

Viewers' Perception of Stereotypical Portrayal of Female Models in Television Advertisements of Alcoholic Beverages

¹Bello Sani, PhD

¹Department of Mass Communication, Kaduna State University, Kaduna

Email: bellosani766@gmail.com

Abstract

This study evaluates “viewers’ perception of stereotypical portrayal of female models in Television advertisements of alcoholic beverages.” The study seeks to find out how viewers perceive female models in alcoholic advertisements. The study adopted survey methodology using the instrument of questionnaire to gather relevant data. Purposive sampling technique was used in drawing a sample of 201 respondents. At the end, the study reveals that the presence of female models in television advertisements of alcoholic beverages does not influence people to buy the product, switch brand or even recommend to friends. The study, therefore recommends among other things that advertisers should device more creative means of appealing to consumers instead of stereotyping women for the sale of their products.

Keywords: Advertisement, Alcoholic beverage, Model, Perception and Stereotype.

Introduction

Common images that were seen in advertisements in the past were those of women playing the traditional roles of housewife and being exploited as sexual objects. These portrayals aroused some angry reactions from various women’s groups and this led to the feminist movement in the late 1960s (Vine, 2009). According to Anand (2006), “media can act as both a perpetrator and as a protagonist, it can either be an accomplice to gender based discrimination by portraying stereotypical sensational images of women or it can provide balanced coverage that empowers women while exposing acts of gender bias”. Men and women are culturally assumed to uphold two extreme set of traits. First, men are often viewed as the dominant group which can regulate norms and rules. They uphold positive traits such as strong, active, independent and rational, while women are often seen as the suppressed group that embodies a range of negative traits such as passive, weak and emotional. These roles are not innate and natural but are socially constructed and constantly reinforced, for example, by family, schooling, peer group and mass media (Lun Ho, 2009).

The representation of women is important to consider because of the relative invisibility of women in the media as studies have shown that women tend to be either under or misrepresented. Anand (2006) states that “the attitude of women towards societal norms and values, her perception towards life, her consequent positive status in the family and broadly in the society are shaped and molded by the ‘models’ of womanly conduct inherited from the past”. These issues are projected by the visual media being a powerful vehicle for communicating ideas and images which is known to be tremendous. Kate and Shaw-Garlock, (1999) cited by Thrum (2001) finds that women have crossed the boundary from the domestic sphere to the professional arena, expectations and representation of women have changed as well. Further, in some discourses, the stereotypic character traits attributed to women have shifted from weak and independent to strong and autonomous.

Despite this evolving trend, the stereotypical representation of women in alcoholic advertisements have been an avenue where sexuality is being sold. Juan *et al* (2009) further

states that brands such as alcoholic beverage, car or tobacco often use sexual content, models or physically attractive extras, mainly females, in their publicity and to catch the interest of their target audience. Studies have shown that more sexual contents in advertisements are associated with a greater perception of offences. It is also observed that this connection may be affected by other characteristics of consumers such as gender, perception of equality between men and women and attitude towards traditional values and customs. Use of sexual imagery in advertising has been criticized on various grounds, religious conservatives often consider it obscene, some feminists and masculinists claim it reinforces sexism by objectifying the individual. Lun Ho (2009) citing White (1990) suggests five characteristics of gender advertisement which could generally be found in sexist advertisements.

They are superiority, dismemberment, clowning, canting and dominance. 'superiority' means that the relative size, attention and positioning of male and female characters could give hints to the audience as to which characters are more superior. Dismemberment means that the body parts of women are being gazed at separately while nobody would care about the emotion or mind of the women. Clowning means that the women are portrayed as clowns who behave innocently like a child. Canting means that the bending of the body parts could show a sense of weaknesses and submissiveness. Dominance means that some dominating ideas are glorified in the advertisements.

These five characteristics of gender advertisements are useful in analyzing viewers' perception of female models in series of alcoholic television advertisements in Nigeria. Perception is a complex process by which people select, organize and interpret sensory stimulation into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world. Perception involves learning, updating perspectives, and interpreting the observed. It equally means the process by which we interpret sensory data that come to us through our five senses.

Study findings (Ceulemans and Fauconnier, 1979; Frieden, 1963; Faudler, 1979) suggest that advertising content does not adequately reflect social realities of the time. A major issue is how women are represented in the adverts when compared with their actual place and role in the society. In contrast, the portrayal of men tends to mirror their actual roles in the society. This study seeks to know viewers' perception of female models in alcoholic advertisements, know the mode of dressing of female models, determine reasons for using female models in advertisements, know the role of female models in alcoholic advertisements and find out frequency of appearance of female models in alcoholic advertisements.

Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following Research Questions:

- i. What role(s) female models play in alcoholic advertisements?
- ii. How female models dress in alcoholic advertisements?
- iii. Why are female models used in alcoholic advertisements?
- iv. How often female models appear in alcoholic advertisements?
- v. How viewers perceive female models in alcoholic advertisements?

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on cultivation theory. Cultivation theory is a social theory which examines the long term effects of television. The primary proposition of cultivation theory is that the more time people spend living in the television world, the more likely they are to believe social reality portrayed on television. Cultivation theory or hypothesis was an approach developed by Professor George Gerbner to study whether and how watching television may influence viewers' ideas of what the everyday world is like (Chandler, 1995). Cultivation theory emphasizes the effects of television viewing on the attitudes rather than the

behaviors of viewers. Gerbner argues that the mass media cultivates attitudes and values which are already present in a culture: the media maintain and propagate these values amongst members of the culture, thus binding it together. Cultivation research looks at the mass media as a socializing agent and investigates whether viewers come to believe the television version of reality the more they watch it. Cultivation analysis begins with identifying and assessing the consistent images, portrayals and values that cut across most programs. The focus is on heavy viewers who watch a lot of television and are likely to be more influenced by the ways in which the world is framed by the media. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorelli argues that religion or education previously had greater influence on social trends, now television is the source of most broadly shared images.

Literature Review

Advertising is an effective and persuasive medium of influence that is cumulative, often subtle and primarily unconscious which creates an entire cultural worldview, shaping our attitudes and beliefs (Moore, 2002). According to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) (2003), consumers are exposed to a significant amount of alcohol advertising because they appear in virtually all types of media and such advertisements are common on television. Alcoholic advertisements are often presented in ways that appeal to the audience because alcohol can have socially adverse effect. One of such is beer which is the beverage of choice among youths who are the highest consumers of the product.

Gender representation has proven a powerful tool for successful commercials but there has always been a question of the role played by each model because the images inflicted on the screen unconsciously mould the people into a set ideal. Various studies have been carried out on adolescent alcohol consumption, how alcohol portrayal on television affects actual drinking behavior, alcohol advertising and special preference to young people, and the likes. There have been examinations and critics on the portrayal of female models or casts in some television advertisements in which the concentration has been their usage as sex symbols and objects.

Moore (2002) explains that commodification of women as sex object has a very detrimental effect on girls and women. The constant abuse of women's sexuality to sell products in the beer, sports, films and music industries has completely distorted consumers understanding of sexuality and gender roles. Advertising is seen as the business of making a service, product, or organization known to the public while advertisement is the action or notice which employs both verbal and non-verbal elements in persuading the target audience about the availability of a business, product and organization. Thus, advertisement is the end product of advertising.

Advertising is the structured and composed non personal communication of information usually paid for and usually persuasive in nature about products (goods, services and ideas) by identified sponsors through various media (Arens, Wei gold and Arens, 2008). This type of communication is channelled towards a targeted audience in other to influence their choice of a product and to identify their felt 'need' or 'want'. Kotler (1986) says it is a cost-effective way to disseminate messages, whether it is build brand preference for a product all over the world or to motivate a developing nation's consumers to adapt a particular strategy. Advertising is a mass mediated as it uses various traditional and non-traditional media such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, billboards and other classified media methods to influence the consumers' choice.

Advertisement is an encapsulated communication about a product, clearly designed, concise, aesthetically appealing and content-wise formula to effectively persuade the target distance (Bathia, 2000). Characterized by their persuasive nature, adverts speak about the salient features of the product on offer and the benefit the consumer can derive from the product (Bovee and Arens, 1982). In advertisements, different strategies are employed in the interest

of a consumer in a particular product to choose those that relate to their previous experiences, needs, desires attitudes or beliefs. This is an action with the use of both verbal and non-verbal elements by informing the mass audience about socially relevant factors or the effectiveness of a product or service.

Above the line advertising refers to the traditional mass media advertising, that which is conducted in newspapers, on television, radio and on the internet (Gaerig, 2012). This line of advertisement is tailored for a mass audience in order to build a brand, and makes use of mostly media advertising. Another explicit definition is that, "above the line media are the media that are paid for periodically by an advertiser, be it space or air time, the payments are subjected to expiration of the contract between the media owner and advertisers" (Ogedengbe and Adesemoye, 2010). This implies that above line media is paid for and could be either long term or short term based, depending on the event or product being advertised. Above the line media is popularly and frequently used because it serves as a moving force for both below the line and online media. One of the vehicles that fall under this category is the broadcast media which is the largest and most widely accessed media. This is because the relationship between the media and the people is shaped more by 'information' than 'communication'. This result from the various media content being disseminated to the audience without considering who watches it and what analysis is given to the messages. Out of the different media of communication, the television encompasses the elements of sight, sound and motion which have been contributed immensely to the dissemination of advertising messages.

Ogedengbe and Adesemoye (2010) define television as "an enclosed box with some electronic materials but it receives signals and converts the signals to interpretable visuals and sound messages". As compared to other media of communication, the television has a high sense of appeal as it appeals to human sight, hearing and emotion that go a long way in influencing their ideas and belief of what they see and how they perceive it. Bignell (2004) cited by Pillay (2008) explains that television is perceived to have connections to the real world of culture and society in which it exists that makes critical in research. This perception has been a subject of criticism and continuous study. The television does not have control over the type of audience viewing it at a particular time and the interpretation given to the message that is being transmitted.

Television advertisement is believed to be highly credible as it has a wide exposure for viewers to objectively criticize the nonverbal and pictorial message in advert. As credible as it may seem, it has generated controversies on certain subjects such as feminism, gender portrayal of female models or sex in advertising and other trivial issues. Pillay (2008) says that the key concern is that the message and meaning encoded in advertising text will have some effect on the audience. Thus, television is characterized by its ability of transmitting advertisement content to a mass audience simultaneously.

Studies have explored the precise impact and exposure of television on seeing viewers' beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. In some instances, it has been demonstrated that television can alter children's real life perceptions (Miller and Reeves, 1976). This and other findings suggest that television is a potentially powerful socializing force. Majority of television commercials feature a song or jingle that the viewers soon relate to the product. However, television commercials are considered the most effective mass market advertising format, as it is reflected by the high prices of television networks charge for commercial airtime during popular television events.

The question of the media as a mirror of the society and a creator of culture remains one of the most debated issues in the exploration of the relationship between mass media and society (Ceulemans and Fauconnier, 1979). Research on women and the mass has focused predominantly on their portrayal as sex roles in various mass media and different type of

message that are being disseminated. How women are presented in advertisements ultimately play important role in learning process (Huitt, 2004). One principle of social learning theory is that learning can occur without a change in behavior. Behaviorists say that learning has to be presented by a permanent change in behavior; in contrast, social learning theorists say that; because people can learn through observation alone, their learning may not necessarily be shown in their performance. However, learning may or may not result in a behavior change. Bandura further explains that over the last 30 years, cognition has played a role in learning and as such, social learning theory has become increasingly cognitive in its interpretation of human learning. Subsequently, he gives example of different types of models; there is the live model, that is, an actual person demonstrating the behavior or the *symbolic model* which can be a person or action portrayed in some medium such as the television, videotape, magazine, computer programmes and other forms of media. Much behavior can be learned partly through modelling as moral thinking and moral behavior are influenced by observation and modelling. This includes moral judgement regarding right and wrong which can in part develop through modelling.

Scholars have identified two types of influences on our perception: structural and functional perception. A structural influence of our perception comes from the physical aspect of the stimuli to which we are exposed to. While functional influences are the psychological factors that influence perception and thereby, introduce subjectivity into the process. Therefore, this study is guided on our perception which comes from the physical aspect of seeing female models in alcoholic advertisements.

Materials and Methods

Research Design

The survey design was adopted for this study in order to obtain the respondents' perception of the stereotypical portrayal of female models in television advertisements of alcoholic beverages. This design was selected because it allows the researcher to observe variables without any attempt to manipulate or control them. The observation was done at one or more points in time, and questionnaire was also used in data collection.

Sample Size

A sample of two hundred and one undergraduate students of Kaduna State University was used for the purpose of this study. Sample responses were obtained within the six hostels of the university. Hence, at least 33 people from each hostel were in the sample comprising male and female students.

Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling technique was adopted for the study. This technique was selected because the study is interested in the perception of television viewers of female models in alcoholic advertisements. Purposive sampling was taken into consideration because it does not comprise of the entire population, respondents are selected based on specific attributes and characteristics.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was collected by administering copies of the questionnaire on the respondents' in their halls of residence respectively. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed by the researcher with the help of four research assistants residing in the hostels due to differences in students' lecture schedule. Copies of the questionnaire were numbered to make collection easier and to easily account for lost ones.

Result of the Findings

Table 1: Time spent by respondents watching Television stations

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 30mins	120	59.7
30mins -1hr	42	20.9
1-2hrs	35	17.4
More than 2hrs	3	1.5
Never	1	0.5
Total	201	100.0

Table 1 shows that 59.7% said they spent 'less than 30 minutes' watching television stations, 20.9% said they spent between 30 minutes and 1 hour, 17.4% spent 1 to 2 hours, 1.5% spent more than 2 hours while, 0.5% said they did not spend any time watching Television. This implies that respondents spend less than 30 minutes watching Television. This may be as a result of the fact that they have little or no time watching Television.

Table 2: Frequency of watching beer advertisements

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Daily	100	49.8
Weekly	40	19.9
Forth nightly	10	5.0
Once in a week	10	5.0
Occasionally	41	20.3
Total	201	100

Table 2 shows that 49.8% sampled respondents agreed that they watch advertisements on beer daily, 19.9% said that they watch them weekly, 5% watch them fortnightly, another 5% watch them once in a week and 20.3% agreed that they watch advertisement on beer occasionally. The implication of the data collected here is that respondents are exposed to advertisement on beer through television.

Table 3: Type of alcoholic advertisement respondents watch

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Star	42	20.9
Gulder	120	59.7
Legend	35	17.4
Guinness	4	2.0
Total	201	100

Table 3 show that 20.9% sampled respondents watch advertisement on star, 59.7% watch the one on Gulder, 17.4% said they watch the one on Legend, 2.0% agreed that they watch the advertisement on Guinness. This implies that the respondents are exposed to adverts on different alcoholic brands.

Table 4: Respondents' view on how often female models appear in alcoholic advertisements.

Appearance	Frequency	Percentage
Very often	51	25.4
Often	59	29.4
Sometime	45	22.4
Rarely	41	20.4
Never	5	2.4
Total	201	100

Result in Table 4 indicates that most of the respondents see female models in alcoholic advertisements "often", because all the advertisements portray female models to entice or encourage consumers to buy and consume the various brands of beer.

Table 5: Respondents' opinion on roles played by female models in alcoholic advertisements.

Role	Frequency	Percentage
Lead role	27	13.4
Supporting role	92	45.8
Decoration	33	16.4
Extra	49	24.4
Total	201	100

Table 5 indicates that 45.8% respondents believe that the female models play 'supporting role' in alcoholic advertisements. Result on the table also shows that female role models play various roles depending on what they are assigned to do and what the advertiser wants to achieve.

Table 6: Assessment on how female models dress in alcoholic advertisements.

Appearance	Frequency	Percentage
Seductively	154	76.6
Cultural attire	16	8.0
Office executive	20	10.0
Athlete	11	5.4
Total	201	100

Table 6 shows that 76.6% respondents say they dress 'seductively', this could not be disconnected from the respondents perception that there are sexual innuendos that accompany some of the alcoholic advertisements.

Table 7: Respondents' view on why female models are used in alcoholic advertisements.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
To entice the consumer	72	35.8
Seduce the viewers	24	11.9
For beatification	23	11.4
Increase sales	45	22.4
Part of socialization	37	18.5
Total	201	100

Table 7 indicates that 35.8% respondents are of the opinion that female models are used to 'entice consumers', 22.4% respondents say they are used to 'increase sale'. This corroborated

the finding that majority of female models dress seductively to attract consumers and to increase sales.

Table 8: Viewers perception of female models in Alcoholic Advertisements

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Sexy	40	19.9
Trendy and fashionable	110	55.0
Naïve/unintelligent	30	15.0
Sex objects	21	10.1
Total	201	100

Table 8 indicates that 55.0% respondents perceive that female models are trendy and fashionable, 19.9% perceive them as sexy, 15.0% perceive female models as naïve and unintelligent. Result from the table indicates that majority of the respondents perceive female models positively in terms of being trendy and fashionable. However, some sexual innuendos accompany these advertisements leading to disillusionment when men see these women.

Discussions of Findings

Five research questions were raised for this study. The first research question was: What role(s) female models play in alcoholic advertisements? Table 5 indicates that majority of the respondents believe female models play supporting role. However, result on the table shows that they play various roles depending on what they are assigned to do and what the advertiser wants to achieve.

Research question 2 states: How female models dress in Alcoholic Advertisements? Finding from Table 6 shows that female models dress seductively. This could not be divorced from the respondents' perception that there are sexual innuendos that accompany some of the alcoholic advertisements.

Research question 3 was: Why are female models used in alcoholic advertisements? Result on Table 7 shows various reasons for using female models in alcoholic advertisements. Majority of respondents are of the opinion that they are used to entice consumers. Only 22% are of the view that they are used to increase sales. This corroborated the finding that female models dress seductively to attract consumers and to increase sales.

Research question 4 states: How often female models appear in alcoholic advertisements? Table 4 indicates that majority of respondents see female models in all alcoholic advertisements because of the reason that they are used mainly to entice consumers to buy and consume the various brands of beer.

Research question 5 was: How viewers perceive female models in Alcoholic Advertisements? Finding from table 8 shows that most respondents perceive female models to be trendy and fashionable. Result on the Table portrays female models positively in terms of being trendy and fashionable. Despite some sexual innuendos that go with some advertisements, only 19.9% of respondents perceive them to be sexy.

The study reveals that 59.7% of the respondents spent less than 30 minutes watching television stations, this was because respondents have little or no time watching television stations. Another finding was that most of the respondents watch beer advertisements daily because they have no option as advertisements are slotted within television programs. The study shows that respondents prefer watching Gulder beer advertisements. This could be attributed to the popularity of the brand among the various kinds of beer available within the university.

Linking current findings with previous study, the investigator discovers that none of the findings support what was discovered previously. This study reveal that female models are used to entice consumers to buy or increase sales, finding from the previous study indicated that female models were used and portrayed as sex objects. This study perceived female models positively seeing them as trendy and fashionable (Table 8) previous study portrayed female models negatively where female models were exploited as sex objects. In the past, the role of female models in alcoholic advertisements was weak and dependent, this study discovers that their role is strong and autonomous especially in enticing consumers leading to increase in sales.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study shows that viewers perceive women to be well represented in alcoholic advertisements in terms of appearance and role being played. The result shows that women in advertisement of alcoholic beverages are perceived by the viewers to be trendy and fashionable which is an attribute of most women in the society. The study reveals that there are some sexual innuendos in some alcoholic advertisements, thus, making people perceive them as sex objects in alcoholic advertisements.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study makes the following recommendations:

- i. Advertisers should device more creative means of appealing to consumers instead of stereotyping women for sale of their products.
- ii. Advertisers should always establish a relationship between media portrayal of female models and socio cultural beliefs about women.
- iii. Advertisers and media houses should ensure that they eliminate the issue of portraying female models as sex objects in their advertisements.

References

- Abiodurin, F.O. (2011). *Portrayal and Audience Perception of Female Media Practitioners*. Ibadan: University Press
- Anand, M. (2006). *Women in Television: Depictions and Distortions*. Delhi: University Press
- Arens, W.F. Weigold, M.F. and Arens, C. (2008). *Contemporary Advertising*. New York: McGraw- Hill
- Bandura, H.K. (2010). *Women and Media*. Accra: Stirling Holden
- Bathia, B.J. (2000). *Alcoholic Advertisement*. Delhi: University Press
- Belkaoui, A. and Belkaoui, J.M. (1976). "A Comparative Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Print Advertisements" *Journal of Marketing Research*, Vol. 13(5), 168-172
- Bignell, J. (2002). *Media semiotics: An Introduction*. London: Manchester University Press.
- Bignell, J. (2004). *An introduction to Television Studies*. London: Routledge
- Bovee, K. and Arens, J. (1982). *Promotional Advertising*. New York: Rodlege Press
- Ceulemans, M. and Fauconnier, G. (1979). "Mass Media: The Image, Role and Social Conditions of Women". Paris: UNESCO Workshop
- Ceulemans, M. and Fauconnier, G. (1979). *Mass Media: Image and Role*. Paris: UNESCO
- Chandler, D. (1995). *Cultivation Theory*. London: Spectrum Publishing
- Dominnick, J.R. and Rauch, G.E. (1972). "The Image of Women in Network TV Commercials" *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 16(4), 259-265
- Faudler, C. (1979). *Use of Models in Advertising*. London: Sage
- Frieden, S. (1963). *Alcohol Advertising*. London: Sage

- Gaeng, A. (2012). *Types of Advertising*. Paris: UNESCO
- Gall, C. C. and Crum, M.J. (1994). "Women and Body-isms in Television Beer Commercials" *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 31 (5-6), 329-337
- Gall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publication
- George, G. (2006). *Cultivation Theory and Media Effects*. London: Mcraw Hills.
- Gilly, M. C. (1988). "Sex Roles in Advertising: A Comparison of Television Advertisements in Australia, Mexico and the United States". *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 52(10), 75-85
- Huitt, P. (2004). *Women and Alcoholic Advertisement*. Boston: Spectrum
- Juan, C., Mcree, B., Steinfeld, C. and Lampe, C. (2009). *Perception Analysis*. London: Mcraw Hill
- Kate, S.M. and Shaw – Garlock, G. (1999). *Self perception*. London: Malthouse House
- Kate, S.M. and Shaw- Garlock, G. (1999). "A Study of Ideologies and Discourse in Advertising to Women". *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 28(2), 33
- Kotler, K. (1986). *Television Advertising*. Boston: Spectrum Press
- Lanihun, A. (2003). *Communication for Development Purposes: A Gender Perspective*. Ibadan: Kraft Books
- Lun Ho, V. W. (2009). *Is Woman or Liquor being sold? – Gender Analysis TV Commercials in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: University Press
- Lun Ho, V.W. (2009). *Is Woman or Liquor Being Sold?* Hong Kong: University Press
- Lysenko, S. (1983). "Female and Male Portrayals in Magazine Advertisements: A Re-examination". *Akron Business Review*, Vol. 4 (3)), 45-50
- Miller, K. and Reeves, B. (2010). *Impact of Alcoholic Advertisements*. London: Sage
- Moore, J. (2002). *Women and Advertising*. London: Malthouse House
- National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (2003). *A Time for Parents to Discuss the Risks of College Drinking*. Lagos: Federal Government Press.
- Ogedengbe, K. and Adesemoye, S. (2012). *Advertology*. Ibadan: Emgee Publishing
- Osunbiyi, B. (2001). *Advertising Principles and Practice*. Abeokuta: Sholak Printing
- Pillay, N. (2008). *The Portrayal of Women in Television Advertisements. A Reflection on Stereotypical Representation*. Johannesburg: University Presss
- Thrum, G. (2001). *Behavioural Research*. New York: Holt press
- Vine, A. (2009). *Social structure*. Illinois: Mcraw hill
- White, C. (2010). *Advertising and Television Advertisements*. London: Malthouse
- Zhou, N. and Chen, M. (1997). "A Content Analysis of Men and Women in Canadian Consumer Magazine Advertising: Today's Portrayal, Yesterday's Image? *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 16 (5), 85-95