to send the same message to its intended audience if it depicted a White or Indian herbalist and White and Indian patients. Many Africans would not take it seriously because it would not resonate with their social and cultural knowledge and experiences that help them associate herbalists with Africans and not Whites and Indians.

The argument put forward by the economist Tony Twine that the Employment Equity Act overprotects workers at the expense of the future of business may also be translated to advertising representations, especially in the light of the above-elaborated semiotic communication test. There is no doubt that an advertiser who would create advertisements that would conform to the South African labour market for its sake would eventually lose business. It is one thing for advertising to represent work in a manner that conforms to ideals of the Employment Equity Act and it is another to create advertisements that can draw from culture in ways that can interpellate target consumers. This brings to mind a situation that occurred during apartheid when television advertisers incurred unnecessary production expenses because they were forbidden to use English in advertisements targeted at Africans and in turn were required to make different advertisements for each African ethnic group (Holt 1998:116). Certainly, such a development would not be a pleasant experience in the present democratic environment of South Africa.

Similarly, Jafta's (1998:5) criticism that affirmative action policies are self defeating because they promote double standards and reinforce negative stereotypes, racial tension and a stigmatisation that deny members of preferred groups opportunity to experience merited success may also be translated to advertising representations of work. Firstly, it should be mentioned that essentially, it is a known fact that it will take a long time before South Africa achieves its vision of equitable employment. It should be borne in mind that the 2002-2003 Employment Equity Act revealed that the past ten years have shown minimal progress towards the achievement employment equity in the real South African labour market. This development implies that

advertisers who may decide to go ahead of time to portray images of work that conform to the vision of employment equity may be seen to be giving unwarranted preferential treatment to previously disadvantaged groups. Indirectly, the practice would reinforce the very same negative stereotypes, racial tension, and stigmatisation that affirmative action is meant to overcome.

Perhaps advertising would become so politicised that its representations of work would look like images that are portrayed by a controversial SABC 1 signature advertisement labeled, 'another look at the Mzansi'. In this particular advertisement character roles are reversed in such a way that Africans are portrayed living what is believed to be a White lifestyle and vice versa. One cannot read the sub-text of this advertisement without noticing racial tension between Africans and Whites, which in turn evoke memories of stereotyped media images of Africans and Whites during the apartheid era.

The above example may be seen as an extreme case but still it shows the type of problems that would arise if advertising were to strive to conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity act, especially in the present circumstance whereby the South African labour market is struggling to achieve the same ideals. In other words, from a cultural perspective if advertising is to strive to conform to the ideals of the Employment Equity Act rather than exploiting existing cultural resources it would be seen to promote a form of escapism on the part of previously disadvantaged groups and at the expense of the image of previously-advantaged groups.

From a semiotic point of view it is arguable that methodologically the results of the present study are to some extent undermined by the technique of quantitative content analysis that was used to generate them. It was mentioned in section 3.5 that quantitative content analysis tends to fail to detecting subtleties that characterise the communication process. Three examples of advertisements from the sample of the present study will suffice to highlight this point.

Firstly, a 'Telkom Touch Tomorrow: South Africa, This is Just the Beginning' advertisement displays a scene in which African, Coloured, Indian and White male bricklayers are constructing a house. The scene starts with a level angle close up of the face of a White bricklayer, which is zoomed out from a level angle to create a wide shot depicting all workers who are present at the building scene. Herbert Zettl, (1999:187) observes that when compared with the detachment and distance of long shots close ups have the effect of intensifying the event that is depicted on the screen thereby creating a different feel altogether. Paul Messaris (1997:29) adds that close-ups increase both the attention and involvement of the viewer. These two observations imply that in the 'Telkom Touch Tomorrow' advertisement scene it is likely that most reader attention was captured by nothing but the image of the White bricklayer because it was privileged by the camera. Perhaps, the reader did not even give a thought to the actual number of people from each racial group who were depicted in the scene. Quantitative content analysis could not detect this subtlety. As a result of this weakness it could mislead one to the conclusion that advertising representations of work are discriminatory because they tend to associate Africans rather than Whites with average status rôles that require average intellectual capacity. From this example, one may learn that instead of just relying on the actual numerical representation of members of different racial group in a particular role in order to establish whether advertising representations display equitable distribution of work rôles one also needs to consider how the audience may read the images from a semiotic perspective.

The second example is drawn from a Nescafe advertisement in which the camera deliberately draws viewer attention to an African business professional who is working with four White colleagues and one female African colleague. Firstly, the advertisement uses a level angle medium shot to depict an African man wearing a suit and traveling on a minibus taxi. Thereafter, it shows the African man without his jacket in a boardroom meeting delivering a presentation to his colleagues. Only the back of his body and head are shown first through a close-up. Then he turns around and

shows his face to the audience in a suggestive manner as if saying, 'look at me I am the same man whom you saw earlier on traveling on a taxi. Now, I am at work and I have taken off my jacket'.

There is no doubt that the close up makes the viewer get involved with this African business professional more than any other character shown in this scene. This observation is even more plausible considering the fact that the camera is out of focus on the faces of his three male White colleagues who are seated directly opposite to him. Upon watching this scene one cannot help but feel that the camera is saying to them that they should not worry about the three White gentlemen but they should concentrate on the African business professional who is the main character in the scene. Yet it is not possible to notice these subtleties simply by relying on content analysis. Consequently, one may be misled to conclude that the advertisement discriminates against African males simply because the African males are out-numbered by White males.

A similar pattern may be observed about two female characters that are featured in the same Nescafe coffee advertisement. The two are attending the presentation; one is White and the other is African. However, between them the cameraman chooses to draw most of the reader's attention to the female African. This is done by showing only part of the face of the White business professional through a close up that seems to more interested with the beauty of her nose, eyes, and mouth rather than her as a business professional. In contrast, her female African counterpart is shown seated behind a desk next to a male White colleague. Significantly, her face is not out of focus like that of the male White colleague. Thereafter, in a closing scene the female African business professional is shown drinking Nescafe coffee while seated behind a large office desk. All this subtlety, which is used to represent the African female rather than the White female in positive way in the workplace went unnoticed by quantitative content analysis because it was rather interested in the numerical representation of each race per given role.

The last example of the use of subtlety that went undetected by quantitative content analysis is found in the advert for Sunlight Auto Powder. The advertisement shows a White gynecologist examining an African woman in the presence of her husband/boyfriend. Eventually, he tells the couple that the woman is pregnant with triplets. After that the advertisement shows the husband/boyfriend in the kitchen at home while placing the washing powder into a washing machine as a voice over says that Sunlight Auto Powder washes three times more than other soap powders.

As far as content analysis is concerned, in this advertisement the viewer only sees one worker who happens to be a White doctor because the advertisement explicitly portrays him as such. However, if one applies principles of semiotics to read this very same advertisement they would find that the reader may use their knowledge of social and cultural codes to decipher that the husband/boyfriend is also a worker although the advertisement does not explicitly say so. The jacket and necktie that the man is wearing and the glamorous kitchen in which he is portrayed putting the Sunlight washing powder into the washing machine connote that he is a middle class African male who probably has a high status job elsewhere, which might even be better paying than that of the White doctor. Through this example one may see that it is somehow misleading to use an advertisement of this type to argue that Africans are unfairly discriminated against in high status roles that require high intellectual capacity. Rather, one needs to study the latent content in a more detailed way.

In one way or another the above examples are substantiating the observation made by Ruddock (1998:118) that the methodology of cultivation analysis is often accused of using quantitative methodologies that deal with meaningless abstractions thereby articulating generalisations that are not necessarily related to the positioning of television in a social world. The substance of this observation may be elaborated further by looking at the way the role of baker was captured by qualitative content analysis. The results have shown that the sample featured twenty bakers of whom five and fifteen were male and female

respectively (see table 4.3.1 and table 4.3.2) while nineteen and one of them were African and White respectively (see table 4.3.3 and table 4.3.4). However, it would be wrong to over-generalise that this inequitable distribution of work roles means that advertisements promote unfair discriminatory in the workplace by ascribing most low status roles that require low intellectual capacity to Africans and females. This is the case because these characters were highly unevenly distributed across the sample. In essence eighteen (90%) of the characters were contributed by one advertisement by Shell, which was promoting the company's participation in rural development as part of the commemoration of ten years of democracy in South Africa. Essentially, one would think of discrimination if the twenty bakers were distributed across at least five or six different advertisements.

6.2 Conclusion

An appropriate way of concluding the present chapter and the whole study is to say that there is no doubt that the results of the present study have shown that advertising representations of work tend to marginalise the participation of certain demographic groups in certain work roles. However, the most crucial issue is that one needs to bear in mind theoretical and methodological issues surrounding cultivation analysis and the applicability of the 1998 Employment Equity Act as an index for analysing advertising representations of work before they conclude that the representations unfairly discriminate against the demographic groups in question.

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Appendix A

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Summary of the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998, issued in terms of Section 25(1)

1. Chapter 1 – Definitions, purpose, interpretation and application

1.1 Purpose of the Act: Section 2

The purpose of the Act is to achieve equity in the workplace, by

- a. promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination; and
- b. implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce.

1.2 Application of the Act: Section 4

- a. Chapter II (sections 5 – 11) applies to all employers and employees.
- b. Chapter III (sections 12 – 27) applies to designated employers.
- c. A designated employer means an employer who employs 50 or more employees, or has a total annual turnover as reflected in Schedule 4 of the Act, municipalities and organs of state. Employers can also volunteer to become designated employers.
- d. A designated group means black people, women, or people with disabilities.
- e. The South African National Defence Force, National Intelligence Agency, and South African Secret Services are excluded from this Act.

2. Chapter 2 - Prohibition of Unfair Discrimination

2.1 No person may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against an employee in any employment policy or practice, on one or more grounds including race, gender, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language, and birth.

2.2 It is not unfair discrimination to promote affirmative action consistent with the Act or to prefer or exclude any person on the basis of an inherent job requirement.

2.3 Medical Testing: Section 7

- a. Medical testing of an employee is permissible only when legislation requires testing or when this is justifiable for various reasons.
- b. HIV testing is prohibited unless such testing is determined to be justifiable by the Labour Court.

2.4 Psychological Testing: Section 8

Psychological testing and similar assessments are prohibited, unless the test is scientifically valid and reliable, can be applied fairly to all employees, and is not biased against any employee or group.

2.5 Disputes concerning this Chapter : Section 10

- a. An employee, or applicant for employment, may refer a dispute concerning alleged unfair discrimination (or medical or psychological testing) to the CCMA for conciliation. This must be done within six months of the alleged discrimination (or testing)..
- b. If a dispute is not resolved at conciliation, a party may refer it to the Labour Court for adjudication. The parties to a dispute may also agree to refer the dispute to arbitration.
- c. Unfair dismissal disputes in which unfair discrimination is alleged must be dealt with in terms of the Labour Relations Act. The dismissal must be referred to the CCMA within 30 days.

3. Chapter 3 – Affirmative Action

3.1 Duties of a Designated Employer: Section 13

- a. A designated employer must implement affirmative action measures for designated groups to achieve employment equity.
- b. In order to implement affirmative action measures, a designated employer must:
 - consult with employees;
 - conduct an analysis;
 - prepare an employment equity plan; and
 - report to the Director-General on progress made in the implementation of the plan.

3.2 Affirmative Action measures: Section 15

- a. Affirmative action measures are measures intended to ensure that suitably qualified employees from designated groups have equal employment opportunity and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels of the workforce.
- b. Such measures must include:
 - identification and elimination of barriers with an adverse impact on designated groups;
 - measures which promote diversity;
 - making reasonable accommodation for people from designated groups;
 - retention, development and training of designated groups (including skills development); and
 - preferential treatment and numerical goals to ensure equitable representation. This excludes quotas.
- c. Designated employers are not required to take any decision regarding an employment policy or practice that would establish an absolute barrier to prospective or continued employment or advancement of people not from designated groups.

3.3 Consultation: Sections 16 and 17

A designated employer must take reasonable steps to consult with representatives of employees representing the diverse interests of the workforce on the conducting of an analysis, preparation and implementation of a plan, and on reporting to the Director-General.

3.4 Disclosure of Information: Section 18

To ensure meaningful consultation, the employer must disclose relevant information to the consulting parties, subject to section 16 of the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995.

3.5 Analysis: Section 19

A designated employer must conduct an analysis of employment policies, practices, procedures, and working environment so as to identify employment barriers that adversely affect members of designated groups. The analysis must also include the development of a workforce profile to determine to what extent designated groups are under-represented in the workplace.

3.6 Employment Equity Plan: Section 20

- a. A designated employer must prepare and implement a plan to achieve employment equity, which must:
 - have objectives for each year of the plan;
 - include affirmative action measures;
 - have numerical goals for achieving equitable representation;
 - have a timetable for each year;
 - have internal monitoring and evaluation procedures, including internal dispute resolution mechanisms; and
 - identify persons, including senior managers, to monitor and implement the plan.

3.7 Report : Section 21

- a. An employer who employs fewer than 150 employees must submit its first report to the Director-General within 12 months after the commencement of the Act, and thereafter every 2 years on the first working day of October.
- b. An employer who employs 150 or more employees, must submit its first report 6 months after the commencement of the Act, and thereafter every year on the first working day of October.

3.8 Designated employer must assign a manager: Section 24

A designated employer must assign one or more senior managers to ensure implementation and monitoring of the employment equity plan and must make available necessary resources for this purpose.

3.9 Income Differentials : Section 27

A statement of remuneration and benefits received in each occupational category and level of the workforce must be submitted by a designated employer to the Employment Conditions Commission (ECC).

Where there are disproportionate income differentials, a designated employer must take measures to reduce it progressively. Such measures may include collective bargaining, compliance with sectoral determinations (section 51 of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act); the application of norms and benchmarks recommended by the ECC, relevant measures contained in skills development legislation, and any other appropriate steps.

4. Chapter V – Monitoring, Enforcement and Legal Proceedings

4.1 Monitoring: Section 34

Employee or trade union representatives can monitor contraventions of the Act and report to relevant bodies.

4.2 Powers of the Labour Inspector: Section 35

Labour Inspectors are authorised to conduct an inspection as provided for in sections 65 and 66 of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

4.3 Undertaking to Comply: Section 36

If the inspector has reasonable grounds to believe that a designated employer has failed to comply with its obligations in terms of the Act, the inspector will obtain a written undertaking to comply within a specified period.

4.4 Compliance Order: Section 37

If the designated employer refuses to comply with the written undertaking, the inspector will issue an order to comply.

4.5 Review by Director-General: Section 43

The Director-General may conduct a review to determine whether an employer is complying with the Act. On completion of the review, the Director-General may make recommendations for compliance within certain time frames.

4.6 Powers of the Labour Court: Section 50

The Labour Court has the powers to make any appropriate orders, award compensation, or impose fines.

4.7 Protection of Employee Rights: Section 51

The Act protects employees who exercise their rights and obligations under the Act against victimisation, obstruction and undue influence.

5. Chapter VI – General Provisions

5.1 State contracts: Section 53

Designated employers and employers who voluntarily comply with Chapter III, who seek to do business with any organ of state, will have to apply for a certificate from the Minister confirming their compliance with Chapters II and III of the Act. Non-designated employers' compliance certificates will pertain to Chapter II.

5.2 Liability of Employers: Section 60

Should employees contravene any provision of this Act, while performing their duties, the employer will be liable unless the employer can prove that it did everything in its power to prevent the undesired act.

Appendix B

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Appendix B

A Short Description of Television Advertisements Used in the Study

1. Telkom Touch Tomorrow: 'South Africa, this is just the beginning'.

People are seated at an open restaurant. Pedestrians are trying to cross a busy street. A group of people is saluting fallen heroes. A man is displaying a portrait of a fallen hero. A nurse is carrying a newborn baby. Three South African ambassadors are saluting their counterparts of Asian origin. People are trying to pay gate fees at a stadium. Bricklayers are at a building site. A worried rugby player has his head in his arms. Another rugby player wears a helmet and walks away. A man is driving to work on a Monday morning. Women are catching a minibus taxi to work on a rainy morning. The late HIV/AIDS activist, Nkosi Johnston declares himself HIV-positive. A group of people wearing White T-shirts with an HIV/AIDS red ribbon on them are holding burning candles. Two men look at each other and turn around and walk away from each other.

Throughout the advertisement a voice over is saying that maybe time has now come for South Africans to question what they think about themselves.

2. TV Licence

A female secretary is reporting to her male boss about an E-mail that has just arrived. He advises her to make four copies. She carries the whole computer to the photocopying machine. She gets tired as she tries to put the computer on the photocopier. A voice over says that paying for television license has been made easier and mentions places where one can pay it.

3. Cell C. Steady Chart Airtime

A business executive of a cell phone company named, Domination Cellular is playing golf while three men and one woman are watching closely. Suddenly, a man comes to the scene complaining that Cell C has once more made a competitive offer on the cellular market. He describes the contract offer. The senior business executive, who until this time did not know that Cell C is a South African company is very furious about Cell C's Steady Chat contract.

4. Good morning Kellogg's Cornflakes

A policeman is directing traffic on the busy Harrison Street in Johannesburg at 8.17am. He is doing it in a way that one would think he is dancing to a certain tune of music. Many onlookers are amused by the spectacle and they wave to him. A child displays a packet of Kellogg's cornflakes on the windscreen of a car on which they are travelling. A voice over says the policeman starts his day with Kellogg's cornflakes.

5. Oude Meester Brandy

People are seated at a reception. A distinguished gentleman makes a majestic entry into the room and the people clap hands for him. The man goes straight to hug a woman who is very likely to be his mother proud mother. People also clap hands for him when

he stands up and salutes them in a boardroom meeting. Then he poses for photos. Finally he drinks Oude Meester Brandy at a bar together with his work colleagues.

6. Absa Flexi-Save Card

A man is cleaning the floor of a library while a voice over begins to introduce an Absa Flexi card Account. A woman and a boy join a queue at an Absa funeral broker. People are exercising in a gym. A young man is dancing as he plays around with an Absa Flexi card in a shop where he is buying clothes. He pays his bill using the card.

7. Post Office financial services

A young man goes to the barber for a shave. He sits down ready to have his hair shaved as a female tailor watches with interest. The barber starts cutting the boy's hair but it is very hard. The tailor is shocked. A voice offer says that life does not need to be too hard hence people can now buy lotto tickets, pay their bills, and recharge their airtime at the post office.

8. Edgars (Featuring White Shop Manager)

A voiceover announces that there is a manager's sale at Edgars. A picture of Roy O'cooner, store manager in Cresta appears on the screen followed by images of items that are being sold at reduced prices.

9. Nexus Financial Solution from Sanlam

A man is trying to answer several phone calls at the same time in an office because he plays several roles by himself. At one instance he uses a female voice, probably because he thinks is doing a woman's job. A voice over says people should not do too many roles by themselves but they should hire Nexus Financial Solution from Sanlam to help them handle business matters such as paying insurance and returning taxes.

10. Bradlows furniture

A carpenter is in a workshop. He is explaining that Bradlows furniture is different from others because it starts with a perfect finish and gives meticulous attention to detail.

11. Speedy services couriers

A courier man deliverers a parcel containing two balls of wool to an excited girl. However, she is disappointed with the parcel because she was expecting something more exciting than it. A voice over tells people to spend more on what they send than on how they send it.

12. Omo Multi Active washing powder

A boy is picking worms at a stream. He puts them in the pocket of his pair of shorts and soils it. A scientist is mixing chemicals in a laboratory. A voice over says the things that children do are important for their future. Without stains there is no learning.

13. Body on Tap hair shampoo.

A salesman is promoting the new Body on Tap hair shampoo on a street. He convinces a female client that it is a good hair shampoo. Finally he takes the client to a hair saloon where he washes her hair. The client is amused.

14. Strepsils tablets.

A teacher is in a classroom alone. She tries to eat an apple but it bites on her throat as if it has thorns on its surface. She picks Strepsils tablets from the drawer and takes it. She feels better.

15. Genesis Vacuum cleaner

A salesperson/demonstrator is teaching a woman in her home how to use a new Genesis Vacuum cleaner which uses steam and takes away dust from furniture, curtains, mattresses etc. The woman sits on her feet and pays attention to the demonstrator like a small child. The woman understands how the machine works and easily puts it back together.

16. Edgars (featuring an African manager)

A buying manager for Edgars by the name of Sponky Lontsoe is walking down a street of a poor township where he grew up. He says he was the first person in his family to obtain a degree. He thanks Edgars for inspiring him to make a difference. An Edgars logo appears on the screen to conclude the advertisement.

17. Herbal Essences Hair Shampoo.

People are tlying on a plane. A stewardess is serving them drinks. A female passenger goes to the loo where she washes her hair with Herbal Essences Hair Shampoo. She exclaims that she likes the shampoo. Her voice is heard through the intercom. Other passengers and the stewardess are taken by surprised by the noise that she makes which sounds like someone is having sex. An excited woman tells her that she would be happy to use the shampoo too.

18. Senzani

Former Miss South Africa, Kerishnie Neicker is in the company of her princesses before a close up of her face appears on the screen. Then people's faces are shown the way they appeared before and after using Senzani. A diagram of the skin is used to illustrate how the product rejuvenates the skin to make it look young and beautiful. Then cosmetic surgeons who created Senzani are shown in an operating theatre. Before and after photographs of four women are shown to the audience again.

19 Absa Business

Young people are explaining their dreams about the future. One says she dreams about buying a home for her family. A nother one dreams about walking on the beach. Still more, another one dreams about having a meal with her family. Someone else thinks it would be nice to have a nice home where he would be able to watch the sunset. A student wants to drive in the mountains and the valleys. Someone say he wants to start

his own business and all he needs is someone who can believe in him. An Absa employee says that one has to have faith in people. The Absa employee is then shown at work. A voice over summarises the dreams of the young people by saying that all people need the same things out of life.

20. Black label

A mountain is about to fall into a sea. A small civil engineering company has been contracted to prevent this from happening. An all-male team of construction workers who have strong muscles tirelessly work together to achieve this goal. They use both machines and physical labour and they succeed. It is announced that the road is open. The men rejoice and refresh themselves with Black Label beer on the seashore.

21. Harpic Toilet Cleaner.

A saleslady/demonstrator is promoting Harpic Cleaner. She is walking while speaking on a microphone telling the audience that she is going to give a surprise visit to a potential customer. The customer let her into her home where after a short chat they go to the toilet to remove stains using Harpic Cleaner. The saleslady says, "it's not clean until it's Harpic clean".

22. Anglo-America

A male nurse appears on screen in the company of his three female colleagues. He turns around and proudly declares that he is a 'sister'. A voice over says people have got to love South Africa and Anglo American does.

23. Vicks Vapo Rub

A receptionist is failing to speak audibly on the phone because she has blocked nose. She reaches out for her handbag and takes out Vicks Vapo Rub, which she rubs in front of her nose. She recovers from the problem, and is able to speak on the phone with a clear voice.

24. KFC Cheese Fiesta.

A young man has bought KFC Cheese Fiesta burger. He cannot wait to eat it so he finds himself parking his car at a prohibited place. A fierce-looking policeman on a motorbike confronts him. The young man feels guilty. A voiceover comments that with Cheese Fiesta burger one cannot help it but feel guilty.

25. Head and Shoulders Anti-dandruff cream.

A young lady is walking on the corridor. One button falls from a blouse that she is wearing. Then her handbag falls down, spilling contents on the floor. She complains that when she has dandruff everything falls apart. Then she goes to the hair saloon where professional stylist Giuseppe Lorusso washes her hair with Head and Shoulders Anti-dandruff cream. The young lady says, now she is ready to face the world with confidence.

26. Sunlight Auto Powder

A couple visits a Gynaecologist. For some reason the doctor left the couple alone in the examination room. The couple is anxious to know the sex of the foetus so they start playing around with the doctor's equipment. Suddenly, the doctor comes in and asks if they want to know the sex of the foetus. The scanner first shows that it's a boy. The couple is excited. But the doctor goes on to tell them that there is also a sister and brother. The couple are shocked. The father to be is shown putting Sunlight Auto Powder in a washing machine at home and the voice over says that Sunlight Auto Powder washes three times more than regular powders.

27. Med-Lemon Hot Cold Fighter.

A herbalist is attending to a patient suffering from a cold. He lives the patient in the consultation room and goes to a room where he keeps his medicine. The patient thinks he is going to collect some traditional herbal concoction for him. However, the herbalist pours the contents of Med-lemon into a glass of water before putting them in a gourd. He tells the patient to drink right there and then to have fast relief. Outside there is a long queue waiting to be treated.

28. Soul Food (Chicken-Licken)

Two young ladies have heads that are joined together on the sides. They request a doctor to separate their heads because they are tired of sharing. The doctor takes ex-ray photographs and tries to separate them using a comb. Then he decides to give each one of them a pack of chicken-likens to eat. Suddenly, their heads get separated and they are excited about it.

29. Vics Actu-Plus Cough Syrup

A woman is selling green corn on a township street. She is struggling to advertise her goods verbally properly because she has a bad cough. A young woman who wants to buy the corn offers her Vics Actu-Plus Cough Syrup. She takes it and her voice clears up. She is able to advertise her corn like she wanted.

30. Metropolitan

The advert shows how people spend the day as they engage in different activities. It is a morning. One man is ironing clothes while another is kneading dough. A car is moving and the voiceover asks whether it will go to a street or avenue. A man in a Wilson hat raises his head as he prepares to go to work. A woman rises from her bed. People are walking along a railway line with light torches in their hands. A man in pyjamas is standing outside a house. A girl is eating breakfast while a woman is talking a bath in a tub. Another woman is arranging chairs in a room. The man wearing a Wilson hat is on a train, going to work. People are getting off the train. The words, "never stop believing: Together We Can" appear on screen.

31. Colgate Maximum Cavity Protection

A teacher is explaining to children how Colgate Maximum Cavity Protection works. She uses two shells to make an illustration. She hits the two shells against each other. The shell that represents a tooth that is washed by Colgate Maximum Cavity Protection breaks the other one. The children are excited and they invite her to join them in their world campaign against cavities.

32. Shell

A man who works as a community developer is holding a bead in his hand. He is saying that some people think the bead is a small useless object but he thinks that when tied together with other beads it makes a different story. A voice over says that some people think that the man reads much into little things but he is involved in sustainable development projects that helped to set up beading, gardening and baking projects. Thereafter, the man is shown driving to various places where he mingles with the beneficiaries of the projects as they engage in project work. A voice over says all this is possible due to the help of Shell Oil Company.

33. Yellow Pages

A technician who runs a shop that repairs car radiators is busy doing some work in the shop. Near his shop a woman's car is overheating and she need to call Bob's radiators. Unknowingly she goes to the radiator shop to ask for yellow pages. The technician gives it to her without giving her reasonable attention. The woman calls Bob's radiators as she walks out of the shop. The technician realises that he is losing a business opportunity and tries to stop the woman from leaving. However, the woman drives away. Words which appear on screen say that, "you cannot afford to be outside the yellow pages".

34. Visa Electronic Card.

A man is running a relay race. As he wants to hand over the piece of wood to his colleague a dog comes and takes it away from him. It firmly grips it between its teeth. The man goes to a shop where he buys a bone for the dog using a Visa electronic card. The dog exchanges the piece of wood with the bone. A voiceover says one can win a trip to the Olympic Games in Athens using a Visa Electronic card.

35. Panasonic Electronic Equipment: Ideas for Life

A voiceover introduces an office and business machine that is used for faxing, emailing, scanning and printing. Then business executives walk and work at an airport. Some are in an office while others are discussing business on a plane and are able to connect themselves with the world using computerised Panasonic equipment. The advert also shows airport security using Panasonic equipment.

36. Polka Internet and Email

A man is repairing a car and his friend is telling him about having a lot of things including Internet and E-Mail facilities. The friend is surprised to learn that he already has an E-mail and Internet-connection. When he tells him that he subscribes to Polka the friend is confused. He thinks that Polka is a name of a person hence he asks 'Polka's who?'. The technician explains to him what Polka is and how much they charge per month.

37. KFC Streetwise Two:

An elderly man leaves his rural home for town. Some farm labourers wave to him as he walks his long journey. When he arrives in town he goes straight to KFC where he eats Streetwise Two and eat it happily.

38. Polka Internet and E-mail

Two young women are chatting to each other in a beauty saloon. One is a stylist while the other is customer. The stylist asks the client how her daughter is doing. The client answers that she is doing well, and that she has just discovered the inter-net. The stylist is surprised to here this and that it costs so little per month. She wants to know who is offering this reasonably cheap Internet and email service. To her amazement she is told that it is Polka Email and Internet.

39. Windhoek Larger

The advertisement plays a song that says, "it is good to be a man" in the background as different pictures appear on screen. First, a designer is dressing up a man. A young man is repairing an electric appliance. A man is sawing wood and he gets tired. A man is shaving beard. A man is playing with a toy car that is remotely controlled. A group of young men is passing out urine on a roadside while their minibus is packed on the roadside. People are playing at beach. People are dancing to music played by a live band. People are drinking the Windhoek Larger.

40. Pick and Pay shopping

People are shopping at a Pick N Pay shop. A baker is serving a customer who is carrying a child.

41. Albany Bread.

Three young boys cycle to Corner Bakery which is situated at a street corner. They buy long rod-shaped bread that has grooves around it. However, they do not eat it. Instead they use it as wickets and eat Albany Bread.

42. First National Bank

Two gentlemen are discussing a business growth plan. They want to raise poultry. One man illustrates his ideas using a chicken which is shown doing unusual things such as lifting a heavy weight on its feet as if it was a person doing exercising at the gym.

43. Remedy Blue Cream

A man is explaining the use and power of Remedy Blue Cream. People from different professions explain the physical pain that they were going through before they started using Remedy Blue. For example, a Life Business coach was experiencing pain from the shoulders to the neck. A medical distributor was suffering from pain in the face. Each one of them says that the cream has made a difference in their life.

44. Post office (Letters and Cards)

A mailman cycles to a lonely home in a rural area to deliver mail. The woman of the house observes him through a window and prepares to meet him. She offers him a cup of tea, which he accepts. They look at each other in admiration. The man cycles away and leaves fond memories on the mind of the woman. A voiceover encourages people to write and post letters and cards because they help express what people feel about others.

45. Nashua Mobile

A woman goes to a cell phone shop. She tells the salesperson that she is looking for a cell phone. He tells her that they have one cell phone that comes in one colour and is connected to one network. She is shocked to her that she has no opportunity to choose the type of cell-phone and network that she likes. A man who through out the conversation was repairing something on the ceiling of the shop falls off a ladder upon hearing that people have no right to choose what they want from the shop. A voiceover promotes a variety of cell phones sold by Nashua Mobile shops.

46. MTN Airtime Competition

A taxi driver goes to buy MTN airtime from a moderate shop where a saleslady welcomes him with a big smile. As he loads the airtime into his cell phone pictures of people who have won prizes from the Thathi Zak competition appear on the screen. As the driver is about to leave the shop another driver asks him to buy the airtime for him. A voiceover says people should watch the Thathi Zak game show for more.

47. Cash Crusaders

A man is playing a game on television while seated on a couch. A voice over says he could be sitting on money right now because in his garage he is keeping lots of household items that he does not use at all. The young man goes to the garage and picks a television set, which he sells happily at a Cash Converters Shop.

48. Surf Excel Washing Powder.

A beautiful young woman gets out of bed and irons a beautiful dress that she washed with Surf Excel. She gets dressed up looks herself into a mirror before leaving her home. Then she catwalks down a street, looking gorgeous. She attracts the attention of many passers-by including a group of bricklayers who are travelling on a backie to a building site. She follows them there. One of the builders hands over his building instrument and she uses it spread the mortar on the wall as if she want to build. All the bricklayers are perplexed by her action.

49. Nescafe Classic

A family is having breakfast at home. People are on an escalator. A group of women is getting dressed up for a wedding. People are travelling on a minibus taxi. People are attending a presentation in a room. Three people are shown drinking Nescafe classic one after another.

50. Pick 'n Pay (The Nation on the Move)

A man is playing with a baby who is learning to walk. He lets her go. People's legs and feet wearing shoes appear on the screen. People are casting ballots. Images of the late HIV/AIDS activist, Nkosi Johnston, appear on the screen. A farmer owner and his manager are in a maize field. People are walking on a street. Blacks and Whites are dancing an African dance together. Africans are dancing a traditional dance. Children are throwing toy aeroplanes into the sky and run after them. Children are flying a kite. A man is running a bicycle repair shop on a roadside. He waves to a Pick N Pay truck driver. The man carries up the child who is learning to walk.

N.B. Throughout a voiceover highlights some of the major steps that South Africa has taken to consolidate its ten-year-old democracy. It likens them to giant steps of a child who is learning to walk.

51. Woods Cough Syrup

A woman visits a Sangoma to collect traditional medicine from a traditional healer because her husband and children are suffering from cough. She mixes the concoction ready to dispensing to them. However, they do not want to take it because it has a bitter test. An elderly woman asks tells the wife that when she was advising her to buy traditional medicine she did not mean the traditional concoction but Woods Great Peppermint cough syrup, which she gives to her. The patients, starting with the husband are happy to take it.

52. Bradlows Audio-visual Equipment.

A technician is fixing audio-visual equipment in a workshop and he recommends that the electric appliances that Bradlows shops sell are good because they receive the attention that they deserve when they are being manufactured.

53. DSTV (Get Used to Choice)

A steward is serving food to passengers on a plane. He asks every passenger to choose between beef and chicken. He then comes to a passenger who has a remote control in his hands. Whenever he presses a button different people offering a different type of food appears on the plane. Then the words, "Get used to Choice" appear on the screen followed by a DSTV logo.

54. Ten years of Democracy

Two girls are dancing to a drum beat ask they clap each other's hands. A boy is playing on a street. A team of barbers is shaving the hair of their client as a street vendor tries to sell them combs etc. A man's sits down and types in something into a laptop. A man runs to a building site with pieces of wire for making concrete structures. Three engineers are looking at the plan of a building at a construction site. A man is making shoes while another man and a woman are knitting something manually. The two dancing girls appear on the screen again.

Appendix C

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MICRO-THESAURUS 10

OCCUPATIONS (ILO CATEGORIES)

The purpose of this list is to record occupations held by persons according to a commonly used international classification system.

This list is based on "Supporting Document H: List of Occupations".¹

This list has been adapted from the *International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88)*.² This standard of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) is widely used by various national governmental bodies (Ministry of Labour, Statistical Office) in developing their Standard Classification of Occupations.

The original codes from the Supporting Document are included in the column *1st ed. Code*. The *Source Code* in the fourth column is the code used in the *International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88)*.

This is a hierarchical list with four levels, as described in Rule No. 3 in the *Introduction*.

This Micro-thesaurus is used for field **922 Occupation (ILO Categories)** in the *Person* format

Groups wishing to record occupations according to their own list can use field **923 Local Term for Occupation** in the *Person* format. Guidelines for compiling such a list and a sample Micro-thesaurus can be found in this volume, as *Micro-thesaurus 64: Local Terms for Occupations*.

CODE	TERM	1ST ED. CODE	SOURCE CODE
01	Legislators, senior officials and managers	.1	11
01 01	Legislators and senior officials	.11	111
01 01 01	Legislators	.111	1110
01 01 02	Senior government officials	.112	112
01 01 03	Traditional chiefs and heads of villages	.113	112
01 01 04	Senior officials of special-interest organisations	.114	114
01 01 04 01	Senior officials of political party organisations	.1141	1141
01 01 04 02	Senior officials of economic-interest	.1142	1142

	organisations		
01 01 04 03	Senior officials of humanitarian organisations	.1143	1143
01 02	Corporate managers	.12	12
01 02 01	Directors and chief executives		121
01 02 02	Production and operations department managers		122
01 02 03	Other department managers		123
01 03	General managers	.13	13
02	Professionals	.2	2
02 01	Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals	.21	21
02 01 01	Physicists, chemists and related professionals		211
02 01 02	Mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals		212
02 01 03	Computing professionals		213
02 01 04	Architects, engineers and related professionals		214
02 02	Life science and health professionals	.22	22
02 02 01	Life science professionals	.221	221
02 02 02	Health professionals (except nursing)	.222	222
02 02 03	Nursing and midwifery professionals (university trained)	.223	223
02 03	Teaching professionals	.23	231
02 03 01	College, university and higher education teaching professionals	.231	232
02 03 02	Secondary education teaching professionals	.232	233
02 03 03	Primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals	.233	234
02 03 04	Special education teaching professionals		235
02 03 90	Other teaching professionals		
02 90	Other professionals	.24	24
02 90 01	Business professionals	.241	241
02 90 02	Legal professionals	.242	242
02 90 02 01	Lawyers	.2421	2421
02 90 02 02	Judges	.2422	2422
02 90 03	Archivists, librarians and related information professionals	.243	243
02 90 04	Social and related science professionals	.244	244
02 90 04 01	Economists	.2441	2441
02 90 04 02	Sociologists, anthropologists and	.2442	2442

	related professionals		
02 90 04 03	Philosophers, historians and political scientists	.2443	2443
02 90 04 04	Philologists, translators and interpreters	.2444	2444
02 90 04 05	Psychologists	.2445	2445
02 90 04 06	Social work professionals	.2446	2446
02 90 05	Writers, creative and performing artists	.245	245
02 90 05 01	Authors, journalists and other writers	.2451	2451
02 90 05 02	Sculptors, painters and related artists	.2452	2452
02 90 05 03	Composers, musicians, and singers	.2453	2453
02 90 05 04	Choreographers and dancers	.2454	2454
02 90 05 05	Film, stage and related actors and directors	.2455	2455
02 90 06	Religious professionals	.246	246
03	Technicians and associate professionals	.3	3
03 01	Physical and engineering science associate professionals	.31	31
03 01 01	Physical and engineering science technicians		311
03 01 02	Computer associate professionals (such as computer assistants and computer equipment operators)	.311	312
03 01 03	Optical and electronic equipment controllers	.312	313
03 01 03 01	Photographers and audio-visual recording equipment controllers	.3121	3131
03 01 03 02	Broadcasting and telecommunications equipment controllers	.3122	3132
03 01 04	Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians	.314	314
03 01 05	Safety and quality inspectors	.315	315
03 02	Life science and health associate professionals	.32	32
03 02 01	Life science technicians and related associate professionals		321
03 02 02	Modern health associate professionals (except nursing)	.321	322
03 02 03	Nursing and midwifery associate professionals	.322	323
03 02 04	Traditional medicine practitioners and faith healers	.323	324
03 03	Teaching associate professionals	.33	33
03 03 01	Primary education teaching associate		331

	professionals		
03 03 02	Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals		332
03 03 03	Special education teaching associate professionals		333
03 03 04	Other teaching associate professionals		334
03 04	Paid workers in special interest organisations	.35	
03 04 01	Paid workers in political organisation	.351	
03 04 02	Paid workers in disarmament organisation	.352	
03 04 03	Paid workers in environmental organisation	.353	
03 04 04	Paid workers in human rights organisation	.354	
03 04 05	Paid workers in peace organisation	.355	
03 04 06	Paid workers in union	.356	
03 04 07	Paid workers in women's issues organisation	.357	
03 04 08	Non-ordained religious associate professionals and church workers	.358	
03 04 09	Paid social workers	.359	
03 04 10	Paid community workers	.360	
03 90	Other associate professionals	.34	34
03 90 01	Finance and sales associate professionals		341
03 90 02	Business services agents and trade brokers		342
03 90 03	Administrative associate professionals		343
03 90 04	Customs, tax and related government associate professionals	.3411	344
03 90 05	Police inspectors and detectives	.5154	345
03 90 06	Social work associate professionals		346
03 90 07	Artistic, entertainment and sports associate professionals	.343	347
03 90 08	Religious associate professionals		348
04	Clerks	.4	4
04 01	Office clerks	.41	41
04 01 01	Secretaries and keyboard-operating clerks		411
04 01 02	Numerical clerks		412
04 01 03	Material-recording and transport clerks		413
04 01 04	Library, mail and related clerks		414
04 01 05	Other office clerks		419
04 02	Customer services clerks	.42	42
04 02 01	Cashiers, tellers and related clerks		421
04 02 02	Client information clerks		422

05	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	.5	5
05 01	Personal and protective services workers and guards	.51	51
05 01 01	Travel attendants and related workers (such as travel stewards, guides and transport conductors)	.511	511
05 01 02	Housekeeping and restaurant services workers	.512	512
05 01 03	Personal care workers	.513	513
05 01 04	Astrologers, fortune-tellers and related workers	.514	515
05 01 05	Other personal services workers		514
05 01 06	Protective services workers	.515	516
05 01 06 01	Fire-fighters	.5151	5161
05 01 06 02	Policemen; policewomen	.5152	5162
05 01 06 03	Prison guards	.5153	5163
05 01 06 90	Other protective services workers		5169
05 02	Salespersons, demonstrators and models	.52	52
05 02 01	Fashion and other models	.523	521
05 02 02	Shop salespersons and demonstrators		522
05 02 03	Stall and market salespersons	.522	523
06	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	.6	6
06 01	Market-oriented skilled agricultural and fishery producers	.61	61
06 01 01	Market gardeners and crop growers	.611	611
06 01 02	Market-oriented animal producers	.612	612
06 01 03	Market-oriented crop and animal producers		613
06 01 04	Forestry and related workers	.613	614
06 01 05	Fishery workers, hunters and trappers	.614	615
06 02	Subsistence agricultural and fishery workers	.62	62
07	Craft and related trades workers	.7	7
07 01	Extraction and building trades workers	.71	71
07 01 01	Miners, shotfirers, stonecutters and carvers		711
07 01 02	Building frame and related trades workers		712
07 01 03	Building finishers and related trades workers		713
07 01 04	Painters, building structure cleaners and related trades workers		714
07 02	Metal and machinery trades workers	.72	72
07 02 01	Metal moulders, welders, sheetmetal workers, structural-metal preparers, and related workers		721

07 02 02	Blacksmiths, tool-makers and related trades workers		722
07 02 03	Machinery mechanics and fitters		723
07 02 04	Electrical and electronic equipment mechanics and fitters		724
07 03	Precision, handicraft and related trades workers	.73	73
07 03 01	Precision workers in metal and related materials		731
07 03 02	Potters, glass-makers and related trades workers		732
07 03 03	Handicraft workers in wood, textile, leather and related materials		733
07 03 04	Printing and related trades workers	.731	734
07 04	Other craft and related trades workers	.74	74
07 04 01	Food processing and related trades workers		741
07 04 02	Wood treaters, cabinet-makers and related trades workers		742
07 04 03	Textile, garment and related trades workers		743
07 04 04	Pelt, leather and shoemaking trades workers		744
08	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	.8	8
08 01	Stationary-plant and related operators	.81	81
08 01 01	Mining- and mineral-processing plant operators		811
08 01 02	Metal-processing plant operators		812
08 01 03	Glass, ceramics and related plant operators		813
08 01 04	Wood-processing- and papermaking-plant operators		814
08 01 05	Chemical-processing plant operators		815
08 01 06	Power-production and related plant operators		816
08 01 07	Automated assembly-line and industrial-robot operators		817
08 02	Machine operators and assemblers		82
08 02 01	Metal- and mineral-products machine operators		821
08 02 02	Chemical-products machine operators		822
08 02 03	Rubber- and plastic-products machine operators		823
08 02 04	Wood-products machine operators		824
08 02 05	Printing-, binding- and paper-products machine operators		825

08 02 06	Textile-, fur- and leather-products machine operators		826
08 02 07	Food and related products machine operators		827
08 02 08	Assemblers		828
08 02 90	Other machine operators and assemblers		829
08 03	Drivers and mobile machinery operators	.83	83
08 03 01	Railway engine drivers and related workers	.831	831
08 03 02	Motor vehicle drivers	.832	832
08 03 02 01	Motorcycle drivers	.8321	8321
08 03 02 02	Car, taxi and light van drivers	.8322	8322
08 03 02 03	Bus and tram drivers	.8323	8323
08 03 02 04	Heavy truck drivers	.8324	8324
08 03 03	Agricultural, earthmoving, lifting and other mobile materials-handling equipment operators	.833	833
08 03 04	Ships' deck crews and related workers	.834	834
09	Elementary occupations	.9	9
09 01	Sales and services elementary occupations	.91	91
09 01 01	Street vendors and related workers	.911	911
09 01 01 01	Street food vendors	.9111	9111
09 01 01 02	Street vendors, other products	.9112	9112
09 01 01 03	Door-to-door and telephone salespersons	.9113	9113
09 01 02	Shoe cleaning and other street services	.912	912
09 01 03	Domestic helpers and cleaners, including domestic cooks	.913	913
09 01 03 01	Domestic helpers and cleaners	.9131	9131
09 01 03 02	Helpers and cleaners in offices and hotels and related workers	.9132	9132
09 01 03 03	Hand launderers and pressers	.9133	9133
09 01 04	Building caretakers, vehicle, window and related cleaners	.914	914
09 01 05	Messengers, watchers and security workers	.915	915
09 01 06	Garbage collectors and related labourers	.916	916
09 02	Agricultural, fishery and related labourers	.92	92
09 02 01	Agricultural, forestry and fishery labourers	.921	921
09 02 01 01	Farm-hands and labourers		
09 02 01 02	Forestry labourers	.9212	9212
09 02 01 03	Fishery, hunting and trapping labourers	.9213	9213

09 03	Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport	.93	93
09 03 01	Mining and construction labourers	.931	931
09 03 01 01	Mining and quarrying labourers	.9311	9311
09 03 01 02	Construction and maintenance labourers	.9312	9312
09 03 01 03	Building construction labourers	.9313	9313
09 03 02	Manufacturing labourers	.932	932
09 03 02 01	Assembling labourers		
09 03 02 02	Hand packers and other manufacturing labourers		
09 03 03	Transport labourers	.933	933
09 03 03 01	Hand and pedal vehicle drivers (such as rickshaw drivers)	.9332	9331
09 03 03 02	Drivers and operators of animal drawn vehicles and machinery	.9333	9332
09 03 03 03	Freight handlers	.9331	9333
09 09	Temporary day labourer	.99	
10	Armed forces	.0	0
10 01	Army	.01	
10 02	Navy	.02	
10 03	Air forces	.03	
10 04	Reserve forces	.04	
10 11	Guerrilla	.05	
90	Other	9.9	
90 01	Retired		
90 02	Unemployed	1.1	
90 03	Student	1.2	
90 03 01	University; post-secondary	1.21	
90 04	Beggar; street dweller	1.3	
90 05	Persons in prostitution		
90 06	Volunteer workers in special interest organisations	1.4	
90 06 01	Volunteer workers in political organisation	1.41	
90 06 02	Volunteer workers in disarmament organisation	1.42	
90 06 03	Volunteer workers in environmental organisation	1.43	
90 06 04	Volunteer workers in human rights organisation	1.44	
90 06 05	Volunteer workers in peace organisation	1.45	

90 06 06	Volunteer workers in union	1.46
99 06 07	Volunteer workers in co-operative	1.47
90 06 08	Volunteer women's issues workers	1.52
90 06 09	Non-ordained religious and church volunteer workers	1.48
90 06 10	Volunteer social workers	1.49
90 06 11	Volunteer community workers	1.51
99	Unknown	9.1

¹ Dueck, Judith, and Aída María Noval. "Supporting Document H: List of Occupations." *HURIDOCS Standard Formats: Supporting Documents*. Oslo: HURIDOCS, 1993. 123-127.

² International Labour Office. Bureau of Statistics. *International Standard Classification of Occupations: ISCO-88*. Geneva: International Labour Office. Bureau of Statistics, 1990.