

**THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS'
ADVERTISEMENTS IN GHANA: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Jeraline Koboe Tamba, do hereby declare that, except for the sources acknowledged herein, I have personally, under the supervision of Dr. Abena Animwaa Yeboah-Banin, undertaken the research as presented in this study.

.....

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(STUDENT)

I declare that I have supervised the student in undertaking the study herein submitted and I confirm that the student has my permission to present it for consideration for the award of the MA Communications Studies degree.

.....

DR. ABENA ANIMWAA YEBOAH-BANIN

(SUPERVISOR)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents and siblings whose footprints on the sands of time remind me I can make my life sublime.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Our end is the glory of the Lord” – Charles Wesley.

All praise to God who continues to guide my uphill climb.

To my supervisor, Dr. Abena Animwaa Yeboah-Banin, Department of Communication Studies, School of Information and Communication Studies, University of Ghana. Thank you for your guidance.

Without reserve I say a big thank you to my friends who encouraged me during this whole period, God bless you.

JERALINE KOBOE TAMBA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION/ BACKGROUND TO STUDY.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND TO STUDY	1
1.2 GENDER RELATIONS IN GHANA.....	3
1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT	5
1.4 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY	6
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	7
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	8
1.7 CONCEPT DEFINITIONS.....	9
CHAPTER TWO	11
UNDERPINNING THEORY: FRAME ANALYSIS THEORY	11
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	11
2.1 FRAME ANALYSIS	11
CHAPTER THREE	17
LITERATURE REVIEW	17

3.0 INTRODUCTION.....	17
3.1 DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT LITERATURE	17
CHAPTER FOUR.....	28
METHODOLOGY	28
4.0 INTRODUCTION.....	28
4.1 RESEARCH METHOD	28
4.2 POPULATION.....	28
4.3 SAMPLING	29
4.4 LIST OF ADS STUDIED	29
4.6 DATA COLLECTION.....	30
4.7 CODING INDICES.....	31
4.7.1 The Feminine Touch:	31
4.7.2 Ritualization of Subordination:	32
4.7.3 Licensed Withdrawal:	33
4.7.4 Infantilisation:	34
4.7.5 The Codes of Masculinity:	35
CHAPTER FIVE	37
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	37
5.0 INTRODUCTION.....	37
5.1 ANALYSIS OF FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR (LOCAL BRANDS’ ADVERTISEMENTS).....	37
5.1.1 AUNTIE MARY’S BABY GRIPE MIXTURE	37

5.1.2 ROYAL DRINKS	40
5.1.3 KEY SOAP GHANA @ 60	43
5.1.4 STOPKOF COUGH MIXTURE.....	45
5.2 ANALYSIS OF FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR (MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS)	47
5.2.1 MILO BASKETBALL.....	47
5.2.2 GEISHA SOAP WITH HONEY	49
5.2.3 CAMEL SAY YES TO LIFE.....	51
5.2.4 DETTOL EVEN TONE.....	53
5.3 COMPARISON OF LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADS IN THE FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR	55
5.4 ANALYSIS OF FINANCIAL SECTOR (LOCAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS)	59
5.4.1 FIDELITY BANK 10X RICHER PROMO.....	59
5.4.2 UNIBANK MOTOR INSURANCE	61
5.4.3 UT BANK SSNIT CONTRIBUTION	63
5.4.4 KASAPA FREE AT NIGHT CALLS, WRONG NUMBER	64
5.6 ANALYSIS OF FINANCIAL SECTOR (MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS).....	66
5.6.1 STANCHART HERE FOR GOOD	66
5.6.2 ACCESS BANK IPO.....	67
5.6.3 VODAFONE BUSINESS SOLUTIONS.....	68

5.6.4 ACCESS BANK BIG DEAL PROMO.....	70
5.7 COMPARISON OF LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS’ ADS IN THE FINANCIAL SECTOR.....	72
5.8 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN LOCAL BRANDS’ FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR ADS IN GHANA	76
5.9 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN MULTINATIONAL BRANDS’ FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR ADS IN GHANA.....	78
5.10 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN LOCAL BRANDS’ FINANCIAL SECTOR ADS IN GHANA.....	80
5.11 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN MULTINATIONAL BRANDS’ FINANCIAL SECTOR ADS IN GHANA	81
5.12 COMPARISON OF THEMES IDENTIFIED IN LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS’ ADS	83
5.13 FINDINGS	84
CHAPTER SIX	89
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	89
6.0 INTRODUCTION.....	89
6.1 STUDY SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	89
6.2 LIMITATIONS	92
REFERENCES.....	i

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to examine the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' advertisements in Ghana while drawing a comparison between the two.

The study is underpinned by the frame analysis theory and uses qualitative content analysis to determine the portrayal of women in advertisements shown on Ghanaian television between 2011-2016. Literature suggests that advertisers enlist social frames in ads so that their audience can relate to the message of the ad and identify with its content. Using five coding indices from Goffman 1979, this study finds that there is minimum record of feminine touch, infantilisation, licensed withdrawal, ritualization of subordination and codes of masculinity. These five categories according to Goffman (1979) help uncover the disparities in gender portrayals in advertisements.

The study also uncovered some themes which revealed that local brands' advertisements more than multinational ones tend to portray women in domestic roles in the food and healthcare sector. Whereas, with fewer appearances in the financial sector, women in local brands' ads are presented as consumers rather than players, but multinational ads in that sector draw a better picture of women as players in the sector.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION/ BACKGROUND TO STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives precursory information on the study undertaken and explains the framework of the research.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO STUDY

Advertising is said to reflect societies' realities meaning (Slachmuisjlder, 2000). Whatever we see in advertisements is the social reality of the context in which the advertisement is being shown (Slachmuisjlder, 2000). This means, it is easier for audiences to identify with the content of the ad and therefore patronize or consider patronising the product or service. Thus, advertisements can be said to be a medium for socialization.

Advertisements come through different media: radio, television, newspaper, new media. For the purposes of this dissertation, we look at television advertisements because of the advantages it gives by the use of video, audio and text in portraying situations, thus giving a better measure to evaluate how reality is portrayed (Soley & Reid, 1983; Moschis & Moore, 1982; Butler, 1991; Gerber et al., 2014).

Research suggests that over time exposure to television content has the ability to affect and influence people's perceptions of reality. The more one is exposed to television content, which includes advertisements, the more the representations in these ads appear real to the viewer and thereby influence what the person does or how they act in the real world (Gebner et al., 1976).

Advertisements serve as content for television. Flowing from the logic of the preceding argument, this means that when a viewer is exposed to advertisements on television, a

possibility exists for what is presented in the ads to influence how that viewer perceives reality. Because advertisements are a major source of funding for the media, ads will always be around and the influence of ads on the perceptions of social reality of its audiences cannot be undermined (Gill, 2003).

Lazier-Smith (1989) compares the influence of advertising to that of education and organized religion. Given that education and organized religion socialize individuals, this means advertising plays a major role in shaping people's views on reality.

Advertisements make use of male and female actors to send across the message of a brand or service. The growing rhetoric on how women are portrayed in various forms of media therefore gives room for the content of television advertisements to be scrutinized to determine what the portrayal of women is in that media form.

The basic claim made by research in this area is that over time exposure to advertisements can influence views and philosophies on gender roles in societies (Hovland et al., 2005).

In the Ghanaian context, findings of research on gender in television advertisements show that men are portrayed in superior and expert roles as compared to women (Addy, 2006; Tsegah, 2009). This is in spite of broadcasting guidelines requiring broadcasters and advertisers to avoid publishing content that promotes stereotypes or in any way denigrates any individual or group (National Media Commission, 2010).

Literature also suggests that there is a relationship between role assignment and product category where particular products are assigned to specific people because of their gender (Tsegah, 2009; Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009). For instance, women are found to feature predominantly in ads promoting skin-care products and domestic products, whereas men are used in formal occupational settings, for products that communicate power and assertiveness (Gill, 2003; Fedorenko, 2015).

In looking at advertising and gender issues in a country, it is worth noting that there may exist both advertisers of local brands and advertisers of multinational brands. In 2010, Ghana obtained the status of a middle income country. What this has meant is that the country has become more attractive to foreign investors, who have brought their brands onto the Ghanaian market (Nketiah-Amponsah, 2014; MacDonald, 2011). To compete with local brands of the same categories, these multinational brands have to advertise their products. In so doing, research has shown that multinational brands do either of two things: First, multinational brands who want to gain leverage in a country tend to adopt the way advertisers of local brands represent issues and people in their ads (Keegan, 1970; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000). The assumption here is that the frames used by advertisers of local brands in their ads are copied by advertisers of multinational brands so as to fit into the trend. By extension it can be said that if the frames used by advertisers of local brands in their ads portray women in a particular manner, the same will be reflected in ads of multinational brands. The second option takes into account feminism. Research suggests that when multinational brands from countries with a long history of feminism come into a local context, they tend to be more sensitive to the portrayal of women in their ads (Chia-When & Baldwin, 2004). This means that notwithstanding how local brands' ads portray women, ads of multinational brands, based on the country of origin's history of feminism, will be more sensitive and portray women more favourably.

1.2 GENDER RELATIONS IN GHANA

Gender relations in Ghana look at the social relationship between men and women in Ghana, that is, their social status and the roles that define them (Akotia, 1999). The Ghanaian society has typically been characterized as patriarchal (Agadjanian & Ezech, 2000; Baden, Green, Otoo-Oyortey & Peasgood, 1994). This means that men enjoy more privileges in most

influential sectors like education, the economy, the media and even the home. Women in Ghana have for many years been placed in the shadow of men. This is to say the more assertive leadership roles in society are consciously or unconsciously reserved for men.

These disparities in gender relations in Ghana have however, seen some changes over the years. The glass ceiling that relegated women to the background and placed them in the shadow of men has been broken with more women venturing into male-dominated spaces (Baden et al., 1994; Yeboah & Thompson, 2013). This is mostly the case in the southern part of the country.

Yet, in the northern part of the country, patriarchal relations are still quite profound. This is particularly characterized by the strong patriarchal family structures coupled with women's lack of influence in decision making (Baden et al., 1994).

Literature suggests that the differences that exist between the gender relations in the south and north of Ghana are informed principally by the kinship systems in these areas (Agadjanian & Ezeh, 2000; Baden et al., 1994; Akotia, 1999). Ethnic groups in the north are predominantly patrilineal in inheritance whereas the south has matrilineal and in some cases (Ga) anomalous lines of inheritance. These kinship structures are said to have different implications for access to resources and decision making power by gender (Agadjanian & Ezeh, 2000; Baden et al., 1994; Akotia, 1999).

Gender relations in Ghana have improved a great deal because of education and globalization. Yet, the unequal distribution of resources (education in particular) in addition to the fact that Ghana remains a traditional country, could be said to influence gender relations in the country.

This is reflected in the gender relations and portrayals across various aspects of the social, political and economic spectrum of the country. This includes the media as an economic industry.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Advertising uses simple messages to send across information to viewers in order to get them to patronize a product or service. In so doing, some gender stereotypes are employed and these have been argued as having the potential to affect perceptions on the role of men and women in society (Hovland et al., 2005; Tsegah, 2009). The representations of women in ads have been described as predominantly unrealistic, unbalanced and limited in not taking into consideration the diverse roles women play in society (Addy, 2006; Lindner, 2004; Gill, 2007). Modernity and globalization have contributed to changes in many conservative and closed societies where hitherto, women were suppressed and not allowed to play certain roles, work in certain places, dress in a certain manner et cetera. The change in the societal norm which was precipitated by industrialization, advocacy, education and globalization has meant that women can venture into spaces previously considered male-dominated (Gill, 2007).

Also, globalization has meant diversity of economies and trans border business transactions. Many multinational companies expand their business to countries whose economies they consider can accommodate and sustain their financial mobility (Keegan, 1970).

The presence of these multinational corporations means competition for local businesses. Both local and multinational companies tend to advertise their brands to their potential patrons in order to boost sales. Since advertising, most of the time, uses human actors to send across the brands' messages it is prudent to look into how this all-so-subtle but effective means of socialization is representing women (Addy, 2006; Tsegah, 2009).

Whereas research has looked at the portrayal of women in ads in Ghana, finding literature on a comparative analysis of ads of local brands and those of multinational brands which seeks to uncover parallels in how they each portray gender roles of women in particular proved difficult. Furthermore, product category has been posited to have implications for gender role portrayals in ads such that women appear principally in ads that promote domestic and beauty products (Gill, 2007; Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009). Yet, no such evidence seems to have been explored in Ghana. With these in mind, this study examines women's portrayal in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana to gauge the extent of similarity and difference, and to explore the implications of product type for such portrayals.

It is therefore based on the need for a comparative analysis of women's portrayal in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana and the need to explore if product category determines gender role portrayals in these ads that the current study was undertaken.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

To address the problem identified, the objectives of this study are:

- To find out how women are portrayed in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana and to determine if there are differences in the portrayal of women in these ads.
- To examine if product category determines the nature of portrayal of women in these advertisements

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To address the objectives of the study the following research questions were posed;

- RQ1: How do local brands' ads and multinational brands' ads portray women?

The argument is made by Gilly (1988) that the portrayal of men and women in advertisements are used to accentuate the differences between sexes. This, Gilly argues is based on societal orientation despite the fact that humans innately have the ability to tell apart gender differences of masculinity and femininity. This argument presupposes that beyond the natural differentiation of sexes, roles assigned to male or female are a societal phenomenon and since advertisements are said to replicate this social phenomenon, this question seeks to find out what roles women and men are assigned in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana.

- RQ2: In what ways does the product category shape how women are portrayed in local and multinational ads?

Investigations into the subject of gender and advertising are more or less incomplete without the consideration of product category and role-assignment. Literature suggests that there is a relationship between role assignment and product category where particular products are assigned to specific people because of their gender (Tsegah, 2009; Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009). Women are found to feature predominantly in ads promoting skin-care products and domestic products, whereas men are used in formal occupational settings, in ads to sell products that communicate power and assertiveness (Gill, 2003; Fedorenko, 2015). This question seeks to find out if the role definition for women in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana is determined by the product type.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Although a substantial amount of research has been conducted on the portrayal of women in ads, there is hardly enough available literature where the Ghanaian advertising industry is concerned. Scholarship presents a limited scope of research on the subject (Addy, 2006; Tsegah, 2009) and industry research is even more limited in that regard, to the extent that, the most accessible document from industry on the subject is the 2005 Ghana All Media and Products Survey (GAMPS). Whereas there is some data available from media watchers like the Ghana Media Monitoring Project on the portrayal of women, the information gathered from such projects generally reflect what is seen in the news. Advertisements are hardly considered.

Beyond looking at the portrayal of women in advertisements in Ghana, there is the need for a comparative consideration of how women are portrayed in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana. This will give researchers and players in the advertising industry in Ghana an idea of how gender is portrayed in that industry and present an opportunity for further investigations on the subject matter. Also, the fact that discourse on advertising and gender issues is gaining momentum on the global front (Gill, 2007), presents a need for the Ghanaian reality to be investigated.

The gap as discussed above must be filled to understand better what the situation is in the Ghanaian context. This study therefore presents as significance the following:

It provides empirical evidence on the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana.

It serves as a source of information for advertisers and or agencies on their choices in their representations in ads.

1.7 CONCEPT DEFINITIONS

Advertisement	An advertisement for the purposes of this study refers to any form of televised information on commercial goods and services addressed to an audience with the intention of influencing their responses (Richards & Curran, 2002).
Local brands' advertisement	Local brands' advertisement in this study defines an advertisement of a Ghanaian-owned brand shown on television in Ghana. It could use local language or English for verbal communication.
Multinational brands' advertisement	Multinational brands' advertisement defines an advertisement by a multinational brand shown on television in Ghana. It may or may not use Ghanaian characters.
Characters	A character in this study refers to a person who plays a role in the advertisements studied.
Women	A woman here refers to an identifiable adult human female. In some cases, however, younger females are classified as women since their characters may represent the situation of females generally.
Men	A man refers to an identifiable adult human male. In some cases younger males are considered men based on how their roles generally communicate the social situation of men.
Setting	Setting is used to refer to the location in which an advertisement is situated.
Gender	Gender in this study refers to the social and cultural characteristics that define one as being male or female

(Zimmerman & Dahlberg, 2008).

Voicer

Voicer refers to the voice actor who does voiceovers for the ads studied.

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERPINNING THEORY: FRAME ANALYSIS THEORY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the Frame Analysis theory which underpins this study. The frame analysis theory as propounded by Erving Goffman looks at frames individuals use to understand society.

2.1 FRAME ANALYSIS

“All the world’s a stage and all the men and women merely players; they have their exits and entrances; and one man in his time plays many parts; his acts being seven ages” William Shakespeare (*As You Like It*, Act II Scene VII, Jaques to Duke Senior).

As alluded to by Shakespeare’s character Jaques in his address to Duke Senior, society is a stage where men and women come to play defined roles. They read from a well-defined script at the end of which they bow out. The roles that actors play on stage are written for them to play, they more or less have little to no control over the turnout of the plot. Just like the actor’s script, advertisements are well written scripts with roles given to actors to play. These roles in advertisements are supposed to reflect what is seen in society, Goffman calls them frames (Goffman, 1974).

Advertisements are assumed to borrow social frames that resonate with audiences in order to sell products. This gives background to the discussion of Goffman’s 1974 frame analysis which serves as theoretical backing for this study. Individuals are born to be socialized into various roles including defined gender-based roles vis-a-vis the things he or she is expected to say, the way he or she must act in situations etc. It is these definitions of social situation and the way one is expected to view things that Goffman calls frame analysis. The socially predefined meanings of situations and the reactions to go with these definitions Goffman terms frames. They are lenses through which members of society must view the situations they encounter on a daily basis.

Frame analysis constitutes a well-defined way of viewing reality which defends the position that meanings, in everyday life, are the forecast of the embodiment of structure of our experiences. They may most effectively be dealt with in terms of the manner in which such experiences are framed and how they relate to, alter or annul other frames. Sociologist Frederic Jameson says of frame analysis “it is semiotic, not in its use of specialized semiotic terminology instruments, but rather through the correlation between its fundamental program—the invention of something like a grammar and a set of quasi syntactic abstractions for analyzing social life by the use of defined frames” (Jameson, 1976). In effect, frame analysis helps one view social life using existing social frames. Goffman considers the use of frames a way by which society typifies social custom, or in other words, reveals the latter by offering illustrations and examples of its basic rules (Jameson, 1976).

The theory argues that social life is laminated, a constitution of layers of activity, one laid on top of the other, each of which can be uncovered with this social analytic scheme. Goffman’s analysis is exemplified to the role that competent actors (members of society) undertake social episodes that are identifiable by a particular social group to whom these actors are communicating (Manning, 1977). That is, the audience must be able to recognise the frames that are communicated. In other words, what actors of a role do or say must be recognizable by other members of society because they share the same frames.

One of the most critical outcomes of Goffman’s research is the development of frame analysis and gender displays, which entails his deep focus on the subtleties of advertisements. According to Goffman, frame analysis involves gaining an understanding of meaning through the study of society and the way it is structured, or “framed” (Goffman, 1976). Gender displays refer to the conventionalized portrayals of the social construction of gender (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2014). Frame analysis was thus extended to the domain advertising by other researchers (Lawton, 2009), and for this study as well. Although multiple meanings

can be deduced from displays, advertisers seek to portray a singular frame and message. Many advertisers because of their focus on simplistic and easily understandable messages, fall back on singular and stereotypical gender displays. These in turn create a sort of ritual in which original gender relationships are continually distorted until they are generally accepted by society as the preferred frame or the new reality (Lawton, 2009). Goffman's famous analysis in his seminal essay *Gender Advertisements* set the backdrop for his subsequently popular work, *Frame Analysis* (1974). This provided further grounds for analysis on stereotypical portrayals and posturing in advertisements (Lawton, 2009).

The underlying assumption of the theory is that humans use frames to perceive and understand reality. According to Goffman, these frames help people manage impressions. This is to say social frames help individuals interpret what they see routinely so as to make meaning out of them and see them as the society in which they live sees them.

Goffman argues that advertisers enlist social frames in ads so that their audience can relate to the message of the ad and identify with its content. In other words, frames that are not new to target audience facilitates better reception of an ad's message than frames that are foreign to them.

This study selects some well-defined frames adopted from Goffman's *Gender and Advertisements* and analyzes the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana. Frame analysis gives a strong theoretical backing for this study because of its focus on society, its definition of the structured manner in which situations and people are viewed or framed. The theory admits that these frames are not innate but are learnt by social actors based on the context. The fact that frames are a part of social reality makes it easier for audiences to recognize what they see in advertisements. What this means for this study is that one is able to look at some defined frames and find whether they are used in some selected ads in Ghana and how that shows how women are portrayed in ads in Ghana. The theory

enables the identification and understanding of gender frames portrayed by advertisers in Ghana. This gives room for comparing ads of local brands and those of multinational brands.

The advantage of frame analysis as a theory in addressing gender issues is its consideration of society's structure and influence in people's rendition of what is expected. This usually ends up to the disadvantage of the group concerned. In other words, society is responsible for the stereotypes that some groups suffer. This is due to the predefined frames that members of a society are made to enlist in viewing or representing people and situations. It has been established in preceding discussions that advertisements are a medium of socialization. What this implies is that the social frames or defined roles that are scripted for the actors in ads have the capability of influencing viewers on how certain people or situations should be viewed or treated. The social stereotypes that groups suffer or face are an orchestration of their encounter with the norms of society. Trevino 2006 says of this:

[frame analysis makes] significant conceptual and practical contributions to understanding and dealing with pervasive forms of social disadvantage based specifically on mental illness, stigma, and gender. (Trevino, 2006, p. 2).

This study enlists frame analysis to consider the gender disadvantage or advantage in the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana.

For the purposes of this study, five out of seven of Goffman's (1979) coding categories for gender are used. These are feminine touch, ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, infantilisation and codes of masculinity defined below:

1. Feminine touch: this classification is used to describe what is considered a woman's touch. A woman's hands are seen just barely touching, holding, or caressing – never grasping, manipulating, or shaping. Goffman in his analysis claims that ads will

portray women as having a weak, shy, sensual grip as compared to their male counterparts who have firmer and assertive grip on things or persons they hold in an ad.

2. The Ritualisation of subordination: This is used to refer to the deference expressed through body position. This code talks about the fact that when a man and woman appear in an ad, the woman is always shown as subordinate to the man through the body posture she assumes. When the head or eye of a man is averted it is only in relation to a social, political, or intellectual superior, but when the eye or head of a woman is averted it is always in relation to whatever man is pictured with her.
3. Licensed withdrawal: Here, women are said to be withdrawn when in ads. She will always be shown in the background or shadow of a man; the item being advertised. This promotes the idea that the woman is not bold to be the focus of the ad.

Goffman in his explanation of licensed withdrawal argues that women more than men are pictured as withdrawing from traumatic and ordinary situations with gestures that convey remorse, fear, shyness, amusement. These gestures include head and eye aversion, hand covering the mouth, gazing intently into a mid-distance or at small object, using another person, often a man, as a barrier between themselves and the world.

4. Infantilisation: This code is used to describe the fact that in ads women are shown to be acting as girls that is they never grow up, whereas men act their age. It further suggests that younger boys act matured and grown up, whereas little girls and women act the same, like little children. This is evident in their clothes, hairstyles, and for this study, speech also. This code also speaks of the fact that while women and girls are being infantilized through child-like poses and other mannerisms, they are also

sexualized in that they are presented in sexually suggestive ways with, for instance, fingers in their mouth, and unfocused eyes.

5. The Codes of Masculinity: This looks at what the traditional ideals of masculinity are about, power, control, confidence, intimidation, independence, and activity. These ideals are embodied in masculine postures and facial expressions: men are typically shown in upright positions with hands in pockets or arms folded, looking prepared and assertive, with a direct gaze. These project power and confidence, sometimes bordering on outright menace and threat. According to (Jhally, 2010) in his analysis of Goffman's codes of masculinity, when exceptions to these masculine codes appear, men are often shown with women who are posed in even more subordinate postures to downplay the homoerotic nature of many of these images, as though to affirm that these are heterosexual men.

The other two, function ranking and relative size were not included in the analysis because it was observed that they were in one way or the other evident in the five that are considered.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the literatures that inform this study. The discussions here sought to compare literature and uncover the gap that made this study relevant at the time of undertaking the research.

3.1 DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Gender role portrayals correspond to general beliefs about sex-linked traits and roles, psychological characteristics and behaviours that describe men and women (Browne, 1998; Gill, 2007; Goffman, 1979). There is a fundamental misrepresentation of women in the media in general but these misrepresentations are even more evident in advertising where in spite of the numerous feminist criticisms on the subject, still present women in the shadows of a patriarchal world (Gill, 2003). Early studies on gender role portrayals in advertising placed special emphasis on the representation and comparison of work and non-work roles of men and women, where men were always found in the structured workplace and women shown involved in domestic chores which were not considered as work (Sullivan and O'Connor, 1988). Research suggests that there are fundamentally two representations of women in ads: the domestic woman or the sexualized woman. According to Gaye Tuchman (1975):

almost whoever she is, the media (including advertising) will represent a woman in one of two ways, in terms of her domestic roles and her sexual attractiveness. (Tuchman, 1975, p. 115).

Whereas there are readily available data on women's image in advertising in developed countries, there is a dearth of literature on the subject in developing countries. In Ghana, content analysis and conceptual analysis studies generally show the existence of strong stereotypes about women (Addy 2006; Tsegah, 2009). These portrayals in developing countries like Ghana, that have strong cultural gender-specific roles, are built focusing on motherhood, women protected by men, women devoted to home and nurturing (Olavarría, 2001). Such images of women in advertisements are mostly not representative of the current place of women in society. Trends have changed, globalization and education have led to intense advocacy for gender balance. In other cases, the need for a stronger workforce has led to the opening up of the workspace to encompass everyone who is legitimately qualified to work in any field, the women can have it all mantra also solidifies this assertion (Gill, 2003). This means that women are players in the diverse fields that there are, and advertising must be capable of representing reality as such. However, without caving in to the pressure of the new reality, advertisers present to their audiences a new woman who is a "sexually autonomous heterosexual young woman who plays with her sexual power and is forever 'up for it'" (Gill, 2003, p.3). The new image created of a woman is not less stereotypical than it was in the past decades, the only difference that ads nowadays present is a new woman who is supposedly in charge of her sexuality. What is portrayed is a woman patrolling her body in sexually suggestive clothes and using similar language. Where a woman is portrayed as home-maker or home keeper, she is presented as having attained fulfilment only because of her role in the household (Whelehan, 1995; Gill, 2003). Researchers concur that such representations are largely away from the actual reality, advertisers select what they believe will sell their products and services and present these marginal frames to their audiences without considering the socializing effect of these representations (Gill, 2003; Tsegah, 2009; Lawton, 2009; Slachmuislder, 2000). What's more, there are a lot other social sectors that

women feature in but ads do not show these sectors for the sole reason that such portrayals will not sell their products and services. For this reason, there is a deliberate exclusion of women's realities which could be more empowering and therefore breaking gender stereotypes (Gill, 2003).

In addition, there are different product categories relative to gender, in relation to the image of women an association of lower-priced products is observed, with a lower occupational status than men. Also, women tend to be depicted with less clothing (Uribe et al., 2007). Even though women are mostly not portrayed naked in ads in Ghana, this assertion is important where unfairness of representation is concerned. This is because in Ghana, the representation of the image of women is often established as unequal and unfair, and this damages and devalues women compared to men (Tsegah, 2009).

However, the portrayals have not all been negative (Tsegah, 2009). Some advertisements do exist in Ghana where women are seen as assertive, career women who are experts at what they do outside the home and in their work spaces (Tsegah, 2009). But such positive portrayals of women according to Tsegah (2009) and Addy (2006) are but a few.

Whereas there had been many studies on the issue of gender portrayals in advertisements, Goffman's 1979 *Gender Advertisements* is considered one of the most in-depth studies on the subject. The renowned sociologist's studies on human interactions and how it translates into advertising broadens the scope of understanding for the subject matter. Goffman studied aspects of everyday life and behaviours to understand the profound meaning and repercussion they have on individuals' self-presentation and creation of identities (Manning, 1992). These identities created by individuals or for the purposes of this study, advertisers, become the lens through which other members of society who are influenced by such agents of socialization view the facts and people. The massaged reality therefore becomes the new reality. What this

means is that when advertisements, which are socializing agents, manipulate reality, audiences with time and exposure to these ads tend to see these portrayals as the new reality.

According to Zimmerman and Dahlberg (2008):

Sex has been a constant companion in the media. Sex is everywhere, on prime time television programs, movies and music videos. It is rare to view an hour of television and not see a suggestively dressed or undressed female, whether in a program or commercial. Sexual imagery appears in magazine articles and advertisements. (Zimmerman & Dahlberg, 2008, p.2)

From the preceding, the argument that constant exposure to advertisements is capable of influencing people's views of reality is supported. Further evidence to this is provided still in Zimmerman and Dahlberg's study where they find that compared to women in 1960s to 1980s; women in the 1990s through to 2000s were a lot less concerned with the sexualisation, objectification and domestication of women. This was mainly because women in the latter era were unreservedly exposed to these portrayals on a daily basis and have therefore come to accept these images of a woman as the norm. Zimmerman and Dahlberg's study was conducted in 2008, for people in 2017 who are exposed to arguably more ads than when their study was conducted, this implies that the rate of influence these frames that ads portray have on our perception of reality is potentially higher.

Studies have shown that in a day people are averagely exposed to 3,000 ads (Kilbourne, 2000; Gill, 2008). If people are going to be exposed to such glut of advertisements, the effect this will have on how these people view reality cannot be underestimated. This is the reason why it is of interest to scholars to look at what the portrayals are in these ads, and for this study, the portrayal of women.

Goffman focuses on the underlying sexism in advertisements where ads make audiences believe their depictions of reality is actually how men and women behave and should be treated. Gornick 1979 puts it this way:

(advertisements) depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we think men and women behave (Gornick, 1979, p. 7).

He therefore considers advertisements as depictions of ideal, socially acceptable instances of masculinity and femininity in modern society. Goffman argued that the representation of people and what is supposed to be reality in advertisements is actually “a pseudo-reality that is better than real” (Goffman, 1979, p. 23). Yet, even though the gender representations that are viewed in advertisements may not be what is actually lived by men and women in real time, these advertisements provide social cues to men and women as to how they are expected to behave. This demonstrates that “gender differences in function and status not only carry over from the real world to the advertising world, but may find their purest expression there” (Kang, 1997, p. 983). This point is supported by Lena Slachmuis (2000), who in her study of advertising’s reflection of the transformation in gender representation in South African societies, concluded that gender portrayals that are broadcast in advertisements impact on all of a person’s sensibilities. This, regardless of whether one is the targeted consumer or not and this affects how one views social reality. This assertion is inherently disturbing given that people encounter advertisements intentionally or unintentionally on a daily basis.

In his review of commercial magazine advertisements, Goffman concentrated on observable features such as hands, eyes, and knees as well as gestures such as facial expressions, relative sizes and positioning of bodies or body parts, head-eye aversion, and finger biting and sucking. His focus on basic features of advertisements rather than overt sexuality enabled

Goffman to demonstrate the less obvious, yet clearly apparent disparities between men and women in advertisements.

In order to categorize his advertisements, Goffman employed a coding strategy that arranged the advertisements into the following seven categories: feminine touch, function ranking, ritualization of subordination, relative size, infantilisation, codes of masculinity and licensed withdrawal. The first category, feminine touch, describes the phenomenon of women who lightly or delicately touch objects or their own body parts in an unnatural way. The second category, function ranking, was created after Goffman noted the continued presence of women as subordinate to men within the family structure, the workforce, and nearly any other social arrangement. This relates to the third category, the ritualization of subordination, in which women adopt postures such as bashful arm or knee bends or lying down in order to indicate submission to men's authority and control. In the fourth category, relative size, women are often smaller than men as a way to demonstrate their delicateness and weaker emotional states. The fifth category, infantilisation, talks of the fact that women are presented in child-like poses and tend to speak like children. Girls and women are presented the same, giving off signs of immaturity, whereas men and even boys are projected as more matured and assertive. In addition to this, girls and women are sexualized. The sixth category, codes of masculinity, looks the presentation of men as confident, assertive, decision makers, protectors. All those traits that are traditionally considered masculine are covered under this, and the fact that they are more often than not attributed to men.

The seventh and final code, licensed withdrawal, describes women in advertisements who appear disoriented and psychologically removed from a social situation (Goffman, 1979).

Based on his coding system, Goffman recognized seven phenomena that were prevalent in his research:

1. Overwhelmingly a woman is taller than a man only when the man is her social inferior;

2. A woman's hands are seen just barely touching, holding, or caressing – never grasping, manipulating, or shaping;
3. When a photograph of men and women illustrates an instruction of some sort the man is always instructing the woman – even if the men and women are actually children (that is, a male child will be instructing a female child);
4. When an advertisement requires someone to sit or lie on a bed or a floor that someone is almost always a child or a woman, hardly ever a man;
5. When the head or eye of a man is averted it is only in relation to a social, political, or intellectual superior, but when the eye or head of a woman is averted it is always in relation to *whatever* man is pictured with her;
6. Women are repeatedly shown mentally drifting from the scene while in close physical touch with a male, their faces lost and dreamy, 'as though his aliveness to the surroundings and his readiness to cope were enough for both of them';
7. Concomitantly, women, much more than men, are pictured as psychologically lost or removed from a social situation that leaves one disoriented for action (Gornick, 1979, p. 7).

Goffman's work gives a background to studies on gender and advertisements generally. However, Milner and Collins (2000) observed that the case is true of gender representations varying based on the context under study. They argue that taking into consideration Hofstede's continuum on the gender of nations, depending on the classification of a country as either masculine or feminine the portrayals will vary, where masculine countries will use women to assert male dominance and promote the image of men. Milner and Collins' 2000 study revealed that advertisements that typically have stereotypical and traditional representations of women are those that will fall under masculine on Hofstede's continuum of the gender of nations.

Chyong-Ling and Jin-Tsann in 2009 conducted a comparative content analysis study to determine the difference in portrayal of Taiwanese women in domestic and foreign magazines. The authors observed that whereas women were generally portrayed as objects of recreation and for sex appeal either in a daring and upfront manner or in a shy and laid-back way, local advertisements showed more of such stereotypical portrayals as compared to foreign advertisements which showed women in more assertive, independent and daring roles. The stereotypical portrayals observed were predominantly linked to specific kinds of products including home-use products, body care and children's products. This was also found in the Ghanaian context in the works of Addy (2006) and Tsegah (2009). What this seems to suggest is that there could exist differences in the way local brands and foreign brands portray women for many reasons including the most common which is cultural orientation (Collin & Milner, 2000). This difference observed can be argued to have an effect on audiences as Slachmuislder (2000) suggests. Her argument is that what advertisements are capable of shaping views on reality which means if women are shown in a particular way in ads, one ends up seeing that portrayal as what women are and should be treated as. Chyong-Ling and Jin-Tsann also noted that due to feminist criticisms and scholarship, some of these negative portrayals are taking a positive turn towards more assertive and uplifting portrayals of women in Taiwan. According to Yeboah and Thompson (2013) the rise in feminism and the reality of women breaking the glass ceiling that previously existed in academia and industry (is lifting up the image of women in every social facet. This they say has influenced a positive turn towards the representation of women in ads. Chyong-Ling and Jin-Tsann's study sets the pace for this study to focus on the Ghanaian context. They however only considered magazines' ads; this leaves an array of possibilities to explore women's representations in other media forms. The present study explores women's portrayal in

television ads in Ghana. This study is relevant because there exist few data on the subject matter.

There are arguments made by researchers suggesting that advertisements have innate potential to influence the outlook of individuals on gender roles in societies. These arguments are not unfounded (Goffman, 1978; Hovland et al., 2005; Gill, 2007). Katharina Lindner (2004) reemphasizes the point made by previous scholars when she observes that:

advertisements often contain very subtle clues about gender roles and may operate as socializing agents on several levels. Because advertisements are publicly broadcast, the men and women portrayed are often perceived to represent the whole population, and men and women in the advertisements seem to accept these portrayed behaviours, thereby validating the stereotyped roles (Lindner, 2004, p. 409).

The point Lindner makes goes to buttress the need for critical analysis of modern advertisements to determine the nature of gender portrayals in them.

Some researchers have said that the representation of women as inadequate in advertisements is a way for advertisers and their agents to sell their products. They feed on the need of women to feel fulfilled either by deferring to the authority of a man or by buying, using the product, or acting the way the ads suggest (Lawton, 2009). Such ads therefore present the product being advertised as a cure to the inferiority and inappropriateness that women are acclaimed to have. The assumption that women are unfulfilled in the absence of a man or certain products can be said to be erroneous. This is because women are independent assertive members of society, capable of making rational decisions without focusing on the ‘frivolous’ things that advertising portrays it to be (Lawton, 2009). Where the products or services advertised are not ‘frivolous’, say in the case of household products, it is worth mentioning that with the dynamism of human societies, women are not the only ones who patronize household products or services.

But what is the rationale behind advertisers' portrayal of issues the way they do? According to Bloch and Richins (1992), the basic reason usually stated is the need for advertisers to sell their products and services. Advertisers run businesses and selling their products and services is an essential part of staying relevant in the market. Even if this means overlooking the gender implications of their actions. Bloch and Richins (1992) put it the best way when they say:

Many marketers ignore the feminist implications and concentrate on the convincing effect of advertising and the power of product image. Their focus is on how to blend female endorsement characteristics such as gentleness, elegance, sexiness, and perhaps even coquettishness with the optimal product image in order to maximize the amount of attention given to a product. (Bloch & Richins, 1992, p.5)

The effect of advertisers and marketers' decision to ignore the implications of their gender role portrayals in their ads could be consequential to the economic and social growth of society in that when women are defined in these ads to be incapable of working in certain places or holding certain positions, or taking certain decisions, or basically being unable to defend themselves in any way, then society is set back many decades. (Gill, 2008; Bloch & Richins, 1992).

While the discussion so far uncovers the fact that gender representations have generally not been in favour of women, a second look at Chyong-Ling and Jin-Tsann's 2009 study in Taiwan gives background to look at local and foreign advertisements in a specific context to determine how each group of advertisements portray women. For this study the focus is on the Ghanaian context. Research focused on cross-cultural context suggest that the role of women in advertisements differ by country, which may be due to the influences of socio-political, cultural and economic variables (Gill, 1988; Wiles et al., 1995; Razzouk, 2003; Zhang et al., 2009 Keegan 1970; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000). However, with globalisation

and multiplicity of both local and multinational brands on various markets there is the tendency of the observance of different kinds of gender portrayals in ads of brands of different origins (Keegan, 1970; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000).

Literature argues that the concept of standardization is not lost on brand marketers when they consider advertising in a foreign market (Ramarapu, Timmerman & Ramarapu, 2015). They argue that companies consider the bipolar orientations of globalization and localization to determine their strategies in international market places. A consideration of the place, people and product implications of the environment has a major influence on how a brand is going to be advertised to the indigenes of a market (Ramarapu et al., 2015; Wang, Goonasekera & Servaes, 2000). Standardization of advertisements has been attributed to the growing effect of globalization (Wang et al., 2000; Leslie, 2016). Researchers suggest that more and more markets are being synchronized such that a global culture is being created (Leslie; 2016, Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000). What this means is that advertisements are made in generic terms to appeal to all markets for multinational brands. This helps the owners of these brands to save money on having to localize ads for each market (Ramarapu et al., 2015). However, some multinational brands prefer to localize their ads' content to make it easily relatable to their target demographics (Razzouk, 2003; Leslie, 2016; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000).

It can be deduced from the preceding then that, gender portrayals in multinational brands' ads will vary depending on whether or not the owner(s) of the brand use standardized advertisements. Localised ads of multinational brands' and ads of indigenous brands are tipped to reflect gender roles based on the gender relations which exist in the country in question, in this case Ghana.

Given the above discussion and analysis, this study looks at the portrayal of women in advertisements of local and multinational brands in Ghana, focusing on television advertisements.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the rationale behind the choice of the approach to the study and the research method employed for gathering the data. It covers population selection, sampling, unit of analysis and data collection procedures, presents the list of advertisements studied, and discusses the coding indices for the study.

4.1 RESEARCH METHOD

Qualitative content analysis was used as the method to investigate the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana. This method affords a thorough look at individual ads and with the coding guide, it affords the opportunity to bring out what the representations are and also aid in the analysis of these representations (Silverman, 2006).

The approach adopted for this study is the qualitative approach. Considering that this study is an initial attempt at uncovering the variations or similarities there could be between ads of local and multinational brands in Ghana, it was prudent that an approach that is more susceptible to exploratory studies be used (Silverman, 2006).

4.2 POPULATION

The population for this study was television ads that were shown in Ghana from 2011 to 2016. A five-year duration was considered in choosing the population because literature suggests that this length of time gives ample data to sample from and will best be representative of the current trend not going way back from the time in which the study is conducted (Mathuvi et al., 2012).

4.3 SAMPLING

The study looked at local and multinational brands' TV ads from 2011 to 2016. A purposive sampling method was used to select a total of 16 TV ads to serve as sample for the study. Television ads were selected because the use of sound, text and visuals gives a better measure to explore and analyse the gender portrayals. Four (4) ads each for local and multinational brands were selected based on the following sectors: financial sector, and food and healthcare sector. This is because literature suggests that disparities in gender representations are very evident in these sectors, where men are portrayed more in professional settings mostly represented by the financial category and women used more for food and healthcare sector ads (Balas, 2014).

Ads that featured on radio and in print were not considered since they lacked the video element that characterizes the real-time depiction of situations and people in their daily observable routines (Gilani, 2004).

4.4 LIST OF ADS STUDIED

CATEGORY OF AD	LOCAL BRANDS' ADS	MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADS
FINANCIAL SECTOR	Fidelity Bank	STANCHART Here For Good
	Unibank Free Motor Insurance	Access Bank IPO
	UT Bank SSNIT Contribution	Vodafone Business Solutions
	Kasapa Free at Night Calls	Access Bank Big Deal Promo

	Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number	
FOOD AND HEALTHCARE	Auntie Mary's Gripe Mixture	Milo Basketball
	Royal Drinks	Geisha
	Key Soap Ghana @ 60	Camel Say Yes To Life
	STOPKOF Cough Mixture	Dettol Even Tone Promo

4.5 UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The unit of analysis for this study comprised the individual ads that were sampled. For each of the ads sampled the setting, context, voiceovers, main and supporting characters and the roles they played were considered as the basis of analysis.

4.6 DATA COLLECTION

All ads that were studied were gathered from two sources. Fourteen of the 16 ads were collected from the marketing and sales department of TV3, one of the most watched TV stations in Ghana according to Geopoll 2016 statistics. Two of the ads were downloaded from YouTube, however crosschecking was done with TV3 to make sure they were ads that had run on the station during the stipulated time considered for the population.

The 16 ads were selected based on the following criteria;

1. Must be an ad of a product or service from the financial sector, or
2. Must be an ad of a product or service from the food and healthcare sector
3. Must have been shown on Ghanaian TV between 2011 to 2016

4.7 CODING INDICES

To explore the advertisements and their portrayal of women, five coding categories as identified in Erving Goffman's 1979 *Gender advertisement*, were used and adapted to suit television since his study was on print advertisements. Below, is a detailed account of the specific codes used in describing each category:

4.7.1 The Feminine Touch:

- Female hands in ads have a different relationship to reality than male ones.
- Female hands are weak and cradling; they trace the outlines of objects; they are delicate, superficial.
- Male hands are powerful, assertive, bold, controlling; they manipulate the environment.
- Women are constantly shown touching or holding themselves; men are rarely shown in these positions.

Goffman suggests that to understand how bizarre these postures are, substitute men for the women in these ads and monitor the reaction. If we are startled by the result, then it shows that an expectation of how we identify gender has been breached (Goffman, 1979).

For this study, the phenomenon of feminine touch is recorded whenever a female actor's grip was seen caressing and not gripping an object, whenever a woman's grip is shown to be superficial that is, touching an object in a manner that will not usually be the way it is held in reality. Under feminine touch also wherever there was a male and female character in an ad, the difference in their hold to objects, other actors, or themselves was recorded and compared with the differences or similarities thereof stated to determine if there was a case of feminine touch.

4.7.2 Ritualization of Subordination:

The ritualization of subordination refers to how the presentation of the female body in advertising links up with broader cultural definitions of femininity as passive and powerless.

- Women are often shown lying down – signaling submission, powerlessness and sexual availability.
- Other common poses are the “bashful knee-bend,” a canting posture in which women are off-center and ungrounded; the “head-cant,” in which the head is tilted and women teeter; and images of women holding a foot or shoe, again off balance and de-centered.
- Women are presented as defenseless, accepting their subordination.
- In these ways, femininity becomes defined as submissive, powerless, and dependent, reinforcing larger cultural definitions and stereotypes.
- At the same time, men are presented in the opposite position – face down and eyes trained upward from below.
- Stereotypically feminine poses illustrate a relationship of subordination between the watcher (typically male) and the watched (typically female) (Goffman, 1978).

In exploring the variable of ritual subordination, the study recorded every lying posture of a woman relative to the item or service being advertised or other actors in the ad as an indication of subordination, especially where the posture seemed to communicate helplessness, powerlessness or deference to a more powerful person or object in the ad. Other bodily postures which for this study suggested subordination on the part of women were the tilting of the head as if in deference to someone or something or to communicate shyness or sexual availability, the off-balance or out of focus posture where a woman is not properly stood or seemed to be unstable in her body posture. The opposite where men were presented

as more powerful, confident in their standing and body posture were recorded as the presentation of men as more assertive and leaders where body language was concerned.

4.7.3 Licensed Withdrawal:

- In advertising, women often seem to be psychologically adrift: spaced-out, inattentive, unconscious, unaware of their surrounding environment, asleep, nervous, emotionally vulnerable, helpless, knocked-out, or even dead.
- In contrast, men are usually portrayed as focused, aware, monitoring, and protective, in charge of their surroundings.
- When women are not presented as withdrawn, they are presented as over engaged, to the point of losing control: laughing uncontrollably or overcome with extreme emotion.
- Men are presented in exactly the opposite way: active, in control, their emotions in check.
- This dynamic of men being in control and women being out of control is most clear when men and women are presented together. As Goffman puts it, “Women are shown mentally drifting from the physical scene around them, while in close physical touch with a male, as though his aliveness to the surrounding and his readiness to cope with anything that might present itself were enough for the both of them.”
- These portrayals are dangerous because they reproduce and glamorize an image of women as weak and vulnerable – in stereotypically victim-ready poses.)
- These poses are nearly the exact opposite of what is taught in self-defense classes – where students are taught to be in charge of their bodies and their safety, to be alert and autonomous. (Jhally, 2010)

Considering licensed withdrawal for this study meant looking at how emotionally overwhelming women were in an ad to the extent of drifting away or losing focus on other happenings in the ad. Relative to this male characters' presence and ability to be in control of their emotions is also examined and recorded comparative to those of women in an ad. Where women were seen to lose themselves because of the presence of a man, was also recorded under the phenomenon of licensed withdrawal.

4.7.4 Infantilisation:

- According to Goffman, advertising tells us that boys must prove themselves in a rite of passage to show they've left child behind, while little girls never seem to grow up at all. (Jhally, 2010)
- In the world of advertising, little girls and grown women are presented as essentially the same (same clothes, same hair style, etc.).
- Women are often presented as little girls, infantilized through childlike poses: depicted as anxious or shy; shown with one or more fingers in their mouth (in sexually suggestive ways that mix adult sexuality with childhood); dressed like young girls; lying in the fetal position; hiding behind objects
- The result of all this is that grown women are rendered childlike while young girls are equated with mature woman and sexuality (Gilly, 1988).

The code of infantilisation is measured recording instances of women being presented in childlike postures which depicts shyness and other such emotions as will be evident in a child. The placing of a finger or fingers in a female actor's mouth depicting anxiety or shyness, averting of the eyes to avoid contact with a higher authority, hiding behind objects or lying in fetal positions were all recorded under the code of infantilisation.

4.7.5 The Codes of Masculinity:

Traditional ideals of masculinity are about power, control, confidence, intimidation, independence, and activity.

- These ideals are embodied in masculine postures and facial expressions: men are typically shown in upright positions, looking prepared and assertive, with a direct gaze.
- Men are often shown standing upright with hands in pockets or arms folded, looking out at the viewer. This projects power and confidence, sometimes bordering on outright menace and threat.
- Men are almost never posed in the ways women are – in canting postures, off-balance or in odd contortions.
- When exceptions to these masculine codes appear, men are often shown with women who are posed in even more subordinate postures to downplay the homoerotic nature of many of these images, as though to affirm that these are heterosexual men. (Jhally, 2010)

The measure of the code of masculinity in the ads studied was done looking at how actors portrayed those characteristics described masculine above. In appearing with a male character, the female actor's demeanour and posture as opposed to that of her male colleague was also looked at to measure the code of masculinity. This code is usually characterized by elements like confidence, assertiveness, power, expertise in some important domain among others. In appearance with a female actor a male actor will impose his masculinity by being in charge of situations, providing for the female actor, giving expert advice among others. These characteristics were identified as the evidence of the code of masculinity measure in this study.

The advantage of television as previously stated is the ability for the audience to hear what is being said and see what is being talked about. We therefore cannot consider television ads without looking at the verbal or conversational element. This conversational element plays a very vital role in the analysis for this study. For each variable measured, the verbal exchanges, both written and spoken, wherever they appeared, were further analysed based on the explanation given for each code to ascertain if they presented evidence of the codes that were considered for the study.

The current study therefore took the above listed criteria which were developed by Erving Goffman (1978) and explained by Sut Jhally in his paper *The Codes of Gender*, to analyse the sampled ads in order to determine the variations or similarities which exist in the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter analyses the selected advertisements in order to examine the portrayals of women in them. The gender portrayals were analysed using five coding indices adopted from Goffman, 1979. A total of 16 advertisements from the food and healthcare, and the financial sectors were analysed. Eight (8) advertisements each for local and multinational brands were sampled.

5.1 ANALYSIS OF FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR (LOCAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS)

5.1.1 AUNTIE MARY'S BABY GRIPE MIXTURE

Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture is a pain-relief medicinal product for babies to relieve them of pain associated with teething, flatulence, gastric pains and indigestion.

The advertisement for this product opens to a woman bathing her baby as she speaks to her audience stating "seeing my baby happy like this brings me so much joy". The subsequent scenes show four other women with their babies in different domestic setups. As they give care to their babies they tell of the efficacy of the product in dealing with babies' pain issues. As they offer their advice to the audience, the women are seen either bathing their babies, dressing them up, feeding them, comforting them and carrying them on the back as they pack their laundry. Each of these women gives praise for the comfort the product brought their babies when they could not contain their pain.

In this ad all characters are female, giving the impression that when it comes to nurturing babies it is the responsibility of the woman. Aside from taking care of their babies the women

are also seen doing other domestic duties like laundry, giving the impression this is another duty of the woman. The women are presented as being fulfilled when they are taking care of their home and babies. The statement by the first woman in the ad, “seeing my baby happy like this brings me so much joy”, affirms this assertion. The ad also presents women as the experts when it comes to nurturing and caring for children. They know exactly what to do when their babies are experiencing any discomfort and can give advice to other women on what to do with their babies in similar situations. None of the women is dressed or presented as someone who does anything else outside of the home; her full responsibility is catering for her child and her home.

The absence of a man in the ad supports research findings which say that where healthcare and domestic products and services are concerned, female characters are used in ads to promote these products and services. The voiceover is also done by a female character since women are deemed the experts for such products. The confidence and certainty in the voice of voicer and the women in the ad reinforces the assertion that women are the best advisors when it comes to babies’ issues.

The name of the product in question, *Auntie Mary’s Baby Gripe Mixture*, suggests the woman is the one to use the product to treat her child as it bears the name of a woman. This signifies a user pre-stipulation even before the product is bought.

The Feminine Touch: Following Goffman’s definition of feminine touch, which refers to the superficial way in which women hold, touch or caress objects or other actors in an ad, it could be said that this ad has no record of feminine touch. However, since research suggests that women will usually be those to appear in ads with babies, the care with which they handle their babies is recorded here as feminine touch. Throughout the ad we see the five women handling their babies with care, being careful not to hurt them. The women’s grips on

their babies can also be described as assertive in that they hold on to their babies carefully but firmly. Their grip on their babies does not seem superficial in any way. Babies are delicate and must be handled with care and this is what the women in the ad do. The absence of men in the ad, however, makes it impossible to compare the grip of the women on their babies to that of men. Perhaps the care with which the women handle their babies could be described as feminine touch although the manner in which it manifests does not necessarily follow Goffman's logic of the concept.

Ritualization of Subordination: The phenomenon of ritualization of subordination is not recorded in this ad since there are no men in the ad for the comparison to be drawn. The women are rather shown as in charge of the situations they face. They are capable of getting the right solutions with the help of the product being advertised. It can be said that because they appear with babies, the women are in charge since the babies are helpless and cannot control situations. The case would probably have been different if there had been a male character or just another person present in the various scenes.

Licensed Withdrawal: This phenomenon is not recorded in this ad. The women are in control. They are neither overly withdrawn nor are they overly engaged. They speak to their audience as they handle their activities expertly. They nurse their babies back to health with the help of the product being advertised.

Infantilisation: In this ad the women are not infantilized. On the contrary, they are presented as mature and in charge of the situation. They find solutions to the health challenges of their babies. They are assertive and bold in getting the right solution to their ailing babies' pains. All the women are adult mothers and act as such.

The Codes of Masculinity: This code looks at traditional values of masculinity. In this ad, these values of control of situations, confidence, are demonstrated by the women. They take

charge of the situation and solve their issues. However, it can be argued that women are in charge because the duties involved are domestic. This will buttress the fact that women are experts when it comes to domestic and nurturing roles, they become the domestic goddesses (Gill, 2007).

The absence of men in the ad could however be described as a code of masculinity. It is customary in the Ghanaian culture that the nurturing of babies falls on the mother and female relatives. With modernity and more women in the formal working sector, however, men are more participative in home duties. Men in the formal sector are given paternity leave to contribute to the nurturing of their babies. But the ad still presents the old code of masculinity where babies are their mothers' obligations by not showing any man taking care of his baby in any of the five scenes.

5.1.2 ROYAL DRINKS

This ad presents a multiplicity of characters, both male and female, in the various scenes. The ad opens to a classroom where children potentially under the age of 12 are being tutored by a female teacher. Having a woman out of the home and in a more professional setting shows an example of a diversified representation of women. The second scene presents a party setting where both male and female actors are enjoying their Royal drinks and having a good time. The next scene shows a group of young boys on a football team, who are rewarding themselves with the drink after a game. This scene can be compared to the first where the little girl and her colleagues reward themselves with the drink during the school's break period. These two scenes tell a story of both male and female being equally good at what they do and deserving of their reward. But while the boys congratulate each other and have their drink, the little girl is presented as playful. She sings and dances and gets overly excited at the prospect of taking her favourite drink. The last scene of the ad shows a family of five,

parents, their daughter and two sons at the dining table. As if asserting the leadership of the man as head of the home, he sits at the head of the table whereas his wife and daughter sit on his left and his sons on his right. The woman is shown serving her daughter a cup of the drink as her husband and sons look on. This gives the impression that it is the woman's duty to serve the family and do the duties that relate to the dining table. The woman is shown as fulfilled when her daughter gives her a peck on the cheek as reward for her help in giving her to drink. The man's responsibility as it appears is to sit at the head of the table and have dinner with his family, not necessarily engaging in any other duty related to the occasion.

The voiceover of the ad is done by a female character, and so is the theme song of the ad. This goes to support the fact that where food and healthcare products are concerned a woman or female voice will usually be the actors or the voicers of the ad.

The Feminine Touch: This phenomenon is mildly recorded in this ad. The only instance of it is when in the last scene of the ad the mother taps the hand of her son playfully as if to ward him off from taking more food than he should. Everyone laughs at this. For the other scenes in the ad where women or girls hold bottles of the drink, their grip is firm, unlike what Goffman finds when he develops the code of feminine touch (Goffman, 1979).

Ritualization of Subordination: In this ad we see a positive trend of a woman out of the home as a teacher. But at the end of the end where she appears with a man, the man is presented as the head of the family while the woman is more or less his subordinate. In most Ghanaian homes, at dinner settings, the most important person always sits at the head of the table. Having the man at the head of the table and his wife and daughter to his left promotes stereotypical images of women as subject to men and needing of their (men's) protection and leadership.

Licensed Withdrawal: This code is recorded in the ad when the little girl at the beginning of the ad who was once active in class became overly excited. She started playfully singing and imagining things just because she was about to have her favourite drink. The female represented by the girl in that scene, is presented as overly excited over little things such as the opportunity to have a drink. This is not the case for the boys in the scene which followed, they were more moderate in their celebrations and reward themselves with the drink. It did not seem the boys were excited about the opportunity to have the drink rather at the opportunity to have played a nice game of football and thus the drink is only an added plus.

Infantilisation: The girl's overexcitement and playful depiction at the beginning of the ad as she sings and dances is recorded here as infantilisation of females. The reason for her excitement was the opportunity to drink the product. Argument could be made to the effect that she is a child and acted as such so it probably does not count. However, where the boys in the scene which followed are presented they were not shown as doing something childish, they played football which is for some people a career. They do what men do to earn a livelihood.

The Codes of Masculinity: When boys and girls appear in the ad, the boys are presented as playing at a more physically engaging and rewarding game of football whereas the girl sings and drifts away in her imagination because she's going to take her drink. In the last scene of the ad when a family sat at table, the man was at the head of the table, the place of honour, his sons are on his right, probably denoting they are his right-hand men. However, his wife and daughter are on his left. The left is traditionally not considered a place of honour (Kita & Essegbey, 2001).

5.1.3 KEY SOAP GHANA @ 60

The ad opens to the scene of the declaration of independence where the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, is seen on the dais with an all-male entourage. The opening scene is a historical fact and the ad sought to make a connection between the age of the nation and the life of the product. However, the proceeding scenes show the various ads that have been used over the decades to promote the product. For each of the eight scenes that followed, viewers are shown scenes from previous ads where women were happily doing laundry with the product and heard confirming the efficacy of the product. The last scene finally shows a man holding a bar of the soap, he is flanked by a woman and together they declare the tagline of the product “the tradition goes on”. The tagline of the product promotes the image of woman as the domestic goddess, in that she is the one who has to do the laundry of her household. The ad shows woman after woman using the product and attesting to its efficacy. This tradition of the woman doing the laundry, and by extension the household chores, is what the tagline suggests must go on. The ad encourages the notion of patriarchy where the woman is responsible for the domestic duties whereas the man is hardly seen in such settings. The voiceover of the ad is however done by a male. This suggests that the man is the expert and needs to endorse what a woman should use.

The Feminine Touch: The ad shows woman after woman in eight scenes holding the product. Their grip on the product cannot exactly be described as superficial, but they are quite loose compared to that of the man in the last scene. They are almost caressing the soap maybe because it is such an important part of their lives as the ad suggests.

Ritualization of Subordination: Aside from the first scene which is the historic declaration of Ghana’s independence, there is no man seen in the ad until the end of the ad. At the end of the ad a man, flanked by a woman, declares “key soap, we are firmly holding on to it.” In that

scene, the man appears taller than the woman proving a form of dominion over the woman. Also, the fact that domestic chores like doing laundry and caring for children are considered lighter responsibilities and must be done by the woman is considered here as a form of subordination of the woman to the man. In all the scenes that show domestic chores being carried out there is no appearance of a man.

Licensed Withdrawal: In this ad none of the women appeared to be so withdrawn that they lost focus of their environment. They each were shown actively using the product as they confirmed its efficacy.

Infantilisation: The women in the ad were hardly infantilized. They were rather presented as experts at knowing which soap is the best and has lasted over the years. They are adult women who act their age. The men in the ad also were not infantilized in any way. They were either declaring a historic moment in the life of the country or confirming the tradition of the use of the soap by women, hardly are any of these portrayals infantilisation.

The Codes of Masculinity: In the first scene of the ad where the declaration of independence is done, there is no woman on the dais. This gives the impression that where important things like nation building are involved, women are hardly represented. Men are the confident and competent ones who preside over nations. Through the subsequent scenes of the ad we do not see a man until the last scene where one is seen confirming the tradition of the soap. The absence of the man in the domestic scene is also a code of masculinity because traditionally the man is placed above domestic chores to cater for more important things like providing for the family. The need for a man to endorse the product at the end of the ad could thus be said to be a code of masculinity. The woman needs the opinion of the man to believe in the quality of the product. The man is the competent expert, who ascertains the efficacy of the product.

Having a man do the voiceover for the product however, is out of the norm for what is done for healthcare and domestic products. It could be decoded as conveying the authority of the man in sanctioning the product.

5.1.4 STOPKOF COUGH MIXTURE

The ad opens in the home of a couple with the wife speaking to the audience. Her husband is in the background reading a newspaper as she speaks. She opens by saying “I am the first lady of this house and there’s no place for nasty coughs here”. The assertion that she is the first lady of the home gives the illusion of the in-charge position. The woman takes care of everything as long as it is in the domestic setting. She confidently goes on to narrate to viewers how she nurtured her husband back to health when he had a cough by using the product being advertised. In the flashback, we see the man coughing and vulnerable as the woman takes care of him as if he were a child. She took charge of the situation as she says in the ad, but this is only because the man was ill. The next scene shows the woman in a pharmacy getting medication for her husband’s cough. The pharmacist is a man and he prescribes what is to be the best product for the cough and also prescribes the dosage to the woman as is to be given to her husband. The expert is almost always a man in ads as Goffman (1979) said and this is seen here. Where it is in a professional setting outside of the home, a man is most often used.

After he is nursed back to health by the woman, the woman and her husband are seen sitting as she proudly tells the audience how the product worked effectively for her husband. In this very scene, the once ill man is seen as more confident and in charge as his wife’s posture seems to defer authority to him as compared to the first scene where she was fully in charge when her husband was not immediately in shot.

The man is shown in the background of the woman only when the product in question is a household product or a healthcare product.

The voiceover in this ad is done by a woman. Literature suggests that when the product being advertised is a healthcare product, women are mostly used as voicers since they are the most likely to patronize them either to administer to themselves or their family (Lindner, 2004).

The Feminine Touch: In the opening scene of the ad the woman is shown loosely holding a piece of material she was hemming as she tells the audience why she is the first lady of her home. When in the last scene she has her hands around her husband's shoulders, it is more in a loving and caressing way that will be ascribed to women than in a domineering and owning way as ascribed to men (Goffman, 1979).

Ritualization of Subordination: In this ad the woman is in charge. She is hardly shown as the subordinate of the man. She is the one who is talking and giving her expert opinion on the product as the man sits back. She is the one who is driving when her husband is not well, and she is the one who goes to the pharmacy to get him medication. In the last scene the man is seated as the woman bends towards him and has her arm around his shoulders, a posture that is usually ascribed to men. Yet it may be argued that the woman is only in charge because her husband is not well, or that nurturing a sick husband is a domestic responsibility of a wife so she is only confirming existing stereotypes. Whatever the case, this ad is more uplifting of the woman's image especially where it presents the woman as assertive and confident.

Licensed Withdrawal: This ad has no evidence of withdrawal for the woman. She is shown as actively narrating the incidence of her husband's ailment and how she remedied it. On the contrary, it is the man who is withdrawn. First he appears in the background of the woman in the first scene as she gives viewers an account of what happened. In the last scene as well,

when his wife tells the audience how he was immediately healed, he looks up briefly and goes back to reading his newspaper, withdrawn from the actual happenings around him.

Infantilisation: The woman in the ad is presented as an expert and in charge but the man on the other hand, is to some extent infantilized. When he is ill, he is presented as in so much pain and like a child, he needs his wife to nurse him back to health. His wife is shown acting the role of a nurse and mother to her husband. She has to take care of everything and nurse her husband to health.

The Codes of Masculinity: In this ad it is the woman who is in charge and saves the day. She goes to the pharmacy to get medication and nurses her husband back to health. She is confident in her narrative. However, there are some undertones of male dominance or superiority. The woman could be said to be in charge because it is a nurturing role that is being portrayed in the ad. But when she goes to the pharmacy, it is a man who is the pharmacist, reaffirming the assertion that when a professional setting is presented out of the home it is a man who is usually the professional (Addy, 2006). The woman appears in charge and knowing what to do until she gets to the pharmacy when she has to defer to the male pharmacist to tell her what to do.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR (MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS)

5.2.1 MILO BASKETBALL

The ad opens to a mum preparing a milo breakfast for her children while her basketball playing daughter dribbles her brother with a ball. The opening scene is set in a kitchen. After breakfast the children step out as their mother does the dishes. There is no presence of a male/father character in this scene. The second scene shows the daughter of about 12 years on

a basketball court playing excellently and the voiceover suggests it is because she was served a milo drink by her mum.

In the crowd is the girl's mum who is cheering her on. There is no presence of a father figure here either. This goes to buttress arguments made by researchers that advertising presents women as the nurturers of children (Olavarria, 2001)

When the game is over and the girl wins a medal, she gives it to her mother for being a good mum by feeding her beverage that kept her on top.

The voiceover which is done by a male character starts off by making the assertion that "good mums know how to prepare their children for greatness", this statement is followed by a routine of a mother in the kitchen, nurturing her children, and getting rewarded by her child for her domestic duties. The ad seems to suggest that a woman can only be really fulfilled when she takes care of her domestic duties (Tuchman, 1975). Her place is in the home.

However, the casting of a little girl as an ace in a male-dominated sport suggests that girls can also be good at sports as much as boys. It does not follow the assertion that boys are presented over girls as good at sports while girls engage in home-oriented games (Addy, 2006).

The Feminine Touch: The grips of the female characters on objects and people in this ad are not superficial in any way. When the mother serves breakfast to her children she handles the dishes firmly. The little girl is strong and firm in holding on to her cup when she eats, and the basketball when she plays. This presents assertive confident females in the ad.

Ritualization of Subordination: In this ad, there is no record of female subordination or deference to male. The girl is shown as the confident and bold one of she and her brother. She is the sportswoman of the family. But the ad suggests that the mother is the super mum not of her own but because she nourishes her children with milo beverage.

Licensed Withdrawal: The record of licensed withdrawal in this ad is evident in the little boy. When the camera focuses on his sister as she drinks her beverage, he is seen in the background looking on intently. The women and girls in the ad do not appear withdrawn in any way. They are engaged actively in the activities they are carrying out.

Infantilisation: The ad does not infantilise any of the characters. If anything, it instead presents a young girl as assertive, confident and excellent at a male-dominated sport.

The Codes of Masculinity: In the home, the scene is set in the kitchen. We see only the mother of the children preparing breakfast for them and doing the dishes thereafter. The absence of a father figure in this setting buttresses the fact that women are presented in ads predominantly as home makers, the domestic goddesses and nurturers of the children. However, in the young girl we see some virtues that are considered masculine displayed, these include courage, expertise in a sport, confidence, decisiveness, and the rewarder of the woman.

5.2.2 GEISHA SOAP WITH HONEY

The new geisha soap with honey ad opens with a mother and her daughter of about five years in a bathroom. The little girl is in the bathtub as her mother bathes her and tells her a story in the process. In this ad the woman is again presented as the nurturer of the home, the caregiver. She has a playful imagination that can fathom fairytales to tell to her daughter. The little girl is also presented as someone who gets hooked on imaginary creatures and stories. Maybe it is because she is just a girl.

The voiceover of the ad is done by a woman and the tagline of the product is “it lasts just like mother’s love”. It is no coincidence that a mother’s love, which is depicted as the ability to take care of her child while nurturing her in a domestic setting, is compared with a bath soap

which is a domestic product. The idea this gives is that it is the place of the woman to take care of the home and her children.

There is no male presence in the whole ad. This can be interpreted as the man's place is not to give domestic care to his children. Where the home duties to do with domesticity are involved, the woman is the one in charge (Addy, 2006; Balas, 2014), just as is depicted in this ad.

The Feminine Touch: In the ad the mother is shown gently holding the bar of soap as she bathes her daughter even more gently maybe because the child is delicate or the product is, yet the ad describes the soap as firm and long-lasting so one may think that her hold on it should not affect it. Beyond her grip on the soap, we see her lightly tap the wall like a fairy and this opens the door to imaginary creatures coming out of the wall. All through the ad, the woman and her daughter are not seen firmly holding on to anything. Their touch on the things they do touch is gentle and caressing rather than firm.

Ritualization of Subordination: The only evidence of subordination in this ad based on body posture will be having the little girl in the bathtub as her mother sits on the rim of the tub and bathes her. The mother is therefore presented as superior to the girl.

Licensed Withdrawal: Both mother and daughter are at a point shown as withdrawn from the bath activity as they start imagining the story behind the product. The mother starts the fairytale and the little girl is seen gasping and asking for more as her imagination goes wild. The mother however, is able to finish her task of bathing her daughter even though she is withdrawn from reality with the story she was telling.

Infantilisation: Mother and daughter are infantilised in this ad in that they are both seen involved in the childish pleasures of imagining a fairytale behind the soap they are using. The

woman is seen acting like a child by tapping the wall and opening a door to a fairyland where bees and honey and soap mix to bring about the best bath soap.

The Codes of Masculinity: There is no male character in the ad. This is probably because the ad is set in a bathroom and the activity involved is a domestic one, that is, a mother bathing a child. From the absence of a man in the ad one could conclude that men are traditionally not the ones responsible for domestic duties therefore the masculine code of men out of the home responsibilities is upheld in this ad.

5.2.3 CAMEL SAY YES TO LIFE

The ad opens with a mother sending her son of about eight years to go get her some potatoes. The little boy responds “I’ve got this” and there begins his adventure as he instantly becomes a superhero on his way to the market. He saves a stray football for a group of boys playing, picks up scattered fruits of a female vendor that had toppled over. It is worth noting that in the market scene majority of the characters are women. The little boy goes on to get the potatoes for his mother, and upon returning, helps a man catch his stray chicken. While doing all these superhero things, the little boy gets himself dirty. Upon looking at him when he gets home with the potatoes, his mother says “I’ve got this”, while showing the camel disinfectant, which is the product being advertised. The last scene of the ad shows the little boy in a bathtub taking his bath and we hear his mum call out to him for help to which he responds “I’ve got this”.

In the ad the boy is depicted as having some societal traits which characterise masculinity. He is bold, strong, smart, assertive, comes to the aid of women. He is basically the hero of a woman (in this case his mother). He does what his mother could not have done alone.

The boy’s (man) role is outside of the home. His masculinity is enforced not in so much of his going to get his mother’s potatoes, but more so through the things he does on his way to

the market and back. Highlighting the boy's masculinity seems to be the focus of the ad. Before he gets home, he has affected the lives of many people just as is customary of the traditional man, even when he is just a boy of around eight years.

The mother in the ad on the other hand, is shown as a home keeper. She stays home as she sends out her son on an adventure. She is happy to take on her duties of cleaning and drawing a bath for her boy who is all dirty when he gets back home, because that is her role and being the expert at her domestic role, she knows just what product will do the trick.

The roles of male and female are cut out in this ad, where the female is the domestic goddess, and the male, even if he is just a boy, is the adventurous and out-of-home king bringing solutions to a wider world than the home. (Gill, 2003; Lindner, 2004)

The Feminine Touch: The mother in the ad is shown as carefully and happily cleaning the kitchen when her son gets home from the market. She also gently handles the product when she prepares her son's bath for him. These careful and gentle grips on objects and people in ads Goffman says are characteristic of women in order to prove their superficial representations in ads. In reality the grip of the mother on her cleaning napkin would have been firmer to enable her clean better.

Ritualization of Subordination: In this ad the mother gives the more adventurous duty of going out to buy potatoes to her son of about eight years while she stays home to do the cleaning duties. The boy is confident and bold and says to his mother "I've got this". When her son says this, the woman tilts her head towards her boy and smiles as if in recognition of her hero. This scene gives the impression that the woman will always pass more challenging and out of home duties to a male even if he is just a little boy.

Licensed Withdrawal: There is no record of the code of licensed withdrawal in the ad. Each character is actively engaged in the task they carry out.

Infantilisation: of the instance of infantilisation is recorded in the scene where the boy jumps into a puddle to fetch the ball for the other boys who were playing. He dirties himself, grown men do not do this. Even then, the portrayal is one of bravery than childishness. Goffman says to determine how stereotypical things will get for either of the identified codes, replace a male character with a female and assess the situation. In replacing the little boy with a girl when he jumps into the muddy puddle, the scene immediately seems childish.

The Codes of Masculinity: The little boy, exhibits values such as bravery, assertiveness, confidence, smartness, strength and helpfulness, these traditionally characterize male dominance. Having the mother defer to her son for the more engaging task out of the home and also calling on him for help even when he is in the bathroom, accentuates male dominance over female in this ad.

5.2.4 DETTOL EVEN TONE

The ad opens with a young woman of about 16 years playing basketball as the voiceover talks about the dangers of unclean skin and the need to use the right soap to clean and protect one's skin. In the second scene we see a female doctor more likely a dermatologist, telling us the importance of using Dettol *Even Tone* to clean up after exposure to dirt. She is confident and sure of herself as she expertly gives proof of what she is talking about with the inset of the younger lady who was playing basketball. In the next scene we see the doctor walk into her house to her daughter, the basketball player, who has just finished cleaning up with Dettol *Even Tone* soap and looks radiant at this point.

This ad presents a positive image of women in that it uses both women in fields that are considered male dominated. One is a sportswoman and the other a doctor. Both are presented as very good at what they do and knowing what is good for them.

On the basketball court also we see other young women playing, the ad in general breaks what is known to be the status quo by putting women in spaces that are not often considered female spaces (Addy, 2006).

The Feminine Touch: In the ad when the young lady holds the ball with a firm grip when she is on the basketball court. But when she is bathing she is slowly caressing her body with the soap, her grip is loose. When her mother walks into the house at the end of the ad and meets her daughter, both mother and daughter gently touch each other's arms as if to hug as they look on each other with admiration.

Ritualization of Subordination: The ad shows no instance of subordination except that when the mother walks into her house and is greeted by her daughter, one observes that the mother is taller than her daughter. Probably this disparity in their heights is meant to communicate the fact that the mother is of a higher authority than the daughter. This assertion is however not explicit in the ad.

Licensed Withdrawal: Neither the mother/dermatologist nor the daughter/basketball player seem to be withdrawn from any activity in the first three scenes. They both are active in their respective scenes. When they appear together in the final scene however, they appear a little carried away as they greet each other and admire their skins.

Infantilisation: Both characters in the ad are presented as mature, hardworking and confident women. They are not infantilised in any way and are seen engaged in assertive and fulfilling domains out of the home.

The Codes of Masculinity: Both women in the ad display characteristics that are typical of men in ads. They are confident, bold, and excellent at what they do and they know what is best for them. They are cast in male dominated fields as well, they excel at basketball.

5.3 COMPARISON OF LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADS IN THE FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR

Even though there are a lot of similarities among the ads in this sector, the ads in each group manifest some differences as opposed to those in the other group. With regards to feminine touch, in the local ads it is observed that in the *Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture* ad no instance of this frame is recorded even though the ad features only women and babies, the women have firm holds on everything they touch. In the second ad, *Royal Drinks*, an instance of feminine touch is recorded when in the last scene a mother playfully taps her sons hand. The third ad, *Key Soap Ghana @ 60*, records this frame when woman after woman carefully holds the bar of soap. The *Stopkof Cough Mixture* ad records feminine touch when the woman is seen loosely holding a piece of material in the opening scene, and in the last scene when she has her arm lovingly around her husband's shoulders.

For the same frame, feminine touch, considering the ads of the multinational brands, it is observed that the *Milo Basketball* ad records no evidence of such. All the female actors have firm grips on the objects they hold. The same is the case for the *Dettol Even Tone* ad, when the female actors are out of the home, they have firm grips on the things they hold. But it changes when it comes to the *Geisha Soap with Honey* ad, where a mother and her daughter are portrayed as having loose grips on everything they touch as the mother bathes her daughter, and the *Camel Say Yes to Life* ad, where the mother in the ad is shown as carefully (to the extent that it appears unrealistic) holding on to the objects she holds in the ad.

Comparatively, both local and multinational brands' ads record tendencies of feminine touch.

Considering the frame of ritualization of subordination in the local brands' ads, the *Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture* ad records no such phenomenon, this is because the ad does not feature any male character which is a basis for determining this frame. When a woman

appears with a man at the end of the *Royal Drinks* ad, the man is portrayed as superior to the woman by their sitting order, he is at the head of the table while she is on his left and feeding their daughter. When a male actor does appear in the last scene of the *Key Soap Ghana @ 60* ad, he physically dominates the woman in height, the need for a man confirm the efficacy of the product even though no man was shown in any of the home chores scenes is also a form of ritualization of subordination evident in this ad. In the *Stopkof Cough Mixture* ad, the woman is portrayed as superior to her husband but this appears to be the case only when the man is sick, when he gets well, even though his wife is still confident, a sort of deference to her husband is observed in the last scene.

Ritualisation of subordination for the ads of multinational brands in this sector manifests in the following ways; for the *Milo Basketball* ad, female to male deference is not recorded but there is deference shown to the product. The *Geisha Soap with Honey* ad records no female to male deference because there is no male actor. In the *Camel Say Yes to Life* ad the mother passes on the more adventurous task to her young son. The frame of subordination as defined by Goffman is not recorded in the *Dettol Even Tone* ad.

Considering the local and multinational brands' ads here, it is observed that the former records instances of ritualization of subordination in three out of four ads whereas the latter records this frame in one out of four ads. However, for both local and multinational brands' ads in this sector, it is worth noting that where a woman appeared with a man/male in a scene unless the man was sick (*Stopkof Cough Mixture*), the woman was portrayed as subordinate to the man/male in one way or the other. For the most part men were not featured in the ads in this sector.

For the frame of licensed withdrawal for the ads of the local brands, *Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture* does not record this phenomenon; the women in the ad are portrayed as

actively involved in the activities in their immediate surroundings. In the *Royal Drink* ad licensed withdrawal is noted in the character of the girl in the first scene who exaggerates her excitement at the prospect of having a drink. There is no record of withdrawal in the *Key Soap Ghana @ 60* ad even though the actors are predominantly women. The evidence of withdrawal recorded for the *Stopkof Cough Mixture* ad is seen in the man and not the woman as Goffman argues.

For the multinational brands' ads, the *Milo Basketball* ad portrays the boy rather than the girl or their mother as withdrawn in the first scene of the ad. In the *Geisha Soap with Honey* ad both mother and daughter are portrayed as withdrawn from their actual activity of bathing as they share in some fairytale moment. No instance of withdrawal is noted for the *Camel Say Yes to Life* ad. In the *Dettol Even Tone* ad, the women are active and present as they do their outdoor activities but when they meet in the final scene, it is observed that they seem carried away as they admire each other.

Whereas one local brand's ad (*Royal Drink*) portrays a female as withdrawn in one of the scenes, another (*Stopkof Cough Mixture*), shows a man as the one who's withdrawn from his immediate environment. Two ads here (*Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture*, *Key Soap Ghana @60*) do not record withdrawal. As opposed to the multinational brands' ads where women are portrayed in three out of four ads and a male is withdrawn only in one ad.

In looking at the frame of infantilisation for the local brands' ads, none of the women in the *Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture* ad is infantilized neither are the women in the *Key Soap Ghana @ 60* ad nor the woman in the *Stopkof Cough Mixture* ad, however in this ad, the man is infantilized when he is portrayed as an invalid. The girl in the first scene of the *Royal Drinks* ad is infantilized as she playfully sings and dances, this is in contrast to the boys in the next scene who appear more matured and in check of their excitement.

For the multinational brands' ads, the *Milo Basketball* ad does not infantilise any of the characters, male and female; neither do the *Camel Say Yes to Life* and the *Dettol Even Tone* ads. The *Geisha Soap with Honey* infantilises both mother and daughter in the ad as they are portrayed as imagining a fairytale.

Both local and multinational brands' ads scarcely record instances of infantilisation. One out of four ads in the local brands' ads group infantilises a female (*Royal Drinks*), same is the case for the multinational brands' ads where the *Geisha Soap with Honey* ad infantilises the females. What's interesting here is that in one of the local brands' ads (*Stopkof Cough Mixture*), it is the man who is infantilized.

Discussing the frame of codes of masculinity, the portrayals for the local brands' ads are as follows; *Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture* portrays women as those who exhibit the values that are traditionally considered masculine, worth noting though is the fact that there are no men featured in the ad. In the *Royal Drinks* ad boys are portrayed as playing more physically challenging games for leisure while the girl sings and dances childishly, also, in the last scene of the ad, the man is given the place of dominance at the head of the table with the woman on his left. The absence of men in the laundry duty scenes and having a man at the end of the ad to validate what the women have said in the *Key Soap Ghana @ 60* ad, exhibit values of masculinities in favour of men. In the *Stopkof Cough Mixture* ad, it is the woman who exhibits the masculine values even though there is a man (her husband) in the ad.

For the multinational brands' ads, the *Milo Basketball* ad gives evidence of codes of masculinity in favour of men when aside the son, no man is shown in the kitchen setting. Otherwise for this ad, the girl is portrayed as exhibiting values of masculinity. The *Geisha Soap with Honey* ad does not cast any male character because of the domestic task of bathing children which is ascribed to women. The little boy in the *Camel Say Yes to Life* ad portrays

values of masculinity as his mother is shown as dependent on him. The *Dettol Even Tone* ad has the women portraying the values that would be considered masculine, and they are not cast in the home only.

Generally, for both local and multinational brands' ads, the values that characterize masculinity are evident in the male characters in the ads. However, there are some differences. For the local brands' ads, one ad (*Stopkof Cough Mixture*) depicts the woman as the one who displays codes of masculinity whereas the other three (*Auntie Mary's Baby Gripe Mixture, Royal Drinks and Key Soap Ghana @ 60*) show images in favour of the values that characterize men, either by having the in the ads or through their absence in these ads. The multinational brands' ads in turn has two ads where codes considered masculine are displayed by females (*Milo Basketball and Dettol Even Tone*), and two ads where males are projected as those with the positive values of confidence and bravery (*Camel Say Yes to Life*), and as those not involved domestic duties (*Geisha Soap with Honey*).

5.4 ANALYSIS OF FINANCIAL SECTOR (LOCAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS)

5.4.1 FIDELITY BANK 10X RICHER PROMO

The ad opens with a woman going to deposit money into her fidelity bank account, followed by a man who does same in the banking hall. The next character, a man is seen doing his deposit from his laptop in a restaurant, he is dressed formally and appears to be a big time executive.

The next scene shows the first man to deposit his money rejoicing before getting into a cab because he has received notification that he has won in the promo. In the subsequent scene, the woman who deposited money into her account is seen with two children, a boy and girl, entering her home. She walks straight to her wardrobe then receives a notification from her

bank telling her she's won in the promo. She starts dancing and rejoicing. The woman is dressed in a body-tight dress and this gives her a sexual appeal. The following scene shows a group of ladies at a bar when one of them receives an alert about winning in the promo. She, together with her friends, begins to dance in celebration. All four ladies are dressed with some sexual appeal to them. The final scene shows the earlier business executive, now in an office setting, as he receives an alert on winning in the promo and celebrates.

The ad to some extent presents women as less successful than the male characters. The women are shown as either homely or fun-loving in the case of the ladies in the bar. The manner of dressing is also another point of contrast between the male characters and the female characters. Whereas the women are all dressed with some sexual appeal to them, the men have on more formal and executive clothes as they are set in professional or more formal settings. These representations seem to suggest that women are more fun-loving and laid-back as opposed to men who are more professional and work-minded. It also seems to suggest, though mildly, that the place of the woman is the home and to take care of her children. This is observed when the first woman cast is shown with her two children entering their house. Unlike the men who were cast throughout out of the home.

The voiceover is done by a male, which is mostly the case for ads in the financial sector. This seems to convey the idea that the man is the expert when it comes to giving financial advice.

The Feminine Touch: There is no evidence of feminine touch in the ad. Each character is seen firmly holding on to the objects they touch.

Ritualization of Subordination: There is no record of subordination in this ad. Each character is shown as independent. There is difficulty in exploring this phenomenon also because the characters are shown individually in each scene. Casting a male and female character together in the same scene would have made it easier to explore this phenomenon.

Licensed Withdrawal: When each character receives notification concerning their winning in the bank's promotion, they each start celebrating, male and female alike. For a moment they each seem withdrawn from their environment as they celebrate their luck.

Infantilisation: None of the characters in the ad is infantilised. When the woman appears in a scene with her children, the children behave as children and the mother as a mother.

The Codes of Masculinity: This code is more evident in the second gentleman in the ad who is set in an executive space. He is confident, bold and is not as overcome by excitement as the women in the ad, neither is the first man as compared to the women. It is as if to say women get overly excited over everything.

5.4.2 UNIBANK MOTOR INSURANCE

The first scene begins with a policeman interacting with two ladies in a car. He is questioning the lady in the driver's seat about her expired motor insurance. The lady tries to talk her way out by being flirtatious in her speech and actions. She averts her eyes and so does her friend as the camera shows their cleavages and sexually suggestive facial expressions. The second scene shows a male taxi driver who has been stopped by the same policeman. The driver tries to talk himself out of trouble by giving more tangible excuses than the ladies had. He complains of times are difficult for him. He goes on to say his child's ill health and his wife being in labour account for his inability to renew his insurance. The next scene is that of a richer looking man in a sleek car who has been stopped by the policeman. He tries to bribe his way out. The last scene is of a commercial bus driver stopped by the same policeman. The driver tries to talk his way out by creating a joke out of the situation. There is a beautiful woman sitting in the front seat of the bus and when she laughs, the policeman does too and walks away from the bus.

The policeman then tells the audience why they have to patronize Unibank because they get free motor insurance by opening a motor insurance savings account. It saves drivers from having to worry about finding money and time to do their monthly renewals.

The voiceover just as in the fidelity bank 10x richer promo is done by a man. This seems to convey the idea that the man is the expert when it comes to giving advice on financial matters.

The Feminine Touch: All actors used in this ad had a firm grip on the objects they held. The lady driver's hold on her steering wheel was as that of the male drivers.

Ritualization of Subordination: There is no particular case of female to male subordination in the ad. However, through the ad both male and female drivers with expired insurances are presented as at the mercy of the authority of the policeman. They are subordinate to the policeman because they have faulted. The deference here is one of authority and does not border around gender.

Licensed Withdrawal: All actors are in the present as they interact with the policeman. They are aware of what is going on and try to get their way out of trouble.

Infantilisation: The drivers getting themselves in trouble and having to be reprimanded by the policeman makes all of them seem child-like. However, this is not recorded as infantilisation.

The Codes of Masculinity: When the policeman interacts with the ladies in the first scene, it appears he lets them go because they are flirtatious in their demeanour towards him. This seems to agree with the fact that men are always more lenient to women's appearance (Koukounas & Letch, 2001). The women take advantage of their female sexuality to buy their way out. The male drivers are more convincing in their plea even if they appear to be lies and involve bribery.

5.4.3 UT BANK SSNIT CONTRIBUTION

The ad is an animation of a man who has closed from work and needs to pay his social security contribution. But calculating the distance, he realizes he cannot make it on time, then he sees a nearby branch of UT bank and realizes they receive SSNIT payments. He walks in to make his deposit.

There is no female character in this ad, maybe because it involves an out of the home scenario or a well-defined professional setup.

The voiceover is however done by a woman, which is different from the previous ads reviewed. The female voicer is the expert explaining to the audience how it all works.

The Feminine Touch: There is no record of feminine touch in this ad because there is no female character in the ad.

Ritualization of Subordination: The absence of a female character makes it difficult to determine any form of subordination since a comparison cannot be drawn immediately. Nonetheless, having a female do the voiceover can be argued as putting the woman in the expert role and therefore she is not subordinate to the man in the ad.

Licensed Withdrawal: There is no evidence of licensed withdrawal in the ad. The man is met with a challenge, he calculates his chances and finds a solution. Throughout he is actively involved in finding a solution to his problem.

Infantilisation: There is no evidence of infantilisation in this ad either. The character involved is seen practically finding a solution to his dilemma with adult logic.

The Codes of Masculinity: The absence of a female character in this ad can be interpreted as a code of masculinity where when it involves roles that suggest professionalism or out of the home careers, a male is usually cast in ads.

5.4.4 KASAPA FREE AT NIGHT CALLS, WRONG NUMBER

The ad opens to a woman and her husband in their living room. As they watch television the woman receives a call and is on the phone for two hours. During this time, the woman keeps moving around and interrupting the man's view. The man is impatient and shifts from side to side in order to get a better view of the TV, but his wife's movements make it difficult for him to do so. After two hours of talking on the phone and inconveniencing her husband, the woman finally sits down. When her husband asks her how come she spoke for two hours only, she responds "it was a wrong number".

The woman is presented here as inconsiderate. She unapologetically interrupts her husband without reason. The woman is also presented as odd in that she stays on the phone with a stranger for two hours. The depiction of the woman as the stereotypical talkative and gossip is observed here as well. The man finds the woman unbelievable when she tells him she had been talking to a stranger for two hours. The posture of the man during the whole ad and what he says to the woman after her call shows that the woman is unserious in that she has time for things that should not matter like having long conversations with strangers at the discomfort of her husband.

The voiceover is done by a male actor. He is the expert in telling the audience how to profit from the promo and save money.

The Feminine Touch: As the woman in the ad receives the call and moves around she is seen caressing her husband's head, lightly touching the TV and her thigh. She does not hold on to these things maybe because she is doing them subconsciously.

Ritualization of Subordination: Where body posture is concerned to translate subordination, it is the woman who is sitting upright in her chair before she receives the call, while the man is lying in the sofa. During the call the man uneasily sits upright in the sofa

while the woman stands up and walks around and at a point sits on the centre table in front of the man. Physically also, the woman is bigger than the man. So to a greater extent it is the woman whose body postures speak authority over the man. But when the man does speak “so today you spoke for only two hours?” he says so with authority. The woman’s response to this is a laid-back “eh, it was a wrong number.”

Licensed Withdrawal: The woman in the ad appears to be withdrawn from her actual environment when she receives the call. To the extent that she does not realise she is inconveniencing her husband. She does not excuse herself and is on one call for two hours. The magnitude of her withdrawal from the present is communicated when she confesses she had been speaking to a stranger for two hours.

Infantilisation: The woman in the ad could be said to be infantilised in that she allows herself to be carried away for two hours by a phone conversation with a stranger. While receiving the call she does not care that she inconveniences her husband. This behaviour could be classified as child-like.

The Codes of Masculinity: The man in the ad is portrayed as impatient with his wife. Women are traditionally the more patient ones of a couple and the man’s impatience here attests to this fact. This is interpreted here as a code of masculinity. However, the woman’s lack of deference to the man in this ad counters the code of masculinity. The stereotype of women deferring to men is not upheld here.

5.6 ANALYSIS OF FINANCIAL SECTOR (MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADVERTISEMENTS)

5.6.1 STANCHART HERE FOR GOOD

The ad shows people, men and women, in different settings. In the first scene there is a man standing at a waterfall as he looks at the water cascading down. There is determination on his face as if he were looking at a vision. In the second scene, the same man from the first scene is seen in a discussion with his colleagues, he appears to be the team leader. Here, there are three men and two women all professionally dressed and cast in a business environment. The main character appears to be discussing investment opportunities for Africa, deducing from the voiceover. In the last scene we see the main character walking on a footbridge as he looks down at the landscape. Even though the main character of the ad is a man, there are women in the professional setup as well.

The voiceover is done by a male all through the ad. This suggests men are the expert advisors for financial endeavours.

The Feminine Touch: There is no evidence of feminine touch in this ad as there is no instance where any character is shown holding on to anything.

Ritualization of Subordination: There is no evidence of subordination in this ad. When the men and women are shown in a professional setup, they appear to be equals. Neither body language nor the voiceover suggest any form of subordination.

Licensed Withdrawal: In the opening scene the main character is seen standing at a waterfall and looking intently as the water cascades down. He seems to have lost his thoughts in the movement of the water. In the last scene also we see him with a faraway look on his face as he looks down at the landscape from a footbridge. In both scenes the actor appears

withdrawn from his immediate environment. When women do appear in the ad they are paying rapt attention to their business partner as he talks. They appear to have a presence of mind and are not drifting away.

Infantilisation: none of the characters in the ad is infantilised. Where a young girl is shown in the ad, she is used to represent the future of Africa which is described as promising.

The Codes of Masculinity: The main character at every point in the ad exudes confidence, determination and foresight. When the female characters appear, they are portrayed as confident and actively involved in decision-making process. There appears to be no discrimination in portrayals here except that there are more males than females in the scene.

5.6.2 ACCESS BANK IPO

This ad shows a diversity of people and cultures represented. We have male and female, and people of different faiths (based on their dressing), and different professional background, going onboard a train. There are hardly any visible biases except that a critical look at the 42 seconds ad shows that in the onboarding process the first people to board the train are men dressed in suits. This presentation appears to be putting men before women. It could be interpreted as men taking the lead in every defining process since the ad is calling for people to join the Access bank IPO investment process.

The voiceover is done by a male character. This suggests that men are the experts when it comes to giving financial advice.

The Feminine Touch: There is no evidence of feminine touch in this ad. The women in the ad hold on firmly to their belongings as do the men, as they board the train.

Ritualization of Subordination: There is hardly any case of subordination in this ad. However, when we consider the fact that the first people to board the train are three men

before any woman, it appears to communicate the fact that women will defer to men to take the first steps in decision making processes such as investing in shares which has a lot of risks involved.

Licensed Withdrawal: Whereas all the women seem to be paying attention as they board the train, the first three men are seen engaged on their phones, absent-minded as they board the train. In this ad therefore, rather than women, men are those who are portrayed as withdrawn from their immediate environment or task.

Infantilisation: There is no instance of infantilisation in this ad. All characters are grownups boarding a train and appear to be doing just that without any child-like distractions. This probably because the activity of shares buying denoted in this ad does not accommodate children.

The Codes of Masculinity: Having three men take the lead in boarding the train could be said to be a portrayal of the supposed male values of leadership and risk taking. The women only follow after three men have taken the lead. However, the mere presence of women in the whole process could be considered a positive for the ad in that it acknowledges the fact that women can also invest in bank shares.

5.6.3 VODAFONE BUSINESS SOLUTIONS

The ad opens with a man jogging along the beach with a lot of determination written on his face. The next scene is that of a man, also very determined, who is flying a parachute from atop a mountain. This is followed by a man walking on a rope from a height as he balances a piece of wood in both hands. The next scene is that of a group of men racing to the finish line. The final scene is that of a woman holding her iPad as she assesses a building plan, probably a project she's working on, when she is satisfied with what she sees and the actual building appears, we see her walk away as other people walk in the background. Some of the

people in the background in the final scene are women and they are all professionally dressed and exude confidence and assertiveness in their strides.

The voicer of the ad is a male character and in his strong and confident voice he speaks of the resilience and determination of people who succeed at what they do.

Even though the ad has some women featuring in it, it is worth noting that out of five people who are shown to be doing the daring things that bring success, there is only one woman in the mix. In other words, the representations of men and women are uneven.

When the voicer says “the future belongs to those who keep going even when the sun sets, to those who ride the wind of change and soar above their challenges, to those who grasp victory from the jaws of defeat, to those who risk all to taste the sweet deal of success, to those who see glimpses of tomorrow in today’s reflections,” and we see only one woman in the mix, it could mean that the ratio of successful people in the future will be one woman to four men.

The Feminine Touch: There is no evidence of a loose grip on anything by any of the women who appear in the ad. The first woman holds her iPad with confidence as she assesses her building plan.

Ritualization of Subordination: There is no instance of subordination recorded in the ad either. The main female character is portrayed as assertive, independent and fulfilled. The strides of the women in the background in the final scene also exude confidence.

Licensed Withdrawal: The only evidence of withdrawal from the immediate environment is seen when the main female character looks back to when the land on which her building project stands was bare. This scene instead of presenting a negative perspective on the fact that women are easily transfixed rather helps the viewer see the achievement of the woman. She is able to supervise such a huge building project.

Infantilisation: there is no record of infantilisation in this ad as all characters act their age and do so with maturity.

The Codes of Masculinity: The fact that more men than women are portrayed in the ad which clearly talks about physically and mentally challenging achievements could be argued to be a sign of a gendered portrayal. In the ad, values traditionally ascribed to men like courage, confidence, determination and focus are displayed by the characters but there are more men than women displaying these characteristics.

5.6.4 ACCESS BANK BIG DEAL PROMO

The ad opens with a lady visiting a gentleman. The man is happy to receive the lady and offers her a seat. When the man leaves to get the lady a drink she starts noticing all the things that are wrong with the man's house. The television does not work, the fridge's door is unhitched, he uses old video tapes, and his fan is rusty and does not work. After noticing all these things, the lady leaves even before the man could bring her a drink. The second scene shows the woman and the man cuddled up on a sofa as they watch TV. In that scene the woman is happy because the man has gotten a home makeover after winning in the access bank promotion.

The woman is presented in this ad as materialistic and will be with a man only if he has everything to make life comfortable for her. The man is presented as the one who puts things together and is capable of taking care of himself and a woman. He is in charge of the woman when everything is well and comfortable.

The voicer in this ad is male.

The Feminine Touch: In the first scene of the ad we see the lady touching her hair and face as if to make sure everything is in order before she meets the man. She gently taps her hair

and passes her finger across her forehead to arrange her hair which in actual fact does not appear messy. One gets the impression that because she is meeting a man she has to make sure her hair and face look good hence the gestures with her hand.

Ritualization of Subordination: When the man's home is finally made over in the last scene, we see the lady and the man sitting on the sofa together as the man gives her a peck on the cheek and puts his arm around her shoulders in a possessive manner. The lady is portrayed as content with this as she draws closer to the man. This posture of man and woman seems to communicate the fact that the man is in charge and the woman is shielded by his presence.

Licensed Withdrawal: None of the characters seem withdrawn from their environment. If anything, the woman is portrayed as paying attention to details such that she is able to notice all the things that are wrong about the man's house on her first visit.

Infantilisation: The lady in the ad is infantilised to some extent considering that she is portrayed as someone who cannot stand difficult times such that when she realizes that the man has little working in his house, she runs away instead of asking leave of him. But she returns when he puts things together.

The Codes of Masculinity: The man is portrayed as the protector of the woman and the provider when he puts his house in order. Without the masculine trait of ability to provide for himself and a woman, he is shown as not man enough. In the final scene his arm around the woman's shoulder communicates his protective role as a man.

5.7 COMPARISON OF LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADS IN THE FINANCIAL SECTOR

Advertisements in the financial sector are said to feature more men than women because they involve activities in formal settings out of the home (Chyong-Lin & Jin-Tsann, 2009). For the ads that were studied for this sector, observations made with regards to the coding indices/frames were as follows;

For feminine touch under the local brands' ads, the *Fidelity 10X Richer Promo* has no record of the phenomenon even though women feature in the ad neither does the *Unibank Motor Insurance* even though there are women in this ad as well. There is no record of feminine touch in the *UT Bank SSNIT Contribution* ad because the ad does not feature any women. The *Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number* ad has a record of feminine touch where the woman in the ad is seen caressing her husband's head and other objects in the room.

For the multinational brands' ads, the *Stanchart Here for Good* ad has no record of feminine touch even though there are women in the ad, the same is the case for the *Access Bank IPO* and the *Vodafone Business Solutions* ads though they also feature women. But in the *Access Bank Big Deal Promo* ad, feminine touch is recorded where the lady in the first scene is seen caressing her face and hair before meeting the gentleman.

It is observed that whereas one of the local ads (*UT Bank SSNIT Contribution*) does not account for feminine touch because no female is seen in the ad, two of the ads (*Fidelity 10X Richer Promo* and *Unibank Motor Insurance*) do not record feminine touch even though they feature women, and the *Kasapa Free at Night, Wrong Number* ad shows evidence of feminine touch. This is as against the multinational brands' ads where even though all the ads feature women, only one ad (*Access Bank Big Deal Promo*) has evidence of the phenomenon.

For the frame of ritualization of subordination for the local brands' ads, the *Fidelity 10X Richer Promo* does not record the phenomenon. The case of subordination recorded in the *Unibank Motor Insurance* ad is that of authority and not gender. There is no record of subordination in the *UT Bank SSNIT Contribution* ad since it does not feature a woman except for the voiceover. With regards to body posture the woman dominates the man but verbally the man dominates the man in the *Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number*, this shows even when the woman is bigger than the man, he is still considered superior to her.

For the multinational brands' ads, neither the *Stanchart Here for Good* nor the *Vodafone Business Solutions* ads show evidence of female to male subordination even though there are women in the ads. Having the men board the train before the women in the *Access Bank IPO* ad is considered a sort of subordination of the female. The *Access Bank Big Deal Promo* ad shows evidence of female to male subordination when in the last scene the man is seen with his arms around the lady's shoulders as they sit on the couch.

Relatively, multinational brands' ads are noted as depicting more female to male subordination where two out of four ads give evidence of the frame (*Access Bank IPO* and *Access Bank Big Deal Promo*) whereas only one local brands' ad gives evidence to that effect (*Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number*), two do not, and the fourth does not feature women at all (*UT Bank SSNIT Contribution*).

Considering the frame of licensed withdrawal for the local brands' ads, both men and women in the *Fidelity 10X Richer Promo* ad are shown as withdrawn after they win in the promotion. There is no evidence of withdrawal in the neither the *Unibank Motor Insurance* nor the *UT Bank SSNIT Contribution* ads. Yet, the *Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number* ad shows a woman withdrawn from her immediate environment as she talks to a wrong caller on phone for two hours.

Looking at licensed withdrawal for the multinational brands' ads, it is observed that the main male character in the *Stanchart Here for Good* ad is depicted as withdrawn from the present in some scenes of the ad whereas the women are in the present. In the *Access Bank IPO* ad, it is men rather than women who are depicted as withdrawn from their immediate environment. The evidence of withdrawal shown in the *Vodafone Business Solutions* ad is considered as for the purpose of backgrounding the scene and is therefore not recorded here as licensed withdrawal. There is no evidence of withdrawal in the *Access Bank Big Deal Promo* ad as all characters are depicted as aware of their environment.

Generally, more men than women are portrayed as withdrawn in the financial sector ads. This potentially because the sector features more men than women. However, in comparison to the local brands' ads, the multinational brands' ads have more men shown as withdrawn from their immediate environment (*Access Bank IPO* and *Stanchart Here for Good*), yet no women are shown as withdrawn in this group of ads. But, the local brands' ads on the contrary show more women than men withdrawn in scenes in the ads (*Fidelity 10X Richer Promo* and *Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number*).

For infantilisation, starting with the local brands' ads in the financial sector, none of the characters in the *Fidelity 10X Richer Promo*, *UT Bank SSNIT Contribution* and the *Unibank Motor Insurance* ads is infantilized. In the *Kasapa Free Night Calls, Wrong Number* ad, the woman in the ad is infantilized as she is portrayed as being carried away and playfully touching everything in the room.

Under the multinational brands' ads, the *Stanchart Here for Good* ad does not infantilise any of the characters neither do the *Access Bank IPO* and the *Vodafone Business Solutions*. The *Access Bank Big Deal Promo* ad however, infantilises the woman when she is portrayed as someone who cannot stand difficulties.

It is evident here that both local and multinational brands' ads in the financial sector do not overly infantilise people, but when instances of infantilisation is recorded in an ad each for both categories, it is the women in these ads who are the victims of infantilisation.

The frame, codes of masculinity is depicted as follows in the financial sector; for the local brands' ads, the *Fidelity 10X Richer Promo* ad records this phenomenon in the character of the second gentleman in the ad where he is portrayed as confident, strong and not overcome by the excitement like the women in the ad. The *Unibank Motor Insurance* ad records codes of masculinity in the character of the policeman when he interacts with the women in the car and seemingly allows them go because they are women. The absence of a woman in the *UT Bank SSNIT Contribution* ad is recorded as a code of masculinity where women are hardly seen in ads that present roles out of the home. The portrayal of the man as impatient with his wife when she receives a call in the *Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Wrong Number* ad is recorded as a code of masculinity where men are presented as time conscious.

In the Multinational segment, the codes that characterise masculinity like confidence, determination and foresight are evident in men and women alike in the *Stanchart Here for Good* ad. Having three men lead the onboarding process in the *Access Bank IPO* ad, is recorded as a code of masculinity where men are presented as leaders over women. The *Vodafone Business Solutions* ad casts more men than women and this is interpreted as a code of masculinity since the acts that are depicted in the ad involve more physical and mental endurance. It seems to suggest that men more than women are characterized by these virtues. In the *Access Bank Big Deal Promo* ad, the code of masculinity is recorded in the character of the man when he puts his arm around the woman at the end of the ad as if to indicate possession.

Here, it is observed that the local brands' ads in the financial sector, more than the multinational ones, ascribe values considered masculine to men only. All the ads in that segment feature men in a somewhat superior role to women. The same is almost the case for the multinational brands' ads, however, the *Stanchart Here for Good*, *Vodafone Business Solutions and Access Bank IPO* ads show women displaying some of these values ascribed to men, albeit, there are more men portrayed in such ads displaying such values.

5.8 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN LOCAL BRANDS' FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR ADS IN GHANA

1. Women as nurturers and caregivers

The frame analysis theory stipulates that societies construct a well-defined way of viewing things which conforms to social reality (Jameson, 1976). When Goffman expanded the use of social frames to advertising he asserted that advertisers pick up conventionalized representations and employ them in their ads to make it easier for their audiences in specific social contexts to identify with their content (Goffman, 1974). What this means is that the frames that are identified in the ads reviewed must be the most socially acceptable.

All local ads reviewed, had the running theme of the woman as the nurturer and caregiver. The woman is seen taking care of her sick child, bathing her child, feeding her child, nursing her or husband back to health. This is the traditional image of the woman and this frame is maintained through the majority (four) of the local ads reviewed. This portrayal of women fits with research claims which seek to argue that even though women engage in a lot more roles outside of the home, advertising still presents the traditional frame of the woman as the nurturer and caregiver in the home (Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988; Gill, 2003; Olavarria, 2001; Addy, 2006). This nurturing function of the woman is evident in the *Auntie Mary's Gripe Mixture*, *Royal Drinks*, *Key Soap* and *Stopkof Cough Mixture* ads. This frame is in adherence

with the patriarchal systems where men and women have to play well-defined traditional gender roles with the one of the woman's being nurturing (Gilly, 1988).

2. Women as domestic goddesses (Donner, 2016)

Another identifiable frame that runs through the local brands' ads reviewed was that of the woman as the domestic goddess. The women in all five ads reviewed are in one way or another involved in certain domestic duties. They are either doing laundry or talking of the efficacy of some laundry products (*Auntie Mary's Gripe Mixture, Key Soap*), cooking (*Kiss Condom*), feeding their children (*Auntie Mary's Gripe Mixture, Royal drinks*) or taking care of their husband at home (*Stopkof Cough Mixture*). All these portrayals of the woman communicate the domestic goddess that she is. Also, the fact that women are cast as experts when it comes to domestic products and services asserts to this frame. The settings of each of these ads show the woman in the home, that is her domain and that is where she is fulfilled (Addy, 2006).

Literature supports the fact that the frame of women as domestic goddesses as seen in the ads reviewed are typical of products and services for the food and healthcare category. Research in this area suggests that when women are presented in ads they are most likely to be shown in a domestic setup and exhibit joy and fulfilment at the ability to do what is naturally and socially their duty (Whelehan, 1995; Gill, 2003; Addy, 2006; Tsegah, 2009).

3. Women as expert narrators for food and healthcare products

For all the ads studied here, there is a noticeable trend of the voicers or narrators being women. With the exception of the *Key Soap* ad, all the voiceovers and jingles that accompany the ads are done by female actors. This goes to accentuate the fact that women are considered experts especially when it comes to domestic and healthcare products (Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009; Tsegah, 2009). The argument that is made here is that because women are

presented as those whose duties revolve around these products and services, they are the best to testify or talk about them.

5.9 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' FOOD AND HEALTHCARE SECTOR ADS IN GHANA

1. Women as nurturers and caregivers

Just as found in the local brands' ads, a dominant frame in the multinational brands' food and healthcare sector ads is that of the woman as a nurturer and caregiver. Here too we see the woman bathing her child (*Geisha*), serving breakfast to her children and doing the dishes (*Milo Basketball*), cleaning the kitchen counter and drawing a bath for her son with the best antiseptic (*Camel Say Yes to Life*) and prescribing the best skincare soap for healthy skin (*Dettol Even Tone*).

The portrayals in these ads give credence to arguments made by researchers that ads for domestic, food and healthcare will generally present women as nurturers and caregivers (Olavarria, 2001; Gill, 2003).

2. Women as domestic goddesses

The multinational brands' ads just like in the local brands' ads present women as domestic goddesses. They are involved in duties that are domestic in nature including cleaning the home (*Camel Say Yes to Life*), bathing the child (*Geisha*), preparing breakfast and feeding the children (*Milo Basketball*), and prescribing the best skincare product (*Dettol Even Tone*). In all of these portrayals the women are presented as more fulfilled in their domestic settings. They are experts in these fields. Even when they are shown in a more formal professional capacity as in the Even Tone ad where the woman is a doctor, the product in question still

pertains to skincare hence healthcare. It says of the woman an expert at products and services that are domestic as literature has argued (Gill, 2003; Fedorenko, 2015).

3. Women as expert narrators for food and healthcare products

With the exception of the *Milo* ad, all the multinational brands' ads studied in this sector had female characters doing the voiceovers. Just like those of the local brands' ads in this sector, the dominant use of female actors for the voiceovers goes to support the assertion that female rather than male actors dominate voiceovers for domestic, food and healthcare products (Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009).

4. Women succeeding in the public sphere

Even if it is not the most dominant trend observed in the ads studied here, it is noted that in the *Milo* and *Dettol Even Tone* ads women are portrayed as venturing in the public sphere and succeeding at their pursuits. The *Milo* ad shows a girl as good at a male dominated sport of basketball, while the *Dettol Even Tone* ad shows a young lady also expertly playing basketball with a group of other young ladies, in the same ad there is also a female dermatologist who tells the audience of the advantage of skincare and the best product to use. These female characters are portrayed as assertive and excellent even out of the home and domestic setting. These representations support findings by Tsegah, 2009, which claim that there are some positive representations of women in ads even though they are not many. It could be concluded that the multinational food and healthcare ads were more likely to portray women out of their gendered roles.

5.10 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN LOCAL BRANDS' FINANCIAL SECTOR ADS IN GHANA

1. Men dominating the financial sphere

Literature suggests that societies have traditionally defined roles which place men and women in separate spaces. Women are confined to the home and domestic setting referred to as the private sphere whereas men are in charge of the public sphere which is constituted of more formal, mentally and physically exerting professions (Fraser, 1992; Sreberny & Van Zoonen, 2000; Gill, 2007). The financial sector which is considered a public male dominated sector has in reality seen a lot of female players and advertisements since they borrow social frames must replicate this reality (Goffman, 1979; Gill, 2003).

The ads reviewed for this category showed a majority male cast in various capacities outside of the home either as business executives (*Fidelity 10X Richer Promo, Unibank Motor Insurance, UT Bank SSNIT Contribution*), commercial drivers (*Unibank Motor Insurance*) and security service (*Unibank Motor Insurance*). When women do appear in financial sector ads in this domain, they are few in comparison to men.

2. Women as independent consumers in the financial sphere

There is an uneven representation of women in the ads studied in this sector as there are more men than women. When the women are cast in these ads they are portrayed as consumers rather than players in the sector. In the *Fidelity 10X Richer* ad, the first woman is seen depositing money into her account and in a later scene she is seen jubilating for having won in the promotion. There is no indication whatsoever as to whether she works or not. The only thing that can be deduced from her scenes is the fact that she is an independent consumer of

the bank's service since she does not appear with a man in any of the scenes. The same is the case for the two women in the *Unibank Motor Insurance* ad.

Whereas one can tell from their appearances that the men in the ad are commercial drivers, a business executive of some sort and a policeman, it is difficult to determine if the women in the ad work out of the home. They are however presented as consumers of the product. This assertion is also true of the woman in the *Kasapa Free at Night Calls* ad. The woman is seen in her living room receiving a call. She is enjoying the service provided by the network but nothing more can be said based on the ad as to whether she works out of the home or not. Even though the *UT SSNIT Contribution* ad uses a woman for the voiceover, this is one out of five ads.

This uneven portrayal of women in the financial sector ads and their portrayal as consumers and not players in the sector supports the assertion that gender representations in the financial sector are generally unequal (Tsegah, 2009; Balas, 2014).

3. Men as expert narrators for financial products

In each of these ads, the voiceovers are done by male actors. Even though the *UT SSNIT Contribution* ad has a female and a male actor doing the voiceover, what is evident here is that in all the ads male actors do the voiceovers. Since usually the voiceover is the expert giving further explanation for the product or service being advertised, this means that men are portrayed as the experts in the financial sector.

5.11 DISCUSSION OF COMMON THEMES IN MULTINATIONAL BRANDS'

FINANCIAL SECTOR ADS IN GHANA

1. Men dominating the financial sphere

One of the frames presented in the multinational brands' financial category is seen in the dominance of men in the sector. In each of the ads studied in this category, we see more men than women in the professional setting. In the *Stanchart Here for Good* ad, there are two women out of five persons cast in the professional environment. In the *Vodafone business Solutions* ad out of five people who are shown to be doing the daring things that bring success, there is only one woman in the group. The *Access Bank IPO* ad shows a number of people getting onboard a train which is symbolic of their purchasing of shares from the bank. Also, in the onboarding process the first people to board the train are men dressed in suits. This puts the man ahead of the woman when it comes to making vital financial decisions. In the *Access Bank Big Deal Promo* ad, we are again presented with a man who has to provide a certain standard of comfort before his lady friend is comfortable enough to visit him. Even though number is not a factor here, the fact that it is the man who is portrayed as the financial provider asserts his dominance. The absence of a woman in the *Barclays Savings Campaign* ad only accentuates the dominance of men in the financial sector.

2. Women as active players in the financial sphere

Noticeable in the multinational brands' financial sector ad is the fact that women are presented as not as consumers but active players in the sector. Even though the men dominate the sector, there is still a number of women in the ads who are portrayed as active participants in that public sphere.

In the *Stanchart Here for Good* ad, we see two women out of five actors presented as partners in a professional setup. In the *Vodafone Business Solutions* ad, we also see a woman presented as a successful professional out of the home. There is also in the *Access Bank IPO* ad seven women who are presented as on the move to buy the shares in the bank.

The financial sector for multinational brands' ads portrays women as independent, assertive and active players in the sector where the ads feature women.

3. Men as expert narrators for financial products

Voiceovers for all the ads in this category are done by male actors. The men are the experts who give more insight on what the product or service is and what it stands for. The dominance of male voiceovers in this sector seems to suggest that the sector is a masculine one.

5.12 COMPARISON OF THEMES IDENTIFIED IN LOCAL AND MULTINATIONAL BRANDS' ADS

There are certain themes or frames that run through both the local and multinational brands' ads studied in the food and healthcare sector. These frames, according to research, are what characterize this sector (Gill, 2003; Addy, 2006; Tsegah, 2009; Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009; Balas, 2014). What this could mean is that the multinational brands' ads could have probably adopted the frames that characterize ads in the Ghanaian advertising industry and enlisted them in order to sell to the local market. Research has found this a viable option for most multinational brands (Bloch & Richins, 1992; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000). The frames in question include the following: Women as nurturers and caregivers, women as domestic goddesses, women dominate the voiceovers for food and healthcare products

The departing point for the local and multinational brands' ads in this category is where it is observed that unlike the local brands' ads where the success of women out of the home is absent, we see in the multinational brands' ads that women are also portrayed as succeeding outside the home.

Relative to the financial sector, the ads studied present some common frames across both local and multinational brands categories. These similarities serve as evidence to the fact that in a given context a multinational brand might adapt the frames used locally to enhance sales (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000). The common themes identified are: Men dominate the financial sector ads as professionals and consumers, men are the expert narrators for financial products

However, differences were also evident. For instance, in the financial sector, the local brands' ads tend to portray women as consumers of financial products rather than as professional players in the sector, the opposite is true of the multinational brand ads which tended to accommodate women's professional roles in ads.

5.13 FINDINGS

This section presents the findings of the research relative to the research questions that guided the study.

RQ1: How do local brands' ads and multinational brands' ads portray women?

Relative to the coding indices used in exploring the portrayals in this study, it is observed that in local brands' ads in the food and healthcare sector the phenomenon of feminine touch occurs more frequently where female actors have a loose or superficial grip on objects or other actors as compared to multinational brands' ads which generally show the female actors having firmer and confident grip on objects and others. The frame of ritualization of subordination is highly recorded in local brands' ads where three out of five ads give evidence of women deferring to men whereas in multinational brands' ads one out of five ads records such incidence. Generally, women appear to be actively involved in their real time activities in the ads. However, the local brands' ads more than the multinational ones show more evidence of licensed withdrawal where two out of five local brands' ads show females

withdrawn from actual activities. This occurs only in one of the multinational brands' ads, that is, the *Geisha Soap with Honey* ad. Hardly do the ads in the food and healthcare sector infantilise women. The local brands' ads record only one such incidence and same is for the multinational brands' ads. Interestingly, one of the local brands' ads infantilises a man where a sick man is seen deferring to his wife for care. This turnaround is contrary to Goffman's (1979) stipulation where he says that women more than men are infantilized in ads. Considering the codes of masculinity evidence showed that both local and multinational brands' ads in the food and healthcare sector promoted ideals of traditional masculinities where women are confined to domestic roles and men are portrayed as actors out of domestic settings and in more formal sectors (Goffman, 1979; Gill, 2008). Yet, in the multinational brands' ads more than the local ones, we observe women acting in traditionally male dominated fields like sports and medicine. The women acting out of the home portray masculine virtues of confidence, assertiveness and expertise at what they do.

For the financial sector, feminine touch is hardly recorded in either local or multinational ads. When women appear in the ads here, their grips on objects and others are mostly firm. The exceptions are few where it is observed that one ad on either sides shows a woman who has a superficial grip on something (*Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Access bank big deal promo*). In the instance of ritualization of subordination, there is hardly any record of female to male subordination in both local and multinational brands' ads. The women in the ads are portrayed as independent. There is only one instance where a multinational brand's ad (*Access bank big deal promo*) shows a woman as subordinate to a man. Men in the multinational brands' ads are portrayed as more withdrawn from their immediate tasks than the women (*Stanchart, Access IPO*). Out of five ads, evidence of licensed withdrawal is recorded in two local brands' ads. In these ads, a woman is seen withdrawn from her immediate surrounding (*Kasapa Free at Night Calls*) and in the other both man and woman

are withdrawn (*Fidelity 10x richer*). The ads of both multinational and local brands' record an instance each of infantilisation (*Access IPO, Kasapa Free at Night Calls*). The code of masculinities recorded in the local brands' ads in the financial sector were evident in the portrayal of more men than women in these ads, also, the women in the local brands' ads were portrayed as consumers. The case is different for multinational brands' ads where women are presented as professionals in the sector. They exude confidence and other values that are traditionally considered masculine.

Some common then varying themes were uncovered during the analysis. Common themes identified in the food and healthcare sector across geographical reach of brands include: Women as nurturers and caregivers, **women as domestic goddesses** **and** **women as voicers** for food and healthcare products.

This evidence agrees with existing knowledge of gendered portrayals in ads (Gill, 2003; Addy, 2006; Fedorenko, 2015; Tsegah, 2009; Balas, 2014).

However, there were some varying portrayals in local and multinational brands' ads in the food and healthcare sector. Whereas women were hardly cast outside of the domestic setup in the local brands' ads, we see in the multinational brands' ads that women are also portrayed as succeeding outside the home.

In the financial sector ads women are portrayed differently in the local brands' ads from the multinational brands' ads. Whereas the local brands' ads portrayed women as largely consumers of financial services and products, multinational brands' ads portrayed them as active professional players in the sector.

RQ2: In what ways does the product category shape how women are portrayed in local and multinational brands' ads?

Taking into consideration the coding indices used in this study, it is observed that stereotypical representations of women are more consistent in the food and healthcare sector than in the financial sector. Both local and multinational brands' ads in this sector cast more women than men in the traditional roles of nurturing and catering for the home. This supports Goffman's assertion of the code of masculinity where women more than men are responsible for roles that have to do with domesticity. Where men appear in these ads, they are for the most part portrayed as receiving care from women, or doing something more physically challenging. The occurrences of feminine touch, ritual subordination, licensed withdrawal and infantilisation are also highly recorded in this sector for both local and multinational brands' ads in comparison with ads in the financial sector. The explanation for this is ascribed to the fact that ads in the food and healthcare sector feature more women than men and therefore has the tendency of showing more skewed gender portrayals. Notwithstanding this general observation, it is worth noting that local brands' ads more than multinational ones in this sector portraying women in stereotypical home duties.

In the financial sector however, records of stereotypical portrayals coded by the occurrence of feminine touch, ritual subordination, licensed withdrawal, infantilisation and the codes of masculinity are fewer. This observation is generally the case because both local and multinational brands' ads in this category feature fewer women making it difficult for these portrayals to be explored. Nonetheless, there are noted differences between local and multinational brands' ads where women in local brands' ads are portrayed as consumers whereas men are professionals in the sector, this supports the code of masculinity, presenting

men as generators of wealth outside the domestic setting. This is not the case in multinational brands' ads where both men and women are portrayed as professionals.

Research's suggestion that product category impacts how women are portrayed in ads is generally true here (Uribe et al, 2007; Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009), however, there are some underlying differences between how they were portrayed in local and multinational brands' ads as discussed above.

A further look at the ads studied revealed some common and varying themes, and these are discussed too. Research findings suggest that product category has a telling effect on how women are portrayed in ads. For instance, it is said that food and healthcare products see women portrayed as nurturers or performing domestic duties while products in more formal sectors, like the financial sector, generally feature more men (Uribe et al, 2007; Chyong-Ling & Jin-Tsann, 2009).

The portrayals observed in the local brands' ads in the food and healthcare sector support such assertions. Women in this product category were portrayed as nurturers, domestic goddesses and experts at giving advice on such products. For the most part the actors used in these ads were females. In the multinational brands' ads studied, the same phenomenon was observed. The women were presented as nurturers and domestic experts. Beyond that, however, multinational brands' ads in this sector showed a wider diversity of the roles of women in this sector: women were cast in professional settings.

In the financial sector the observations were as follows: the local brands' ads used more men than women to communicate the brands' messages. Where women were used they were presented as consumers. For the multinational brands' ads in this product category the 'men only' norm is not the case. When women appear in the ads here, they appear as active players in the field, as professional as the men who appear in these ads.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter summarises the entire study, highlighting the major findings. It also draws a conclusion on the study in relation to literature that was reviewed in the course of the study.

The limitations of the study are presented, also, recommendations are made to both future researchers and advertising practitioners on possible considerations on the portrayal of women in their future works.

6.1 STUDY SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study used a qualitative approach and content analysis as method to uncover the portrayal of women in local and multinational brands' advertisements in Ghana. Five of Goffman (1979) coding indices were used to analyse the ads that served as data for this study. The findings of this study, to a large extent, supported what literature on the subject suggests. That is, gender portrayals in advertisements are stereotypical in nature, rendering to a large degree unrealistic representations of women and men in society (Gill, 2003; Lindner, 2004; Addy, 2006; Tsegah, 2009; Balas, 2014). However, in this study, instances of variations were recorded between local and multinational brands. Advertisements from two categories were used for the study's analysis: food and healthcare as one, and the financial sector as the second. In the food and healthcare sector, the study found that local more than multinational brands' ads tended to portray women stereotypically by showing them as either having superficial grips on objects and other actors, or withdrawn from their immediate environment, as subordinates to their male counterparts, or infantilized. In both local and multinational

brands' ads however, women exhibited characteristics that Goffman argues characterise masculinity.

Aside from Goffman's frames, the study also uncovered some similar themes across both local and multinational brands' ads studied in this sector: Women as nurturers and caregivers, women as domestic goddesses, and women as expert narrators for food and healthcare products.

The difference recorded in this sector was that multinational brands' ads' included portrayal of women as actors in the public sphere. However marginal such portrayals were, they supported the argument made by researchers suggesting that there could be some differences in how women are portrayed in ads of a similar sector (Keegan, 1970; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000; Tsegah, 2009).

In reference to Goffman's frames, ads in the financial sector for both local and multinational brands generally fared better in their portrayal of women as opposed to those in the food and healthcare sector, this observation is however arguable since fewer women appear in ads in this sector as compared to the food and healthcare sector. Relative to feminine touch, local brands' ads here recorded an instance of superficial grip and so did the multinational ones, but the latter had more women with assertive grips than did the former. Ritualization of subordination is recorded once each in both multinational and local ads, hardly do women appear to be withdrawn in the sense of losing control of their emotions in this sector. When this occurs, it is in multinational brands' ads. Here, both male and female are withdrawn in the scenes (*Stanchart Here for Good, Vodafone business solutions*). Just like ritualization of subordination, infantilisation is recorded once in each group's ads (*Kasapa Free at Night Calls, Access Bank Big Deal Promo*). Looking at the occurrence of the codes of masculinity in the financial sector, there is evidence to the effect that women in both local and

multinational brands' ads are largely portrayed in the same way as men in the sector, that is to say they are assertive, confident and goal getters. However, the local brands' ads portray fewer women comparative to multinational brands' ads, and they present women as consumers whereas the multinational brands' ads give a more rounded portrayal of women in their capacities as professionals alongside the men in the ads.

Other observations noted in the financial sector were the uncovering of certain common and differentiating themes between local and multinational brands' ads in the sector. The common themes are: Men dominating the financial sphere and men as expert narrators for financial products

The occurrence of these frames in the financial sector sustain claims by research that ads that are set in the public sphere will more often than not give prominence to men over women (Sreberny & Van Zoonen, 2000).

There were some disparities between local and multinational brands' ads studied in this sector also, they include the following: Women were presented as independent consumers of financial products in local brands' ads and women were presented as active players in the financial sphere in multinational brands' ads

These themes suggest that multinational brands' ads in Ghana are more reality and gender conscious than local brands' ads in the country. Multinational brands' ads here presented women as more assertive and independent players in the sector. These images of the woman are more incline towards social reality than what is shown in brands' ads in the sector where only one side of the story is seen, that is, women as consumers of financial products and services.

Based on the first research question that embodied this study, it was found that local and multinational brands' ads in Ghana generally portrayed women using some stereotypical frames.

However, there were some varying portrayals in local and multinational brands' ads where the multinational brands' ads showed more favourable and realistic portrayals of women. The second research question which sought to find out the ways in which product category shaped the portrayals of women in local and multinational brands' ads found that in the local brands' ads women were portrayed largely in domestic roles in the food and healthcare sector ads whereas men were mostly absent in such ads, and in the financial sector for local brands' ads, men were more prominent and portrayed as the movers of that sector whereas women were portrayed mostly as consumers in that sector. In the multinational brands' ads for the food and healthcare sector, the portrayals were mostly the same as those of the local brands except that they did present some images of women out of the domestic setting. In the financial sector, the portrayals of women were same as those of men, given that they were both portrayed as independent, assertive and successful players in that sector. However, there were more images of men than women in this sector.

6.2 LIMITATIONS

Given that this study is a qualitative one, it is prone to a lot of subjectivity and can lend itself to a lot of interpretations based on the discretion of the reviewer. This is the case for all qualitative works. Also, even though for a qualitative work the sample size may be mostly encompassing, it is still too small a size to base on and draw general conclusions, yet it is highly likely that the findings presented here may be the same for further research on the subject.

The three-month period to do the research was restricting. Given a longer duration, this study could have considered a wider sample. Also, there could have been more interaction with industry to determine the decisions that go into gender casting for various ads. It was quite difficult finding current literature on gender and advertising issues in Ghana and on the continent.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study attempted to look at local and multinational brands' advertisements in two major categories, that is, food and healthcare and the financial sectors. It will be interesting to find out how the portrayal of women will be for a more exhaustive number of product categories. Also, researchers may consider conducting a study that interacts with advertisers and advertising agencies to find out what goes into their casting decisions when it comes to gender. That will be revealing.

Even though the findings of this study suggest multinational brands' ads tend to portray women more realistically than local ads, it is however evident that the portrayal of women are still very stereotypical. Advertisers and practitioners in that industry must make a conscious effort in their casting and role definitions to reflect the reality of the modern women in Ghana. This is because there are more women working in formerly male-dominated fields and men who also do domestic chores.

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