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**Why are Corporations participating in the
transformation of gender representations in
advertisement?**

A Case study of three Peruvian brands.

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List of Acronyms

INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática
MIMP	Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables
INDECOPI	Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual

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Dad, this is for you, we finally cross paths.

Abstract

This research explores the reasons behind corporations' decision to take up on the role to engage in the transformation of social gender representations in Peruvian advertisement. By using qualitative methods to analyse the case of three Peruvian corporations, Scotiabank, San Fernando and Ambev Busch InBev through its brand Pilsen, this research found that advertisement might be used as a bridge between corporate commercial strategies and social (gender) issues. Furthermore, it sheds light on the role corporations are taking over gender issues and its liaison with other important factors for corporate decision-making. Understanding the motives behind corporate engagement in gender narratives, could be the first step towards building a mechanism that also invites and inspires other companies to embrace the renovation of gender representations and norms in Peruvian society.

The study concludes that more Peruvian corporations are acquiring a sense of responsibility towards reproducing equal gender representations in their advertisement. Some are adopting the role of promoting corporate engagement on the subject, such as Scotiabank, while others are enhancing their economic value by being first movers. The adoption of this role is hindered or enhanced mainly by the permanent vigilance of consumers, as well as the push of a new generation of business leaders and corporate involvement in the topic.

Relevance to Development Studies

Since the beginning of the 90s, Peru has developed an aggressive policy to promote competitiveness, generating a steady economic growth of around 4.7%, since 2010, versus an average of 2.2% in the Latin-American region (World Bank Data Series), and a constant reduction in poverty rates from 30.8% in 2010 to 20.5% in 2018 (INEI)¹. However, better conditions in the economy did not translate into more equal conditions for women, regarding their income, occupation, access to non-precarious jobs, and public expenditure for gender equality within the same period (Oxfam, 2019). Effective policies for gender equality require changes in social non-formal rules, such as the assigned characteristics and roles of women in society (MIMP, 2019). One important (re)producer of those gender norms are corporations. The primary focus of this study is to understand why some Peruvian corporations changed their gender representations in advertising into more inclusive ones.

The possibility of a partnership between the for-profit and non-profit world (including, and foremost, the public sector) could be seen as a way to “internalize incentives to deliver longer-term win-win societal outcomes” (Knorringa, 2014:363) regarding more equal gender representations. This study aims to contribute valuable knowledge that will allow gender-policy designers to align incentives among the for-profit and non-profit sectors.

Keywords

Gender representations, Corporate Citizenship, Private Governance, Accountability, Gender equality.

¹ INEI: <https://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/sociales/>

Chapter 1

Introduction

This Research Paper aims to contribute to the discussion on the role corporations have on gender issues, specifically on the construction of narratives about male and female's² characteristics and their roles in society, by understanding the reasons behind the changes that have taken place in the representations of men and women in Peruvian advertisement. The representations portrayed by corporations through their media advertisement, have the potential to construct beliefs, values and un(conscious) biases (Kagesten et al, 2016, Berger and Luckman, 2003), conditioning the opportunities that women and men have within their societies. This research argues that the engagement of corporations in the transformation in favour of a fairer representation of women and men in different realms of society, will depend on the role they are establishing for themselves for the overall social wellbeing. Subsequently, its interaction with contextual factors might be encouraging or hindering the adoption of new gender norms in their business practices, specifically in advertisement³.

The relationship between corporations and gender issues, has been explored before from different disciplinary perspectives. Management and organization studies have analysed how corporative practices in gender and diversity issues, or what is known as Gendered Social Responsibility (GSR), have an impact on gender mainstreaming, workplace equality (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019), decision-making processes on gender issues, and gender parity (Larrieta-Rubín de Celis et al, 2015, Dworkin et al, 2018, Messner, 2002). There is also an effect on corporations' participation in issues that transcend the boundaries of their business practices (e.g. domestic violence) (Grossner and Moon, 2005).

Feminist theories addressed this relationship between corporate business practices and gender issues, such as rights of women workers participating in Global Value Chains (GVC) (Barrientos et al, 2019), in the workplace, or CSR governance, leadership and institutionalization (Grosser and Moon, 2019:322). Moreover, some feminist scholars (Johnston and Taylor, 2008) have used feminist theories to analyse specific business practices of CSR and advertisement, and 'consumer-based strategies for social change' (947) to understand how they reinforce gender inequalities or gender stereotypes to 'normalize the power of cultural image' and reinforce consumerism to the detriment of real women empowerment (Messner, 2002).

This RP contributes to the discussion on the role and practices of corporations on gender issues from the business and ethics arena, which conceives it as a non-voluntary role, dependant, power-guided relationship with multiple stakeholders (Karam and Jamali, 2017). In other words, corporations are powerful but dependant and accountable, and therefore

² Advertisement in the Peruvian context has experienced changes in the stereotypes and roles the corporative world presents, mainly for cisgender people. Sadly, there have not been big changes in the representation of the LGTBIAQ+ community, although in some cases there have been manifestations in support of diversity. Because of this, this research only addresses changes in gender representation of cisgender women, although, in the analysis, some insights on the changes in the representations of cisgender men are presented. Furthermore, this research does not include an intersectional approach that would explore the multiple exclusions from advertisement representations. This is an angle that must be researched further.

³ This RP focuses on advertisement because of its impact on societal gender representations. This will be explained in the next chapters.

responsible, towards other political actors (Baur and Arenas, 2014). The notion of ‘responsibility’ brings us two important concepts that allow us to analyse advertisement practices in connection to gendered equal representations. The first one is Gender Social Responsibility (GSR) and the related topics of its accountability, as well as its role in governance (Grosser and Moon, 2005; Larrieta-Rubin de Celis et al, 2015). The second one is Corporate Citizenship and Responsibility (Ablander and Curbach, 2014; Matten and Crane, 2005; Zadek, 2004). How GSR translates into reality depends on the role the corporation has established for itself and the kind of citizenship that a specific corporation is practicing within a specific society. For example, using Zadek (2004)’s framework, a corporation in a ‘civil stage’ of citizenship would take the role to “promote collective action to address society’s concerns” (Zadek 2004) by participating in an initiative like the Unstereotype Alliance⁴. Meanwhile, a corporation in a managerial stage, might direct their actions towards guaranteeing certain minimum work conditions for women, previously established under the national normative framework. The CC framework allows us to understand how ingrained Gender Social Responsibility practices are within corporations, and by analysing its form, it allows us to get some information on the role they are assuming.

This research focuses on the type of citizenship that corporations are assuming, and its corresponding role, to understand their involvement in gender issues (GSR), through the analysis of gender representations in media advertisement. To do this, this RP will focus on three leader brands in the Peruvian massive consumption market: Pilsen (beer), San Fernando (poultry), Scotiabank (financial services). The question that this research aims to answer is, **why have Pilsen (Anheuser-Busch InBEV), San Fernando and Scotiabank changed their representations of women in Peruvian advertisement between 2016-2020?** To better understand this social phenomenon, this research collected data on the role Corporations have adopted regarding gender representations, as well as other factors that might be conditioning this decision. This was done by using a qualitative approach, focusing mainly on online interviews and image analysis, over two months.

This research participates, among other factors, in the debate on Corporate Citizenship and its relationship with gender issues from the perspective of the corporate arena. Similar to good social market research, if we understand why main brands are driven to the development world, by changing the representations of women, this study can provide inputs to build new mechanisms for governance, such as standards for advertisement and incentives that encourage corporations’ participation and engagement.

The study starts by presenting in its first chapter a conceptual and methodological framework, the context in which this research is situated and the research questions. Chapter 2 and 3 present the main findings of the fieldwork and the discussion around it. Finally, chapter 4 presents the conclusion of the studies and recommendations for further action in the policy arena.

1.1. Conceptual framework

In Peru, every day, corporations adopt a more proactive role in changing gender stereotypes, which can have an important impact on how women, men and non-conforming identities see themselves and others within society. These representations institutionalize by becoming social norms, which are the basis for daily decision-making at a micro (personal choices and

⁴ “Platform to eradicate harmful gender-based stereotypes in all media and advertisement content” (Unstereotype Alliance web page).

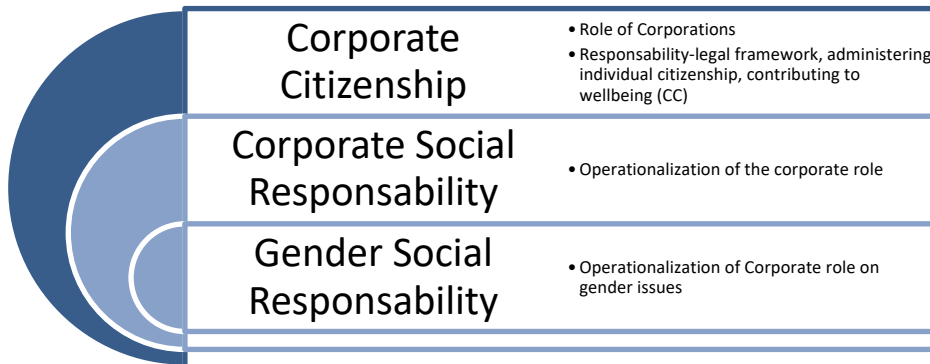
interactions), meso (institutional relations) and macro (policy) level, constructing inequalities on a daily basis. These biases can have an external effect on women that want to participate in occupations usually assigned to men, by not being accepted or liked (Rudman and Kilianski, 2000), and on women's own choices (internal effect). Unconscious biases on the relationship between career-men and family-women are present in most females (Bohnet, 2016; Rudman and Kilianski, 2000) and this appears very early in life (McMahon and Patton, 1997).

Gender norms are a social and cultural construction that define and govern our attributes and roles within a society, the rules that we have to follow, such as the behaviours that are (not) allowed, the status and power associated with masculinity and femininity, and how we relate with others (Heise et al, 2019). The content of these norms is being permanently constructed, and each of the meanings that fills that vase is in permanent dispute "using representational system-concepts and signs" (Hall, 1997:25). In other words, we understand what feminine, masculine or gender-based roles are based on the organized concepts we have of them and the relationship between them. These signifiers are shared, produced and reproduced by the members of our culture through language (Hall, 1997:17). Furthermore, they are attached to beliefs and values. Then, they are transformed into informal rules that outline several decisions individuals make every day for them, their relationships with others and, in a macro-level, an institutional framework that reinforces inferior conditions and the subordination of women (MIMP, 2019:11).

Because the constructions of these gender norms are influenced by the interaction and permanent negotiations of meanings among different societal actors, it is always evolving. One actor in this negotiation is corporations. The actions performed by Corporations to affect gender norms can be part of a formal corporate strategy to influence and impact society's narratives or can be designed to communicate with people and persuade them into consuming a service or product. Either way, advertisement, by the use of multiple signifiers, might be having, intentionally or unintentionally, effects over the change or continuity of gender norms, affecting the lives of people every day.

Now that concepts related to gender representations and norms have been discussed, it is important to explore the ones concerning the involvement and role of the corporate world on gender narratives. The role of corporations, both assigned and assumed by them, are explored as an important reason for their involvement in the representational change in Peruvian society. The first concept is Corporate Citizenship and the second one, Gender Social Responsibility (GSR). Literature usually understands CC in the framework of GSR, however, I propose a different approach, where GSR is the operationalization of the Corporation's role in society, as is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Relation between CC and GSR



Corporate Citizenship (CC) has been a subject of intense discussion within the Business ethics arena (Palacios, 2004; Matten and Crane, 2005). The first part of the discussion deliberates if we can or not talk about citizenship when we analyse different types of businesses, as we do when we refer to individuals (Grossner and Moon, citing Moon et al. 2005, Palacios, 2004 citing Greider 1996). Even if both are different types of citizenship, it can be acknowledged that corporations do carry some civil rights (for example protection, private property) and political rights (right to procedural fairness or participation in civil society, among others) that the state stealthily guards in free-market economies, as well as responsibilities.

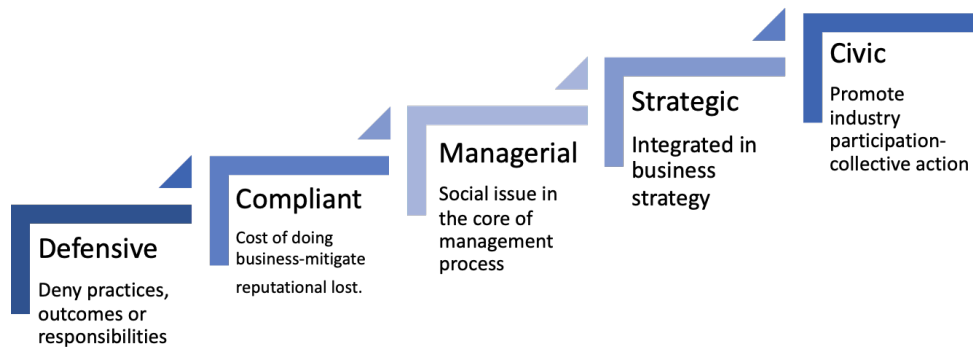
The other part of the debate explores one of the main components of citizenship, that is responsibilities or duties, and their associated intentions. For some authors, corporate responsibilities are limited to the boundaries of profit-making and the interest of their stakeholders. Carrol (Matten and Crane, 2005, citing Carroll 1998), started this discussion arguing that businesses have limited responsibility and are bound to their economic productivity, compliance with the law and ethical regulations, and, in some cases, philanthropic or charitable actions. Under this approach CSR, includes any actions to mitigate the externalities of their activities (Tempels et al, 2017). The second argument is that corporations have the responsibility of “administering citizenship rights for individuals” (Matten and Crane, 2005;173), when the State is absent, and corporate actions (CSR) are directed to provide the conditions for individuals to exercise their rights (Huniche and Rahbek, 2006; Ablander and Curbach, 2014).

Other authors such as Zadek (2004), frame corporate responsibility as one that exceeds the boundaries of the business and their externalities⁵. The Corporate Citizenship (CC) and Corporate Responsibility frameworks present companies as actors in the community, transcending their self-interest (Bourgeoise) and turning them into an institution that looks over the best interest of the community and contributes to the common good (Citoyen) (Ablander and Curbach, 2014). According to Zadek (2004) the transit between both is a continuous process conformed by five stages (Figure 2): defensive, compliant, managerial, strategic and civil. At the civil stage, when participating in this “Civil learning process” (Zadek, 2004), corporations address societal problems in their core value proposition and engage in

⁵ Citizenship can take different meanings depending on the context, it can be constantly re-signified and reimagined and becomes “embodied in institutional policies and practices” (Clarke et al 2014, p173). Because of its fluidity, it is important to understand each corporations’ own understanding of their citizenship within the specific context of Peru.

collective action with other members of society. This process is developed as a by-product of the new conditions of the market, and not as a moral evolution of its individuals (Lenssen and Zadek, 2008).

Figure 2
Five stages towards Corporate Citizenship



Source: Zadek (2004). Figure elaborated by the author

The second concept is Gender Social Responsibility (GSR). To address GSR, first we have to understand Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). There are several definitions of CSR. In their recount, Karam and Jamali (2017) establish that it is mainly about the formal relationship between private corporations and society. Furthermore, Grossner and Moon (2005) adds that it is a corporative action that “recognizes the social imperatives of business success and addresses its social externalities” (328). Under this definition, the actions (in this case the advertisement produced by a corporation that aims to challenge traditional gender narratives) and acknowledgement of their unintended effect on society would be considered as CSR⁶. When this practice aims to address gender equality objectives, it is called GSR (Larrieta-Rubin de Celis, 2015:92), which depends on the role the corporation has established for itself. Under the framework of CC, GSR could lie within the corporation’s DNA and therefore be engrained in its core, or it can be a complementary practice that only emerges during specific events.

⁶ There is a grey line between ‘usual’ corporative practices such as advertisement and the ones that are labeled as CSR. Because the study is analyzing advertisement as an intentional action that impacts society, it is considered as CSR. This is supported by expert opinions who argue that the difference between corporative inclusive communication and CSR is blurry (Publicitarias and McCan México 2020, personal interview).

1.2. Contextual background: Peruvian advertisement on gender issues

“I remember the castings, several years ago, where women passed by (in front of us), and we had to choose the most beautiful ones for the position. This was several years ago, now this would be impossible!”. (Brand director, Peruvian advertisement agency, interview 2020. Translated by the author).

Peruvian advertisement has changed in the last five years. Before 2016, most Peruvian advertisements were based on a permanent portrayal of women in their role as housewives who know more about cooking, childrearing, or laundry, or women as weaker beings that cannot handle a ‘real beer’. Yet some of those brands⁷, have begun to take a stand on violence against women or on the deep occupation horizontal segregation that still exists in Peru. Usually these new representations are framed every year as part of the campaign for the International Day for the elimination of violence against women, or the so-called, ‘Women’s day’. This is the case of Maestro, a big chain for construction material, that launched its campaign ‘Manual para Niñas Empoderadas’ (Manual for Empowered Girls) and ‘Maestras’, where the company showed an effort to deconstruct the potential roles of women in an economic sector that is highly dominated by men. However, other brands are taking bigger steps towards gender equality in their advertisement, such as Pilsen, a beer company that questions the normalization of violent conduct against women and the LGTBIAQ+ community. Even though the content and messages of those ads can be questioned for the alternative representations they adopt, it is the aim of this study to understand the reasons behind those changes, as well as the factors that encourage the participation of corporations in the political discussion and actions taken on positive gender representations.

One trigger of the representational change in advertisement was the inflection point on Peruvian public opinion about the need to have stronger policies against gender violence (Gender Lab, 2020; McCann México, 2020). One of the biggest collectives was the ‘Ni Una Menos’ movement, a regional movement that gained momentum in Peru in August of 2016, through a cohesive demand on women’s right to a life without violence. But this plea was not only made towards the government, it demanded changes from the private sector too.

Several normative instruments provided an institutional framework for these changes. At the international level, Peru has subscribed to the Interamerican convention to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women, which in its article 8b, commits to modify socio-cultural patterns of behaviour of men and women that contribute to reproducing social norms and practices that induce or legitimize violence against women⁸. At the national level, the Peruvian National Policy for Gender Equality (MIMP, 2019) published a policy that aims to regulate the diffusion of ideas and content that promotes any form of discrimination. In this document, advertisement is mentioned once. While it focuses mainly on racial discrimination, it aims to reduce discriminatory socio-cultural patterns (38).

To operationalize this plan, the government has scarce legal tools to prevent discriminatory acts against women or other groups. The DL 1044, which enacts the ‘Repression law against unfair competition’, obliged businesses to abstain from releasing publicity that

⁷ The brands that are part of the study, belong to Corporations, businesses that have sales of over 2.9 million US dollars annually (DS 013-2013-PRODUCE, article 5). They represent 0.6% of Peruvian business units in 2016.

⁸ <https://www.oas.org/juridico/spanish/tratados/a-61.html>

“induced advertising message recipients to commit an illegal act or act of discrimination” based on sex, among others (article 18)⁹. This norm, however, is always framed and built to prevent unfair competition among companies, and not for other reasons, such as human rights. This legislation is overseen by the National Institute for the Defence of Free Competition and the Protection of Intellectual Property (INDECOPI by its acronym in Spanish) who cannot legislate over discriminatory publicity unless this induces an illicit act, which has to be proven. This frame leaves advertisement to self-regulate without any accountability, apart from the one provided by the civil society (Vidal, 2013), such as NGOs, feminist collectives or even an organization of women working in advertisement, marketing, design and communication in Peru, like Publicitarias. It is precisely because of the lack of institutions that prevent discrimination and its possible factors, that the construction of incentives for the private sector is so important.

Private governance or private regulation¹⁰ on gender issues has emerged in several Latin American countries as a way to regulate the industries and end harmful stereotypes in media and advertisement, because they are considered as one of the roots of gender inequality¹¹. Although, these initiatives are growing slowly, they are supported by international organizations such as UN Women, and are part of a world movement. In Peru, the private sector has its own regulatory framework for advertisement practices given by the National Council of Advertisement Self-Regulation (CONAR by its acronym in Spanish)

1.3. Research questions

The goal of this research is to understand the reason behind changes in the representations that social media portrays, regarding the stereotypes and roles of Peruvian women. Understanding this will help to build effective incentives that promote corporations’ engagement towards the fight against gender inequality.

1.3.1. Research question

Why have brands such as Pilsen (part of Backus-Anheuser-Busch InBEV)¹², San Fernando and Scotiabank businesses changed their representations of women in advertisement between 2016-2020?

1.3.2. Sub-question

Sq 1: How has the representation of women in advertisement by Pilsen (Backus Peru), San Fernando and Scotiabank brands changed between 2016 and 2020?

Sq2: How do the corporations behind Pilsen, San Fernando and Scotiabank brands perceive their role in changing gender representations in society through advertisement?

Sq3: What are the factors that push these corporations to adopt and reproduce alternative gender representations in advertisement?

⁹ The Code for the Protection and Defense of the Consumer from INDECOPI, also states the same in its article 13.

¹⁰ Understood as the “non-governmental institutions that govern economic activities” (Mayer and Gereffi, 2010;1)

¹¹ Unestereotype Alliance, accessed July 13, 2020 <<https://www.unstereotypealliance.org/en>>

¹² Pilsen is a brand of Backus, a Peruvian firm that now is part of the Anheuser-Busch-InBEV corporation.

1.4. Methodology

Following Saunders et al (2015), it is important to identify the underlying assumptions of this research. This exercise will give the reader a better understanding of the approach of the study and the chosen methodology. The ontological assumption (Saunders et al, 2015) is that Corporations (unit of analysis¹³) want to participate in positively addressing social problems and are not only driven by greed. Furthermore, I believe that corporations, because of their political power¹⁴, hold a responsibility towards society, can influence the outcomes over gender narratives by changing their representations, and that they are driven by values and incentives. Therefore, to investigate their representations, values and incentives, this research collected data using qualitative methods, since it allows an in-depth exploration of the views of participants in a focus topic, with a small sample¹⁵, and build on iterative processes of collection and reflection.

1.4.1. Data Collection

The study collected online data (cross-sectional) of primary and secondary sources using qualitative methods, over two months. Because it wants to address the motives behind changes in gender representation, this RP first collected data on the communication pieces (advertisement¹⁶) that corporations are using to position themselves, as being pro, neutral, or even against gender equality. Afterward, actors relevant to the production of these advertisement pieces, involved in the transformation of gender representations, were interviewed on their corporate role in the issue, consumer relevance, leadership, among other topics.

First, the data collection on each selected advertisement piece focused on the image they build for the public (brand) and what they communicate to them. However, advertisement is not a unique category. Companies relate to their customers in very different ways, from

¹³ This RP has corporations as its units of analysis because they are the only ones who have changed their representations in the Peruvian advertisement context, according to the data collected, and because of the economic and political power that they hold in Peru.

¹⁴ In a world where our core values are “framed in terms of its contribution to economic growth” (Brown, 2015), it is not hard to think that corporations would have an important role and an incremental influence over the production of social discourses and “the capacity to change this particular situation of injustice” (Tempels et al., 2017;101). Nevertheless, the case of Peru needs further exploration because consumers’ trust in businesses is not strong (Llorente y Cuenca, 2018).

¹⁵ Quantitative approach was also considered as a complementary method, but the sample size of corporations that have changed their representations is small. Additionally, the data of sales and advertisement investment is not public and do not hold enough relevance to answer the research question.

¹⁶ Advertising is understood as “a paid nonpersonal message from an identifiable source delivered through a mass-mediated channel that is designed to persuade” (Sheehan 2004 citing Dunn and Barban, 1986;3; Nagi, 2014), but also to build an identity and a connection with their consumers. This means that through advertisement, corporations produce an image and values that they want to associate to their products and brand. As Peterson (2005) states “capital focuses less on producing consumer goods than on producing consumer subjectivities (...)” (515).

billboards, magazine ads, TV or radio spots, to social media campaigns through videos, messages or even by hiring influencers. The selection of the most relevant type of advertisement was based on two factors. The first one is the importance of the advertisement strategy, by looking into where corporations invested. In 2019, Peruvian corporations invested 45% of their budget in social ads. according to the Digital Publicity Investment Report (IAB Peru 2019). The second factor is the presence of the Covid-19 pandemic, and the impossibility of entering Peruvian territory due to current travel restrictions. Because of the pandemic, the study was narrowed to information available on the internet. That is, social media advertisement pieces found on the web, YouTube, or in the company or advertisement office official website.

The process of selection of the participant corporations for the image analysis was based on three criteria: Share in advertisement investment (representation in the advertisement market), availability of the informants (possibility of conducting the research), and gender targeting (relevance on the topic and variance in the sample). Regarding the first criteria, according to IAB (2019), the sector that spent the most on different types of advertisement in 2019 were: telecommunications (22%), financial services (13%) and massive consumption or retail (14%). The sample of ads was taken from the massive consumption sector. Within the massive consumption sector and retail, and considering gender targeting¹⁷ and availability of ads on the web, three companies were selected: a beer company (usually targeted to men) with the biggest share on that market, a food company that sells fresh chicken (usually targeted to women), and financial services.

The selection of the corporations and key organizations to be interviewed, followed a two-step process. First, the main actors that define the content in advertisement, both internal (corporations and advertisement agencies¹⁸) and external (NGO or civil organizations and public institutions that push for change in gender representations) were mapped. Then the main actors inside corporations and organizations were selected based on their availability to be interviewed. The interviews were held with directors of the main Peruvian feminist organizations working with corporations that incorporate gender approach into their business practices. Then, with directors and business leaders of advertisement agencies and one lead corporation in the beer industry. Because the moment of the interview is considered a performative encounter in a socially situated space, aimed to co-produce knowledge (Borer and Fontana, 2014), it is assumed that the individuals were acting as representatives of different organizations and that, because of that, they were transmitting institutional values and practices. Only when specified, testimonies or opinions were registered as personal.

Gender analysis of media pieces is a very popular tool to inquire about how the gender approach has been developing in advertisement. Many techniques try to identify if the representations are fair by comparing and contrasting it with real life (Rudy et al, 2010). Since this change in representations in the Peruvian context is young, there are not too many pieces available to perform a content analysis. However, a qualitative analysis of media pieces could be made, based on United Nations gender-sensitive indicators for advertisement (UNESCO, 2012;47).

¹⁷ Brands that have different gender targets might have different results when promoting new representations. When brands push the boundaries of gender norms and question masculinity, they get an important backlash, as happened with the Gillette campaign on toxic masculinity, “The best men can be”. If the same process occurs between women as it does with men, women could reject those men that stretch the boundaries into the world of women, punishing the brand.

¹⁸ Even though some advertisement agencies are themselves, corporations. For practical reasons this study only calls corporations to businesses that do not provide advertisement services.

The image analysis was done in three mass-consumer industries: beer, banking and poultry. The three selected corporations are leaders in their sector and are involved in gender equality initiatives. The data collection was made scene by scene, by counting the number of appearances of men and women, in different attitudes, in each. On the other side, the interviews were conducted over the broader spectrum of corporations that have changed their practices in advertisement, to have a wider understanding of this social phenomenon. However, a special focus was put over the three selected cases.

Limitations of the study: The process of data collection was conducted online due to the current restrictions caused by the pandemic crisis of Covid-19. The crisis in Peru at the moment of the study, between August and September of 2020, was rampant and businesses of all sizes were struggling not to go bankrupt. Therefore, the availability of directors and personnel of the businesses was affected. However, the time, support, and openness they provided me was very valuable for this study.

Even though the initial plan considered interviewing the directors of the three corporations, only one marketing director could be interviewed. To mitigate this, public secondary data was collected through, for example, conferences available online on the topic of gender equality in business. To collect information on corporations, this study interviewed different organizations and businesses associated with them, such as consultancy and advertisement agencies. The detail of the information that was collected and the actors that were interviewed can be found in a table in Annex 2.

1.4.2. Data Analysis

Two methods were used for this research: visual image analysis and interviews. Visual image analysis criteria were built to find patterns on TV spots and social media advertisement. Even though there are several types of advertisement, based on their function or intention (Masias, 2018;33), the analysis of each ad was based on those that had the function to sell, and not on those that were intentionally trying to communicate their adscription to the gender equality cause. This would establish the new 'normal' interactions between the brand (image) and the cause of gender equality. After collecting the data on the representations portrayed to communicate with the consumer, the information was systematized into 5 categories¹⁹:

- a. Depiction of women and men as the protagonist
- b. Depiction of women and men in a voice that reflects power
- c. Depiction of women and men in a voice that reflects passiveness.
- d. Depiction of women and men in a traditional role
- e. Depiction of women and men in a non-traditional role

For the conduction of interviews, first representatives of feminist organizations and consultancies were interviewed to establish a first perspective on the topic from the viewpoint of experts in gender and advertisement. Then a representative of an advertisement agency, Mc Cann, for Latin America and their Mexican country office, were interviewed to have a scope of the policies, socio-cultural conditions and corporative performance on the topic in the region. This information established a benchmark for the analysis of information recovered from Peruvian corporations and advertisement agencies, which were interviewed at the final stage of fieldwork.

¹⁹The description of each criterion used for the analysis can be found in Annex 1.

The identification and selection of interviewees was done using the snowball technique to find the main actors in the topic in the Peruvian context until the point of saturation was reached. Each interview was taped with the authorization of each interviewee and then transcribed by the author. Each interview was 50 minutes long on average. Then each interview was codified and analysed based on the following criteria²⁰:

- a. Maturity²¹ of the gender representation topic in Peruvian Society
- b. Reasons for corporations to make the decision of investing in changing gender representations.
- c. The role of the consumer in the decision
- d. The role of the competition in the decision
- e. The role of international brands in the decision
- f. The role of company leaders in the decision
- g. Corporation incentives
- h. Main external obstacles
- i. Main internal resistances
- j. Changes corporations want to achieve in society
- k. Social role corporations believe they have
- l. Office that decides on the investment

1.4.3. Positioning of the author

My journey interviewing different representatives of feminist organizations, advertisement agencies and corporations has been one of self-discovery and contestation of my own professional and personal biases. Professionally, I am a project designer and because of this, I am always searching to understand the causes that underlie a problem, in this case gender-unequal and unfair representations in advertisement and assess them to build strategies to improve them. On the contrary, in this case, as a researcher, I have to understand the factors that are causing a superavit (shift in representations), not a deficit. This already represents change, since usually we understand social issues as deficits, and in the case of the participation of corporations in gender issues, we are focused on coherence, the corporations' current biases and why they happen. During interviews, most of us follow the same old habit of explaining the causes of the deficit. However, my focus lied on explaining why (few) companies are changing their representations, stereotypes and roles of men and women in advertisement (superavit).

Personally, the journey took another path. I am the daughter of a business family and the apprentice of a social sciences faculty with a strong critical approach towards capitalism and a supporter of human rights and equality. I have struggled with this dichotomy for most of my life, having found that it is not binary, and that we need to search deeper for reasons and mechanisms to become a community of individuals and legal persona, with responsibility and a commitment towards the collective wellbeing.

²⁰ Items *a-i* and *l* aimed to respond to subquestion 3, *b,j,k* aimed to respond to subquestion 2

²¹ Relates to how absorbed is the topic into the mainstream professional debate and practice (Zadek, 2004;162)

Chapter 2 : Results-Why did corporations decide to change their representations?

In this chapter, I will first examine the roles that corporations have comprised by revising their engagement in changing the gender representations they portrayed in their advertisement. By exploring their roles, we can position corporations in the organization's learning pathway to corporate responsibility (Zadek, 2004) and explore one of the reasons behind corporations' decision to engage in representational change, their own values and the understanding of their responsibility in society. In the second part, this study presents three groups of factors that are affecting corporate decisions to exercise their responsibility and therefore, citizenship.

2.1 Corporate Responsibility and Citizenship: “We decided to take responsibility”

“(.)We decided (to take responsibility) because we recognized that we are not doing well. Furthermore, we recognize that as companies, we have a responsibility that goes far beyond what we have done historically. That companies have a vital role in society and to society. And, that if we can recognize that we have not done well, we must recognize it to improve, to be able to correct, to be able to grow, and in the best of cases, inspire by example (...)” (Miguel Ucelli, CEO of Scotiabank Peru, CADE Ejecutivos 2019²²)

The CEO of Scotiabank Peru, made this statement in 2019, inviting other business leaders to embrace gender equality as one of their business guidelines, mainly by inspecting their situation concerning the gender pay gap, the percentage of women in decision-making positions within the companies, and by revising internal regulations that might be hindering women's job performance. Although he did not mention their role in the images they are contributing to society through their advertisement and messages on the role of women and men, he did refer to the responsibility they have as part of society. This acknowledgement has been partly shared by many interviewees, by recognizing their influence over the stereotypes that have been created and currently exist in society (McCann Peru²³, Circus Grey²⁴, Gender Lab²⁵, Backus²⁶, 2020 personal interview). Nevertheless, even though this might feel

²² CADE is an annual conference of executives, business leaders, politicians and academics from Peru. In 2019 the topic of this conference was “Towards Gender Equity in Businesses”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKr05HTfLrk>.

²³ Personal interview with Andrea Rosello and Berenice Lu of McCann Peru on Incentives for corporations to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, September 18, 2020.

²⁴ Personal interview with Valeria Malone of Circus Grey Peru on Incentives for corporations to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, September 9, 2020.

²⁵ Personal interview with Marlene Molero on Incentives for companies to invest in gender advertisement at Lima, August 13, 2020.

²⁶ Personal interview with Carmen Bell-Taylo of McCann on Incentives for corporations to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, September 29, 2020.

encouraging, according to Gender Lab (2020) there are still less than 5% of corporations that actually take actions on it.

In Peru, the corporations that are investing in gender equality are multinational corporations that compete with foreign brands (within the country or as exports), such as Unilever, AB InBev (Backus), and Scotiabank, others are not quite there yet. This gradual change in the business arena regarding social topics can be explored through the concept of Corporate Citizenship (CC)²⁷ and its related concept of Corporate Responsibility, which has generally been a discussion about its responsibility (Palacios, 2004, p.391) and willingness (Kopp and Richter, 2007;201).

At the civil stage participation of this “Civil learning process” (Zadek, 2004), corporations address societal problems in their core value proposition and engage in collective action with other members of society. Most Peruvian corporations, according to the interviewees, are developing in this path and locating themselves between the compliant and the managerial stage²⁸. The first ones are investing in inclusive advertisement, assuming it as a cost of doing business. Corporations do it to protect their reputation in the short-term and as a strategic move for the consumers of the future. Those corporations are identified because they invest mainly in specific dates of the year, such as the so-called ‘women’s day’. The ones in the managerial stage, which are very few, are aware that they are part of the problem (Gender Lab 2020, Aequales 2020²⁹, personal interviews) and the solution. These corporations usually organize in a way that responds to a call for gender equality, with internal mechanisms that generate equal conditions for men and women, and which is later reflected in their advertisement. In this stage we begin to find the corporations that are changing their gender representations.

For the interviewees, only a few corporations can be identified in the strategic stage. Among these we can find Unilever and Scotiabank, which positioned themselves as the spoke-businesses of gender equality and diversity in the bank sector and have built their commercial and operational strategy around it. However, since 2019, Scotiabank and other few corporations are embracing their civil role in social change by advocating with their peers and within society for a movement that promotes gender equality.

Most interviewees believe that corporations are becoming more aware of their role as social producers and reproducers of imaginaries. Even though some corporations want to contribute to a narrative change, there are so many short-term issues to attend that require structural measures (such as gender equality within the organization) to be taken in stages. Currently, corporations are questioning the messages they put out to the public and believe that if they can perpetuate them, they can also change them (Gender Lab 2020, personal interview). Even though some corporations are assuming a more active responsibility in social change, their assumed role is affected by external factors. As Lenssen and Zadek (2008) argues, “Internal and external factors together create a spectrum of possibilities at any point in time that

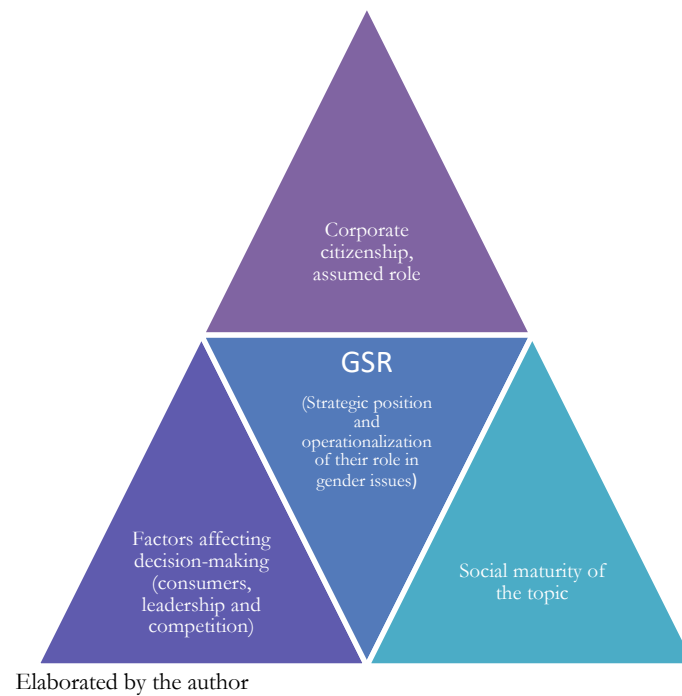
²⁷ As Matten and Crane (2005) shows this concept has been present for almost thirty years in the scholarship, varying from taking the form of philanthropical actions to contributions to the common good (Ablender and Curbach, 2014; Grosser and Moon 2005 citing Moon et al, 2005).

²⁸ These categorizations were made by the author based on the information provided by the interviews conducted during fieldwork.

²⁹ Personal interview with Andrea De la Piedra on Incentives for companies to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, August 28, 2020.

defines a corporation's practical scope for making decisions between viable choices" (p.381). The results are mixed actions on gender issues (GSR).

Figure 3
Relation between Corporate Citizenship, external factors and social maturity



2.2 Factors influencing decision-making: “Gender equality might be important but there are more urgent topics”

The subtitle of this section was mentioned by the CEO of Scotiabank during CADE 2019, as one of his hypotheses about why most companies do not implement actions towards gender equality. The process of change in the representation of women and men in Peruvian advertisement is young. According to the Gender Lab representative, it started in 2016 after an important civil movement emerged, the ‘Ni Una Menos’ collective. This movement converged with new reports on the benefits of including women in decision-making positions inside organizations and the costs of violence for companies³⁰. Currently, for the interviewee of Gender Lab, the discourse has shifted from one of efficiency, where gender equality

³⁰ A study (Vera Horna 2013) on the costs of violence against women for businesses was published. The idea promoted by several feminist consultancies that equality was “good for business” was further sustained by Mc Kinsey reports on the investment returns of developing gender equality inside the organizations, focusing mainly on breaking the glass ceiling.

reduces costs and enhance profits, to one of justice and rights³¹. Corporations are acknowledging their social role regarding gender equality; they also know its benefits and are aware of social demand around the topic. Nevertheless, few actions toward a strategic or civil stage are seen, and even fewer regarding advertisement, which is their face to their customers and has an impact on the broad society.

The analysis of the factors that might be reinforcing or interfering with this process of change in gender representation in advertisement, requires first an understanding of the level of social maturity of the topic.

2.2.1 Social maturity of the topic: “We are still seeing gender issues at the surface”

Claimed the representative of Publicitarias (2020, personal interview³²), a feminist organization composed by members of the advertisement professional community. This categorization, developed by Zadek (2004), helps to identify how spread and institutionalized is the topic of gender equality and, therefore, how much we could expect to be present in the corporation and public agenda. Zadek (2004) calls it stages of social maturity: latent, emerging, consolidated or institutionalized. Within this framework, social topics such as gender norms begin as topics of civil organizations agenda (social innovations) and keep building upon political awareness and support from academic evidence, until it is institutionalized and adopted by the business community.

Although the topic is not fully developed in the Peruvian social narrative and most people still hold traditional images, corporations know that their customers reject extreme representations, and they want to avoid communicating images that might be subject to public shame (Mc Cann Peru, Circus Peru, Gender Lab, Aequales 2020, personal interview). Furthermore, corporations started noticing that communicating their beliefs in gender equality favoured their reputation and image (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview).

The topic is marginally more widespread in the internal organization and policy building of corporations. Aequales, one of the interviewed organizations, currently has 266 businesses, NGOs and public sector offices, wanting to be evaluated because they have invested in equality in their internal organization to be fairer to women. Using Zadek’s categorization, we could consider it a Consolidated topic, since “there is an emerging body of business practices around the social issue” (171) as the representative of Pilsen brand acknowledges “there are several actors that are doing an important job (in the GE issue), such as companies and NGOs” (Backus 2020, personal interview). There are voluntary and civil initiatives, such as Publicitarias, and there is a latent need for legislation around the issue, but currently there is none.

After situating the topic on a social maturity scale as a consolidated topic, we need to understand what has changed in the representations of women. Afterward, this analysis will dialogue with the factors that might be affecting the decision of corporations to change their gender representations. The social media advertisement analysis was based on three brands,

³¹ The second wave of change came from the demand side, when people started being aware of the injustice women live every day of the different manifestations of gender inequality (such as discrimination, unequal distribution of household load, or hyper sexualized advertisement). (Gender Lab interviewee)

³² Personal interview with Frida Valki on Incentives for corporations to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, August 11, 2020

Pilsen (beer), Scotiabank (financial services) and San Fernando (poultry) published in the public channel, YouTube. The selected advertisement pieces, two before the 'Ni una menos' movement in 2016, and four after per each brand, are listed in Annex 3 and the results tables for each brand, input for the following sections, in Annex 4.

Pilsen Callao: the flavour of true friendship

According to the chief of Backus (2020, personal interview), the brand strategy of Pilsen focuses on friendship, as is shown by its slogan, and they wanted to contribute to social transformation and the deconstruction of micro *machismos* from this angle. For them, this involvement could be made from each space where friendship exists. They knew they had the credentials to speak about gender because of their strong brand position, and decided to change their portrayal of women, leaving the sexualized image of women's bodies that was present in most of their advertisement behind. However, they realized that they were reinforcing other myths about male friendship where there were no women present. Now they want to show an equal and diverse friendship (Backus 2020, personal interview).

The visual image analysis showed that Pilsen, the main brand of beer in Peru, is still communicating mainly with the male public³³, but it is changing. Before 2016, advertisement showed men as a voice of power, assertiveness and authority and appeared many more times than women in each piece that was analysed. Even though women are active consumers, and a larger share of the beer market every year that passes, their voice and presence were still passive, rarely portrayed in non-traditional roles, and submissive to the desires or power of men. Moreover, when shown as empowered beings, their strong presence was portrayed as detrimental to masculinity, portraying him as a person who holds no respect from his society, as it can be seen in the "Cosito" advertisement in 2013³⁴ or in the "Todo sea por los jueves de Patas" (Everything for a Friends' Thursday) in 2014³⁵. In both ads. women are powerful and assertive, but this is met with a passive male partner. Women's empowerment is portrayed as being necessarily detrimental to men's autonomy. Women and men "are seen as antagonistic and defined in opposition to each other" (MIMP, 2016;14 citing Bordieu 1999;51). Sexualization of women has not been identified in the chosen ads, which represents a big change in the beer sector.

After 2016, women are present more frequently and appear in non-traditional roles, with a little more power and assertiveness, and as consumers of beer. Nevertheless, most of the advertisement pieces showed them as friends, the ones men are talking about, recipients of the love and strength of men, or as the background of the spot. In some cases, as in the piece analysed for 2017, a group of women is seen partying and drinking by themselves. In 2018, a woman appears as faking a parachuting activity for a picture on social media. Both represent non-traditional representations of women's autonomy and strength. Nevertheless, in this last piece, only one woman is portrayed as the protagonist, while men appear in the other three.

³³ According to the marketing CEO of Backus, Pilsen is targeted to both men and women (2020, personal interview).

³⁴ In this ad. Women are stating what men can or cannot do, calling their boyfriends by the name "cosito" ("little thing"). With the passing scenes, the man can be seen as losing his identity and calling himself by the name "cosito". He returns to be himself (a man) when he is reunited with his male friends.

³⁵ This ad addresses the common belief that if you say "yes, dear" to your female partner, your life will be easier. It shows a submissive male that only recovers his 'power' or 'manhood' when is with his friends.

Masculinity's stereotypes, on the other hand, have not changed as much. Men keep appearing in voices of power, (although this is decreasing) and never in non-stereotypical roles. Furthermore, in the advertisement presented by Pilsen, men are always the voice in off, directing the viewers' attention and interpretation of the message. In two pieces launched in 2020, which explicitly refer to equality issues, a women's voice is heard narrating the spot and traditional masculinity is contested, acknowledging and highlighting that times have changed.

Scotiabank: Welcome everybody³⁶

The case of Scotiabank is interesting because it is not targeted towards men or women, but still uses diverse images and representations of women that reinforce traditional stereotypes or roles regarding money and its use. One of them is women shopping and men as the providers of the economic assets of the family. Before 2016, women were present but portrayed as the housewife or the person that does the shopping, two very familiar roles associated with them. In one advertisement called "Cash Back", a woman is baking cookies while reprimanding her partner on what he spent on a new camera. She claims, "You said there was no money", implying that it was the man who managed the household budget. The second one was launched in 2014. A man is drilling in his house while his female neighbor sleeps. The voice in off tells us that she can continue enjoying her shopping without worrying about her debts. The construction of femininity has been targeted by consumerism promoters for some years, framing shopping as a female activity (McRobbie, 1997; Huang, 2019). Femininity is associated with beauty standards and sexualized images that can be purchased, and traditional roles that demand women to purchase goods and services for all the family (Huang, 2019). Therefore, to continue representing these images only deepens exploitative stereotypes constructed around women.

After 2016, Scotiabank has published several advertisements that explicitly address gender equality and position themselves concerning the topic. When social media spots are analysed, women are more present, and their images are stronger. They can be seen running or working in a bank as advisors (ad. piece 2017). The images presented by Scotiabank are related more to credit access, where a difference among roles is not visible. Furthermore, two women are presented as part of a family, implicitly questioning the traditional image of a heterosexual couple, and as entrepreneurs. However, they are not being portrayed as a source of power or authority, those still belong to men. Women are becoming increasingly present but are still not protagonists in the actions that take place in the advertisement. As in the case of Backus, the voice-in-off is also always male.

San Fernando: The good family

San Fernando started a campaign where it wanted to establish a special relationship with each family in Peru, as its slogan "the good family" shows, according to an interviewee (Circus 2020, personal interview). In her words, a family is a group of people that share a bond. This might be a traditional family, a lesbian couple, or a group of friends. It was conceived to recognize diversity.

Women are present in most of the advertisement pieces. Even though men are still present in a higher percentage of people in the ad., the presence of women is noticeable. This is not unfamiliar, especially in an advertisement directed to the person in charge (role) of cooking the meals in the household. Before 2016, most women are still seen preparing lunch boxes for the family and men are portrayed as not knowing how to cook and in need of

³⁶ Company slogan

assistance to feed themselves by buying pre-cooked meals. After that year, men appeared more, but still with a very strong and ‘masculine’ presence by sitting at the head of the table, barbecuing or doing high-intensity exercise. However, in 2020, the analysed adv. showed women doing different activities than preparing meals, men taking care of a baby and cooking, and same-sex partners. This piece was launched in the context of Covid-19.

Visual Image Analysis results

Representations of women are changing; they are appearing more times in advertisement and in non-traditional roles. Traditional roles are contested mainly in sectors where women are a big market share, and where a failed representation, or their absence thereof, could cost corporations having them as their consumers, such as the case of the beer sector. In more traditionally female sectors, such as those of goods related to cooking (e.g. poultry), those images are not changing as much. Neither are the ones related to the association between buying or shopping and femininity. On the other side, male representations are rarely changed. Men are still being the voice of authority and are shown in stereotypical attitudes and roles. Furthermore, voice-in-off of every advertisement piece is still of a man. According to McCann Peru representative, this could be because there is a perception that the voice of a man is more credible (2020, personal interview).

Women’s roles in Peruvian society are changing. Every day more women are entering the workforce, occupy authority positions in the private and public organizations and the political sphere³⁷. One of the underlying questions to analyse the role and responsibility of businesses over the production of new gender representations was if corporations only reflect what is happening in reality or if in fact, they can affect values and therefore must adopt an active role in having a positive impact on gender equality. Even though evidence shows that the former is more probable in the long term (Eisend, 2009), this study subscribes to a constructivist approach where social meanings are in permanent interpretation (Hall, 1997) and negotiation, and therefore can be affected by its agents.

As was shown in the previous analysis, real changes have partially been followed by advertising and we can now see new portraits of men and women. However, these changes are still not a truthful reflection of what happens in reality. As Rudy et al (2010) indicated “media often fails to accurately reflect the real-world distribution of sexes, roles, races and occupations” (708). So, if reality needs to be portrayed and then contested, we are less than half-way there. Even in cases when changes could be identified, only some cultural alterations were recognised, but not their structural or ideological basis, as presented by Nagi (2014, citing Kang 1997). By analysing those signs in visual representations (advertisement), a position in relation to gender equality can be established and we can identify how much more ground we have to cover.

Evidence showed, by image analysis, that corporations are assuming a strategic role, are partially changing their gender representations in advertisement and are actively communicating their positioning to their consumers. However, several stereotypes still need to be deconstructed, to promote a real structural change in gender relations of power (Johnston, 2008).

³⁷ Proportion of seats held by women in Peruvian national parliament (27.7%) and in ministerial level positions (27.8%). World Bank Gender Data Portal (2018). There is not much information on how the role of men within the household is changing. Data on the use of time within the household is only available for 2010, so a variation cannot be calculated.

2.2.2 Role of consumer: “No systemic transformation despite citizen audit”.

Argued the representative of Aequales (2020, personal interview), about the relationship between consumers and corporations. Most interviewees coincide that corporations respond to social (market) demand and react to strong feedback from the public. The market, present and future, is the main driver of business strategies, so we would expect them to follow people’s interests, beliefs, and behaviour. Nevertheless, corporations not only react to individual willingness or disposition to consume, which is related to sales, but also their perception of the companies. This is transformed into the business reputational value, which is highly affected by the denunciation of business malpractices or the avoidance of desirable practices such as gender equality. Because of this double effect, this study acknowledges that the individuals act both as consumers and as citizens. This distinction evokes a new question that could contribute to the analysis, is there a differentiation between the power of the consumer and the power of the citizen? The evidence extracted from the interviews indicates that both might not be necessarily related. The first one refers to the power of decision a person has to buy or not buy a service or product. The latter, about the power a person has to participate in the public debate, to own rights and be accountable for their responsibilities as part of their relationship with a specific state, although this concept is permanently deconstructed, reimagined and redefined (Clarke et al, 2014). How do we each influence the decisions of corporations?

Corporations also respond to the organized civil society demand for more equal representations, according to the Manager of Diversity and Inclusion for McCann Latin America³⁸. For her, there is a strong correlation among corporations that change and questions their representations and a strong civil movement around those topics. Even though the actions of citizens and organized civil society can coincide, with the blossoming of social media, people are not necessarily represented through formal institutions, but can develop an organic and spontaneous voice. In this case social organizations act as opinion leaders who are later followed by consumers (McCann 2020, personal interview). This phenomenon around the consumer/citizen³⁹ can be explored by understanding their priorities and their relationship with social media.

2.2.2.1 Values and beliefs are the new commodity

Social demand has increased because consumers and workers’ priorities are changing due to new social narratives on the roles of women and men in the private and public sphere (Publicitarias 2020, personal interview). Increasingly, people want to feel identified with the brands and the identity of corporations that provide the products and services they consume. Furthermore, new generations, such as the GenZ⁴⁰ are prioritizing experiences over possessions (McCann Mexico⁴¹, Shetty et al, 2019) and identification with values. It is a generation

³⁸ Personal interview with Luisana Montero of McCann on Incentives for corporations to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, September 7, 2020.

³⁹ This study will refer as consumer/citizen when talking about a consumer in their audit role.

⁴⁰ This group is composed of people born between 1995 and 2010. They have been exposed to the internet from birth, “are hypercognitive and very comfortable with collecting and cross-referencing many sources of information and with integrating virtual and offline experiences” (McKinsey, 2018)

⁴¹ Personal interview with Mariana de Pina of McCann Mexico on Incentives for corporations to invest in gender advertisement, in Lima, September 15, 2020.

that is demanding change in the short-term, and is conscious of more responsible consumption, not only with the environment but with society (Publicitarias 2020, personal interview).

“In new generations, this takes relevance. If a brand wants to evolve it has to be married to these discourses. This is so important in marketing that it is measured. As you measure brand recall, advertisement recall, you also measure if the brand is inclusive, if it presents women and men, if it contributes to equality (...)” (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview)

This phenomenon has become more pressing because of Covid-19 and its sense of urgency, finite and mortality, where people want to transcend (Diversity and Inclusion for McCann Latin America 2020, personal interview). Also, workers look for companies that share their values and vision of a better world. Corporations know this, and they have to adjust to be attractive to consumers as well as to new talents (Aequales 2020, personal interview). The speed of this change is still a subject of debate. Most people interviewed acknowledge a deep affinity bias in their perception of gender discourse changes, which might lead one to believe that there are more fluctuations than they actually are. Because of this, secondary data over people’s perception of some basic indicators on the roles of women and common stereotypes was analysed.

Based on the National Survey of Social Relations from the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI for its acronym in Spanish) (INEI, 2019), 47.9% of Peruvian men and women tolerated some kind of violence against women in 2013, 45.2% in 2015 and 41.1% in 2019. Last year, 52.7% of people still believe that women must comply with their role as wives and mothers before their own wishes or desires. Violence against women is tolerated if women are unfaithful to their husbands, dress provocatively or disrespect their husband or partner by near 30% of Peruvians. Between 15 to 27% of Peruvians believe that men have some kind of ownership of their female partners, explicitly agreeing that she must have sex if he desires it and must allow any treatment, he requires from her, or otherwise use violence. In practice, the number of hours that women spend in non-paid work inside the household is estimated to be 24 hours more per week than men (Freyre and Lopez, 2011;12). This not only affects the possibilities of women to get a fair income and job opportunities, but also, conditions their wellbeing due to a high dependency on their partner, with serious consequences, such as domestic violence. In Peru there were 166 femicides in 2019 (MIMP, 2020) because men thought they did not comply with their socially assigned role as women.

It can be seen that some roles and stereotypes have not changed much, and this becomes clear in consumer profiles, which are constantly used by marketing areas in corporations (Gender Lab 2020, personal interview). However, corporations not only plan for current consumers, but for future ones, which have more information and are constantly seeing different brands from all over the world and respond more to their values. Corporations with a strategic vision are changing some of their values to respond to future consumers. Yet, the decision to change their consumers’ profiles is something that has not been resolved, and which creates fear among companies.

The Coronavirus pandemic has brought a claim to change the representations that corporations communicate to the public. In Peru, quarantine was applied to men on some days, and women on others. Furthermore, due to more than six months of iterative confinement, men have embraced a few more hours of housework and childcare at home. For the representatives of advertisement agencies, this event might lead to a change in how men are represented in massive consumption products related to household work, as in the case of San Fernando.

This ideological change is what Holt and Cameron (2010) calls cultural innovation. This type of innovation emerges with social disruption, a historical change that separates dominant cultural expressions from new ones, which follow their own codes, beliefs and cultural conventions. In the case of Peru, these social disruptions were the ‘Ni Una Menos’ movement. Brands that take this opportunity and build their identity and communications based on this historical set of beliefs can find what is called a ‘Blue Ocean’, which can lead to enormous economic growth. The consumption of their product or services starts to be, by itself, a gender or environmental statement.

Some corporations are embracing this cultural innovation and, while doing it, they are opening new markets. Additionally, in Peru, women’s income has increased by 68.6%⁴² on average and female occupied populations in 18% (INEI 2020), becoming an important consumer. This has created an incentive for corporations to start communicating with women and starting a relationship with them. This happened in the case of Chevrolet in Mexico, according to an interviewee (McCann Mexico 2020, personal interview). Corporations cannot finance machismo anymore, because this would cost them a potential women’s market and other individuals that do not identify with traditional values. In Peru, Backus, through its brand Pilsen, started advocating for gender equality and diversity through multiple advertisements such as “Yo Nunca” (I never), “Amistad Sin Diferencias” (friendship without differences), and “La Amistad Está Cambiando” (friendship is changing). Even though, the visual analysis made for this research does not include advertisement that explicitly advocates for gender equality, we can see that the percentage of women is increasing over the years, and there is an effort to have a more inclusive representation of women, men and non-binary genders.

2.2.2.2 Social Media, the new social catalyst

Social media rapidly and effectively inputs information to corporations on the consumer’s opinion and their reactions to a specific campaign, through social listening (Circus Peru 2020, personal interview). These reactions are not only informational but also develop as public inspection, demanding that corporations take a step forward regarding this social demand. As Palacios (2004 citing McIntosh et al 1998) argues “it is imperative for corporations to behave responsibly because it is increasingly difficult for them to evade social and public scrutiny in the contemporary information age” (391). Despite the emergence of this tool, for the interviewees, businesses are not taking proactive action towards gender equality in advertisement, but just avoid images that are already causing rejection among the public. These images are usually at the corners of the spectrum of social representations that are already obsolete and that offend the values of consumers. This evidence is confirmed by other studies (Nagi, 2014; Eisend, 2009) which show that consumers react aversively towards obsolete or offensive gender portraits, but they also react against brands that adopt certain social causes that do not align with company values and actions.

On the side of the consumer/citizen, social media also allows the consumer to compare local gender representations with international ones and speak their minds about the differences. This has changed the way consumers/citizens are empowered, as well as the accountability exercised on business practices. The increase in public information via the internet improved the consumer/citizens’ political knowledge, increased awareness of various political opportunities, and heightened interest in community and political affairs (Marko et al.,

⁴² Average monthly income from the occupied population (2008-2018). www.inci.gob.pe

;1818) and therefore political participation⁴³, however not in a traditional way. The effect of social media is still being discussed but there is some evidence that it produces greater participation and engagement in political discussions, but with limited spill over into real-world political actions (Marko et al, 2016). In the advertisement arena, this effect can be seen when an unfair portrait is challenged and condemned by individuals in social media, quickly forming a cohesive social demand. Nevertheless, this usually does not translate into the political action of not consuming. According to the interviewees (McCann Peru, Circus, Backus, 2020 personal interview), even though there is a loud voice in social media demanding change (active citizens) sales rarely are affected (passive consumers) in the long term. If they are affected it would probably be because the advertisement piece was very offensive (outside what is generally accepted), because the brand projected offensive representations several times or because the brand positioning, or the form and level by which people recognize and relate to the brand, was weak (Circus Grey and Pilsen 2020, personal interview). There is a citizen audit but not a commitment from the public with their purchasing power, even though women are an increasing share of the market that wants to be fairly represented (Publicitarias 2020, personal interview).

Nevertheless, this passiveness might just be part of the process, social sanction can be the first step towards change for corporations, followed by several trials on the topic, for example by publishing advertisement pieces for ‘women’s day’⁴⁴ and the acknowledgement of the positive benefits of including the gender approach into their businesses, internally and externally. However, currently, for the regional expert (Diversity and Inclusion for McCann Latin America 2020, personal interview), Peru is not well-positioned in the endeavour.

2.3 Leadership: “The client was so convinced that she wanted to be the protagonist of the campaign”.

Explained the business leader of McCann Mexico (2020, personal interview), while describing how there are some leaders, as in the case of Chevrolet Mexico, that are convinced of their involvement in creating new gender representations. Moreover, they understand that by investing in it, they will benefit their business and not harm it, as it is usually believed. She argues,

“We have this conception, still from the nineties, that you either work for the benefit of the business or you work for the wellbeing of the world. And I think that we should have learned long ago that those things are not separate (...)” (Mc Cann Mexico 2020, personal interview).

In Peru there are a few leaders that are leading the path into advertisement changes, by demanding more equal representations in their communication with the consumer, from corporations but also from advertisement agencies⁴⁵. These leaders usually belong to

⁴³ “behaviors aimed at influencing formal political institutions (i.e government) and affecting policy decisions “(Marko et al., 2016 citing Verba et al., 1995;1824)

⁴⁴ As was the case of Backus who first tried to approach the subject on this specific date, then they tried a social experiment the next year to monitor the reaction of people. Finally, they launched their campaign promoting an equalitarian friendship based on the credentials that they acquired the past two years (2020, personal interview). This experience could be framed in Rogers (2003) innovation-decision process from knowledge, persuasion, the decision to implement, and confirmation.

⁴⁵ However, advertisement agencies’s leaders need to find partners in the business world. McCann Mexico 2020, personal interview.

companies that are offices of international corporations such as Scotiabank, a Canadian bank. In this case headquarters establish their strategy and each office chooses to pursue it or not, such as is the case of Pilsen and Soctiabank (Gender Lab 2020, personal interviews). This is where leaders become important. Usually they have started with changes within their internal organizational structure, and then they have developed new types of communication with their target group. After seeing a positive result, they have taken further steps. Those leaders are driven by a sense of new values, a craving for equality and by knowing the strategic value of investing in gender equality.

“Scotiabank's bet (the one that carries the flag of diversity in Peru) comes from the Headquarters. But each country has the power to say whether or not it works, and more or less how they do it. So, in Peru, at the hands of Miguel Uccelli (CEO), they have decided to work on it in very proactively. On LGTB issues, that is where Scotiabank is stronger. They are the most vocal, the pioneer in the banking system. The other banks have followed them later, but they have been the pioneers.

Is it a question of values? I think it comes from the values of the people who lead the organization, who manage to install them, so that when they leave, they last” (Gender Lab 2020, personal interview)

“(...) we are obliged to be more responsible, more sustainable and more conscious. To make the benefits for the private sector more sustainable, we must make our companies more inclusive and more humane (...)” (Miguel Ucelli, CEO of Scotiabank Peru, CADE Ejecutivos 2019)

A new internal structure that embraces gender equality usually has an important effect on gender representations, by increasing the number of women in leadership positions. Having diverse voices on the decision-making table, helps to notice aspects in the production of advertisement that were not perceptible before, said the interviewees from McCann Mexico, McCann Peru and Backus (2020, personal interview). Women that start to have power, find themselves in an environment that harms them in several ways, but also notice that they have the power to change it. This is an important driver of change for the interviewee of McCann Mexico (2020) and the representative of the gender and diversity office of the same advertisement agency. Nevertheless, advertisement develops in an unequal reality, which it reproduces. One of its effects is the unequal opportunities for women to access leadership positions within several other corporations or advertisement agencies. Because of its absence, change is not promoted by these companies, replicating gender representations that will affect the narrative about women's and men's characteristics roles and positions in society.

2.4 Business Competition: “You need to change, or you will fall out of the radar”.

Argues the business leader of McCann Peru (2020, personal interview). There is no way back regarding gender representations, because consumers are changing, and other corporations are embracing these new values (McCann Peru, Publicitarias 2020, personal interview). According to the Publicitarias interviewee (2020, personal interview), 9 out of 10 people in Peru would change the product they are buying for another identical one from a company with a social purpose⁴⁶. Peru is an open economy, where different competitive and highly

⁴⁶ She referenced the study “Marca con Propósito” (Brand with a Purpose) of the World Federation of Advertisers. This study could not be found from a public source.

productive brands compete for each customer. Several international brands have already re-framed their social representations of femininity and masculinity and have included the gender approach in their communicational strategy and positioned themselves as representatives of women's issues and/or diversity, such as Nike, Dove or Gillette (Circus Grey, Publicitarias and Aequales 2020, personal interview). Even though there is a discussion on whether these strategies are only superficial, do not attend to structural causes, or create further inequalities for women (Johnston 2008, Messner 2002), the public has already identified with the values those brands embrace, and therefore impose a new benchmark in the social imaginary of other corporations. In a world of almost identical products, the aggregated value does not come from its functions, but from what it projects and evokes in the consumer (Peterson 2005).

According to the interviewees, many corporations are in the process of embracing gender equality values, because there is an important influence from other companies, international corporations, as well as corporations in a Strategic or Civil stage, and do not want to be perceived as laggards (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview). These characteristics place them in the managerial stage, according to Zadek's (2004) categorization. Those corporations are choosing between eventually becoming obsolete, or gaining a good reputation, and therefore profit.

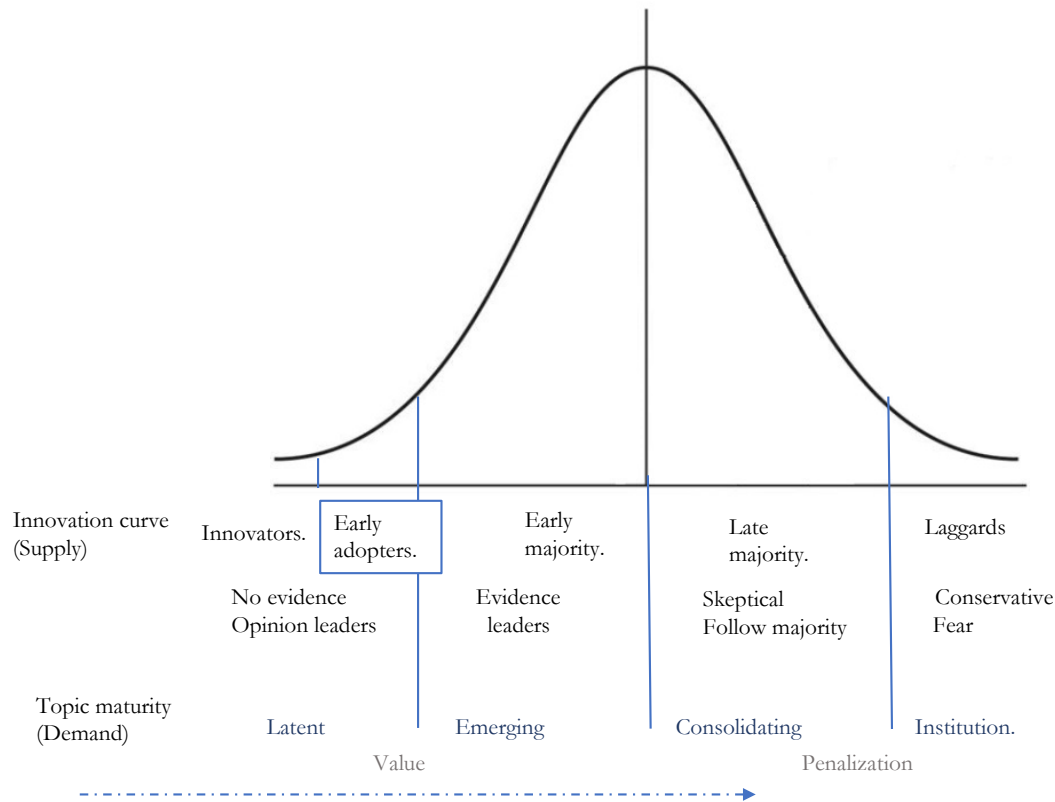
To explore this process further, the framework developed by Rogers (2003) about the diffusion of innovation is useful. The diffusion of innovation is defined by Rogers as the "process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels overtime among members of a social system"⁽⁵⁾. In Peru gender representations are a consolidated topic, however, the ideological change (cultural innovation) is still perceived as 'in transit' by corporations and their adjacent stakeholders. While some organizations such as Gender Lab (2020, personal interview) questions that societal values are aligned with new gender representations for men and women, others like Mc Cann Peru, Backus or Publicitarias (2020, personal interview) believe that there is a 'new type of citizen/consumer' and that brands should take the risk of communicating with them, or otherwise becoming obsolete (cultural innovation). Nevertheless, very few corporations, and their brands, are entering this arena and are embracing these new representations, indicating an important opportunity for the corporations that are doing it to grow and inspire others (CEO Scotiabank, CADE conference 2019).

Following Rogers' framework, this cultural innovation would first be embraced by some corporations, then others would follow (early adopters), until the point in time comes when not embracing those new norms would be socially (and therefore profit) sanctioned. This is especially important for a company's identity, since brand positioning is defined in relation to other companies (analytical positioning), or with a benchmark corporation (strategic positioning) (Masias, 2018).

The following graph explains the intersection between Rogers (2003) and Zadek's (2004) theories⁴⁷, as interpreted by the author of this study. This is an effort made for this research to understand how the maturity of the topic intersects with the corporation's position in the diffusion curve regarding their involvement in gender representation changes.

⁴⁷ Elaborated by the author.

Figure 4
Innovation curve (supply) and social maturity of the topic (demand).



This graph would suggest that because the topic is more or less consolidated, but just an early majority has embraced this innovation (excess of demand), there is much value that could be added to their businesses if more corporations adopt new gender representations in their advertisement. Meanwhile, they would be contributing to new discourses about masculinity and femininity to society, which would have a positive impact on women's and men's lives. Nevertheless, not doing it could lead to a social penalization on their product.

As this study showed in Chapter 3, consumers' behaviour and participation mediate this social penalization. There is a strong citizen audit which corporations monitor constantly, but there is a perception that this is not translated into an impact on sales (McCann Peru and Circus Peru 2020, personal interview) or that it depends on the type of product (first necessity or luxury), the level of competition (monopoly, or other), their brand positioning (if it is loved or not) and its target group (traditional or modern). There are different opinions but no data on this topic. What they (McCann, Publicitarias 2020, personal interview) do agree on is that consumers exercise their citizen role when corporations reproduce harmful stereotypes, or when they perceive incoherence and injustice by the brand they are consuming. If a company does not pronounce itself as an advocate of gender equality, the punishment is to change brands if someone else comes with the same product but has a purpose. However, according to an interview, this does not happen when the company is silent. This is the limit of the consumer/citizen action.

Even if social audit does not affect sales, it impacts the value and trust on the brand (Backus, McCann Peru 2020, personal interview). Nevertheless, by not having a short-term impact, some corporations or companies do not take a stand and prefer to go under the

radar. Especially if there is no coherence between a possible message in favour of gender equality and their internal practices (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview)

“I have come across a brand that prefers not to communicate anything because, when doing an internal analysis of how the organization is, they have no coherence. I better play dead because what is happening inside my house does not align with what I want to say”. (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview).

Inclusive communications improve sales and reputational value. Not investing in it, can create a lag in the competitive arena with other corporations that have taken a stand in it. If it reproduces gender traditional stereotypes, it can harm the brand and lead consumers to consume a similar product that had taken a stand in gender equality.

Chapter 3 Discussion- “The benefits of including new representations seem obvious, I don’t know why it is not happening everywhere”.

Said the representative of Gender lab (2020, personal interview). As seen in the results chapter, few corporations are changing their representations of women in their advertisement, and most of them are already acknowledging their responsibility in the social transformation of gender narratives and their power and influence to achieve it. Some factors are affecting their decisions to embrace new gender representations, according to the interviewees. The active audit of citizens/consumers, the presence of new corporate leaders and the advancement of new corporations in the social arena, are putting pressure over other businesses to assume a civil role, climb the Corporate Responsibility ladder and embrace another form of their citizenship. According to the interviewees (Gender Lab, Aequales, McCann México, McCann Peru 2020, personal interviews), investing in changing their internal and external practices (advertisement) towards more equal representations is profitable for corporations, especially concerning their brand value.

Then, this begs the question, if the social representation of women in advertisement is important to the consumer and more companies are adopting them, why only are a few embracing these new narratives? One reason is the fear of social audit (Publicitarias, McCann Peru, 2020 personal interview). Social audit has established itself as the observer of coherence, between external representations and internal practices. Civil society, through its organizations and individuals, demands change in the narratives being constructed because they have a pervasive impact on the lives and opportunities of women and men. Social audit reacts when its actions reproduce inequalities inside or outside the companies, and when their messages are not coherent with their practices (Publicitarias 2020, personal interview).

“Advertisers and agencies are very careful not to fall into the typical things and have a balance between genders, it is almost mathematic. I would say, in many cases, it is done out of fear that they (the consumers) will destroy you and sometimes the brand does an over-analysis and great care is taken. This did not exist before. (...). If the brand says they are against (traditional) stereotypes but then it is discovered that at the organizational level they do not align with their message, it can have a harmful effect” (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview)

A second reason, according to Gender Lab, is a cultural resistance from the people within the companies, mainly marketing offices. These offices resist challenging consumer profiles due to the risk of affecting sales or their market share. Some decision-making actors within corporations come from a rather conservative background or do not possess enough evidence on the benefits of investing in gender equality. This effect is deeper when talking about non-conforming gender issues or LGTBIAQ+ issues (2020, personal interview). This is a concern that no company approaches, and the reason why this research project only refers to the representations of cisgender people. Another resistance is found in the advertisement agencies where most of the personnel at creative offices are men (McCann Peru 2020, personal interview). This is not an active and intentional effort to exclude women by any means. Gender representations are part of the social construction that we all have and are usually mediated by the efforts of women to change their own situation, which men do not share. Most men also come from a privileged socio-economic level and traditional

background. This not only gives them enough power to resist change but also not enough incentives to embrace it.

According to the Gender Lab interviewee, the changes we perceive now, depend more on each companies’ characteristics than on corporate narratives (Gender Lab 2020, personal interview). One of these characteristics is the position each corporation holds regarding Corporate Citizenship and Gender equality. To explore the relationship between their role (assumption underlying GSR) and the factors affecting corporate actions, this study developed the following table.

Table 1

Analysis of CC and external factors

CC stage/ External factors	Compliant Cost of doing business	Managerial Part of managing processes	Strategic Part of their business strategy	Civil Collective action towards the topic
Con- sumer-cit- izen audit	Negative impact: If the Corporation decides to advertise in favour of GE, the consumer and citizen audit will point out their incoherence. There will be social punishment. If they decide to stay “under the radar”, the cost is to delay their economic growth.	Depending on the stage of change at an internal organizational level, consumer/citizen might find incoherence or not. If the corporation has set specific actions to promote gender equality in the workplace, address the gender-based pay gap among others, they might take a step forwards by communicating their beliefs and values to their public through advertisement.	Given that GE is part of its business strategy, advertisement is an organic step forward. Civil stage, also the corporation is participating in citizen demand proactively.	
New con- sumer val- ues and expansion of social media use	Not embracing GE values more actively will lead the corporation to not grow more.	If due to their internal management process change towards GE, it decides to address gender representations, it will align with new consumer’s values. Social media in this case could be a beneficial catalyst.	Their values and practices are aligned with consumers’. Civil stage: also participates in the collective action towards GE and can use social media to promote its cause.	
New lead- ers in fa- vour of GE	New leaders will not engage with company values. They might leave (lose talent). If they push for GE might find resistance from marketing offices and advertisement agencies.	New leader will push for change. Depending on how much the equality approach has been installed in managerial processes, they will or will not find resistance within their marketing offices.	New leaders can organically install new practices and structures towards GE. Corporations attract the best talent (Aequales 2020).	

External and Internal Competition.	Competition is embracing cultural innovation and gaining a share of the market. They cannot compete due to fear of social audit.	They have the credentials to implement change in gender representations. They are less frightened of social audit due to their internal-external coherence. This leads to competition for a bigger share of the market. Those who are in an advanced stage of internal change might be part of the early adopters (Rogers, 2013) of the cultural innovation and therefore bring value to the company.	Corporations at this stage are early adopters and are ahead of the innovation curve. As this is a consolidated topic, the economic and reputational value of the company grows (McCann 2020)
			Civil stage is also navigating in a 'blue sea'

Source: 2020 Interviews. Elaborated by the author.

Note: The results are inferred by the information of the interviews. When addressing the possible effect on the economic growth of the companies, it is assumed that other variables that could affect it remain constant.

Using the framework of Zadek (2004), most Peruvian corporations are developing in the CC and CR path and locating between the compliant and managerial stage. As other corporations are positioning themselves in the upper stages of the CC ladder, regarding gender equality, and gaining value for their companies by doing so (early adopters), the first might feel pressure to adopt measures in the same direction, or otherwise face penalization as shown in Figure 4. However, consumer/citizen audit will probably point out their incoherence if internal practices are not aligned. The ones in the managerial stage, depending on how advanced they are in generating equal conditions for men and women in their organization, will be able to communicate with new consumers and increase the value of their business.

Corporations in the strategic stage and at a civil stage, who have built their commercial and operational strategy around gender equality (consolidated topic), are gaining an increasing reputational value for their brand (McCann Mexico, McCann Peru, Backus 2020, personal interview) by being early adopters of this cultural innovation. At the civil stage, only one company is advocating with their peers for new gender narratives. Nevertheless, an interview with its representative could not be achieved so this study cannot confirm that other criteria of this stage have been developed.

In summary, consumers' participation and strong mechanisms of corporate accountability and citizen reporting in this issue might be a powerful force to cause corporations, located in a compliant or managerial stage, to embrace and engage in the transformation of gender representations in advertisement. Additionally, Corporations which have already taken a step forward, need to advocate for a civil role of the corporative world, becoming responsible outside the boundaries of business practices. The first step needs to be the adoption of inclusive organizational practices to reduce structural inequalities within their companies, and to promote the participation of women in the creation of new advertisement.

Chapter 4 Conclusions

This study aims to understand the reasons behind corporate engagement in the representational change of women in advertisement by analysing the case of three important Peruvian brands Pilsen, San Fernando and Scotiabank, and their associated corporations, between 2016 and 2020. The exploration of those reasons was centred around understanding the role and responsibilities that corporations have already incorporated regarding this social issue, as well as other factors that might be affecting corporate decisions.

The representation of women and men in advertisement has changed in the three analysed cases. Peruvian corporations have adopted an inclusive communicational strategy, framed in their institutional identity. Nevertheless, the extent to which these representations have changed, depends on the type of product and their target group. For example, while the beer company is trying to communicate with women and responding to a demand for better representation, San Fernando is only recently challenging the idea of a female housewife.

The tangible changes that we can see in social media, are mediated by the role corporations have set for themselves, and external factors. On one side, Peruvian corporations that have engaged in the change of women's representation in advertisement, are transiting between a managerial and a strategic stage in the process of constructing their corporate citizenship. This means that their sense of responsibility concerning gender representations in advertisement, and their obligation to change them for more equal ones, is shifting. While some corporations only aim to mitigate medium-term costs and avoid social punishment, others are enhancing their economic value in the long term by aligning the corporations' processes with this particular gender issue. More and more, though slowly, these corporations are beginning to understand their advertisement-related role within society, as producers of social narratives, which leads them to be responsible for the messages they contribute to it. Those corporations are leading change in Peruvian advertisement while setting an important benchmark for other competitive corporations within the same sector that do not want or cannot afford to be left behind.

Nevertheless, two important mechanisms are operating in this process, which are accelerating, but also hindering the process for some companies, to change their gender representations. One is the emergence of social media, which empowers the citizen/consumer to report incoherencies and bad communication practices to the wider audience. This phenomenon has become stronger because consumers have more information and are more aware and responsible for the society, they are living in. This last statement, however, is subject to debate for Peruvian reality. The audit of citizens of corporations, is pushing forward the gender agenda in the advertisement world, making it relevant and even urgent. However, the corporations that act on it, are usually the ones that already had a previous commitment to the gender equality topic (strategic stage). In the case of corporations or companies that have not taken this step, the audit of citizens is generating fright in them, hindering their process. Since most consumer/citizens demand coherence, those who do not want or do not dare to take a step forward, prefer to "go under the radar". Interviewees have established that there might not be much punishment for corporations that do not take a stand, but they will also not grow as much as the ones that do. Therefore, there is a trade-off between growth and gender positioning.

Internal policies and organizational change that promotes gender equality within each corporation are also extremely relevant for gendered narrative change in advertisement.

According to most interviewees, change often begins with a leader that embraces gender equality as the best way to improve business, because of their revenues, their values, or both. Leadership is a relevant factor in a corporation's change, especially if there is an increment of female leaders. The final factor affecting corporate decisions is the level of competition and the position of those other corporations in the Corporate Citizenship ladder regarding gender equality in advertisement. Several corporations are presenting a challenge for businesses still on the compliant level, toward their stakeholders and citizen/consumers. To embrace this change and comply with their civil responsibility, corporations need to navigate those factors and follow the path of the corporations that are already contributing to gender equality.

Effective policies for gender equality require changes in non-formal rules, such as the assigned characteristics and roles of women in society. Addressing these biases is not only a moral obligation but is highly cost-effective for policymaking, since socio-cultural patterns are the main cause of structural gender inequality. To conclude this study, I would like to outline five policy recommendations to accelerate the involvement of corporations in changing gender representations in advertisement, based on the results of this study:

- A strong normative framework that can regulate gender representations that corporative advertisement shares with the public, like the ones enforced by the Advertising Standards Authority in the United Kingdom
- Implement a mechanism that allows citizens to report cases of discrimination. It must be associated with a public office that has the function of enforcing it.
- Strengthen corporations with guidelines and advice, as Aequales and Genderlab do, to promote the gender equality approach in the core of their business strategy and promote female leadership in marketing offices.
- Promote that advertisement agencies increment the presence of women in creative spaces.
- Promotion of good practices of through inclusive advertisement.

Even though it does not exempt the State of their responsibility to provide institutions that frame corporate actions, it is extremely relevant to further research the motivations behind progressive actions in the business arena around this issue (e.g with an intersectional approach), to design effective policies that promote the participation of the rest of the Peruvian business community in this urgent issue.

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ANNEXES

Annex I

Description of criteria used for image analysis

On gender stereotypes:	Indicators
Proportion of women and men in advertisement	Number of women or men in the advertisement piece/Total number of people that appeared.
Appearance of women and men (including posture) that are presented as primary, and other characteristics only secondary or absent.	Number of women or men in the advertisement that are presented in the main role/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Proportion of women and men as an authority voice	Number of women or men that showed a dialogue or attitude as being empowered or with 'power over' (Karam and Jamali 2017; p 466) ⁴⁸ /Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Proportion of women and men appearing assertive rather than passive.	Number of women or men expressing their opinions or acting with confidence/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Proportion of women and men featured in ads as expert/advisor, informed/intelligent/conscious/cool, cautious consumer,	Number of women or men in the role or expressing expertise or 'coolness'/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Proportion of women and men featured in ads as uninformed/gullible/pliant consumer, decorative.	Number of women or men expressing or in the role of someone uninformed, gullible, compliant ⁴⁹ / Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Depiction of sexuality that is relevant.	Number of women or men in a sexual role that is relevant to the scene/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Percentage of ads depicting subtle stereotypes	Number of women or men in traditional masculine or feminine characteristic or role (for Peruvian context is associated with intra household care or subordinate positions (Cerna Barba et al. 1997;30) appearing normal and inevitable/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Percentage of ads that include multi-dimensional representation/portrayal of men and women (that contest gender-based representations or sexist representation).	Number of women or men in a characteristic or role that is not traditional, contest gender-based representations or sexist representations/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.

On gender roles:	Indicators
External or societal orientation of women and men (work related)	Number of women or men in the advertisement that are working outside home/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Internal or private orientation of women and men (home related, family/relationship-related)	Number of women or men in the advertisement that are working at home doing domestic or care work/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Proportion of women and men in ads for various product categories that stereotype or naturalize gender roles.	Number of women or men in the advertisement that appear using a product or service that are associated with their 'traditional' role/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Proportion of women and men for different categories of services/activities which stereotype or naturalize gender roles (travel, leisure, hospitality, education, banking etc)	Number of women or men in the advertisement that appear in sectors or economic activities that are associated with their 'traditional' role/ Total number of women or men in the advertisement.
Percentage of direct verbal or written messages that contradict the status quo	Number of scenes that present an explicit message towards gender equality/Number of scenes in the advertisement piece.

Source: United Nations gender-sensitive indicators for advertisement (UNESCO, 2012;47). Indicators were elaborated by the author

⁴⁸ It is usually used for entities, but it refers mainly to the influence of one on the activities of the other.

⁴⁹ This item also counts the people in the background of the scene. The background sets the ambiance of the scene.

Annex II

List of Informants.

Data Collected	Method of collection	Organization interviewed.
SQ1: Gender representations.		
Maturity of the gender representation (stereotypes and roles) topic in the advertisement sector.	Interview Secondary systematic review.	Aequales Gender Lab ⁵⁰ Publicitarias ⁵¹ (feminist organization) Director of Business Development in Circus Grey Peru.
Changes in the representation of women on their roles and stereotypes.	Image analysis	TV Spots images and social media, targeted to men and women in six years.
SQ 2: Corporate Citizenship		
Perceived role on social change.	Interview Secondary systematic review.	Aequales Gender Lab Publicitarias (feminist organization) Diversity and Inclusion Manager at McCann Chile/Latinamerica ⁵² Director of Business Development in Circus Grey Peru Director of Marketing at Scotiabank. Director of Diversity at Scotiabank ⁵³ .
SQ 3: Incentives and mechanisms		
Reasons for corporations to include an advertisement campaign that produces an alternative representation of women (consumers, internal and foreign competition, leadership)	Interview	Aequales Gender Lab Publicitarias (feminist organization) Diversity and Inclusion Manager at McCann Chile/Latinamerica Director of Business Development in Circus Grey Peru Director of Marketing at Scotiabank. Director of Diversity at Scotiabank.
Mechanism used by corporations (CSR, Corporate Political Activism, brand activism, Corporate social advocacy).		
Expected results from the new representation.		
Obstacles and resistances to implement changes in gender representations.		

⁵⁰ Aequales and Gender lab are consultancy firms that provides tools to corporations and other businesses to close gender gaps.

⁵¹ Also, business leader of a Advertising agency that works with purpose branding in Peru.

⁵² Base of the Diversity and Inclusion Manager of McCann Latin-American.

⁵³ Both directors at Scotiabank are scheduled to be interviewed on the week of September 14-18, 2020. Date to be confirmed.

Annex III

Advertisement pieces analyzed

Year	Backus	Scotiabank	San Fernando
2013	No estamos locos, somos patas https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7d63eI7pcCQ	Cash Back Perú https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ic2vmiMILWk	
2014	Todo sea por el jueves de patas https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i0o0EFZ1-Vg	Scotia Puntos Eraser https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LQfVGuv-Mp8	Nuevas familias https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KMm5smUo5oE
2017	Es tiempo de reencuentros https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YK-Xbad28CA	Te escuchamos para asesorarte mejor https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mo-rcAvcwc4	Loncheras vacías https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZP8TISxxG9U
2018	Cuida a tus amigos https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UOxKaAj9Z8E	Acompaña a Edison Flores https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6-DbxHwNjg	Embutidos con punche https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=80sF2K12unM
2019	Por la amistad todo https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b6vVIPF5Azs	La jugada del día te lleva a Brasil con todo pagado https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_ebIs_IrXc	Punche de San Fernando https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDqlXj1FWoA
2020	Yo nunca https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gyT3bUovQIE	Crédito hipotecario a tu medida https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_9pXFVNy6E	Familias en Cuarentena https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o6Sh31UKjqk

Elaborated by the author

Annex IV

Analysis of social media spots-Pilsen brand.

Year	2013	2014	2017	2018	2019	2020
Percentage of men	70%	72%	80%	68%	70%	67%
Percentage of women	30%	28%	20%	32%	30%	33%
Percentage of male as a protagonist	74%	92%	25%	71%	57%	26%
Percentage of female as a protagonist	17%	100%	33%	50%	54%	15%
Percentage of male that shows a voice of power	67%	18%	36%	35%	28%	14%
Percentage of female that shows a voice of power	4%	87%	33%	8%	18%	4%

Percentage of male in a passive voice	0%	31%	21%	6%	10%	0%
Percentage of female in a passive voice	6%	20%	17%	25%	8%	8%
Percentage of male in a traditional role	25%	46%	0%	3%	7%	6%
Percentage of female in a traditional role	6%	27%	0%	0%	5%	0%
Percentage of females in a non-traditional role	2%	0%	50%	25%	19%	21%
Percentage of males in a non-traditional role	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Source: 2020 Youtube. Elaborated by the author

Analysis of social media spots-Scotiabank brand.

Year	2013	2014	2017	2018	2019	2020
Percentage of men	56%	40%	73%	81%	100%	33%
Percentage of women	44%	60%	27%	19%	0%	67%
Percentage of male that shows a voice of power	53%	50%	57%	47%	100%	44%
Percentage of female that shows a voice of power	17%	0%	73%	14%	0%	44%
Percentage of male in a passive voice	20%	0%	19%	28%	0%	0%
Percentage of female in a passive voice	38%	17%	0%	43%	0%	8%
Percentage of male in a traditional role	30%	25%	69%	22%	50%	17%
Percentage of female in a traditional role	67%	22%	3%	0%	0%	11%
Percentage of male as a protagonist	20%	50%	56%	48%	100%	100%
Percentage of female as a protagonist	50%	67%	60%	14%	0%	83%
Percentage of females in a non-traditional role	13%	17%	100%	14%	0%	25%
Percentage of males in a non-traditional role	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	33%

Source: 2020 Youtube. Elaborated by the author

Analysis of social media spots-San Fernando Brand

Year	2013	2014	2017	2018	2019	2020
Percentage of men	-	58%	54%	71%	66%	58%
Percentage of women	-	42%	46%	29%	34%	42%
Percentage of male that shows a voice of power	-	38%	33%	36%	41%	32%
Percentage of female that shows a voice of power	-	80%	33%	10%	35%	14%
Percentage of male in a passive voice	-	29%	43%	11%	21%	44%
Percentage of female in a passive voice	-	5%	33%	18%	6%	35%
Percentage of male in a traditional role	-	0%	21%	23%	23%	0%
Percentage of female in a traditional role	-	27%	33%	0%	4%	12%
Percentage of male as a protagonist	-	43%	57%	31%	45%	47%
Percentage of female as a protagonist	-	90%	50%	29%	65%	65%
Percentage of females in a non-traditional role	-	0%	0%	0%	26%	2%
Percentage of males in a non-traditional role	-	57%	0%	6%	0%	9%

Source: 2020 Youtube. Elaborated by the author