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Office of the Status of Women
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet

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FACULTAD DE PSICOLOGIA
U. N. A. M.

**Fair Exposure:
Guidelines for the constructive
and positive portrayal
and presentation of women
in the media**

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Foreword

The media is a powerful determinant of attitudes. Unhappily it has all too often tended to demean, trivialise or ignore women's individuality, their contribution to social and economic life, their struggle for justice for themselves and others, their humanness.

The need to reform media portrayal of women has been recognised by international organisations, by governments of other countries and by non-government organisations in Australia, yet there are no Australian standards to ensure that practices long complained of by women are avoided.

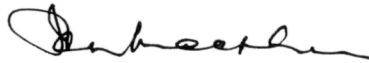
Through *Fair Exposure*, the Office of the Status of Women has taken an important first step. We recommend these guidelines to all involved in or concerned about the portrayal of women in the media.

It is not common in Australia for a Minister and a Shadow Minister to write a foreword together. The fact that we do so now signifies the importance which Government and Opposition attach to this subject.



Senator Susan Ryan
Minister Assisting the Prime Minister
on the Status of Women

Canberra
August 1983



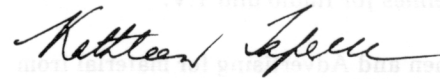
Ian Macphée
Shadow Minister responsible
for Women's Affairs

Preface

Fair Exposure is a response to the concern women feel about the way they are portrayed by the media, a concern expressed in submissions to inquiries, in letters to editors, in complaints made to various agencies including the Office of the Status of Women, and in response to surveys.

Our aim is to provide guidelines to assist those who would like to see the media recognise the importance of women's contribution to society, treat their views, goals and aspirations seriously and with realism, and avoid language which suggests that women are other than equal partners in human endeavour.

The National Women's Advisory Council and the State Government Women's Advisers in New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria have endorsed these guidelines and we appreciate the assistance they have provided in their development.



Kathleen Taperell
Director
Office of the Status of Women

August 1983

Acknowledgments

This document draws significantly on excellent material prepared by a number of organisations and individuals. We particularly wish to acknowledge the following:

Dorothy Aaron for material from *About Face: Towards a positive image of women in advertising*

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for *Language Guidelines—Portrayal of Women in C.B.C. Programs*

Alicia Lee for material from *People and Women People: Are Women Humans?*

McGraw-Hill Book Company for material from *Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes in McGraw-Hill Book Company Publications*

Casey Miller and Kate Swift for material from *The Handbook of Non Sexist Writing for Writers, Editors and Speakers*

Canadian Task Force on Sex Role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media for material from *Guidelines for Radio and T.V. Advertisements*

Canadian Task Force on Women and Advertising for material from *Women and Advertising—Today's Messages—Yesterday's Images*

U.S. National Advertising Review Board for *Advertising and Women*

Reckitt & Colman for Keen's mustard advertisement

West Australian newspaper for cartoons in text

Women's Electoral Lobby (New South Wales) for material from *Submission to the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal*

Women media workers for material from *New Journalist*

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Who thinks this is an important subject?

For a number of years women's organisations, educational bodies and individuals have been voicing their concern in publications, articles and submissions to various hearings and inquiries about the ways in which women are portrayed or presented by the electronic and print media.

Most complaints have been about outdated or unrealistic stereotypes of women, the failure to reflect the status of women in our society today, and the continued projection of women as sex objects in broadcast or published material and in advertisements.

Internationally, the subject has been raised frequently during the United Nations Decade for Women, 1976–85. The Program of Action for the Second Half of the Decade adopted at the World Conference of the Decade in Copenhagen in July 1980 contained a number of measures specifically relating to the media and women. Recommendations made by international organisations are in Appendix A.

In a number of countries important initiatives to counter negative presentation of women through the media have come from industry and government bodies. These include:

U.S.A.

- *Advertising and Women*, National Advertising Review Board
- *Shattering sex role stereotypes . . . foundations for growth*, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- *Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes in McGraw-Hill Book Company Publications*, McGraw-Hill

Canada

- *Women and Advertising—Today's Messages—Yesterday's Images?*, Canadian Advertising Advisory Board
- *Language Guidelines—Portrayal of Women in C.B.C. Programs*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
- *Guidelines for Radio and T.V. Ads*, Canadian Radio-television and Communications Commission
- *Sex Role Stereotyping*, Canadian Advertising Advisory Board

U.K.

- *Images of Women: Guidelines for promoting equality through journalism*, National Union of Journalists
- Norway has a Marketing Control Act which includes provisions to ensure that advertisements do not violate the principle of equal status for women and men and in no way give the impression of sexual disparagement or offensive portrayal of women or men.

This concern is shared by non-government organisations, individuals and women working in the media in Australia.

Reports of public inquiries have referred directly to the question of sex stereotyping and the portrayal of women. A selection of their recommendations appears in Appendix B.

Another indication of concern in Australia is gained from the National Television Standards Survey conducted for the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal in November 1979 (Table 1, Appendix D). Respondents were asked whether they approved or disapproved of the way in which women are shown in advertisements and programs. A total of 44 per cent of all respondents and 52 per cent of women disapproved of the depiction of women in advertisements at least some of the time, and 35 per cent of all respondents and 41 per cent of women disapproved of the way women were shown in programs at least some of the time.

This document is primarily concerned with offering suggestions for ways in which the media can more realistically present women, their lifestyles, opinions, ideas and aspirations.

It is clear, however, that this is only part of an educational process. What is ultimately required is greater and more equal

representation of women in the workforces of broadcasting, newspaper, publishing and advertising organisations, and especially in decision-making positions.

Employment of women in the media

A survey conducted by the Office of the Status of Women in 1981 identified an overall under-representation of women in the A.B.C. and commercial broadcasting stations. Women tend to be grouped in the clerical and support services areas of station administration. They are particularly poorly represented in technical and managerial positions and only slightly better in professional and creative positions.

A report of the survey is included at Appendix C.

There is clearly considerable opportunity for improvement in the employment status of women within radio and television broadcasting. It is not the purpose of this Report to specifically address the methods which employers could adopt to achieve this. However we would recommend that senior management might compare the situation identified within the A.B.C. with their own circumstances and carefully consider the recommendations set out in the Report, *Women in the A.B.C.*, and those in the report of the Committee of Review of the A.B.C. (*The A.B.C. in Review*, AGPS, Canberra, 1981), especially recommendation 70.

We would also draw management's attention to the *Affirmative Action Handbook* published by the Review of New South Wales Government Administration (Review of New South Wales Government Administration, Sydney, 1980) and the National Labour Consultative Council's *Equal Employment Opportunities for Women, Guidelines for Employers*, AGPS, Canberra, 1980.

Finally, poor media images of women are bad business. A body of survey and market research work indicates that many media organs may be failing to reach a large number of women because they lack an understanding of the contemporary status, attitudes, motivation and aspirations of Australian women (see for example SSC & B: Lintas' survey *1980s Woman*).

Advertising and women

Advertising can play an important part in educating and informing the public about the existence, content and worth of products, goods and services. It can, and often does, do this in a constructive, creative and entertaining way.

Nevertheless, whether unintentionally or not, there is a great deal of advertising material which presents women in a way which they find offensive. Sometimes this is because they portray women as sex objects, sometimes because they show women having limited careers and lifestyles, and sometimes because they suggest that women are foolish or incompetent.

To capture attention some attempt to encapsulate an image by the use of sexual projection or innuendo or by the use of caricatures—of women in the home, by women reliant on men, by masterful men, decision-making men, of indecisive or incompetent women, of the 'dumb blonde' etc.

The message is not always blatant, and quite often it is an underlying assumption which may cause offence.

In using inappropriate material in advertisements, advertisers risk not only causing offence, but also alienating a significant proportion of their potential market.

What do women find offensive in advertising?

In 1981 the Federal Office of the Status of Women, the New South Wales Women's Advisory Council, the Victorian Office of Women's Affairs and the South Australian Women's Adviser's Office conducted a survey to find out what women find offensive in advertising.

A survey form, based on one used for similar purposes by the Ontario Status of Women Council in 1975, was distributed to a wide range of women's organisations and individuals. It should be emphasised that this was not intended as a representative

sampling of opinion. It was specifically designed to elicit from women who found an advertisement offensive, just what it was that caused offence. It also attempted to find out if there were particular groups of products or services or media outlets which predominated and what occupations or roles were represented in offensive advertisements. A total of 1310 responses were received of which 994 fully addressed the questions posed.



Causes of offence

The principal objections to the advertisements cited by respondents (Table 2, Appendix D) were the use of women as sex objects to sell products and unnecessary or irrelevant exposure of, or emphasis on, the female body. Examples of this form of advertisement are all too familiar, with sparsely (or less) clad bodies used simply as a device to attract attention to the advertisement. Objections in this category ranged from concern at the use of nudity or partial nudity to disgust with blatant sexual implication. These also were the predominant cause of complaints relating to advertisements in trade and some professional magazines.

The next largest volume of complaints related to advertisements which patronised or insulted women. In many instances it was not just individual advertisements which caused offence but the cumulative effect of a range of advertisements which implied that women were incompetent, unaware or stupid. Instances included the depiction of women merely as props to male action or discussion, through the 'dumb blonde' stereotype, to the portrayal of women in the home who needed a male expert or a supercilious friend or relative to tell them how to do the housework. As one respondent stated:

The apparently unconscious choice of male figures which predominate in so many advertisements can lead us to at least one conclusion—that men are simply more *important*. Women are often used for decorative purposes; males for *credibility*.

The third major group of objections was generated by the stereotyping of women's occupations or roles. Despite the statistical information on the employment of women, a large number of advertisements convey a different impression. Women continue to be primarily portrayed as houseworkers, nurturers and decorative objects. Even when depicted in paid employment, the emphasis is often on the supportive role played by the women. In domestic situations where one might assume that some expertise or

control could be attributed to the female characters, roles are often passive or subservient. A respondent observed:

Advertisements for laundry and dish detergents, many food items, washing machines and other domestic appliances, antiseptics, shampoos, soaps—a whole variety of products related to the cooking, cleaning, caring role—are geared at women, portray women in these roles as an accepted and acceptable social truism, and very rarely step outside that context—the 'place of women' syndrome. These advertisements are a very effective form of propaganda (to see how effective you would need only conduct a role reversal exercise and observe the results) and they reinforce, for all viewers, listeners, readers, the role which people are to consider as normal for women. The effect on children's perceptions is particularly disturbing, as from an early age they are learning to accept specific and limiting sex roles through visual and aural reinforcements. By contrast, advertisements featuring men only, or with a male as the central figure are very often associated with money (e.g. banking, insurance, oil, industry etc.) and hence *power*. The equations, male = powerful, female = supportive/passive, are made over and over again.

There were a number of complaints relating to the advertising of sanitary napkins or tampons, predominantly from women in the '51 plus' age group. Other matters which caused concern included placing too great an emphasis on women pursuing physical beauty and advertisements which depicted women as victims or potential victims of male violence.

Table 3 (Appendix D) lists the type of product which was most commonly the subject of offensive advertisements. Appendix D contains comment and tables relating to the survey.



Guidelines

These guidelines have been developed to assist all those in the community, in media organisations, in government agencies, in private corporations or in the field of education who wish to see radio and television stations, newspaper, magazine and book publishers, advertisers and their agencies, and media workers accept responsibility for reflecting the role of women in Australian society, examining its social and political consequences and contributing to community understanding of issues affecting women.

Portrayal of women

It is suggested that broadcasting stations, publishers, advertisers and media workers should adopt the following principles:

1. avoid the use of demeaning sexual stereotypes and sexist language;
2. reflect women and their interest in the reporting and discussion of current events;
3. recognise the full participation of women in Australian society;
4. seek women's opinions on the full range of public issues;
5. realistically portray the interests, lifestyles and contribution of women to society;
6. base communication on qualities that are pertinent to the story;

7. ensure that women working in the media are given every opportunity to participate in all aspects of decision-making and production relating to material or programs developed for publication or broadcasting.

In other words, write, illustrate, edit and present with a sense of equality, appropriateness and dignity for both sexes.

Language

Women constitute just over half of Australia's population, yet many journalists and commentators present material in a way that suggests that women scarcely exist. Women are constantly under-represented as workers, decision makers, creative and decisive members of society, providers and partners.

The practice of using male generics—'man', 'men', 'he', 'his' and 'him'—to describe human beings of either sex is not simply a traditional convention. It has the effect of emphasising a male-dominated world and creating the impression that women are absent, silent or simply less important than men. When reference is made to either or both sexes, but not specifically to the male sex, the words 'man' and 'men' can be avoided by using alternatives such as 'person', 'people', 'human beings', 'men and women'. Avoiding 'he', 'his' and 'him' can be more difficult since repeated use of 'he or she', 'his or hers' can be clumsy. 'They', 'their', 'them' and 's/he' can often be used instead. If awkward expression would occur, alternate male and female expressions and examples.

People often claim that non-sexist language reform will result in ugly or awkward expression. These news items show this not to be true.

A policeman in New York has been suspended for allegedly making sexual overtures to a fellow police officer. Policewoman Patricia Fisher complained . . . (A.B.C., 4.7.1975, 10.00 a.m. news)

Today's witness, identified as Miss X, said she assumed . . . (A.B.C., 23.4.1980, 10.00 p.m.)

The jury, of eight men and four women . . . (A.B.C., 'World Round Up', 1.5.1980)

An accountant discovered the alleged fraud. She reported it to the network . . . The accountant then took her case to the district attorney. (A.B.C., 'A.M.', 2.5.1980)

A convicted murderer is still at large after escaping yesterday from the Women's Prison at Silverwater. (A.B.C., 2.6.1980, 7.45 a.m.)

Even the student I'd heard denouncing violent protest couldn't speak to me now. She's in jail. (A.B.C., 1.6.1980, Report from Asia)

The chairman of the Licensing Court found the licensee of the F Hotel . . . had allowed betting on her premises. (A.B.C., 2.7.1980, 7.15 a.m.)

Barbara Roach, a noted American mountain climber, has a toothache which has disrupted (an) assault on Mount Everest. (*The Australian*, 6.9.1976)

. . . a dispute which is threatening to develop into a strike by about 450 female clerks . . . (*The Australian*, 17.8.1974)

One chemist who spoke to the National Times said she was confident about the long term prospects of success. (*National Times*, 11–17.5.1980)

A passer-by who watched the vans being driven up in Victoria Street has given a barrister a statement that says she saw one of the paddy-wagons . . . (*National Times*, 8–14.7.1978)

. . . an American diplomat and her husband. (A.B.C., 'A.M.', 7.8.1980)

A composer explores her world. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11.2.1978)

A coroner said yesterday she was concerned . . . (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 8.7.1978)

Yachtswoman Annette Wilder literally had to rock the boat to right the sloop (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22.4.1978)

Bank women get equal pay (*Canberra Times*, 12.12.1974)

The awkward constructions are those which show that men (and, often, women too) just do not know how to talk about women.

Woman alderman (2GB News, 18.3.1975, 5.00 p.m.)

Woman policeman (Former N.S.W. Attorney-General, A.B.C. News, n.d.)

Sydney alderman campaigns to become Sydney's first Lady Lord Mayor (2GB News, 29.9.1974, 5.00 p.m.)

The first woman Lord Mayor in Australia, Alderman Joy Cummings (*The Australian* 14.9.1976)

Alderman Mrs Bennett, now Mayoress of Cowra . . . (Later called Alderman Bennett. She called herself Mayor). (A.B.C., 17.2.1980, Correspondent's Report)

The thirty-six taken away included a minister of religion, a local lady alderman, and several union members. (A.B.C., 7.5.1980, 'Newsvoice')

A woman alderman said today that more women should stand as candidates for local government. Alderman Sheila S_____ told a seminar . . . (She) said that many male aldermen had a narrow vision of the needs of the community. (A.B.C., 21.6.1980, 11.00 p.m.)

Because sex roles are changing it is not surprising that the language shows some strains: Some people are accustomed to using special language for women and find it hard to change. A good 'rule of thumb' is to write the sentence for men and then substitute feminine equivalents.

Here are some other guidelines:

1. Avoid using 'woman' as an adjective (e.g. woman doctor). It is absurd to remove one form of feminine identification (-ess etc.) and replace it with another.

The media generally recognise the offensiveness of gratuitous reference to (other) ethnic membership (e.g. they have been

scrupulous in referring to Evonne Goolagong as 'the Australian tennis player'). It is just as important to avoid gratuitous reference to 'womanness'.

2. On the few occasions where it is necessary to refer to the sex of a person, and where the adjective 'male' would be appropriate, the adjective 'female' should be used, especially where 'male' and 'female' are in apposition. This is not to say that wherever one finds adjectival 'woman' one should routinely substitute 'female'.
 - In many cases it is only necessary to reverse the order to give the correct class relationship, e.g. 'women activists' becomes 'activist women'; 'women graduates', 'graduate women'; 'women convicts', 'convict women'.
 - In other cases it may be better to recast the phrase or sentence. For 'women employees of . . .', say 'women employed by . . .'. Rather than 'there are very few women engineers', say 'very few engineers are women' or 'very few women are engineers', depending on the emphasis wanted.
 - Many compounds merely need the interpolation of 'as'. Thus, 'the ordination of women priests' becomes 'the ordination of women as priests'; 'the employment of a woman meat slicer' becomes 'the employment of a woman as a meat slicer'.
 - 'Female' as a *noun* is entirely proper when used in a biological sense ('the female of the species').
3. It is best to avoid gender specific terms including the use of 'man' as a suffix. This is particularly important in relation to job titles which end in 'man', most of which originated in times when only men performed certain jobs, e.g. 'fireman', 'policeman'. Such titles discourage women from applying for these jobs, just as 'tea lady', 'chairwoman' or 'maid' could discourage men. It is only in rare instances where no alternative expression is available that parallel terms should then be used, e.g. 'foreman' of a jury would have 'forewoman' as the parallel.
4. The practice of describing groups as including women, e.g. 'The party of bushwalkers included three women', should be discontinued. If the sexual composition of a group is important,

say that there are X men and Y women and give the larger number first.

5. Women are not infants. Where age is known and relevant, the age of legal majority seems the right point for separating the women from the girls. If it is not known, decide by social function, i.e. if she is going to school, she is a girl; if going to work, a woman. Sports commentators and journalists are particularly guilty in this context. The frequency with which women engaged in a wide variety of sporting activity are referred to as 'girls' whilst their male equivalents are called 'men' would be obvious to all who have watched televised tennis matches or heard sporting summaries and reports on the A.B.C. or commercial broadcasting stations.
6. Generic terms should not be used when referring only to men and in a manner which seems to exclude women. In the statement, 'There were two Aborigines in the performance and an Aboriginal girl designed the sets', the class *Aborigines* appears to exclude the class *girls*. 'Aborigines' in this context means, of course, Aboriginal men.

<i>Examples</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
The motorist . . . he	Motorists . . . they
The Australian . . . he	Australians . . . they

Words of masculine gender can be avoided where they do not apply specifically to men:

<i>Example</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
the man in the street	ordinary people, the average person
mankind	humanity, human beings, human race, people
manpower	human power, human energy, staff, personnel, workers, workforce, labourforce, human resources
man's achievements	human achievements

<i>Example</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
the best man for the job	the best person (or candidate) for the job
the award for sportsmanship	the award for the highest ideals (standards) for fair play, or the award for high standards of sporting behaviour
the bricklayers did a workmanlike job	the bricklayers did a skilful job, or the bricklayers' work was well done.
her craftsmanship was outstanding	her craft skill was outstanding.
their statesmanlike actions were commendable	their diplomatic actions (or tact and skill) were commendable.
Jean Appleton had her second one-man show this month	Jean Appleton had her second one-woman (or solo) show this month.

Occupational stereotyping

Approximately 45 per cent of all Australian women work outside the home, (ABS, June, 1982). Approximately 42 per cent of married women are in the labour force, (ABS, April, 1982). The media frequently ignore the fact that women play an important part in the labour force. Though many women continue to choose predominantly female occupations, including homemaking, women should not be typecast in these roles but shown in the wide variety of professions and trades in which they are engaged.

<i>Examples</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
businessman	business executive
policeman	police officer
fireman	fire fighter

salesman	sales representative
postman	mail carrier, mail deliverer
maid	house worker
cameraman	camera operator
foreman	supervisor
railwayman	railway worker
chairman	person chairing a meeting, the chair, presiding officer, leader
insurance man	insurance agent
seamstress	sewer, mender

Except where it is strictly relevant there is no need to qualify occupations by gender. When it is necessary to modify, use 'female', e.g. 'a study of female workers' or 'the airline's first female pilot'. Otherwise the sex of the person can be determined by masculine or feminine pronouns.

<i>Examples</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
lady doctor	doctor
male nurse	nurse
Mary Smith, a successful woman advertising executive	Mary Smith, a successful advertising executive
Mary Smith, a career girl	Mary Smith, business executive, producer/engineer/etc.
cleaning woman, cleaning lady	housekeeper, house or office cleaner
housewife	homemaker, houseworker

Character stereotyping

Members of both sexes should be represented as whole human beings with human strengths and weaknesses, not masculine or feminine ones. Women and men are equally capable of being

gentle, aggressive, strong, weak, stupid, bright, dominant, submissive, brave, cowardly, etc. Women and men should be treated with the same respect, dignity and seriousness. Neither should be trivialised or stereotyped either in text, commentary or illustrations. Women should not be described by physical attributes when men are being described by mental attributes or professional position. Instead, both sexes should be dealt with in the same terms. References to a man's or a woman's appearance, charm, or intuition should be avoided when it is irrelevant. In particular, the habit of describing women in terms of their age, marital status and physical appearance in contexts in which no one would contemplate describing men in the same terms, should be eliminated. When a couple are referred to, both partners should be treated as equals.

<i>Examples</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
Leading lawyer, John Smith, and his glamorous wife, Mary, attended the reception.	John and Mary Smith attended the reception. John is a leading lawyer and Mary is an accomplished artist. Or, Attractive couple Mary and John Smith attended the reception.
a man and his wife	a husband and wife
Bob Brown and his girlfriend	Bob Brown and Kate Black
the fair sex; the weaker sex	women
the distaff side	the female side or line
the girls (when adult females are meant); the ladies	the women
'girl', as in 'I'll ask my 'girl' to get that'	I'll ask my 'secretary' (or 'assistant' or person's name) to get that.
female-gender word forms such as 'authoress', 'poetess', 'usherette', 'aviatrix', 'women's libber'	author, poet, usher, aviator, feminist, liberationist

Parallel treatment

Language used to designate and describe females and males should treat the sexes equally. Parallel language should be used for women and men.

'Lady' and 'gentleman', 'wife' and 'husband' and 'mother' and 'father' are role words and when one of these words is used to describe a member of one sex, its equivalent should be used for the member of the other sex.

<i>Examples</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
the men and the ladies	the men and the women the ladies and the gentlemen

Women should be identified by their names, not in terms of their roles as wife, mother, sister or daughter unless it is in these roles that they are significant in context. Nor should they be identified in terms of their marital relationships (Mrs Gandhi) unless this brief form is stylistically more convenient or is paired up by similar references to men. It should not be assumed that because a woman is married that she wishes to be described in brief form as Mrs. Many women, single and married, prefer the title, 'Ms'. If a person's preference is not known, refer to her by her first name and surname. A woman should be referred to by name in the same form as a man whether by full names by first or last name only, or by title. Woman should not be denied official titles, especially when these are relevant.

<i>Examples</i>	<i>Alternatives</i>
Bill Peach and Caroline	Bill Peach and Caroline Jones
Caroline and Peach	Caroline and Bill
Miss Jones and Peach	Jones and Peach Ms Jones and Mr Peach
Mrs Thatcher and Ronald Reagan	Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan or Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan or Prime Minister Thatcher and President Reagan

What can advertisers do to eliminate offensive advertising?

The following suggestions are made:

- Examine your current or proposed advertising carefully to determine if it portrays women in a manner which they may find offensive.
- When a new advertisement or campaign is planned, challenge those responsible for its creation to portray any women in it in a manner in keeping with sex roles in society.
- Carefully consider the use of humour in advertisements; it calls for special skills. It may entertain and yet not sell the product, or it may demean and offend (both women and men) instead of creating customer goodwill.
- When considering advertisements run through the following check list.



Do your advertisements . . .

- Imply that creative, athletic, and mind-enriching toys and games are for girls as well as boys?
- Perpetuate sexual stereotypes, for example women as weak, silly and over-emotional? Or, do they portray both sexes as intelligent, physically able and equally self-assured?
- Portray women in roles other than (or in addition to) homemaker?
- Portray women who are homemakers as intelligent managers of their households?
- Use belittling language? (See Language Section above.)
- Consistently show women waiting on men, and never vice versa?
- Show men (and boys) sharing naturally in household tasks?
- Show men respecting women's opinions and ideas?
- Contain a gratuitous message that a woman's most important role in life is a supportive one, to cater to and coddle men and children?
- Avoid the implication that women are obsessed with the condition of the washing, the floor, or their physical appearance?
- Feature women who appear to be basically unpleasant? For example, do they show women nagging husbands or children, being condescending to other women, being envious or arousing envy?
- Portray women in situations that project a view that women are the property of men or are less important than men?
- Portray women in situations which are potentially sexually dangerous or as victims of violence?
- Portray women as sex objects or contain double entendre particularly about sex or women's bodies?

- Use women's bodies to attract attention to products or services which are unrelated (for example women draped over motor cars)?
- Try to arouse or play upon stereotyped insecurities? For example women shown as fearful of being unattractive to men or to other women, fearful of not being able to keep their spouses or friends or fearful of not being able to cope with household management.
- Promise unrealistic psychological rewards for using the product? For example, a perfume or deodorant can lead to instant romance.
- Reflect the fact that girls may aspire to careers in business, the professions and trades?
- Present women who make (or help to make) decisions about the purchase of high-priced items and major financial investments? Do these women take an informed interest in insurance, legal and banking matters?
- Portray women actually driving cars or riding motor cycles and sharing an intelligent interest in mechanical features, not just the colour and upholstery?
- Portray two-income families?
- Present women (including older women) doing creative or exciting things? For example, making a speech, in a laboratory, approving an advertisement or hang-gliding?
- Present a product or service as a means for a woman to enhance her self-esteem or to realise her full potential?
- Use women for voice-overs, authoritative presenters or interviewers?

What does it take to make a cook Keener?

Stews and casseroles, soups, sauces and salad dressings: Keen's Mustard powder will add a distinctive touch to your recipes. But be discreet, it's very hot. Use it as you would other spices. A dash in sauces and dressings, half-a-teaspoon in a robust casserole.

Just a bit.



SSB.COL.282AFC

Keen's since 1742.

A good example of a non-sexist advertisement.

Complaints

When any person is genuinely concerned about the way in which women are portrayed or presented in radio or television programs, newspapers or magazine articles or in advertising of any form, it is important to convey that concern to the radio or television station which has broadcast the material or the newspaper, magazine or outdoor advertising (billboard) company which published or displayed the material. Most importantly, the body which is responsible for regulation of the media industry (set out below) which carried the material should be notified.

It is also important to commend broadcasters, publishers or advertisers for constructive and positive presentation or portrayal of women.



What to do

Promptly register your complaint in the form of a letter which explains your concern and attach a copy of the article or advertisement or, in the case of radio and television, details of the program or commercial which has caused offence.

It is important to ensure that the name and address of the person making the complaint are clearly set out so that the body concerned can respond. Anonymous complaints will almost certainly be ignored.

A MAN IS

- a thoughtful professional
- a firm husband
- a forward-looking tradesman

A WOMAN IS

- a bemused little wife

Where to complain

Advertising

Complaints about all forms of advertising should be sent to:

The Secretary
Advertising Standards Council
St Andrews House
Sydney Square, NSW 2000

Send copies to the General Manager of the organisation which carried the offending advertisement, and to the manufacturer, producer, or supplier of the goods or services being advertised.

Complaints about advertisements carried on commercial radio or commercial television can also be lodged with:

The Chairman
Australian Broadcasting Tribunal
P.O. Box 1308
North Sydney, NSW 2060

Broadcast program material

Australian Broadcasting Commission

Complaints about material broadcast on A.B.C. radio and television or published by the A.B.C. should be addressed to:

The Chairman
Australian Broadcasting Corporation
G.P.O. Box 9994
Sydney, NSW 2001

and to the Manager of the A.B.C. station from which the broadcast emanated.

Commercial radio

Complaints about program material broadcast on commercial radio should be addressed to:

The Chairman
Australian Broadcasting Tribunal
P.O. Box 1308
North Sydney, NSW 2060

and to the Manager of the station which broadcast the material.

Commercial television

Complaints about program material televised on commercial television stations should be addressed to:

The Chairman
Australian Broadcasting Tribunal
P.O. Box 1308
North Sydney, NSW 2060

and to the Manager of the station which televised the material.

Public or community radio

Complaints regarding program material broadcast on public or community radio stations should be addressed to:

The Chairman
Australian Broadcasting Tribunal
P.O. Box 1308
North Sydney, NSW 2060

and to the Manager or Co-ordinator of the station which broadcast the material.

Ethnic radio and television

Complaints regarding material broadcast on radio stations 2EA and 3EA or televised on Channel 0/28 should be addressed to:

The Executive Director
Special Broadcasting Service
P.O. Box C355
Sydney, NSW 2001

Published material

Newspapers

Complaints regarding material published in newspapers should be addressed to:

The Chairman
Australian Press Council
Suite 303, Anzac House
26 College Street
Darlinghurst, NSW 2010

and to the General Manager of the organisation which published the newspaper.

Magazines

Complaints regarding material published in magazines should be addressed to the General Manager or Editor-in-Chief of the organisation which published the magazine.

Women's Advisory Units

The States of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia and the Northern Territory and the Federal Government have units concerned with women's affairs. They are all interested in the presentation and portrayal of women by the media and would like to be informed of complaints or tributes made on this subject. Their addresses are:

Federal

Office of the Status of Women
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
Cnr Broughton and Macquarie Sts
Barton, A.C.T. 2600

New South Wales

Women's Co-ordination Unit
Premier's Department
G.P.O. Box 2626
Sydney, NSW 2001

Victoria

Office of Women's Affairs
Department of the Premier
State Public Offices
1 Treasury Place
Melbourne, Vic. 3002

South Australia

Women's Advisory Unit
Department of the Premier and Cabinet
G.P.O. Box 2343
Adelaide, SA 5001

Northern Territory

Ministerial Adviser for Women's Affairs and Equal
Opportunities
Chief Minister's Office
P.O. Box 4396
Darwin, NT 5794

Appendix A

International recommendations for action to change media portrayal of women

Example A. United Nations (1980), *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980*, United Nations, New York

- Independent organisations, including women's organisations at the national, regional and international levels, should study the ways in which the mass communications media, including the news media and advertising, treat the status of women and women's issues. Evidence that women are being treated in a sexist or demeaning way should be brought to the attention of the medium concerned for correction.
- Every effort should be made to encourage the fullest and most active participation of women at all levels of policy making and decision making within media organisations. Governments should use the opportunities they have by way of appointments to regulatory bodies and broadcasting networks to ensure that women are equally represented in senior decision making.
- Special efforts, for example training programs to sensitise media personnel at all levels, should be made to ensure that women are portrayed as persons in their own right and that the portrayal of women and women's issues reflects women's rights, needs and interests.
- Bearing in mind that one of the impediments to promoting the status of women lies in social attitudes and the

evaluation of women in society, the mass media offers great possibilities as one means of promoting social change. They can help remove prejudices and stereotypes, accelerate the acceptance of the new role of women in society and promote their role as equal partners in the process of development.

- In all fields of activity, the mass media should become one of the basic means in society of overcoming the contradiction in, on the one hand, the presentation of women as passive, inferior beings having no social significance and, on the other hand, an accurate picture of their increasing role and contribution to society at large. The mass media should also recognise that both parents have equal duties and responsibilities for the training and education of children and for household duties. Governments, as communicators, in preparing communications to or about their countries, should ensure that the contents reflect government commitments to status of women issues and concerns.

Example B. Ceulemans, M. and Fauconnier, G. (1979), *Mass Media: The Image, Role and Social Conditions of Women*, UNESCO, Paris

In a report for UNESCO, Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier set out recommendations for corrective measures which can be taken by women and media organisations. They include:

- developing mass media materials which portray women in a positive and constructive manner and in a wide variety of roles;
- the adoption of non-sexist guidelines by advertisers, broadcasters, film makers, journalists and publishers, such as those formulated by the National Union of Journalists in the United Kingdom, the Women Media Workers in Australia, the National Advertising Review Board in the USA, to eliminate sexual stereotypes in the spoken, written and visual language;

- the redefinition of journalistic concepts of 'news' and 'newsworthiness' to include women as active participants and creative forces in society;
 - directing print and broadcasting materials dealing with issues traditionally considered 'feminine' to both female and male audiences;
 - creating positive attitudes among mass communicators towards the integration of women in the mainstream of societal life, allowing for their increased commitment to bringing information for and about women to the public's attention;
 - making those who control the media aware of the need for a balanced workforce of both sexes, and ensuring their commitment to the cause of women;
 - the establishment of affirmative action programs within the media organisations for the active recruitment of qualified women and the institution of promotional evaluation strictly on the basis of functional requirements;
 - the expansion of media education, training, and employment opportunities for women to insure their adequate representation at all organisational levels and in all areas of employment, particularly in traditionally male-dominated areas such as media management and policy making;
 - the integration of all job categories and work assignments, and where possible, the elimination of job classifications allowing for differential treatment of women versus men;
 - the improvement by the media institutions and industry of paid parental leave, child-care facilities and flexible working patterns with a view to increase the job opportunities of women in the mass media;
 - the publication of career and job information and the advertising of job vacancies with the specific statement that they are open to both male and female applicants.
-

Appendix B

Australian recommendations for action to change media portrayal of women

Example A. Australian Broadcasting Control Board (1976), *A Report by the Advisory Committee on Program Standards*, AGPS, Canberra

Consequently, the Committee favours the adoption of standards put forward by the Women's Electoral Lobby, which read:

Any characterisation, stories and situations which stereotype girls or boys or women or men into particular sex roles should be avoided.

Characterisation which degrades people should be avoided.

Words which imply one particular sex should be avoided, e.g. stewardess or steward (cabin attendant), chairman or chairwomen (chairperson).

Advertising is doing all of the following things, and all need to be changed:

- Stereotyping of sex roles.
- The use of children to reinforce the stereotyping of sex roles.
- Creating false ideas of marriage.
- Inferring marriage and motherhood are ultimate goals for women.
- Women portrayed as ambushers and pursuers of men, the victims, although men must always be seen to be in control of the situation.

- Too many products aimed at bolstering women's confidence implying that they are inferior and need improvement and lack the security these products offer.
- Advertisements which imply women need men's superior knowledge and guidance to do simple tasks.
- The use of women's bodies (without relevance to the product) to sell products, thus degrading women . . .
- In doing so, the advertisements present unreal and stereotyped women, which increases the insecurity of women.
- Advertisements which imply that men have unnecessarily different needs (e.g. food, drinks, chocolates etc.).
- Advertisements which imply that *if a woman can do it anyone can*—implies women are naturally incompetent.
- The creation of false needs—particularly applies to women's insecurity.

We recommend:

1. That the standards encourage stations to provide more programming which portrays women realistically and gives them a sense of their history, identity and contribution to society . . .
2. That the Board support a training scheme for scriptwriters involving the needs of women and the portrayal of women . . .

Example B. Royal Commission on Human Relationships (1977), *Final Report Vol. 5*, AGPS, Canberra

The Australian Press Council, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, the Media Council of Australia, the Australian Journalists Association and the Advertising Standards Council should collaborate to publish and promote guidelines for the media on the treatment and portrayal of women.

Example C. Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (1978), *Self-regulation for Broadcasters?*, AGPS, Canberra

Constant review of standards:

- Standards must be constantly reviewed.
- The Tribunal sees reviews of standards or codes being, in the first instance, the result of an interaction between the broadcaster and the community he serves and in the second instance, an ongoing process linked to regular public licence renewal hearings.

Stereotyping:

- The Tribunal supports the view that directors, producers and scriptwriters should be aware of the influence they can have on the formation of attitudes and alert to ways of avoiding sex-role stereotyping.
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Example D. Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts (1978), *Children and Television*, AGPS, Canberra

Stereotyping and unreal lifestyles

That the new program standards (codes of behaviour) to be approved by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal contain provisions for minimising programming which projects unrealistic lifestyles and stereotypes.

Example E. National Women's Advisory Council (1982), *Australian Plan of Action*, AGPS, Canberra

3.2.18 Special efforts, for example training programs to sensitise media personnel at all levels, should be made to ensure that women are portrayed as persons in their own right and that the

portrayal of women and women's issues reflects their rights, needs, interests and roles.

3.2.19 Information and advice to Aboriginal and migrant women about issues affecting their needs and interests should be made available in their own languages.

3.2.20 Independent organisations, including women's organisations at the national, regional and international levels, should study the ways in which the communications media treat the status of women and women's issues. Evidence that women are being treated in a sexist or demeaning way should be brought to the attention of the relevant media for correction.

3.2.21 Physical and psychological violence against women should not be tacitly condoned by its depiction in the media and advertising as acceptable, usual or normal behaviour which is likely to go unchallenged.

3.2.22 Every effort should be made to encourage the fullest and most active participation of women at all levels of policy making and decision making within media organisations. Governments should use the opportunities they have, by way of appointments to regulatory bodies and broadcasting networks, to ensure that women are equitably represented in senior decision-making positions.

3.2.23 Rural regional A.B.C. stations should have local committees, which include women, to advise on the content of programs.

3.2.24 Governments, in preparing communications or information for or about the people of Australia, should ensure that such material reflects a commitment to equality of opportunity and status of women.

Example F. Australian Association of National Advertisers (1981), *How to Brief Your Advertising Agency*, AANA, North Sydney

Never underestimate the power . . .

Particularly among household products, there is an endless procession of commercials on television showing women using these products in the home, raising very strong implications that women have no other interests except laundry, dishes, waxing floors and fighting dirt. Seeing a great many such advertisements reinforces the traditional stereotype that a 'woman's place is only in the home'.

It has long been a standard comedy device in the field of entertainment to portray some men and women as stupid. Advertising, in attempting to adapt entertainment techniques, sometimes falls into the trap of attempting to be funny but succeeding only in offending. Women, too often, are portrayed as stupid—too dumb to cope with familiar everyday chores, unless instructed by children, or by a man, or assisted by a supernatural male symbol. Even off-camera voice-over announcements are made by predominantly male voices. In many of the commercials the implication is clear that, if carefully told what to do, a woman can use the product. Apparently, however, it takes a man to manufacture the product or to understand its virtues well enough to explain it.

Advertising often involves psychologically unflattering portrayals of women. In some instances, they are depicted as being obsessed with cleanliness, as being embarrassed or feeling inadequate or guilty because of various forms of household dirt. Other advertisements show women being mean or catty to each other, or being envious or boastful about cooking or cleaning accomplishments in the home.

In summary, the image of the housewife in advertising appears frequently to be not only a circumscribed one, but also that of a person with a warped sense of values.

Many advertisements even today don't recognise the great importance of women. A high proportion of consumer products are either made for, or bought by, women—yet many companies still have no women in executive positions, and their advertising decisions are taken without even getting a woman's opinion, save possibly that of a few stray secretaries.

Even today there are agencies where much of the advertising directed towards women is done by men, but not nearly as many as there used to be. Agencies are far less reluctant to employ women than marketing companies.

Nobody seems concerned if the brilliant advertising campaign was conceived by a female—so long as it works! *Nor should they.*

Appendix C

Employment of women in radio and television stations in Australia, 1981

Recently increasing attention has been paid to the need for greater representation of women in the media workforce, especially in managerial, production and technical positions.

Because there was no data on the employment status of women in commercial radio and television stations in Australia the Office of Women's Affairs undertook a survey of all stations in March 1981. The survey was also sent to the A.B.C.

The survey

A questionnaire was sent to sixty-six commercial radio stations, forty-three commercial television stations and the Head Office of the A.B.C. Participants were asked to record the number of employees by sex under four major categories: administration (managerial), administration (clerical/support), professional/creative, and technical. Examples of positions in each category were attached to the survey form for guidance.

There were responses from the A.B.C. and fifty-four commercial radio (82% of total stations), and 39 commercial television (91% of total stations) stations including all major metropolitan stations. Because many areas of A.B.C. administration are common to both radio and television, separate figures could not be identified for each medium.

Again, the different organisational arrangements made it inappropriate to draw direct comparisons between the A.B.C.

(Table 1) and the commercial sector (Tables 2 and 3) particularly in the Administrative (managerial) category.

For interest we included in the Report tables relating to the employment of women in U.S. commercial and non-commercial television stations showing changes from 1971 to 1976 (Table 5).

Also set out are figures showing the employment status of women throughout Australia and the employment status of women by occupation and relevant industry grouping to indicate comparative employment performance within the broadcasting and television stations (Table 4).

Table 1. Full-time, part-time and total employment in Australian Broadcasting Commission, March 1981

	Males	Females	Total	% Female
<i>Job category A—Administration (managerial)</i>				
Full time	110	3	113	2.7
Part time	—	—	—	—
Total	110	3	113	2.7
<i>Job category B—Administration (clerical/support)</i>				
Full time	781	1 150	1 931	59.6
Part time	11	60	71	84.5
Total	792	1 210	2 002	60.4
<i>Job category C—Professional/creative</i>				
Full time	2 907	622	3 529	17.6
Part time	1	2	3	66.7
Total	2 908	624	3 532	17.7
<i>Job category D—Technical</i>				
Full time	702	75	777	9.6
Part time	—	—	—	—
Total	702	75	777	9.6
<i>All categories</i>				
Full time	4 500	1 850	6 350	29.1
Part time	12	62	74	83.8
Total	4 512	1 912	6 424	29.8

Table 2. Full-time, part-time and total employment in commercial radio in Australia, 1981

	Males	Females	Total	% Female
<i>Job category A—Administration (managerial)</i>				
Full time	325	95	420	22.6
Part time	1	4	5	80.0
Total	326	99	425	23.3
<i>Job category B—Administration (clerical/support)</i>				
Full time	133	387	520	74.4
Part time	5	30	35	85.7
Total	138	417	555	75.1
<i>Job category C—Professional/creative</i>				
Full time	872	168	1 040	16.2
Part time	74	20	94	21.3
Total	946	188	1 134	16.6
<i>Job category D—Technical</i>				
Full time	206	10	216	4.6
Part time	8	—	8	—
Total	214	10	224	4.5
<i>All categories</i>				
Full time	1 536	660	2 196	30.1
Part time	88	54	142	38.0
Total	1 624	714	2 338	30.5

Table 3. Full-time, part-time and total employment in commercial television in Australia, 1981

	Males	Females	Total	% Female
<i>Job category A—Administration (managerial)</i>				
Full time	512	99	611	16.2
Part time	1	—	1	—
Total	513	99	612	16.2
<i>Job category B—Administration (clerical/support)</i>				
Full time	410	831	1 241	67.0
Part time	17	100	117	85.5
Total	427	931	1 358	68.6
<i>Job category C—Professional/creative</i>				
Full time	1 513	347	1 860	18.7
Part time	107	65	172	37.8
Total	1 620	412	2 032	20.3
<i>Job category D—Technical</i>				
Full time	1 708	207	1 915	10.8
Part time	20	11	31	35.5
Total	1 728	218	1 946	11.2
<i>All categories</i>				
Full time	4 143	1 484	5 627	26.4
Part time	145	176	321	54.8
Total	4 288	1 660	5 948	27.9

Table 4. Comparative employment of women in Australia

Employed	Female	Com.radio	Com.T.V.	A.B.C.
<i>By occupation</i>				
Professional, technical	44.9	14.6	15.8	16.2
Administrative, executive and managerial	13.5	23.3	16.2	2.7
Clerical	70.7	75.1	68.6	60.4
(All occupational groups)	35.9	30.5	27.9	29.8
<i>By industry</i>				
Division: Recreation, personal and other services	56.8	30.5	27.9	29.8
Total (all industries):	35.9	30.5	27.9	29.8

Source: *The Labour Force Australia, February 1981*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 1981.

Table 5. Employment of women in upper and lower job categories in U.S. television stations

592 Commercial Television Stations

	Upper 4		Lower 5		All Job Categories	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1971	1 857	6.7	7 473	53.0	9 930	22.3
1975	4 468	13.2	7 112	66.0	11 580	25.9
1976	5 136	14.8	7 027	67.4	12 163	26.9

103 Non-Commercial Television Stations

	Upper 3		Lower 5		All Job Categories	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1971	369	13.1	808	52.5	1 177	27.0
1975	874	21.1	902	67.5	1 776	32.4
1976	975	22.6	930	70.9	1 905	33.9

Note: Upper 4 job categories: Officials and managers, Professionals, Technicians, Sales workers (excluded for non-commercial)
 Lower 5 job categories: Office and clerical, Craftsmen, Operatives, Labourers, Service Workers

Source: Ralph M. Jennings and Allan T. Walters (1977): *Television Station Employment Practices, 1976: The Status of Minorities and Women*, United Church of Christ, Office of Communication, New York.

Appendix D

Survey on what women find offensive about women's portrayal in advertising

Medium in which objectionable advertising identified

As may be expected, television was the medium which generated the most complaints (Table 4). Radio was the least offending medium which simply reflects the visual component of most advertising considered objectionable by women. Because of the different response rates from States, it was not possible to compare the incidence of offensive advertising on various television or radio stations or in daily newspapers. The *Australian Women's Weekly* was the most frequently mentioned magazine in which objectionable advertisements were identified (Table 5). It was, however, interesting to note that trade and professional magazines or journals, which are not usually associated with large female readership, were sources of nearly 24 per cent of magazine-generated objections.

Roles of characters in advertisements

In the advertisements which caused complaint women had an identifiable paid occupation in only 9 per cent of characters portrayed (or 6 per cent if strippers and nude waiters are excluded), whilst men were portrayed in a paid occupation by 40 per cent of characters (Table 6).

Table 1

(a) Do you approve or disapprove of the way in which women are shown in television advertisements?

	Volunteers %	Schools %	Beacon % all respondents	Beacon % female
Approve	13	30	51	43
Disapprove	36	24	26	31
Disapprove some of the time	48	40	19	21
Don't know	3	6	5	5
N =	12 225	684	1 992	—

(b) Do you approve or disapprove of the way in which women are shown in television programs?

	Volunteers %	Schools %	Beacon % all respondents	Beacon % female
Approve	22	32	60	54
Disapprove	13	12	12	15
Disapprove some of the time	61	49	22	27
Don't know	5	8	5	4
N =	12 193	685	1 993	—

Note:

Volunteers were responses from groups and individuals who obtained and completed survey forms. Approximately 61 per cent of this group were women and approximately 22 per cent of responses were identified as belonging to specific groups.

Schools were an identifiable group which participated in the volunteer survey. *Beacon* is the National Sample survey conducted for the Tribunal by Beacon Research Co.

Source: Australian Broadcasting Tribunal Research Branch (1982), *Television and the Public, National Television Standards Survey*, Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, Melbourne.

Table 2. Respondents' assessment of offensive aspects of advertisement

	<i>% of complaints</i>
Use of women as sex objects to sell products	43.5
Unnecessary/irrelevant exposure of/emphasis on female body	39.2
Patronising or insulting women	26.9
Women stereotyped as houseworker/drudge	13.1
Portrayal of women in occupational/workforce stereotypes	12.3
Portrayal of women as submissive or passive	5.3
Women shown as oriented only to men	3.9
Others (placing guilt on mothers, over-emphasis on beauty, using young girls as models etc.)	3.4
Treating independent women trivially	3.1

Note: Total complaints = 994.

Multiple responses were allowed so total exceeds 100 per cent.

Table 3. Types of products most frequently cited as subject of objectionable advertisements

	<i>%</i>
Machinery, equipment and fittings	17.7
Services (finance, travel, telephone, hire etc.)	17.0
Cleansers, laundry and personal care	16.9
Food, drink and confectionery	16.9
Stores, retail outlets	13.8
Other products (sanitary pads, pharmaceuticals, tobacco etc.)	9.8
Clothing and apparel	7.9

Table 4. Medium in which objectionable advertising identified

	<i>%</i>
Television	47
Newspapers	22
Magazines	17
Posters/billboards	5
Promotional material	4.5
Radio	3
Other	1.5

Note: Number of advertisements = 994.

Table 5. Magazines in which objectionable advertising identified

	%
<i>Australian Women's Weekly</i>	20
<i>Women's Day</i>	9
<i>Bulletin</i>	6
<i>New Idea</i>	5
<i>Building Product News</i>	5

Note: Total mentions of magazines = 169.

Table 6. Occupations/roles of characters in advertisements

	<i>Female</i> (1270)	<i>Male</i> (730)
Mother, wife, bride	118	—
Father, husband	—	53
Houseworker	141	1
Model, body, decoration, beauty conscious	409	4
Sex object	243	—
'Ocker' male	—	10
'Lecher'	—	67
Child	47	45
Leisure pursuit	87	82
Active recreation	30	107

Stripper, nude waiter (female)	38	3
Clerical worker	33	3
Sales worker	10	48
Transport and communication worker	5	18
Tradesperson, production-process workers and labourers	1	41
Professional, technical and related worker	28	81
Administrative, executive and managerial worker	5	60
Farmer	—	4
Miner	—	4
Member of armed forces	—	1
Expert	—	26
Shopper	13	7
Victim of violence	5	—
Attacker	—	4
Prostitute	4	—
'Bikie'	—	9
Exotic (female/gypsy, mermaid, 'lipstick', 'cowgirl' etc.)	11	—
Exotic (male Dr Who, Baron, Sultan, 'cowboy' etc.)	1	12
Other (female relative, friend, 'spinster', old woman, helpless female)	25	—
Other (male relative, friend, protector, Aborigine)	—	6
Indeterminate	17	34

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