

The portrayal of the Tanzanian woman in television commercials: is she a piece of soap, a house, or gold?

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Abstract

This paper provides a picture of the way television advertising interacts with daily life of Tanzanians. By examining the specific images of men and women presented in the television commercials, it exposes the different strategies that advertisers use in transmitting gender stereotypes between men and women. It observes that gender stereotyping in advertising draws from unfavourable attitudes that are consciously and subconsciously acted out in real life situations. A total of sixty television commercials were video-recorded from Independent Television Tanzania (ITV) and Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) between October 2002 and March 2003 through a deliberate sampling procedure. Fifteen out of them were analysed using a modified Fairclough (1989) method referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

1. Introduction

The social environment in which people live plays a major role in shaping their attitudes and behaviour. It constantly supplies them with information that may influence the way they perceive the world. In so doing, it shapes their attitudes and beliefs, gradually moulding each and every one into an individual member of society. In the past, these influences that dictate how we should behave in society emanated from sources such as the community, family and school. Today, the influence of these sources is drastically declining, as a result of the technological changes that are occurring in society.

The growth of the mass media, with television becoming a powerful medium, has had a great impact on the lives of many people. In Tanzania, like any other society today, the television set is becoming so prominent in so many households. Its function is not only to provide entertainment for people, but also to provide them with information. Beasley (1997:1) observes that television portrays many important social roles, one of the most important and pervasive of them being “gender”. Regarding gender and child development, Van Evra (1990:112) comments on the influence of television by saying that it plays a significant role in a child’s growing beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be male or female in the world.

Although in Tanzania television is the least accessible type of mass media after the radio and the press, it is the most appealing type of mass media to most people. This paper provides a picture of the way television advertising interacts with daily life of Tanzanians.¹ By examining the specific images of men and women presented in the television commercials, it exposes the different strategies that advertisers use in transmitting gender stereotypes between men and women. It observes that gender stereotyping in advertising draws from to unfavourable attitudes that are consciously and subconsciously acted out in real life situations.

A total of sixty television commercials were video-recorded from Independent Television Tanzania (ITV) and Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) between October 2002 and March 2003 through a deliberate sampling procedure. Fifteen out of the sixty television commercials were analysed using a modified Fairclough (1989) method referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The analysis involved both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the data.

The paper is divided into five sections. In Section One I provide a background to advertising in Tanzania in general. In Section Two I trace the portrayal of women in Tanzania by focusing on traditional mass media, Tanzanian languages, social settings and productive activities. In Section Three I analyse the Tanzanian television commercials to establish how they portray gender relations. The analysis will involve both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the commercials. The linguistic aspects are vocabulary and grammar. The vocabulary will involve nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, metaphors and interjections while grammar will involve nominalizations, sentence types, grammatical processes and participant types, agency, voice, co-ordination and subordination, polarity, and modality. The non-linguistic aspects will involve the setting for the commercials, the gender of

¹ Perhaps brand owners, designers, producers, actors and actresses of the advertisements, as well as the audience, never thought of advertising as an analysable gender phenomenon of life. They only enjoy the entertainment episodes of the advertisements, identify themselves with them or become repulsed by the propositions, problems and dilemmas of the heroes and heroines in them.

the actors/actresses of the commercials, the type and size of the dress worn by the actors/actresses, characters' background, the role of the characters in the commercials, voice-over, the time spent on the characters and the voice-over, and the number of words spoken by the characters. In Section Four I summarise the linguistic and non linguistic data and establish a general picture of how the analysed television commercials portray gender relations in Tanzania. In Section Five I conclude the discussion.

1.1 Advertising in Tanzania

Before trade liberalisation in Tanzania in the mid 1990s, there were no television stations on mainland Tanzania. During this period advertising was done through the radio, newspapers and Billboards. These played a very important and effective role in advertising at that time. Even today there are many commercials on the radio and newspapers. Billboards are also very prominent. However, these instruments though so effective, lack one aspect that television has; the power to capture the audience. While both the radio and television use the auditory sense, television uses also the visual sense. While the newspaper uses the visual sense as television does, it lacks the use of the auditory sense. Above all, television has visible animation.

Since 1995 Tanzania has experienced the mushrooming of television stations, which has coincided with an increase in industrial production and import and export trade. The mass production of commodities, which has created a stiff competition among companies, has activated the need for advertising even further.² This is the time when television commercials started to be used over and above those that are channelled through newspapers, radios and Billboards.

According to Goodrum and Dalrymple (1990:39), television has shaped the way advertisers sell their products. Instead of using many words as it was the case for newspapers and radios, they just use catchy slogans, jingles and famous characters such as beauty models, famous musicians and sportsmen and women. The use of such techniques renders messages faster and makes the consumer remember the product(s).

Although the role of advertising is to promote the growth of business economy by providing vital information about different products to the public and to persuade people to purchase them, it usually does more than promoting goods. Stanton (1981:417) explains that advertisers use cultural marketing strategies and draw on dominant cultural values to persuade people to purchase the products or

² Two or more companies are trying to sell similar products to the same group of people; so advertisers are strongly challenged to convince consumers to prefer one company's product to another's and the television is considered to be the best tool to do this.

change their attitudes from the existing brands to new ones. In order to meet their goals, advertisers play around with people's psychology so as to capture their attention, while in the process modifying the attitudes and behaviour of the audience and consequently making people behave in certain ways or believe in certain things.³

2. Traces of negative portrayal of women in Tanzania

2.1 The traditional mass media

The traces of negative portrayal of women in the mass media in Africa dates back to the time of the traditional African societies. During the 'rites de passage' initiation ceremonies, the songs, the settings, and the activities that were involved were all replete with gender inequality. For instance, among the Maasai,⁴ a male initiate was circumcised in the open ground, surrounded by a good number of warriors singing either pejorative songs should he show fear or bravery songs to encourage him to withstand the pain.⁵ But for a female initiate, the circumcision was done in front of her mother's hut, surrounded by a handful of women. These women were supposed to comfort and take her into her mother's hut if she failed to withstand the pain.

The difference in setting for the ritual between boys and girls sends a message that among the Maasai, for a man, though fear and failure are shameful, their victim should be exposed. In contrast, for a woman, the shame of fear and failure should not be exposed publicly but it could only be witnessed by fellow women inside her mother's hut. A man was taught and expected to show bravery, but this was not the case for a woman. This attitude contributed in cementing the perception that, home is where a girl belongs in life, with mother as her immediate aide, a perception that is still held by many people in many societies today.

2.2 Gender bias in Tanzanian languages

Gender bias in Tanzania is inherent in the Tanzanian languages themselves. In Kiswahili (the national language of Tanzania) for instance, there are lexical items that provide evidence of sexism. McWilliam (1988) finds that in the marriage institution for instance, there are words like *Oa* 'marry', for men, and *Olewa* 'get married' for women, which suggest that a man is active and a woman is passive as

³ Advertisers design advertisements that look like the identified audience, talk like it, and are shown doing things that the audience does" (Goodrum & Dalrymple, 1990:39).

⁴ A story told to me by one Maasai undergraduate student (Rhoda) at the University of Dar es Salaam in 2001.

⁵ When a boy showed fear of being circumcised, the whole clan was ridiculed and he could be evicted. However, the rites are losing prominence at the hands of modernity and gender movements.

far as matrimony is concerned. A similar phenomenon is reported by Qorro & Rubagumya (1999) about greetings and weddings among the Iraqw, Sambia, Chagga, and Nyakyusa tribes of Tanzania. In greetings, in some of those societies women have to show respect when they greet men by greeting first, kneeling, bending or sitting down. In weddings, the nomenclature of the marriage institution shows that men marry and women get married, men divorce while women get divorced.

The bias is also reflected in naming where the most endearment words are assigned to the female members of the society; *kisura* 'lovely looking girl', *kidosho* 'small bird/ beautiful girl', *mtoto* 'baby/ beautiful girl', *kipusa* 'rhino horn/beautiful girl'. It is also common to hear female names such as *Waridi* 'rose', *Maua* 'flowers', and *Lulu* 'jewel', and male names such *Gamba* 'chest', *Gambanene* 'broad-chested', *Simba* 'lion', *Mbogo* 'buffalo', just to mention a few.

This asymmetric language use for men and women reflects serious gender relations, which in practical terms are power relations (Cameron and Coates 1988; Cameron 1992). Language use plays a crucial role in shaping these power relations between different social groups by maintaining gender stereotyping and male dominance (Phillipson 1992; McConnell-Ginet 1998). The gender stereotyping and male dominance can easily be traced in workings of various social institutions, (advertising being one of them), which often embody assumptions, which directly or indirectly legitimise existing power relations (Fairclough 1989:2).

2.3 In social settings

Omary (1995) recounts that during the colonial period in Tanzania and East Africa as a whole, women's images were perpetuated by the concept of *Mamsahib*⁶ and the lady figure among civil servants. Wives of civil servants (white or black), who were only a representative sect of the majority of women in East Africa and elsewhere in the world, were even to take seminars to learn good manners and practice in organising or attending parties and official functions. This was because women were and are still in some places, the ones to support men by serving at political and social functions, attend to visitors both at parties and home, and care for husbands, children and even in-laws. So women were expected to possess special social qualities that differentiate them from men.

2.4 In productive activities

Mbillinyi (1999) studies women's roles in micro and small enterprises of Tanzania and discovers that although Tanzanian women are involved in a variety of

⁶ Wife of the master, mistress, lady.

productive activities, certain kinds of work have been stereotyped as being ‘male’ or ‘female’ because of gender stereotyping that tough jobs are for men and light jobs are for women.

As Tanzania slowly becomes a capitalist society, the mass media’s portrayal of women reflects more of the economic mode of production unlike during the traditional society where it reflected male-female relations. Unfortunately, in the modern mass media, women are reflected more in terms of what the society assumes they consume and less of what they can produce.

3. Analysis of Tanzania’s television commercials

Each commercial was analysed separately to see how various linguistic and non-linguistic elements were used and how they reflect gender stereotyping.

3.1. Linguistic elements

3.1.1 Vocabulary

The vocabulary items that were analysed were nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and metaphors as presented in Table 3.1.

3.1.1.1 Nouns and pronouns

Quirk et al (1972:127) describe three kinds of nouns, namely proper, concrete, and abstract nouns. Proper nouns and concrete nouns refer to physical entities while abstract nouns refer to entities of the mind. Leech and Short (1981:99) further observe that abstract nouns can refer among other things, to moral and social qualities. Table 3.1 shows that in the observed television commercials, female characters used 55% of the total proper nouns, 55% of the total concrete nouns, and 51% of the total abstract nouns. This means that female characters used more nouns that refer to common knowledge of the products (common nouns) and nouns that relate to feelings, quality, or state (abstract nouns). Table 3.1 also shows that both male and female characters used equal number of demonstrative pronouns but female characters alone used 83% of the total personal pronouns. The personal pronoun *mimi* ‘I’, a pronoun that is a marker of self-centredness, was exclusively used by female characters.

3.1.1.2 Adjectives

Leech and Short (1981:99) assert that adjectives are words that may refer to psychological, emotive, and evaluative attributes. Table 3.1 indicates that male characters in the analysed television commercials used 54% of the total possessive adjectives, and 55% of the total emphatic adjectives. Female characters on the

| Vocabulary items | | Men (%) | Women (%) |
|------------------|---------------|---------|-----------|
| Nouns | Proper | 45 | 55 |
| | Concrete | 45 | 55 |
| | Abstract | 49 | 51 |
| Pronouns | Personal | 17 | 83 |
| | Demonstrative | 50 | 50 |
| Adjectives | Possessive | 54 | 46 |
| | Descriptive | 31 | 69 |
| | Emphatic | 55 | 45 |
| | Demonstrative | 32 | 68 |
| | Quality | 19 | 81 |
| | Interrogative | 17 | 83 |
| | Quantity | 26 | 74 |
| Adverbs | Place | 73 | 27 |
| | Time | 63 | 37 |
| | Manner | 33 | 67 |
| Metaphors | | 40 | 60 |
| Interjections | | 33 | 67 |

Table 3.1. Vocabulary items.

other hand used 69% of the total descriptive adjectives, 83% of the total interrogative adjectives, 74% of the total quantity adjectives and 81% of the total quality adjectives. This implies that male characters used more words that express emphasis and possession, while female characters used more words that describe, demonstrate, interrogate, and express quantity and quality.

3.1.1.3 Adverbs

Lakoff (1975) observes a difference in how women and men use adverbs and concludes that women frequently use intensive adverbs. Table 3.1 shows that female characters in the observed commercials used more adverbs of manner than men did by 34% while male characters used more adverbs of place and time than female characters did by 46% and 26% respectively. This means that men used more adverbs about locale and time while women used more adverbs about how things are done or how they happen (intensive).

3.1.1.4 Metaphors

Fairclough (1989:119) refers to a metaphor as a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another. Metaphors enable speakers to avoid direct (face-threatening and over revealing) references. They are imbedded in languages and cultures and depend both on the human conceptual and cultural systems. Selections from these systems may be used to structure particular discourses and to reproduce those systems symbolically. Leech and Short (1981:95) argue that metaphor serves to animate and humanise what is inanimate. Table 3.1 shows that female characters used 80% of the total metaphoric expressions in the analysed television commercials. These findings mean that female characters used more symbolic words than men did.

3.1.1.5 Interjections

Procter (1978) defines an interjection as a word or phrase used to express a strong feeling such as shock, pain, or pleasure. Quirk et al (1972:413) refer to interjections as purely emotive words that have no referential content. They may among others, indicate such emotive aspects as surprise, satisfaction, recognition, etc. (Ah) ehee! ahaa!, jubilant satisfaction (Aha) Yes (Uh-huh) and impolite request for repetition (Eh?), Ee! Table 3.1 shows that female characters used 67% of the total number of interjections that were used in the analysed television commercials.

3.1.2 Grammatical elements

Grammatical elements were analysed at the levels of nominalisations, sentence types, grammatical processes and participant types, agency, voice, co-ordination, interjections, polarity, and modality as presented in Table 3. 2.

3.1.2.1 Nominalisations

Fairclough (1989:124) uses the concept “nominalisation” to refer to a situation whereby a verbal process is expressed as a noun or a multiword compound noun or a nominal clause. All these situations may indicate at least two things; one is the complexity of the nominal clause and second is the absence of agents in the clause. It is obvious that a multiword compound noun is longer, and more elaborate than a simple noun, hence its credibility in terms of information provision. Fairclough (1989:125) comments that dropping the agent in a clause may imply avoidance of redundancy, but it may also result in obfuscation of causality and responsibility. Table 3.2 shows that female characters used more nominalisations than male

| Grammatical elements | | Men (%) | Women (%) |
|------------------------------------|---------------|---------|-----------|
| 1. Nominalisations | | 34 | 66 |
| 2. Sentence types | Declarative | 40 | 60 |
| | Imperative | 69 | 31 |
| | Interrogative | 31 | 69 |
| | Exclamatory | 17 | 83 |
| 3. Processes and participant types | Action (SVO) | 58 | 42 |
| | Event (SO) | 50 | 50 |
| | Attribute | 45 | 55 |
| 4. Agency | Clear | 65 | 35 |
| | Unclear | 27 | 73 |
| 5. Voice | Active | 67 | 33 |
| | Passive | 33 | 67 |
| 6. Co-ordination | | 53 | 47 |
| 7. Subordination | | 32 | 68 |
| 8. Polarity | Positive | 42 | 58 |
| | Negative | 54 | 46 |
| 9. Modality | Expressive | 30 | 70 |
| | Relational | 64 | 36 |

Table 3.2. Grammatical elements.

characters did by 32%. Female characters used more complex but agent-less constructions thus being portrayed as unable to express causality and responsibility.

3.1.2.2 Sentence types (mood)

Mood is an aspect of grammar that indicates what the speaker is doing with a proposition in a particular discourse situation. There are four major sentence moods: declarative, imperative, interrogative, and exclamatory. Bolinger (1988:263) asserts that declaratives and imperatives display the speaker more in control of the situation. Interrogatives on the other hand display the speaker as a seeker for information and the addressee as the provider of information while

exclamatory sentences are primarily for expressing the speaker's own feelings. Table 3.2 shows that female characters used more declarative (20%), interrogative (38%) and exclamatory (66%) sentences above male characters while male characters used more imperative sentences above female characters by 20%. This means that male characters used more authoritative language than female characters, while female characters used more of the language that expresses state of affairs, lack of knowledge, and surprise.

3.1.2.3 Grammatical processes and participant types

Fairclough (1989:125) distinguishes three types of grammatical processes and participant types. These are action (SVO), event (SV), and attribution (SVC). He clarifies that an action involves two participants; an agent and a patient (animate or inanimate), the agent acting upon the patient in some way. An event on the other hand involves just one participant, which may be animate or inanimate. An attribution also involves one participant, but there is some sort of attribute after the verb, either possessive or non-possessive attributes (adjectives). Table 3.2 shows that while both male and female characters used an equal number of the event type of grammatical process and participation, female characters used more action type than male characters did by 16% and female characters used more attribute type than male characters did by 10%. This means that male characters used more grammatical constructions that relate to activity while female characters used more grammatical constructions that relate to quality.

3.1.2.4 Agency and voice

The concept "agency" relates to concepts of action, event, and attribution. These concepts can be summarised into transitivity and intransitivity (Lock 1996:74). Action can be called a transitive process while event and attribution can be called intransitive processes. Table 3.2 indicates that male characters used 65% of all the sentences that had clear agency while female characters used 75% of all the sentences that had unclear agency. Furthermore, table 3.2 shows that female characters used more passive voice (67%), while male characters used more active voice (67%). This implies that male characters, unlike female characters, used more sentences that show causality, responsibility, and activity.

3.1.2.5 Co-ordination and sub-ordination

Fairclough (1989:131) distinguishes between co-ordination and subordination by saying that the former connects component sentences of equal weight while the

latter connects component sentences of unequal weight, whereby there is a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. It is generally the case that the main clause is more informatively prominent than the subordinate clauses, with the content of subordinate clauses is back-grounded. Table 3.2 shows that male characters used 53% of the co-ordinate clauses while female characters used 68% of the subordinate clauses. This implies that male characters provided information that was relatively prominent or asserted while female characters provided information that was relatively back-grounded, or presupposed.

3.1.2.6 Polarity

Procter (1978) refers to polarity as the fact of people's opinions, beliefs, or ideas being completely different or opposite to each other. Lock (1996:180) explains that declarative, interrogative and imperative mood can each be combined with positive or negative polarity. Table 3.2 shows that female characters used 16% positive statements more than male characters while male characters used 8% negative statements more than female characters. This implies that female characters used more utterances that relate to acquiescence while male characters used more utterances that relate to resistance.

3.1.2.7 Modality

Lock (1996:211) defines modality in two senses: a broad and narrow sense. In a broad definition, he says, modality would encompass all expressions of interpersonal meanings that lie between "it is so" and "it is not" or between "do it" and "don't". A narrow definition of modality encompasses only the modal auxiliaries and their uses, and sometimes also some adverbs functioning as modal adjuncts, such as possibly, probably, and certainly. Fairclough (1989:126) states that modality has to do with speaker or writer authority. He further divides modality into two dimensions: Firstly, relational modality such as command, if it is a matter of authority (in terms of both physical and knowledge power) of one participant in relation to others. Secondly, expressive modality, if it is a matter of speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality.⁷ Table 3.2 shows that male characters used 64% of the total relational modality and female characters used 70% of the total expressive modality. This implies that male characters expressed authority while female characters expressed emotionalism.

⁷ This paper applied both Lock's broad definition and Fairclough's (1989) classification of modality.

| | | Male | Female | Totals |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| Setting | Home | 8 (36%) | 14 (64%) | 22 |
| | Office | 5 (63%) | 3 (37%) | 8 |
| | Elsewhere | 18 (62%) | 11 (38%) | 29 |
| Type of dress | African | 0 (0%) | 2 (100%) | 2 |
| | Western | 28 (55%) | 23 (45%) | 51 |
| Size of dress | Ample | 25 (49%) | 26 (51%) | 51 |
| | Scanty | 3 (75%) | 1 (25%) | 4 |
| Number of words | | 550 (52%) | 560 (48%) | 1 066 |

Table 3.3a. Setting, type and size of dress, number of words.

3.2 Non-linguistic elements

The aim of analysing non linguistic elements of the commercials was to see how these aspects were attributed to male and female characters of the analysed commercials so as to see whether they portrayed gender stereotypes or not. The non linguistic elements that were analysed were the setting of the advertisement (home, office or away from both home and office), number of characters in each advertisement, and their sex. Others were type of dress worn by characters (African or western), coverage of the dress (ample,-covering a large part of the body or scanty -covering just a small part of the body and the number of words spoken by the characters (Table 3.3a) and the background of characters in the society (famous or unknown) and users of products in each advertisement, advisors or experts on the products, voice-over, and time spent on voice-over, character, product, and the whole advertisement. Others were the frequency of movement of the camera from the product to character and vice versa, the presence or absence of a jingle (a song sung during the airing of an advertisement) and or an instrumental hook (instrumental music played during the advertisement (Table 3.3b).

3.2.1 Setting

Table 3.3a shows that 64% of the characters who were shown in the home setting

| | | Male | Female | Totals |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| <i>Character background</i> | Famous | 3 (33%) | 6 (67%) | 9 |
| | Unknown | 17 (57%) | 13 (43%) | 30 |
| <i>User</i> | | 9 (35%) | 17 (65%) | 26 |
| <i>Advisor</i> | | 11 (68%) | 6 (32%) | 17 |
| <i>Voice-over</i> | | 9 (64%) | 5 (36%) | 14 |
| <i>Time</i> | Voice-over | 126 (69%) | 58 (31%) | 184 |
| | Character | 57 (21%) | 214 (79%) | 271 |
| | Product | | | 147 |
| | Overlap | | | 43 |
| | Advert | | | 461 |

Table 3.3b. Character's background, number, and sex of users and number and sex of advisers or producers Voice-overs and time.

were female. They formed only 37% of those who were in the office, and 38% of those who were in neither the home nor office setting (away). 50% of the advertisements that were in the home setting showed female characters cooking, decorating their bodies, making the home or explaining what is needed to make a home.

3.2.2 Type and size of the dress and the focus of camera

Table 3.3a shows that the two characters that wore African dresses (kitenge and khanga styles) were female. Most male characters in contrast wore western dresses (trousers, shirt and necktie). Female characters were 51% of those who wore dresses that covered a large part of the body. While in some commercials male characters wore shorts without shirts. The camera focused on female characters for 79% of the total time, lingeringly revealing both their upper and lower body, while for male characters it only focused on the upper body.

3.2.3 Number of words

Although women spoke in thirteen out of the fifteen television commercials that were analysed, they spoke fewer words than men did. Table 3.3a shows that out of the 1066 words spoken, female characters spoke 516 while male characters spoke 550 words. This means that female characters spoke less than male characters did by 8%. This is because male characters took part in most voice-overs, which were more elaborate than the dialogue in which most women took part.

3.2.4 Character's background and role, time and voice-over

Table 3.3b shows that 67% of the female characters in the commercials were famous women in the areas such as the arts, beauty contests, and sports. In addition, female characters formed 65% of the users of products, and only 31% of the advisors. Moreover, female characters took part in 36% while male characters took part in 64% of all the commercials that had voice-over. Female characters took up 46% (214 seconds) while men took up only 12% (57 seconds) of the 461 seconds total time spent on all the commercials.

Other non-linguistic elements that were observed in the commercials included paralinguistic and kinetic features such as facial expressions, head, body, and hand movements.⁸ It was observed that in five commercials female characters were shown using expressions that are sexually suggestive, for instance, eye rolling, an elegant up and down movement of shoulders, pointing at oneself in a self promoting manner, and using fingers to trace the outline of the products. They were also shown kissing the products or running the products on their bodies, inhaling from the products and smiling sensually. The only male character who was shown kissing was kissing a woman's hand not the product that was being advertised.

In addition, the kind of items that were awarded to characters was also studied. There were three advertisements that involved awarding of characters that used the products. The kind of items that were awarded differed significantly between male and female characters. The three women who were awarded received items that are sexually connotative. For instance, one was awarded a bunch of flowers and a ribbon marking her being a beauty queen, the second won a partner and the third won beauty soap. The male character who was awarded on the other hand was awarded a trophy.

⁸ These are not included in the table.

4. Summary

In the analysed television commercials, there are vivid examples of linguistic and non linguistic strategies that indicate how television advertising in Tanzania perpetuates gender stereotyping. Some of the strategies are summarised below:

A man is presented as powerful in that a man's soap, for instance, was likened to a nation while a woman's soap was likened to a face. Symbolically a nation is an emblem of power, inclusiveness and unity as opposed to face, which is personal, individual, and anti unity. Another important observation is about the rewarding system as portrayed in the analysed commercials. A man won a trophy while a woman won a partner. A trophy is a symbol of power, which presents the winner as conqueror. Some people can argue that a partner is more important than a trophy; my argument is that in television advertising in Tanzania this portrayal reflects a popular perception that a woman is always in need of a partner, which is reflected in some Swahili words referring to women: *olewa*, *achika* 'get married, get divorced'. These words imply that the object is in need of the relationship. This awarding system is gender stereotypical in that women were awarded only small things that place them at an inferior level while men were awarded big things that signify power and prosperity.

In addition, the activities that led to the awarding were gender stereotypical. For instance, a woman used the product (soap), became beautiful and realised her dream of becoming beauty queen. She also used the product, became beautiful and won a partner. She washed her partner's clothes using a soap that is gender neutral *Taifa* 'nation' but was awarded gender biased soap *Sura* 'face'. A man on the contrary, wore the clothes that were washed by the woman, went to play football, won the match, and consequently was awarded a trophy. This assignment of gender roles is gender biased in that it assigns women lighter and domestic roles than it does to men.

In some cases female characters were made to identify with what they consume, or in some cases they uttered words that imply that they belong to the home, thus being reduced to the status of things: *Nyumba kweli mwanamke shoga yangu* 'A house is a woman dear', *mwanamke dhahabu bwana* 'a woman is gold sir!' Along with this dehumanisation, female characters were portrayed as unemployed and homemakers by presenting them in home settings. They were shown cooking, decorating the home or explaining what is needed to make a home.

We would expect advertising to show us the products so that we decide whether to buy them or not. Contrary to this expectation, in the analysed television commercials, female characters and not the products, were shown most of the time; the camera focusing on them for 46% of the total airing time while it focused on

the product only 31% of the time. Female characters were shown as attractive, tender and sensual. Some female characters were even likened to adornments: *mwanamke dhahabu bwana* ‘a woman is gold sir!’ Here we fail to understand what the commercials were made to sell. Was the beauty of the female characters more important to advertisers than the products themselves? Should women necessarily be beautiful in order to enjoy life and develop the nation as it was portrayed: *Wasichana warembo burudika na Heineken1164, kwa afya, raha na maendeleo ya taifa* ‘Beautiful girls, refresh yourself with Heineken1164 for health, joy and national development’.

Moreover, female characters were shown excitedly using hands and facial expressions such as eye rolling, pouting, shoulder and head shaking, and sensually smiling. They were also shown tracing the outline of products, feeling, caressing, and or kissing them. This supports what Van Evra (1990:117) observes that many television advertisers appear to be clinging tenaciously to an image of women as creatures who become unbelievably excited over a detergent’s cleaning power, whose worlds are narrow and totally house bound, and who never discuss anything complicated or stimulating.

Female characters were also shown in a constant wish for comfort. Menstruation, for example, was seen as a problem until a new Jassy pad was discovered to simplify life by making a woman feel fresh and safer everywhere and every time: *wanawake kuweni wenye furaha na raha tele, wakati wote popote na Jassy* ‘women be happy and comfortable, everywhere, all the time with Jassy pad’. Other examples that portray women as being always in need of comfort are: *Amanda ina mafuta maalum kwa kulainisha ngozi yako* ‘Amanda has special oil to soften your skin’, *Neema kwa muda mrefu amekuwa na shauku ya kuwa malkia wa urembo* ‘Neema for a long time has been anxious to become beauty queen’. Everybody needs comfort of some sort, so the portrayal of women as the only people who need comfort is a distortion of reality.

Female characters were also portrayed as mere consumers of commodities most of whose origin or contents they do not know. In Tanzania, like in most other societies, most men go out and venture into many things while most women stay at home most of the time. Consequently men are believed to possess more knowledge about what is going on in the world than women do. This can be supported by the fact that in the analysed television commercials female characters were assigned more user roles while men were assigned more salesmanship roles.

In addition to that, female characters were shown to possess very little knowledge. They used more subordinate clauses, which suggest that what they said was a shared knowledge mainly as reaction to contribution of others: *Daktari alisemaje kwa mara ya mwisho, hakuna matundu kwenye meno ya Dani!* ‘What did the doctor say last time, no fissures in Dan’s teeth!’ This undermines the

possibility of women being full experts or inventors.

Despite being shown as ignorant, female characters were often shown appreciating the product and providing unresearched conclusions about the usefulness of the products such as: *Foma Gold haina mpinzani* 'Foma gold has no opponent', *Hisia ya ajabu!* 'An amazing sensation' while male characters talked about global scientific issues: *Foma Gold! Sabuni hii maarufu ina enziamzi maalum zenye kupenyeza katika nyuzi za nguo zako kuzifanya safi kabisa na zenye kung'ara kwa kuondoa aina zote za uchafu na madoa* 'Foma gold! This famous soap has special enzymes, which penetrate the fibers of your clothes to make them absolutely clean and sparkling by removing all kinds of dirt and stains.'

Female characters were presented as users of the products with men as their advisors. Male characters sounded more convincing, credible and knowledgeable even about what they do not consume. This suggests that women were shown to be easily moved by anything that relates to beauty or home, hence their little effort to find facts about the thing. They just focus on the wrapping of the product and hurriedly apply the product. This tendency of applying some products without knowing their chemical composition has caused many health problems to some women in Tanzania, and probably in many other parts of the world. Advertising in Tanzania should be responsible and incorporate some educational aspects that would help consumers make decision on whether to use the product or not, as it is done world wide on tobacco products.

Male characters were portrayed as more time conscious and mobile. This was done through the assignment of more adverbs of time and place to male characters. There is some truth that in Tanzania, like it is in most societies, women travel less than men. Therefore men ought to be busier and value and talk about time more than women.⁹ However, in the Tanzanian context, it is doubtful if men are busier than women regarding the amount of responsibilities women have at home such as farming, cooking, washing, cleaning the house, caring for children and relatives, fetching water and firewood, and so forth. To be fair, advertising should have portrayed women as busier and more time conscious in the society, regarding the big workload that they have.

Female characters were shown as emotional, passive and submissive and showed their reaction to the products by using interjections such as *ooh! ahaa! ha!, ha! ooh!, ha!, he! hehe!, ehehee!, wacha wee!* This implies that they communicated submissiveness through expressions of surprise or laughter whereas male characters expressed dominant status through serious expressions such as commands: *Goldstar rangi ya uhakika, tumia na uone tofauti* 'Gold star is a proper

⁹ According to DuBois (1974) in most societies men commonly enjoy a greater mobility and social contact outside his kinship group.

paint; use it and see the difference!' Moreover, most male characters took part in the advertisements that had voiceover.¹⁰ They were also assigned a language with more active voice, relational modality and negative polarity, some of the elements that reflect authority.

Female characters were shown to respond to products more positively (compliance) by the use of positive polarity and male characters had more authority of opposing (resistance) by the use of negative polarity. Male characters were thus portrayed as having power to refute.¹¹ Courtney and Whipple (1983:55) contend that in advertising men are often portrayed as serious and estranged while women are portrayed as light-hearted and less serious. They further argue that a dominant status can be communicated through the expression of a serious grim while submissive status can be communicated through an expression of a surprise or laughter.

Male characters used more emphatic adjectives, which attests the belief that men talk about more serious topics and possess greater power to make people listen to them; hence talk with more emphasis than women do. Moreover, female characters used more adjectives that indicate feelings, state of unknowing, and acquisitiveness (descriptive, interrogative quantity and quality respectively). Male characters were also portrayed as more authoritative and powerful (imperative mood) while female characters were portrayed as more submissive (exclamatory mood) and ignorant (interrogative mood). In most societies women are believed and expected to be gentler, more considerate, wanting to give chances to speak to others, more than men. Thus, television advertising in Tanzania portrays women as more polite. Politeness as one of markers of social relations, it is expected largely from the inferior to the superior; hence it can be said that television advertising in Tanzania maintains the perception that women are inferior to men.¹²

The portrayal of success in the analysed commercials clearly indicates that advertisers assume that women's success in life depends on beauty and not effort, intelligence and competence. For instance while in reality beauty models are selected on many bases including intelligence, advertising presents them as if they become models after using beauty materials: *Neema kwa muda mreefu amekuwa na shauku ya kuwa malkia wa urembo. Kwa kutumia sabuni ya Famili ladha yenye*

¹⁰ Bretl & Cantor (1988) observes that advertisers believe that a male voice is more authoritative and convincing than a female voice. I argue that this portrayal undermines women's intelligence to make choices about what to consume without being convinced by men.

¹¹ Leech & Short (1981:104) assert that negation is used to deny some expectations that the positive is true. That is, it cancels the expectations of its positive. Thus it portrays disappointed expectations. Spender (1980:107) observes that in most cases men do not trust what women say no matter how important it may be; it is subject to dismissal.

¹² In most societies women's plans, performances and expectations have been disappointed or depreciated in importance. This is because of the inferior status they have in the society, which is still being maintained by television advertising in Tanzania.

manukato mazuri na yenye kufanya ngozi iwe nyororo, hivi sasa ametimiza shauku yake ‘Neema for a long time has been anxious to become beauty queen. By using Family lather soap, which has a nice perfume and which makes the skin smooth, now she has fulfilled her anxiety.’ It is also true that the famous Taarab¹³ singers have become famous not because of the soaps they use to wash their clothes as they are portrayed in advertising: *umaridadi huu haupatikani bure, bali wenye thamani kama dhahabu, na ndo maana napenda kutumia foma Gold kila wakati, mwanamke dhahabu bwana!* ‘This smartness is not attained for free, but with golden worth; that is why I prefer using Foma gold all the time; a woman is gold sir!’ The truth is that these women have become successful and popular because of their effort and talent. This trivialization of women’s efforts in advertising is a reflection of what has been the trend of life for many years in society.

The portrayal of women’s achievement as if it depends on the product they consume reflects the attitude that women cannot succeed in life without a boost. In the advertising industry, this sends out a message that to be successful in life one has to look like a celebrity and to become a celebrity one has to use certain products. This is a retrogressive view towards women’s success because the truth is that advertising uses them after they have already become celebrities.

Another argument is that based on the nature of the data, which is largely made up of toiletries and household equipment, we would expect women, who were apparently the target, to appear, speak more and longer than men. In contrast, female characters appeared more but spoke less as voice-over. Male characters were portrayed as being able to convince a customer to buy a product through mere words, even without being frequently physically visible while female characters were portrayed as being able to convince by just uttering fewer words accompanied by their physical appearance; a man’s voice was regarded to be as crucial as a woman’s face.¹⁴

A very important aspect of the commercials was the assignment of a crucial role of preserving traditions to female characters. The kitenge and khanga styles are among the traditional symbols of most Tanzanian women and are worn in various occasions such as weddings, funerals, traditional dances and ceremonies, in the church and at home after (work for those who work in offices). They are hardly allowed in offices unless they have been modified into modern fashion (gowns, blouses, etc). Moreover, a Tanzanian woman is expected to cover a large part of her body. Thus the analysed television commercials portrayed female characters as preservers of culture and in order to emphasise this important duty, the female character’s full body was focused by the camera.

¹³ A famous coastal music genre.

¹⁴ Bretl (1988:601) argues that “in most societies men tend to be valued by what they think or say while women tend to be valued by what they look like”.

Though the portrayal of women as preservers of culture seems appealing, to a large extent the analysed television commercials were used to emphasise the belief about traditional women's behaviour particularly their delicacy and femininity. Eye rolling for example is a feminine behaviour characteristic of women in most societies. Furthermore, the act of a man kissing a woman's hand after she has used the product sends out a message that a woman decorates herself so that men can love her. But it is not true that only women apply toiletry products. I argue that television advertising in Tanzania does not portray what is actually taking place in the society. Although the analysed commercials reflect the social conditions that subjugate women, they ignore certain facts such as some women being busier in certain contexts and some men using more toiletries even more than some women. Advertising should act revolutionarily and portray gender sensitive images of men and women.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have demonstrated how television advertising in Tanzania portrays gender relations. I have shown that through the male and female characters in the television commercials, and the kinds of linguistic and non linguistic aspects that go along with the commercials, we can identify different strategies that advertising employs in entrenching gender stereotyping.

Television advertising in Tanzania reflects social reality. Television commercials function not only to sell things to us but also to sell us our own life. They sell us our social reality: historical, cultural, economic, and so forth. They sell us our social strata (classes); our traditional beliefs towards certain phenomena such as gender role differences, our financial authority, what we traditionally consume, wear, like or dislike. In short, advertising provides us with gender stereotypical images. These images have been fabricated and practised by the society since time immemorial. One crucial question to be asked is "why this gender stereotyping?" One reliable source for the answer for this question is the social structure in which members of the society differ significantly in terms of gender roles that they play as either male or female.

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APPENDIX — The texts for the studied commercials.

(English translations follow in italics.)

A. Jassy hygienic pad

Jingle (F): 1. Wanawake kuweni wenye furaha na raha tele, wakati wote popote na jassy. 2. Pedi mpya zenye dry weave, ni pedi zenye mbawa, kinga maradufu, anatomical, kwa hifadhi thabiti. 3. Jassy pedi mpya za kike za jassy, ni nyororo kinga safi kwa wakati wote. (Jassy -3 times)

1. Women be happy with abundant joy, all the time, everywhere with Jassy. 2. New pads with dry weave are pads with wings, double protection, anatomical, for firm protection. 3. Jassy new feminine pads, are soft, a clean protection all the time.

Printed: Gundi pana
Kitambaa laini, safi kavu salama,
Super dryweave
Pedi za kisasa
Teknolojia ya Kijerumani
Feminine towels
Bei nafuu kabisa
New jassy
Winged 10 super dry-weaves
Anatomical super dry-weaves

Wide adhesive strip
Soft, clean, dry cloth
Super dry weave
Leak-proof
Modern pads
German technology
Feminine towels
Cheap price

B. Amanda luxury beauty soap

V.O. (M): 1. Utakavyojisikia na sabuni ya Amanda kwenye ngozi yako, hakika ni hisia ya ajabu. 2. Siyo kama sabuni za kawaida za urembo. 3. Amanda ina mafuta maalum kwa kulainisha ngozi yako. 4. Ndiyo sabuni pekee itakayoifanya ngozi yako laini nyororo na maridadi. 5. Hiyo ndiyo hisia ya ajabu ya sabuni ya Amanda.

How you will feel with Amanda soap on your skin, it certainly is an amazing sensation. It is unlike other beauty soaps. Amanda has special oil to soften your skin. It is the only soap that will make your skin clean, soft, subtle and attractive.

Printed: Hisia ya ajabu !

Amazing sensation!

C. Family lather beauty soap

V.O. (M): 1. Neema, Kwa muda mrefu amekuwa na shauku ya kuwa malikia wa urembo. 2. Kwa kutumia sabuni ya Family lather yenye manukato mazuri; na yenye kufanya ngozi iwe nyororo, hivi sasa ametimiza shauku yake. 3. Tumia sabuni ya Family Lather utimize ndoto yako.

Neema for a long time has been anxious to become queen of beauty. By using Family lather soap, which has nice perfume, and which makes the skin smooth, now she has fulfilled her anxiety. Use Family lather soap to realise your dream.

D. Mara moja (pain killer)

V.O. (M): 1 Amani yetu hutoweka, maumivu yanapoingia. 2. Lakini uso tulivu wa mara moja hutuliza maumivu makali ya kichwa .3. Hutuliza haraka maumivu ya meno. 4. Huu uso wa Mara moja hutuliza homa, mafua na maumivu mengineyo. 5. Hii ni kwa sababu mara moja iliyo na paracetamol, Aspirin na Caffeine, huyeyuka na kuleta nafuu haraka, na kurudisha amani. 6. Mara moja hutuliza maumivu na homa mara moja. 7. Maumivu yakizidi, pata ushauri wa daktari!

Our peace varnishes, when pain gets in. But the gentle face of Maramoja calms sharp headaches. It quickly calms toothache. This gentle face of Maramoja calms fever, flu, and other pains. This is because Maramoja, which has Paracetamol, Aspirin, and Caffeine, dissolves quickly, and restores peace. Maramoja calms pain and fever immediately. If pain persists, seek doctor's advice!

E. Foma gold detergent

F: 1. Mwanamke wa Kitanzania ni wa aina yake pekee. 2. Hakuna mfano mwingine wa urembo na umaridadi. 3. Pia anaelewa kilicho bora, na anajua jinsi ya kupata kilicho bora. 4. Kama nyimbo zangu ninazowaimbia. 5. Kama Foma Gold, dhahabu iliyo bora zaidi. 6. Ndiyo! Foma Gold ndiyo chaguo langu. 7. Hebu tazama nguo hizi. 8. Zinang'aa kama dhahabu. 9. Na zinaonekana nyororo kabisa. 10. Na kila wakati zinaonekana mpya. 11. Umaridadi huu haupatikani bure. 12. Bali wenye thamani kama dhahabu. 13. Na ndo maana napenda kutumia foma Gold kila wakati. 14. Mwanamke dhahabu bwana!

The Tanzanian woman is of her kind. There is no any other example of beauty and smartness. Also she knows what is better, and knows how to get it. Like my songs that I sing to you. Like Fomagold, the best Gold. Yes! Fomagold is my choice. Look at my clothes. They glitter like gold. Moreover, they look so soft and they look new all the time. This smartness in not attained for no good cause, but with golden worth. That is why I prefer using Foma gold all the time. A woman is gold!

V.O. (M): 15. Foma Gold! Sabuni hii maarufu ina enziambi maalum zenye kupenyeza katika nyuzi za nguo zako kuzifanya safi kabisa, na zenye kung'ara kwa kuondoa aina zote za uchafu na madoa. 16. Foma Gold ni bingwa wa ubora.

Foma gold! This famous soap has special enzymes, which penetrate the fibres of your clothes to make them quite clean and sparkling by removing all kinds of dirt and stains. Foma gold is a quality specialist.

F: 17. Foma gold haina mpinzani.

Foma gold has no opponent.

I. Azam wheat- flour

F1: 1. Naomba unga wa ngano tafadhali. Kilo mbili.
(Please serve me with wheat flour, two kilograms.)

M: (About to serve her)

F1: 2. Hapana siyo huo, naomba huo wa Azam.
(No, not that. Give me that of Azam.)

M: (Serving her) 3. Unga niunga tu, kuna tofauti gani!
(Flour is flour what is the difference!)

V.O. (F): 4. Unga wa Azam ni bora kuliko wowote ule. Haufananihiwi na chochote kile.
(Azam flour is the best. It is incomparable to any other.)

F1; 5. Asante sana.
(Thank you very much!)

F2: 6. Nipatie unga wa Azam kilo tano.
(Give me five kilograms of Azam flour.)

F2: 7. Asante.
(Thank you!)

V.O. (M): Azam Wheat flour, unga nambari moja.
(*Azam Wheat flour, flour number one*)

G. White dent tooth paste.

F1: 1. Dani unajua leo baba atakupeleka kwa daktari wa meno?
(*Dan do you know that today daddy will take you to the dentist?*)

M1: 2. Hata siogopi. 3. Usinisumbue. 4.Fanya homework yako. 5. Hata mama alisema ukiwa unatumia White dent huwezi kumwogopa daktari wa meno.
(*I am not afraid. Don't disturb me. Do your homework. Even mother said that if you use Whitedent you cannot fear the dentist.*)

F1: 6. Unajua daktari wa meno atafanya nini meno yako? (Shhhhhh)
(*Do you know what the dentist will do with your teeth? (Shhhhhh)*)

M2: 7. Ni kwa sababu Whitedent mpya hutupa kinga kamili .8 Na imehakikiwa na Tanzania Dental Association. 9.Whitedent mpya ina Flouride inayozuia matundu yatokanayo na meno kuoza. 10.Rinta ambayo huondoa harufu mbaya mdomoni. 11.Na mafuta ya karafuu kwa ajili ya fizi zinazotoka damu.
(*It is because new white dent guarantees us full protection. And it has been approved by Tanzania Dental Association. New white dent has fluoride, which prevents holes that are caused by tooth decay. 'Rinta', which removes bad smell from the mouth. And clove oil, for bleeding gums.*)

F1: 12.Ehee! BABA HUYO, anakupeleka kwa daktari wa meno.
(*Yes! There comes daddy ! He will take you to a dentist*)

M3: 13.Hakuna haja.14.Daktari alisema nini kwa mara ya mwisho? 15. Hakuna matundu kwenye meno ya Dani. 16.Na fizi zangu hazitoki damu tena.
(*There is no need. What did the doctor say last time? There are no holes in Dan's teeth and my gums bleed no more.*)

F2: 17. Kama nilivyosema. 18. Ukitumia Whitedent huwezi kumwogopa daktari wa meno. 19. Na unakuwa na kinga kamili.
(As I said: if you use whitedent, you cannot fear the dentist. and you will have full protection.)

M1: Lakini usipofanya homework yako... (inaudible)
(But if you don't do your homework---)

M3&F2: Laughter

H. TTCL Telephone company.

F: 1. Bosi mkataba huu hapa.
(Boss here is the contract)

M: 2. Wapigie simu wambie tayari.
(Telephone them to tell them it is ready.)

F: 3. Lakini boss, simu imekatwa.
(But boss, the phone has been disconnected)

M.: 4. Ee! Nini? (Trying to dial)
(Eh! What?)

V.O (F): 5. Tunasikitika huduma ya simu hii imesitishwa kwa muda.
6. Tafadhali jaribu namba nyingine kama ipo.
(We are sorry that the service of this telephone has been suspended for a while. Please try another number if available.)

M: 7. AAAA! AAAAA! AAAAA!

V.O. (M): 8. Epukana na usumbufu, hasara, aibu. 9. Lipa billi yako ya simu mara tu uipatapo kila mwezi. 10. Kalipe bili yako katika kituo chochote kilicho karibu nawe cha kuhudumia wateja cha TTCL. 11. TTCL, nchi moja lugha moja kampuni moja ya simu.
(Avoid disturbance, loss, and shame. Pay your phone bill immediately as you receive it every month. Go and pay your bill at any nearby TTCL customer service centre. TTCL, one country, one language, one telephone company.)

R. Banco mattress

- M1: 1. Ana kuna kitu kizuri nimekuandalia.
(Ana, there is a good thing I have prepared for you.)
- F: 2. Wao! Godoro gani hili! 3. Linanesanesa na kunifanya nijisikie vizuri kulikalia.
(Wow! What mattress is this! It sags and makes me feel good to sit on it.)
- M2: 4. Mama unajua hili ni godoro gani? 5. Ni godoro la banco.
(Mom, do you know what mattress this is? It is Banco mattress!)
- F: 6. Ahaa hili ni godoro la Banco!
(I see! This is Banco mattress!)
- M2: 7. Mama, mama, angalia linavyorudi kwenye umbile lake kwa haraka.
(Mom, mom, see how it quickly resumes its shape.)
- F: 8. Ha! ni maajabu!
(Wow! This is wonderful!)
- M1: 9. Siyo kwamba linashangaza tu. 10. Angalia linavyovutika kama mpira 11. Na linavyorudi haraka sana kwenye umbile lake.
(Not only is it amazing. Look at the way it stretches like rubber and the way it quickly resumes its shape.)
- F: 12. Ha! Ni kama mpira!
(Alas! It is like rubber!)
- M1: 13. Ndiyo ! sababu ni kama mpira ndiyo maaana linadumu na linakaa kwa muda mrefu sana.
(Yes! Because it is rubber, that is why it lasts longer.)
- F: 14. Ha! Hii kati ya zawadi nzuri ambayo sijawahi kuipata.
(Oh! This is among the best gifts I have ever got.)

V.O. (M): 15. Banco Deluxe yenye pindo
16. Banco Deluxe isiyo na pindo
17. SuperBanco yenye pinndo na isiyo na pindo
*(Banco Deluxe with a fold.
Banco Deluxe without a fold.
Super Banco with or without a fold.)*

Pinted: Magodoro yanayonesanesa kuliko yote.
(The mattresses that sag best)

J. Heineken lager beer.

F: 1. Wakati umefika wa kubadili au kuweka msimamo wa maisha. 2. Kunywa Heineken 1164. 3. Heineken 1164 huburudisha bila kuleta hangover. 4. Na hutengenezwa bila kuongezwa sukari. 5. Wasichana warembo burudika na Heineken 1164 kwa afya, raha, na maendeleo ya taifa. 6. Heineken 1164 hulipiwa kodi zote za serikali. 7. Ni Heineken Lager beer yenye kodi namba 1164 kwa afya yako.

The time has come to change or establish a life stand. Drink Heineken 1164. Heineken 1164 refreshes without causing hangover. And it is brewed without sugar additive. Beautiful girls, refresh with Heineken 1164, for health, joy, and national development. Heineken 1164 has all government levies paid. It is Heineken Lager beer with code number 1164 for your health.

K. Sweet heart lotion

Refrain: (whisper)

F: Sweet heart lotion

F: Who is she?
Oh! She is lovely!
What a beautiful skin!

Refrain: Sweet heart lotion x 4

F (VO): Sweet heart lotion kwa ngozi laini na nyororo kila wakati.
(*Sweetheart lotion for soft and smooth skin all the time.*)

L. Gold star paint

F: 1. Hello!

M1: 2. Saa kumi na mbili nakuja nyumbani na mgeni wa heshima.
(*At six o'clock I am coming with a very important guest.*)

F: (Panicky, she runs here and there making the room)

M1: 3. Hello! Hello! Hello! Hello! Unasikia?
(*Do you here me?*)

M2: 4 Rangi ya Goldstar wash 'n' wear silk ni ya uhakika kwa kuta za ainazote.
(*Gold star wash 'n' wear silk paint is proper for walls of all types.*)

5. Ni rahisi kufuta na kufanya kuta zako safi. 6. Rangi ya Goldstar wash 'n' wear silk ni bora.
(*It is easy to wipe up to make your walls clean. Gold star wash 'n' wear silk is a better paint.*)

7. Inatengenezwa kwa teknolojia ya Afrika Kusini.
(*It made by South African Technology.*)

8. Goldstar wash 'n' wear silk italinda kuta zako dhidi ya fangasi kwa zaidi ya miaka mitano.
(*Wash 'n' wear silk paint will protect your house against fungus for more than five years.*)

9. Goldstar ndiyo pekee inayotengeneza rangi za acquairic Wash 'n' wear silk hapa Tanzania.
(*Goldstar is the sole manufacturer of aquiric wash 'n' wear silk paints here in Tanzania.*)

9. Gold star rangi ya uhakika.
(*Gold star! a proper paint!*)

10. Goldstar rangi ya uhakika.
(*Gold star is proper paint.*)

11. Tumia na uone tofauti.
(*Use it and see the difference!*)

T. Taifa and sura soaps.

M: 1. Rehema, Rehema.

F: 2. Abee niko hapa
(*Yes I am here!*)

M: 3. Rehema, hiyo siyo sabuni ya kutumia kwenye nguo zangu.
(*Rehema, that is not the proper soap for my clothes*)

4. Tumia hii.
(*Use this!*)

F: 5. Taifa!-kwa nini tutume hii wakati tunayo hii nyingine?
(*Taifa! why use this while we have the other one?*)

M: 6. Niamini mimi. 7. Tumia sabuni hii na utaona umuhimu wake kesho.
(*Believe me. Use this soap and tomorrow you will see its usefulness.*)

F: 8. Ha!

Music(M&F): 9. Taifa hufanya kazi ngumu ya kufua kuwa rahisi, kung'arisha Nguo na kuifanya ionekane mpya kabisa,wananchi jamani.
(*Taifa makes a tough washing task simple, shining a cloth; making it appear quite new, Oh! countrymen!*)

10. Sura, sabuni ya kuogea,hutakatisha, hukupa afya, na kuburudisha mwili.
(*Sura, toilet soap! cleans, gives you health, and refreshes the body.*)

- M: (Comes with atrophy) 11. Rehema, angalia nilichoshinda.
(*Rehema, see what I have won.*)
12. Ni kutokana na sabuni ya taifa.
(*It is because of Nation soap.*)
- F: 13. Hongera! nyie wanaume huwa mnajifikria wenyewe tu.
(*Congratulations! You men only think of yourself.*)
- M: 14. Rehema! (Giving her sura soap) Hii ni kwa ajili yako.
(*Rehema! This is for you.*)
- F: 15. Ha! Sura!
(*Wow! Sura!*)
- V.O. (M): Taifa na Sura ni alama ya usafi.
(*Taifa and Sura are a symbol of cleanliness.*)

N Kilimanjaro pure drinking water

- M: 1. Kule michezoni
(*There in sports*)
2. Na maofini
(*And in offices*)
3. Mnapokuwa na kiu msisumbuke.
(*When you feel thirst do not bother.*)
- F: 4. Kilimanjaro (Refrain)
- M: 5. Na huko shuleni
(*And at school*)
6. Hata safarini
(*Even on journey*)
7. Mnapokuwa na kiu msisumbuke.
(*When you feel thirst do not bother.*)

F: 8. Kilimanjaro (Refrain)

M: 9. Kwenye burudani
(*When being entertained*)

10. Hata majumbani
(*Even at home*)

11. mnapohisi joto mkumbuke.
(*When you feel thirst remember*)

Chorus. (M&F): 12. kunywa maji safi Kilimanjaro pure drinking water.
(*Drink clean water Kilimanjaro pure drinking water.*)

P. Godoro dodoma

F1: 1. Hodi humu ndani. 2. Jamani mpo?
(*May I come in? Are you there?*)

F2: 3. Tupo jirani. 4. Karibu.
(*We are there, neighbor. Welcome!*)

F1: 5. He! shoga! hii mito mipya! 6. Ni ya wapi shoga yangu?
(*He! 'Pal'! Are these new cushions? Where are they from, my 'pal'?*)

F2: 7. Ni ya magodoro Dodoma. 8. Ni mizuri sana. 9. Na mito yake ni imara zaidi.
(*They are of Dodoma mattresses. They are so beautiful. And their cushions are more durable.*)

F1: 10. Hata mimi naona shoga yangu.
(*Even I can see my 'pal'.*)

F2: 11. Ni bora kuliko magodoro mengine.
(*They are better than other mattresses.*)

- F1: 12. Basi mimi mwenzio hubadili magodoro kila baada ya miezi sita.
(You know, I change mattresses after every six months.)
- F2: 13. Basi haya ni ya kudumu shoga. 14. Njoo nikuonyeshe.
(These are durable my 'pal', come that I can show you!.)
15. Hehe! ukililalia linabonyea kulingana na uzito wako. 16. Lakini ukiinuka linajirudia kama lilivyokuwa mwanzoni.
(Hehe! When you lye on it, it bends under your weight. But when you get up, it resumes its original shape.)
- F1&F2: 17. Ehehehe! Wacha wee! Nyumba kweli mwanamke shoga yangu.
(Ehehehe! Don't say! Truly a home is a woman my 'pal')
- M (V.O): 18. Magodoro Dodoma ni imara ya kupendeza na ya kudumu zaidi. 19. Jivunie!
(Dodoma mattresses are strong, beautiful, and more durable. Feel proud!)