



# GENDER IN ADS

## Gender Representation in Philippine Advertising

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INVESTING IN WOMEN  
SMART ECONOMICS  
AN INITIATIVE OF THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT



## CONTENTS

<b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>FULL REPORT</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>11</b>
1.1. Background and objectives	11
1.2. Studying gender and advertising	12
1.2.1. Industry perspectives on advertising	12
1.2.2. Gender representations in advertising	14
1.2.3. Advertising in the Philippines	15
1.3. Theorizing gender and advertising	17
1.3.1. Key concepts	17
1.3.2. Study framework	19
1.4. Methodology	21
1.4.1. Population and sampling	21
1.4.2. Units of analysis and instrumentation	21
1.4.3. Intercoder reliability	24



<b>2. FINDINGS</b>	<b>26</b>
2.1. Overall attributes and messages	26
2.2. Gendered narratives	28
2.2.1. Product endorsements by characters	28

2.2.2. Ad and character pitch	29
2.2.3. Setting	30
2.2.4. Story	30
2.3. Gendered groups	31
2.3.1. Composition	31
2.3.2. Hierarchy and relations	31
2.4. Gendered bodies	33
2.4.1. Demographics of characters	33
2.4.2. Physicality of characters	34
2.4.3. Voices	35
<b>3. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS</b>	<b>36</b>
3.1. The absence of objectification	36
3.1.1. From sexualization to sensitization	36
3.1.2. Group over individual narratives	37
3.2. Gendered portrayals	39
3.2.1. Contradicting masculinities	39
3.2.2. Stereotypical femininity	40
3.2.3. Synthesis	44
3.2.4. Sensorial elements	49
3.3. Non-gendered portrayals	49
3.4. Challenges and courses of action	49
3.4.1. Theoretical implications	49
3.4.2. Methodological implications	51
3.4.3. Practical implications	53
<b>4. SPECIAL SECTION: ONLINE ADVERTISEMENTS</b>	<b>54</b>
4.1. On women and whitening	54
4.2. On mastering being a man	60
4.3. Gendered narratives in online advertising	63
4.4. On food, family, and childhood memories	66
4.5. Moving forward in studying online advertisements	73
<b>5. DISCLAIMER</b>	<b>75</b>

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Table 1.</b> Sampling period and coverage	21
<b>Table 2.</b> Advertisement-level variables	22
<b>Table 3.</b> Character-level variables	23
<b>Table 4.</b> Intercoder-reliability scores	24
<b>Table 5.</b> Overall attributes	77
<b>Table 6.</b> Ad pitch*	77
<b>Table 7.</b> Gender and products endorsed by characters	78
<b>Table 8.</b> Gender and character pitch*	79
<b>Table 9.</b> Setting*	80
<b>Table 10.</b> Form and plot	81
<b>Table 11.</b> Credibility	81
<b>Table 12.</b> Composition (Ad level)	81
<b>Table 13.</b> Prominence (Print) (N=256)	82
<b>Table 14.</b> Standout (Print) (N=459)	82
<b>Table 15.</b> Dynamics (Print)	82
<b>Table 16.</b> Relational roles of characters	83
<b>Table 17.</b> Familial responsibility	84
<b>Table 18.</b> Attraction	84
<b>Table 19.</b> Radio relations	85
<b>Table 20.</b> Age	85
<b>Table 21.</b> Occupation	86
<b>Table 22.</b> Social class (Print)	86
<b>Table 23.</b> Physicality	87
<b>Table 24.</b> Physicality (Print)	87
<b>Table 25.</b> Pregnancy (TV)	88
<b>Table 26.</b> Voice-over – Narrator	88





# **GENDER REPRESENTATION IN PHILIPPINE ADVERTISING**

## **Executive Summary**

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

Advertisements are shaped not only by the industry that makes them, but also by the culture of the society in which its industries belong. Inspired by the extensive work of Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media on gender representation in media, the study seeks to present a localized analysis of advertisements for gendered portrayals. In partnership with Investing in Women, the study employed a more in-depth interpretation and content analytic rigor. The researchers intended to document the portrayals of all genders in Philippine advertisements across TV, print, and radio, as well as provide a qualitative look into the online advertising landscape and its possibilities.

### **II. METHODOLOGY**

The population of TV, print, and radio advertisements was based on a database maintained by Aries Insights and Media Solutions (AIMS), access to which was facilitated by Kantar Media. The study covered two TV stations, three broadsheets, two tabloids, two FM stations, and two AM stations. The researchers constructed two weeks from January - December 2018 for TV and Print, while one week was constructed from October to December 2018 for Radio.

After filtering out repeated advertisements, casual plugging (for TV), time checks (for radio), and advertisements which feature no humanoid characters (for print), the researchers performed simple random sampling to identify 500 TV and 497 radio ads for analysis. All 256 print ads, meanwhile, were included in the study.

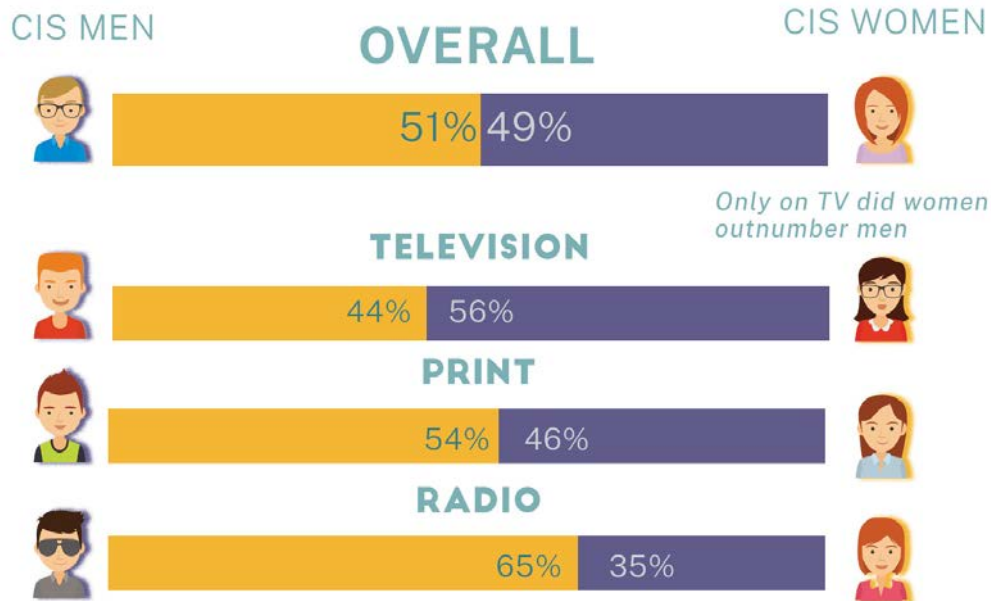
Platform specific instruments were developed to capture both advertisement-level and character-level variables. To ensure that the research team codes textual data objectively, coders were tasked to run an intercoder reliability testing of the initial instrument. The testing followed an

iterative process until the desired intercoder reliability coefficient was achieved. A generally accepted minimum coefficient of .70 Krippendorff's alpha was set as the standard of reliability.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

differences. Across platforms, women than men continue to be associated with beauty and youth (10% vs 2%) and value for money (sulit) (8% versus 5%).

- Overall, the ads featured more men (44%) than women (41%). The same is true for Print (54% versus 46%) and Radio (34% versus 16%). TV,



#### A. Overall attributes and messages

- Across all platforms, the most advertised products were food and non-alcoholic beverages (22%), pharmaceutical/health/herbal products (14%), and restaurants, retail outlets, and malls (9%). These also make up the top three most advertised products for TV and Radio (excluding Others), with hygiene and beauty products tied with pharmaceutical/health/ herbal products on the second place for TV. For Print, however, the top three is composed of recreational products and services (17%), private services (13%), and automotive and fuels (11%). Interestingly, Print (28%), compared to TV (13%) and Radio (11%), also had the biggest number of products outside of specified product categories.

- The ads focused on product/brand prestige (19%), appeal to any of the five human senses (12%), or concentrated on health (10%). Certain ad pitches showed noticeable gendered

though, featured more women (56%) than men (44%).

#### B. Gendered spaces

- More men than women endorsed restaurants, retail outlets, and malls (10% versus 5%), and alcoholic beverages (3% versus 0%). Meanwhile, more women than men endorsed hygiene and beauty products (11% versus 3%), and household items (8% versus 4%).

- In TV and Print ads, majority of the characters (61%) were typical users/customers, followed by celebrities (25%) and experts (9%). Between genders, women than men were more likely to be typical users/consumers (65% versus 56%), while men were more likely than women to be experts (13% versus 6%). It is worth noting, however, that these gendered differences are mostly due to print ads heavily featuring women as typical users/consumers compared to men

than women to be experts (13% versus 6%). It is worth noting, however, that these gendered differences are mostly due to print ads heavily featuring women as typical users/consumers compared to men (74% versus 50%) and men as experts than women (26% versus 11%).

- The greatest number of voice over-narrators featured in TV and Radio ads was that of a male voice (42%). Only about 1 in 5 ads had a female (20%) and mixed-gender (19%) voice. In Radio ads, male voices were most likely to argue with a factual and/or scientific argument as compared with women and mixed groups (19% versus 16% versus 9%). In relation to this, over half of mixed-gender voices (51%) advertised using opinion-based and/or non-scientific arguments.

- Visual ads (i.e., TV and Print) were most set in areas of the house (34%), followed by miscellaneous spaces (23%) and the outdoors (21%). For TV, almost half of the ads were set in the house (46%), followed by the outdoors (20%), and public places (11%). For Print, more than half of the ads were set in miscellaneous spaces (58%), also followed by the outdoors (24%).

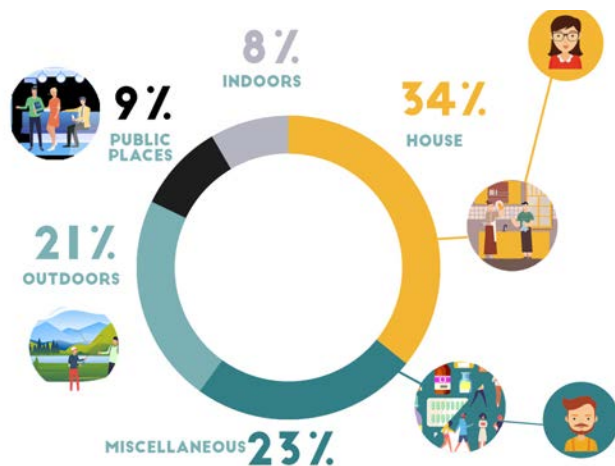


Ad preference for male narrators shows the persistent view of men as signifiers of authority and objectivity.

- More women (38%) compared to male characters (31%) were portrayed in the house. More female (23%) than male (20%) characters were also seen outdoors. Meanwhile, men (29%) were depicted in miscellaneous spaces more than women (18%). Within specific spaces, more women than men were seen in the kitchen (8% versus 4%), while more men than women were

seen in eating places (6% versus 3%).

### C. Gendered roles



Among the 1,329 roles assumed by the characters, familial (41%) was the biggest category, with more women (43%) than men (39%) being depicted in this role. Among those shown in a familial role in TV, women were more likely to be portrayed in a parental role compared to men (24% versus 11%) while boys were more likely depicted as children compared to girls (21% versus 11%). In Print, women were more likely depicted as a friend/peer compared to men (22% versus 16%), which is the most common recreational role in the platform.

- More men than women were shown in a professional role (16% versus 13%) across TV and Print, usually as a peer/workmate. Notably, boss-subordinate relations were rarely shown. Further, in terms of occupational role, women were also overwhelmingly shown as the homemaker, compared to men (11% versus 1%) while characters who are portrayed as skilled laborers are highly likely to be men than women (5% versus 1%).

- Only 16% of TV and print characters demonstrated familial responsibility. Among those, more women than men were involved in childcare (13% versus 7%) and domestic work (7% versus 2%). This was especially pronounced in TV ads, most of which were set at home, where a much bigger share of female than male



were also overwhelmingly shown as the homemaker, compared to men (11% versus 1%) while characters who are portrayed as skilled laborers are highly likely to be men than women (5% versus 1%).

- Only 16% of TV and print characters demonstrated familial responsibility. Among those, more women than men were involved in childcare (13% versus 7%) and domestic work (7% versus 2%). This was especially pronounced in TV ads, most of which were set at home, where a much bigger share of female than male characters rendered childcare (16% versus 6%) and domestic work (11% versus 3%). Meanwhile, men continue to be more likely to be shown as a provider in the rare cases where a character is portrayed to be the breadwinner in the ad.

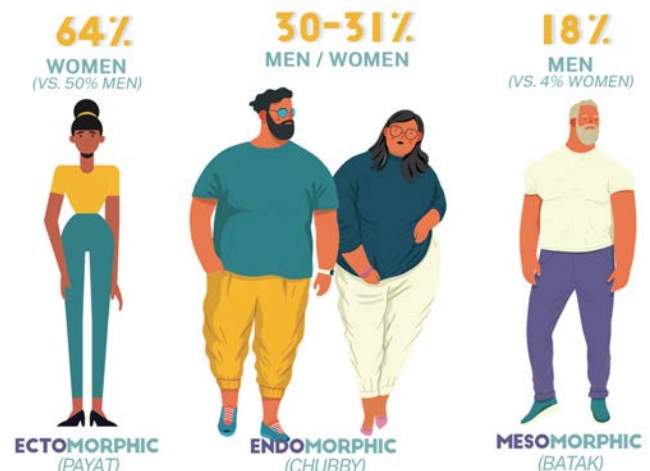
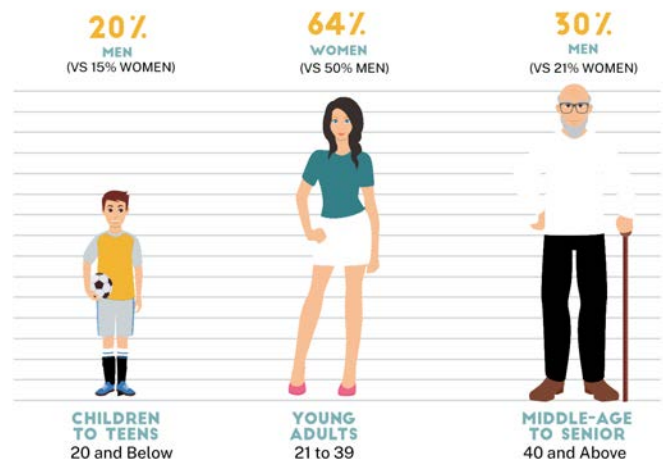
#### D. Gendered bodies

- Almost two-thirds (66%) of visual ads featured a group, which are either a combination of genders (49%), or primarily female (10%) or male (6%) characters. For TV, the majority (56%) of the ads showed mixed groups. Meanwhile, almost half (49%) of print ads featured either solo female (27%) or male (22%) characters.

##### Individual Character Traits

- Majority (58%) of the 1,169 visual characters were between 21 and 39 years old, followed by those between 40 and 64 years old (21%). More women (65%) than men (50%) were in the former age bracket, while more men (24%) than women (18%) were in the latter age bracket. Meanwhile, in social class, almost all (92%) of print ad characters belonged to the upper middle class, and this cut across men and women.

- Over half (57%) of all TV and print characters were ectomorphic (payat), with more women (64%) than men (50%) falling under this category. A bigger share of male (18%) than female (4%) characters, meanwhile, were more mesomorphic (batak). There was no difference in the share of endomorphic (chubby) characters



(30%) across gender. However, whereas almost all men (97%) were fully-dressed, only 83% of women were. In comparison, 16% of women were partially-dressed, compared to only 2% of men. 90% of all characters were fully-dressed.

- Print ads were also coded according to additional variables derived from the work of Goffman (1979). However, around 3 out of 4 characters were neither submissive nor authoritative (75%) and were not depicted in terms of licensed withdrawal (74%). 80% of characters also had no clear hierarchical relationship with each other.



in terms of licensed withdrawal (74%). 80% of characters also had no clear hierarchical relationship with each other.

Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that in the cases where the variables are present, it was found that: more female characters (27%) appeared submissive than men (11%), and more men (9%) appeared authoritative than women (4%). In the cases of licensed withdrawal, more female characters (12%) were shown as spaced out (lutang) than their male counterparts

advertising messages, images are layered in a Print ad to maximize space, while a story/ concept is put together and acted out in a TV ad to maximize time. It is also worth noting that nuances in setting may be due to the difference between the product categories advertised in each platform.

- Across TV ads, most (87%) were presented as in a classical/lecture format, while the remaining 13% were vignettes.



***Though objectification of women by other characters is no longer prevalent, stereotypical gender roles and activities affecting all genders are still present in Philippine advertisements. There is a need to continue the push for gender equality in representation and in hiring.***

(8%), while more male characters (11%) had a fierce and/or assertive look than their female counterparts (6%). More women (12%) also appeared over-engaged and without emotional control as compared to men (5%).

#### **E. Platform differences**

- Radio as a platform for advertising requires short and straightforward messages that are only relayed through voice, which may limit the exploration of character portrayals. TV, meanwhile, holds an additional visual layer to its audio element, giving depth to the portrayal of its characters and how they relate to the product. Nonetheless, the nuances of gendered voices in ads with auditory elements can always be attributed to various factors.

- Visuals in print advertisements are manipulated differently as compared to TV ads given that the latter platform is more dynamic. To convey

#### **IV. IMPLICATIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS**

Though objectification of women by other characters is no longer prevalent, stereotypical gender roles and activities affecting all genders are still present in Philippine advertisements. There is a need to continue the push for gender equality in representation and in hiring. Online advertising, for one, is teeming with information on the construction and negotiation of gender. There is merit to recognizing the impact of diverse and inclusive portrayals in this platform.

There are several possibilities for future studies on gender in advertising, particularly in further delineating gender roles and the social implications of such gendered roles as portrayed in advertisements. Improving ad database accessibility and availability will help in encouraging and facilitating these studies.

## V.ONLINE CASE STUDIES

Due to the sheer number of advertising material and the increasing personalization of algorithms, gender portrayals in online advertising have not been analyzed systematically and quantitatively. Given these constraints, the researchers present four case studies on youth and beauty, masculinities, gendered narratives, and Jollibee that intend to provide a snapshot of the online landscape and the possibilities in the platform. Each one finds different ways in which gender-related concepts—femininity and masculinity, familial roles, among others—are constructed and negotiated through online discourse. The feedback mechanisms available on the web provide several opportunities for further understanding how audiences interact with advertising materials and the impact that gender portrayals have on them.

Advertisers also seem to take advantage of the relative freedom and the lack of regulation online by either experimenting with progressive depictions—especially of marginalized genders—or releasing heavily stereotypical ads that did not go through the typical vetting process in legacy media. These advertisements are also usually event-specific and released as part of campaigns not for specific products but for brand image building. The researchers recommend further examination of progressive advertisements and a careful examination of the online activity around such ads.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background and Objectives

Evidence abounds that gender representation in media influences cultural practices, norms, acceptable behaviors and can be a catalyst for change. Depictions of women and girls in products of popular culture—from the complex narratives of films to the purely photographic framing of print advertising—reflect and perpetuate socially acceptable and often constraining gender roles. Biases against women in popular media are well-documented in the West (Collins, 2011), and monitoring of stereotypical gender roles in advertising has been going on for three decades in the United States (Grau & Zotos, 2016). However, such studies have not been pursued in a systematic way in the Philippines. Depictions in advertising change at a slower pace than in other forms of popular entertainment, where women are often represented as inferior to men.

Studies on gender representation in media conducted by the Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media (2015; 2017; 2018b; 2019) show that female characters in movies and television do not speak as much, get less screen time than male characters, are depicted negatively when they are professionally successful and driven characters, are emotionally weak, and in advertising forms, often objectified and hypersexualized.

At the same time, there is positive evidence that when women are depicted as courageous and successful, female viewers can be motivated toward greater ambitions (Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media, 2016; 2018a; Smith, Choueiti, Prescott, & Pieper, 2012). **Positive female role models in entertainment have the potential to change social norms and expectations of all genders. Localized analyses of media content for gendered portrayals are critical to the advocacy and communications efforts targeted at producers and creators of these content.**



# GENDER REPRESENTATION IN PHILIPPINE ADVERTISING

Full Report



This study thus seeks to document the representation of women and girls in Philippine advertising across various media. Patterned roughly after the studies conducted by the Geena Davis Institute—but with more in-depth interpretation and content analytic rigor—this research examines advertising content across the most heavily consumed media platforms in the country. In order of magnitude of audience exposure, these are: network television, radio, and print (i.e., newspapers and tabloids). Importantly, we are analyzing portrayals of women and men to allow more comparative capture and gain some initial understanding of how women are depicted relative to men.

## 1.2. Studying Gender and Advertising

### 1.2.1. Industry Perspectives on Advertising

Ad creatives often draw inspiration from various aspects of social life, like their daily interactions, regular consumption of media content, and constant exposure to pop culture (Soar, 2000; Zayer & Coleman, 2015). What we see in advertisements is a reflection, not of

interpretation of an advertisement.

Ad creators have become a cultural elite group of people whose motivations and standards for content creation come from within and among themselves (Soar, 2000). Thus, what ads show are mediated by what ad creatives think would satisfy not their main audience (consumers) but their peers (fellow creatives) (Soar, 2000; Zayer & Coleman, 2015). It is also important to note that the making of an ad involves client demands and production costs. Interestingly, ad creatives were found to think that: (1) what makes a good ad is something the creator can take credit for, and (2) a bad ad is not reflective of creative incompetence but of problematic clients and mishandled accounts (Soar, 2000).

What advertisers observe from society heavily influence how they create content. One of the many social aspects advertisers usually delve into is gender (Jhally, 1987 as cited in Zayer & Coleman, 2015), although they “continue to misunderstand and misrepresent gender by conflating sex, gender, and sexuality” by “utilizing outdated and inaccurate stereotypes (



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reality per se, but of ad creatives’ perceptions of various social realities and how they choose to present such realities. Although there is no question to the validity of personal experience as basis for content, there is a border between a content creator’s intention and an audience’s

Dobscha, 2012) and portraying unattainable standards (Zayer & Otnes, 2016)” (as cited in Zayer & Coleman, 2015, p. 266).

Guided by the Institutional Theory, Zayer and Coleman (2015) assert that “structures within



advertising institutions legitimate certain ethical practices, which serve as guides for institutional actors (i.e., ad professionals) in their creative and strategic decisions about gender portrayals in advertising)” (p. 265). The authors discovered that there are four (4) themes in ad professionals’ views of how gendered portrayals in advertising impact its male and female audiences:

- Silent professionals are those who think that “ethics do not drive the creative and strategic choices they make with regard to gender portrayals in ads” (p. 268). They “defer to regulative forces and rules in their institutions to guide their behavior and lack personal ethical cognizance and action with regard to gendered messages” (p. 268).

- Those who believe that ‘Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus’ manifest reliance on “stereotypical perceptions of men and women that cast women as particularly vulnerable and therefore in need of protection and men as immune to media influence” (p. 268). They have “a narrow ethical perspective” since they perpetuate the dichotomy of values dictating what may only to be attributed to women or men.

- Ad professionals who ‘talk the talk’ “demonstrate awareness that advertising images may negatively affect both male and female audiences” (emphasis in text, p. 269). “Informants in this category seem to talk the talk, as they do recognize at varying levels that gendered images of both men and women can be problematic. However, they are not willing (or are unable) to take action if it conflicts with their career-related goals or would do so only insofar as they perceive it to be a strategic business decision” (p. 270).

- Those who ‘walk the walk’ “understand gender as socially constructed – that is, both men and women can be “sensitive” or “tough” and both can be vulnerable to advertising images, given certain contexts” (p. 270). They “reflect the more developed moral perspective that Kohlberg (1976) discusses in his six-stage

model of moral reasoning where individuals promote issues of justice, equality, and dignity rather than focus on strictly personal rewards” (p. 270).

The challenge remains for advertisers to observe ethics in portraying gender and reconcile these principles as they produce advertisements and/or meet client needs (Zayer & Coleman, 2015).



## 1.2.2. Gender representations in advertising

### *Gender roles and stereotypes shown*

On television: Women are often portrayed in housekeeping roles and associated with domestic, health, and beauty products (Cheng & Leung, 2014; Prieler & Centeno, 2013; Verhellen, Dens, & de Pelsmacker, 2014) and retail outlets (Prieler, 2016). Meanwhile, men usually appear in professional roles and are associated with technological and leisure products (Verhellen, et al., 2014; Prieler, 2016).

They are shown with idealized body types and are engaged in paternal roles (Fowler & Thomas, 2015). Men also dominate voiceovers (Prieler, 2016; Pedelty & Kuecker, 2014) and are featured in a wide variety of topics for public service announcements (Cheng & Leung, 2014). The

feminine voice, meanwhile, is more likely to be featured when the character's body is also on display (Pedelty & Kuecker, 2014).

In magazines: Women are often portrayed to be “smaller” (i.e., taking up less space), in positions of submissiveness, dependence, in need of male protection, and sexual availability which, when framed with men, becomes “indicative of their role in society” (Zotos & Tschla, 2014, p.254). This is also evident when they are portrayed in non-traditional roles (e.g., as professionals) (Zotos & Tschla, 2016). The changing roles of women in society (as professionals, belonging to the public sphere) are slowly being reflected but often underrepresented in magazine advertisements; some studies argue that women continue to be predominantly depicted in traditional and decorative roles and in settings or activities associated with such (Prieler & Centeno, 2013;

sphere) are slowly being reflected but often underrepresented in magazine advertisements; some studies argue that women continue to be predominantly depicted in traditional and decorative roles and in settings or activities associated with such (Prieler & Centeno, 2013; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009; Plakoyiannaki, Mathioudaki, Dimitratos, & Zotos, 2008; Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007).



### *Ideals of beauty and women ‘empowerment’*

Advertisements often use thin bodies to portray an ideal beautiful body (Conlin & Bissell, 2014; Millard, 2009; Yan & Bissell, 2014). In the case of health magazines, framing fitness as thinness contradicts the promotion of health, since it fails to consider other body types (e.g., muscular, athletic women) (Conlin & Bissell, 2014).

Although different cultures have different ‘standards’ of beauty, common notions of beauty show that people work along similar lines in judging and performing what is ‘beautiful’ (Millard, 2009; Yan & Bissell, 2014). A universal, cross-cultural ideal of beauty consists of round eyes, narrow faces, and pronounced noses (Kim, 2010 as cited in Yan & Bissell, 2014). Additionally, despite the cultural differences, beauty standards often revolve around Western ideals (Yan & Bissell, 2014), which include long and shiny hair, clear and smooth skin, cosmetics, thin body, straight and white teeth, and trendy clothes (Millard, 2009). Today, there is a more ‘globalized’ notion of beauty (Yan & Bissell, 2014) that can be seen in standardized advertising campaigns by agencies with head offices in US

and Europe (Frith, Shaw, & Cheng, 2005).

Changes and challenges faced by the advertising industry in terms of representing genders and depicting beauty have given rise to a strategy called femvertising, where advertisements present women in stronger, more dignified—as opposed to traditional and decorative—portrayals. This line of advertising promotes body positivity, embraces cultural diversity, and advocates for gender equality. However, delving into the multiple agendas at play in brand management reveals that while femvertising initially intends to empower women by portraying them beyond stereotypes, it may also manipulatively and subtly reinforce sexism in society (Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017). For some consumers, the messages of such ads are commendable but eventually become hypocritical or ironic at a certain point when considering company ethics and the real marketing intent for a product (Abitbol & Sternadori, 2016; Millard, 2009).

### Western vs. Eastern cultures

Culture can affect the perception as well as the presentation of an ad. Consumers from countries with a high-context communication system are more likely to perceive implicit meaning from visual images in print ads than their low-context communication system counterparts (Callow & Schiffman, 2002). In a comparative study between a collectivist and individualist country represented by Korea and United States respectively, it was found that generally “ads in collectivistic culture tend to use collectivistic appeals and emphasize family well-being, ingroup goals, and interdependence” and vice versa (San & Shavitt, 1994, p. 334).

### **1.2.3. Advertising in the Philippines**

#### *Roles depicted and values reflected in Philippine advertising*

The Philippines, with a score of 32 in Hofstede’s Individualism rating, is classified as a Collectivist culture. Citing a previous proposal by Enriquez

(1994), Alampay (2014) argues that the country's collectivist culture is rooted in the core Filipino interpersonal values first learned from the family, which are: kapwa (fellow-being), hiya (shame or losing one's face), and utang na loob (debt of one's being). The pivotal value of primary use in the study is the concept of kapwa which refers to the Filipino's commitment to other fellow-beings, treating them as equals—no different from the self. From here, it can be inferred that the Filipino's sense of self is interdependent with others.

Operating under the same line of thinking, a study by Marquez (1975) measured, among others, male-female roles, masculinity and femininity, and personality types presented in Filipino print advertisements. However, unlike other studies that reflected their home country's values (Huang & Lowry, 2015; Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015), Marquez found that Philippine ads favored a more Western value system.

Similarly, a more recent study by Prieler and Centeno (2013) found that the representation of women in television advertisements does not mirror changes in the Philippine society where the gender equality score ranks among the most progressive in Asia. Traditional gender roles continue to prevail in ads wherein more men were shown in the workplace, generally fully clothed, delivered more voice-overs while women were predominantly placed at home, often suggestively dressed, and had less voiceovers. In terms of product categories, more women were associated with cosmetics/toiletries while more men were associated with pharmaceuticals/health products. An exception to this trend is the dominance of female characters in the ads which was attributed to women being the primary target audience owing to their position as the majority of TV viewers.

The familial roles assigned to Filipino parents tend to follow the traditional gender roles. The mother, "ilaw ng tahanan" (light of the home), is expected to be the nurturer and primary caretaker while the father, "haligi ng tahanan"

(pillar of the home), plays the role of the provider for the family but has minimal involvement in child-rearing. In reality, working mothers are not uncommon, especially since the feminization of Filipino labor migrants. The inability or failure of mothers to perform their domestic role as caretaker is viewed negatively by others and even by themselves (Alampay, 2014), a position that is translated in the ads that feature them (Soriano, Lim, & Rivera-Sanchez, 2014).



Mother and father fulfill their separate roles as ilaw and haligi ng tahanan. "Stay Super with Del Monte 100% Pineapple Juice!" (Del Monte Kitchenomics, 2018)



## 1.3. Theorizing Gender and Advertising

### 1.3.1. Key Concepts

- Television production brings forth a message, defined by Hall (1973) as “sign-vehicles of a specific kind organized—like any other form of communication or language—through the operation of codes, within the syntagmatic chains of a discourse” (p. 1-2). When a message is produced (encoded) and put up for an audience to see, it will only have an impact once it is “perceived as a meaningful discourse and meaningfully de-coded” (p. 3). It is important to note that a message’s initial meaning (or how producers intended it to mean) may not be the same as how the audience interprets it. The production of a television material is not linear; rather, it is a cycle of encoding and decoding—with each side (production and consumption) constantly influencing the other in a process of meaning-making. There is no univocal meaning for messages, no matter how it is packaged or presented. From all possible meanings, audiences can draw their own interpretations of the content they consume (Hall, 1973).

- In advertising, the message of an ad is greatly shaped not only by drawing from the audiences and their cultures (Jhally, 1995), but also from the creators’ intentions and personal perceptions of reality (Soar, 2000; Zayer & Coleman, 2015). Building up from Johnson’s (1986/1987) Circuit of Culture, Soar (2000) argues that the production of advertisements is not always directed to the general public (for them to read and relate to) but, sometimes, to the cultural intermediaries (i.e., the advertisers) for them to critique (and praise/recognize as they wish). This led him to insert in Johnson’s model what he calls the Short Circuit, where an internal interpretation of texts by the advertising community happens within the actual, bigger process of consumption by the general audiences. Such internal interpretation shapes what advertisements become according to the standards of a small elite circle of ad creatives, a phenomenon that somehow isolates

ad production from the realities it wishes to portray (Soar, 2000).

- Advertising works by projecting what people feel and what they dream of. It promotes consumerism with the “commodity image-system” that “provides a particular vision of the world—a particular mode of self-validation that is integrally connected with what one has rather than what one is—a distinction often referred to as one between “having” and “being,” with the latter now being defined through the former” (Jhally, 1995, p. 80). Moreover, two distinct characteristics of 21st century advertising are (1) “reliance on visual modes of representation” and (2) “increasing speed and rapidity of the images that constitute it” (also called the ‘vignette approach’) (Jhally, 1995, p. 84). These changes in the realm of advertisement production focus on making people feel rather than think. Given that an ad only lasts for seconds, the viewer is expected to give it undivided attention, which in turn draws them to its message. Additionally, the increasing speed of ads “had replaced narrative and rational response with images and emotional response” (Jhally, 1995, p. 84).

- Citing Goffman (1979), Jhally (1995) reiterated how the “commodity image-system” in advertising has distorted people’s perceptions of gender by showing how men and women are thought to behave, instead of showing how they “actually behave”. Gender, in contrast to sex, is not based on physical attributes but on how people behave and present themselves in relation to the socially constructed standards of femininity and masculinity (Goffman, 1976; West & Zimmerman, 1987). For Goffman (1976), gender displays—that is, the adherence to either side of the dichotomy—may be optional, but given the “dialogic character” of displays, non-conformity may also entail certain consequences for an individual.

- Goffman’s (1979) work on gender in advertisements has been cited and reproduced for many other studies in the same line of questioning. Interestingly, Kang (1997) criticized

## USE OF HANDS

is the characters' manner of touching things or others; a)

**Ritualistic** for gracefully caressing

b) **Utilitarian** for grasping or manipulating



## FUNCTION RANKING

is one's gender's role in relation to the other;

a) **Dominant** active roles (e.g., feeding, teaching)

b) **Subordinate** being at the receiving end of the action



# GENDER CODES IN ADVERTISING

(Goffman, 1979\*)

## LICENSED WITHDRAWAL

is the characters' psychological engagement with others/the situation

a) **Spacing Out:** disengaged, inattentive and disoriented

b) **Looking from behind:** looking over one's shoulder or "hiding" behind objects

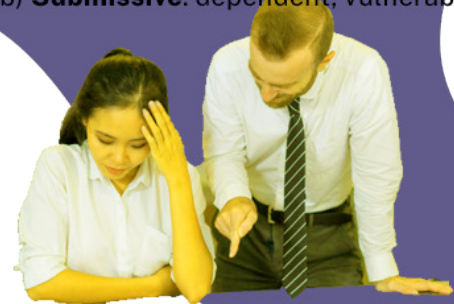


## RITUALIZATION OF SUBORDINATION

is one's posture or placement in a situation

a) **Authoritative:** active, alert, superior

b) **Submissive:** dependent, vulnerable



how Goffman's study uses a purposively chosen sample that already features his major assertion that women are almost always featured as subordinate to men. Kang (1997) tested seven variables—with five lifted from Goffman (1979) and two additional ones—on a random sample: Relative size, Feminine touch, Function ranking, Ritualization of subordination, Licensed withdrawal, Body display, and Independence/self-assurance. Still, however, most of Goffman's (1979) original findings held true as Kang (1997) found little differences between her study and Goffman's. The ads from 1991 that Kang (1997) used even featured more stereotyping of women in terms of Licensed withdrawal and Body

display. In addition, two of Goffman's variables – Relative size and Function ranking – were not prevalent in the 1991 ads and were hence deemed quite irrelevant. Kang (1997) found that either ads showed a solo female or male, or the two genders together "in a family scene," which may imply that "advertisements are frequently targeting more specific audiences. Additionally, cosmetic advertisements featured "more powerful and independent female gender displays" (Kang, 1997, p. 994).

### 1.3.2. Study framework

Informed by previous research and theorizing on gender and advertisements, **this study uses a three-pronged framework where gendered narratives serve as the context for the interaction within gendered groups by gendered bodies (Figure 1)**. Arrayed within each level are variables and measures that operationalize the portrayal of gender across and within mediums.

The framework was constructed deductively and inductively. On the one hand, the study's variables and measures, arrayed in Tables 2 and 3, are based on the related literature. The grouping of the variables across three levels, on the other hand, is based on the iterative processes of instrument development and intercoder reliability testing.

Given that the literature was predominantly based on advertising in the United States, the culture of which privileges the individual over the collective, much of the variables and measures focused on the depiction of primary, if not solitary, characters. In instances where there is more than one character, it is typically a dyad. However, as the activities and findings prior to data collection indicated, there was a need to focus first on the collective and the characters in it subsequently, given the preponderance of groups in local advertisements.

	Variables	Measures	
		Ad Level	Character Level
Gendered Narratives	Theme	Campaign (T, P, R) Pitch (T, P, R)	
	Space	Setting (T, P)	
	Format	Type (T)	
	Story	Argument (R)	Credibility (T, P) Problem Solver (T)
Gendered Groups	Hierarchy & Relationships	Composition (T, P) Prominence (P) Standout (P)	Function Ranking (P) Relational Role (T, P) Familial Responsibility (T) Ritualization of sub (P) Liscenced Withdrawal (P)
	Romance	Attraction (T, P)	
	Audience	Product User (R) User / Consumer (R)	
Gendered Bodies	Embodied genders		Age (T, P) Social Class (P) Pregnant (T, P) Body type (T, P) Body shown (P) Attire (T, P) Activity (T) Occupation (P) Use of Hands (P)
	Disembodied genders	Voiceover (T, R) Character (R) Celebrity (R)	

Legend:  
T - TV

P - Print  
R- Radio



## 1.4. METHODOLOGY

### 1.4.1. Population and sampling

The project studies advertisements in TV, Radio, and Print. Its population is based on a database maintained by Aries Insights and Media Solutions (AIMS), an industry archive of advertisements. Access to the database was facilitated by Kantar Media, a leading media research agency.

Altogether, the sampling frame lists the following:

- 1,003 unique TV ads
- 1,126 unique Radio ads
- 256 unique Print ads

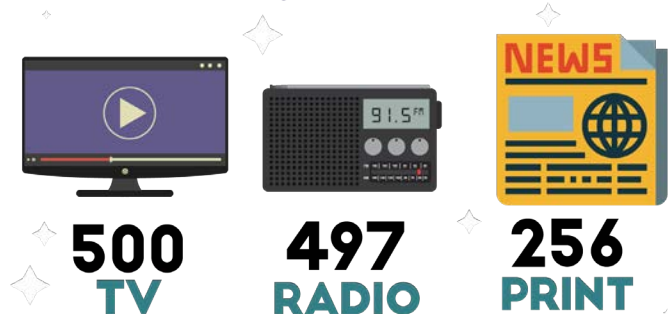
Simple random sampling was then performed to identify the 500 and 497 ads which were content analyzed TV and Radio, respectively. All 256 Print ads, meanwhile, were included in the study.

	TV	Print	Radio
Sampling period	1 January to 31 December 2018		1 October to 31 December 2018
Sampling coverage	Two constructed weeks		One constructed week
	5:00AM-11:30PM	Date of publication	5:00AM-11:30PM
Titles	ABS-CBN and GMA	Broadsheets: Philippine Daily Inquirer, The Philippine Star, Manila Bulletin Tabloids: Pilipino Star Ngayon, Bulgar	FM Stations: MOR 101.9, Love Radio 90.7AM Stations: DZMM 630, DZBB 594

The database includes two TV stations, three broadsheets, two tabloids, two FM stations, and two AM stations. Stations and publications were chosen based on Metro Manila audience share and readership numbers by The Nielsen Company and Kantar Media, as reported on ABS-CBN News (2018a, 2018b) and The Philippine Star (2017). For TV and Print, the sampling period covers 1 January to 31 December 2018. For Radio, it is from 1 October to 31 December 2018. For TV and Radio, advertisements from 5AM to 1130PM are included in the sample. Constructed week sampling means randomly choosing a specific date—within the sampling period, which is the entire year of 2018—for each day of the week. Only one week was constructed for Radio due to limitations in the database, which only had the last three months of 2018.

A sampling frame which excludes repeated advertisements, casual plugging (for TV), time checks (for Radio), and advertisements which feature no humanoid characters (for Print) was constructed from the AIMS database.

### 1.4.2. Units of analysis and instrumentation



Instruments were developed for the two units of analysis considered in the study:

- Across all media: The Advertisement as a whole (Table 2)
- For TV and Print: The Character/s identified in each advertisement (Table 3)

A second set of variables were used to code characters in TV and Print ads. For Radio ads, it was difficult to ascertain character-level attributes. Thus, only the gender of specific voice roles was coded for characters in Radio ads.

Variable	Definition	TV	Print	Radio
Product	Name of product or service featured in the advertisement			
Campaign	Main text/campaign and title of the ad as encoded in the KANTAR/AIMS database			
Length	Duration of the advertisement in seconds			
Company	Name of company/institution that produces/distributes the product or offers the service			
Product Category	General classification of the product or service advertised			
Type	Whether the advertisement follows a vignette drama structure, or a classical drama or lecture structure as defined in Stern (1994) and Escalas (1998)			
Pitch	Product feature/selling point as presented in the ad			
Attraction	Occurs when characters show signs of liking or romantic/physical attraction to another character. Includes established and/or married couples and strangers exhibiting attraction to each other. This variable does not concern children and are only applicable to adults. Adapted from Mogaji (2015)			
Voiceover - Narrator	Whether or not the voiceover in the ad is a generic narrator. Adapted from Eisend, Plagemann, & Sollwedel (2014); Prieler (2016); Cheng & Leung (2014); Browne (1998); and Merskin (2002)			
Composition	The gender composition of characters in the advertisement			
Prominence	This variable pertains to the characters' general placement in the ad—i.e., who is/are in the foreground or the background, or whose photo is sized bigger than those of other people in the ad. Adapted from Goffman (1979) as cited in Mager & Helgeson (2010)			
Standouts	Number of standout characters			
Product User-Gender	Gender of the product's target user, as advertised. Adapted from Merskin (2002)			
Argument	Refers to the type of argument that the central figure provides on behalf of the advertised product. The argument is Factual and/or Scientific if it contains factual or purported factual information about the product (e.g., components of the product). Meanwhile, it is Opinion-based and/or Non-scientific if evidence is lacking and/or only opinions/testimonials of others are used as the persuasive argument to sell the product (adapted from Furnham, 1986 as cited in Verhellen, et al., 2014)			
Narrator	Gender of the narrator/s. A Narrator is a voice talking about (i.e., as in a hard sell) the product, singing the product jingle (i.e., the dominant singing voice among a chorus or a set of backup singers), or speaking first to initiate reactions/testimonials. Adapted from Neto & Santos (2004)			
Character	Gender of the character/s. A Character is a voice that is part of a scenario (e.g., dialogue/conversation, testimonial, etc.) within the ad. Adapted from Monk-Turner, Kouts, Parris, & Webb (2007)			
Celebrity	Gender of the voice/s of the celebrity. Adapted from Neto & Santos (2004)			
User/ Consumer	Gender of the user/consumer of the product. Adapted from Neto & Santos (2004)			

Variable	Definition	TV	Print
Character Name	Name or identifier of the character		
Setting	Specific setting of the advertisement. Categories adapted from Prieler & Centeno (2013); Luyt (2010); and Larson (2001)		
Credibility	The character's role in terms of the product being advertised. A different level of credibility is ascribed to each role. Adapted from Browne (1998), and Monk-Turner, Kouts, Parris, & Webb (2007)		
Gender	Gender identity of the character		
Age	Apparent age of the character. This could be depicted visually, mentioned by a character/voice-over, and/or known in the case of a celebrity. Categories adapted from Smith, et al. (2012)		
Social Class	Refers to the character's social standing as depicted in the advertisement. Adapted from Luyt (2010)		
Pregnant/with infant	If the character is pregnant or is with an infant. This could be depicted visually and/or mentioned by a character/voice-over. Infant is defined as an individual below 2 y/o. Adapted from Mogaji (2015)		
Body Type	Body type of the character. Adapted from Sheldon (1954) and Kolbe & Albanese (1996) as adapted by Fowler & Thomas (2015)		
Body Shown	Portions of the body shown in the ad. Adapted from Kolbe & Albanese (1996)		
Attire	The attire that the character is shown to be wearing in the advertisement. Adapted from Prieler & Centeno (2013)		
Occupation	Specific occupation of the individual character as portrayed in the ad		
Activity	Specific activity being done by the character in the ad		
Relational Role	Specific relational roles of the character as portrayed in the ad. Adapted from Tan, Shaw, Cheng, & Kim (2013); Mishra (2017); Tartaglia & Rollero (2015); and Huang & Lowry (2015)		
Familial Responsibility	If the character performs familial duties. Adapted from Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente (2007); Verhellen, et al. (2014)		
Problem Solver	If the character is shown as someone who 'saves the day' or brings a solution to the central problem presented in the ad using the product/service advertised		
Use of Hands	An individual model/character's use of hands. Adapted from Goffman (1979) as cited in Mager & Helgeson (2010)		
Function Ranking	An individual character's function—in relation to other characters and/or the story/pitch of the ad—as portrayed in any given setting. Adapted from Goffman (1979) as cited in Mager & Helgeson (2010)		
Ritualization of Subordination	How an individual character is made to appear in terms of posture and placement. Adapted from Goffman (1979) as cited in Mager & Helgeson (2010)		
Licensed Withdrawal	Pertains to the character's psychological engagement with other characters and/or the situation. Adapted from Goffman (1979) as cited in Mager & Helgeson (2010)		

### 1.4.3. Intercoder reliability

Intercoder reliability testing ensures that the research team codes textual data objectively. In this project, data encoding was performed by members of the research team and student assistants enrolled in a quantitative research class. The research team selected and trained these data encoders prior to each intercoder

reliability testing. After intercoder reliability scores for the run were calculated, a debriefing and retraining session was held by the research team with the data encoders. The testing followed an iterative process until the desired intercoder reliability coefficient was achieved. For each run of reliability testing, a total of 60 advertisements from the sample population were coded. The final reliability scores as follows:

Table 4. Intercoder-reliability scores			
	TV	Print	Radio
Average reliability score*	0.854	0.870	0.900
Number of variables	27	26	13
Reliability scores for Advertisement-level variables*			
Product Category	0.822	0.871	0.947
Product User Gender	N/A	N/V	0.851
Ad Type	0.807	N/A	N/A
Attraction	0.863	0.870	N/A
Sexual Objectification	N/V	N/V	N/V
Voiceover – Narrator	0.810	N/A	N/A
Prominence	N/A	0.828	N/A
Standouts	N/A	0.873	N/A
Ad Composition	0.830	0.957	N/A
Argument	N/A	N/A	0.971
Narrator	N/A	N/A	0.839
Celebrity	N/A	N/A	0.950
User/Consumer	N/A	N/A	0.913
Character	N/A	N/A	0.806
Reliability scores for Character-level variables*			
Character Identification	0.908	0.888	N/A
Setting	W/I	0.863	N/A
Credibility	0.977	0.837	N/A
Gender	1.000	0.912	N/A
Age	0.854	0.858	N/A
Social Class	N/A	0.803	N/A
Pregnant/with infant	1.000	N/V	N/A
Body Shown	N/A	0.916	N/A
Body Type	0.682	0.832	N/A
Attire	0.827	0.787	N/A
Occupation	W/I	0.904	N/A
Activity	W/I	N/A	N/A
Relational Role 1	0.852	0.878	N/A
Relational Role 2	0.825	N/A	N/A
Familial Responsibility	0.873	1.000	N/A



Use of Hands	N/A	0.902	N/A
Function Ranking	N/A	0.921	N/A
Ritualization of Subordination	N/A	0.746	N/A
Licensed Withdrawal	N/A	0.808	N/A
Problem Solver	0.735	0.902	N/A

\*A score of 0.700 is generally accepted

Notes:

N/A = Not applicable, meaning the variable is not covered for that specific medium

N/V = No variation, meaning the attribute is observed to be a constant. For example, during the reliability testing stage, Sexual Objectification showed no variation, meaning no character was treated by another character an object of sexual gratification in terms of gaze, touch, sexual comments, or innuendo.

W/I = Write-in variables are qualitative in nature and require no intercoder reliability testing



## 2. Findings

The findings are divided into four sections:

- Overall attributes and messages
- Gendered narratives
- Gendered groups
- Gendered bodies

Tables for this section are located at the end of the report.

### 2.1. Overall attributes and messages

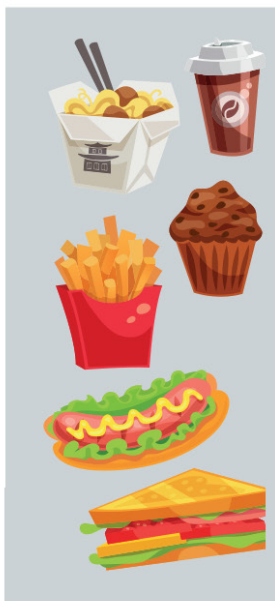
The study covers **500** TV, **497** Radio, and **256** Print ads. Embedded within these **1,253** ads were **710** TV, **459** Print, and **497** Radio

characters. These **1,666** characters, meanwhile, assumed **1,879** roles across **1,585** settings.

Across all **1,253** advertisements in all platforms, food and non-alcoholic beverages (22%), pharmaceutical/health/ herbal products (14%) and eating and shopping places (9%) were the most advertised products (Table 5). These were also the top three most-advertised products on Radio and TV, with hygiene and beauty products tied with pharmaceutical/health/herbal products on the second place for TV. However, for Print, recreational products and services (17%), private services (13%), and automotive and fuels (11%) comprised the top three. Interestingly, Print (28%), compared to TV (13%) and Radio (11%),

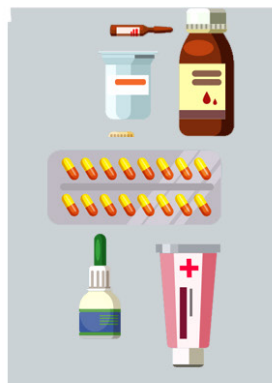
# 22%

Food & Non-Alcoholic Beverages



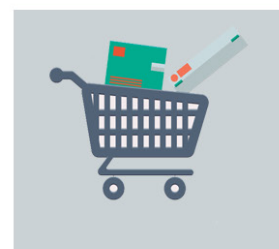
# 14%

Pharmaceutical, Health, & Herbal Products



# 9%

Eating & Shopping Places



also had the biggest number of products outside of specified product categories.

There were more men (44%) than women (41%) among the characters in the advertisements. TV ads featured more women than men (56% versus 44%). However, men outnumbered women in Print (54% versus 46%) and Radio (34% versus 16%) ads. Radio also featured mixed/ indeterminate voiced characters (50% of the Radio and 15% of the overall sample). The ads focused on

product/brand prestige (19%), appealed to any of the five human senses (12%), or concentrated on health (10%) (Table 6). However, the overall pitch of ads differed across platforms. Product/brand prestige were the most popular pitch for TV (18%) and Radio (25%), but it was value for money (sulit) for Print (10%).

The matrix below shows examples for the different types of pitches within each medium:

Pitch	TV	Print	Radio
Product/ brand prestige	Kakaibang sarap; Real love goodness na walang katulad	Trusted quality healthcare; Asia's Friendliest	No. 1 sa Pilipinas; 4th time Reader's Digest most trusted brand eye wear specialist
Sensual (senses)	Muy delicioso; Busog sarap	Noodleliciously healthy	Tamis asim sarap, palibhasa Gardenia sa lambot, bango at sarap
Values-oriented	Protect more love more; Powerful; Tibay always present; More confident	Servant leadership; Contribution to nation-building	Tibay na tumatagal; Sama tayo para sa asenso
Health	Tulong sa tamang tangkad at bigat; Help keep bones strong and healthy	A stronger heart a fuller life; Stop vision loss	With zinc, calcium, and protein para may bonggang sigla; Iba't ibang stress; Protektado sila
Value for money (Sulit)	Lupit sa sulit; All-out-discounts	Get great holiday deals; Sale 50% off	Mas mataas ang appraisal rates up to 30% than other pawn shops so mas mataas ang takehome; 25 pesos SRP lang
Experience/ lifestyle	Adventure na di niyo makakalimutan; Be practicool	Experience the old charm of Baguio Enjoy biggest thrills	Kasama sa baon ng batang Pilipino; Timplang Pinoy, gawang Pinoy

## 2.2. Gendered narratives

### 2.2.1. Product endorsements by characters

The ranking of product categories was the same for ad-level and character-level data, which perhaps indicated the same number of characters deployed across product types (Table 7). Across all platforms, there were differences (of at least three percentage points) between men and women in terms of the following product categories:

A bigger share of men than women endorsed:

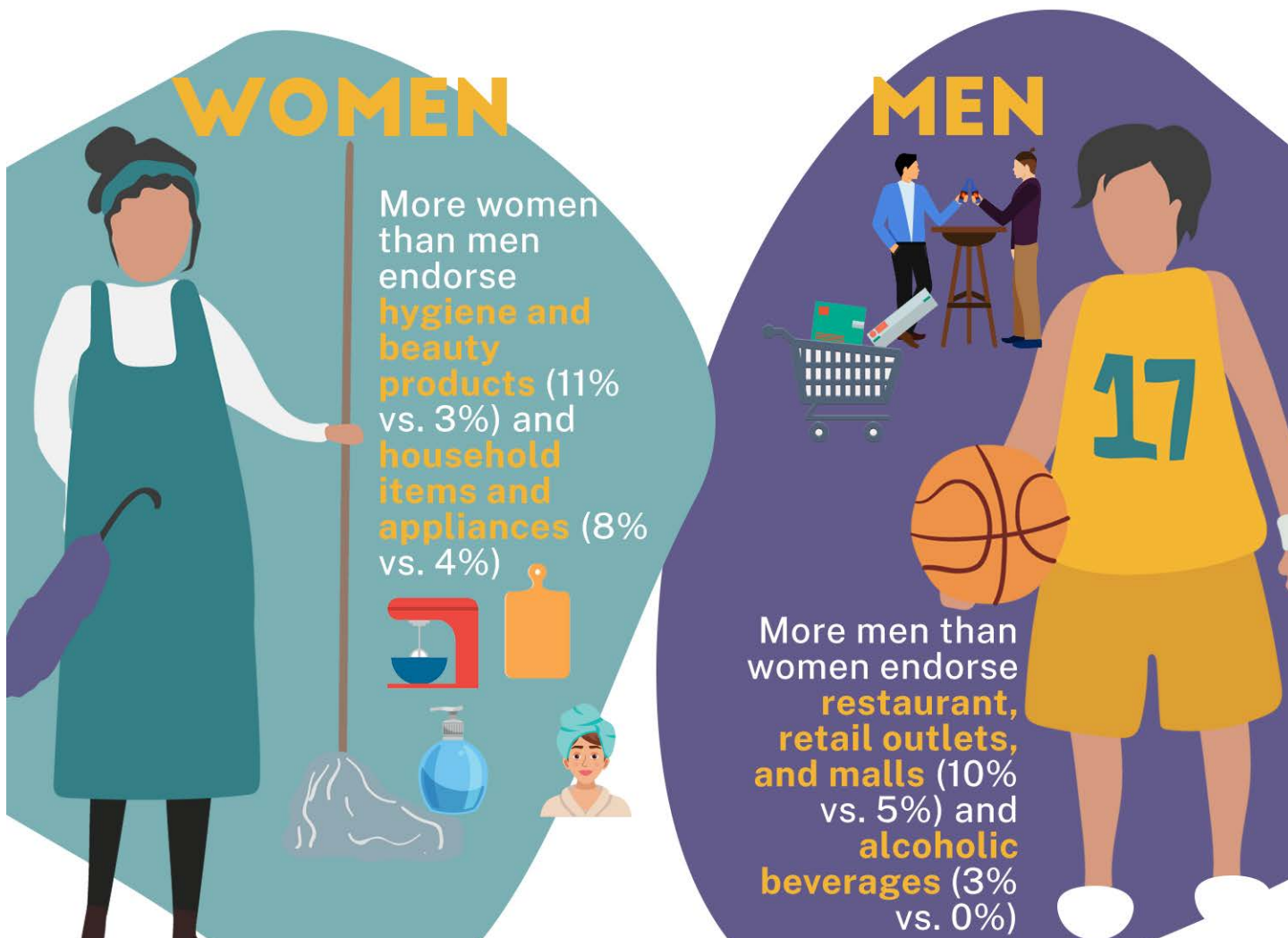
- Restaurants, retail outlets and malls (10% versus 5%)
- Alcoholic beverages (3% versus 0%)

A bigger percentage of women than men endorsed:

- Hygiene and beauty products (11% versus 3%)
- Household items (8% versus 4%)

No differences were observed in the percentages of male and female characters in endorsing:

- Food and non-alcoholic beverages
- Pharma/ health/herbal product
- Recreational products and services
- Private services
- Automotive and fuels
- Government services
- Telecommunications and electronics
- Real estate





Within each platform, meanwhile, gendered product endorsements (in terms of at least three percentage point-differences between men and women) were observed in the following :

Radio ads focused on product/brand prestige (25%) and health (15%). Perhaps because Print ads featured diverse products and services, no dominant pitch emerged from among them. Still, the top three character-based pitches for Print

<b>TV</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More than twice the number of men than women endorsed eating places (16% versus 6%)</li> <li>• More than twice the number of women than men endorsed hygiene and beauty products (15% versus 5%) as well as household items and appliances (11% versus 5%)</li> </ul>
<b>Radio</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Groups (19%) were least likely to endorse food and non-alcoholic beverages compared to men (28%) or women (30%)</li> <li>• Women (17%) were most likely to endorse hygiene and beauty products compared to men (1%) and groups (2%)</li> <li>• Women (3%) were least likely to endorse restaurants, retail outlets, and malls compared to men (10%) or groups (13%)</li> <li>• Men (7%) were most likely to endorse alcoholic beverages compared to groups (5%) and women (0%)</li> <li>• Men (3%) were least likely to endorse household items and appliances compared to groups (13%) or women (7%)</li> </ul>

### 2.2.2. Ad and character pitch

The ad-level pitch (N=1,523) generally translated to the character-level pitch (N=2,003). The characters, across all media, pitched the prestige of a product/brand (18%), appealed to specific senses (13%) and values (10%) (Table 8). However, differences could be observed across media. TV ads focused on senses (20%) and product/brand prestige (17%), whereas

were values-orientation (12%), value-for money (sulit) (9%), and product/brand prestige (9%). In general, there were no major differences in the pitches made by male and female characters in the top categories.

However, some items could be flagged in terms of gendered differences (of at least three percentage points) in the pitches which are smaller in numbers:

<b>TV</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More men than women pitched product/brand prestige (19% versus 16%)</li> <li>• More women than men endorsed beauty and youth (13% versus 5%)</li> <li>• More men than women promoted an experience/lifestyle (13% versus 10%)</li> </ul>
<b>Print</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More men than women endorsed product/brand prestige (10% versus 7%)</li> <li>• More than twice the number of women compared to men focused on practicality (sulit) (13% versus 6%)</li> <li>• More women than men pitched a certain experience/lifestyle (7% versus 4%)</li> <li>• Women overwhelmingly outnumbered men in endorsing beauty and youth (4% versus 0.4%)</li> </ul>
<b>Radio</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (20%) were least likely to pitch product/brand prestige on their own compared to men (28%) or mixed groups (25%)</li> <li>• Women (24%) were most likely to endorse health concerns on their own (17%) compared to mixed groups (16%) or men (11%)</li> <li>• Women (15%) were also most likely to talk about value for money (sulit) compared to men (9%) and mixed groups (8%)</li> <li>• Only women essentially essayed beauty and youth on Radio (11%)</li> </ul>

### 2.2.3. Setting

The biggest group of Print and TV ads was set in areas of the **house (34%)**, followed by **miscellaneous spaces (23%)** and the **outdoors (21%)** (Table 9). Within specific settings, **gray spaces (also known as “limbo”)** was the main setting of the ads (19%), or almost twice the number of the next most popular space, the **living room (10%)**.

TV and Print ads differed in terms of setting. Almost half of TV ads were set in the house (46%), the outdoors (20%), and public places (11%). Over half of Print ads, meanwhile, were set in miscellaneous spaces (58%), followed by the outdoors (24%).

More female characters (38%) than male characters (31%) were portrayed in the house. A bigger percentage of female (23%) than male (20%) characters were also located outdoors. Men, on the other hand, were more likely depicted in miscellaneous spaces compared to women (29% versus 18%).

were differences (of at least three percentage points) between their location:

A bigger percentage of women than men were set in:

- The kitchen (8% versus 4%)

A bigger share of men than women were set in:

- Eating places (8% versus 4%)
- Gray space (Limbo) (24% versus 15%)

For each platform, meanwhile, the following differences in setting were observed:

### 2.2.4. Story

In terms of form and plot, almost all (87%) TV were presented in the classical drama and lecture format, with only 13% designed as vignettes (Table 10). Within these TV ads, only seven percent involved a problem solver, which was almost equally divided between female (8%) and male (6%) characters. Meanwhile, for Radio, 45% of all stories were primarily opinion-based and/or offered a non-scientific argument.

<b>TV</b>	<p><b>Women than men were more likely to be found in</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The house (48% versus 43%)</li> <li>-The kitchen (11% versus 6%)</li> </ul> <p><b>Men than women were more likely to be found in</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The yard/porch (9% versus 6%)</li> <li>-Eating places (10% versus 4%)</li> </ul>
<b>Print</b>	<p><b>Women than men were more likely to be found in</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The outdoors (33% versus 16%)</li> <li>-Nature (10% versus 3%)</li> <li>-Generic outdoors (9% versus 5%)</li> <li>-Outdoor recreational spaces (6% versus 3%)</li> <li>-Indoors (9% versus 5%)</li> </ul> <p><b>Men than women were more likely to be found in</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Miscellaneous spaces (68% versus 47%)</li> <li>-Gray spaces (57% versus 38%)</li> </ul>

Across TV and Print ads, there were more places where men and women were proportionately depicted than in the following cases where there

Another 30% of Radio ads combined both factual and/or scientific argument AND opinion-based and/or non-scientific argument.

Across the gender of the Radio voices, a bigger share of mixed groups offered an opinion-based and/or non-scientific argument (51%) compared to female (42%) and male (38%) characters. Conversely, groups were also least likely to argue factually or scientifically (9%) compared to male (19%) and female (16%) characters.

Majority (61%) of the 1,169 characters in TV and Print ads were typical users/customers, followed by celebrities (25%) and experts (9%) (Table 11). There were gender differences in this regard: Women than men were more likely to be typical users/customers (65% versus 56%), whereas men were more likely than women to be experts (13% versus 6%).

These gendered differences did not appear on television. Instead, these were due to Print ads which heavily featured women than men as typical users/customers (74% versus 50%). Moreover, around twice the number of male than female characters in Print ads were presented as experts (26% versus 11%) or as celebrities (25% versus 15%).

## 2.3. Gendered groups

### 2.3.1. Composition

Almost two-thirds (66%) of Print and TV ads featured a group, either as a mixture of genders (49%), or primarily female (10%) or male (6%) (Table 12). This was particularly true for TV, where more than half (56%) showed mixed groups. In comparison, however, only over a third (36%) of Print ads featured mixed groups. Instead, half (50%) of Print ads showed only solo female (27%) or male (22%) characters. Only 18% of TV ads featured solitary characters.

Half of all 256 Print ads specifically showed solo characters and 28% roughly equally placed mixed groups. The balance comprised small and almost equal proportions of various combinations of male and female characters either as main or background personalities (Table 13).

Across the 459 characters in Print ads, over a quarter (28%) appeared alone. Exactly 20% of Print ads involved dyads, while 29 percent had between three (13%) and four (16%) characters (Table 14).

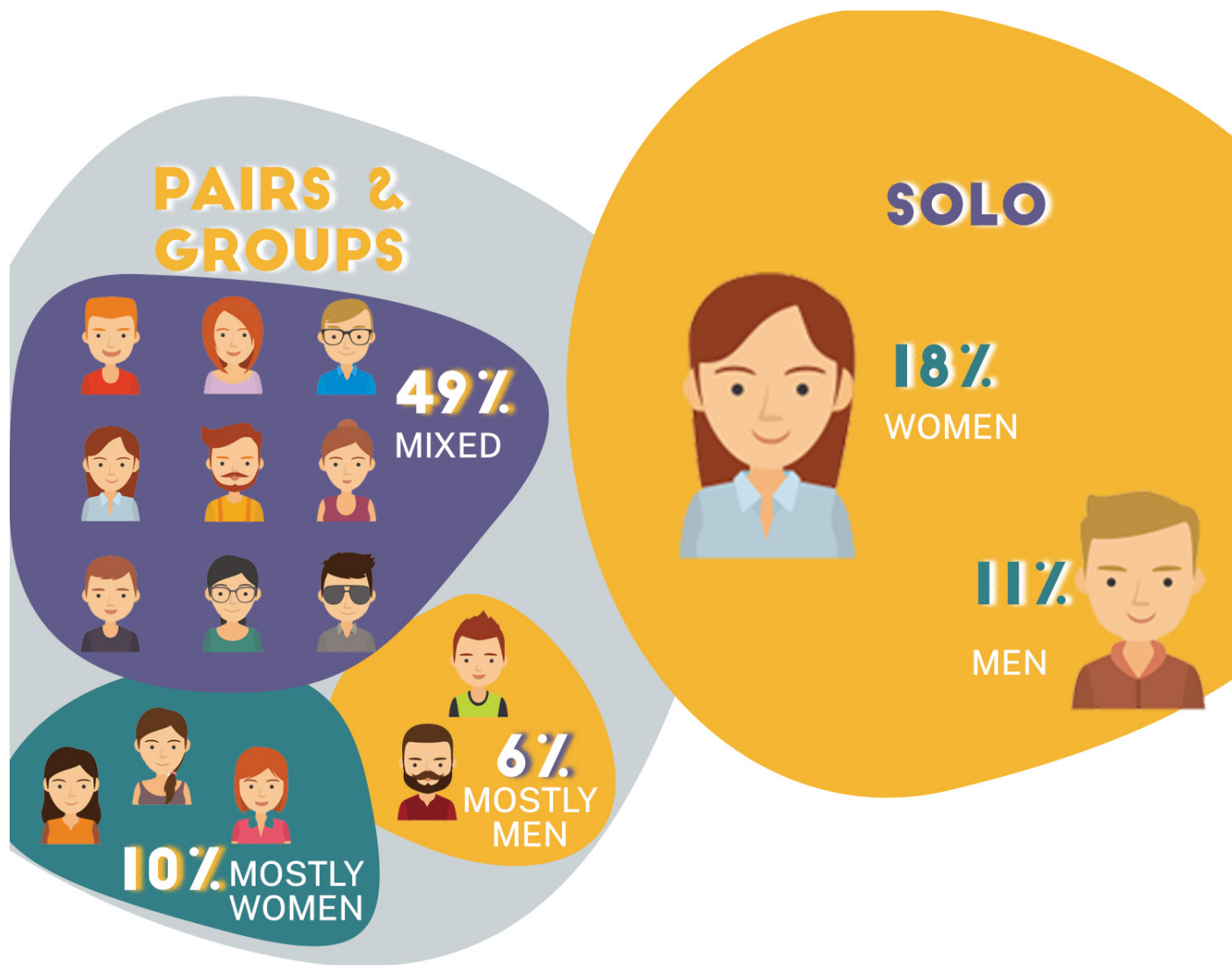
Moreover, 75% of all characters were neither submissive or authoritative to other characters (Table 15). However, 27% of female characters were submissive, compared to only 11% of their male counterparts, relative to the others in their ad. Conversely, nine percent of men were in an authoritative position, compared to only four percent of women.

Almost three-quarters (74%) of characters were not depicted in terms of licensed withdrawal, and this applied to a bigger share of men (77%) than women (70%). A tenth of the characters were shown as spaced out (lutang), and this was more pronounced among female (12%) than male (8%) characters. A bigger percentage of men (11%) than women (6%) were among the eight percent of characters who had a fierce, focused, alert and/or assertive look. Conversely, a bigger share of female (12%) than male (5%) characters were among the eight percent who were shown as over-engaged and without emotional control.

Among the 329 Print characters who appeared with another character in the ad, 80% had no clear hierarchical relationship with each other. Almost as many characters were either dominant (11%) or subordinate (9%) to each other (Table 15). This held true for male and female characters.

### 2.3.2. Hierarchy and relations

**Among the 1,329 roles assumed by the characters, familial (41%) was the biggest category (Table 16), with more women (43%) than men (39%) being depicted in this role.** The second biggest category is the absence of assumed relational role (37%), followed by recreational (15%) roles. Professional relationships were depicted by only nine percent of characters. A bigger share of men (10%) than women (7%) assumed this role.



Across most specific types of relationships, no differences could be observed between male and female characters. Only in roles as parents which was portrayed by a bigger share of women than men (19% versus 11%), as children which was assumed by a bigger share of boys than girls (15% versus 9%) were there differences between genders, and as peers which more men than women assumed—whether recreationally (16% versus 13%) or professionally (9% versus 5%). This pattern held for TV as well.

Moreover, for TV ads, women (30%) were more likely than men (26%) to have no depicted relations. A bigger proportion of men (16%) than women (9%), meanwhile, were involved with recreational partners, specifically their friends or peers.

Print ads, meanwhile, showed a more equal distribution of relational roles, from the recreational (19%), the familial (18%), to the professional (11%). In contrast to TV ads, Print ads featured a bigger share of women (22%) than men (16%) involved with their friends/peers. However, Print ads also showed twice the share of male characters (14%) compared to female ones (7%) in professional roles. It must be pointed out, however, that the depiction involved relations with peers, and neither as bosses or subordinates—in which case there were no differences between men and women.

Only 16% of TV and Print characters demonstrated familial responsibility, and it was assumed mostly by women. More women than men were involved in childcare (13% versus 7%) and domestic work (7% against 2%). This was especially pronounced in TV ads where a much bigger share of female



than male characters rendered childcare (16% versus 6%) and domestic work (11% versus 3%). No such differences in familial responsibility were observed among Print characters.

Over three-fourths (76%) of TV and Print characters showed no romantic attraction (Table 18). Of the 23% who demonstrated romantic attraction to the opposite sex, 25% were men and 21% were women. Among TV characters, 30% of male characters were attracted to the opposite sex, compared to only 21% of their female counterparts. No difference was also observed among Print characters. However, two Print ads did feature same-sex attraction.

Most Radio ads (89%), meanwhile, featured no product user-gender (Table 19). Among those which did, 8% were female-oriented ads. Moreover, Radio ads did not specifically identify their user/consumer. Among those with identifiable clients, there was an almost equal female and male audience (at around 9%).

## 2.4. Gendered bodies

### 2.4.1. Demographics of characters

Majority (58%) of the 1,169 characters were between 21 and 39 years old, followed by those between 40 and 64 years old (21%) (Table 20). Those between six and 12 years old (11%) and between 13 and 20 years old (5%) comprised much of the balance of the characters.

Among those between 21 and 39 years old, female characters (65%) outnumber their male counterparts (50%). Among those between 40 and 64 years old, meanwhile, there was a bigger share of male (24%) than female (18%) characters. Moreover, there was twice the number of male than female characters aged 65 years old or older (5% versus 2.5%). These patterns held across Print characters. However, on TV, there were more 40-64-year-old women (23%) than men (17%).

Over two-fifths of the characters either had no work (11%) or it was not specified what it was

that they did occupationally (33%) (Table 21). A quarter (25%) of the characters were models/celebrities/entertainers. “No Occupation” was automatically given to children (6-12 years old) when they were explicitly not depicted as students, unless they were celebrity endorsers. There were more male (14%) than female children (9%), which potentially contributed towards more unemployed men than women.



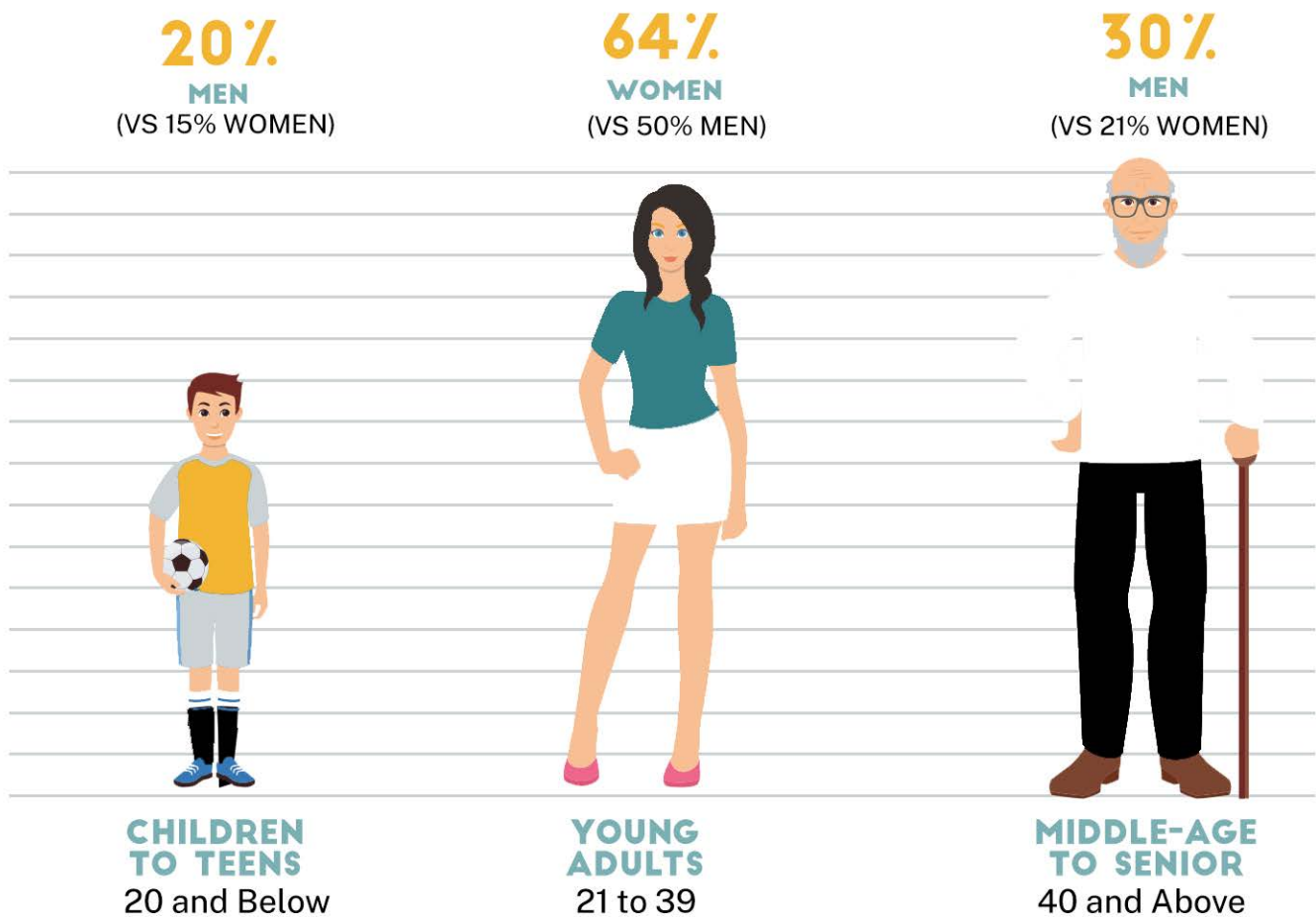
In TV ads, a bigger percentage of men than women:

- Had no occupation (17% versus 9%)
- Were students or working students (10% versus 5%)

In Print ads, a bigger percentage of men than women:

- Were models/celebrities/entertainers (21% versus 17%)
- Were STEM and ABM professionals (10% versus 5%)
- Worked in skilled labor (7% versus 2%)

The only instance where women outnumbered men in terms of occupation in TV ads was as homemakers (17% versus 2%) and in Print ads was as students/working students (6% versus 3%).



Most (92%) of Print ad characters belonged to the upper middle class, and this cut across men and women (Table 22).

#### 2.4.2. Physicality of characters

In terms of physical appearance, over half (57%) of all TV and Print characters were ectomorphic (payat) (Table 23). This was more pronounced among female (64%) than male (50%) characters. A bigger share of male (18%) than female (4%) characters, meanwhile, were mesomorphic (batak). There was no difference in the share of endomorphic (chubby) characters (30%) across genders.

Differences in physical attributes were pronounced among TV characters:

- More ectomorphic women (52%) than men (34%)
- More endomorphic women (40%) than men (35%)

- More mesomorphic men (29%) than women (6%)  
 There were differences in the physical attributes among Print characters, too:

- More endomorphic men (23%) than women (13%)
- More mesomorphic men (4%) than women (0.5%)
- More ectomorphic women (85%) than men (72%)

However, whereas almost all men (97%) were fully-dressed, only 83% of women were. In comparison, 16% of women were partially-dressed, compared to only two percent of men. It is important to note, however, that the partially-dressed category included sleeveless outfits and shorts, which were not necessarily considered sexualized. Ninety percent of all characters were fully-dressed (Table 24).

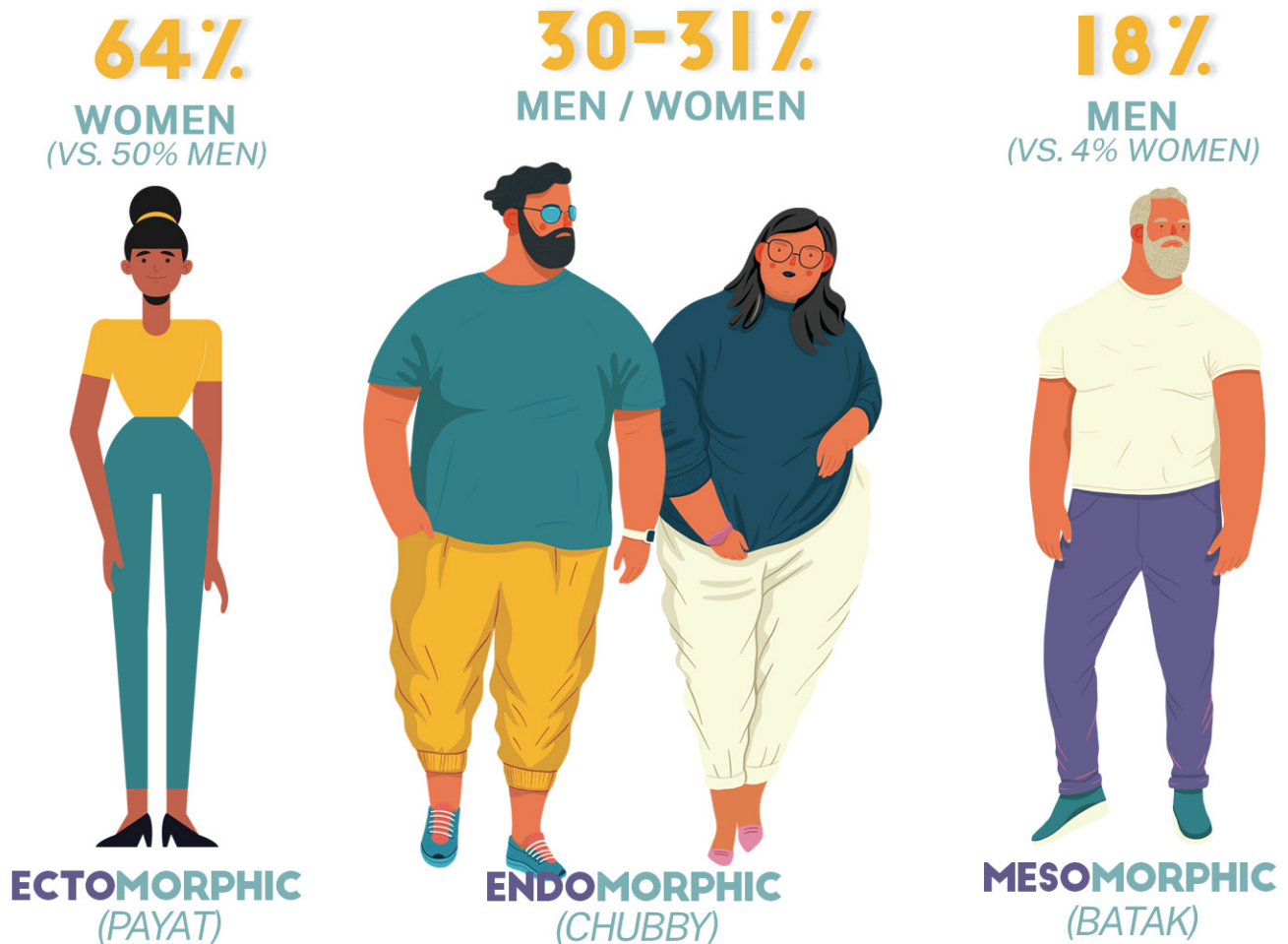
Male characters in TV (99%) and Print (94%) ads were fully-dressed, compared to their female counterparts (85% and 80%, respectively). Meanwhile, female characters in TV (15%)

and Print (16%) ads were partially-dressed, compared to their male counterparts (0.3% and 5%, respectively). Seven characters appeared seminude, all of them in Print ads, and six of them were female.

The biggest share of Print ads showed the full body of characters (30%). Another 25% showed only the body from waist up, and another 19%

### 2.4.3. Voices

Across TV and Radio ads, 42% had a male voice over-narrator (Table 26). Almost as many had female (20%) and mixed-gender (19%) voice over-narrators. Radio ads (45%) used more male voices compared to TV ads (40%). Radio ads also employed the voices of mixed groups (36%), which was almost not done in TV ads.



from the knees up. The body of female characters were more likely to be shown in full compared to male characters (34% versus 26%). More men, compared to women, meanwhile, were depicted from the waist up (29% versus 20%).

Finally, only three percent of portrayed characters as pregnant or with an infant, and it mostly involved women (Table 25).





Mom prepares snacks for her children, the wife serves steaming hot noodles for her husband who just got home from work, the grandmother gives her apo sweets, and so on. The obsession with physical beauty also remains, as the women in the ads conform to the commonly held beauty standard of being thin and young. These findings are discussed further in the following section.

Alcohol and tobacco ads, which are the usual suspects in objectifying women, almost do not appear at all in the study, perhaps due to regulations by the government (see Republic Act 9211). Social drinking is a common rite of passage in the West (Towns, Parker, & Chase, 2012) as in the Philippines. It is no surprise then that when alcohol ads do appear, they appeal to consumers through images of bonding and camaraderie. Gone are the days of bikini clad women plastered all over our screens and pages, each area of exposed skin hungrily devoured by the camera. Now, we see peer groups—more likely to consist of men than women—huddling at their usual drinking place, bonding through the consumption of their chosen brand. Tobacco ads, meanwhile, are completely absent from the study.



An all-male barkada chills out at the end of the world. “Embassy Whisky 30s” (Tanduay Distillers, Inc., 2018)

### 3. Summary and Implications

#### 3.1. The absence of objectification

Since most ads in the study are for food and non-alcoholic beverages, **the focus seems to be on family-oriented images and values. Women may not be treated as sexual objects in these ads, but their lives and bodies are contained within the conventional family and inside the home.**

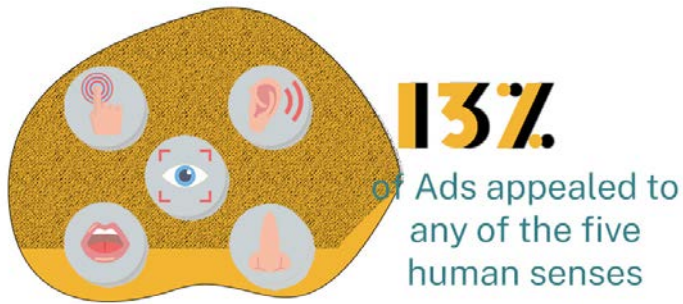
##### 3.1.1. From sexualization to sensitization

Instead of using sex appeal to sell products, advertisements attempt to tap into viewers’ senses. Products are often promoted for how they (or how they make you) look, feel, or even smell. Such strategy in advertising puts a subtle emphasis on health, hygiene, and sanitation.



Philippine ads attempt to trigger emotional responses from the audience by putting product use in the context of relationships and/or social

the product pitches, it is observed that across the legacy media platform, what are commonly marketed are product/brand prestige (e.g., being the best or the most trusted brand of medicines), the product's appeal to the senses (e.g., best tasting, mabango), and the values associated to the products (e.g., strength, malasakit (empathy for others)).



responsibilities. This presents a product with a purpose that is beyond what is apparent. For example, medicines are advertised not only as the cure for one's illness or as a supplement for one's daily consumption, but also as keys to good health that will, in turn, enable someone to take care of and provide for their loved ones, to get back to work (i.e., serving other people) faster after recovery.

Generally, what manifests in the ads is the focus not on one's physique but on one's activity. Such activities, which are discussed in the next subsection, reveal an interesting finding not only about Philippine advertising but also Filipino culture in its broader sense.

This approach is evident in the kind of pitch they commonly use. Upon further thematization of

### 3.1.2. Group over individual narratives

#### *On shared time and shared activities*

Filipino advertisements are often contextualized within a group of people—which can be a family, a barangay (community), or a barkada (peer group), among others. Most products, then, are presented as part of a shared experience.



Telecommunications products, appliances, and electronic gadgets are shown to facilitate bonding among family and friends. Telecommunications companies, aside from their usual pitch of better Internet access, advertise their products (e.g., WiFi routers, data plans) as means for enabling better communication among relatives and peers. Appliances are also advertised to encourage time spent at home by providing convenience (e.g., multi-purpose cookware) and relaxation (e.g., air conditioning units). In addition, some ads sell the idea of bonding over the use of an appliance, like having parents and children cook together using kid-friendly kitchen appliances. Meanwhile, electronic gadgets are also presented with a role in such bonding moments. A camera phone, for example, is shown to spark connection—even among strangers—through taking group photos. The camera then captures not only beautiful views and cityscapes, but also, more importantly, people’s precious memories.

Pharmaceutical products are displayed in the context of caring, not only for one’s self, but also for others, usually and especially one’s family. Interestingly, even the action of caring for one’s self is shown to be motivated by a concern (or responsibility to care) for other people (e.g., parents who need to stay healthy for their children, a nurse who wants to be healthy for

her patients). In relation to this, the use of some hygiene products is presented as a communal matter, often in the context of health and safety. Products such as antibacterial soap and rubbing alcohol are shown to protect not only oneself, but also one’s entire family from infections.

What is often presented in a more individualistic manner are beauty products, the use of which are advertised as an investment on one’s self.

### **On homes and families**

The home (34%) is the most common setting of advertisements in the study. Familial roles (41%) is the biggest category of relational role assumed by the characters. Additionally, women are more likely than men to assume familial responsibilities (22% versus 10%).

**These findings emphasize the centrality of the family and a notion of togetherness in Filipino culture.** Various activities, but most especially those which are food-adjacent, are done and enjoyed by families. It also makes sense that good values are portrayed in practice within a family, where a child is expected to learn. Linking product features to one’s family members triggers emotional responses from the audience.



A family celebrates Christmas with their chosen fast-food brand. “Jollibee Chickenjoy: Sarap ng Pamilya Ngayong Pasko” (Jollibee Studios, 2018)



## 3.2. Gendered portrayals

Feminist thought dictates the careful scrutiny of female portrayals in advertising. However, should the complete emancipation of women be ever achieved, the same level of scrutiny must be applied on male portrayals. Doing otherwise contributes to the idea that men are ungendered or that their experiences are neutral and default to all human beings (Gentry & Harrison, 2010).

Stereotypes that are harmful to all genders—cis and marginalized genders alike—are therefore normalized in the public eye. In this study, we attempt to surface these stereotypes by looking at cis and trans women as well as cis and trans men. Unfortunately, no trans people came up in our sample, already an indication of subordination where invisibility and erasure are acts of violence. Hence, the following discussions on gendered portrayals cover only cis men's and cis women's portrayals.

### 3.2.1. Contradicting masculinities

Portrayals of masculinity and femininity in advertising are valuable expressions of the dominant forces that continuously mold the definitions of these concepts. Our findings point to ever unstable and contradicting conceptions of masculinities in the Philippines. On one hand, traditionally masculine images and virtues continue to be present in advertising. On another hand, brands appeal to hybridized masculinities that promote the enactment of manhood through consumption.

**On one hand, traditionally masculine images and virtues continue to be present in advertising. On another hand, brands appeal to hybridized masculinities that promote the enactment of manhood through consumption.**

Consistent with previous research, men are more likely than women to be in alcohol ads (Verhellen, et al., 2014; Prieler & Centeno, 2013;

Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007), to be depicted as experts or authority figures (Eisend, et al., 2014; Monk-Turner, et al., 2007; Neto & Santos, 2004), and to be the invisible narrator (Prieler, 2016; Pedelty & Kuecker, 2014; Martinez, Nicolas, & Salas, 2013). The persistent gendering of these variables shows the enduring traditional foundations of male images in advertising and media in general, where values of strength, power, and authoritativeness are endorsed (Milestone & Meyer, 2012, as cited in Scheibling & Lafrance, 2019).

Alcohol ads have long been avenues for the celebration of macho culture, where women and “other” men occupy peripheral roles (Townes, et al., 2012). Strength and courage as masculine values are echoed even in pitches of these ads (e.g., “tapang”, “tunay na lakas”). This assertion of male superiority and authority at the expense of other genders extends to other seemingly innocuous areas, as when exclusively male dentists treat female patients or when male doctors instruct older men on the products to use to maintain their physical strength. Their voices, as with their images, boom in the background to instruct and inform consumers with 100%



Coco rallies the troop of male skilled laborers. “Mensahe ni Coco Martin sa mga Masipag na Pilipino! Hatid ng Cobra Energy Drink!” (Cobra Philippines,

accurate product information. Advertisers may still be deferring to the convention of the masculine voice as the default voice-of-authority, despite the lack of evidence that they are evaluated as such by the audience (Whipple & McManamon, 2002). However, it must be noted that as with Prieler & Centeno's (2013) study on

Philippine ads, the study's numbers on men as voice-of-authority are considerably lower than ones in other Asian and Western countries.

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On bodies, though more men than women appear to be mesomorphic (batak), ectomorphic (payat) is the biggest category for men. As Scheibling & Lafrance (2019) discuss in their study of male grooming product advertisements, "crises" in masculinities manifest in our expectations of how men's bodies should look like. In the dominance of batak men over batak women, there are hints of the continued burden of toughness placed on men. Stronger expectations for overt physical strength over women still exist. In the dominance of payat men over batak men, there seems to be bigger allowances made for male bodies. Men are now allowed to be payat or, on TV, chubby. Additionally, they are allowed to age. Men appeared as middle-aged (24% vs. 18%) and in their senior years (5% vs. 2.5%) more than women, indicative of less expectations for never-ending youth.

However, there is a catch. Men are only allowed more options as long as they are consuming. Following the breadwinner stereotype, they have spending power as seen in their endorsement of restaurants/retail outlets/malls (contrary to previous research, see Prieler, 2016) and in their appearance in eating places more than women. Manhood need not be strong or assertive; it simply needs to be enacted through purchases. Though this conception of masculinity is contradictory with what is traditionally accepted, it also exists to reassert men's superiority over women, other men who do not conform, and especially people with identities that do not fit into the gender binary. Through the borrowing of the stereotypically feminine act of consumption, brands create the illusion of progress and inclusivity without sacrificing men's position in society (Barber & Bridges, 2017).

### **3.2.2. Stereotypical femininity**

Femininity is a complex concept in that there are many competing discourses in understanding and interpreting it, depending on the theoretical lens one wishes use. It has also often been associated with the condition of being female (Mills, 1992). Such a naturalist perspective imbues a certain sense of innateness to socially constructed feminine attributes women are expected to have by virtue of being female. But, as Mills (1992) argued, femininity is made even more complex by the fact that many women regard it both as an integral part of their "sense of self" and as an ideal to be pursued.

Certain modes of behavior, occupations, and social roles are thus often associated with femininity such as "passivity, emotionality, the body, and caring roles" (Patterson, O'Malley, & Story, 2009, p. 11). From the product categories, we could already see these trends manifested. Consistent with the findings in the literature, the study finds women are more likely than men to endorse hygiene and beauty products (11% vs 3%), indicating that women continue to be associated with beauty and the pursuit of it. Moreover, women are constantly linked to



household items and appliances (8% vs 4%).

What the ads in the study then reveal is that our concept of femininity continues to abide by these traditional stereotypes. Specifically, women continue to be equated with beauty and youth which is often reflected in their physicality and with their familial role as the nurturing mother and wife. Although there has been a movement away from the sexual objectification of women in Philippine ads, the uneven power relations it was symptomatic of continues to exist. This is through the persistence of these traditional stereotypes that idealize and emphasize the need for women to carry the burden of domestic responsibilities and to pursue standards of beauty packaged as a means towards confidence and empowerment.

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The section below discusses in detail how femininity is portrayed as a ritual of beautification of the female body as a form of self-enhancement. Meanwhile, the image of women as a mother is explored in the synthesis (see Sec. 3.2.3).

### **Female body**

According to Mager and Helgeson (2010), there has been a positive trend in gender portrayal in ads which depict women outside of their decorative and traditional roles. They ascribe the shift to the feminist movement which sought to situate women from the private to the public

sphere in its quest for gender equality. As was noted in the earlier discussion, this gave rise to an advertising strategy called femvertising wherein women are portrayed as stronger, more dignified, and in non-traditional roles.

Empowerment as presented in this type of ads, however, tends to be problematic in that advertisers “depoliticize” the progressive concepts they appropriated from feminist discourse. Goldman (1992), as cited by Lazar (2006), states that what is promoted is a distilled version of feminism that is in the “service of commodity consumption” which he called “commodity feminism” (p. 505). This commercial “marriage of feminism and femininity” (Goldman, Heath, & Smith, 1991, p. 338) attempts to resolve the inherent tension between these two ideologies through the act of fetishizing feminist ideas and goals into “an iconography of things: a product, a look, a style” (Gill, 2008, p.1) which are then sold back to women “as choices about what to consume” (p. 2).

Modes of femininity have often been signified in ads via hackneyed images of the idealized beauty such as long hair, thin body, and so on, which Goffman codified in his variables (e.g., licensed withdrawal, ritualization of subordination, etc.). In a similar fashion, feminism and its principles of independence and bodily autonomy are removed from their political and economic origin. These principles are reduced into a status of signifier/signified in ads via visual codes that connote these values such as such as a woman in the workplace, wearing suits and holding a briefcase (Goldman, Heath, & Smith, 1991). As Gill (2008) noted, “it turns social goals into lifestyles”. Thus, feminist values and ideals are emptied of their political significance and reduced into signifiers/signified for the advertisers to recode and link to a product or brand as a style, an attitude, or a lifestyle the consumer can choose to “wear.”

The subjects that are then produced—the “new women”—are presented as “liberated” actors embedded in the neoliberal value system. Liberation, as celebrated in these ads, is a

co-opted notion in that it is “individualistic, rather than what feminism deeply prescribes as liberation through structural reforms and collective efforts” (Baldo-Cubelo, 2015, p.42). As morally autonomous actors, women are presented to be in control of their bodies. The “post” in post-feminism is assumed in that the political struggle is implied to be finished and women’s bodies are presented as already “fully emancipated” (Baldo-Cubelo, 2015, p. 42).

Thus, in assuming that the individual is “autonomous, rationally calculating, and free,” (Gill & Arthurs, p. 445) surveillance is turned inwards. Brown (2003), as cited by Gill & Arthurs (2006) argues that the individual’s moral autonomy is “measured by their capacity for self-care” (p. 445). Lazar (2006) expounds on this observation by showing how, in beauty ads, the care of the skin has become equated to empowerment and viewed as some form of moral obligation. However, in emphasizing the individual’s moral autonomy, the desire to achieve these beauty standards encouraged by ads is framed as a choice without acknowledging the social structures that create the need and pressure to conform to such beauty standards in the first place.

**“Self-fetishization”: The body as a self-enhancement project**

There have been many variations of the new women concept discussed in literature, which include women who are entitled to consume, those who have it all, or those who find power in their sexuality, and so on (see full discussion of Lazar, 2006 and 2009; Gill & Arthurs, 2006). A recent qualitative study by Baldo-Cubelo (2015) discusses in more detail the different kinds of new women presented in Philippine beauty ads. According to her, the new women are: those who have made it and successfully metamorphosed from ordinary to the extraordinary; those who are “‘healthy’ inside and out”; and those who achieve natural, “effortless” beauty without the need to “sweat” or work for it. Thus, in Philippine ads, femininity also continues to be tied to the

“beautification of the body” (Gill & Arthurs, 2006, p. 446), especially for women.

Though the study found no depiction of sexual



Women in ads in the act of self-fetishization. “Maine Reason 30s” (Maxi-Peel Philippines, 2018), “NIVEA Body Oil In Lotion “Touch” 30s TVC 2018” (MyPinoyTVC, 2018), and “Olay Natural White Pinkish Fairness with Jasmine Curtis Smith” (Olay Ph, 2018)

objectification, what we found is the subject engaged in a contradictory act of “self-fetishization” (Goldman, et al., 1991), which supposedly is an exercise of her empowerment. In other words, the woman obsesses over parts of her body that she is encouraged to enhance as an act of caring for herself; it’s a right to which she is entitled. We see glimpses of this act of

self-fetishization in the pitches advertised by the products, especially beauty, and in the dominant physicality of the women characters in TV and Print ads.

From the sample ads in our study, beauty and hygiene products only comprised a total of 6% across TV, Print, and Radio. Nonetheless, it is the third most advertised product category by women (11%) after food and non-alcoholic beverages and pharmaceutical and herbal products. Furthermore, based on the product pitches we have surveyed, beauty and youth is predominantly endorsed overall by women characters (10% vs 2% men).

Women are also predominantly depicted with a slim body and youthful appearance, especially on Print. Overall, women portrayed in ads continue to be thin or ectomorphic (64%), especially on Print (85%) compared to TV (52%). Women with endomorphic bodies (chubby) (31%) are also generally more shown on TV (40%) than on Print (13%). Meanwhile, only 4% of women with the mesomorphic body type are seen and are almost never shown on Print (1%) compared to TV (6%). In addition, majority of the women are young adults (21-39-years old) (65%). They are not shown to age, with only 18% appearing as middle-aged (40-64-years old) compared to 24% men. Meanwhile, merely 2.5% of senior citizen (65-years old and above) women appeared (versus 5% men). The disparity between the percentages of women and men shown as young adults (74% versus 46%) and old (9% versus 1%) are also more pronounced on Print.

Similar to what Baldo-Cubelo noted, the discourse on beauty is also being framed as a health concern. An example of this is Dove's Original Light and Smooth Deodorant ad. The female narrator advises women that their underarm "deserves the best care" and endorses the product for its ability to penetrate the skin layer by layer "to nourish skin from deep within" as its their "most skin-caring formula ever" (Unilever, 2018a). In using terms such as "nourishing", the act of using these products is

being equated to an individual's act of caring for the self that is well deserved. But it is not just a skin-deep pursuit as it also nourishes the body from within. In terms of youthfulness, perhaps the most telling of this preoccupation for women to continue staying young and pretty is seen in the abundance of beauty products categorized as "anti-aging". However, the criticisms against the implications of the word anti-aging has led to usage of euphemisms of youth such as "renewing" and "radiant" and "vitality" (Hess, 2017).

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**the idealized Filipina beauty consists of: hair that is straight and tamed from frizz; skin that is soft, clear, unblemished, and fair; and, fragrant scent that lasts all day**

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Aside from being young and thin, we also learn from the pitches of the beauty ads that the idealized Filipina beauty consists of: hair that is straight and tamed from frizz; skin that is soft, clear, unblemished, and fair; and, fragrant scent that lasts all day. The results then indicate that our criteria for beauty is reflective of the Western standards: thin body, long and shiny hair, and clear and smooth skin (Millard, 2009). Although beauty is defined differently in each culture, the fact that common standards are reflected in the Philippine ads is indicative of a more globalized notion of beauty (Yan & Bissell, 2014) driven by standardized advertising campaigns of global companies such as Unilever and P&G.

Thus, the narrative of "empowerment" as shown in Philippine ads is seen in women having choices found in the promised achievement of these beauty standards (e.g., straight hair, unblemished skin, etc.) through the consumption of the product endorsed. It is visually coded in the woman's confident stride or pose, usually followed by the appreciative or even envious gaze of other women in the background or echoed in her self-assured claims of possessing

the “ultimate beauty” which she tells her fellow women that it could be “ultimately yours” (Unilever, 2018b). There are many versions of this narrative and the images of the “new women” who sell this story, but what is common is that women are encouraged to take apart and examine what parts of their body could be further enhanced thanks to these products in an act of self-care. Power is located in the individual woman’s entitlement to consume in order to

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**Best care**

**Beauty**

**Smooth skin**

**Radiant**

**Nourishing**

**Stay Young**

**Renew**

---

beautify her body however she wants but is only available to those with purchasing power.

To conclude, the results of our study point to a continued association between women and beauty products. The dominant physicality of the women also conforms to the ideal of young and thin body, and the pitches of beauty ads indicate the features Filipinas are urged to aspire to. The ads, however, relay these cliché images via the “new women” who present themselves as emancipated bodies who ironically continue to regulate their bodies to conform to beauty standards for self-care they are told to be entitled to have. Commodity feminism, as proposed by Goldman (1992), then explains how these contradictory notions of emancipation espoused in feminism and the continual association of the women to the beautification of the body are attempted to be wed by the advertisers. As an example of post-feminism, commodity feminism

also presents “not only a shift from collective mobilization to an individual subjectivity, but the abandonment of feminist politics and the embrace of neoliberal capitalism” (Banet-Weiser, 2018, p. 154).

It must be noted that the discussion on beauty as presented in ads is not limited to women. Many beauty brands have released commercials for their line targeted towards men, which is discussed below in the online case study of men’s grooming products. However, women continue to be the primary audience of beauty ads. Furthermore, there are differences in how the products are advertised such as in the pitches and choice of words which could be explored by future studies.

### 3.2.3. Synthesis

Individually though not entirely separately, advertising images of women and men are founded on stereotypes dictated by traditionally accepted conceptions of masculinity and femininity. In this subsection, we discuss further how these two gender-related constructs work hand in hand to impose rigid roles and reinforce the artificial superiority of upper middle-class cisheterosexual men, especially in the realm of the domestic and personal. The findings on Goffman’s (1969) variables for Print advertisements are also briefly discussed.

#### *The gender division of labor*

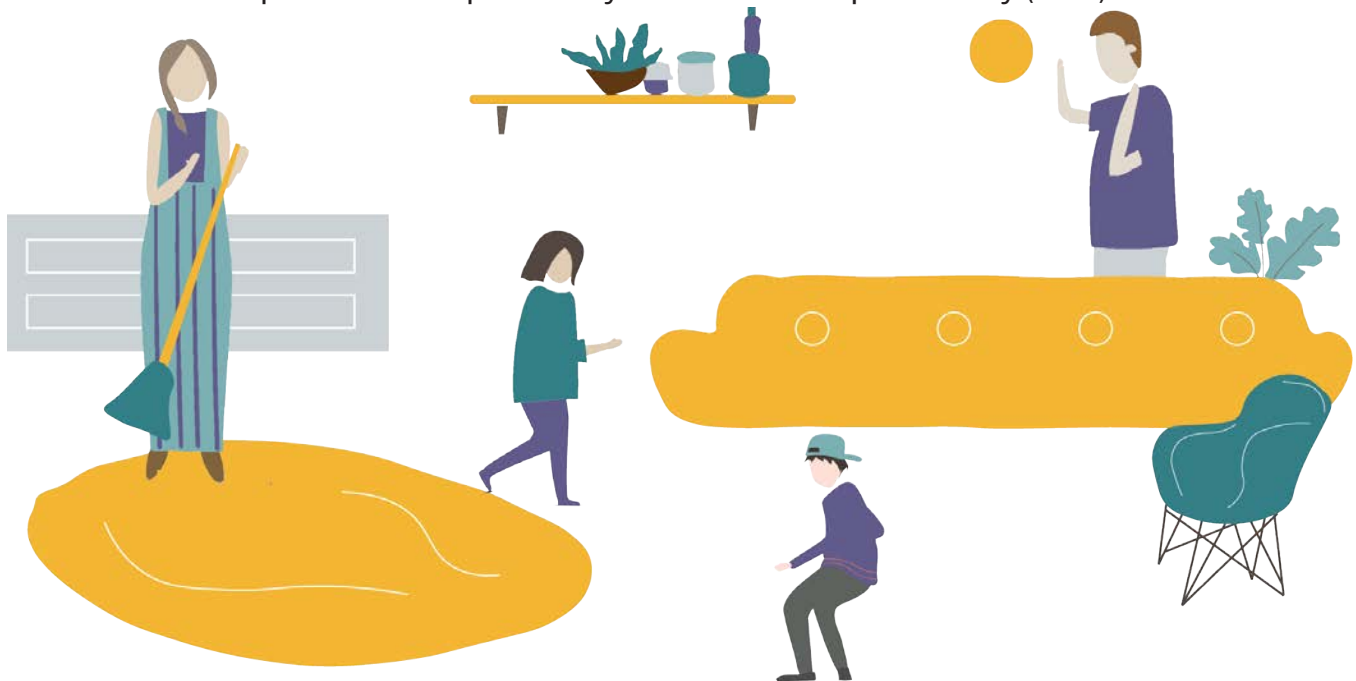
Predominant settings on TV and Print differ, which may be chalked up to the product category with the greatest number of ads in each platform. On one hand, on TV’s food and non-alcoholic beverages-populated landscape, most of the characters are portrayed at home at one point in the ad. On the other hand, with the greatest number of ads falling under “others” (comprised of fashion, construction, agribusiness, promotional ads of institutions and establishments, and event announcements), more than half of the characters in Print ads are found in miscellaneous settings (i.e., limbo,



gray spaces). This difference, as will be seen in the subsequent discussion, shows us two different things: 1) TV highlights the severity of the expectations on women to perform domestic and mothering duties, while 2) Print surfaces the allowances given to men, especially fathers, and the neutrality and universality endowed upon their experiences.

Looking at overall figures, the home continues to be the domain of women (38% versus 31% men), consistent with earlier studies (Matthes, Prieler, & Adam, 2016; Prieler, 2008; Prieler & Centeno, 2013; Robinson & Hunter, 2008; Tsai & Shumow, 2011; Valls-Fernández, & Martínez-Vicente, 2007). Within, they are more likely than men to be seen performing home-based familial responsibilities such as domestic work (7% versus 2%) and childcare (13% vs. 7%). Their frequent appearance in the kitchen (8% vs. 4%) and the dining room (9% vs. 7%) highlights the extent of women's perceived responsibility in

task of food preparation a mother's default responsibility and expression of love (Charles and Kerr, 1988; Devault, 1991 as cited in Beham, 2012). Food and non-alcoholic beverages dominate in the product category, so it was not unusual to see mothers serving and or cooking for their sons, especially on TV. In fact, there are more male than female children (15% vs. 9%) and more female than male parental figures (19% vs. 11%). These figures point to a specific dynamic where women are tasked to prepare/serve food and/or cook while men and boys merely eat (Prieler, 2008; Robinson & Hunter, 2008). Young boys need to grow strong and husbands arrive home tired from work and cannot be bothered to prepare their own food, so their mothers/wives must be present to take care of them. Additionally, while men are out at restaurants spending freely, women who are likely at home must be discerning with money, as they appear twice more than men do in ads that include notions of practicality (sulit).



ensuring that their family members, be they husband or children or other relatives, are properly nourished.

The association of women with food and service weave into the societal expectation that they are to be caring mothers (and, concurrently, wives). Such expectation makes the seemingly menial

Apart from food-related activities, women more than men are also expected to primarily perform nurturing duties as seen in their bigger association with infants (4% vs. 0%). Arguably, their appearance in living rooms, though almost on the same rate as men, may also be connected to this responsibility as this area of the home

is sometimes used as a space for mother and infant interactions (see diaper ads). According to Lynch (2005), motherhood as an ideology has evolved through history and in the late 20th century, it has been characterized by “intensive mothering” wherein mothers are tasked as the central caregivers who “must put a child’s needs above her own and conscientiously respond to all the child’s needs and desires” (p. 33). Related to this is an interesting finding by Robinson and Hunter (2008): pharmaceutical advertisements that supposedly focus on the mother’s health emphasize how they miss out on bonding moments or that they become unable to care for the family once they get sick themselves. **Advertisements seem to package mothers’ self-care as a way to keep themselves healthy enough to fulfil the duties expected of them.** Additionally, they may also be teaching their daughters the traditional ways of domestic work in preparation for their future as wives and mothers (Prieler, 2008).

Meanwhile, though men also predominantly appear at home, their fathering duties are next to inconsequential. Being the preferred provider in scenarios that call for breadwinners, traditional

masculinity discourages men’s emotional involvement with their family and limits it within the sphere of providing (Prinsloo, 2006; Bernard, 1981, as cited in Gentry & Harrison, 2010). They exist mostly in the sidelines, as when they are a part of a bigger group (e.g., eating dinner with the family). Fathers may also be tasked with play duties (Leader, 2019, Robinson & Hunter, 2008; Tsai & Shumow, 2008) while mothers take the spotlight in tending to their children or performing household chores (Prieler, 2008; Robinson & Hunter, 2008). Illustrative of this dynamic is a lice removal shampoo ad where a mother, father, and their two children are sitting on the couch. The father and the children are playing video games and scratching their heads, indicating the presence of lice. While they look slightly bothered, they don’t seem to be in a hurry to remedy the situation and are focusing on the video game. The mother, though without lice, is visibly distressed. Here there is a clear division of labor: dad is focused on the more joyful duties such as play, while mom is implied to shoulder the responsibility to make sure her family is lice-free. The image of a woman displayed in this example fits Soriano, Lim, and Rivera-Sanchez’s (2014) concept of a “domestic mom,” described as “a full-time homemaker who finds contentment in caring for her home and family” (p. 8). Fathers, on the contrary, “enjoy the leisure-oriented aspects of childcare (e.g., playing with the child) or a traditional home life” (Robinson & Hunter, 2008, p. 479). They are usually the ones being served at the dinner table along with the children and are with whom the children share “fun” moments (e.g., playing games, watching movies) (Tsai & Shumow, 2011).

Even with the brunt of domestic responsibilities on their backs, women’s portrayal in the workplace is on par with men’s. There is a minimal difference in the percentage between male and female characters set in the workplace (i.e., set/studio and office). However, a closer examination of the relational role of the characters belies this. Overall, more men are shown in professional roles, although the difference in percentage between men and women on TV did not reach



A family under lice attack. “Ipapatalo mo ba?” (Kwell, 2018)

three percent. Moreover, there is rarely a boss/subordinate dynamic between or among characters as they are mostly shown as peers or workmates. For women, the figures imply that although they are as likely as men to be seen in a workplace setting, the roles they continue to portray are that of a mother on television and that of a friend or peer on Print. Depiction of working mothers are relatively common as more than one-third of Filipino families are composed of dual earning couples (Hechanova, Uy, & Presbitero, 2005 as cited in Ortega-Go & Hechanova, 2010). However, the women's inability or failure to perform their domestic



role as caretaker is viewed negatively by others and even by themselves (Alampay, 2014). For men, combined with their lack of familial responsibilities, the implication seems to be that they are relatively untethered from the family.

With domestic responsibilities in the hands of women, men are free to appear in other areas. On Print, their dominance in gray spaces (57% versus 38% women) signifies a neutrality, their embodiment of universal experiences to which other genders can and should relate (Gentry &

Harrison, 2010). On TV, their place in the home is outside of its constricting walls: the porch or the yard (7% versus 4% women). **Even when adjacent to the institution and structure that traps women into mothering duties, men enjoy a relative freedom of movement.** Interestingly, women outnumber men (23% versus 20% men) in outdoor spaces unconnected to the home (e.g., nature, streets, recreational spaces), possibly due to their assumption as the primary consumer/user of products across TV and Print. Finally, though social class and attraction variables were not gendered, the figures are necessary in completing the picture of the family—that is, of the upper middle-class cisheterosexual family. Indeed, where social class was measured on Print, 92% of the characters were classified as upper middle-class. In the same platform, homosexual attraction manifested but only twice, once for men and once for women. Add these figures to the complete absence of trans people in the study, and it is clear that there is only one family structure favored and endorsed by advertising. Implications of these findings are discussed in Section 3.4.

### **Goffman's variables**

It is worth noting that a large majority of Print ad characters are not shown according to the dichotomies of Goffman's categories: 75% was neither submissive nor authoritative, 74% does not manifest licensed withdrawal, and 80% was neither dominant nor subordinate. Nonetheless, a closer look at the nuances reveals otherwise. In cases where such measures apply, more men appear in authoritative positions (9%) than women (4%) and are shown as fierce and assertive (11% versus 6% women). These findings reflect the “manning up” concept explored by Scheibling and Lafrance (2019) in men's grooming ads. Meanwhile, more women are shown as spaced out or over-engaged (12% versus 8% men). They are also more often shown in submissive positions (27%) than men (11%). While the nuances in the gender displays do support previous findings regarding the



portrayal of women as inferior to men (see Grau & Zotos, 2016; Kang, 1997; Zotos & Tsihla, 2014), it cannot be denied that there have been noticeable changes and deviations from the usual portrayal

despite the growing diversity and inclusivity in media portrayals, subtle reinforcements of gendered social expectations are manifested in various non-traditional ways.



of ad characters relative to their genders. How Goffman's variables barely manifested in the ads reveal that the local advertising industry may have shifted to other strategies in gender representation. After all, gendered depictions in advertising are heavily dependent on how ad creatives conceptualize and execute their work (Zayer & Coleman, 2015); hence, current character portrayals in advertisements across media platforms have already undergone much change in relation to social contexts and industry trends.

Still, a deeper and more critical look into the rest of the study's findings leads to knowing that

### Summary

The division of labor illustrated in the findings show the double burden of women to be mothers as well as members of the workforce, though perhaps not at the same time. However, it can be argued that the heavy focus on mothering reflects the societal pressures for women to successfully perform these duties no matter what the difficulties are (see Soriano, et al., 2014). Motherhood is depicted as the "cornerstone of adult femininity...and the role of mothering central to what it means to be a woman" (Gillespie, 2003, p. 123-124). What further strengthens the gendering of domestic labor is the lack of men performing them, which not only fails to reflect social realities (see Gentry & Harrison, 2010) but also hurts all genders in the fight for equality.

Given the lack of manifestations of Goffman's variables in Print advertisements, nuances reveal hints of the subordination of women. Nonetheless, some progress in representation has been achieved in the almost equal portrayal of men and women in the workplace. In relation to previous literature (see Zotos & Tsihla, 2014; 2016), while gender-related stereotypes and roles are still evident in today's ads, this finding indicates a step in the right direction.

### 3.2.4. Sensorial elements

#### *On auditory elements (TV & Radio)*

The small number of user/consumer roles in Radio compared to TV may be attributed to the former's limited devices. An audio-only platform

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**What further strengthens the gendering of domestic labor is the lack of men performing them, which not only fails to reflect social realities (see Gentry & Harrison, 2010) but also hurts all genders in the fight for equality.**

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needs to be very direct to convey as much information as possible within a few seconds. There is very little room to explore characters and give them different roles to play. A narrator that has a straightforward dialogue may be not only effective but also efficient for the platform. On visual elements (TV and Print)

The difference between product categories advertised on TV and Print is a factor in the dissimilarities of the findings on the two platforms. Since Print ads feature the biggest number of product categories outside the usual ones, the settings and characters present in the ads also differ from what was common for TV.

Most TV ads are set within areas of the house, while most Print ads are set in miscellaneous spaces (e.g., gray spaces/limbo, multiple photos as in a collage or mosaic). This layering of images shows how the elements of Print as a platform are manipulated to maximize space.

### 3.3. Non-gendered portrayals

The study finds product categories that are impartial to being endorsed by either men or women such as automotive and fuel, pharmaceutical and herbal, and telecommunications and electronics. This is in contrast with literature that associated these product categories to men (Prieler & Centeno, 2013; Prieler, 2016; Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007; Verhellen, et al., 2014). In the case of automotive and fuels, impartiality in the gender of characters could be because the ads are normally set in the context of a family road trip showing male and female parents and a son and a daughter. Additionally, there has been an inclusion of automotive products targeted towards women such as mothers or millennial

young adults. Meanwhile, the pharmaceutical and herbal products endorsed can generally be used by anyone regardless of gender. The same can be said towards telecom and electronics since they are endorsed to be used in the context of a group such as barkada or family (e.g. WiFi, digital TV box).

## 3.4. Challenges and courses of action

### 3.4.1. Theoretical implications

#### *On conceptualizing gender*

The definition used in coding gender is easily taken for granted. With the inability to contend with and think outside of prevailing definitions comes the reinforcement of the gender binary and cis-normativity, or the assumption that everyone's gender matches the one they were assigned at birth. Identities that do not fit into these conventional definitions are rendered invisible at worst and assimilated with cis characteristics at "best". In this study, we attempted to be trans-inclusive by coding gender based on a) the presentation or expression of the character, b) statements in the ad that directly identify or refer to gender, and/or c) public knowledge in the case of a celebrity or a personality.

Whether or not these instructions can truly capture non-cis characters remains to be seen. There were no trans characters coded in the study, which could be due to the actual absence of these characters or to the inadequacy of the instrument. There was also no category set for non-binary characters.

What complicates things further is the impossibility of an objective assessment of gender without direct references to it in the advertising material. There is no defined way in which trans and non-binary people present or express their gender identity. Conclusive identification without direct address can only be done through public knowledge of an individual's identity; however, that isn't always possible



with advertising images where most people who appear are models and not celebrities. Eisend (2019) suggests research into the effects of the inclusion of these marginalized identities in encouraging increased and better representation.

### **On Goffman's variables**

The subjective nature of Goffman's variables in identifying sexist portrayals poses a challenge in articulating measures for each variable. For example, the Use of Hands variable is particularly perplexing since almost all characters/models are shown with hands, and it is difficult to judge if all hand positions are to be coded through a gendered lens. The inevitable vagueness in defining Goffman's variables is a hurdle in applying such measures to present-day advertisements.

Goffman's assumptions of gender inequality — shaped by the social inequalities in his time and reflected in the codes he has written — has been continually challenged by changing times. This study lends credence to previous studies that some of Goffman's variables appear to be no longer relevant (see Kang, 1997) and some of his assumptions no longer hold true (see Mager

& Helgeson, 2010).

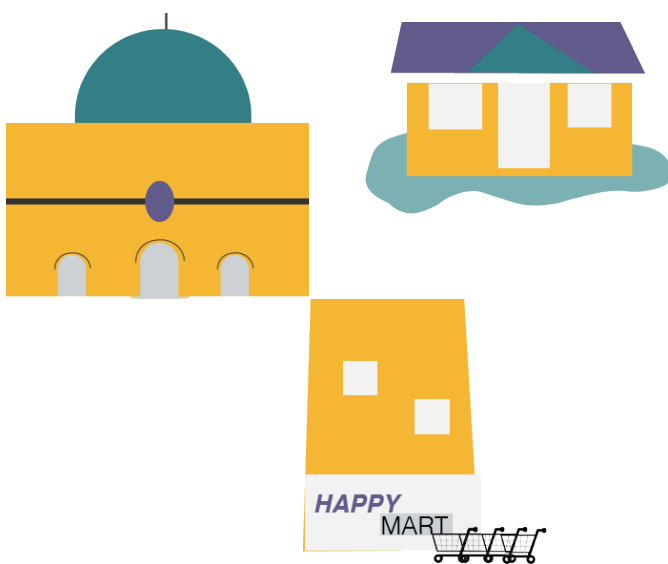
This reflects how gender representations have long been deviating from the traditional measures Goffman have identified before. Nonetheless, this changing media landscape opens new perspectives in the study of gender portrayals.

### **On social realities**

While advertising has caught on with the existence of women in the workplace, much of what is portrayed is still enclosed within the market ideal of the upper middle-class nuclear family. The father goes off to his air-conditioned office, kids are driven to their private school, and mother is busy cooking up the day's dinner using the newest seasoning in her chrome kitchen. In a society where extended family households are common and nontraditional family structures—single parent, transnational, and LGBTQIA+ households—exist, the predominance of the nuclear family experience is particularly glaring. The unequal division of labor, an element of this experience, doesn't correspond with recent positive attitudes towards sharing household chores (Bayudan-Dacuycuy & Dacuycuy, 2017).

Using mainly Western studies as references for our variables posed challenges in capturing some of the roles that exist outside the upper middle-class nuclear family structure. Aunts and uncles, grandmothers and grandfathers that perform parental duties had to be included in the initially parent-only variable. This raises the question of the variables' ability to capture other nuances that come into play in nontraditional family structures and the degree to which the instrument reinforces the market ideal structure. Future studies should look into developing different measures for gender roles in the family.

Additionally, the lack of poor to lower middle-class characters is even more conflicting with reality in the Philippines, where poverty



incidence is at 21% (Bersales, 2019). High-end products populating the pages of publications may explain the propensity to present the upper middle-class ideal. A deeper investigation of the intersections of class and gender should present a clearer picture of how advertising uses gender stereotypes to reinforce class-based differences.

### 3.4.2. Methodological implications

#### *On instrumentation*

##### *Instrument development for ads in collectivist societies*

The instrument was formulated by referencing various literature that were mostly written by Western scholars. Its application to Philippine advertisements, which normally featured many people or groups in a setting given the collectivist nature of Filipino culture, proved to be a challenge. It became difficult for the coders to consistently identify the main characters. Instead of approaching the coding process by purposely identifying the main characters first, the coders shifted perspectives and first looked at the ad in totality, identifying the group/s present (if there is/are) before looking for central/standout characters.

For Television, another challenge that arose was tackling the various kinds of advertisements which compounded the problem of identifying the main characters. The coders faced the most difficulty with the Vignette type of ads since there is usually no identifiable central character in this ad type. A vignette drama structure pertains to ads that have multiple sequences with discrete chronology, space, and characters. This type of ad was also observed in Print ads wherein no distinction is made among the characters in terms of size or placement.

The Ad Type variable was then created to separate the Classical or Lecture type of ads from the Vignette ads. Ads that were coded as Classical or Lecture type underwent the process

of character identification while only Ad level variables were applied to those identified as Vignette. Characters in separate and discrete sections of Vignette ads were therefore not taken into account in this study. It could be argued that, due to time constraints in Vignette ads, these separate and discrete sections may employ even harsher and more pronounced gender stereotypes than in Classical or Lecture ads. Future studies should look into developing logistically possible methods to account for these ads.

In quantifying the data, it was observed that there were certain data that could not be captured such as the choice of words used in promoting a similar product with a male and female variation. Thus, it might be good to create a study that utilizes textual analysis—looking at the words spoken or shown in the ad and juxtaposing the text with the gender of the target user of the product.

##### *Intercoder reliability testing*

Initially, the character identification variable was coded by listing the unique characters identified by all coders in all ads and then dichotomously marking whether the coder identified the character in the ad or not. Dichotomous variables, however, can be problematic especially if 1 or 0 is a rare category since Krippendorff's alpha considers the prevalence of the categories. Thus, a high percentage agreement but a low reliability can be achieved if either value of the dichotomous variable is rarely coded. To remedy this, categories were created from the unique groups of characters or individuals identified by all the coders across all ads.

Character identification in Radio, however, differed from TV and Print wherein the character can be cross-checked through visual cues such as a girl wearing red, boy wearing blue hat, etc. Since the coders could not agree on how many voices they heard in the ad and their characters could not be cross-checked with each other, the instrument was revised. Instead of listing down

the characters and cross-checking whether they were coded or not, the character roles (e.g., narrator, character, etc.) became the variables and the gender was used as the values (e.g., One Male, One Female, Mixed, etc.).

### **On sampling**

#### *Incongruent KANTAR and AIMS databases*

Having two separate databases for (a) the list of ads that aired/appeared during the constructed week, and (b) the list of available ad copies presented a problem in sampling. Difference in encoding meant that the ads could not be matched, hence it was impossible to verify on which days the ad copies aired/appeared in the constructed week. Additionally, program and channel data in the KANTAR database were left unused.

#### *Print sampling*

Two major challenges arose in sampling Print advertisements: first, unlike TV ads, Print ads are not often changed and stay in circulation for a long period of time; second, many Print ads only contain text. These two reasons made it difficult to reach the quota given that the methodology first implemented a constructed week sampling scheme.

### **Online sampling**



The difficulty in sampling online ads lie in the type and sheer quantity of advertising medium online (e.g., social media, websites, etc.) and the various forms of the ads (e.g., online posters, banner ads, videos, etc.). Furthermore, search engines and social media have become increasingly personalized in the sense that the ads shown to users are tailored to their interests based on their search history and profile.

### **On platform differences**

Since the advertising platforms of TV, Print, and Radio have different modes of presentation, the variables used to capture gender roles and portrayals across these platforms had to vary. This posed a challenge in creating a legacy media comparison.

Extracting a Gender value in Radio parallel to that of TV and Print was particularly difficult. Initially, Gender across all platforms was taken from the



gender of the identified characters. The coders found it impossible to reliably differentiate the voices of the characters in Radio, thus coding Gender had to be simplified through determining the roles of the voices present in the ad. This difficulty led to the removal of all character-level variables for the platform.

There were also variables that could not be translated to other platforms, such as the Goffman variables on Print that could not be applied to both TV and Radio. Goffman's



categories for gender representations, albeit meant for visual ads, were almost inapplicable to TV ads with moving characters having a distinct identity and performing specific (and even multiple) activities. Television required the most complex coding scheme, having both visual and auditory elements, and often a more defined narrative. Interactions between TV ad characters are detailed, and their relationships are more identifiable since they move. Print ad characters, however, posed a difficulty in the identification of relationships and interactions as they are still. Case in point, a group of children in a TV ad may be depicted as siblings or cousins, but on Print they may only be identified as friends unless otherwise specified in accompanying text. Given the limitations of still images, Print ads may depend on text to forward the product pitch.

### 3.4.3. Practical implications

#### *On academic research*

The findings present a path for academics and researchers to move forward from the usual, overt depictions of objectification and delve into the use of gender stereotypes through the roles and activities performed by all genders. It also reiterates that **culture is a crucial, defining element in constructing gender portrayals in advertisements**. While ads can display longstanding stereotypes and judgments imbibed in a culture (e.g., Filipinos' obsession with skin whitening products because of the notion that fair, clear skin is the beauty standard), they can also show a changing cultural landscape that is more open to diversity (e.g., as seen in the rise of LGBTQIA+ campaign ads online) and more reflective of social realities (e.g., as seen in the portrayal of different family structures, like having divorced parents).

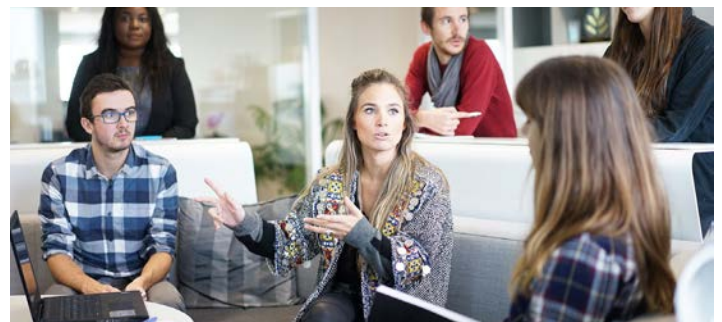
Importantly, the media platform informs how gender roles can be portrayed according to the elements that can be used in it. Having separate studies that zoom in on platform-specific elements (e.g., dialogue for Radio) may shed light on how gender stereotypes are reinforced

or challenged in other areas.

Moreover, existing ad databases are only available to individuals/organizations that can pay to gain access to them. Even with access, availability of pertinent ad copies is not guaranteed as storage is an issue even for the agencies that keep them. Establishing an independent database with sustainable storage and intuitive organization systems will be tremendously helpful for those who are interested in pursuing further studies in the topic.

#### *On industry practices*

Following marketing trends in brand activism and feminism, as well as global initiatives for diversity, strengthening the local push to portray more diverse roles and images of cis men and women and to include marginalized identities (LGBTQIA+, PWDs, etc.) is a must. Forrester's (2018) Consumer Technographics data show that company values are important in purchase considerations for 70% of US Millennials. One way to communicate those values is to reflect them on screen. Even marketers in a study commissioned by Shutterstock recognize the positive impact of diverse portrayals in brand image (McCabe, 2018). However, companies and organizations must not stop at diverse representation on screen. Equally important is for companies to have a diverse, inclusive, and safe workplace where policies are in place to make sure that no one is discriminated against based on their gender identity and expression, sexual orientation, disability, or any such other identity (race, ethnicity, etc.) and that no human rights are exploited in their operations.





#### 4. Special Section: Online Advertisements

Online media, which are not as regulated as legacy media, are a double-edged platform for how gender is portrayed in advertisements. On the one hand, online media provide companies with a new frontier where they can experiment with progressive ideas that might otherwise meet resistance in mainstream media. On the other hand, however, companies can post online such stereotypical advertisements that have not been scrutinized and vetted by professional organizations.

This section provides in-depth case studies on how online advertisements can swing from stereotyping to transcending cis heteronormative gender portrayals. The first essay on skin whitening discusses how women are boxed within the strict confines of what is supposed to be traditional beauty. The second essay explicates how notions of masculinity are perpetuated even in non-traditional male products. The third essay examines how companies can go beyond traditional gender norms. The fourth essay delineates the depiction of Filipino families and the gendered nuances in their members' familial roles in fast food advertising.

#### 4.1. On women and whitening by Catherine Faith Hoggang

On April 2019, two skin whitening brands consecutively released online campaigns which were flooded with negative criticisms from Filipino social media users for issues of blackfacing and colorism. The two brands involved are SkinWhite of Splash Corporation and GlutaMAX of Healthwell Nutraceutical Inc.

The first online campaign to be discussed is SkinWhite's Dark or White is Beautiful. As part of the campaign, SkinWhite released two videos that span around one minute each in social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter. The number of views went as high as 23,000 on Facebook, 250,000 on Twitter, more than 1 million views on YouTube. Although the video had more views on YouTube, there were no comments unlike on Facebook and Twitter which had more than 500 and 300 comments, respectively.

Both videos featured dark- and light-skin toned male and female twins who were shown to be bonding, being affectionate with each other, and enjoying the same activity. Supplementing images of similar but opposite objects or animals were shown such as black and white sneakers, black and white butterflies, black and white king chess pieces, black and white tattoos like

the yin and yang. In the background, Beautiful by Christina Aguilera can be heard playing. The profile pictures of their social media pages also sported portraits of twins in similar poses, expressions, clothes, and accessories but in contrasting skin tones (i.e., dark and white). The campaign taglines were “Dark or White. You are beautiful.” and “#DarkorWhiteisBeautiful”.



“Black and white” twins in action. “Dark or White. You are beautiful.” (SkinWhite, 2018)

At first glance, the campaign seemed to reject the Eurocentric beauty standard Filipinos have been obsessed with and affirm beauty in cultural diversity. The women in the SkinWhite ad are young adults engaged in recreational and leisure activities such as horseback riding,

fencing, and cosplaying. The twins manifest the message of acceptance through the physical acts of embracing and shaking or holding each other’s hands. They gaze straight at the camera, confident, as “You are beautiful” is repeated in the song.

The ad’s inclusion of male twins and fraternal twins of opposite sexes in its video can also be read as the brand’s attempt to include men in the conversation. Their physical interaction, however, are limited to “bro hugs” and handshakes, lacking the intimacy the ad associates with women.

Before discussing the discourse that occurred between the brand and the consumers, there was a scene in the video that stood out, which perhaps already forms prelude to the ad’s criticisms. It is the scene with two male football players wherein the fair skinned guy stands with his hands on his hips while the dark-skinned guy lay on the ground mimicking the stance of the fair skinned guy like a shadow. The concept was that of a person’s shadow but the dark-skinned man moving like a puppet to the whims of the light skinned man already creates racist undertones. As if the dark-skinned man is just a shadow to the more dominant light skinned man.

There were those that lauded the “positive” message of the ad.



*“I love the message!! Thank you SkinWhite for making me feel beautiful :) No matter what they say, I still love the video! Great job <3” (Vergara, 2019).*



*“Beauty is a choice. Thank you @SkinWhitePH for choosing to send a beautiful image to everyone. Very good job!” (Aleonar, 2019).*

But the brand was immediately called out for blackfacing or brownfacing its models as the



social media users were quick to point out that most, if not all, of the models featured as dark skinned have a light skin tone in real life.



*'i personally know a twin that was in the video, kakakita ko lang sa kanila last week at alam kong they're black faced sa digital ad na ito. MYGAHD SKINWHITE" (trina, 2019).*

Blackfacing is when a non-black performer puts on make-up to appear black and is historically rooted in racism. In the misguided act of blackfacing the model, the brand belied the positive message it supposedly touted as the message's authenticity was brought into question. This is because the brand tells dark skinned people that they are beautiful and yet they are physically excluded in the very narrative of empowerment that is supposed to be about them; as if they are not even allowed to portray their own story.

The fact that the brand is a skin whitening company added fuel to the fire.



*'I repeat, you CANNOT preach acceptance of dark skin when you DON'T EVEN USE A REAL DARK SKINNED MODEL FOR YOUR CAMPAIGN. There are so many beautiful dark skinned models yet you chose to do blackface instead? Explain @SkinWhitePH" (Iris, 2019)*



*'Maybe you should hire an Inclusion and Diversity person to explain how this ad is so cognitive dissonant? Or not try to be pabibo and sell inclusion, kase di ba, you are selling a whitening product? Dark or white is beautiful- and by the way we are selling a whitening product?" (Icar, 2019)*

A week after SkinWhite's controversial ad, an online campaign by another skin whitening brand was launched in both online and outdoor advertising platforms that angered many Filipinos. GlutaMAX's Your Fair Advantage campaign immediately drew criticisms for its discriminatory portrayal of morenas and its colorism. The entire campaign was premised on an alleged unfair reality that lighter skinned tone people have unfair advantage. Supporting anecdotes were quoted in the online posters such as "Maputi lang pina-upo na sa bus" (Just because she has lighter skin she was offered a seat in the bus); "Maputi lang, na-hire na" (Just because she has lighter skin she was hired); "Sa sobrang puti ng friend ko, lagi siyang napagkakamalang artista. Daming nagpapa-picture. And dahil morena ako, taga-picture lang ako. - Cindy" (My friend is so light skinned she is always mistaken as a celebrity. Lots of people ask for a picture. And because I'm morena, I only take the pictures.).

The result of a poll conducted by Opeep, which stated that "3 in 5 Filipinos believe that people with fairer skin receive better treatment from others," was also used to add credibility to this premise. The brand even went as far as creating a website and a Facebook page dedicated as some sort of freedom wall for people to post about their experiences of unfair treatment compared to the other lighter skinned person.

The ad then asked, "Unfair 'di ba?" (Isn't it unfair?). As if to drive home the point, the question was consistently accompanied by the image of two women of contrasting skin tones, sizing up each other on opposite ends like enemies. On the left was a dark-skinned woman, her eyes staring up at the other as if envious, her mouth downturned as if upset. On the right was a lighter skinned woman, her eyes alight in confidence that in some ads stare down on the other, her mouth smirked in triumph, her head held high in superiority. The photo also echoed colonial undertones but instead of a Filipino and a Westerner, there was an external manifestation of internalized racism among fellow Filipinos.



Both women in the ad were shown from either shoulder to head or from chest to head, wearing nothing but towels and exposing a lot of skin for comparison which emphasized the difference in their skin tones. Only women were portrayed which can be read a subtle sexism that once again placed the demand to be beautiful on women.

Both the text and the accompanying image created a narrative of victimhood where the darker skinned woman is cast as the unfair victim of the tragic circumstance of being born unfair who experienced the unfair disadvantage that came from it, while the lighter skinned woman enjoyed her privilege of being fair.

After telling women that it was unfair to be unfair, the ad concluded, “Wag magalit, mag GlutaMAX!” (Don’t be mad, use GlutaMAX!). The solution, according to the brand, was in being white. Accept the norm as unfair as it may be because apparently, if you can’t beat them, join them. It’s the unfair victims who must adjust, not the unfair mentality that favors one color (being white) as more attractive than the rest.

Colorism is a pervasive mentality that favors one color (being white) over others and it is historically rooted in colonial insecurity that has plagued Filipinos which skin whitening companies like GlutaMAX have made profit off. Unsurprisingly, the brand was quickly flooded with negative criticisms from men and women alike. Many comments pointed out the discriminatory and blatant colorism the ad perpetuates:



*‘I have never been so riled up about an ad before. First, they tell us that discrimination based on skin color is normal. Second, they have the audacity to say that this ad promotes women empowerment. GlutaMAX, there is nothing empowering about subtly shaming me for my skin.’ (pat, 2019).*

Another way social media users countered the narrative of colorism seemingly promoted by the ad was through posting pictures and messages of affirmation that being morena is beautiful. Bianca Gonzales, a morena Filipina actress, also challenged GlutaMAX’s narrative and affirmed that having a darker skin complexion does not make one a pitiful victim:



*‘Just a note from a Filipina with brown skin since birth: There is no problem AT ALL sa mga gustong magpaputi. The problem is when whitening brands make us look ‘kaawa awa’ dahil lang maitim kami. Kasi, hindi po kami kawawa, maganda ang kulay namin.’ (2019).*

From the comments, we get a glimpse of the internalized racism that remains pervasive even in childhood wherein dark-skinned kids are made fun of by other kids. Even celebrities and well-known personalities such as Senator Nancy Binay and even Bianca Gonzales have been made fun of in online media for being dark (Madarang, 2018). Beauty in the Philippines is indeed attributed to having fair skin color. And yet GlutaMAX saw nothing wrong in pointing out that to solve this bias, they now empower women to have the option to reject their morena skin color through their product. In the first official statement the brand released, it stated that “GlutaMAX respects the dignity of the Filipino and our aim is to provide products that empower



*‘As a person who’s been insecure about their skin color for a VERY long time, it enrages me that this mentality is being spread beyond the confines of schoolyard teasing. Your ad perpetuates colorism, GlutaMax. That does NOT FLY.’ (CarlosMiguel, 2019)*

rather than discriminate” (as cited in Curato, 2019). They reiterate in their replies to comments on social media that they want to be “an option people can choose to find their confidence” (as cited in Gian, 2019).

A lot of the social media users did not buy their attempt to justify their campaign and instead questioned the brand’s use of the term empowerment:



*‘Copywriting suggestion: GlutaMAX understands the insecurity of the Filipino and our aim is to exploit just that. We make money from our society’s racist truth masquerading as free choice’ (Curato, 2019).*



*‘Basically, they are saying that according to a ‘study’ (aka survey) dark skinned Filipinas feel inferior and are treated unequally based on their skin color. So ang point nila, may choice sila gumamit ng pampaputi para maexperience nila matrato ng maayos. #GlutaMAX #teamMorena’ (Gian, 2019).*

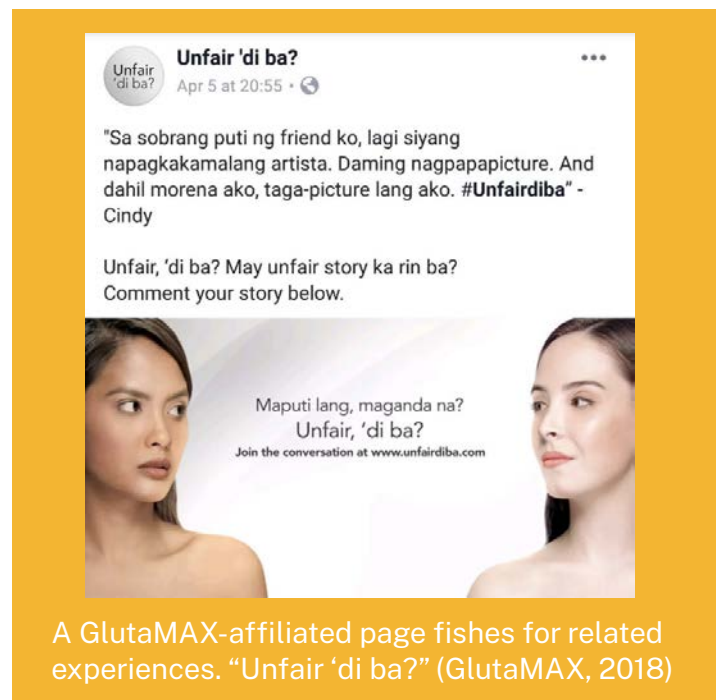
It may seem that to GlutaMAX, empowerment is found in the “victim” having the choice of rejecting her morena skin tone and bleaching herself fair with the product to finally experience the fair advantage her unfairness deprived her off.

As this essay is being written, GlutaMAX has removed the controversial online ads in their social media accounts, deleted the Facebook page and website (unfairdiba.com), and replaced their previous statement with another official statement that extended their apologies for those they have offended with their campaign (GlutaMAX, 2019).

From these two cases, we can see that social media users play an active role in engaging the companies on the messages they put out

through their advertisements. The online media platform gives the social media users more ways to interact and demand accountability from the companies through their likes, reactions, and comments that is immediately visible to other users.

It must be noted that although the two companies involved are generally beauty products targeted towards women, both male and female social media users alike engaged in the conversation even when the ad featured women only as is the case in GlutaMAX’s ad. This may also be because the controversial message struck a chord on an insecurity that is psychologically shared by Filipinos with their shared colonial history.



A GlutaMAX-affiliated page fishes for related experiences. “Unfair ‘di ba?” (GlutaMAX, 2018)

Furthermore, as has been noted in the comments, both advertisements are cognitively dissonant because the message of accepting beauty regardless of skin color or of finding empowerment in choosing is preached by skin whitening companies. **Historically, the skin whitening industry in the country marketed its products by banking on the internalized racism of its potential consumers** from the Filipinos’ colonial experience (Mendoza, 2014; Rondilla, 2012; & Singson, 2015). More than beauty, being white or fair connotes higher status since only those with extra cash can afford to inject and

bleach their skin white.

In the case of SkinWhite, the cognitive dissonance is further exacerbated by the fact that they preach about the beauty of brown and darker skin tone by using fair-skinned models they manufactured to look brown. On the other hand, although GlutaMAX attempted to justify their campaign as empowering by giving Filipinos the option to be white, their ad continues to conform to the hegemony of Eurocentric beauty.

Though both skin whitening brands attempt to sell themselves as “inclusive” or “empowering”, they still subscribe to the Eurocentric standard of beauty. In the end, beauty to these companies continues to be revealed as skin deep.

### **Eurocentric beauty in traditional media platforms**

No variable such as skin color or race on TV, Radio, and Print. The desire for Eurocentric beauty is normalized such that it doesn't get really discussed. There is also the fact that the traditional platforms don't provide much avenue for consumer-brand discussion unlike

message of acceptance in differences, where empowerment is found in the woman's ability to choose and define for herself what is beautiful. Two ads show how personal choices can be respected: Dove's “My Hair, My Say” and Pantene's “Stronger Now (The Girl Named Kevin).” One may explore how did these ads differ in their framing of the same concepts of inclusive beauty and self-empowerment compared to SkinWhite and GlutaMAX?

It may be that all these brands which pitch themselves as inclusive and progressive make effort to do so in their business practices as well? Or perhaps the brands are just practicing tokenism?

As was stated, beauty products which target women are generally moving towards a more inclusive and diverse norm of beauty. Often, the brands pitch their products as a means for self-empowerment which betray the capitalistic value system that these ideals are embedded in the ads. Momentary spotlight may be given to the minority or to these inclusive ideals but it often only serves to create a positive image for

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**Regardless, this positive messaging of progressive ideas seems to encourage conversation between consumer and brand, and among consumers to share their own stories which becomes possible due to the online platform where they are shared.**



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in the online platforms where consumers can immediately react, and their opinion becomes more visible. Artists and endorsers seen in the television normally have Eurocentric features.

### **Suggested cases: Case studies of progressive ads**

It may be worth looking at other more progressive beauty ads that are generally lauded for their

the brand which relay in the positive self-image of those who can afford to consume the product .

Regardless, this positive messaging of progressive ideas seems to encourage conversation between consumer and brand, and among consumers to share their own stories which becomes possible due to the online platform where they are shared. The fact that consumers who empathize or are part of the



group portrayed in the ad must share their stories in the comments or in their own accounts can already be a form of self-empowerment as it allows them to own this narrative for themselves.

#### 4.2. On mastering being a man by Marrhon Mangalus

The portrayal of men in online advertising may be on a different trajectory compared to that of women. Traditional masculinity ensures that negative or “sexist” depictions of cis men in advertising are not prevalent, if they exist at all. However, scholars have examined the continued use of traditionally hypermasculine imagery and roles in ads (Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Vokey, Tefft, & Tysiaczny, 2013) vis-à-vis the emergence and growth of the new man: refined, concerned with his own looks, and a part of consumer culture (Shaw & Tan, 2014; Tan, et al., 2013; Schroeder & Zwick, 2004; Patterson & Elliott, 2002). Let us look at how traditional and consumer-oriented masculinities are constructed online.

#### Vengeance Day

Following the local industry trend of producing event-specific videos online, Master Philippines released their own take on Valentine’s Day in 2018. We first see a black heart-shaped box tied with a yellow ribbon, labeled “Happy Valentines [sic] Day.” The camera slowly pans out, revealing the rest of the contents of the desk: some books (one titled “Mad Frank’s Diary” visibly on top), a teddy bear, a framed photo of an awkward and nerdy guy, and what looks to be either a gift-wrapped present or a flower bouquet. “Feminine” graphics—a kiss mark, a woman’s hand, chocolate kisses, a handwritten font spelling out “Vday”, and pink hearts of various sizes—are superimposed on the screen while mood music plays in the background. A voice of a man can be heard narrating, “Ang Valentine’s Day, hindi lang para sa mga girls” (Valentine’s Day isn’t just for girls.).

Cut to another picture of the same awkward guy doing a finger guns pose. The camera shifts its focus to a man in the background, the very



Traditionally feminine visuals are rejected and masculinized. “This V-Day is Vengeance Day! #GwapoMaster” (Master Philippines, 2018)

same nerdy guy in the photos. But he is no longer awkward, he’s a cool guy now! “Para rin sa’min ‘tong mga guys” (It’s also for us guys). New graphics appear: Shades, sparkles, a man’s hand, and a sans-serif font spelling out “VDAY”. He fixes his hair and inspects his face, nodding as if extremely satisfied with his look. The shot shifts to another angle and it is revealed that he is looking at himself at a mirror, doing the same finger guns pose—only this time, he’s got an agenda. “For us gwapos, it’s Vengeance Day” (For good-looking men like us, it’s Vengeance Day)! The voiceover declares.

But what exactly are these gwapos supposed to avenge? A heart expands on the screen: yellow, neutral, almost masculine, a definite contrast to the usual red or pink heart. It transitions us to another man. He is sitting at a restaurant, seemingly engaged in a conversation with someone. He is engrossed, even flirty. A female waitress comes into frame and hands him his burger and proceeds to hand the other burger



to his unseen date. The man intercepts the waitress and takes the burger. “Tapos na ang mga araw na wala kaming date” (Our date-less days are over), the voiceover continues. The camera pans out, revealing that he is in fact all alone. The man eagerly puts one burger on top of the other, running a hand through his hair to signify that he is feeling himself. “Dahil imbes na mag-effort kami sa girls, this time, mag-effort naman kami on ourselves” (Instead of exerting effort to impress girls, this time, we’ll be trying to please ourselves).

Another yellow heart expands, and we are shown a phone screen displaying a man biting his lower lip and placing his hand under his chin in a “pogi” pose. He is at the office, taking a selfie. He inspects his phone and sneers at the women sending him messages in a group chat labeled as “mga bumasted sa akin” (women who rejected me). They are trying to get his attention by telling him that they miss him, asking him out for coffee, and asking if he’s still single. The man replies with “hu u?”, dismissing the fact that he once knew these women for he is now gwapo.

Meanwhile, a woman at the office tries to get his attention. She sends him kisses, smiles at him, and draws a heart on her chest, but she embarrasses herself when she misjudges the distance between her and her desk and slips lightly. (Also note that the woman’s desk is decorated with hearts, one labeled with the name “Carl”, presumably the man’s name.) The man laughs and whispers “whatever”, seemingly immune to her charms. The woman continues to gaze at him in the background.

Yet another heart expands. We are back with the first guy swaggering into the frame. He seems to be at school. Two women in the background call out “hi” to him. He pauses then whips his head towards them. “Kung dati you can’t see me, ngayon I can’t see you” (You used to ignore me, now I’m the one who can’t see you.). He considers them for a moment, then wears his sunglasses and walks off to the sighs of the disappointed girls.

The man at the restaurant returns, but this time he is at a party. He gazes at his reflection on his phone and points to it as if to verify his physical attractiveness. “Dahil gwapo na ko, I’m out of the friendzone and seenzone” (Now that I’m good-looking, I’m out of the friendzone and the seenzone). He puts his arms on the sofa back and two women immediately sit next to and fawn over him, caressing his body and his face.

We move to a bathroom where the selfie guy takes the same heart-shaped box at the beginning from a cabinet, only this time it’s labeled with, “Happy Vengeance Day.” He opens it and inside are products from the brand. “This VDay, alam ko na ang sikreto” (This VDay, I now know the secret), he intones. He inspects his reflection again, directed to the camera as a stand-in for the mirror. The two other men show up in split screen and they point at each other, another validation of their physical attractiveness. “Now, I’ll never feel alone, knowing there are other gwapos like me na nagcecelebrate this Vengeance Day. Ngayon, kami naman ang bida.” (Now, I’ll never feel alone, knowing there are other good-looking men like me celebrating this Vengeance Day. Today, we’re the stars).

### **Master Man**

The video is a clear attempt to include cis men in a consumer event conventionally associated with women and the fulfillment of their desires for beauty, love, and social status through consumption. Images of the feminine Valentine’s Day are juxtaposed with the new masculine Vengeance Day. Femininity is clearly rejected through the substitution of symbols while typically feminine symbols, such as hearts, are masculinized. It’s not enough that men simply join in, it must be made clear that their masculinity is not erased in the process.

Vengeance Day is framed as an event wherein only those who have consumed the product can participate. Only they can be allowed to transcend their past, void of social status and

physical attractiveness. The obsession with looks, typically associated with femininity and therefore distasteful, is countered and made palatable by the primacy of consumption.

Product usage also confers social status on these men. Valentine's Day is often associated with heterosexual couples going on dates. The ad posits that gwapos (i.e., those who use the product) can go on dates with themselves without feeling bad—which is seen as a comeback at girls who previously wouldn't go on a date with them. In other words, men can still participate in consumption even without women. Additionally, men previously rejected and ignored by women suddenly receive an onslaught of attention that feed into their ego and masculinity: their past, rejected self was a failure and their present self, the one that uses the product, fits the standard of masculinity that expects men to command women's attention.

**Through their rejection of women's attention, social control and the power to define their identity and masculinity is put in the hands of these men.** Women in this video are portrayed as mere objects for men to reject and own. They serve them, make advances towards them, and fawn over them. The mere fact that they crave men's attention signals their subjugation. Though most of them don't have Eurocentric features, they wear heavy makeup and revealing and/or body fitting clothes (except for the waitress).

Consuming the product also comes with a boost in confidence. In the party scene, the man's pose signifies confidence. He doesn't need to do much to get the girls, all he needs is the product. Though grooming is typically seen as feminine, when it is used as a tool for heterosexual conquests (Scheibling & Lafrance, 2019), it becomes a valid practice of manhood. Furthermore, the women in the scene are passive and subservient. Though the man simply flops on the couch and waits for them, the women are subsumed under his spell. They orbit him, their bodies are pointed towards him and are enclosed in a space which he set for them.

In the end, the men pose as if they are physically together, back to back, looking at the camera/mirror and further asserting their physical attractiveness and their primacy in this consumer event. Move over girls, they're taking the spotlight. For the video, this is what it



Women in the ad exist solely as objects of men's vengeance. "This V-Day is Vengeance Day! #GwapoMaster" (Master Philippines, 2018)

means to be a cis man: the consumption of a product (economic power) to attract (traditional masculinity) and subjugate (social power and control) women.

### The online verdict

On Master Philippines' official Facebook and Youtube accounts, the video garnered 75,000 and 704,938 views respectively (as of 30 April 2019). Reactions are generally surface level only, without discussions on troublesome images of both cis men and women. The lack of backlash may be chalked up to the consistency of the depictions with traditional masculinity's conception of men.

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**For the video, this is what it means to be a cis man: the consumption of a product (economic power) to attract (traditional masculinity) and subjugate (social power and control) women.**

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Comments like “tang ina nyo mga girls” (yags lags, 2018), “hahaha tama” (Ronron Zagada, 2018), “savage” (Patrick Diala, 2018) and general indications of amusement (laughing emojis, “haha,” etc.) reinforce and encourage the casual misogyny in the video. Other users found the video distasteful but only because they perceived the men as “mahangin sobra” (xPro killer, 2018) or that they “totally ruined the concept of vengeance” (Ian Membrebe, 2018). A lone commenter found a homosexual reading, saying that “in the end sila-sila rin ang nagkajowaan” (Ope Cataros, 2018). Other comments focused on the models or on the product itself.

Male empowerment

The global trend of appealing to consumers through messages of empowerment and inclusivity is slowly starting to cover male-centric stories. Recently, Gillette's “We Believe: The Best Men Can Be” short film which challenged traditional hypermasculine behavior elicited

strong responses from online users.

Ads like Bench's “How long can you keep a secret?” Valentine's Day special, Vicks Philippines' “Learning to Love #TouchOfCare” series, and Globe's “Meet the Best Buds in the Galaxy” video reflect this trend. Men are portrayed as intimate, emotional, caring, and effeminate—without judgment and devoid of codes that mark them as deviant. Intimate touching between men, platonic or otherwise, is normalized. The release of these videos brings out stories of similar experiences and approval of inclusivity and progressiveness, something that is absent and is not possible in legacy media. Further examining these materials may lead us to more insights on how traditional images of masculinity are enforced or upended and how these portrayals resonate with the audience.

### 4.3. Gendered narratives in online advertising

by Mariam Jayne Agonos

Closeup's #FreeToLove series commenced with the Closeup #FreeToLove Stories, snippets from the different narratives of love that dealt with “gender, age, and societal boundaries” faced by unconventional couples. The 30-second video, which gained a total of 3.6 million views on Facebook alone, garnered 89,000 reactions with 1,607 comments as of writing.

Despite the wide reach that the advertisement garnered over Facebook, the video received only 425,189 views on YouTube with two comments not directed to the ad. Meanwhile, the advertisement is not available over Twitter. This, perhaps, was primarily the result of the accessibility of these platforms where Facebook is more widely used compared to other social media platforms (Alhabash, S. & Ma, M., 2017).

The featured narratives

The advertisement featured videos of five different narratives from a diverse set of couples expressing the struggles they have faced as a pair. To show their support for the LGBTQIA+



community, Closeup published the series of ads, commencing on an ad that integrates snippets from the other ads, that discuss how couples express their love in the face of a society that considers them unusual.

Tim and Javi, both cis men, express how judgements were thrown at them especially through social media. Meanwhile, the heterosexual couple, Beauty and Norman, are called gold diggers and D.O.M. (dirty old men) respectively due to their age difference. Angie and Joey, as a trans woman married to another woman, face an even more difficult situation when it comes to people reacting to their relationship. Chelsea and Christian, meanwhile, face cultural struggles with Chelsea being born from a Chinese family. Lastly, Issa and Marga are constantly nudged with remarks such as “Sayang!”, for being in a lesbian relationship.

The flow of the narratives within the ad is as follows: a gay couple, a heterosexual couple with a perceptible age gap, a trans woman in a relationship with another woman, a heterosexual

couple facing issues in terms of race, and a lesbian couple. The injection of the heterosexual couple, less controversial compared to the others, in between two homosexual couples, try to mitigate the possible negative reactions to be received in the homosexual narratives. Moreover, the narrative of the gay couple is situated first while the narrative of the lesbian couple is situated last with being lesbian stories less accepted by the conservative community. The flow or the placing of the narratives plays an essential role in analyzing the content and depth of the advertisement.

Other than the structure of the advertisement, the subjects of the narratives also provide meaningful elements. Three celebrities—Tim Yap, Beauty Gonzales, and Joey Mead King— are featured in the advertisement. The presence of these celebrities increases the credibility of the brand while also ensuring that their followers would also react towards the advertisement. It can be observed, however, that although these individuals are more recognized compared to their partners, it does not ensure that they lead the narratives of their respective stories, except for Tim Yap. In each pair, there is always one party who has a more dominant voice in the ad. It can also be noticed that in the advertisement, only one individual usually speaks up for the pair, except when: 1) the more dominant voice is the more recognizable individual (such as the case of Tim and Javi), or 2) the less dominant voice is the more prominent one (such as the case of Beauty and Norman).

The brand’s ability to discuss their stand more freely is, however, more pronounced on the online realm with little gatekeeping agencies that are present to approve or reject advertisements that appear on TV, Radio, or Print. Additionally, the online platforms provide connections for friendship and support, thus, become a safety net where LGBTQIA+ people are more adventurous (Hillier, Mitchell, and Ybarra, 2012).

Moreover, the narratives present in the advertisement were carefully selected to





include a diverse spectrum of gender identities and sexual orientations, with a trans person and cisheterosexual and homosexual couples present. Narratives of homosexual couples bring forward the idea that Closeup as a brand supports inclusivity especially in terms of gender. Meanwhile, the inclusion of heterosexual couples is not merely to balance out the narratives, but to lessen the possible flack to be received by a purely homosexual-centered advertisement.

#### Settings of the stories

The ad, composed of five varying narratives, features five different setting, all of which try to depict certain backgrounds of the couples being featured. The settings include an events place, a garden cafe, a bedroom, a garden, and an art studio. Although the settings of each narrative depended upon each pair's story, the videos of heterosexual couples (Beauty and Norman; Chelsea and Christian) are shot outdoors, both on landscapes that bear a resemblance to a garden with green leaves and white flowers giving a light feeling, if not pure. In these heterosexual relationships, there is the depiction of the softness and purity usually ascribed to femininity. The lighting of the space is also brighter compared to the shots of the narratives of non-heterosexual couples. Meanwhile, homosexual couples' stories are shot indoors – Tim and Javi's at an event space, Angie and Joey inside a bedroom, and Issa and Marga within an art studio. Tim and Javi's and Issa and Marga's narratives are situated in more rigid spaces as compared to the where Beauty and Norman and Chelsea and Christian's narratives are framed. Although the settings might have been selected at random, the coincidence is uncanny. Moreover, each element selected for portrayal signify messages more than what meets the eye.

Despite the differences in the setting, the five narratives all situate themselves within the Filipino community. Their stories are about them as couples and how they are positioned within the society. Their position is expressed by the opinions they have received from others and

how they face these opinions as couples.

#### Audience reception

The advertisement received an overwhelming approval from the viewers over the social networking site Facebook. The brand's support to the LGBTQIA+ community and their effort to express such support were acknowledged and encouraged by the online viewers. "Keep it up, Close Up. You're doing great," announced a viewer showing validation to the effort exhibited by the brand. "Thank u #closeup for supporting us LGBT .. I am free to love," declared another viewer who felt the reinforcement from the brand.

In a more neutral tone, other viewers provide commentaries of appreciation for the ad rather than the theme being portrayed. "This ad is actually great. Keep doing this" commented another viewer. In these instances, Closeup provides responses, mainly replies of gratitude, to those who sent comments to them.

Despite the positive reviews received by the advertisement, other online viewers expressed their disapproval towards the video released on social networking platforms. Their disapproval is more on the theme of the ad rather than the brand. "Close up is really promoting same sex relationships. You became evil this time. You know that. Open your dusty Bibles you adulterous people," commented an online viewer. "Why are we allowing same sex delusion?" said another viewer. "Idiot close up same sex marriage is shit....!! But do what you want to do!! Lets see it in the END!!" In these instances, although the reactions were triggered by the advertisement, the commentaries are directed towards the brand.

It can be noticed that whenever the ad receives such hateful and/or negative comments, the brand responds with a semi-formatted reply addressed to the individual. "Closeup's #FreetoLove campaign celebrates love, diversity and inclusivity, and champions mutual respect

for all without fear of judgement and prejudice. Closeup believes in the freedom of attraction and equal rights for everyone, not just for the LGBTQIA+ community but for all couples who are experiencing relationship prejudice. We recognize that opinions may differ on this topic and respect everyone's view on the matter," such is the reply of Closeup to the negative comments received.

Interestingly, some viewers are more critical on the ads. "Kala nio naman concern na concern close up sa inyo, they are just up for their marketing strats." Such comments show critical perspective on the utilization of the brand of the progressive stances particularly on gender. While there is an increase in the manifestation of ads incorporating progressive stances, there remains the question of whether these brands actually believe and embody these stances or these stances are being commodified for the benefit of the brand.

### The Closeup ad

The advertisement utilized narratives that appeal to emotions. **More than directly selling the brand, the advertisement enhances audience awareness of the brand and at the same time, rebranding to incorporate inclusivity.** None of the actors, not even the celebrities, mentioned Closeup throughout the ad. Instead, the brand logo appeared only towards the end of the video after all the snippets of the narratives have been provided.

The advertisement introduced five couples whose struggles varied. The narratives differ but their stories all lead to theme of freedom to love despite social conventions on age, gender, and tradition.

### 4.4. On food, family, and childhood memories by Czekaina Esrah Rapanot

A timeless icon in the Philippines' fast food industry, Jollibee has carved its name in

contemporary Filipino food culture through specific tastes that hit close to home—from its signature sweet Jolly Spaghetti to the crowd-favorite crunchy Chickenjoy, and everything else in between. Aside from appealing to the local palate, the chain advertises itself as a part of cherished relational experiences. Jollibee meals are most enjoyed when shared—between lovers, amongst friends, and/or with family members. Jollibee commercials show a wide range of relationships portrayed in stories both emotional and relatable. This makes the brand no exception to the fact that well-produced advertisements that appeal to emotion can boost recall (Mehta & Purvis, 2006); while there are arguably other influences on consumer behavior aside from emotional advertising, it cannot be denied that how Jollibee presents itself in its commercials makes it a staple in whatever life event there is. Be it moments of happiness or sadness, celebrations or losses, beginnings or endings, Jollibee offers food that comforts as much as it excites.

In 2016, the brand launched #KwentongJollibee (Jollibee Stories), an advertisement series that highlights how Jollibee is present (and, in certain ways, significant) in the lives of Filipino people. These are classical, narrative-type ads that show short—and occasionally interrelated – stories that often follow timely celebrations (e.g., Christmas Day, Valentine's Day, etc.). #KwentongJollibee ads are mostly released online—where several of them have gone viral for their emotional appeal and "plot twists"—and would sometimes have 15 to 30-second versions for television runs.

This essay looks into #KwentongJollibee ads that focus on a notable element of Jollibee's marketing strategy: the family—along with the values shared and the characteristics embodied by its members. The brand has built on the kinship-oriented culture of the Filipino people (Torres, 1985) by portraying Filipino families in various ways throughout the years. Since the launch of #KwentongJollibee, the company has been consistent in releasing ads for specific

family-oriented yearly events, namely: Mother’s Day, Father’s Day, and Grandparent’s Day. Such ads will be tackled in the essay, as well as those released for Christmas Day (which are often family-centered also, nonetheless). With at least one ad for each event in a span of three years (2016-2018), the subsequent discussions on familial portrayals in Jollibee advertisements are based on 14 commercials in total. A brief summary of the ads are as follows:

Mother’s Day ads Mama’s Girl, Parangal, Helen, and Amor, and Father’s Day ads High Five and Powers are examples of single parent portrayals. Two of the three Grandparents’ Day ads also featured only one grandparent: the Lolo (grandfather) for Biyahe, and the Lola (grandmother) for Kahera. When shown with the spouse, the parent celebrated became the main character, and the spouse took on a supporting role (often without speaking lines). This is the case of 2017 Father’s Day ad, Entrance Exam.

	2016	2017	2018
Mother’s Day	Mama’s girl	Parangal (Award)	Amor; Tess; Helen
Father’s Day	Entrance Exam	Powers	High five
Grandparents’ Day	Kahera (Cashier)	Apo (Grandchild)	Biyahe (Journey)
Christmas Day	Regalo (Gift)	Pamasko (Christmas gift)	Best friend

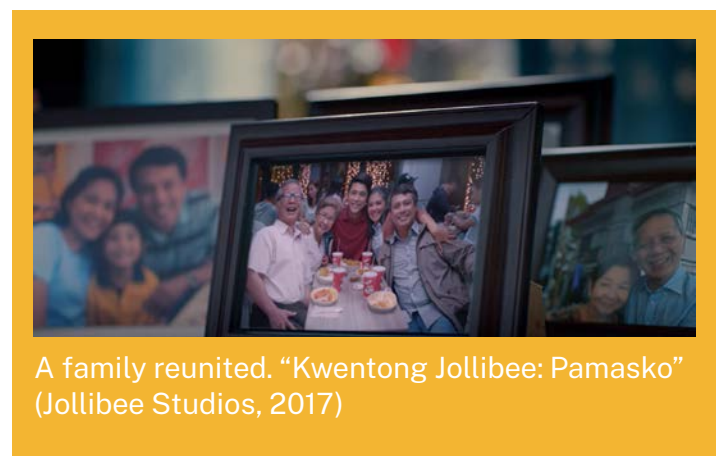
### The Filipino Family

It is no secret that a Filipino family is typically an extended one; it is normal to live with one’s grandparents, and even with aunts, uncles, and cousins, at times. Moreover, Filipino families would likely have at least one Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW). Varying permutations in local familial setups then provide different entry points for brands in advertising their products. #KwentongJollibee commercials portray various kinds of families that reflect Philippine social realities. A family can have a pair of parents, or just either one of them (i.e., single parents). In relation to this, one or both parents can also be OFWs. In the case of both parents working overseas, grandparents are often depicted as the ones raising their grandchildren. Despite the varying parental setups, what is constant in all Jollibee ads is the presence of ever-loving Filipino children whose childhoods are not complete without their Jollibee favorites.

Both parents—with at least one an OFW—are often featured in Christmas ads, which also present their homecoming as shown in Regalo and Pamasko. The latter ad is a continuation of the Grandparents’ Day ad Apo, where both grandparents raised their grandson whose parents worked abroad.

### The Filipino Parent

Since two of the family-oriented events focus on just one parent (i.e., Mother’s Day and Father’s Day), several ads featured single parents.



Parents are usually shown exemplifying three main values: **hard work, sacrifice, and support** – all of which are encompassed within the value of parental love. Case in point, most single parents in the #KwentongJollibee ads are shown in the context of work—e.g., taking several jobs at once (see Amor), working a labor-intensive job (see



Powers), having a day job while doing business on the side (see Parangal), or going abroad (see Mama’s Girl)—all in the name of providing for their children. For them, not having a partner may be difficult, but nothing can ever be too difficult if it means giving their children a good life. The Lolo in the ad *Biyahe* also embodies hard work as he continues driving their family jeepney to compensate for his injured son who used to drive it. His grandson sits in the passenger seat to collect the fares and give back change, while in admiration of his grandfather who defies the limits of age just to provide for their family. And no matter how hard life gets for all these parents,

there’s always room to enjoy classic Jollibee meals with their children.

What often comes with hard work is sacrifice, and perhaps one of the greatest sacrifices Filipino parents make is working overseas. An OFW parent endures exhaustion alongside homesickness, having to give up their own comforts for the comfort of their loved ones back at home. In *Pamasko*, the parents are seen sending a balikbayan box of Christmas gifts to their son every year, even getting to the point where they had to sell some of their belongings just to afford their child’s material wishes; still, though, their son’s ultimate wish was for them to come home on Christmas Day.

Sacrifice also comes in putting one’s children’s happiness first. In *Parangal* and *Powers*, the single parents are seen buying their children Jollibee meals without getting a meal for themselves. The Lolo and Lola raising their only grandson in the ad *Apo* are also shown sharing one meal as the kid enjoys his own. In these portrayals, it did not matter that a family did not have enough financially sometimes, what mattered more was that parental figures are able to give their children the excitement of eating their Jollibee favorites.

Alongside providing for their family, parents are also depicted as pillars of support for their children. The ads *Mama’s Girl*, *High Five*, and *Entrance Exam* all present a story of parenting that started from a kid’s childhood to adulthood. They encourage, discipline, and guide their kids as they grow up and pursue their own dreams. Meanwhile, the ad *Helen* shows a mother providing emotional support to her adult son. As the years go by, never do these parents falter in their role as their child’s primary support system. Grandparents are also taken into account, like the disciplinarian Lola in *Kahera*. #KwentongJollibee ads present Filipino parental figures in a broad range of emotions—from tender and loving to tough and strict, but inside their hearts will always be how much they care for their children and grandchildren. In providing support, parents



Parenthood is assumed by a child’s *yaya*. “Kwentong Jollibee Mother’s Day Trilogy: Tess” (Jollibee Studios, 2018)



Motherhood is rewarded with a Jollibee meal with the whole family. “Kwentong Jollibee Mother’s Day Trilogy: Amor” (Jollibee Studios, 2018)



Father looks on as his child enjoys the meal he bought for him. “Kwentong Jollibee: Powers” (Jollibee Studios, 2017)



may treat Jollibee favorites as a reward—for when a child does something to celebrate about, or as comfort food—for when a child faces loss or failure.

Importantly, Jollibee was also able to capture how parenthood is not only blood bound. In the ad *Tess*, the mother figure is not the child’s biological mother (who was shown to have passed away) but her *yaya* (nanny), who has been with her since she was a little girl. This example emphasizes that parenthood is a role that can be taken by anyone with the heart for it; the many setups for a family include those not dictated by blood but bond.

### The Filipino Child

It is usual to say that Jollibee favorites are childhood favorites. Unquestionably, Filipino children are at the heart of all the featured #KwentongJollibee ads. These kids are those

whom their parents work so hard for. Their happiness and comfort are highlighted in every ad, even as they are shown transitioning to adulthood. They are often shown in the context of school, work, and/or leisure. In almost all ads, schooling is a notable part of every portrayal of the child/ren. This reflects how education remains a priority for children in Filipino families, and what is then expected of them: to do well in their studies, and eventually do well in their jobs. #KwentongJollibee ads show that perhaps, most Filipino children do not really outgrow their parents’ caring arms. The “children” referred to in the ads do not always stay as kids playing around in parks, crying when they get bruised,

and laughing as they are comforted. They are shown growing up, exploring their horizons, leaving home, and going back; in everything, they have at least one parent who has never left their side.

As previously mentioned, the mother in the ad *Helen* is shown comforting an adult son—one



A father’s constant support for his child is seen through different meals shared at Jollibee. “Kwentong Jollibee Father’s Day: High Five” (Jollibee Studios, 2018)



A hardworking grandfather-grandson duo bonds over their favorite chicken meal. “Kwentong Jollibee: Biyahe (Journey)” (Jollibee Studios, 2018)

that is already a professional. Yet, in the time of his emotional distress, it is his mother’s embrace that he falls back to. Relatively, most of the other children shown in the ads are not literal children (i.e., about less than 12 years old); a lot of them were teenagers and young adults.

Since most of these #KwentongJollibee ads give tribute to parents, the stories are usually told from the perspective of a child. They often take a tone of admiration and gratitude to the parental figures who raised them and instilled in them good values that they carry as they grow older.



Jollibee remains constant throughout the life of a family. “Kwentong Jollibee: Apo” (Jollibee Studios, 2017)



A child’s ultimate wish to be with her father is fulfilled. “Kwentong Jollibee Christmas Special: Regalo” (Jollibee Studios, 2016)



Two friends part. “Kwentong Jollibee Christmas Special: Best Friend” (Jollibee Studios, 2018)

These children express their love through their individual dreams and achievements. Case in point, the son in the ad Powers shares with his class how he wants to be a “superhero” like his single dad, from whom he witnesses incredible perseverance and selflessness. He admires his father even in the daily chores: for one, he sees strength in how his dad lifts the sofa as he cleans the house. As a show of gratitude and concern during one dinner time, he shares his Chickenjoy with his dad who was not able to buy one for himself. Meanwhile, the son in the ad Parangal gives a tribute to his single mother

who did businesses on the side while working as a full-time teacher to afford his education. On his graduation day, nothing could be more fitting than standing on the podium to deliver a tear-jerking speech, dedicating his achievement to his ever-hardworking mother. Profound emotion is elicited from the eyes of a child in a vast array of moments—from the seemingly mundane ones to grander, celebrated occasions.

In some of the featured ads, children’s appreciation of their parents is also depicted in the symbolic act of coming home. The grandson in Apo, for example, is shown visiting his grandparents in the province who raised him until he had to leave for college. Already employed, he then pays for their first Jollibee meal together in a long time, something his grandparents used to do even back then when they struggled financially. Coming home also deviates from its literal sense, when it is presented in how children give back to their parents once they have pursued their dream jobs or achieved their life goals. Such celebrations are situated in nowhere other than the classic Jollibee dining space, just like old times, as the parent—then with gray hair and a few more lines on their face—and the child—then an adult likely wearing work attire—share not just their favorite meals but their most cherished moments through the years.

### Gendered Familial Roles and Values

The gendered nuances in the depictions of family members in #KwentongJollibee ads are not surprising. While blurry borderlines in the portrayal of gender roles already show a promising flexibility in the depiction of familial responsibilities, there remain some distinct gendered differences between men and women in the family.

### Gendered Parenting

To start with, the image of the mother in the featured ads is the undying figure of care, nurturing, and tenderness. They are the more physically intimate parent, almost always seen

hugging or holding their children. Some mothers are also shown vulnerable and emotional, as in being teary-eyed or actually crying (e.g., Mama's Girl, Parangal, Regalo). They are likely to be shown engaged in childcare and domestic work, while also taking on various occupational roles (e.g., Amor, Parangal). Also, they are shown with their children in the context of emotional support and connection.

Meanwhile, fathers appear to be more connected with their children in the context of discipline. In High Five, the dad is depicted as a coach for his son who pursued basketball (and coaching, eventually) as a career. He is animate and relentlessly encouraging. Until the end, his energy in cheering his son on from being a basketball player to a coach never ceased. In Entrance Exam, the father is tough and strict. His way of using pressure to keep his son studying for an academically prestigious college admission test built up the turning point of the story, in which the son failed the exam. It is only then that he was shown with a softer emotion—that of acceptance and comfort—when he told his son that he is still proud of him. It was as if it is mandatory for a father to maintain a “tough” façade and only express “gentler” emotions when they are called for (e.g., when the child needs to be comforted). Notably, though, the father in Powers is depicted doing domestic work alongside his occupational tasks. He, along with the Lolo in Biyahe, show a more caring attitude towards their family than usually presented.

Interestingly, another figure of discipline is the Lola in Kahera. In this ad, parental support is expressed through strictness and constant correction, which are still deeply appreciated by the granddaughter being guided. Perhaps, this reflects a common notion about a Filipina grandmother—one that is meticulous and hard to please on the outside, but caring and well-meaning on the inside. Nonetheless, the rest of the grandparents shown in the #KwentongJollibee ads portray the typical grandparents who spoil and pamper their grandchildren. In the ad Apo and its continuation Pamasko, the grandparents

were the constant figures of care and support for the son from the time he was left behind by his OFW parents, until they finally came home.

It can be seen from here that gendered distinctions between parents are actually quite blurry in some aspects. For one, most parents are already depicted as participants in the labor force. It is also worth noting that single parents are the ones usually shown flexibly taking up multiple roles. This reflects how there is a gradual decrease in the depiction of traditional gender roles in familial settings (Robinson & Hunter, 2008). However, fleshing out the emotions shown for each parent still reveal nuanced differences. **The portrayal of mothers still leans toward the more affectionate and sympathetic image of a woman.** The portrayal of fathers, meanwhile, leans toward the more active and less emotional image of a man. While both parents show love and care, the way they do differ noticeably.

### Gendered Childhoods

All featured ads featured solo children, except for two: Amor—which featured a male panganay (eldest) and two mixed-gender younger siblings, and Best friend—which featured two orphan girls. Even so, the narrative for the latter ads came from the perspective of one main child. In terms of gendered permutations of parent-child relationships, no ad highlighted a father-daughter tandem. Even if the ad Tess did show the daughter's father, it was not their relationship emphasized but that of the girl with her nanny (marital figure).

Noticeably, the featured #KwentongJollibee ads showed more sons than daughters. While gendered activities may be too big a claim for a sample size this few, there are a couple of things worth noting: the only child featured doing sports was male, and the only children featured playing with toys were female (and they were playing with dolls and kitchen sets). These small hints of gendered differences are perhaps manifestations of how brands stick to the usual portrayals of children.



The range of emotions that the children manifested, interestingly, did not exactly parallel those manifested in the parental portrayals. Both male and female children, regardless of age, were shown longing, celebrating, and even crying, at times. Perhaps, their familial role defined their emotions more than their gender. As mentioned in the previous examples and discussions, the children in the featured ads barely outgrow parental care and are constantly provided with love and support.

### **Tributes and Celebrations**

Aside from highlighting parents' hard work and sacrifice, #KwentongJollibee ads emphasize the value of togetherness and the sense of family, especially during Christmas Day. This time of the year is usually when OFWs arrive in batches at the airport, especially nearing December 24 – the night of the *noche buena* (Christmas Eve dinner). For a number of Filipino families, OFWs being present for the holidays is a yearly tradition; for Filipino children with OFW parents, it is their yearly Christmas wish. This explains the unceasing hope of the children in the ads *Regalo* and *Pamasko* that their parents will be home for Christmas. In *Regalo*, Christmas is a bittersweet season for the main character—a young girl—because it is when her father comes home with her anticipated Christmas gifts (or, as Filipinos call it, *pasalubong*) only to leave for abroad again as the holidays end. The ad nears its end with the father arriving home with more luggage than usual, and the daughter finding out that she has no Christmas gift for the year as her father lost his job overseas. Yet, instead of complaining, she saw it as something to be grateful for because it meant that her father would not have to leave and that the “best gift” for her was actually having a complete family right at home. The same narrative is seen in the ad *Pamasko*, except that both the child's parents have been abroad since he was a young boy. He was raised by his grandparents (as seen in the ad *Apo*), and yearly received a *balikbayan* box (a package/parcel sent by OFWs to their

relatives at home) of Christmas gifts. Still, no gift was able to compensate for his longing for his parents to come home, which they finally did when he finished his schooling. This ad's story is the story of many other Filipino families whose OFW members are not able to reunite with their loved ones during holidays and celebrations.

Jollibee was also able to highlight the value of sharing in their Christmas ad, *Best friend*. This ad featured a friendly girl in an orphanage, Nica, who always carried a Jollibee plushie with her. She eventually became friends with Abby, who entered the orphanage as a very shy and silent girl. They would spend a lot of time with each other, until Nica got adopted first. Before she left, she went to comfort her crying best friend by giving Abby her precious Jollibee plushie. Time passed and the final scene presented Abby as a doctor who used the same iconic toy to comfort her child patient. This ad shows a message in the end that says: the most valuable gifts are those given from the heart.

From bonding over simple joys to celebrating yearly traditions like Christmas, Jollibee depicts a Filipino family as tight-knit—with its members all loving, appreciative, and sacrificial. The brand's tribute ads also reflect the regard for parental figures in Philippine society. Additionally, Jollibee reinforces certain expectations towards a certain event (e.g., OFWs regularly arriving home for Christmas, as in *Regalo*) while acknowledging other social realities that surround that particular event (e.g., OFW parents unable to visit home regularly, as in *Pamasko*). In everything, what matters most are the values of love and sincerity in all actions done and gifts shared among family members—regardless of the familial setup they are in.

#### **Jollibee as a Part of a Filipino Family**

Jollibee, in all its advertisements that center around the Filipino family, appears to give its customers a sense of home. Even abroad, the OFW parents in the ad *Pamasko* sought comfort in an overseas Jollibee branch and Jollibee takeaways. More than the familiar tastes it offers, Jollibee is



a place where cherished memories are created, and valuable experiences are looked forward to. Importantly, Jollibee presents itself as a brand for children. It is packaged as a childhood favorite, thus explaining all the odds parents face and are willing to go through just to make their children happy with their favorite Jollibee meals. In the featured ads, the children never outgrew their love for Jollibee even as they grew into adults themselves. The brand is a constant symbol of comfort not just for children, but for children-at-heart; any day can be brightened by one's favorite Chickenjoy or Jolly Spaghetti.

Jollibee's association with emotions—especially with love, joy, comfort, and nostalgia—makes it fitting for all sorts of life events. Whether in joy or sadness, in triumph or failure, with both parents or just one, the brand provides something for family members to bond over. In a sense, Jollibee is part of the family and its traditions—be it daily ones like after school merienda (snack) or yearly ones like the anticipated Christmas noche buena.

In the many stories depicted in its advertisements, Jollibee is also shown as a brand that caters to the masses. Aside from capitalizing on emotions, it has also capitalized on its affordability through the years. The featured ads presented upper to lower class families, highlighting how Jollibee favorites are something people can often afford, even the financially struggling ones.

character portrayals. Relational roles alone, like in a familial setting as depicted in the featured #KwentongJollibee ads, can reveal much about reinforced social expectations on specific people. Additionally, the role of children as characters in and audiences of advertisements is a valuable point of inquiry, given that young minds are likely to be influenced by the representations in media they are exposed to.

Online platforms, like social media, also provide advertisements an advantageous mileage. Perhaps the biggest edge of online advertising is that it is not charged for its length, as in television—where fifteen seconds can cost more than a million per airing. Also, not only does advertising cost lower in being released online, it can also be shared and reshared multiple times for free by the social media users themselves. **Being “viral” then, is a huge boost for a brand.** Jollibee is one of the companies that use online advertising well enough to its advantage. Its occasion-specific, tear-jerking online advertisements gain much mileage from the buzz it sparks among netizens.

Given the dynamicity of online platforms and the technical nuances of social media sites, sampling online advertisements on a bigger scale is undeniably a challenge for researchers. Nonetheless, the Internet as an advertising platform makes up an entirely different world of possibilities—for marketers and social

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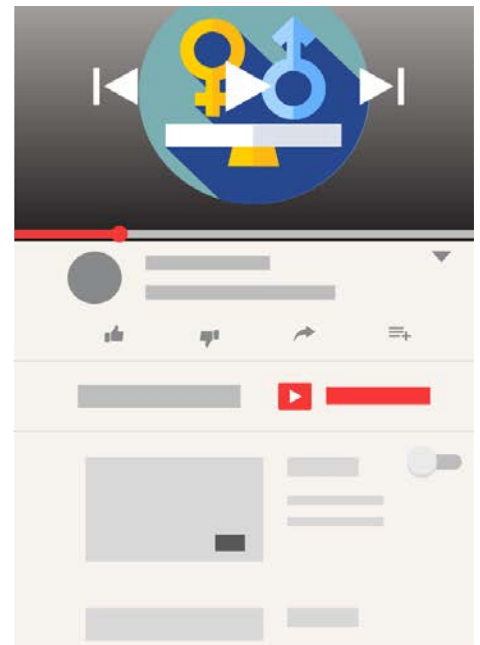
**Jollibee's association with emotions—especially with love, joy, comfort, and nostalgia—makes it fitting for all sorts of life events. Whether in joy or sadness, in triumph or failure, with both parents or just one, the brand provides something for family members to bond over.**

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## Summary

As discussed above, there are many layers to an advertisement—from the brand story to the socio-cultural contexts in which it presents itself—that may be considered in studying

science researchers alike—in the discourse of representation and reinforcement of socially constructed stereotypes.



#### 4.5. Moving forward in studying online advertisements

In the process of trying to study online gender portrayals quantitatively and subsequently examining them qualitatively, we identified several lessons which can inform future attempts to research the new corpus of online advertisements.

##### On sampling

Traditional sampling methods for advertising studies such as constructed week are not a viable approach in the random selection of advertisements because of the following:

1. Compared to advertisements in the legacy media, online ads do not appear with relative periodicity to a mass audience. Instead, online ads are personalized according to individual search and surf patterns.
2. There is no singular universe of ads for which a database (like those of Kantar or AIMS) has been extensively developed. Kantar is currently piloting such a database, but it remains unclear what it covers. Facebook, the number one social media platform in the Philippines, is

not part of the Kantar online dataset.

3. Companies and professional organizations (such as the Internet and Mobile Marketing Association of the Philippines, the Philippine Association of National Advertisers, the Advertising Standards Council, and 4As) have yet to establish procedures for vetting, distributing, and archiving online advertising content.

4. Online data aggregators capture text and memes, typically using #hashtags. This is the basis of most social media listening efforts. There is a repository of actual ads in the Philippines.

A potential approach that addresses these concerns is to create a panel of participants with a maximum variation of socio-demographic characteristics. The participants can then be asked to save, code and/or journal the advertisements they come across in a whole day across various media platforms.

##### On online comments

Beyond the online advertisements themselves, online comments are a significant corpus in the

study of online gender portrayal. Accordingly, the following can be studied:

1. How the comments enable a conversation between the advertisers and their clientele
2. How the comments confirm or contest gender portrayal
3. How discourses emerge about gender among the commenters

Whereas comments perhaps comprise the richest corpus in online interactions, they are by no means the only way with which people and advertisements interact with each other. Social media afford participants the opportunity to like, share, curate, and repurpose content.

A comprehensive study on online advertisements must therefore look not just at the content of the advertisement itself, but also at the gamut of online activity that attends it.

On online spaces

Legacy advertisements are automatically bound by the nation-state. Online advertisements, in comparison, operate across territorial spaces: advertisements from other countries reach Filipinos in the Philippines, with no clear identifying labels to signify their geographic origins.

Their border-crossing nature thus necessitates the adoption of culture-specific and cross-cultural studies on online advertisements.

## **5. DISCLAIMER**

This publication has been funded by Investing in Women (IW), an initiative of the Australian Government. The views expressed in this publication are those of the individual authors or institutions and do not represent the views of IW or the Australian Government. IW neither endorses the views in this publication, nor vouches for the accuracy or completeness of the information contained within the publication.

Variable	TOTAL		TV		Print		Radio	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Product category (Ad level)	(N=1253)		(n=500)		(n=256)		(n=497)	
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	274	21.9	154	30.8	4	1.6	116	23.3
Pharmaceuticals/health/herbal product	176	14	60	12	14	5.5	102	20.5
Restaurants, retail outlets, and malls	112	8.9	47	9.4	14	5.5	51	10.3
Recreational products and services	90	7.2	29	5.8	43	16.8	18	3.6
Private services	84	6.7	16	3.2	34	13.3	34	6.8
Hygiene and beauty products	81	6.5	60	12	2	0.8	19	3.8
Household items and appliances	79	6.3	28	5.6	8	3.1	43	8.7
Automotive and fuels	62	4.9	16	3.2	28	10.9	18	3.6
Alcoholic beverages	31	2.5	6	1.2	0	0	25	5
Government services	30	2.4	7	1.4	15	5.9	8	1.6
Telecommunications and electronics	25	2	10	2	6	2.3	9	1.8
Real estate	16	1.3	0	0	16	6.3	0	0
Others	193	15.4	67	13.4	72	28.1	54	10.9
Gender (Character level)	(N=1666)		(n=710)		(n=459)		(n=497)	
Cis man	728	43.7	315	44.4	246	53.6	167	33.6
Cis woman	689	41.4	395	55.6	213	46.4	81	16.3
Mixed	249	14.9	--	--	--	--	249	50.1

Variable	TOTAL		TV		Print		Radio	
	(N=1523)		(n=637)		(n=264)		(n=622)	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
None	380	25	105	16.5	139	52.7	136	21.9
Product/brand prestige	291	19.1	113	17.7	23	8.7	155	24.9
Sensual (senses)	177	11.6	97	15.2	1	0.4	79	12.7
Values-oriented	128	8.4	65	10.2	25	9.5	38	6.1
Health	152	10	57	8.9	5	1.9	90	14.5
Value for money (Sulit)	110	7.2	23	3.6	26	9.8	61	9.8
Experience/ lifestyle	103	6.8	71	11.1	15	5.7	17	2.7
Beauty and youth	80	5.3	63	9.9	4	1.5	13	2.1



Table 7. Gender and products endorsed by characters

	Overall % (N=1666)	Overall Male (n=728)	Overall Fe- male (n=698)	TV (n=710)				Print (n=459)				Radio (n=497)							
				To- tal %	Male		Female		To- tal %	Male		Female		To- tal %	Male/s		Female/s		Mixed (n=241)
					Freq	%	Freq	%		Freq	%	Freq	%		Freq	%	Freq	%	
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	24.3	24.2	26.2	39.9	127	40.3	156	39.5	0.7	3	1.2	3	1.4	46	27.5	24	29.6	46	18.5
Pharma/ health/herbal product	11.6	9.5	10.7	10.4	29	9.2	45	11.4	2	9	3.7	9	4.2	31	18.6	21	25.9	50	20.1
Restaurants, retail outlets, and malls	8.5	10	5.2	10.3	50	15.9	23	5.8	1.5	7	2.8	10	4.7	16	9.6	2	2.5	33	13.3
Recreational products and services	8.5	9.9	8.7	3.7	13	4.1	13	3.3	10.7	49	19.9	48	22.5	10	6	0	0	8	3.2
Private services	6.5	7.1	5.3	2.4	9	2.9	8	2	6.8	31	12.6	27	12.7	12	7.2	2	2.5	20	8
Hygiene and beauty products	5.8	2.7	10.5	10.7	17	5.4	59	14.9	0.4	2	0.8	0	0	1	0.6	14	17.3	4	1.6
Household items and appliances	6.7	3.6	7.6	8.2	16	5.1	42	10.6	1.1	5	2	5	2.3	5	3	6	7.4	32	12.9
Alcoholic beverages	1.9	2.6	0	1	7	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	7.2	0	0	13	5.2
Automotive and fuels	5.4	6.5	5	3.2	12	3.8	11	2.8	5.7	26	10.6	23	10.8	9	5.4	1	1.2	8	3.2
Government services	3.2	4.1	3.2	1.1	1	0.3	7	1.8	5.2	24	9.8	14	6.6	5	3	1	1.2	2	0.8
Telecommunications and electronics	2	2.1	1.9	2.1	7	2.2	8	2	1.3	6	2.4	4	1.9	2	1.2	1	1.2	6	2.4
Real estate	1.9	1.2	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	3.7	23	10.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	13.6	16.5	11.3	7	27	8.6	23	5.8	16.3	75	30.5	47	22.1	18	10.8	9	11.1	27	10.8

Table 8. Gender and character pitch\*

	OVER-ALL % (N=2003)	Overall Male	Overall Female	TV (n=907)						Print (n=474)						Radio (n=4622)					
		(n=846)	(n=852)	Male (n=393)		Female (n=514)		Total		Male (n=249)		Female (n=225)		Total		Male (n=204)		Female (n=113)		Mixed (n=305)	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
None	24.1	274	20.4	13.5	55	14	67	13	47.5	133	53.4	92	40.9	21.9	44	21.6	15	13.3	77	25.2	
Product/brand prestige	17.6	18.4	14.2	17.2	74	18.8	82	16	8.6	25	10	16	7.1	24.9	57	27.9	23	20.4	75	24.6	
Sensual (senses)	12.9	12.8	13	19.6	79	20.1	99	19.3	0.2	0	0	1	0.4	12.7	x	14.2	11	9.7	39	12.8	
Values-oriented	9.6	10.8	10.2	10.8	46	11.7	52	10.1	11.8	28	11.2	28	12.4	6.1	17	8.3	7	6.2	14	4.6	
Health	9.2	7.2	8.7	9.3	35	8.9	49	9.5	2.1	4	1.6	6	2.7	14.5	22	10.8	19	16.8	49	16.1	
Value for money (Sulit)	6.8	5.1	8	3.4	9	2.3	22	4.3	9.3	15	6	29	12.9	9.8	19	9.3	17	15	25	8.2	
Experience/lifestyle	7.1	8.2	7.7	10.9	50	12.7	49	9.5	5.7	11	4.4	16	7.1	2.7	8	3.9	1	0.9	8	2.6	
Beauty and youth	5.3	2.2	10.2	9.4	18	4.6	67	13	1.9	1	0.4	8	3.6	2.1	0	0	12	10.6	1	0.3	
Group	4.1	4.5	4	3.6	17	4.3	16	3.1	7.2	18	7.2	16	7.1	2.6	3	1.5	2	1.8	11	3.6	
Individual-istic	3.2	3.4	3.5	2.3	10	2.5	11	2.1	5.7	14	5.6	13	5.8	2.7	5	2.5	6	5.3	6	2	

\*Multiple response variable, n based on total number of pitches made by characters

Table 9. Setting\*

	OVERALL %	Overall Male (n=731)	Overall Female (n=854)	TV						Print					
				Total (n=1126)		Male (n=485)		Female (n=641)		Total (n=459)		Male (n=246)		Female (n=213)	
				Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
House	34.4	30.6	37.7	518	46	210	43.3	308	48	28	6.1	14	5.7	14	6.6
Living room	9.7	9.2	10.1	144	12.8	63	13	81	12.6	9	2	4	1.6	5	2.3
Bathroom	1.3	0.8	1.6	17	1.5	5	1	12	1.9	3	0.7	1	0.4	2	0.9
Bedroom	3.3	2.7	3.7	47	4.2	18	3.7	29	4.5	5	1.1	2	0.8	3	1.4
Kitchen	6.4	4	8.4	99	8.8	28	5.8	71	11.1	2	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5
Yard/porch	5.4	6.6	4.4	77	6.8	42	8.7	35	5.5	9	2	6	2.4	3	1.4
Dining area	8.5	7.4	9.4	134	11.9	54	11.1	80	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Outdoors	21.4	19.7	22.8	228	20.2	104	21.4	124	19.3	111	24.2	40	16.3	71	33.3
Nature	4.3	3.6	4.9	38	3.4	18	3.7	20	3.1	30	6.5	8	3.3	22	10.3
Generic	3.6	3.1	4	26	2.3	11	2.3	15	2.3	31	6.8	12	4.9	19	8.9
School	0.7	0.8	0.6	11	1	6	1.2	5	0.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Recreational spaces	4.9	4.9	4.8	58	5.2	29	6	29	4.5	19	4.1	7	2.8	12	5.6
Street: High in- come	1.5	1.4	1.5	18	1.6	8	1.6	10	1.6	5	1.1	2	0.8	3	1.4
Street-Low income	2	1.9	2	31	2.8	14	2.9	17	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transportation	4.5	4	5	46	4.1	18	3.7	28	4.4	26	5.7	11	4.5	15	7
Public spaces	9.2	9.3	9.1	128	11.4	58	12	70	10.9	18	3.9	10	4.1	8	3.8
Shops	2.5	2.2	2.8	24	2.1	7	1.4	17	2.7	16	3.5	9	3.7	7	3.3
Eating places	4.6	6.3	3.2	73	6.5	46	9.5	27	4.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sari-sari store	0.9	0.1	1.5	14	1.2	1	0.2	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medical facility	1.2	0.7	1.6	17	1.5	4	0.8	13	2	2	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5

Variable	TOTAL		Male		Female		Mixed	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Argument (Radio)	(n=497)		(n=167)		(n=81)		(n=249)	
None	59	11.9	33	19.8	1	1.2	25	10
Factual and/or scientific argument	66	13.3	31	18.6	13	16	22	8.8
Opinion-based and/or non-scientific argument	223	44.9	63	37.7	34	42	126	50.6
Both factual and/or scientific argument AND Opinion-based and/or non-scientific argument	149	30	40	24	33	40.7	76	30.5
Format (TV ad level)	(n=500)							
Classical drama and lecture	436	87.2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Vignette	64	12.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Problem solver (TV character level)	(n=710)		(n=315)		(n=395)			
No	659	92.8	295	93.7	364	92.2	--	--
Yes	51	7.2	20	6.3	31	7.8	--	--

	OVER-ALL %	Male	Female	TV						Print					
	(N=1169)	(n=561)	(n=608)	Total (n=710)		Male (n=315)		Female (n=395)		Total (n=459)		Male (n=246)		Female (n=213)	
				Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Celebrity	24.7	26.2	23.4	197	27.7	86	27.3	111	28.1	92	20	61	24.8	31	14.6

	Total %	TV		Print	
	(N=756)	(n=500)		(n=256)	
	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Mixed pair and group	49.2	280	56	92	35.9
One female	17.5	62	12.4	70	27.3
One male	11.4	29	5.8	57	22.3
More than one female (pair and group)	10.1	59	11.8	17	6.6
More than one male (pair and group)	6.3	29	5.8	19	7.4
No humanoid	5.3	40	8	0	0
Babies only	0.3	1	0.2	1	0.4



Attribute	Freq	%
Solo	127	49.6
Roughly equal pair/group	71	27.7
Prominent male - mixed background	8	3.1
Prominent female - mixed background	7	2.7
Prominent male w/ female	3	1.2
Prominent male w/ male	3	1.2
Prominent female w/ male	2	0.8
Prominent female w/ female	2	0.8
Prominent male - all male background	2	0.8
Prominent female - all female background	0	0
None	31	12.1

	TOTAL (n=459)	
	Freq	%
1	130	28.3
2	92	20
3	61	13.3
4	73	15.9
5	34	7.4
6	12	2.6
7	20	4.4
8	8	1.7
9	9	2
10	20	4.4

Variable	TOTAL		Male		Female	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Ritualization of subordination**	(N=459)		(n=246)		(n=213)	
None	343	74.7	196	79.7	147	69
Submissive	85	18.5	28	11.4	57	26.8
Authoritative	31	6.8	22	8.9	9	4.2
Licensed withdrawal**	(N=459)		(n=246)		(n=213)	
None	339	73.9	189	76.8	150	70.4
Spacing out (lutang)	45	9.8	20	8.1	25	11.7

Table 16. Relational roles of characters

	OVER-ALL		Male		Female		TV*						Print**					
	%	(N=1329)	(n=644)	(n=685)	Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female			
					Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%		
None	36.4		34.6	36.9	246	28.3	103	25.9	143	30.3	238	51.9	120	48.8	110	51.6		
Familial	40.6		39.1	43.1	457	52.5	201	50.5	256	54.2	82	17.9	51	20.7	39	18.3		
Parental	14.5		10.9	19.1	155	17.8	42	10.6	113	23.9	38	8.3	28	11.4	18	8.5		
Child	12		14.9	9.3	134	15.4	82	20.6	52	11	26	5.7	14	5.7	12	5.6		
Sibling/ Cousin	5.8		5.6	6	77	8.9	36	9	41	8.7	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Marital	7.4		6.8	8	81	9.3	35	8.8	46	9.7	18	3.9	9	3.7	9	4.2		
Unclear	0.8		0.9	0.6	10	1.1	6	1.5	4	0.8	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Recreational	14.5		15.8	13.3	104	12	62	15.6	42	8.9	89	19.4	40	16.3	49	23		
Friend/Peer	14.1		15.5	12.8	101	11.6	60	15.1	41	8.7	87	19	40	16.3	47	22.1		
Leader	0.3		0.3	0.3	3	0.3	2	0.5	1	0.2	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.5		
Follower	0.1		0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.5		
Professional	8.5		10.4	6.7	63	7.2	32	8	31	6.6	50	10.9	35	14.2	15	7		
Boss	0.6		0.3	0.9	5	0.6	0	0	5	1.1	3	0.7	2	0.8	1	0.5		
Subordinate	0.8		1.1	0.4	8	0.9	5	1.3	3	0.6	2	0.4	2	0.8	0	0		
Peer/Workmate	7.1		9	5.4	50	5.7	27	6.8	23	4.9	45	9.8	31	12.6	14	6.6		

\*Multiple response variable, n based on total number of relational roles assumed by characters. A maximum of two roles were coded for each one.

\*\*Only one role coded for each character.

Table 17. Familial responsibility

	TOTAL		Male		Female		TV*						Print					
	%	(N=1175)	(n=562)		(n=613)		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female	
							Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
None	83.6		89.7	78	12.9	559	78.1	276	87.3	283	70.8	423	92.2	228	92.7	195	91.5	
Childcare	9.9		6.6			81	11.3	19	6	62	15.5	35	7.6	18	7.3	17	8	
Domestic work	4.5		1.8	7		53	7.4	10	3.2	43	10.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Elderly care	0.7		0.7	0.7		7	1	4	1.3	3	0.8	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.5	
Provider	0.6		1.1	0.2		7	1	6	1.9	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Others	0.8		0.2	1.3		9	1.3	1	0.3	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	

\*Multiple response item, n based on total number of familial responsibilities assumed by characters.

Table 18. Attraction

	TOTAL		Male		Female		TV						Print					
	%	(N=1169)	(n=561)		(n=608)		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female	
							Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
None	76.3		75	78.6		533	75.1	222	70.5	311	78.7	366	79.7	199	80.9	167	78.4	
Opposite sex	22.7		24.8	21.2		177	24.9	93	29.5	84	21.3	91	19.8	46	18.7	45	21.1	
Same sex	0.2		0.2	0.2		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5	

Variable	TOTAL		Male		Female		Mixed	
	(n=497)		(n=167)		(n=81)		(n=249)	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Product user-gender								
None	443	89.1	158	94.6	64	79	221	88.8
Female ad	38	7.6	1	0.6	17	21	20	8
Both female product and ad	9	1.8	4	2.4	0	0	5	2
Male ad	6	1.2	4	2.4	0	0	2	0.8
Both male product and ad	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
User/Consumer								
None	405	81.5	--	--	--	--	--	--
Female/s	46	9.3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Male/s	43	8.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mixed	3	0.6	--	--	--	--	--	--

	TO-TAL	Male	Female	TV						Print					
	%	(n=561)	(n=608)	Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female	
	(N=1169)			(n=710)		(n=315)		(n=395)		(n=459)		(n=246)		(n=213)	
				Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
0-5 years	0.9	1.2	0.7	6	0.8	4	1.3	2	0.5	5	1.1	3	1.2	2	0.9
6-12 years	11.2	14.1	8.6	93	13.1	62	19.7	31	7.8	38	8.3	17	6.9	21	9.9
13-20 years	5	4.5	5.4	44	6.2	19	6	25	6.3	14	3.1	6	2.4	8	3.8
21-39 years	57.7	50.3	64.6	404	56.9	168	53.3	236	59.7	271	59	114	46.3	157	73.7
40-64 years	21.1	24.2	18.3	141	19.9	52	16.5	89	22.5	106	23.1	84	34.1	22	10.3
65 years or older	3.7	5	2.5	18	2.5	6	1.9	12	3	25	5.4	22	8.9	3	1.4
Indeterminate	0.3	0.7	0	4	0.6	4	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0



	TOTAL %		Male		Female		TV						Print					
	(N=1169)		(n=561)		(n=608)		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female	
							(n=710)		(n=315)		(n=395)		(n=459)		(n=246)		(n=213)	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
No occupation	11.2	88	13.2	9.4	207	29.2	54	17.1	34	8.6	43	9.4	20	8.1	23	10.8		
Model/ celebrity/ entertainer	25.2	207	25.1	25.3	207	29.2	89	28.3	118	29.9	88	19.2	52	21.1	36	16.9		
STEM and ABM	4.7	20	5.3	4.1	20	2.8	6	1.9	14	3.5	35	7.6	24	9.8	11	5.2		
Generic office work	3.7	30	3.9	3.5	30	4.2	15	4.8	15	3.8	13	2.8	7	2.8	6	2.8		
Skilled labor	2.7	11	4.6	1	11	1.5	9	2.9	2	0.5	21	4.6	17	6.9	4	1.9		
Unskilled labor	1.5	12	1.4	1.6	12	1.7	4	1.3	8	2	6	1.3	4	1.6	2	0.9		
Student/ working student	6.2	51	6.8	5.6	51	7.2	30	9.5	21	5.3	21	4.6	8	3.3	13	6.1		
Home-maker	6.2	72	0.9	11.2	72	10.1	5	1.6	67	17	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.5		
Politician	1.3	2	1.8	0.8	2	0.3	0	0	2	0.5	13	2.8	10	4.1	3	1.4		
Others	4.1	28	6.4	2	28	3.9	21	6.7	7	1.8	20	4.4	15	6.1	5	2.3		
Unspecified	33.1	189	30.5	35.5	189	26.6	82	26	107	27.1	198	43.1	89	36.2	109	51.2		

	Total		Male		Female	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Lower middle class	15	3.3	7	2.8	8	3.8
Upper middle class	423	92.2	229	93.1	194	91.1
Rich	20	4.4	10	4.1	10	4.7
Unclear	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.5

(n=710)

Table 23. Physicality

	TOTAL %		TV				Print									
	(N=1169)	%	Male (n=561)		Female (n=608)		Total (n=459)		Male (n=246)		Female (n=213)					
			Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%				
													Male (n=315)	Female (n=395)		
Body type																
Endomorphic (chubby)	30.3		29.8	30.8	270	38	111	35.2	159	40.3	84	18.3	56	22.8	28	13.1
Mesomorphic (batak)	10.7		18.2	3.8	114	16.1	92	29.2	22	5.6	11	2.4	10	4.1	1	0.5
Ectomorphic (payat)	57.2		50.4	63.5	311	43.8	107	34	204	51.6	358	78	176	71.5	182	85.4
Cannot be determined	1.8		1.6	2	15	2.1	5	1.6	10	2.5	6	1.3	4	1.6	2	0.9
Attire																
Fully-dressed	89.6		96.8	82.9	646	91	312	99	334	84.6	401	87.4	231	93.9	170	79.8
Partially-dressed	9.2		2.3	15.5	61	8.6	1	0.3	60	15.2	46	10	12	4.9	34	16
Seminude	0.8		0.5	1	2	0.3	2	0.6	0	0	7	1.5	1	0.4	6	2.8
Nude	0.3		0.2	0.3	1	0.1	0	0	1	0.3	2	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5
Body not shown (face only)	0.3		0.2	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.7	1	0.4	2	0.9

Table 24. Physicality (Print)

	Total (n=459)		Male (n=246)		Female (n=213)	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Body shown						
Head only	27	5.9	12	4.9	15	7
Head and full shoulders	20	4.4	12	4.9	8	3.8
Bust up	72	15.7	43	17.5	29	13.6
Waist up	115	25.1	71	28.9	44	20.7
Knees up	87	19	44	17.9	43	20.2
Full body	137	29.8	64	26	73	34.3
Full body less head	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.5
Use of hands						
None	131	28.5	83	33.7	48	22.5

	Total		Male		Female	
	(n=710)		(n=315)		(n=395)	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Not pregnant	689	97	313	99.4	376	95.2
Parent with infant	14	2	0	0	14	3.5
Pregnant	2	0.3	--	--	2	0.5
Guardian with infant	5	0.7	2	0.6	3	0.8

	TOTAL %	TV (n=500)		Radio (n=497)	
	(N=997)	Freq	%	Freq	%
None	18.8	181	36.2	6	1.2
Male/s	42.3	199	39.8	223	44.9
Female/s	19.5	104	20.8	90	18.1
Mixed	19	11	2.2	178	35.8
Indeterminate	0.5	5	1	0	0

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