Employment Choices for Young Women -

The influence of gender representation in New Zealand produced television watched by children.

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NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON
THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN
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1   Summary

This report shares the findings for the research project on how gender representation in New Zealand-produced television content viewed by children aged 12 years and under can influence girls' and women's employment choices in later life.

The objective of the research project is to provide an information review and television content analysis along with next steps available to positively influence the portrayal of gender on television in respect of employment outcomes for girls/women.

The research project comprised two main activities:

a.   A comprehensive review of relevant information (defined as literature, research, and statistics) on gender representation in television content watched by children and its influence on girls' and women's employment choices later in life.

b.   The analysis of television content based on a similar study conducted by Smith and Cook (2008) at the Geena Davis Institute titled 'Gender Stereotypes: An Analysis of Popular Films and TV'.

1.1   Key findings from the information review:

- New Zealand's move toward a gender equitable labour force is very much a work in progress, with fewer working-age women in employment than men, more women than men in part-time roles, a persistent earnings gap, and an over-identification of women with the unpaid work of childcare and housework.

- More women than men complete degrees in New Zealand, but research has shown education systems can 'filter' the opportunities available for male and female students, and some of these filters are quite visible (for example, timetabling) whereas others are the result of tacit assumptions about what is appropriate for different 'types' of young people.

- Young women are more likely to be employed than young men but in a smaller range of jobs (mainly 'services and sales worker' and 'clerk' roles). The preferred occupations for female secondary school students include female-dominated occupations (flight attendant, kindergarten and primary teacher). The last 15 years have seen an increased preference for other female-dominated occupations (hairdresser, model, and waitress) alongside continued preferences for certain male-dominated occupations (journalist) and increased preference for others (lawyer, doctor, architect, and veterinarian).

- Children watch anything from about 2 hours (New Zealand, UK, and Australia) to 5 hours (US) of television content per day, through both contemporary (for example, internet and mobile media) and traditional (for example, live broadcast, and video) mediums. New Zealand children primarily watch television for entertainment with the top three shows in 2008 being *The Simpsons, Spongebob Squarepants,* and *Shortland Street*, with 25 percent of girls naming *Shortland Street* compared with 7 percent of boys. New Zealand children tend to watch television 'socially' (with siblings or friends) which is different from the internationally growing trend of isolated 'bedroom media'.

- Female characters are significantly outnumbered by male characters in children's film and television, and are often presented in gender stereotypical ways (for example, valued for their appearance, presented as 'hypersexual'). Female characters are likely

to be identified in terms of their marital roles (or romantic availability), and male characters are more likely to be identified in terms of their occupation, both in terms of having a job and a wider range of jobs.

- There is little research on how television might affect employment choices, and it is important to recognise both the influential role of television in shaping children's perceptions of reality and that children can be active as well as passive in how they respond to what they see on television. Efforts to improve the representation of gender on television include eight principles for engaging television producers and the role of parents and educators in support of media literacy in children.

1.2   Key findings from the television content analysis:

- There were 3,963 characters from New Zealand-produced television shows (3,672 characters / 92.66%) and adverts (291 characters / 7.34%).
- There are more male (62.55% / n = 2,479) than female characters (36.03% / n = 1,428).
- The majority of speaking roles are performed by male (n = 1,465) compared with female characters (n = 861) though they were proportionally similar at around 60 percent.
- Amongst characters over 18 years there are more male characters (70.53%) with an occupation (paid and where payment was unclear) than female characters (59.98%).
- The top five assignable occupation types for female and male characters in order of prevalence are:

Female Characters	Male Characters
Arts / Leisure / Entertainment	Sports
Food Preparation	Arts / Leisure / Entertainment
Health Care	Law Enforcement / Military
News / Information	News / Information
Sports	Food Preparation

- Stereotypical gender traits are evident for female (54.34%) and male characters (67.2%).
- The majority of senior roles are held by male characters (n = 688) compared with female characters (n = 339) though they were proportionally similar at around 25 percent.
- More female (11.62%) than male characters (0.97%) wore hypersexualised clothing.
- The ethnicity of characters was proportionally comparable to the last census (2006) apart from Asian characters that made up 9.2 percent of all characters compared with 2.2 percent in the population.
- More male characters (60.43%) are driven by career factors than female characters (41.60%) and more female characters (36.34%) are driven by social factors than male characters (22.15%).

1.3 Key recommendations for the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women and the Department of Labour:

     a.   Encourage New Zealand-produced television that addresses imbalances in the prevalence of gender and also across gender/ethnicity and occupation (type, payment and seniority).

The areas in most need of addressing imbalance are:

- News / Current Affairs, Sport, and Reality TV, all of which are dominated by male characters
- Children's Television, where there is less imbalance but which could be improved further still, particularly amongst shows primarily aimed at school-aged children
- The range of occupation types for women across all genres, with the number of female characters in Arts / Leisure / Entertainment being more than three times higher than the next most common occupation type

This could be achieved by exploring options to engage with the two bodies that fund most locally produced television viewed by children (New Zealand on Air and Te Māngai Pāho), for example:

     b.   The National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (NACEW) could collaborate with New Zealand on Air and Te Māngai Pāho to develop and disseminate a set of best practice guidelines for funding recipients that addresses gender imbalances in New Zealand-produced television, including those relating to employment. These guidelines could draw from those outlined by Dafna Lemish (see section 4.5.2).

     c.   NACEW could encourage New Zealand on Air and Te Māngai Pāho to introduce funding criteria relating to the representation of gender; for example, ratios of female to male characters per show / genre and special funding for shows that address areas of imbalance.

Such activity could draw on the findings of this research to illustrate the particular characteristics of New Zealand-produced television that demonstrate that representing demographic parity can be done whilst retaining audience popularity (for example, *Shortland Street* and *What Now?*).

There could also be activity to raise awareness of the issues presented in this research, such as including a focus in tertiary communication courses, providing industry workshops, and generating publicity relating to this research.

     d.   Support innovative ways to empower children to be critically aware of the gender imbalances apparent in television content.

The majority of television watched by children in New Zealand is not made in New Zealand and a focus at the level of reception as well as production could be beneficial. For example, teachers and educators are in a prime position to engage children to think critically about television's representations of gender, with Media Studies currently taught in at least a third of New Zealand schools. A potential strategy may be supporting and exploring options with agencies like the National

Association of Media Educators (NAME), whose membership includes primary and secondary school teachers.[1] Since 1991, NAME has actively worked to further develop primary and secondary school level media studies.

Given the prominence of American-produced content on New Zealand's television screens, there may also be value in sharing resources and approaches with an American agency such as the Geena Davis Institute, whose *Guess Who* video series teaches children aged 6 to 9 about gender stereotypes.[2]

> e.   Support further research to include qualitative approaches to contextualise how television portrays gender and employment and how this is utilised by children and young people.

This research project raises several key questions and areas for further study:

- The potential to conduct further research using qualitative approaches to add depth to these findings, such as:
    - thematic case studies with a textual/semiotic analysis on how gender differences and stereotypes are articulated, reinforced, and challenged by different television shows
    - an ethnographic study with children and young people to explore how they engage with television content and how this relates to their employment choices
    - an ethnographic study with television industry professionals in New Zealand to explore the representation of gender and employment on television.
- Further research into the representation of gender, ethnicity, and employment in New Zealand-produced television.

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[1] See www.name.org.nz for more details.
[2] See www.thegeenadavisinstitute.org for more details.

2   Introduction

This is the report for the research project on how gender representation in New Zealand-produced television content viewed by children aged 12 years and under can influence girls' and women's employment choices in later life.

The objective of this research project is to provide the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (NACEW) with a report that includes:

- an information review of literature, research, and statistics

- television content analysis

- next steps available to NACEW to positively influence the portrayal of gender on television in respect of employment outcomes for girls/women

3   Methodology

The methodology is outlined below under the two main areas of research: the Information Review and the Television Content Analysis.

3.1   Information review

The information review was led by Dr Ruth Zanker, School Research Leader, New Zealand Broadcasting School, Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology. Dr Zanker was the founding chair of the Children's Television Foundation and is an external assessor for the Broadcasting Standards Authority.

A comprehensive review of relevant information (defined as literature, research, and statistics) was completed on gender representation in television content watched by children and its influence on girls' and women's employment choices later in life. Relevant research was identified by searching arts, social sciences, and education databases research material. Databases were searched for publications from 1980 through to the present using the search terms 'television or media or advertising' plus 'children or youth', 'gender representation', 'employment choices', and 'youth'.

The information review was also shaped by Dr Zanker's comprehensive knowledge of the topic and her network of colleagues working in the field. This provided access to unpublished 'grey' information including Dr Zanker's own research and that of colleagues, notably Professor Geoff Lealand (University of Waikato) and Phillipa Smith (Auckland University of Technology). Dr Zanker also made personal contact with the following key informants to assist in accessing pertinent information:

- The Office of the Children's Commissioner
- Madeline Di Nonno, Executive Director of The Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media, and Executive Director of See Jane
- Stacey L. Smith, Associate Professor of Entertainment at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Southern California
- Marc Choueiti, Research Project Manager at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Southern California

A comprehensive search was also made of internet resources, both in New Zealand and internationally, including local government-funded research, such as NACEW's online archive, and resources such as the Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media.

The following criteria were used to select information for review:

- The focus of any media study component is television, or if the discussion of media more broadly treats television as a specific case.
- Discussion of young people's television viewing habits includes specific statistics or discussions with children 12 and under.

3.2 Analysis of television content

The analysis of television content was led by Dr Misha Kavka, Senior Lecturer, Film, Television and Media Studies Department, University of Auckland. Dr Kavka specialises in gender/sexuality studies, feminist and psychoanalytic theory, reality television, gothic cinema, and New Zealand film.

This analysis was based on a similar study conducted by Smith and Cook (2008) at the Geena Davis Institute titled 'Gender Stereotypes: An Analysis of Popular Films and TV' and a quantitative methodology was selected to describe and evaluate how gender difference is represented in New Zealand-produced television viewed by children aged 12 years and under.

Two key components of this were sampling and content analysis.

3.3 Sample selection

The sample was based on a combination of the criteria below—please see Appendix A for details.

3.3.1 New Zealand-produced television shows and advertisements

The focus on New Zealand-produced content was specified in the original research request and allowed for a manageable sample size.

3.3.2 Audience ratings for children aged up to 12 years old

A bespoke ratings report was commissioned[3] that covered ratings in the two closest categories relating to this study: children 5–14 years old and households with children under 5 years old.

All shows at or around the 5 percent audience share figure were considered for inclusion as this gave a reasonable indication that children were watching these shows. The type and frequency of broadcast was used to guide selection to provide a range and quantity of content being analysed.

3.3.3 Television shows produced specifically for children

This category allowed for the inclusion of shows that were produced for children that did not have a high audience share yet were pertinent to the research; for example, shows that covered gender and employment topics and/or had a Māori or Pasifika focus.

3.4 Content analysis approach

The content analysis was established through the requirements of the original research request and the Smith and Cook (2008) study summarised below—please see Appendix B for details:

- **Prevalence—**the number of female roles / characters compared with male roles / characters, including speaking roles, lead roles and narrators
- **Occupational portrayal—**the types of occupation, including traditional stereotypes and non-traditional roles, seniority, and paid / unpaid roles

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[3] This research worked with Nielsen, a national and international provider of media intelligence, including television audience measurement.

- **Hypersexualistion—**the prevalence of hypersexualised characters of either gender; for example, characters presented in alluring or revealing attire.
- **Ethnicity—**the range of ethnic groups represented, particularly the prevalence of Māori and Pacifica characters.
- **Character drive—**the type of character, including whether they are driven by career, romance, or social issues. This captured what each character's main priority was and allowed for combinations; for example, characters that are equally driven by work and family issues.

3.5 Limitations

The methodology has the following limitations.

3.5.1 New Zealand television content

The majority of television watched in New Zealand is not made in New Zealand; for example, New Zealand-produced television shows account for roughly one quarter of all television shows broadcast in New Zealand (Dunleavy 2008). This means the analysis does not cover all of the television watched by children up to 12 years old, so there is a significant amount of television content and gender representation that is likely to be influencing New Zealand girls' and women's employment choices in later life that is not accounted for in this research.

The focus on New Zealand content does, however, provide the context for more direct recommendations as it may be possible to influence gender representation more effectively on locally made content.

It is also straightforward to address this limitation with further research that includes content produced outside of New Zealand.

3.5.2 Audience ratings

Audience measurement data was used to guide the sample using a 5 percent threshold of audience share. There are limitations to using audience measurement data, mainly around the scope for human error, for example:

- Self-report methods (such as television diaries or surveys) rely on accurate recall and tend to over-represent viewers favourite shows.
- Automated systems (such as PeopleMeters) rely on people entering their unique code for each viewing session.

The audience measurement data for this research was also limited in that:

- Audience measurement ratings for individuals aged 0–4 years are not available. Figures for children aged 0–4 were taken from the category 'households with under 5s' which would include other family members' viewing patterns.
- The audience measurement company Nielsen was not able to provide audience share for Māori and Pasifika children as its own figures for this were statistically too small to be reliable.

These limitations were addressed through including other criteria to select the sample, including identifying television shows that were produced for children (in general and for Māori and/or Pasifika children) that did not have a high audience share.

4   Information review

The information review has identified the following five key areas:

1. Education, training, and employment choices in New Zealand

2. Children's television-viewing patterns

3. Gender representation on television

4. Television's effects on children and young people

5. Changing the picture

Each of these areas is detailed below:

4.1 Education, training, and employment choices in New Zealand

Despite the growth in women's employment rates, most occupations remain segregated by gender. Half of women workers are clustered into three of the ten occupational groups; clerks, service and sales workers and professionals.

(NACEW 2008)

Recent NACEW research has shown that New Zealand's move toward a gender equitable labour force is very much a work in progress. Significant gains have been made. For instance, women's participation in the labour force has been "on an upward trend for the last half century" and as of 2007, 61.8 percent of all working age women were in the labour force, compared to 75.5 percent of men (NACEW 2008: 5). Nevertheless, the New Zealand labour force is still characterised by gender division, with significantly more women than men in part-time roles, clear gender trends for certain occupational groups, and a persistent overall wage gap (NACEW 2008: 5–6).

As NACEW has articulated it, the persistence of certain areas of gender inequity in employment relates to the persistence of gendered roles in households and workplaces, propped up by "outmoded assumptions that do not reflect the diversity of New Zealand men and women's aspirations" (NACEW 2008: 9). Women remain over-identified with the unpaid work of childcare and housework, and associated with this can be family decisions for women to take part-time, often low-wage jobs to maintain their unpaid responsibilities; this trend arguably contributes to a broader expectation that these underpaid work roles are 'women's work' (NACEW 2008: 8). The labour market also continues to undervalue full-time female-dominated occupations, with wage gaps and a lack of clear advancement pathways for workers in these roles (NACEW 2008: 7).

4.1.1 Education and training choices

Reviewing the training and employment choices that young women in New Zealand are currently making can provide an understanding of how the future labour market might look. In tertiary education, more women than men complete degrees (NACEW 2008: 9). This has been the case for some time with undergraduate degrees, and now applies at all levels of tertiary study, as the 2006 Census revealed that more women than men in New Zealand now achieve postgraduate degrees. Many of these degrees are being undertaken by young women, and NACEW predicts that this increased investment in tertiary education "is likely to boost women's participation in the labour market, as qualification levels tend to increase participation"; but at the same time, NACEW acknowledges that "women are not necessarily getting the best job value for their educational effort due to their narrow range of study fields" (NACEW 2008: 6–7, 9).

Although more women than men are completing degrees, this has not yet translated to equitable positions at senior levels within the universities. The 2010 New Zealand Census of Women's Participation revealed that women hold less than a quarter (22.45%) of senior academic positions in the universities (Human Rights Commission 2010). Nonetheless that figure is improving, up for instance from 16.91 percent in 2005 (Human Rights Commission 2006).

There is also evidence that young women and men make education and training choices within constraints that may differ depending on gender. Recent research has looked at how school experiences can affect young people's training (and consequently employment) choices, in less than obvious ways. Teachers and administrators, along with school systems and scheduling, can all 'filter' the opportunities available for male and female students, whether intentionally or otherwise (see Ministry of Women's Affairs [MWA] 2008). This filtering process is often multifaceted, and gender difference may not be the most obvious component. A recent report on the gender segregation of the trades highlights the barriers that young women face in choosing certain masculinised vocation-oriented subjects, like building, carpentry, and joinery. Given their resource-intensive nature, such subjects are often "already restricted by availability", on top of which "gendered decision making may act to close out choices for students of the 'wrong' gender" (MWA 2008: 35–36). Some of these restrictions are quite visible; for example, the way subjects are organised into timetable lines that preclude taking certain combinations of subjects. Others are the result of tacit assumptions about what is appropriate for different 'types' of young people; for example, the continuation of the 'old' academic/vocational division between subjects, despite recent major changes to the assessment system that were, at least in part, designed to blur these boundaries.

4.1.2 Employment choices

Similarly to the general population across all ages in New Zealand, young women are mostly working in a smaller range of jobs than young men. In 2006, the two categories of 'services and sales workers' and 'clerks' accounted for 60 percent of young women in employment; whereas for young men, there was a relatively even spread across the five most popular occupation fields (Statistics New Zealand 2010). Young women (aged 15 to 24) tended to be employed as clerks, technicians, associate professionals, professionals, or managers and administrators; by contrast, young men tended to be employed in a trade, as labourers, plant and machine operators, or as technicians and associate professionals (Statistics New Zealand 2010). Over the 20-year period leading up to 2006, young women were more likely than young men to be employed, as well as undertaking more part-time and full-time study than young men, as a group (Statistics New Zealand 2010). Young women in this period were more likely than young men to undertake part-time work though, and this contributed to a growing overall gap in income levels, which by 2006 stood at 31 percent in favour of young men (Statistics New Zealand 2010).

It can also be useful to consider what occupations seem the most attractive to young women before they leave school. According to a recently concluded longitudinal study, the last 15 years have seen little change in what prospective occupations are preferred by female secondary school students (Pringle et al. 2010: 1). The study consisted of a series of three surveys of various Auckland and Dunedin secondary schools, conducted in 1979, 1995, and 2010, in which young women were asked to rank their preferred occupations from a list. Between the 1979 and 1995 surveys, a significant shift occurred,

with girls' preferences moving away from female-dominated occupations and toward male-dominated ones, particularly the professions such as lawyer and doctor (Pringle et al. 2010: 1). The 2010 study found no major shift since 1995, with a continued preference for certain female-dominated occupations (flight attendant, kindergarten and primary teacher) and an increased preference for others (hairdresser, model, and waitress), alongside continued preferences for certain male-dominated occupations (journalist) and an increased preference for others (lawyer, doctor, architect, and veterinarian) (Pringle et al. 2010: 16). These findings offer insight into what young women consider their career options to be. Some trends in these surveys are also matched by clear changes in the gender makeup of certain occupations; for instance, doctor and journalist, both of which now employ significantly more women than in 1979 (Pringle et al. 2010: 16–17).

4.2   Children's television-viewing patterns

In a multi-media age it is important to explore the basic question—are children still watching television? Many New Zealand children now have significant access to new media beyond television (and radio / print) which compete with television for their interest. For instance, in 2008, 72 percent of New Zealand children had home access to the internet (Broadcasting Standards Authority [BSA] 2008: 34). In this context, it would seem reasonable to assume that that the days of television as children's major media source may be numbered. Some studies do support this assumption, but several recent studies have found that new media have in fact increased children's access to TV content.

It is difficult to compare research on children's television-viewing patterns in the past decade, both internationally and in New Zealand, as Walters and Zwaga explain:

> *Cross-national analyses of international research reveal methodological differences in such variables as age, gender and ethnicity which make comparisons with the New Zealand setting difficult. In addition, cultural, social and economic factors differ from one jurisdiction to another.*

(Walters & Zwaga 2001: 13)

There are also key differences in what underlying questions guide research on this topic. Actively measuring the amount of television people watch has always been a difficult challenge for researchers; nonetheless, several studies—in particular, North American studies—have tended to focus on this very topic (Gutnick, Robb, Takeuchi, & Kotler, 2010: 11). Following a more self-reflexive approach taken by UK researchers, the key question for recent New Zealand researchers has not been 'How much are children watching?', but 'Why and how are they watching?' Neither approach offers a comprehensive view of children's television-viewing patterns, so this section will look at each in turn.

4.2.1 Time in front of the television

> *Even as technology evolves and young children increasingly turn to games and mobile media, they still love television best.*

(Gutnick et al. 2010)

USA

Figures suggest that American children's and young people's use of all media has increased significantly in the past 5 years. The USA's Kaiser Family Foundation undertook a series of three survey-based studies in 1999, 2004, and 2009 to look at media in the lives of American 8- to 18-year-olds. Surveying over 2000 American young people, the 2009 study found that the past 5 years have seen 'a huge increase' in media use in this age bracket, with average daily media use going from 6 hours and 21 minutes to 7 hours and 38 minutes (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts 2010: 2). This increase was not the continuation of a constant trend as the 5-year period from 1999 to 2004 saw no comparable increase in media use, with the 1999 study recording an average of only 2 minutes less per day compared to the 2004 study (Rideout et al. 2010: 2).

Rideout et al. attribute this recent increase to technological shifts:

> *The story of media in young people's lives today is primarily a story of technology facilitating increased consumption. The mobile and online media revolutions have arrived in the lives—and the pockets—of American youth.*

(Rideout et al. 2010: 2)

It is important to note that one of the biggest increases in terms of individual media types was in regard to TV content. In the study's sample, young people "continue to spend more time consuming TV content than engaged in any other media activity" (Rideout et al. 2010: 15). The only media type even beginning to catch up to TV in popularity for this age bracket is music, which increased by 47 minutes a day, as compared to TV content's increase of 38 minutes a day (Rideout et al. 2010: 2). The Kaiser Family Foundation study found that 11- to 14-year-olds spent the most time watching television, averaging 5 hours a day, while 8- to 10-year-olds watched an average of 3 hours and 41 minutes (Rideout et al. 2010: 16).

Other recent American studies have found that younger children also continue to favour television. A 2010 report from the Joan Ganz Cooney Centre—named for the creator of Sesame Street—pooled the results of a series of four survey-based media utilisation studies from 2006 to 2009, along with audience measurement data for that period, to conclude that television remains 'the go-to medium' for children aged 0 to 11 (Gutnick et al. 2010: 19). The report found that television-viewing amongst preschoolers was at an 8-year high, with children aged 2 to 5 watching an average of 3.5 hours a day (Gutnick et al. 2010: 19). Five- to nine-year-olds were found to be spending an average of 3 hours a day watching television; while 8- to 10-year-olds watch 3.25 hours of television a day (Gutnick et al. 2010: 19). Television remains by far the most-used media form for all age ranges up to 11. For instance, for almost 90 percent of children over 5 years old, television-viewing is a daily experience, compared to just over 50 percent of children who use video games or the internet on a daily basis; and 80 percent of under-5s watch television daily (Gutnick et al. 2010: 19).

United Kingdom

Two recent reports from the UK suggest that TV's popularity with British children is rising again, after a period of decline. A Childwise study found that from 2000 to 2007, broadcast television viewing among 5- to 16-year-olds has declined, although this trend was reversed in 2008 (cited in France, Meredith, & Murdock 2008: 19). This recent increase has been mostly down to girls watching more TV—from an average of 2.2 hours a day in 2007 to an average of 2.6 hours in 2008 (Childwise, cited in France et al. 2008:

19). Girls were also found to be more likely than boys to view more than 4 hours of television a day, which has been ascribed to a number of possible causes, including an apparent increase in the number of programmes aimed at girls in both younger and older age brackets, and a possible recent shift toward stricter parental controls over girls going out (Childwise, cited in France et al. 2008: 19). The OfCom (2011a) study found that, in 2010, children and young people aged 4 to 15 were watching 2 more hours of television a week than in 2007. Children aged 5 to 15 are also still most likely to identify TV as the medium they would miss most, despite an increasing uptake of other media in recent years (OfCom 2011a). The OfCom (2011a) report does note, however, that within more specific age bands, television's ascendancy is more under threat—for instance, 39 percent of children aged 8 to 11 in 2010 said they would miss TV most, compared to 45 percent in 2007, while young people aged 12 to 15 are now more likely to say they would miss their mobile phone (28 percent) than TV (25 percent).

Australia

A recent Australian study—based solely on audience measurement ratings—also notes a decrease in the average amount of live television viewed by 0- to 14-year-olds over a 5-year period, from 141 minutes in 2001 to 114 minutes in 2006 (Australian Communications and Media Authority 2007: 14–15)[4]. This Australian study therefore mirrors a key trend outlined by the Kaiser Family Foundation study of American youth: a drop in live TV viewing over the last decade. However, the Australian study lacks much of the context provided by the Kaiser Family Foundation research, so the reason for the Australian findings is not available; for example, whether there is the same rise in other modes of viewing TV content (or other media use) that was found in America.

4.2.2 Redefining television

Generally speaking, television is still hugely popular with children in the Western world. The way children and young people are accessing 'Television Content' is changing, however. The Kaiser Family Foundation study defines 'TV Content' as: live TV, recorded TV, DVDs viewed on TV or computers, and streamed or downloaded TV content viewed on a computer, cell phone or mp3 player. Live TV-viewing is down significantly for the first time in the 8- to 18-year-old age group, from 3 hours and 4 minutes in 2004 to 2 hours and 39 minutes in 2009; but that shortfall has been more than made up for by a jump in recorded TV, on-demand viewing, and viewing on other devices (Rideout et al. 2010: 15). The Joan Ganz Cooney Centre report on younger children defines television-viewing more strictly: the report only counts time spent in front of a television set, but that still includes pre-recorded or time-shifted TV, on-demand content, and DVDs and videos (Gutnick et al. 2010: 19). The report does not provide a full breakdown of different viewing modes, but does note that 5- to 9-year-olds get more than 40 percent of their daily TV content via video, and for 8- to 10-year-olds that figure is about 15 percent (Gutnick et al. 2010: 19). A recent OfCom (2011a) study found that children in the UK are still mostly viewing TV content the traditional way, with live broadcasts accounting for 87 percent of TV content viewed. A significant number of British children are also watching TV content on computers, with almost one third of children and young people aged 5 to 15 doing so (OfCom 2011a).

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[4] It is important to note that the audience measurement data report commissioned by the Australian Communications and Media Authority focuses on children in the five main metropolitan areas of Australia and does not include data from rural areas.

It is clear that new technologies are facilitating access to television content, over and above the more traditional live broadcast. It is in this context that the Kaiser Family Foundation's hypothesis of 'technology facilitating increased consumption' may well apply equally to TV consumption as to computer and internet use. As the Kaiser Family Foundation study puts it: TV content that children and young people "once consumed only by sitting in front of a TV set at an appointed hour is now available whenever and wherever they want, not only on TV sets in their bedrooms, but also on their laptops, cell phones and iPods" (Rideout et al. 2010: 2). These American studies suggest that, far from stifling interest in television, new technologies are being used by American children to access more TV content than ever before.

4.2.3 The New Zealand context

It is difficult to know how relevant international studies are to understanding children's television viewing in New Zealand. Regarding the amount of television children are viewing, most local studies have focused on different research questions that neither corroborate nor challenge overseas findings. However, some limited comparisons can be made.

Audience measurement data is a basic starting point, and does offer a direct comparison to similar Australian data (Australian Communications and Media Authority [ACMA] 2007). For instance, AC Nielsen audience measurement data for 2006 reports that New Zealand children aged 5 to 14 watched an average of 128 minutes of broadcast television per day (AC Nielsen 2011 report). In the same year, Australian audience measurement ratings reported Australian children aged 5 to 12 were watching an average of 116 minutes of broadcast television per day (ACMA 2007: 14–15). New Zealand children's average time spent with broadcast television is therefore relatively comparable to Australia and the UK, and even the US when considering only broadcast TV (for instance, American 8- to 18-year-olds view an average of 159 minutes of broadcast TV; Rideout et al. 2010).

In contrast to international data, New Zealand has seen a rise in children's time spent watching broadcast television in recent years. Children's average daily viewing times in 2010 were 18 minutes higher for New Zealand children aged 5 to 12 than in 2006 (AC Nielsen 2011 report).

Geoff Lealand and Ruth Zanker's research into New Zealand children's media use offers some further insight on the amount of television New Zealand children are viewing. Through a series of three surveys between 1999 and 2005, Lealand and Zanker found that "there has been a consistency in reported levels of daily television viewing" for New Zealand children aged 8 to 13, "with 77 percent in 1999 and 76.8 percent in 2002 being daily viewers" (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 44). The 2005 figure dropped to 72 percent, though this was not a significant enough decrease to constitute a definitive shift (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 44). These findings can be compared internationally; for example, to the Joan Ganz Cooney Centre finding that almost 90 percent of American children aged 5 to 9 watch television daily, but the difference in age range and calendar years make this a limited comparison.

In looking overall at children's daily viewing of the television, the relative consistency could be a more useful point of comparison than the percentage figure itself. As with the American studies, Lealand and Zanker found that children's use of new media has not

necessarily been at the expense of TV-viewing. New Zealand children's daily use of computers has increased across this period in which daily television viewing has remained relatively consistent, and Lealand and Zanker conclude that "these New Zealand data follow the same general trajectory as data in other Western nations" (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 44).

The Broadcasting Standards Authority undertook two key studies of children's media use in 2001 and 2008 respectively, allowing for a comparison that sketches changes in New Zealand's children's media use over the past decade. Both studies mainly focused on children aged 6 to 13, and were based on surveys and interviews with both children and primary caregivers of those children (Walters & Zwaga 2001; BSA 2008). As with the Lealand and Zanker (2008) findings, the BSA study found that television remains the dominant media form for children in New Zealand, with 99 percent saying they watched TV compared with just 62 percent using the internet (BSA 2008: 3).[5]

4.2.4 Why are children watching TV?

A key question for these BSA studies was: Why do New Zealand children use media? As far as television is concerned, the 2008 study found that the most popular answer to this question had not changed since 2001: both studies found that roughly three out of four children watch TV for entertainment (BSA 2008: 17). Nonetheless, there have been some significant changes since 2001. For instance, more children now say they watch television in part for its educational value (51 percent, compared to 29 percent in 2001), and fewer children now cite boredom as a reason they turn on the TV (21 percent compared to 38 percent in 2001) (BSA 2008: 4). Nine- to thirteen-year-olds were almost twice as likely as younger children to mention TV's educational value (BSA 2008: 18).

Some international research has described a rise in what has been termed 'bedroom media', with more and more children found to be using media alone in their own space (Livingstone & Bober 2004). This was not found to be the case in New Zealand, where children "rarely described their media consumption as solitary or isolated, but more commonly as a highly social event shared physically with siblings and friends", as well as with their parents (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 47–48). The BSA also found that most children in New Zealand (90 percent) watch television in the living room, but there has been an increase in the percentage of children with a television in their bedroom since 2001, from 18 to 27 percent (BSA 2008: 3). Compared to international figures, however, this is still quite a low figure—for instance, a recent UK study found that 70 percent of girls and 73 percent of boys aged 5 to 10 have a TV in their own room (France et al., 2008: 23). For most New Zealand children, TV is usually viewed in the company of others—an adult, or other children (BSA 2008: 3).

The context in which New Zealanders watch television has been ascribed importance in different ways. The BSA studies found that whom children watch TV with can affect their responses to certain content. For instance, "the presence of older siblings also appears to have an influence on children's perceptions or awareness of media content that is inappropriate. Children who live in a home with young adults (14- to 17-year-olds) are more aware of inappropriate sexual content on both television and radio" than those who do not live with young adults (BSA 2008: 7). Context can affect children's viewing choices also. Walters and Zwaga have noted that a significant number of children view

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[5] For 4- and 5-year-olds this figure was 95 percent (BSA 2008: 5).

Adults Only (AO) or Parental Guidance Recommended (PGR) content when parents are not supervising. In 2001, 73 percent of children aged 10 to 13 years reported regularly watching AO or PGR television, and half of them acknowledged that they did so without an adult present (Walters & Zwaga 2001: 91). On the other hand, for Lealand and Zanker, the number of children who reported sharing an enjoyment of popular culture with their parents was striking, because it potentially contradicts international claims that family media spaces are fragmenting (see Putam 2000). This shared enjoyment included children taking on their parents' media pleasures (*The Simpsons*) and vice versa (*Harry Potter*) (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 48). Inter-generational sharing of media was seen to go both ways, and this phenomenon is presented as an example of how media use and family togetherness are still compatible in New Zealand households (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 47).

With this social context in mind, Lealand and Zanker's research provides greater depth of understanding through a series of group interviews with 8- to 13-year-olds. A key theme that emerged was around the social capital attached to children's use of TV and other media. For instance, 'fitting in' to their peer group was a clear motivator for certain choices of media use, and this was not as simple as children just wanting to watch the TV shows their friends watch: knowledge about how best to use media was itself considered to have value amongst the children interviewed (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 49). Interestingly, this included knowing the best deals for broadband access and mp3 players, but it also included a kind of knowledge that can be thought of as media literacy; for instance, strong opinions were expressed amongst the children in these interviews regarding the appropriate age for access to certain types of content (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 49–50). The ability to provide 'cautionary tales' about media use went hand in hand with a certain leadership quality amongst the interview groups, and was a way of 'policing group boundary markers' (as one primary school boy vowed, "I'm seeing no more horror movies in my life"; Lealand & Zanker 2008: 50). Walters and Zwaga touched on this in their 2001 study, noting that 10- to 13-year-olds "express concerns about [television] violence, not so much for themselves, but for younger children who may experience nightmares, or more importantly, may mimic or copy violent television content" (Walters & Zwaga 2001: 91).

Lealand and Zanker also discuss how access to certain media can be framed as a 'rite of passage' for children, such as internet-use and cell phone ownership that may also apply to the amount, types, and viewing times of television children are allowed to watch (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 48). Martens et al. assert that "earning access" to previously forbidden media content is an example of how children's consumption of media is now "a principal mechanism through which children's individualisation is expressed or repressed by parents" (cited in Lealand & Zanker 2008: 48). Walters and Zwaga also note that "children regularly view programmes with adult themes" in environments where "they feel empowered (such as their bedroom)" (Walters & Zwaga 2001: 91). Children's patterns of TV and other media use can be understood to have a social context and a social meaning beyond simply entertainment; whatever the viewing context, viewing choices potentially have a certain social capital amongst their peers and family.

It is important to note differences for Māori and Pasifika children, who are less likely to have home access to new media. Māori children are more likely than the average to watch TV in their bedrooms (37 percent, compared to 22 percent of all children) and less likely than average to say they watch television for educational purposes (38 percent

compared to 51 percent of all children who watch TV), and Pasifika children are more likely to say they watch TV because of boredom (34 percent, compared to 21 percent of all children who watch TV) (BSA 2008).

4.2.5 What are children watching?

The 2008 BSA study provides an overview of children's viewing preferences in New Zealand, based on survey responses where children were asked to name their three favourite programmes. Animated American sitcom *The Simpsons* was a clear favourite, with 34 percent of children listing it in their top three (BSA 2008: 19). Long-running New Zealand soap opera *Shortland Street* ranked third, at 16 percent, and the only other local production was animal-focused reality show *The Zoo*, ranking 9th with 4 percent (BSA 2008: 19). Some children could not name specific programmes, but named types of programmes instead; cartoons were the favourite type of programme, as listed by 20 percent of children (BSA 2008: 19). Interestingly children's programming was only mentioned by 4 percent of respondents (BSA 2008: 19). AC Nielsen audience measurement data for the past year confirms these findings, with American shows dominating in both the 'Children aged 5 to 12' and 'Households with children under 5' demographics (AC Nielsen 2011). *Shortland Street* was the most popular regular New Zealand-produced show in these demographics, averaging a 16.8 rating with 'Households with children under 5' and a 12.9 rating with 'Children aged 5 to 12' (AC Nielsen 2011). These ratings also indicate that locally-produced reality TV is also popular with these demographics (particularly *Police Ten 7* and other 'on-the-job' series) along with long-running New Zealand kids' show *What Now?,* and youth talk show *The Erin Simpson Show* (AC Nielsen 2011).

The 2008 BSA study found a strong gender bias with regard to children's preference for *Shortland Street*, with 25 percent of girls naming it in their top three programmes, compared to just 7 percent of boys (BSA 2008: 26). Sports programmes or channels showed the opposite, with 14 percent of boys listing them in their top three compared with 1 percent of girls (BSA 2008: 26). Interestingly, Māori and Pasifika children were each more likely than the average to name *Shortland Street* as a favourite programme; 28 percent of Māori children and 26 percent of Pasifika children listed the show in their top three, compared with 16 percent of all children (BSA 2008: 26). It is important to note that *Shortland Street* was originally designed to provide young viewers with a broader range of adult role models than previously existed on New Zealand TV screens, specifically with regard to gender and ethnicity (Zanker 2011 unpublished).

The 8:30pm 'watershed' is still a relatively well-known marker for when television content becomes less suitable for children, and awareness of this marker is changing. In the 2008 BSA study, 46 percent of parents and 22 percent of children considered 8:30pm the point when programming becomes unsuitable for children, which was a drop for the parents (from 63 percent in 2001) but a rise amongst children (from 12 percent in 2001)(BSA 2008: 6). Awareness of the watershed was lower among Pacifica, Māori and Asian parents (BSA 2008: 6).

4.3   Gender representation on television

[W]e have seen that the vast majority of television programming for children continues to present a binary, segregated, stereotypical, and unequal gender world.

(Dafna Lemish 2010)

International research (particularly from America) consistently reinforces the notion that the onscreen world of television is, by and large, a sexist place. Despite a lack of New Zealand studies on New Zealand-produced television's gender representations, this international research can be useful to consider as American content features prominently in New Zealand broadcasting (and in the viewing choices made by New Zealand children) with locally produced content making up only one quarter of content on the four most-watched channels (Dunleavy 2008).

4.3.1 Gender on children's television

The Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media has recently completed a series of studies on gender representation in children's films and television. Its studies have mostly focused on film made for children or family audiences. These studies reveal that female characters are significantly outnumbered by male characters, and when female characters do appear onscreen, they are often presented in gender stereotypical ways. For example, female characters in children's films are often valued primarily for their appearance, have short-sighted aspirations, and a longing for romance (Smith & Cook 2008). The Geena Davis Institute has published one significant study of American television which mirrors its findings on film. The study looked at a random sample of 534 hours of TV programming for children aged 11 and under, across 12 networks over 2 months (Smith & Cook 2008). Female characters were found to be outnumbered roughly two to one by male characters, despite a one to one ratio in the real-world USA population (Smith & Cook 2008: 18). Children's television is even more male-dominated than prime-time American television, which has been found to have a distribution of 40 percent female and 60 percent male characters (Signorielli 1997). When girls and women are onscreen in children's TV, they are often represented primarily as 'hyperattractive' or 'hypersexual'. Females were almost four times as likely as men to be depicted in sexually revealing or alluring clothing and nearly twice as likely as males to be shown with a markedly diminutive waistline (Smith & Cook 2008: 1, 19). Animation in particular "appears to favour highly sexualised female characters with unrealistic body ideals" (Smith & Cook 2008: 20). TV intended for younger children was found to be something of an exception to these trends, typically presenting "a more balanced treatment of characters by gender" (Smith & Cook 2008: 20).

4.3.2 Women and employment

Prime-time viewing makes up a substantial portion of New Zealand children's television viewing (BSA 2008). Several American studies have looked at the representation of gender in prime-time television, particularly with regard to employment (Signorielli & Bacue 1999; Signorielli & Kahlenberg 2001; Lauzen, Dozier, & Horan 2008). Overall, these studies have found that female characters are likely to be identified in terms of their marital roles (or romantic availability), and male characters are more likely to be identified in terms of their occupation (Lauzen et al. 2008). Male characters are not only more likely to be identified as having a job; they also hold a wider range of onscreen jobs than female characters (Lauzen et al. 2008). There are examples of television shows featuring high-powered, professional women as central characters—the USA's *Commander in Chief* and *Ally McBeal,* for instance, which respectively focus on a female president and a female lawyer, or New Zealand's own *Shortland Street*, which has featured women as senior doctors, and in high-up managerial positions. Lauzen et al. (2008) emphasise, however, that such examples are still few and far between. Progressive portrayals of women characters on screen are also often mitigated off-screen. Lemish notes how media representations of the actors portraying those

characters often resort to more familiar gender stereotypes, as wives and mothers for instance (2010: xiii).

The Geena Davis Institute has also recently explored representations of gender and work in children's and family films, finding an even more masculinised onscreen labour force. Their study of 21 American films found that out of 333 working characters the majority (80.5 percent) were male; as such, the onscreen labour market of American children's and family films lags significantly behind the USA's real world labour market, in which women now make up half of all workers (Smith, Choueiti, & Stern 2011).

4.4 Television's effects on children and young people

Television and employment choices

There is currently little research on how television might affect people's employment choices. A number of recent studies have concluded that career choices are shaped over a lifetime, not based on one particular experience (see MWA 2008). It has also been established that television is the most used media form amongst New Zealand children (Lealand & Zanker 2008; BSA 2008). For the purposes of this information review it has been assumed as reasonable to surmise that television plays an important role in shaping children's views on career options.

In their study of secondary school girls' employment preferences for the professions since 1995, Pringle et al. (2010) provide anecdotal evidence of the role of reality shows and scripted shows that "have portrayed women across a wide range of jobs in law and in the health sector" (Pringle et al. 2010: 17). They also cite further anecdotal evidence from the government-funded Career Services agency, which reports an increase in enquiries about certain careers (for instance, chef) when those careers feature prominently in popular television shows (for instance, *Master Chef NZ*) (Pringle et al. 2010: 17–18). The study does recognise the paucity of research about the influence of TV compared with other areas, such as the influence of family members on young people's career aspirations (Pringle et al. 2010: 18).

It is important to note that whilst television may depict traditional or sexist roles for men and women, it can be difficult to ascertain how children view these depictions. For example, children are sometimes viewed as vulnerable or easily persuaded and that television could 'cause' them to develop a view of gender and employment based on television. It may also be the case that children are less passive than this and view the depictions as an 'effect' of their society and reflect persistent and potentially outmoded notions of gender.

From the information review, two key areas arise that require further research:

a. What role does television play in shaping children's views of employment?

b. To what extent do childhood views on employment influence employment choices?

To assist in providing a context for these questions, the following three sub-sections give an overview of research into television's effects on children's worldview in general.

The child audience

The question of how media affect their audience has long been a central area of investigation for media studies. The Hypodermic Model of audience was one of the first to emerge and characterised audience members as passive recipients of the media's 'injection' of messages into their minds. This model has since been discounted in more contemporary theories of television audience, which credit the audience with more agency and the ability to form individual responses to media messages. Despite this shift, the Hypodermic Model continues to persist in discussions about children's media use and can be seen in the rhetoric of groups advocating bans on violent TV and video games; for instance, arguments which ascribe a certain 'monkey see, monkey do' malleability to the child audience.

There is some evidence that television can have immediate effects on children's behaviour, but the evidence is limited. For instance, studies in the field of psychology have looked at how toy advertisements can affect children's views on what toys are appropriate for their gender, and even their behaviour with regard to those toys. Ruble, Balaban, and Cooper's (1981) study of this phenomenon found that, amongst a group of 3- to 6-year-olds, some children would play longer with a toy after seeing that toy featured in an advertisement with children of their own sex. The study concluded, however, that the children visibly affected by the advertisement's representation of gender were the ones who already had a strong sense of themselves as gendered individuals (Ruble et al. 1981). For those children whose sense of their own gender was not yet fixed, the advertisement did not affect their behaviour with the toy in relation to gender (Ruble et al. 1981). As such, the study could not conclude that television introduced gendered views and behaviours amongst child viewers, only that it may be a possible form of reinforcement of previously learned views and behaviours (Ruble et al. 1981). Regarding television's effects on children—and particularly their views on gender—the following two theories have been particularly influential in the field of media studies. One can be seen as a more sophisticated update of the Hypodermic Model of media effects, and the other a complete departure.

Cultivation theory

> Television is the central and most pervasive mass medium in American culture and it plays a distinctive and historically unprecedented role. Other media are accessible to the individual (usually at the point of literacy and mobility) only after the socializing functions of home and family life have begun. In the case of television, however, the individual is introduced virtually at birth into its powerful flow of messages and images.
>
> (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli 1980)

First developed in the late 1970s, Cultivation Theory has become a key touchstone for North American studies of children and television, including those undertaken by the Geena Davis Institute and others interested in television's gender messages. Cultivation Theory holds that television has a privileged role in Western society, and as such has a direct influence on our perceptions of reality (Infante, Rancer & Womack 1997). The basic premise of the theory is that, over time, television's messages can affect an individual's world view, and the more television watched, the more likely people are to perceive the world as television presents it (Severin & Tankard 1997).

In a sense then, Cultivation Theory shares a fundamental premise with the Hypodermic Model of media audience, since both theories hold that a medium can have significant influence based primarily on its prominence in the lives of that medium's audience. Cultivation Theory is considerably more nuanced than the Hypodermic Model, however, hence its continued relevance to discussions of television's effects—particularly in North America. Where the Hypodermic Model presents television's effects as direct and immediate, Gerbner and other Cultivation theorists are interested in how television might influence how viewers see the world—in gradual and indirect ways. For instance, Cultivation approaches have not emphasised a causal link between television violence and real world violence, but they have suggested that violence in television shows cultivates the belief amongst regular viewers that the world is a scary place (Chang & Reber 2000).

Nancy Signorielli, a particularly prominent Cultivation theorist, notes that children may be particularly influenced by television's messages about the world, because (in the West at least) their experience of the outside world is often relatively limited (Signorielli 2004). As such, television becomes a kind of teacher, or even parent, offering children "perspectives on how women should think, behave and act" (Signorielli & Kahlenberg 2001: 4). Studies by Signorielli and other Cultivation theorists have found links between television-viewing and children's perception of gender difference. For instance, moderate to strong statistical relationships have been found between children's levels of television-viewing and their attitudes about who should do certain household chores (Signorielli & Lears 1992). Television-viewing has not been found to influence whether or not children do the chores in question, only their attitudes and beliefs about which gender is associated with those chores (Signorielli & Lears 1992). Cultivation Theory therefore adds some indirect evidence-based support for the suggestion by Pringle et al. (2010) that recent trends in TV's portrayal of women as professionals might influence young women's employment preferences, since cultivation approaches have found evidence of a link between television viewing and children's views about gender and housework. However, most Cultivation Theory studies emphasise that television's effects on people's worldviews occur over a long period of exposure to repeated types of messages (Signorielli 2004), so the second suggestion by Pringle et al. that one-off programmes such as *Master Chef NZ* can engender certain career preferences may be overstating the case.

The above quotation from Gerbner et al. hints at the emblematic role of the child viewer in Cultivation Theory from its outset. Viewers are 'introduced virtually at birth' to television's 'powerful flow of messages and images'—all before the development of 'literacy and mobility' which, it is implied, would otherwise offer some insulating effects against that powerful flow. This description is not worlds removed from the Hypodermic Model's imagery: the illiterate and particularly immobile child viewer seems to echo the paralytic audience members awaiting their 'injection' of information. This is not to say that Cultivation Theory simply retraces old ground, rather to point out how even sophisticated theories of audience are prone to a certain level of hyperbole when the topic is society's most powerless members: children.

The emerging field of childhood studies

Broadly speaking… research suggests that children are a much more sophisticated and critical audience than is conventionally assumed.

In the last decade or so, a number of researchers have argued that children need to be given a little more credit. Scholars such as the UK's David Buckingham and Sara Bragg (and New Zealand's Ruth Zanker and Geoff Lealand) do not dispute that television's messages can be persuasive for children and adults alike, but they do challenge what they see as an overly simplistic binary in mainstream discourse of 'bad' media versus vulnerable children. Their work can be loosely grouped together under the term 'childhood studies', an emerging field which draws upon multi-disciplinary insights from sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, and textual studies to enable a more nuanced understanding of how media content is used by children as they explore identity and future ways of being in the world. Where Cultivation Theory focuses on how TV might affect how children make sense of the world, anthropological approaches have given greater consideration to the ways in which children make sense of TV.

Buckingham points out that research on TV's harmful effects on children is not always as convincing as it might seem. He argues that in some cases the evidence is limited, and as such, arguments for either side of the debate "are more to do with emphasis, interpretation and inference than clearly defined scientific fact" (Buckingham 2009: 223). A number of studies have focused on the different ways that children, like adults, can and do respond critically to television and other media. Rather than simply take in the messages presented to them, children habitually make judgements of taste and cultural value regarding the content of television shows (Buckingham 2009). Buckingham offers an example regarding TV's often stereotypical representations of gender. For instance, "girls' frequent complaints about the 'unrealistic' storylines or events in action-adventure cartoons" can be seen as an attempt "to distance themselves from what are seen as boys' 'childish' tastes and thereby to proclaim their own (gendered) maturity (Buckingham 2009: 219). Similarly, boys' typical critique of the 'unrealistic' muscle-bound men in soap operas can be seen as reflecting "anxieties about the fragility of their own masculine identity" (Buckingham 2009: 219). In both cases, children's talk about television is part of an active attempt at identity-making (Buckingham 2009). Television presents certain messages—that men are muscle-bound, for instance, but children respond to those messages in active and critical ways.

Crucially, Buckingham's point is not that television producers should not be held up to scrutiny for the messages they send, rather that the mode of critique would be more effective if it were less polarised. Regarding the debate over whether advertising has undue effects on children, Buckingham writes:

> *On the one hand, we have the advertisers—who are routinely accused of exploiting children—arguing that children are savvy and media literate; while on the other, the lobbyists—who claim to be acting in the best interests of the child—represent them as vulnerable and in need of protection.*

(Buckingham 2009: 22)

For Buckingham, children are neither 'savvy and media literate' nor 'vulnerable and in need of protection', but probably somewhere in between (1993; 2009). He warns against "replacing the romantic image of the innocent, vulnerable child with an equally sentimental conception of the sophisticated, media-wise child", adding that while children are bound to lack certain knowledge about the agendas behind certain media

messages, it would pay not to assume where those gaps might be (Buckingham 1998: 38). These arguments do not change the fact that much of the television viewed by children represents outmoded ideas of gender difference, but they do encourage policy-makers to consider children's engagement with media in broader terms than exposure to a harmful information source.

4.5   Changing the picture

The recent work of Dafna Lemish can be seen as a kind of synthesis between Cultivation approaches to children and TV and the more qualitative childhood studies' approaches to the topic. Lemish is a psychologist who has spoken at the Geena Davis Institute about how TV's representation of gender can be improved, and her work also incorporates the idea that children can actively negotiate TV's meanings on their own terms (2010). For Lemish, we do not need to make definitive statements on TV's effects; rather, the *possibility* that TV's portrayal of gender may influence children's views on gender difference is enough to warrant changes to children's TV content. Lemish argues that responsible production paired with engaged parents and educators "may provide the fertile ground for social change towards more gender equity" (2010: 171). Certainly, if the content with the positive gender messages is just as (or more) entertaining than the other options, parents will find it easier to encourage their children to view it. Likewise, changes to production can only do so much, without parents, educators, and children being engaged in the cause.

4.5.1 Roadblocks to change

Lemish's work outlines the major roadblocks to change in gender representation in children's television. The first of these is surprising, given the masculinised onscreen world of much children's TV. As a professional territory, the production of children's television is actually inhabited mostly by women, and this is a global phenomenon (Lemish 2010: 102). Lemish suggests two main possible explanations for this phenomenon: firstly, that children's television is considered an extension of caring for children, which women are expected to do more so than men; and secondly, that children's television is a relatively new profession, and as such, ingrained, old-world male domination is less of an issue than in older professions (Lemish 2010: 102–103).

Women mainly producing children's TV raises the question of why gender imbalance is so persistent. One answer is that men still play the role of gatekeepers in the world of children's television production. Women occupy most of the production and development roles, but the people at the final stages of production—directors, programme directors, camera and sound professionals, and animators—are still much more likely to be men (Lemish 2010: 103–104). There is a persisting stereotype that 'technical' roles are better suited to men (Lemish 2010: 104). Indeed, women in children's television production are still dealing with the same gender inequities that persist in society as a whole. Like other feminised professions, children's television production is associated with lower status and lower wages than, for instance, other media production areas (Lemish 2010: 103).

Another factor contributing to the persistence of onscreen gender inequity is television's continued reliance on stereotypes in general, which provide ready-made stories. Over time, proven formulas have evolved into quite possibly outdated rules about "what boys and girls like and what they will or will not watch" (Lemish 2010: 172). Further to this, many TV networks and children's channels recycle old content for children, and since this

practice is cost effective it is likely to continue for decades to come (Lemish 2010: 172). As such, any changes to new TV content for children are somewhat tempered by the persistence of old, recycled shows on broadcast TV.

4.5.2 Engaging producers

Lemish acknowledges that, against the odds, "impressive changes have been introduced in the world of children's TV via innovative, gender-sensitive, high-quality programming for children" (2010: 172). For Lemish, education and entertainment need not be mutually exclusive aims for producers of kids' television, citing case studies of successful children's 'edutainment' in areas including health, environment, and social issues (see Singhal & Rogers 1999; Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido 2004). Buckingham too has called for a broader concept of what 'good' TV for kids can look like, noting that some of "the most innovative, challenging and sophisticated programmes on children's television are cartoons" (Buckingham 1999). Based on her extensive interviews with children's television production workers around the globe, Lemish has identified eight working principles for continued change—guidelines for the development of a "more socially engaged, just, and richly symbolic representation of the world to children" (2010: 170). These principles are:

- **Equality**: where boys and girls are treated equally on television, and offered equal roles and opportunities

- **Diversity**: where children are represented through a wide range of characters, both within social categories (gender, race, ethnicity, etc.) as well as across these groups

- **Complexity**: where boys and girls can be represented as 'different but equal', and a wider range of possible traits are attributed to both boys and girls

- **Similarity**: where shows emphasise the shared aspects of boys' and girls' lives, rather than dwell on differences and conflicts relating to differences

- **Unity**: where friendships and relationships between boys and girls are constructed on equal terms, including relationships based on common interests, values and mutual respect, rather than romance and sexual tension, or manipulation of one character by another

- **Family**: where positive role-models are offered for parent-child and adult-child relationships

- **Authenticity**: where shows depict true-to-life characters, narratives, and social contexts, including employing actors closer to the age of the characters they play, and who are not ideal beauty models

- **Voicing**: where shows present the views of children, as they view and express them, including more documentary programs featuring children's perspectives (Lemish 2010).

Lemish's book *Screening Gender* offers a comprehensive discussion of the practical strategies used in children's television production to try to enact these principles.

4.5.3 Engaging children and parents

Changes to production can only do so much, since, even if all producers of children's television were engaged with the above-stated principles, there would still be a large amount of older programming on the airwaves. However, since children are getting more and more of their television content via DVDs and on-demand streaming (Rideout et al. 2010; Gutnick et al. 2010), parents potentially have more of a chance to customise their child's viewing, since more and more the content is chosen on a show-by-show basis, rather than simply picking a channel, or watching whatever is on for that age bracket. Of course, the rise of new media as a mode of accessing TV content could also potentially have the reverse effect. Sonia Livingstone has pointed out that many parents may be less engaged with new media than their children are (Livingstone, cited in Buckingham 2009: 219). In order to be genuinely engaged in their child's television viewing then, some parents may need to upskill themselves with regard to different media forms. As New Zealand researchers Geoff Lealand and Ruth Zanker have noted, children are often the best and most willing teachers when it comes to their parents' technical media skills (Lealand & Zanker 2008: 48).

4.5.4 Engaging teachers and educators

Educators can also play a key role in better preparing children to negotiate the sometimes backward messages in television content. In the USA, the Geena Davis Institute has focused on teaching children to spot gender stereotypes and other backward messages in media content (the *Guess Who* programme, for instance). In the UK, Buckingham advocates strongly that media literacy education needs to engage with children and young people's enthusiasm for media, and acknowledge that their enjoyment of their favourite shows is no less valid than adults' (1998: 294). Children enjoy television, and studies suggest they are watching it even more than ever (Rideout et al. 2010; Gutnick et al. 2010), and this does not have to be thought of as a bad thing. As Buckingham puts it, ideally "the aims of media literacy education are not to reduce the influence of the media, any more than the aims of literacy education are to reduce the influence of books" (2009: 224).

New Zealand is an early pioneer of media education in schools, and it is an increasingly popular secondary school subject area. Primary school teachers are also increasing media education across the curriculum. The National Association of Media Educators (NAME) is very active and strong on content analysis and critique of gender images. If television continues to be "the one telling most of the stories most of the time", as Gerbner et al. (1980) put it, it is because our society—adults and children alike—find value in it as a story-telling medium, even as we lament the ways in which we find it to be lacking. Through engaged education and parenting, children can be taught both to value television and to be aware of its shortcomings. Certainly though, there is a lot of room for improving the stories television tells, in line with broader attempts to improve our society's treatment of girls and women in general.

5   Television content analysis

This section provides descriptive statistics of the television content analysis. Where relevant, some of the themes that emerged and could be explored by qualitative analysis are also noted alongside the numerical data.

A total of 3,963 characters from New Zealand-produced television shows and adverts were coded for this analysis, with 3,672 characters (92.66%) from television shows and

291 characters (7.34%) from television adverts. To recap from the Methodology section, the television content analysis is focused on:

- **Prevalence—**the number of female roles / characters compared with male roles / characters, including speaking roles, lead roles and narrators

- **Occupational portrayal—**the types of occupation, including gender stereotypes, seniority and paid / unpaid roles

- **Hypersexualistion—**the prevalence of hypersexualised characters of either gender; for example, characters presented in alluring or revealing attire

- **Ethnicity—**the range of ethnic groups represented, particularly the prevalence of Māori and Pasifika characters

- **Character drive—**the type of character, including whether the character is driven by career or by romance

Note—the statistics focus on characters with clear male or female gender as the datasets for other gender types (for example, see below) are too small.

5.1 Prevalence of gender

5.1.1 Gender type

The majority (62.55%) of characters analysed were male ($n = 2,479$), giving an overall male to female ratio of 1.74 male characters for every 1 female character.

Gender Type	Number	Percentage
Female	1,428	36.03%
Male	2,479	62.55%
Transgender ($n = 3$), Other ($n = 8$), Not Applicable ($n = 45$)	56	1.41%
Total	**3,963**	**100%**

These figures are comparable to American studies of prime-time television which found that 40 percent of characters were female and 60 percent male (Signorielli 1997). Smith and Cook's (2008) study of American children's television found there were 1.67 male characters for every 1 female character, which is also comparable to this study's overall ratio of 1.74 male characters for every 1 female character.

The ratio drops to 1.28 males characters for every 1 female character, however, when focusing only on the New Zealand-produced television shows that have an explicit target audience of children or are funded by New Zealand on Air or Te Māngai Pāho for children.

To summarise the prevalence of gender types, overall the gender imbalance in New Zealand produced-content is comparable to those found in American studies, though television shows made for children in New Zealand are less imbalanced.

5.1.2 Gender and genre

Exploratory analysis was also carried out to look at gender ratios across different genre types and the table below provides an overview of these.

Genre[6]	Male Characters	Female Characters	Ratio Male to Female
Advertisements	191 (65.6%)	95 (32.6%)	2.01 to 1
Children's TV	677 (55.4%)	527 (43.1%)	1.28 to 1
Drama	159 (47.7%)	172 (51.7%)	0.92 to 1
Magazine / Lifestyle	34 (54.0%)	29 (46.0%)	1.17 to 1
Māori Audience[7]	200 (63.5%)	114 (36.2%)	1.75 to 1
News / Current Affairs	690 (75.7%)	210 (23.2%)	3.29 to 1
Reality TV	438 (67.6%)	210 (32.4%)	2.09 to 1
Sport	143 (71.1%)	56 (27.9%)	2.55 to 1

The Drama genre stands out as the only category in which female characters outnumber male characters, and it is important to note that TV2's *Shortland Street* featured heavily in this category, reflecting its popularity (based on audience share) and volume (five episodes per week, excluding re-runs). *Shortland Street* was originally designed to provide young viewers a broader range of adult role models than previously existed, specifically with regard to gender and ethnicity (Zanker 2011, unpublished). Given this intent it is understandable that there is a different gender ratio from other television shows, with 0.66 male characters for every 1 female character. Notably, the other shows in the Drama category had a ratio of 1.5 male characters for every 1 female character suggesting that the overall ratio for Drama reflects *Shortland Street*'s deliberate efforts to represent more female characters along with its prominence in audience share and broadcast presence. *Go Girls* was the only other Drama show to depict more female (31) than male (14) characters, which was expected given the show's focus on three young women.[8]

Children's TV is not far from parity in gender prevalence. Six shows in this genre depicted more female characters than male characters, and it is notable that all of these shows were made for pre-schoolers or younger school children. Two shows in particular featured markedly more female than male characters: *Tiki Tour* (53 female, 36 male) and *The Go Show* (43 female, 35 male). Television primarily aimed at older children largely accounts for the overall prevalence of male characters in Children's TV, though New Zealand's highest rating children's TV show, *What Now?*, depicted a near equal number of female (108) to male (114) characters. *Mīharo* was the only Māori Audience children's show to feature more female (36) than male characters (33).

The television show genres with the highest male to female character ratio are:

- News / Current Affairs—over 3 male characters for every 1 female character
- Sport—over 2 male characters for every 1 female character
- Reality TV—over 2 male characters for every 1 female character
- Advertisements—over 2 male characters for every 1 female character

It is notable that the News / Current Affairs and Reality TV genres both rely heavily on 'real world' events and depictions and these are presented to viewers with substantially

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[6] When grouping by genre, the categories Comedy and Pasifika Audience had very small datasets and are not included.

[7] Māori Audience comprises shows that were included in the sample because they are primarily aimed at a Māori audience.

[8] *Go Girls* airs after the 8.30pm adults-only 'watershed', but has a significant audience share amongst children (4.4% amongst 5- to 12-year-olds, and 10.9% amongst households with children under 5) and is actively promoted to youth (for instance, via guest spots from *Go Girls* stars on *The Erin Simpson Show*).

more male characters than female characters than would be found in the 'real world', with the last New Zealand Census (2006) showing almost equal numbers of women (48.8%) and men (51.2%) in the general population.

A theme that emerged was the degree to which the higher numbers of male characters in this 'real world' based content reflects patriarchal practices and assumptions found in the 'real world'.

For example, there is traditionally an association between men and authoritative speaking as would be found in news reporting, where there were both more males reporting the news (1.94 male for every 1 female) and stories featuring males (3.92 male for every 1 female). This suggests that men are considered more 'appropriate' for reporting the news and that news stories about men are seen as more important. New Zealand-made Reality TV contained a substantial amount of the authority-based police / patrol subgenre, with more male than female characters, though this may simply reflect a gender imbalance in those professions. For example, in the New Zealand Police, females made up just over 16 percent of all sworn officers (Hyman 2000). *Dog Patrol* depicted an equal number of female and male characters (22), demonstrating that a prevalence of male characters is not a prerequisite of this subgenre.

Two Reality TV shows depicted more female than male characters, and both focused on stereotypically feminised areas of work: *New Zealand's Next Top Model* (36 female characters, 13 male characters) and *Nestlé's Hottest Home Baker* (8 female characters, 4 male characters). This suggests that gender prevalence in Reality TV is dependent on the subject matter.

5.1.3 Gender and role type

The majority (60.29%) of speaking roles were male characters (n = 1,465); however, the proportion of speaking roles was similar for female and male characters at around 60 percent. This means the larger number of males with speaking roles is because there are more male characters than female characters (1.74 male characters for every 1 female character, see 'Gender type' section above).

Gender	Total	Speaking Role	Percentage
Female	1,428	861	60.29%
Male	2,479	1,465	59.10%

Regarding character type, slightly more male characters (2.4%) were narrators than female characters (1.5%) and there were more female characters (5.9%) in a lead role than male characters (3.9%). The table below shows the types of roles for each gender:

Gender	Total	Lead Role	Narrator Role	Character Role	Extra Role	Other Role
Female	1,428	84	22	724	596	3
Male	2,479	97	60	1,279	1,035	8

When taking into consideration the Genre type, there were more female characters (12.6%) in Advertisements than male characters (7.3%). Characters in advertising tended to represent stereotypical products, services, or issues with female characters associated with food and supermarket products, education, health, and charity, and male characters associated with cars, red meat, and drink driving.

5.2   Occupational portrayal

For occupational portrayal each character was coded for up to three occupation types to accommodate characters with multiple occupations, such as a main paid job and a work-type role outside of the main paid job. Each occupation was also coded for seniority and whether the role was paid or not.

5.2.1 Occupation types

The table below shows the top 10 assignable occupation types for female and male characters in order of prevalence, with each character coded for up to three occupations. Since some characters had more than one work role, this resulted in more roles than characters.

Please see Appendix C for the full list of occupation types.

Ranking	Occupation Type	Female Characters	Occupation Type	Male Characters
1	Arts / Leisure / Entertainment	298	Sports	451
2	Food Preparation	93	Arts / Leisure / Entertainment	307
3	Health Care	93	Law Enforcement / Military	254
4	News / Information	84	News / Information	179
5	Sports	84	Food Preparation	92
6	Childcare	75	Politics	85
7	Law Enforcement / Military	53	Construction	71
8	Student	49	Health Care	62
9	Other	24	Student	60
10	Education	22	Advertising / PR	50

With a view to how this list could be contextualised, it is notable that the largest occupation types include Arts / Leisure / Entertainment and Sports and these are highly competitive areas with extremely limited availability of roles, thereby presenting potentially unrealistic expectations of the types of occupation that might be available, such as presenters, models, actors, dancers, musicians, and sports people.

This is exacerbated for female characters looking at the range of occupation types. There is a substantial difference between the largest (Arts / Leisure / Entertainment) and second largest occupation types (Food Preparation and Health Care), meaning female characters are viewed in less diverse occupation types.

It is also noteworthy that only 20 of those Food Preparation jobs are paid roles and 68 of the Health Care roles are accounted for by *Shortland Street*. Male characters are more prevalent across a larger range of occupation types: Sports, Law Enforcement / Military, News / Information, Politics, Construction, and Advertising / PR.

5.2.2 Paid and unpaid roles

The table below shows the breakdown of paid and unpaid roles for characters with occupations—this table shows only the primary occupation and roles coded as 'unclear' for payment have been removed.

There are more male characters in paid occupations than female characters and:

- Twice as many female characters are in paid occupations compared with unpaid occupations.
- Four times as many male characters are in paid occupations compared with unpaid occupations.

Payment	Female Characters	Percentage	Male Characters	Percentage
Paid	700	66.86%	1,494	80.67%
Unpaid	347	33.14%	358	19.33%
Total	**1,047**	**100.00%**	**1,852**	**100.00%**

Exploratory analysis revealed some illustrative statistics that could be further explored through thematic analysis:

- There were 109 characters with more than one occupation that was clearly paid or unpaid, of which 36 (12 female and 24 male) characters had more than one paid occupation and 52 (25 female and 27 male) characters did both paid and unpaid work. This means that proportionally there was an equal number of female and male characters with additional occupations that were paid, but twice as many female characters as male characters with an additional unpaid occupation.

- The two most common categories of unpaid work were Food Preparation (n = 124) and Childcare (n = 101) and were most associated with female characters, with twice as many female as male characters depicted doing unpaid childcare and cleaning up, and almost 1.5 times more female characters depicted doing unpaid food preparation.

- Adjusting gender and occupation for age revealed that amongst characters aged 18 years and over, there were more male characters (70.53%) with an occupation (that was either paid or where payment was unclear) than female characters (59.98%), suggesting that if viewers were looking at the 'onscreen labour force' (that is, who is in an occupation) they would see 2.21 male characters for 1 female character. Interestingly, the reverse is true for characters under the age of 18 years, with:

  - 36 characters (14.75%) aged 13–17 with an occupation (28 female and 8 male)
  - 10 characters (4.78%) aged 6–12 with an occupation (7 female and 3 male)

5.2.3 Gender, ethnicity, and payment
The table below shows the breakdown of paid and unpaid roles by gender and ethnicity (omitting the 'other' category).

Note—some characters had more than one occupation (which could be paid or unpaid) which means some of the percentages add up to more than 100 percent.

Where payment is known (that is, omitting where payment was coded as 'unclear'):

- Most European females (73.81%) and males (83.36%) have paid roles, though there were twice as many European female characters in unpaid roles as European male characters.

- Around half of Māori females (44.44%) and males (54.13%) have paid roles. There are about twice as many Māori characters that are depicted with unpaid occupations (female or male) as European characters.

- There were fewer Pasifika characters depicted with paid occupations (female, 78.26%, or male, 61.86%) than European characters but more than Māori characters.

- Asian characters are the only ones where female characters outnumber male characters in paid occupations.

Female		%	Male		%
Asian			**Asian**		
Paid	17	73.91%	Paid	26	78.79%
Unpaid	6	26.09%	Unpaid	8	24.24%
European			**European**		
Paid	510	73.81%	Paid	1,107	83.36%
Unpaid	208	30.10%	Unpaid	200	15.10%
Māori			**Māori**		
Paid	60	44.44%	Paid	131	54.13%
Unpaid	75	55.56%	Unpaid	103	42.56%
Māori or Pasifika			**Māori or Pasifika**		
Paid	40	74.07%	Paid	104	85.26%
Unpaid	14	25.93%	Unpaid	13	10.66%
Pasifika			**Pasifika**		
Paid	73	61.86%	Paid	126	78.26%
Unpaid	44	37.29%	Unpaid	34	21.12%

5.2.4 Gender and seniority
The table below shows the breakdown of seniority across the whole sample.

Seniority	Female Characters	Percentage	Male Characters	Percentage
1. CEO / Executive, Business Owner	87	6.09%	220	8.87%
2. Senior Manager / Manager	134	9.38%	219	8.83%
3. Team Leader / Coordinator	118	8.26%	249	10.04%
4. Staff Member	661	46.29%	1201	48.45%
Other or Not Applicable	428	29.97%	590	23.80%
Total	**1,428**	**100.00%**	**2,479**	**100.00%**

Seniority is proportionally similar, with just less than a quarter (23.73%) of female characters and just over a quarter (27.74%) of male characters with seniority greater than a staff member. Because of the greater number of male characters than female characters, however, there are more senior male characters than female characters, with the ratio in the top level of seniority of 2.53 males for every 1 female.

Exploratory analysis was also carried out to look at gender, seniority, and genre and found a greater imbalance in news and current affairs where in the top level of seniority there were 9 male characters for every 1 female character and 17 percent of male characters occupying the top two levels compared with 7.2 percent of female characters.

This is only partially accounted for by the greater number of male characters in the News and Current affairs genre (3.28 males for every 1 female) and strengthens the notion that this genre re-presents patriarchal practices and assumptions in society.

Also of note was the seniority disparity in the Drama genre where almost one quarter (24.5%) of male characters in Drama were depicted in the top two seniority brackets, compared with a tenth (9.9%) of female characters. This was unexpected, since Drama is the only genre to depict more female characters than male characters. So although there are more female characters than male characters in the Drama genre, they are clearly in less senior roles.

5.2.5 Gender stereotypes
The table below shows the degree to which characters portrayed gender stereotypes.

Note—this analysis is based on stereotypical traits the character displayed regardless of apparent biological sex and occupation. This was to ensure stereotypes were considered separately from biological sex (for example, to allow females to have masculine traits and males to have feminine traits) and from 'traditional' occupations (for example, so nurse characters could have masculine traits even though nursing is traditionally a female occupation).

- There are more male characters portrayed with mostly stereotypical masculine traits (67.20%) than female characters portrayed with mostly stereotypically feminine traits (54.34%).
- There are more female characters (40.76%) portrayed with mixed (feminine and masculine) traits than male characters (30.86%).
- There were more female characters (3.43%) with mostly masculine traits than male characters (0.93%) with mostly feminine traits.

Stereotypical Traits	Female Characters	Percentage	Male Characters	Percentage
Mixed (Feminine & Masculine)	582	40.76%	765	30.86%
Mostly Feminine	776	54.34%	23	0.93%
Mostly Masculine	49	3.43%	1,666	67.20%

Mostly Other Traits	21	1.47%	25	1.01%
Total	**1,428**	**100%**	**2,479**	**100%**

These figures suggest that male characters are associated with stereotypically masculine traits in a more straightforward way than female characters and could be worthy of further study.

5.2.6 Stereotypes and occupation

Certain occupation types were heavily associated with one set of gender traits, even if both men and women were depicted in those roles.

For instance, of the 307 people working in Law Enforcement / Military, 53 were female, depicting a male-dominated field (which may reflect actual workforce numbers). This is strengthened by the gender traits with most (71.70%) female characters (n = 38) depicted with both masculine and feminine traits, and a sizable minority (22.6%, n = 22) depicted as having mostly masculine traits.

The other occupation type most heavily dominated by masculine traits was Politics which again was dominated by male characters (83.33%). Most (77.08%) characters, female and male, had mostly masculine traits. Of the 17 female characters in Politics, less than a quarter (23.53%, n = 4) were depicted as having mostly feminine traits. Comparing this with Arts / Leisure / Entertainment, of the 298 female characters, most (72.82%, n = 217) were depicted as having mostly feminine traits.

5.3   Hypersexualistion

Hypersexuality is applied to the study of gender and television covering an overemphasis on attractiveness and sexuality by way of clothing (that is, alluring attire) and body proportions (that is, uncharacteristically small waist, hourglass figure, thinness).[9] Given that hypersexuality is not the main focus of this research, the analysis focused on clothing as one indicator of hypersexuality.

The table below shows the number of female and male characters with hypersexualised clothing.

There were more female characters (n = 166) than male characters (n = 24) presented in hypersexualised clothing and proportionally more of the female characters (11.62%) were presented in hypersexualised clothing than male characters (0.97%).

Hypersexualised Clothing	Female Characters	Percentage	Male Characters	Percentage
Yes	166	11.62%	24	0.97%
No	1,262	88.38%	2,455	99.03%
Total Characters	**1,428**	**100.00%**	**2,479**	**100.00%**

These figures indicate that New Zealand-produced television does not challenge the broader trend in Western mainstream media to sexualise women and girls more so than men and boys. The prevalence, though, appears to be lower; for example, compared to

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[9] For example, see Smith & Cook (2008).

the Smith and Cook (2008) study of American children's TV that found 20.7 percent of female characters and 5.4 percent of male characters wore hypersexualised clothing. It must be emphasised, though, that Smith and Cook included more variables and focused more on this area than this study.

In exploratory analysis, the New Zealand rates of hypersexualised clothing for television shows for children reduced the rate for male characters to almost zero (0.01%) whilst slightly increasing the rate for female characters (11.70%). This was unexpected as it was assumed that the television made for adults but watched by children (such as *Go Girls* and *Outrageous Fortune*) with more story lines relating to sex would increase the prevalence of hypersexualised clothing.

However, the rate for female characters appears to have been retained through the children's television of talkshow or variety show formats for older children (such as *The Erin Simpson Show*, *What Now?*, and *Pūkana*) that feature presenters and guests (usually from the entertainment industry) in hypersexualised clothing. This may be an attempt to appeal to older girls, who are typically beginning to identify femininity (including their own) with the hypersexualised representations of women in mainstream advertising and entertainment media.

5.4 Ethnicity

The majority (62.65%) of characters analysed were European (*n* = 2,483).

Ethnicity	Number	Percentage	2006 Census	Ethnicity	Number	Percentage	2006 Census
Māori	481	12.14%	14.6%	Asian	80	2.02%	9.2%
European	2,483	62.65%	67.6%	Other Ethnicity	86	2.17%	Not Applicable
Pasifika	319	8.05%	6.9%	Ethnicity Not Available	281	7.09%	Not Applicable
Māori or Pasifika	233	5.88%	Not Applicable	**Total**	**3,963**	**100%**	Not Applicable

As a comparison, the 2006 New Zealand Census records ethnicity as:

- European accounting for 67.6% of the population
- Māori accounting for 14.6% of the population
- Pasifika accounting for 6.9% of the population
- Asian accounting for 9.2% of the population.

A direct comparison is difficult due to the study's Māori or Pasifika category and over-sampling of television shows for Māori or Pasifika audiences. It is notable that there are more Asian characters (9.2%) than are found in the population (2.02%)

The table below shows known gender and ethnicity (omitting 'not available' and 'other') with little variation compared with overall ethnicity, indicating that male and female characters are proportionally represented within their ethnic groupings.

Ethnicity	Female Characters	%	Ethnicity	Male Characters	%
European	908	63.59%	European	1,567	63.21%
Māori	173	12.11%	Māori	306	12.34%
Pasifika	128	8.96%	Pasifika	190	7.66%
Māori or Pasifika	78	5.46%	Māori or Pasifika	153	6.17%
Asian	36	2.52%	Asian	44	1.77%

5.5 Character drive

The table below shows the character drive for female and male characters in order of prevalence.

Rank	Character Drive	Female Characters	Percentage	Character Drive	Male Characters	Percentage
1	Career	594	41.60%	Career	1,498	60.43%
2	Social	519	36.34%	Social	549	22.15%
3	No Drive	131	9.17%	No Drive	237	9.56%
4	Romance	70	4.90%	Career & Social	96	3.87%
5	Career & Social	70	4.90%	Romance	31	1.25%
6	Romance & Social	20	1.40%	Other	24	0.97%
7	Romance & Career	14	0.98%	Romance & Social	21	0.85%
8	Romance, Career, Social	6	0.42%	Romance & Career	12	0.48%
9	Other	4	0.28%	Romance, Career, Social	11	0.44%
	Total	1,428	100.00%	Total	2,479	100.00%

The top three character drives are the same for female and male characters, though proportionally:

- More male characters (60.43%) are driven by career factors than female characters (41.60%).

- More female characters (36.34%) are driven by social factors than male characters (22.15%).

Notably, romantic drive (either alone or with another drive) was present in 110 female characters and 74 male characters, though the total number of male characters significantly outnumbers the total number of female characters. These figures reiterate the findings of Lauzen et al. (2008) that female characters in prime-time American television are more likely to be portrayed in terms of their marital status or romantic availability than male characters.

6   Recommendations

Key recommendations for the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women and the Department of Labour:

1. Encourage New Zealand-produced television that addresses imbalances in the prevalence of gender and also across gender/ethnicity and occupation (type, payment, and seniority).

The areas in most need of addressing imbalance are:

• News / Current Affairs, Sport, and Reality TV, all of which are dominated by male characters
• Children's Television, where there is less imbalance but which could be improved further still, particularly amongst shows primarily aimed at school-aged children
• The range of occupation types for women across all genres, with the number of female characters in Arts / Leisure / Entertainment being more than three times higher than the next most common occupation type

This could be achieved by exploring options to engage with the two bodies that fund most locally-produced television viewed by children (New Zealand on Air and Te Māngai Pāho), for example:

a. NACEW could collaborate with New Zealand on Air and Te Māngai Pāho to develop and disseminate a set of best practice guidelines for funding recipients that addresses gender imbalances in New Zealand-produced television, including those relating to employment. These guidelines could draw from those outlined by Dafna Lemish (see section 4.5.2).
b. NACEW could encourage New Zealand on Air and Te Māngai Pāho to introduce funding criteria relating to the representation of gender; for example, ratios of female to male characters per show / genre and special funding for shows that address areas of imbalance.

Such activity could draw on the findings of this research to illustrate the particular characteristics of New Zealand-produced television that demonstrate that representing demographic parity can be done whilst retaining audience popularity (for example *Shortland Street* and *What Now?*).

There could also be activity to raise awareness of the issues presented in this research, such as including a focus in tertiary communication courses, providing industry workshops, and generating publicity relating to this research.

2. Support innovative ways to empower children to be critically aware of the gender imbalances apparent in television content.

The majority of television watched by children in New Zealand is not made in New Zealand and a focus at the level of reception as well as production could be beneficial. For example, teachers and educators are in a prime position to engage children to think critically about television's representations of gender, with Media Studies currently taught in at least a third of New Zealand schools. A potential strategy may be supporting and exploring options with agencies like the National Association of Media Educators (NAME), whose membership includes primary and

secondary school teachers.[10] Since 1991, NAME has actively worked to further develop primary and secondary school level media studies.

Given the prominence of American-produced content on New Zealand's television screens, there may also be value in sharing resources and approaches with an American agency such as the Geena Davis Institute, whose *Guess Who* video series teaches children aged 6 to 9 about gender stereotypes.[11]

3. Support further research to include qualitative approaches to contextualise how television portrays gender and employment and how this is utilised by children and young people.

This research project raises several key questions and areas for further study:

- The potential to conduct further research using qualitative approaches to add depth to these findings, such as:
  – thematic case studies with a textual/semiotic analysis of how gender differences and stereotypes are articulated, reinforced, and challenged by different television shows
  – an ethnographic study with children and young people to explore how they engage with television content and how this relates to their employment choices
  – an ethnographic study with television industry professionals in New Zealand to explore the representation of gender and employment on television.
- Further research into the representation of gender, ethnicity, and employment in New Zealand-produced television.

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[10] See www.name.org.nz for more details.
[11] See www.thegeenadavisinstitute.org for more details.

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8 Appendix A—Sample for the television content analysis

The tables below show the actual sample used for the television content analysis. All television shows and advertisements were recorded in October and November 2011 at the Film, Television and Media Studies Library, University of Auckland.

8.1 Television shows

Show Name	Broadcaster	Broadcasted Time (Minutes)
20/20	TV2	60
3 News	TV3	240
60 Minutes	TV3	60
7 Days	TV3	60
Amazing Extraordinary Friends	TV2	90
Autaia	Māori TV	30
Campbell Live	TV3	30
Close Up	TVOne	30
Cool Kids Cooking	TV2	10
Dog Patrol	TV3	60
Get Fresh with Al Brown	TVOne	60
Go Girls	TV2	180
I Am TV	TV2	60
Just The Job	TV2	30
Kaitangata Twitch	Māori TV	30

Show Name	Broadcaster	Broadcasted Time (Minutes)
Kidzone	Kidzone	150
Let's Get Inventin'	TV2	30
Marae DIY	Māori TV	60
Masterchef NZ	TV2	180
Mīharo	Māori TV	150
Missing Pieces	TV3	120
Motorway Patrol	TV2	120
New Zealand's Next Top Model	TV3	180
Noise Control	TV3	60
Nothing Trivial	TVOne	60
NZ's Hottest Home Baker	TV3	60
One News	TVOne	240
Operation Hero	TV2	90
Outrageous Fortune	TV3	180
Police Ten 7	TV2	90
Pūkana	TV3	220
Shortland Street	TV2	510
Small Blacks TV	TV2	30
Sports (Netball, Rugby)	TVOne	360
Sticky TV	TV3	180
Sunday	TVOne	40
Tagata Pasifika	TVOne	75
Target	TV3	60
The Erin Simpson Show	TV2	300
The Go Show	TV2	225
The Wot Wots	TV2	10
Tiki Tour	TV2	300
Time Trackers	TV2	90
Wild Vets	TV2	30
WNTV	TV2	360
	Total Minutes	**5590**

8.2 Television adverts

95 television adverts for the following organisations, products or services:

AA Insurance	Briscoes	Countdown
Ag. Online	Brother	Cudo
Anchor	Bunnings Warehouse	Dettol
ASB	Carpet Court	Dulux
Bendi Forklifts	Carters	Easy Off Bam
Bond & Bond	Channel Four	Flexibin
Bonus Bonds	Chanui Tea	GJ Gardiner
BP	Cigna Life Insurance	Gregg's Coffee
Bright's	Claratyne	Harvey Norman

Harvey Furnishings	Nestlé	Smokefree Rockquest
Holden	New World	Spotlight
Hot Summer Highway Tour	Noel Leeming	St John Ambulance
	Now 37	Subway
How to Train Your Dragon	NZCU	Sunrise Rice Cakes
	Paddle Pops	Swim Magic
Karicare Toddler	Pak n Save	The National Party
Kate Morgan Weight Loss	Pams	The Warehouse
	Pizza Hut	Tip Top
KFC	Placemakers	TSB Bank
Lotto	Powerade	TVOne
Mammoth Dips	Rainbow's End	Victoria University
Mazda	Rebel Sport	Vitafresh
McDonalds	Ronald McDonald House	Voltaren
Mitre 10	Rug Doctor	Weetbix
Mitsubishi	Seek	Whitcoull's
Monteith's	Silver Ferns Farms	Z
Mortein	Slingshot	

And television adverts for government campaigns on

- Drink driving
- Education
- Elections
- Family violence
- Fire safety
- Road safety

9   Appendix B—Areas for the television content analysis

The table below shows the analysis items used, followed by guidelines for coding:

Analysis Item	Codes	Analysis Item	Codes
Character	Name or description of the character	Shows/Advert	Name or description of the show/advert
Gender	Choose from: **F**emale / **M**ale / **T**ransgender **O**ther / **N**ot **A**vailable	Speaking	Does the character speak? **Y**es / **N**o / **O**ther
Human	Choose from: **H**uman **R**eal / **H**uman **C**artoon **N**on-**H**uman / **O**ther	Type	Choose from: **L**ead / **N**arrator **C**haracter / **E**xtra / **O**ther
Ethnicity	Choose from: **M**āori / **E**uropean / **P**asifika	Stereotypical	Character displays: **M**asculine / **F**eminine traits **B**oth / **N**either / **O**ther

	Māori or **P**asifika (if unclear) **A**sian / **O**ther / **N**ot **A**vailable		
Age	Choose from: 0–5 / 6–12 / 13–17 / 18–21 / 22–25 / 26–35 / 36–45 / 46–55 / 56–65 / 65+ / **N**ot **A**vailable	Drive	Character driven by: **R**omance / **C**areer / **S**ocial **N**one / **O**ther **R**omance & **C**areer **C**areer & **S**ocial **R**omance & **C**areer & **S**ocial
Hyper-sexualised characters	Is this a hypersexualised character? **Y**es / **N**o / **O**ther	Occupation	Is the occupation paid? **P**aid / **U**npaid /**O**ther
		Seniority	Choose from: 1 – CEO/Exec, Business Owner 2 – Senior Manager / Manager 3 – Team Leader / Coordinator 4 – Staff Member 5 – Other or Not Applicable

Occupation

Code at least one and up to three occupations, naming the job title/role and choose from:

Admin / Clerical / Reception
Accounts / Finance / Banking
Advertising / PR
Agriculture
Architecture / Design
Arts / Leisure / Entertainment
Business Exec
Carers / Aides
Childcare
Civil Servant
Cleaners / Laundry
Construction
Consulting

Customer Service
Driver
Law
Law Enforcement / Military
Education
Entrepreneur
Food Preparation
Health Care
Hospitality
Human Resources
IT
Management
News / Information
Office Worker
Other

Pilot (non-military)
Politics
Real Estate
Research / University
Restaurant
Royalty
Sales / Marketing
Science / Technology
Sex Worker
Social Services
Sports
Student
Tourism
Trades
Unemployed
Not Applicable

9.1 Guidelines

9.1.1 Stereotypical gender traits

A stereotype is defined as something that is regarded as embodying or conforming to a set image or type. Stereotypical gender traits are values, behaviours, and other character points that are seen as characteristic of women or men respectively.

Gender stereotypes, of course, do not always line up with a person's biological sex. Men can have more feminine traits than masculine traits, and women can have more masculine traits than feminine traits.

For this question, we want to know if a character has more feminine traits or more masculine traits, *regardless of their choice of job*. For instance, if a male nurse has mostly masculine traits, code him as **M** (Mostly Masculine Traits), regardless of the fact that he has chosen a stereotypically feminine job. If, however that same character was depicted in a nurturing or maternal light whilst *doing* his nursing work, these would count as feminine traits.

Please use the following two lists as a guide when answering this question. These lists are not exhaustive—if other stereotypical gender traits are apparent and they affect your answer, signal this in the notes for that character.

Stereotypical Masculine Traits	Stereotypical Feminine Traits
Includes but is not limited to: • Values: 　– Sex over romance 　– Career over family 　– Product/results over process 　– Leisure activities associated with physicality, violence, aggression, or danger (sports, fast cars, guns, etc.) • Emotions/expressivity: 　– Readily expressing anger, but not other emotions 　– Being overwhelmed by expressions of emotion other than anger 　– Stoic 　– Laconic (tendency to say little) 　– Afraid of commitment • Physical appearance: 　– Inconspicuous hairstyle, dress, etc. 　– Dressing for comfort or practicality rather than style 　– Few or no accessories 　– Muscly or stocky build 　– Taller than female companion	Includes but is not limited to: • Values: 　– Romance and commitment over sex 　– Family over career 　– Leisure activities associated with companionship, entertainment, and appearance: shopping, beautifying, etc. 　– Nurturance, having/raising children • Emotions/expressivity: 　– Readily expressing emotions, except anger 　– Emotionally responsive / intelligent 　– Giggly, flighty 　– Sensitive to others' feelings 　– Chatty/gossipy • Physical appearance: 　– Conspicuous hairstyle, dress, etc. 　– Heavy use of cosmetics, including tanning 　– Dressing for style, with accessories (esp. matching accessories) 　– Slim build (or slim waist but busty, etc.) 　– Shorter than male companion

9.1.2 Hypersexualised characters

Hypersexuality is narrowly defined as excessively interested or involved in sexual activity, and is applied to the study of gender and television in a broader sense to include an overemphasis on attractiveness and sexuality by way of clothing (that is, alluring attire) and body proportions (that is, uncharacteristically small waist, hourglass figure, thinness).[12] Given that this is not the main focus of our research, we will focus just on hypersexualised clothing, and ignore body types. Our logic for this choice is that determining what constitutes revealing or alluring clothing is the less subjective of these two elements of hypersexuality. As such, we can more easily keep our results academically sound without using up too much moderation resource on one question.

For this research, please answer yes if the character has:

- Sexually revealing or alluring clothing—that is, attire that enhances, exaggerates, or calls particular attention to any part of the body from neck to knees; or
- A particularly large amount of make-up that amplifies facial features well beyond their natural appearance—for example, bright red lipstick, heavily made-up eyes.

If neither of these is present, please answer no.

If there is some aspect of the character that doesn't fit the 2 points above but appears to be overemphasising a character's sexuality, please answer other and specify details in the notes section. This may include narrative details.

If you think there is something significant to capture about when they appear in hypersexualised clothing, write that in the notes; for example, if one of the doctors wears a tight dress at a bar, but dresses conservatively at work.

9.1.3 Seniority

Seniority is of course relative, so you may want to wait until the end of the episode to fill in this detail—that is, once you've met all the characters.

The most overlap is likely to be between level 2 (Senior Manager / Manager) and level 3 (Team Leader / Coordinator). It may help to consider the following:

- Level 2 = has some superiors, but more subordinates
- Level 3 = has some subordinates, but more superiors

9.1.4 Character type

- 'Lead' refers to a character who is the clear focus of a whole show (not just a particular episode).
- For example, the title character(s), such as the three young women who call themselves the 'Go Girls' in the show of the same name.
- If you're in doubt about whether a character is a Lead or just a Character, choose Character.
- Extras are non-speaking, background roles. Sometimes background roles get one or two lines, but are still clearly extras. Use your discretion, and if in doubt, again, choose Character.
- A good rule of thumb is: if they do not have a character name, they are an extra. Code their name as for example, Nurse 1.
- Sometimes Narrators are also characters in the show. Choose Narrator, but note this dual role in the notes.

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[12] For example see Smith & Cook (2008)

9.1.5 Drive

You need to assess what the main driver is for that character during the course of the episode. You may end up tweaking your answers for each character as the episode goes on. The question to ask is: What is their main priority?

- For example, a doctor who is at work but clearly distracted by text messages from a potential suitor. Put 'R' for 'Romance'.
- If you feel they really do have more than one equally major driver or focus, then you can use the combo options.
- For example, a busy CEO working on her laptop at home while looking after the kids. If the character prioritises both career and family equally, put 'CS' for 'Career and Social'.

9.1.6 Housework and childcare

We need to capture any work that is represented, and this includes unpaid work. Childcare for your own children and housework in your own house are both forms of work, even though they are unpaid.

- Code unpaid childcare as 'Childcare', 'unpaid'.
- Code unpaid housework as whatever specific task is depicted; for example, doing laundry would be 'Cleaners / Laundry', 'unpaid'. Cooking dinner would be 'Food Preparation', 'unpaid'.

9.1.7 One actor, many characters (for example, *Go Show*)

If an actor plays more than one character, code these characters separately. This includes kids' show presenters who role play various characters through the course of the show.

For example, if a *Go Show* presenter dresses up as a police officer and does a little song or skit about being a police officer, they are effectively a new character, so enter two characters in the spreadsheet: a presenter, and a police officer.

9.1.8 Advertisements and promos

We will analyse any New Zealand-made advertisements that appear during the TV shows we are analysing. If in doubt about whether an advertisement is New Zealand-made, ignore it. Code advertisements in a separate spreadsheet (see below for details).

Promos are advertisements for TV shows, or for TV channels (aka Station IDs). Mostly we can ignore these, as they will contain content that will appear elsewhere in our sample period.

Only code promos for New Zealand TV shows or TV channels if:

a.   They contain unique content that will not air in the shows they advertise; for example, *Shortland Street*'s jazz club-theme ads, where all the characters are dressed up like the 1940s.

b.   They are advertising New Zealand shows that are not in our sample list (see above).

10 Appendix C—Gender and occupation data table

The table below shows the occupation types for female and male characters in order of prevalence. Each character was coded for up to three occupations and since some characters had more than one work role, this resulted in more roles than characters.

Occupation Type	Female Characters	Occupation Type	Male Characters
Not Applicable	378	Not Applicable	518
Arts / Leisure / Entertainment	298	Sports	451
Food Preparation	93	Arts / Leisure / Entertainment	307
Health Care	93	Law Enforcement / Military	254
News / Information	84	News / Information	179
Sports	84	Food Preparation	92
Childcare	75	Politics	85
Law Enforcement / Military	53	Construction	71
Student	49	Health Care	62
Unemployed*	26	Student	60
Other	24	Advertising / PR	50
Education	22	Other	45
Agriculture	21	Trades	35
Advertising / PR	21	Childcare	32
Politics	17	Agriculture	30
Carers / Aides	15	Civil Servant	28
Admin / Clerical / Reception	15	Education	25
Sales / Marketing	13	Sales / Marketing	24
Hospitality	11	Driver	22
Tourism	11	Carers / Aides	19
Entrepreneur	10	Science / Technology	19
Civil Servant	9	Unemployed	16
Science / Technology	7	Business Exec	15
Cleaners / Laundry	6	Law	14
Customer Service	6	Tourism	12
Accounts / Finance / Banking	5	Customer Service	10
Driver	5	Accounts / Finance / Banking	10
Office Worker	3	IT	9
Real Estate	3	Hospitality	8
Restaurant	3	Cleaners / Laundry	7
Trades	3	Entrepreneur	7
Royalty	3	Royalty	6
Social Services	3	Restaurant	5

Occupation Type	Female Characters	Occupation Type	Male Characters
Consulting	2	Consulting	5
Construction	2	Office Worker	5
Management	2	Research / University	3
Sex Worker	2	Admin / Clerical / Reception	2
Architecture / Design		Pilot (non-military)	2
Business Exec	1	Management	1
IT	1	Architecture / Design	1
		Real Estate	1
		Social Services	1
Total Roles	**1,480**	**Total Roles**	**2,548**

*Note—'Unemployed' refers to characters whose unemployment was diegetic; that is, it was clear from the narrative that they were unemployed rather than their employment status was unknown.

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