

# **Social Advertising as the Means of the Government Demographic Policies in Ukraine**

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## ***Abstract***

The thesis, based on the visual, textual and content analysis of data, i.e. social advertisements on the issues of the demographic development, presents a case study of the implementation of social advertising as the means of introducing and promoting the government demographic policies in Ukraine. The aim of this research is to study the proclaimed official government demographic policies and their representation in social advertisements and to compare the results of the examination in order to find out whether they correspond to each other or differ, and in the case of discrepancies found to analyze what exactly social advertisements tell. The study is framed into the existing literature on the state and ideology, construction of social problems, advertising and ideology, and social advertising in particular, with the purpose to fill the gap in studies on social advertising in post-soviet countries and in Ukraine as the case.

The results of the analysis of the sample set of advertisements show that in spite of proclaiming and appreciating by the Ukrainian government of a nuclear family with ‘traditional’ gender roles as an ideal family model, it is absent in the content of social advertisements that aim at serving as a part of the media campaigns supporting the government discourse. In fact, advertisements mostly focus on the relationships of a mother and a child, often antagonizing their interests and introducing in this way ‘maternal-fetal conflict’ that leads to shaping negative attitude in the society to women whose behavior does not correspond to what is considered to be ‘right’. Besides, outcomes of my analysis evidence that the government actually encourages women (at least morally) to have children irrespective of their marital status and stimulates in this way single motherhood.

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## ***Introduction***

The government as the ruler in most countries and societies creates and imposes certain ideology and laws concerning every aspect of life that serve to its interests and according to which people in a given country should live. But with development and complicating of a society, nowadays the usage of just the most obvious ways of imposing governing interests (direct propaganda) is not enough, so the government looks for other alternative ways of introducing its ideas and policies, one of which is social advertising.

My thesis addresses the case when social advertising is used as a means of introducing and promoting of the government policies. The study case is the implementation of social advertising as a part of media campaigns in support of the government demographic policies in Ukraine. Studying it, I am interested in answering such research questions as: How does social advertising represent the government demographic policies? Do social advertisements correspond to the policies declared in the government acts? If yes, how do they translate into practice the goals stated and represent a nuclear family as an ideal family model, seen as such by the government, and women in particular? If no, what do they tell us exactly and how do these advertisements differ from what the government says? How does social advertising correlate with social context and the government policies?

The choice of social advertising as a means of promoting the government policies is not accidental. Social advertising as a part of social marketing serves to introduce behavioral patterns that are considered to be appropriate at this or that period of time. As Kotler states, “[i]n social marketing, our product is what we are selling, the desired behavior and the associated benefits of that behavior”. (Kotler, et al. 2002:127) This does not mean that social advertising is used only by the government. In the USA, as well as in other countries, social

advertising is applied not only by the government, but by international and national NGOs, different organizations and companies that position themselves as socially responsible and try to improve their image addressing social problems<sup>1</sup>. But irrespective of the fact who or what organization is a client of social advertising, the main aim of its implementation is the same – to define and draw attention to existing social problems and to influence and to change people's behavior. The only difference that can be found in cases when clients of social advertising are the government or some other organizations and structures is that the government can use it as a means of shaping and identifying what should be considered as social problem, while organizations more often address already defined problems.

In case of Ukraine, where the main client of social advertising is the government, it serves for defining what should be considered as the most urgent social problems and promoting behavioral patterns that have to help to solve the existing problems. In this way, social advertising has substituted the direct propaganda of the Soviet times, presenting the government ideology and policies as the anxiety about the society. So, the analysis of social advertisements produced in Ukraine can provide understanding of what is the real concern of the government.

The object of my analysis in the thesis is the sample set of social advertisements aiming at supporting the government demographic policies in Ukraine. The demographic situation in Ukraine is defined by the government as a crisis and has become one of its concerns as, according to the report to Institute of Demography and Social Researches of NAS of Ukraine 'Complex Demographic Prognosis of Ukraine to the Year 2050' (2006), the population of Ukraine will decrease to 36 million till the year 2050, if the nowadays

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<sup>1</sup> There are a lot of examples of such cases – Avon's campaign in favor of prevention of breast cancer, Greenpeace campaigns for preserving nature and animals, etc. (Goldberg et al. (1997), Andreasen (2006), Kurban (2007)

tendencies remain the same. This anxiety finds its reflection in numerous government acts and programs intended for supporting families and encouraging them to have at least two children.

But, basing on my analysis of the sample of social advertisements, I will argue that even though the government proclaims its goal to support and promote a nuclear family with at least two children and ‘traditional’ gender roles as its ideal family model, in fact social advertisements seem to encourage women to become mothers irrespective of their marital status. Actually, all the advertisements from the sample concentrate their attention on relationships of a mother and a child, introducing ‘maternal-fetal conflict’ in cases of abortion and women’s bad habits.

The thesis consists of Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, two empirical chapters and Conclusion. The Literature Review presents works already existed on the topic addressed by my thesis and shows what is different in my work and serves as the theoretical framework for discussing and analyzing the sample. The Methodology discusses what methods are applied for the analysis of the sample and in what stages it is conducted. Besides, this section describes the criteria of choosing of social advertisements that are the object of my analysis. In the First Chapter I present and discuss the social context of appearing and implementing of social advertising, what social advertising is and its functions, and how it operates in Ukraine. In the Second Chapter I will argue that there exist certain discrepancies between the government policies proclaimed and the content of social advertisements and demonstrate it through the analysis of the sample set of advertisements that are conditionally divided into two groups. In Conclusion I will present my findings and try to provide possible explanations to the fact of existence of such discrepancies.

## ***Literature Review***

The role of the government and its ideology and policies in shaping social roles and behavior patterns for men and women and creating gender stereotypes is one of the key issues for understanding of the existing gender discourse in any country. Very often the government uses media (newspapers, magazines, TV shows, movies, etc.) for promotion of its ideology and policies. One of the new media means used by the government for its purposes is advertising, social advertising in particular. But as this phenomenon is relatively new, its essence and the role of the government in creating messages promoted by it is not studied enough. Particularly it concerns post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where the state and social institutions are undergoing significant transformations and reconceptualization.

### ***State and Ideology***

Althusser's work on the state and ideology is one of the key works in this field. According to Althusser, ideology is "a matter of the representation of imaginary versions of the real social relations that people live" (Althusser 2006:52), i.e. it represents the attitude of individuals to the conditions of their existence, but this attitude is an imaginary one. But the question is who defines what is real and what is imaginary and who creates this image of reality and existence. According to Althusser, the role of imaginary reality creator, i.e. ideology creator, belongs to the state, to be more exact to the special body or agency. Ideology is created by what Althusser calls Ideological State Apparatuses, which includes different types of institutions: religious, educational, political, family, legal, etc. Some of these institutions belong to the private domain (for example, family, church) and others are a part of the public domain (media, school). Operating through these institutions and social



practices, the ISA actually forms from individuals the subjects of ideology, imposing the patterns of how to behave in different situations and what is expected from members of a society.

Another famous and important Althusser's postulate is that "[i]deology has a material existence" (Althusser 2006:54), i.e. it exists and is conveyed through actions of the governing structures, the everyday practices, social beliefs and values. It supposes that ideology is continually multiplied and spread by every single individual who performs any ideologically approved action. Such an assumption presupposes that it is enough for creating ideology to show the desirable behavioral pattern that would be repeated at the beginning by a small group of individuals, but with the course of time due to people's incline to following someone's examples it would spread itself.

Thus, ideology is one of the main tools of the state of forming acceptable and desired forms of behavior in a society, creating suitable social stereotypes and social roles, and gender stereotypes as well, sometimes connecting them to nationalism. Stereotypes change with the course of time, reflecting political interests and ideology of the state, national and international groups and at the same time representing the everyday experience of concrete historical period. Creation and reinforcement of gender stereotypes, new gender and family policies, means and practices of achieving it, are the focus of many studies. From this perspective post-socialist societies are interesting for studying because of changes which are happening to gender stereotypes, gender and family policies after socialism collapsed in new social, economic and political conditions.

Even though, the state and the government are not identical, all the Ideological State Apparatuses discussed by Althusser, are united by one thing – ruling ideology that represents the interests of the ruling class. But for promoting its interests via ISAs, the ruling class has to

have the access to the power for supporting its control over ISAs. So, it is quite logical to suppose that a certain part of the ruling class integrates into the government for maintaining the necessary power balance. Then, as far as the state apparatuses represent ruling ideology that coincides with the ruling class interests, it is possible to say that the concepts of the state and the government interrelates between themselves.

### ***Advertising and Ideology***

A relatively new phenomenon for the post-socialist media is advertising in the form known nowadays, which makes a significant part of the contemporary media space. Advertising has become a means of creating and promoting of certain stereotypes and ideology (Wernick 1991, Williamson 1993, McFall 2004, Jamieson 2001): “[a]ll advertising, even the most informational and rationalistic, is ideological” (Wernick 1991:31). For promotion of certain stereotypes, it uses different methods – from persuasion to seduction, but whatever method it uses the aim is always the same – to create a new image that has to become an ideal for consumers which can be achieved through consumption, i.e. to create a new ideology. As American researchers notice, “[p]ersuasion, rhetoric, influence, suggestion, seduction – these are the watchwords of advertising in its explicit function as an ideological influence in the domains of the consumer and the market” (Elliot, Ritson 2003:203). So, buying or consuming any goods and services turns into “buying lifestyles and values” (Barker 2008:69). Actually, this obvious function of advertising as a tool and instrument turns it into the perfect means of operating of ideology in a society.

Although advertising is a widespread phenomenon, there is no definition accepted and recognized by all scholars. For example, American Marketing Association defines it as any paid form of representation and promotion of ideas, products and services of a certain advertiser (Dykin 2009:7). Another definition, given by Razumovskij, presents it as kind of

information activity, kind of social information, spread by different communicative means for influence on a consumer, aiming at shaping or realizing already formed necessities (Dykin 2009:10), while Fox, talking about commercial advertising, mentions that “[c]ommercial advertising was thought to wield a powerful influence on people’s attitudes and behaviors, including their decisions about what products to buy, and also what behaviors to adopt, including smoking” (Fox 2009:77). The Law of Ukraine ‘On Advertising’ in edition from 11/07/2003 # 270/96-BP defines advertising as “information about a person or goods that is spread in any form and in any way and aimed at forming or supporting knowledge of consumers of advertising and supporting their interest to such persons or goods”<sup>2</sup>.

Even though these definitions differ, it is possible to distinguish a common field for all of them – all mentioned definitions have explicitly or implicitly one common concept – promotion from products or services (in commercial advertising as the most spread form of advertising) to behavior patterns and social stereotypes (in social advertising).

Advertising today is what Wernick (1991) called as ‘management of consciousness’, emphasizing its role in promotion of stereotypes and images, patterns of consumption in everyday life, as advertising deals with social values and norms and through articulation of these values and norms leads to broader social reproduction of the imposed ideals. As Wernick argues, “advertising provided the captains of industry with an ideal propaganda vehicle” (Wernick 1991:24), underlying that advertising serves not only as a means of promotion of products and services, but also as an example for following, i.e. teaching of behavior patterns and serving as a means of social control.

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<sup>2</sup> Here and further my translation from Ukrainian

### ***Social Advertising: New Means of the Government Policies Promotion***

So, if advertising is used for promotion of certain images, aiming at stimulating consumption through psychological influence on consumers to persuade them that in this way they can achieve an ideal, produced by an advertisement, it is obvious that advertising can be also used for promotion of ideology and behavior patterns, forming stereotypes about gender roles in the society and promoting the government interests. So, social advertising can be defined as “the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon a behavior for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society as a whole” (citation of Kotler, et al. 2002:5 in Fox 2009:76). In the Law of Ukraine ‘On Advertising’ social advertising is defined as “information of any kind that is spread in any form and aimed at achieving socially beneficial purposes, popularization of universal values and the distribution of which is not connected with gaining profit”. In this way, social advertising can be viewed as a means of promotion of what is called ‘socially beneficial purposes’, i.e. the government policies or even interests, as it is the government that is the main advertising account with an insignificant part of orders belonging to NGOs and philanthropic organizations. If the tendency of the government being the main client remains, then social advertising can become a part of the transparent and direct government propaganda in the nearest future.

The phenomenon of social advertising is not studied enough and first works devoted to it (articles by Slavko Splichal 2008, O. Aronson 2004, I. Burenkov 2005, et al.) were rather journalistic than scientific, just describing the new phenomenon that appeared at the market without analyzing its essence and functions performed by it. Further works on this topic (O. Savel’eva 2006, E. Stepanov 2006, O. Feofanov 1999, et al.) were rather descriptive, containing history of social advertising and its premises, but did not have strong theoretical

bases. Studies on social advertising are fragmented and do not have systematic character, paying attention to its effectiveness, its interaction with political campaigns (Franz 2008, Ridout 2008, Kaid 2007, Postelnicu 2007, G. Nikolaishvili 2008, S. Seliverstov 2006, et al.), health campaigns (Barry 2009, Goodson 2010), its role in changing behavior and building gender stereotypes (M. Tomskaya 2002, A. Strelkovs'ka 2007, V. Uchenova 2006), etc.

But most western scientists (Kotler 2002, Goldberg 1997, Andreasen 2006, Lee 2002, Weinreich 1999, et al.) tend to consider social advertising in the frames of social marketing, not distinguishing it as a separate object of studies, but still recognizing its importance. As “[s]imilar to commercial sector marketers who sell goods and services, social marketers are selling behavior change” (Kotler et al. 2002:5), so it is impossible to leave such an important tool of introducing and promoting of social values and behavioral patterns without any attention. But as far as social advertising (or public interest advertising) is often implemented in western countries as a part of large-scale social campaigns which include public lectures, publications, concerts in support of these projects, etc., American and other researchers prefer to discuss it as a part of a complex of measures that is called social marketing. The reason why in post-Soviet countries social advertising has become the separate object of studies is that often a project of launching social advertisements is considered to be a social campaign itself, even though it consists only in producing and placing such advertisements.

Recognizing the importance of social marketing and social advertising as its component, researchers state that “[c]hange agents typically want target audience to do one of four things: (a) accept a new behavior, (b) reject a potential behavior, (c) modify a current behavior, or (d) abandon an old behavior” (Kotler et al. 2002:5). But “[s]ocial marketers, of course, do not typically play a role in the creation of baseline objective data that can identify important social problems”, instead of this the role of social marketing is defined as the assistance to “move issues up the social agenda” (Andreasen 2006:31). So, it is supposed that

the content of social projects and campaigns has to present and correspond to the dominant ideas and policies, serving as a means of their introduction and promotion, accepting it as something given and going without saying.

### ***Constructing a social problem***

Constructing of social problems from certain conditions and circumstances, the process and results of it are discussed from the perspective of social constructionist approach. But as some scholars mention, it is difficult to define what a social problem is and who or what defines what situation, conditions or the state of matters should be considered as a social problem, how to construct it and with what aim. As Spector and Kitsuse (2006) state, the most often used way of talking about a social problem and its definition is to refer to the society's opinions or norms, cultural traditions and moral values, but "[t]his leaves unspecified how "society" might define something; nor does it suggest where one might look for "society's" definitions" (Spector, Kitsuse 2006:7).

Some other scholars, for example, Loseke (2003) suppose that it is possible to define a social problem and the key word for understating it should be *problem* that "obviously refers to conditions evaluated as wrong because they create harm" (Loseke 2003:6). But as such a definition is too broad, Loseke and Best (2003) suggest to distinguish some criteria that should become the basis for detecting and naming certain conditions as a social problem. Such possible criteria include the following requisites: first of all, the existing circumstances should be considered as such that are wrong or do harm; the next criterion is their wide occurrence; defining some conditions as a problem supposes that these circumstances can be changed; the last thing is people should believe that this state of matters not only can be changed, but should be changed and cannot be left like this (Loseke 2003:6-7). So, according to Loseke, "[a]ny objective condition is not a social problem until it named and given

meaning” (Loseke 2003:14). But as far as the meaning is something relative and does not appear in the world along with a thing or an object and is created and re-created constantly, then it means that any object or a condition depends on the angle of viewing it.

But even if to accept the definition and criteria of a social problem proposed by Loseke in her book and further in the book co-edited with Best, one more question still remains – who constructs certain conditions as a social problem. First of all, as some of the requisites of defining a situation as a social problem is the belief that it can and should be changed, then it is necessary the society become aware of the constructed social problem and possible ways of solving it. So, it implies that ‘claimers’ of a social problem should be persons or institutions that have the possibility to familiarize the society with it, and it is rather difficult to do for an ordinary citizen. So, the above mentioned scholars suggest that there are three possible ‘claimers’ of a social problem: the mass-media, scientists, social activists (Loseke 2003).

The mass-media seems to be the most obvious and powerful as it is its function to inform people what happens and draw attention to the existing conditions and ways of changing them, if it is possible and necessary. Besides, the mass-media is the quickest and influential way of spreading information that reaches almost every person in the world. As for scientists as ‘claimers’ of a social problem, the advantage of this way of presenting a social problem is that their opinion is more trustworthy, as what they say is words of professionals. ‘Social activists’, i.e. any person or an organization that states to be concerned with the society’s ills and wish to overcome them, also play a significant role as ‘claimers’, as their ‘altruistic’ actions can make people follow their example.

But irrespective of who plays the role of ‘claimers’ of a social problem and what is its definition, one thing stays constant – a social problem does not exist as something that was given, it is constructed, serving different goals and purposes.

As far as social advertising is often framed into social marketing projects, it can and is successfully implemented as a means of not only promoting behavioral patterns aimed at solving the existing social problems, but, first of all, constructing social problems. However, this research aims at proving the possibility of existence of discrepancies and contradictions between the content of social advertisements and the policies they serve to support and showing that under the influence of different factors and circumstances the main messages coded in social advertising can be transformed to correspond to the reality more adequately. My case study is social advertisements produced in support of the government demographic policies in Ukraine.



## ***Methodology***

### ***Methods***

Being interested in how the government demographic policies and the image of a family as it is seen by Ukrainian government are reflected in the media campaigns, and in social advertisements in particular; whether the content of social advertisements that are proclaimed to support the government policies correspond to what is declared in the government acts; what such advertisements tell about a family, and women in particular; how social advertising correlates with the social context and the government ideology in Ukraine, I will apply several methods for answering these questions. The methods I will use are:

- Analysis of visual images;
- Content analysis of posters and videos;
- Textual analysis of slogans.

As far as my thesis examines social advertising as a part of the media campaigns in support of the government demographic policies and its correlation to the policies, the following chapters will provide the description of the demographic situation as the reason and context of developing and implementing the policies discussed. The essence of social advertising as phenomenon and choice of it as a means of shaping and introducing behavioral patterns and societal values and supporting the government policies in Ukraine will be discussed as well. To see how social advertisements translate and represent the demographic policies, reconstruct the real government policies and compare it to the declared ones, I analyzed the chosen set of social advertisements as visual representation of what the government tries to say. So, the analysis of slogans, content and visual images of advertisements can provide the answer to this question.

As Sue Thornham argues, “[i]mages have been a central of feminist media criticism since 1960s, when Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1965) traced the post-war construction of American’s ideal image of femininity ... through media representations she found in women’s

magazines and advertising images” (Thornham 2007:23). So, it is important not to underestimate the role of images used in advertising targeting women’s audience as the means of forming and shaping new stereotypes and ideals, especially if it is used by the government for achieving its goals. As Thornham points out, the problem with the media and advertising images consists in the fact that sometimes they introduce “inaccurate stereotypes that damage women’s self-perceptions and limit their social roles” (Thornham 2007:23). As soon as social advertising serves to the government goals, it promotes stereotypes that are considered by it to be ‘correct’. But in advertising, especially in social, creating of ideal images often is based on not showing of an ideal to which everybody should aspire to, but on depicting the opposite, what should be avoided, i.e. stimulating to act ‘correctly’ from the contrary.

But the analysis of visual images cannot be complete without analyzing the text as “a word represents an idea” (Howarth 2000:21). The analysis of the texts of slogans used for addressing the target audience of advertisements can tell a lot: what social group in particular they address; what questions they raise; what reactions they are expected to cause. As “language is both active and functional in shaping and reproducing social relations, identities and ideas” (Tonkiss 1998:248), the usage of one, but the most appropriate to the context word can say sometimes as much or even more as the visual image without any comments. So, it is not accidentally that most of advertisements, commercial and non-commercial, are followed by some slogans (for example, from the sample of advertisements chosen for the analysis in this thesis only one is without any textual slogan).

As far as social advertising is a specific kind of communication, it can be also the subject of the content analysis. Content analysis provides answers to the questions who creates its messages, who is its addressee, why it is told, what exactly it tells and how it influence on an addressee. As far as the client of these messages is known – the government, the content analysis will help to define who the target group is, what messages it contains and why it has been said it this way, but not in the other.

As far as the data for analysis are visual images, i.e. social advertisements, the analysis is conducted in three stages – description, classification and interpretation, the method described by

Walker and Chaplin (1997). The first stage of my analysis – description – consists in factual and detailed depiction of what an image presents with noticing expressions as well, if the subject of an image is not an inanimate object and allows speaking about any signs of emotions present in it. Description provides the possibility to introduce a subject of the analysis to a reader who is not familiar with an advertisement analyzed. Besides, the detailed description enables a researcher to arrange and record every detail of an analyzed image that guarantees that nothing will be left beyond attention and analysis.

At the next stage of the analysis – classification – I identify and classify the topics and concepts possible to be distinguished in analyzed images. Classification of themes allows putting them in the frames of broader context and discussions that gives the opportunity to develop all the aspects of the issues brought by images and not to concentrate on the most obvious and visible concept. Due to classification of the concepts and issues raised by images, each of which can be viewed as a separate story that is intended to be told to the target audience, advertisements from the sample are divided into two groups that are united by the main theme refrained in them – the decline of population and unhealthy life-styles. According to the minor topics in the sample advertisements, it is possible to distinguish subgroups in the groups (for example, in the first group two following subgroups can be divided into – against abortion and appeal to increase of population, while in the second there are advertisements against smoking and advertisements against drug addiction), although the advertisements are analyzed according to their division on groups.

At the third stage of the analysis – interpretation – I interpret and decode the images and concepts in them from the poses, gestures and expressions to colors. For decoding messages it is extremely important to define the target audience of advertisements, as it helps to interpret correctly its main idea. Besides, to make a proper interpretation of coded messages, which propose and promote certain behavioral patterns, I use my knowledge of Ukrainian culture, realities of life and Ukrainian government policies that help me to put the messages in the proper context. The background knowledge of the culture and the society that produce these images and historical and social

conditions, as the context in which they were produced, assist me to understand them as the reflection of it and to find and decode the hidden messages.

### ***Data***

As my intention is to analyze the government demographic policies in Ukraine and how they are reflected in the media campaigns conducted in their support (special TV programs, concerts, articles devoted to social problems) with the focus on social advertising as a part of such campaigns, the data for the analysis are the most memorable real social advertisements' projects that were realized on the government order. Themes of social advertising are not restricted only to the demographic issues. According to the research conducted in 2009 by research group Right & Bright Group during the Festival of Advertising<sup>3</sup>, the nowadays generation of social advertising in Ukraine concentrates on such topics as family and family relationships, health of nation, social and political life, ecology and saving of resources, economic situation, spirituality and morality, safety on roads, patriotism, displacing the topics of previous years (migration, human trafficking, tax payment). But as far as my concern is the government demographic policies, I was looking for social advertisements that represent it, i.e. the main topics of which were family, reproduction and reproductive health.

Unfortunately, there is no any database or a catalog that contains copies of all social advertisements produced in Ukraine. The registration of all campaigns is complicated by the fact that a lot of projects are sponsored by local authorities and all of them are small-scale, very often presented only by posters and aimed at population of a particular city or region, so it is just impossible to follow the appearance of those numerous advertisements. So, taking

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<sup>3</sup> The results of the research can be accessed at the website [www.publicity.kiev.ua/catalog/Analitika/Vospriyatie\\_sotsialnoy\\_reklami\\_naseleniem\\_Ukraini.html](http://www.publicity.kiev.ua/catalog/Analitika/Vospriyatie_sotsialnoy_reklami_naseleniem_Ukraini.html)

into consideration the fact of absence of any archive or database of social advertisements, I looked for the data for analysis in Internet, using two search engine systems Yandex and Google, using such key phrases as ‘social’naya reklama v Ukraine’, ‘primery ukrainskoi social’noy reklamy’. Search for data through Internet was stipulated also by one more factor: if there is no any single database with social advertisements and most of projects are still realized in the form of posters, so in Internet it is possible to find just the most interesting and memorable advertisements, pictures of which were taken and placed there by usual people impressed by this or that project. So, such way of choosing the data guarantees to some extent that advertisements from the analyzed sample attracted people’s attention to themselves.

The sample for the analysis consists of seventeen social advertisements produced in Ukraine in the period of the last ten years. The choice of advertisements was stipulated by marking of stages of the implementation and development of social advertising as a means of support the government demographic policies from the separate and rare to large-scale projects, following changes in the government discourse. The aim of the thesis is to analyze the national-wide large-scale projects that can be for sure identified as the vivid expression and representation of the government demographic policies. So, the criteria for choosing these particular advertisements were their recognition in Ukraine, connection to the government demographic policies and time period. The most arguable and discussable criterion is the recognition of advertisements. As it is almost impossible to prove that this or that project is popular and recognizable in Ukraine, the choice of advertisements by this measure was justified by mentions about these projects in articles or TV news. As far as it is difficult to find a small plot from TV news that is several year old, the main reason for choosing these

particular social advertisements as the sample became article found also via Internet<sup>4</sup>. Some of the articles contain mentions about several projects, comparing them to each other.

Conditionally all the advertisements can be divided in two groups: the first set (12 advertisements) directly addresses the issues of reproduction of population, while the second group of 5 advertisements against bad habits contains indirect references to the government policies concerning reproduction. Most of advertisements are posters that were placed on the streets of the capital and regional centers of Ukraine; the only exception is the video that belongs to the first group. In both groups some of the advertisements were the part of the same projects, while others were separate projects.

### ***Limitations***

As far as the advertisements for the analysis in the thesis are not the all social advertisements existed in Ukraine that have been produced in support of the government policies, it is possible that there are other advertisements that do not coincide in their content to different extent with the chosen ones. The basis for my research is the analysis of chosen advertisements that represent the most successful and wide-spread projects.

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<sup>4</sup><http://www.adme.ru/social/ukrainskoe-agentstvo-adam-smith-advertising-razrabotalo-kampaniyu-naruzhnoj-reklamy-bez-narkotikov-luchshe-8097/>, <http://www.adv-energy.com.ua/dnews/v/59>, [http://marketing-post.blogspot.com/2007/06/blog-post\\_11.html](http://marketing-post.blogspot.com/2007/06/blog-post_11.html), <http://www.adme.ru/social/papochka-u-menya-rak-socialnaya-reklama-protiv-kureniya-20-doz-59001/>, <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/events/524476>

## ***Chapter 1. The Government Demographic Policies and Social Advertising in Ukraine***

For giving the broader understanding of the circumstances of applying social advertising as the means of the government demographic policies in Ukraine, as well as the means of constructing and defining social problems, in the first section of the chapter I will discuss demographic situation and problems of demographic development of Ukraine. The second section is devoted to the brief description of the main government acts and programs that are a part of the government demographic policies. In the third section I will consider social advertising, its essence and functions and how it can be used by the government in its own purposes. Also, in the fourth section I am describing the mechanism of functioning of social advertising in Ukraine. Thus, the chapter will show that the government implements social advertising as the means of promotion of its policies that plays the significant role in constructing social problems, forming social values and shaping behavioral patterns in the society.

### ***Problems of Demographic Development in Ukraine***

Nowadays demographic situation in Ukraine is defined by the government in numerous reports as the crisis, the features of which are low birth rate, decrease of life expectancy (according to the State Statistics Office of Ukraine, it is now on average 68.2 years), increase of probability of working age men's mortality (approximately 38%<sup>5</sup>), high in comparison with developed countries mortality of infants and children in the age till 5 years, and the continuous large scale migration of young people that influences negatively on the number of population and its sex and age ratio and birth rate correspondingly.

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<sup>5</sup> <http://ukrstat.gov.ua/> - official site of State Statistics Office of Ukraine

According to Ella Libanova, the head of Institute of Demography and Social Researches of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Natalya Vlasenko, the assistant chief of State Statistics Office of Ukraine, the main problems of demographic development in Ukraine are the establishment and development of the institution of a family, changes in marriage and family situation, birth rate decline, worsening of population's health, problem of the ageing society, significant differentiation of demographic development in regions, and problems of migration processes regulation.

Unfavorable demographic situation, which is seen so by the government, in Ukraine is connected to the aggravation of the problem of functioning of a family as the center of population reproduction and decline of its demographic potential, as it is defined in the report to Institute of Demography and Social Researches of NAS of Ukraine 'Marriage, Family and Childbearing Orientations in Ukraine'<sup>6</sup> (2008). As it is mentioned in the same report, the deformation of marriage and family processes started in 1960s is worsening. Such phenomena as delay of getting married and having children, motherhood out of wedlock and social orphanage (abandoned children), decline of the number of registered marriages and increase of the number of divorces are becoming more spread.

The Ukrainian government is also concerned with what it defines as the problem - spreading of childless or one-child families – two-thirds of families have only one child. The problem of supporting and bringing up children in families, first of all, young ones, families with many children and one-parent families, families with unfavorable moral and psychological atmosphere is aggravated, as it is stated in the report 'Marriage, Family and

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<sup>6</sup> Accessed from the official site of Institute of Demography and Social Researches of NAS of Ukraine [www.idss.gov.ua](http://www.idss.gov.ua)



Childbearing Orientations in Ukraine’ and in the report of Ministry of Ukraine of Family, Youth and Sport ‘Student Youth of Ukraine: Contemporary Perspective’<sup>7</sup> (2009).

As it is claimed in the report to Institute of Demography and Social Researches of NAS of Ukraine ‘Population of Ukraine: Birth Rate in the Context of Social Transformations’ (2008), the main reason of the demographic situation worsening is lowering of birth rate to the critical point that is stipulated by the set of reasons – economic, social, psychological, and biological. According to reports on demographic development of Ukraine, to these reasons belong, first of all, changes in social status of a woman – broadening of her interests out of family, rise in education level and employment. The decline of children’s mortality in several times has made irrelevant the necessity to have many children as the basis of family’s wealth and guarantee of provision of parents with support in their old age.

The global tendency to declining of birth rate has been exemplified in Ukraine by the economic crisis, sharp decline of people’s incomes, and uncertainty in their future since gaining by the country its independence. Besides, there is a huge discrepancy between low standards of living in Ukraine and high European standards. Destruction of preschool and out-of-school education systems, unsatisfactory level of population reproductive health, and women especially, the part of whom is working in harmful conditions, are influencing extremely bad on birth rate, as it is mentioned in the report made by Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health<sup>8</sup>.

Mainly because of low birth rate, the population of Ukraine has declined on almost 6 million people during the period 1993-2009. The government’s anxiety is connected to the issue that the crisis of reproducing activities of population will influence not only on some families, but on the society on the whole during several generations. In the future the problem

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<sup>7</sup> Accessed from the official site of Ministry of Ukraine of Family, Youth and Sport [www.kmu.gov.ua](http://www.kmu.gov.ua)

<sup>8</sup> Accessed from the official site of Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health [www.moz.gov.ua](http://www.moz.gov.ua)

of low birth rate can result in demographic gap in population number and age groups that can be a considerable obstacle on the way of country's development.

The common level of morbidity of population has increased significantly during the last 90 years. So, according to data of Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health, almost 68% of deliveries have complications. According to data of State Statistics Office of Ukraine, 7% of women of reproductive age are infertile, i.e. 870,000 married couples do not have children because of women's infertility. According to statistical data, the number of abortions during the period of Ukraine's independence has declined from 1,019,000 in 1991 to 156,000 in 2009<sup>9</sup>, still being among the highest in Europe and the world (92 abortions on 100 deliveries in 2002 and at the same time in the Netherlands and Germany 12-15 abortions on 100 deliveries)<sup>10</sup>.

The government declares that one of the reasons for anxiety should be life expectancy in Ukraine. According to data of Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health, the lag in this indicator in 2002 was 5.5% between Ukraine and countries of Central and Eastern Europe and 11% between Ukraine and the EU countries. As it is mentioned in the report 'Population of Ukraine: Birth Rate in the Context of Social Transformations' (2008), the difference in life expectancy between men and women is more than 11 years in favor of women, while in developed countries this index is 5-6 years. The main constituents of irreversible demographic losses are the high level of morbidity of children to the age of 1 year and men of the working age (because of unreasonable morbidity from circulatory system diseases and external factors). This index is one of the highest in Europe.

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<sup>9</sup> [www.ukrstat.gov.ua](http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua)

<sup>10</sup> Anna Ivanchuk (2005). Aborty v Ukraine: dobrovol'nyi genocid (Abortions in Ukraine: voluntary genocide). Accessed from: <http://podrobnosti.ua/health/2005/03/17/188273.html>

As the government authorities state, the reasons of health worsening, rise of morbidity and decline of expected life expectancy are the low standard of living and unfavorable conditions for working and living of the most part of population, low efficiency of the existing health services, popularity of bad habits and neglecting of norms of healthy life-style.

Demographic ageing of the population that is inseparable part of demographic development has been registered in Ukraine in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century – according to the Statistics Office, the percentage of people above 60 is 21.4%. As it is explained in the report ‘Population of Ukraine: Birth Rate in the Context of Social Transformations’ (2008), in nowadays conditions the peculiarity of this process is, in particular, ageing because of decline of birth rate, but not due to increase of life expectancy in elder age groups. Besides, there is observed in the report ‘Population of Ukraine: Social and Demographic Problems of Ukrainian Village’ (2007) unevenness of ageing according to types of locality (cities and villages) and to sex: the situation in villages is worse, as there are more elder people than in cities, and women above 60 are more than men, especially in rural areas.

According to the report on the demographic situation prepared by the Statistics Office, the increase of share of people of retirement age leads to increase in consumption of public resources for provision of social security to elder people. The government’s anxiety is connected to the fact that in the conditions of limited resources poverty is spreading and social inequality according to age is aggravated. The poverty of retirement age population stipulates exercising of more pressure on working age people and involves additional material obligations of working people towards retirees. The increase of elder population forms specific needs in goods, accommodation, medical and social services. Changes in generation ratio influence on relationships in a family and society, intensifying opposition between youth and elder people, i.e. taxpayers and retirees.

Inter-regional differentiation of demographic situation is stipulated by the complex influence of different natural and geographical, historical, economic, and political factors, such as the level of development of economic and social infrastructures, production pattern, standards of living, specifics of labor markets, peculiarities of life-styles in urban and rural areas (especially in megalopolises), dynamics of migration, urbanization tendencies, ecologic situation, cultural and historic traditions.

During the period of transformation, migration processes have changed significantly. The level of migration mobility has decreased as the consequence of the Soviet Union collapse, worsening of economic situation, decline of standards of living. The significant increase of population due to migration in 1991-1992 was the biggest one, but then it sharply decreased<sup>11</sup>. Along with the decrease of migration there are spreading external labor migration, refugees flow, and transit of illegal migrants. Low wages and unemployment turn labor migration into the main means of provision of an acceptable standard of living for considerable part of population.

Facing the situation that is defined by the government as demographic crisis and being aware of the all negative consequences it has, the government develops programs and projects aiming at overcoming the crisis. One of the programs devoted to solution of existing problems is Strategy of demographic development of Ukraine to the year of 2015<sup>12</sup> alongside with launching other programs.

### ***Main Government Programs in the Field of Demographic Development in Ukraine***

In 2006 the new government program has been accepted – Strategy of Demographic Development of Ukraine to the Year 2015. The main goal declared in it is the formation of

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<sup>11</sup> <http://ukrstat.gov.ua/>

<sup>12</sup> <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua> – the official site of publishing of laws and projects of laws accepted by Parliament of Ukraine Verkhovna Rada

systems of personal and social values oriented to the establishment of a family with two children. The objects of the direct government attention are young families and families with children.

Priorities of the government support of a family are creation of conditions for improving of material status of families; development of the system of crediting of families; improvement of housing conditions; establishment of funds of social accommodation and provision of the needy in accommodation with it; assertion of high social status of a family, etc. Strategic directions are the following ones: improving of standards of living; decreasing of socially determined differences in morbidity and mortality of population; preventive measures against influence of harmful working environment on health; improving of epidemiological and ecological situation; reforming of health service system; stimulating of positive changes in people's behavior and life-styles.

In the field of overcoming the negative consequences of the problem of the ageing population, the priorities are the establishment of mechanism of elder people provision, their involvement in active life-style beyond the labor activities, effective usage of remaining labor potential of people of the retirement age.

Two interrelated tasks have been formulated that concern solution of problems of the demographic development: reducing inter-regional differences on demographic indices and providing of constant and balanced development of each region. It should be achieved through differentiated provision of the government support to regions and the implementation of different government and regional programs in economic and social spheres.

So, the main goal of the government policies defined in Strategy is the following one: improvement of qualitative characteristics of standard of living of the population and harmonization of processes of its reproduction basing on the revival of spirituality of

Ukrainian nation and national traditions, renewal of family values, provision of morality of a family, formation of attitude of responsible parenthood, and prevention of social orphanage.

Main tasks of Strategy are following ones: increase of birth rate and development of a family; improvement of health conditions, lowering of mortality and increase of life expectancy; regulation of migration; overcoming the negative consequences of ageing of the population; demographic development of regions.

As a part of the government demographic policies, there have been developed several other programs aiming at supporting young families and families with many children. In the frames of such support, annually the government and President of Ukraine provides families with many children with extra one-time allowances and supplies with housing or proposing to repair the houses families live in. So, for example, 600 families with many children received help from the government in 2009<sup>13</sup>.

Besides, since 2005 Verkhovna Rada, Parliament of Ukraine, approved the increase of differentiated allowances for newborn children that are paid in several installments: significant amount of money is paid immediately after delivering a child and the left amount is paid in even monthly allowances. According to the Law of Ukraine ‘On the Government Support to Families with Children’, the amount paid for the first child is 12240 hryvnia (approximately €1200), for the second child the allowance is 25000 hryvnia (approximately €2500) and for the third and each following child the amount is 50000 hryvnia (approximately €5000)<sup>14</sup>. Besides, this Law provides the government support to families with many children, families with adopted children, single mothers, and children in ward.

For deciding one of the biggest problems the youth face, the government launched in 1992 the program of crediting of young families for building housing, funding it from the

<sup>13</sup> Archives of news of Ministry of Ukraine of Family, Youth and Sport on the official site [www.kmu.gov.ua](http://www.kmu.gov.ua)

<sup>14</sup> The changes were accepted during Parliament sessions in 2007 and were introduced since January, 1, 2008

state budget<sup>15</sup>. Except providing credits for the youth, the Fund developed the mechanism of partial compensation of the interest paid on credits taken by young families in commercial banks. Since 2002 the Fund operates in the frames of the program ‘The Government Program on Providing the Youth with Housing on 2002-2012’, the main goal of which is solution of housing problems of the youth and activation of investing in residential construction for young families.

Even though, there are several government acts that regulate the demographic policies in Ukraine, the main one is still Strategy of Demographic Development of Ukraine to the Year 2015. As far as the main object of Strategy is a family and the main goal is to strengthen family values and encourage married couples to have at least two children, the government developed the set of priorities of the policies aimed at increasing of birth rate and development of a family that are stated in Strategy.

The part of the propaganda of family values and responsible attitude to a family through mass-media as one of the directions of the government policies is social advertising that in this way appears to support the government policy aiming at increasing birth rate.

### ***Social Advertising: Its Essence and Functions***

Advertising can be defined as the set of psychological measures of influence on the consciousness of perspective consumers aiming at the active promotion of objects of advertisements whether it is goods, a service, or a political actor and creating of a positive image of a company, an organization and societal institutions.

The role of advertising should not be underestimated. As some of the researchers, Oleg Feofanov (1999), Barker (2008), Elliot and Ritson (2003), argue one of the functions

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<sup>15</sup> [www.molod-kredit.gov.ua](http://www.molod-kredit.gov.ua) – the official site of the State fund of assistance to youth in building housing

performed by advertising is the social one which consists in the integration and uniting of a population. Advertising can create a nation through the unification of people's tastes and needs, the definition of consuming priorities and the transformation of goods into symbols of a country. In this way, the unification of consuming priorities of Americans led to the unification of spiritual needs and along with it to the recognition themselves as the united nation (Feofanov 1999:9). Introducing certain values into the mass consciousness, advertising in this way propagandizes a concrete lifestyle.

Besides, advertising is closely connected to ideology. As Feofanov (1999) and Fox (2009) state, an advertisement aims at the unification of opinions and behavioral patterns serving certain ideology. As Wernick (1991) states, at the same time advertising is a tool of politics, using for conserving a society or creating a new one with definite characteristics. For judging advertising, it is necessary to address to the ideology or public morality that stands behind it (Feofanov 1999:14-15). Social advertising<sup>16</sup> aims exactly at the introduction of new moral values into the mass consciousness through informing the society about the most urgent problems in it and pointing out the ways for their solution, to tell simply, it shows what is good and what is bad. Social advertising serves as a mirror of life. As Fox (2009) claims, analysis of advertising of any country can provide the key points for understanding the life in it.

Social advertising is not the advertising of particular goods, but of an attitude to the world. This attitude can be displayed (or not displayed) only in the long-term perspective. And the result of it is difficult to predict because of impossibility to consider all the factors influencing on it. According to Golberg et al. (1997) and Olexandr Kurban (2007), social

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<sup>16</sup> The term 'social advertising' is accepted only in post-Soviet countries, while in West such kind of advertising is called 'public interest advertising'. The reason of such terminological mess is the fact that 'public interest' is translated into Russian as 'obschestvennye interesy', the combination of words widely used by the Soviet government for marking its policies. So, for avoiding the negative associations and distancing from the Soviet past, it was decided to use the term 'social advertising' instead of 'public interest advertising' (Nikolaishvili 2008).



advertising serves as a means of mobilization and coordination of active members of a society, volunteers, aiming at the solution of urgent, generally valid social problems which are impossible to decide satisfactorily through the standard set of state administrative and legal tools.

There is no the only one accepted definition of what social advertising is. But according to the definition given in the Article 1 of the Law of Ukraine ‘On Advertising’, “social advertising is information of any type, spread in any form, aimed at the achievement of socially beneficial purposes, the popularization of universal values and the spreading of which is not connected to profit earning”.

The aim of social advertising is to draw public attention to the problem and to change behavioral patterns in the society and to establish new socially valid values in the long-term perspective. If advertising, on the whole, can create new needs, social advertising is able to influence on the formation of more complicated psychical foundations such as the world-view, aesthetic tastes, moral values, lifestyle, ethic values, etc.

It is necessary to differ social and non-commercial advertising, even though to distinguish these two types is very difficult sometimes. As O.V. Lavryk (2008) states, non-commercial advertising is paid by public non-commercial institutions or in their interests or by business structures. The main aim is to stimulate donations, call to vote in somebody’s favor or to give a public support (this kind of advertising is also called ‘political advertising’; some political forces during the last President elections in Ukraine used high-quality political advertisements that mimicked social advertising and it has been becoming a rather spread practice), some kind of social advertising paid by a company or a corporation with mentioning its name (such advertisements do not promote any goods or services, but serves for improving the image of firms and corporations as socially responsible structures). Social

advertising informs about social problems and shows how to solve them, propagandizes positive phenomena, demonstrate moral values and societal guidelines, behavioral patterns and examples for imitation.

According to Feofanov (1999), Parshentseva (2004), Fox (2009), Kotler et al. (2002), the aesthetic function of social advertising is divided in two kinds: positive ('soft' advertisement) and negative ('tough' advertisement). Positive advertisement consists in the promotion of positive mood that should stimulate the problem solution (for example, the very first social advertisement 'Call your parents' appeared in 1994<sup>17</sup> which used the analogy between children leaving home and nestling leaving nest). 'Soft' advertising is created for average or long period of influence and aimed at a gradual mood change, causing, at first, positive emotions, then internal willingness to act, and, finally, the action itself. Negative advertisement underlies the demonstration of unattractive sides of the problem. Such kind of advertising has a rather aggressive character. As a rule, such advertisements show what will happen if not to do something (for example, advertisements on observance of road traffic rules which show in very naturalist way the possible consequences of not fastening safety belts in a car accident). 'Tough' advertising is designed to have an immediate influence and cause a hair-trigger reaction.

As Kurban (2007), Lavryk (2008), Barker (2008), Kotler et al. (2002) state, social advertising performs a set of functions. Among them it is possible to distinguish the following ones: informative; educative; corporate; consolidating and controlling. Informative function consists in spreading of information that concerns, for example, about the ways of supporting of some social projects, on paying taxes, ways of transmitting of venereal diseases, etc. educative function serves for forming and shaping new behavioral patterns (for instance, refusal from smoking,

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<sup>17</sup> The very first social advertisement appeared in 1906 in the USA. Aiming at protection the Niagara Waterfall from pollution from the side of energy companies, it was made by the public organization 'American Civic Association'.

anti-alcohol campaign and propaganda of other elements of healthy lifestyle). The essence of corporate function lies in creating a positive image of social services and organizations and overcoming of the negative image of the government structures in citizens' minds (that is especially topical in post-Soviet countries where the attitude of citizens to the government authorities is extremely negative because of the high level of corruption). Consolidating function is used for uniting of efforts of social institutions and sponsors aiming at solving social problems. Controlling function includes formation of channels of getting feedback between public organizations and the government services and clients for controlling actions of the system and making necessary changes.

### ***Social Advertising in Ukraine***

Social advertising as well as any activity connected to advertising is regulated by the Law of Ukraine 'On Advertising'. According to the Article 12, Clause 2 of the Law of Ukraine 'On Advertising', social advertising in Ukraine cannot contain any references to concrete goods and/or its producer and its advertiser. The clause 3, Article 12 of the same Law provides benefits stipulated by Ukrainian legislation for charity to persons who produce and spread social advertisements free of charge and to persons who pass their property and funds to other persons for producing and spreading of social advertising. The Clause 4 of the same Article states that mass-media, that spread advertisements and are funded fully or partially from the state and local budgets, have to place social advertisements from government and local authorities free of charge no less than 5 % of airtime and printing area intended for advertising. As it is mentioned in the Clause 5, mass-media, that spread advertisements and are funded fully or partially from the state and local budgets, have to provide benefits for clients of social advertising that are establishments of education, culture, public health that are financed from the state and local budgets.

Even though the Law guarantees and provides some quota for social advertising, most private media channels still prefer not to place it as it is non-profit – profit from the government's order (as well as benefits are not so attractive) is much lower than it is possible to receive for the same time from commercials. But in the USA, for example, the situation is quite different – the benefits provided by the government for placing social advertising are quite high that encourages media structures to participate in social projects (Lavryk 2008).

So, according to the Clauses mentioned above, social advertising in Ukraine is controlled by the government, but, in comparison with the USA where there is a special authority watching the production and placement of social advertising there, the Advertising Council, this field is not managed by a separate structure (Kurban 2007). Besides, if in Ukraine the main client of social advertising is the government, in other western countries different organizations, including profit ones, can produce social projects aiming at solving social problems or improving their image, representing themselves as socially responsible structures. One more interesting distinction between social advertising in Ukraine and in western countries is that western projects are not afraid of implementing 'tough' advertising with naturalist and severe plots that is considered to be more effective, while in Ukraine most advertisements are 'soft' that is explained by the fact that Ukrainian society is not ready to brutal way of performing and will not accept such projects (Kurban 2007).

The problem of social advertising efficiency which is the main concern of specialists in developed countries is one of the many for Ukraine. Among the range of other problems is the absence of clients, except the state institutions. Perspective clients of social advertising can be public organizations, trade-unions, and business structures, as it is in the world practice. Unfortunately, Ukrainian business structures have not got interested in social advertising. A Ukrainian entrepreneur, as a rule, cannot afford spending money without any direct commercial profit. Public organizations do not have money on social advertising

because of poor and insufficient budgeting. Representative offices of big international organizations have enough money for sponsoring social projects with social advertising, but the schemes of money transaction are not clear and transparent and very often money destined for social projects stay on somebody's accounts.

But the problem of social advertising in Ukraine is its poor financing from the government. As the Anna Strelkovs'ka (2007), the head of the Center of Youth Policies, mentioned in her article, in 2003 Ukrainian TV Channels placed social advertisements only on the amount of \$ 1700 and \$ 1,000,000 was spent on placing outdoor social advertisements that was only 1.5 % of all advertising investments. According to the calculations of independents experts, that are cited in Strelkovs'ka's article, the volume of Ukrainian market of social advertising in 2007 was \$ 40 million, while the whole volume of Ukrainian market of advertising equaled to \$ 1.2 billion. Just for comparison, the amount, assigned by the Congress for one of the US social projects against drug addiction that was conducted in 1998-2002, was \$ 929 million (in spite of its huge budget, the campaign failed because of some strategic mistakes) (Slushaenko 2009).

So, nowadays the main client and sponsor of social advertising in Ukraine are the state institutions (Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health, State Tax Administration of Ukraine, Ministry of Ukraine of Family, Youth and Sport, State Traffic Police of Ukraine, regional and local authorities).

## ***Chapter 2. Social Advertisements: Contradictions***

As far as the main client of social advertising in Ukraine is the government, no wonder that it represents its demographic policies with promotion of a nuclear family with two children as the desired and mostly supported family model<sup>18</sup> (while the attitude to other family models can be defined as neutral, i.e. they are accepted, but do not find such support from the government) and the idea of women's natural destination of being a mother and a wife. Almost all social advertisements contain some mentions about the demographic policies, for example, advertisements on topics of health problems (how unhealthy life-styles influence on women's reproductive health and children's health), adoption (appeal not to refuse from children and adopt abandoned ones), the demographic crisis (aim at preventing abortions), against human trafficking (persuade people not to go abroad and not to leave children alone), etc.

Mass-media, political and academic discourses, and even documents of women's movements underline the increasing social importance of traditional women's role as a wife and a mother, making these notions inseparable as if one cannot exist without another. The government aims at strengthening a nuclear family as the desirable family model and returning to 'traditional' gender roles in it. But this discourse is full of contradictions, connected not only to some discrepancies between the proclaimed policies and the ways of their implementations, but, first of all, because of the notion of a 'traditional' family with 'traditional' gender roles.

The main problem with 'traditionalism' is what kind of family should be considered as 'traditional' and what gender roles are meant as 'traditional' in Ukraine. According to the

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<sup>18</sup> The demographic policies of the Ukrainian government as well as what social advertising is and what functions it performs are discussed in more detail in the previous chapter

contemporary government and academic discourses, nowadays a ‘traditional’ family is a nuclear family in which a husband is the head of a family and a breadwinner, while a wife runs household and brings up children (Chuiko 1998, Golod 2008). But at the same time some scholars, aiming at reviving Ukrainian culture and traditions and distancing from the Soviet past, argue that a distinguishing feature of Ukrainian culture is a matriarchal character of a truly ‘traditional’ Ukrainian family, in which a woman has more power (Yakubova 1999, Rubchak 1996, 2009). But even if to leave aside the problem with definition what a ‘traditional’ family is, there still exists problems with the implementation and promotion of the policies declared by the government. In most social advertisements, that are a part of the media campaigns in support of the government demographic policies, even a family, as it is seen by the government, i.e. a nuclear family with at least two children, is absent, what to say about ‘traditionalism’.

I argue that even though, according to Strategy of Demographic Development of Ukraine to the year 2015, social advertisements as a part of the media campaigns should promote family values and serve to strengthen marriages and family ties, a family itself, as it is seen by the government, is absent from these advertisements. What is presented in them is only a mother and a child, as if the only existing family model in Ukraine is one-parent family. Social advertisements seem to promote the idea that women should be mothers irrespective of their marital status and to exclude men from the notion of ‘a family’ and to diminish in this way the role of a nuclear family in the society, so appreciated and cherished by the government.

Besides, the focus mainly on women emphasizes that it is women who are responsible for reproduction of the nation and they do not actually belong to themselves and cannot control their own bodies as they are ‘public property’. Distinguishing a mother and a fetus as two separate human beings, social advertisements introduce and exemplify the concept of

‘maternal-fetal conflict’ as the conflict of interests and rights of a woman and a fetus, restricting a woman’s rights and a woman’s body autonomy through operating the notion of maternal responsibility. So, there are obvious contradictions between the policy proclaimed and the content of social advertisements.

For proving it I have chosen for the analysis social advertisements that conditionally can be divided into the following groups: the first one directly addresses the demographic problems, to be more exact, decline of population and high abortion rate, and the second group is devoted to the health issues. The choice of advertisements is stipulated by differences in addressing the same problems and marking the stages of implementation of social advertising from random and rare projects to the large scale and long-time campaigns that coincides with the new stages of the government policies.

### ***Advertisements on the Demographic Problems***

The first sample group consists of twelve advertisements, the eight of which were part of the same national-wide project ‘Let’s make love!’ realized in 2007 and each of the other four were the local separate projects. The advertisements were placed on billboards (except the only video in the sample) in regional centers and big cities.

One of the first efforts to address the demographic problems (high abortion rate, ageing society, sharp decrease of population), which Ukraine faced since 1991, was the advertisement posted on billboards on the streets of Lviv, cultural and spiritual center of Western Ukraine, in the late 1990s. It was performed in the style and colors reminding Ukrainian traditional way of drawing and showed the genealogic tree, depicting an extended family with children and grandchildren. One of the bows of the tree with the sign ‘I’ on it is cut with an axe lying near. The slogan close to it says ‘Don’t cut your future!’



The message of the advertisement, which is transmitted through the metaphor of the genealogic tree, is easily readable – ‘Don’t have an abortion!’ as in this way you stop the prolongation of your family and yourself. As children are considered to be our future, depriving oneself with the possibility of having children means destroying one’s future. The wish to live only for one’s own sake is judged by the society as egoistic one. Even though the sex of depicted ‘I’ is not mentioned, the message in it implies that the addressee is a woman, i.e. the target group is women of reproductive age who are considering the possibility of performing abortion in a case of unplanned pregnancy. This advertisement neither blames, nor reproaches women for the possible decision in favor of abortion, but just appeals to their maternal instinct and emotionality and inclination of women to sympathy.

The extended genealogic tree with showing three more bows (children), except the cut one ‘I’, promotes also the idea of a large family with many children that is traditional to Ukrainian culture where it has been quite common to have five and more children (Surzhik 2001). The connections with cultural traditions are exemplified through the national way of performing the advertisement. As far as children are supposed to be God’s blessing, in Ukraine a family with many children has been considered as blessed and very happy. But the appeal to have a large family is hardly realizable as, according to some Ukrainian sociologists (Gradska 1997, Chyrkov 2000, Vynnychenko 2000), there is a tendency to have only one or maximum two children that is connected to worsening of standards of living and impossibility to bring up children, providing them with all the necessary things.

But even though this advertisement promotes the idea of a nuclear with many children, it at the same time addresses only women, excluding men and narrowing in this way its target group. The exclusion of men implicitly diminishes their role in a family and in the decision making process (as it is hard to imagine a ‘traditional’ family which is to be promoted and in which the decision about abortion is made by a woman without even discussing it with a

husband), implying the idea that it is a woman who is making all the decisions. As far as it is hardly probable in a nuclear family that is the most spread family model<sup>19</sup>, the question arises what type of family it addresses and how it promotes family values, except appealing not to have abortion.

The second advertisement was spread on billboards on the streets of cities of one of the south regions. It depicts a sitting new-born baby with the slightly visible image of a woman with wings in the center, i.e. the main idea of it is to rearrange a future mother and a future child. The inscription says 'He would never do it with you...' and at the bottom of the drawing 'Abort Y/N'.

It also stands against abortion, but if in the previous advertisement the emphasis was made on the notion that 'children are our future', this one is based on the belief of the holiness of life, even unborn one. The idea of holiness and sinlessness of an unborn human being, purity of its soul, is transmitted through the depiction of wings on a woman's back that are the symbol of a holy creature, an angel. The holiness and purity of an unborn soul is stressed even through the color of wings – white – which is considered to be the purest one and the traditional for depicting angels. The pose of a woman expresses the defencelessness of her, implying the idea of vulnerability of an unborn child.

If the previous advertisement just appeals to emotions of a woman, this advertisement aims at causing the feeling of guilt for the intention of making abortion. The look of a woman, addressing to conscience, appeals to reconsider the accepted decision. The inscription at the bottom says that there is always a choice and it is at a woman's will whether she wants to keep a child or to do abort, but before making decision, it is necessary to think thoroughly about the consequences, including moral ones.

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<sup>19</sup> According to statistical data from the report 'Complex Demographic Prognosis of Ukraine to the Year 2050', 27,5% families are one-parent families, while 72,5% are two-parent families.

Besides, if the previous advertisement has at least slightly connections with a family (through the metaphor with the genealogic tree), this poster has no single mentioning about a nuclear family that is of concern of the government, i.e. it concentrates completely on the relationships between a mother and a child, as if a father never existed that contradicts the main priority of the government policies declared – promotion of family values and strengthening a family. Depicting only a woman without any sign at existence of a partner or husband implies the idea that she is a single mother who either has no a constant partner, or breaks up with him that does not correspond at all to the aim of imposing family values, according to which a child is the gift given to both parents. Besides, it is difficult to tell that the decision to have abortion depends on marital status of a woman, so even if to suggest that single mothers are inclined to abort and that is why they are the target group to address, it does not correspond to the reality as many couples decide not have children because they already have one or two or due to not having opportunities to bring them up. The addressing only to women in this advertisement is also strange because of some references to religion contained in it and religion never approves single mothers.

The third advertisement is based on the association with a very famous play on words, which is supposed to be a historical anecdote of the times of Russian Tsar Petr I. The original play on words is based on change of the meaning of the phrase by putting comma in different place. If comma is put after the first word, the meaning of the phrase is ‘Execute, impossible to forgive’; and if comma is after the second word, then the phrase means ‘Impossible to execute, forgive’. In this advertisement the word ‘execute’ was replaced by the word ‘abort’. The comma in blue ink that is after the second word, i.e. meaning ‘Abort, impossible to forgive’ (that is implied to be the first decision), is crossed by red, and the comma in red is put after the first word, changing the meaning to ‘Impossible to abort, forgive’. And under it the inscription in red says ‘The choice exists!’.

The usage of blue and red colors is not accidental one. Blue is supposed by psychologists to be calm and inert, while red is the color of action, radical changes, implying the appeal to stop being inactive and to change once accepted decision, demonstrating one's strong life position and will. Due to its playfulness, it does not cause any negative emotions, and, on the contrary, allows feeling as a benefactor after doing good works. In comparison with the previous two, which just appeal to emotions and ask for reconsideration, but remain uncertain about the final decision; this one provides in a firm way the direct and clear answer how to act and calls to active actions.

The change of the accepted decision implicitly provides the idea of discussion having place that lead to the reconsideration of the way to act. In a way, it is the only advertisement that somehow suggests the existence of a woman's partner who is also involved in the decision making process. But this suggestion is so subtle and tricky that makes again to think where a family and family values, as they are viewed by the government, are and why it is a woman who is in the focus of the advertisement. It is quite logical to suggest that the decision about abortion is accepted after discussion by partners, so it is possible to assume that a man's opinion also has some weight in the decision making process. So, if social advertising starts to address men as well and depict somehow the process of discussion and man's involvement in decision making, such advertisements will be able to kill two birds with one stone – to pay attention to the problem of abortion and in a way to represent family values (support and respect to each other). But, unfortunately, such efforts have not yet been made.

This phenomenon can be explained by the change of perception of a pregnant woman “[f]rom thinking of pregnant as something a woman is to regarding pregnancy as something she *carries*” (Armstrong 2003:9). Such change has stipulated viewing a woman and a fetus as two separate human beings that involves debates about rights of a fetus and a woman and leads to the possibility of the emergence of conflict of interests between a pregnant woman

and a fetus. Alongside with disputes about rights, the ethical discussions about maternal responsibility towards an unborn child lead to arising the question of control over a woman's body and restriction of a woman's body autonomy. Besides, the consideration of a fetus rights as an excuse makes possible the intervention and regulation of reproduction by the government.

Viewing a woman and a fetus as different individuals imposes new moral and ethic norms in medicine as well as in the society and results in emerging of the concept of maternal responsibility towards a fetus. In some cases it leads to opposing a woman and a fetus, 'maternal-fetal conflict', when it concerns the threat to a fetus life, but the peak of such an antagonism is viewing abortion as a murder of one human being (a fetus) by another (a woman) that is refrained implicitly in all advertisements against abortion. Besides, while all the responsibility for health and development of a fetus lies on a woman, a man is mainly absent from this discussion that undermines a man's obligations towards a woman and a fetus. But as Blank and Merrick argue, "[b]oth pregnant women and their partners have moral obligations to protect the fetus" (Blank, Merrick 1995:175). So, shifting the responsibility to a woman only results in relieving man's one.

The fourth advertisement is a video called 'The Pregnant Man'<sup>20</sup> that is released now on one of the most famous and popular Ukrainian TV channels 'Inter'. It shows a young pregnant woman who is upset and anxious, talking to the phone to a man sitting in an office. The anxiety of a woman is underlined through the weather - cloudy and grey day. While talking, she gradually calms down and at the end of the conversation looks relieved. During the conversation one of scenes shows an advertisement near the call box, which says 'I want to meet a pregnant woman without an accommodation, a job, any support and with problems', making a hint that a woman is calling at the number mentioned in it. After finishing the

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OinAWep3VjU>

conversation, it is visible that a man is pregnant and a voice-over says ‘We understand what you feel and we can help. Come to the nearest center of social services’. For reaching more people, the text of advertisement shown in the video is placed on billboards on the streets of Kyiv and other big cities.

The message of the advertisement is that the government through the social services takes care of one of the most vulnerable social groups – lonely pregnant women who do not have any support. The metaphorical usage of man’s pregnancy aims at exemplifying the message: ‘Come to us. We understand you as nobody does’. It implicitly highs the image of a woman who decides to keep a child in spite of the existing problems, praising in this way women who follow their ‘natural destination’ and become mothers in any circumstances.

In this advertisement a man symbolizes through the social services, i.e. the government structures, the government that is ready to support not only two-parent families, but exactly pregnant women in any situation for the sake of the society and unborn children. The usage of the image of a man is not accidental, as it correlates with the idea of ‘traditional’ gender roles when a man is a breadwinner and a supporter. So, in cases of single mothers the government in a way promises to assume the responsibility and obligations and take the place of an absent partner and supporter.

If in the previous three advertisements the target group has been women of reproductive age who can consider the possibility of performing abortion in a case of pregnancy, the target group of this video is pregnant women who face some problems and shortages and need help. The change of the target group indicates the revision of the government family policy and its new tendency to pay more attention not only to the problem of abortion, but to the problems faced by women, especially working class women, in the conditions of the crisis. Special attention to working women, especially if they are single, is

explained by the worsening of economic and, consequently, social situation because of the crisis that expresses in high inflation and decrease of real income because of it, stoppage of production and consequently increase in unemployment rate and as a result of these most important effects the worsening of standard of life. And the most vulnerable social group in such situation is working people, especially pregnant women who are without any income.

In comparison with other advertisements, this video directly addresses single mothers as it openly says what women it aims at - 'a pregnant woman without an accommodation, a job, any support and with problems', i.e. a woman who has nobody to help and support her, a single woman. This is the most vivid example of the contradiction between the proclaimed policy of promotion through the mass-media family values as the way to strength an institution of family (through promotion the idea that a married couple is a family, if they have a child, and that a marriage should be preserved in any case for a child's sake) and the content of social advertisements which are actually a part of the media campaigns in favor of it. In fact, this video promotes single motherhood, suggesting that women can find support from the social services and the government.

The nation-wide social project 'Let's make love!', the distinguishing feature of which was a humorous approach to the demographic problems, was launched in summer 2007. It included a range of advertisements placed on billboards of big cities. Posting on differently colored backgrounds inscriptions with the slogan 'Let's make love!' and smiley at the end, creators of the project draw people's attention to the most urgent problem of sharp decline of the population. Conventionally advertisements in frames of this project can be divided into two groups: advertisements aiming at reproducing the nation for improving its quality and advertisements with direct appeals to increasing the population.

The first group includes posters with the following inscriptions: ‘The country lacks creators!’, ‘The country lacks football players!’, ‘The country needs honest government!’, ‘The country lacks Oscars!’, and ‘The country lacks Nobel prize winners!’ with the unchangeable slogan at the end ‘Let’s make love! )’. These phrases, causing a smile, address the problems existing in the society: the political crisis, migration of talented and gifted people (so called ‘brain drain’), lowering of standards of culture, including sport, cinema, science, etc. According to these advertisements, the way of solving of these problems is to increase birth rate as an every new born Ukrainian can become a Nobel prize winner, Oscar winner, famous football player or politician, to become a pride of the nation.

The second group of posters directly calls to reproducing of the nation through the following slogans: ‘There should be again 52 000 000<sup>21</sup> of us! Let’s make love! )’, ‘The country has more than enough astronauts! There are 73 000 000 of us! Stop! ☺’, and in the third poster there is the inscription in Chinese and figure 52 000 000 000. On the analogy with the previous slogan, the phrase in Chinese should mean ‘There are 52 000 000 000 of us! Stop! ☺’ (Chinese was chosen as the language of the most populated country in the world). If the first advertisement appeals to achieving the highest level of the population registered since 1991, directly pointing out the problem of decline of the population. Other two posters, basing on antithesis, hint with delicate humor to the probability that some time in the future the increase of Ukrainian population would be so high that it would be necessary to regulate the reproduction.

The advertisement in Chinese is one of the most interesting examples of promotion of certain ideas, playing on allusion with well-known facts, to be more exact, on the fact that China is the most populated country. The appeal of this advertisement is to tend, to try to

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<sup>21</sup> In 1991, when Ukraine gained its independence, there were 52 million people living on its territory. According to data presented at the site of State Statistics Office of Ukraine, in 2009 there were around 46 million people living in Ukraine. In 2007 the population of Ukraine was 46,6 million.



increase the population of Ukraine, challenging if Ukrainians could beat Chinese. Besides, Eastern cultures strongly appreciate and support a family model with traditional gender roles, so referring to such culture implicitly transfers its values.

This social project is characterized by aiming at framing serious problems into humor present in its posters and bright colors for backgrounds (red, blue, yellow, pink). The purpose of creation of the positive message is to change the mood and to incline a positive attitude in the society, wakening the wish to change the existing situation. In comparison with all the previous advertisements, the target group of these posters is not only women, but they address men also. Addressing both sexes is rather exception than a rule, as most of social projects and advertisements on the issues of the demographic problems choose women as their target group, making them responsible for the existing demographic situation.

Even though this social project addresses both men and women, it again does say nothing about a family and family values or about the responsible attitude to one's obligations towards any relationships. So, the advantage of addressing both men and women actually is lost, if to take into consideration the priorities of the government policies. It is possible to say that the goals proclaimed by the government do not have corresponding embodiment in practice.

### ***Advertisements on the Health Issues***

The second sample group consists of five advertisements devoted to the campaigns against bad habits and possible health consequences. Such campaigns very often directly interrelates with the issues of reproduction, showing the possible effects of smoking, drug addiction, alcoholism on women's reproductive health and health of future children. The

message of all advertisements in this group is the same – ‘Think before doing something. Whatever you do will influence on your children’.

The first two advertisements were the part of the same project ‘It is better without drugs!’ realized in 2006 in several regions of Ukraine. On one of the posters there is the inscription in white on the black background which says: “Mom, why did I die?” and the symbolic image of a tomb near it. Under it there is a warning “Drug addicts don’t have healthy children”. On the second poster there is the inscription “Mom, why am I a freak?” and an image of a child’s palm with six fingers and the same warning under it.

Even though this project was proclaimed to address young people to prevent them to start using drugs, none of the posters actually addresses men, all of them are devoted to women and influence of their unhealthy life-styles on their reproductive health and what consequences drugs addiction can have for their future children. In fact, these advertisements make women responsible for every possible effect, leaving without attention the fact that father’s habits as well can also significantly influence on a future child. Actually, such social advertisements shift their focus from woman’s health problems because of drugs to harm to a fetus, while advertisements addressing men underline only the possible effects for their own health, i.e. “public health warnings aimed at men (e.g., for heart disease, high blood pressure, cigarette smoking, and steroid use) focus on behaviors that cause harm to *self*, whereas messages aimed at women focus exclusively on women’s harm to *others* (the fetus)” (Daniels 2001:316). Such advertisements only heighten the ethical debates about ‘maternal-fetal conflict’ appeared when a mother and a fetus started to be treated as two separate patients (Blank, Merrick 1995:153) that gave space for arising conflicts of interests between a woman and a fetus and heated debates about women’s body autonomy and fetal rights. Even though the effect of male bad habits on the health of a fetus is already proved, still most policies and debates concern mainly women’s responsibility towards a future child that is explained by the

fact that women's life-styles and habits have longer effects on a fetus as female body is an 'environment' for it for months (Blank, Merrick 1995, Armstrong 2003).

So, these advertisements actually emphasizes that a woman and a fetus should be viewed as two different human beings, antagonizing their interests in cases when a woman's life-style can be considered as harmful to an unborn child. Even though such discourse in Ukraine finds now its reflection only in ethical debates, in the future it can lead to the direct interference of the government and society and development of the policies which would aim at protecting a fetus, but at the same time restricting women's rights through violation of women's body autonomy (as it is practiced now, for example, in the USA (Armstrong 2003)).

The other advertisement is also a part of the campaign against drug usage 'With drugs it is possible!'. This series of advertisements is based on making negative statements such as "Life without love?" or "Life without ideas?" and the refrain under it "With drugs it is possible!", suggesting that there is a choice to have everything or to prefer drugs. One of advertisements from this project depicts a dark silhouette of a pregnant woman, but her womb is empty. There is the inscription near it that says "Life without future? With drugs it is possible!".

Again this advertisement deals only with women without taking into consideration that the problem of drug addiction concerns men as well. Leaving a woman alone face to face with serious problems does not correspond in any way to family values, so appreciated by the government. Suggestion that 'children is our future' is rather strange if consider the fact that target group of it is women, then what about men? Are not children their future as well?

As one of American researchers points out, "[t]he absence of fathers in debates over drug addiction and fetal harm has had profound consequences for women, for it has dictated that women alone bear the burden and blame for the production of 'crack babies'" (Daniels

2001:312). Such approach does not help to solve the problem of children's disability caused by bad habits of parents, as without addressing the issues of men's reproductive health and possible effects of their life-style on a future child, it is impossible to predict and prevent such phenomena. So, a big disadvantage of the government policies is the neglecting attitude to the examination of the existing problem and narrow views on it that does not allow developing and implementing more efficient measures.

And addressing only women in the advertisements against drugs suggests that it is women who are more addicted to drugs and are the most problematic social group that does not correspond to the reality<sup>22</sup>. Besides, even in cases of women's drug addiction, it is impossible to imagine that all of them are orphans and single as it can be understood from advertisements which failed to show the presence of family (not only partners, but even parents and friends) in their lives. Advertisements against drug addiction could address this problem also introducing close people of an addicted and show in this way that such addicted people can always find support. The problem of social advertisements concerning in any way a family and reproduction produced in Ukraine is that they appeal mainly to women, making them the most subjected to every vice proposed by the contemporary society and such approach does not describe adequately the situation in the society.

Similar to the previous one is the advertisement against smoking, depicting a dark silhouette of a pregnant woman who is smoking. In her womb a baby is choking with smoke.

The advertisement again targets women and it exaggerates the problem of women's smoking as the most part of smokers are men<sup>23</sup>. The problem with this advertisement is the same with previous ones – no single hint on any family values, except appealing to a mother's

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<sup>22</sup> According to data of Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health, the number of registered drug users in 2009 was 107 thousand and only every fifth drug addict is woman (though, specialists suppose that the real number of drug users is 10 times more)

<sup>23</sup> As data of 2008 of Ministry of Ukraine of Public Health state, in Ukraine 67 % of men are smokers in comparison with 17 % of women

love to a child (as if the notion of parents' love is restricted only to mother's one), narrowing the target group through the exclusion of men, the exaggeration of women's inclinations to unhealthy life-styles that can cause the negative reaction of the audience.

As far as perception of a pregnant woman and a fetus has changed from seeing them as 'entity' to treating as two separate human beings, the attitude and control over women's bodies also underwent changes. These changes have led to appearing of new societal concerns and fears that are reflected into concepts of 'prenatal risk' and 'maternal responsibility', as Armstrong states, "[t]he ideas about prenatal risk and maternal responsibility ... reflect social unease about 'fetal harm', particularly when it is purportedly inflicted by the pregnant woman herself" (Armstrong 2003:2). But it is rather arguable what should be understood under to harm a fetus 'purportedly': whether an addiction of a pregnant woman (for example, drug addiction or alcoholism that are viewed to be diseases) can be considered as an intentional endangerment of health and life of a fetus (that according to society judgments is such an endangerment) or illegal abortion or any actions aimed at miscarriage or any harm to a fetus. According to social advertisements, the government sees smoking, drug addiction and other habits of a pregnant woman as the deeds that intentionally endanger an unborn life.

Besides, as Armstrong points out, "[i]deas about risk and danger in the realm of health serve as 'useful tools' for demanding moral behavior" (Armstrong 2003:9), i.e. the government uses the advertisements as the means of promotion its understanding of the concept of maternal responsibility towards a fetus and in this way provides the society with moral notions that become the basis for attitude and judgments of such women, creating certain behavioral patterns. Actually, "[t]he body mediates social relations and becomes a site for contesting social order" (Armstrong 2003:10) as through the creating and introducing the concept of 'maternal-fetal conflict' through social advertisements, the government changes

the perception of a woman's body and a fetus in the society that leads to developing new norms and notions.

The following advertisement is also devoted to the campaign against smoking. It depicts a living room in which two young women are sitting and smoking and in front of them there is a child playing with toys. The inscription says: "Mom, don't worry, I will never know that my asthma is because of you".

The very scene in a living room makes the situation familiar to everyone. But such a familiarity is rather dangerous. In a way this advertisement does not strengthen family values, but deconstructs them through depicting a usual scene from everyday life that shows the neglecting and irresponsible attitude to children (concerns with children and their health as one of values aimed by the government to be promoted). The familiarity of daily routine presented allows people to understand that there is nothing strange in their behavior; they are like thousands of others.

In this advertisement the 'maternal-fetal conflict' finds its further development as in the focus of it is not a fetus, but a toddler. So, it broadens the concept of maternal responsibility towards a child making us see a woman's life-style as the threat to a child's health and life. But, again, it is an arguable issue as there are no indisputable evidences what exactly influences on a fetus and child's development. Of course, it does not mean that bad habits and unhealthy life-style should become spread among women, but imposing a complete taboo on everything is not a good way to overcome the problem. Especially, it concerns smoking as women smoke less than men do, so the effect of their habit on a child's health is less than the consequences caused by male smoking.

Most advertisements against bad habits and the possible undesirable consequences on women's reproductive health and future children exaggerate problems of smoking and drug

addiction among women, while underrepresent the problem of female alcoholism that also has place. Appealing to the feeling of mother's love and asking to think about changing of life-style for a future child's sake restricts the notion of parents' love and distorts the notion of a family.

On the whole, the analysis of the sample set of social advertisements presents the existing discrepancies between what is proclaimed by the government and what is introduced by social advertising. The main issue is shifting all the responsibility for the demographic problems and problems with population's reproductive health to women, leaving without attention the role of men. Social advertisements, focusing mainly on women, do not perform their main task which consists in supporting of the government demographic policies, the main concern of which is strengthening and promotion of a nuclear family with at least two children as the most desirable family model. Actually, some advertisements directly promote single motherhood. Besides, projects against abortion and women's unhealthy life-styles introduce the concept of 'maternal-fetal conflict' through viewing them as two separate human beings and antagonizing their interests that leads to forming of the negative perception of these women in the society.

## ***Conclusion***

The aim of my research was to analyze social advertising as a means of supporting the government demographic policies in Ukraine and to define the messages of the sample advertisements and their correspondence to the goals and ideals declared in the government acts. To be more specific, I was interested in exploring what exactly they tell about a nuclear family, which is seen as an ideal family model, by the government and women in particular. For achieving my goals I analyzed the social context (i.e. the demographic situation in Ukraine) in which these social advertisements emerged and the government policies directed to solving what is defined as the demographic crisis. Besides, I discussed what social advertising is and what functions it performs and its mechanism of functioning in Ukraine. Then I analyzed the chosen set of social advertisements applying the analysis of visual images, textual analysis and content analysis of posters and videos in order to identify the main messages of these social projects and compare them to the proclaimed government policies.

Social advertising as a means of drawing attention to social problems and promoting of behavioral patterns which aims at solving these problems is considered to repeat the main messages and policies it has to support. But my analysis helps me to distinguish the discrepancies between the government demographic policies and their representation in social advertisements in case in Ukraine that allow me to make a conclusion that due to some reasons there are the cases of existence of contradictions between what is declared and the real content of social advertisements. These findings became my theoretical contribution to the debates about the implementation of social advertising and its correspondence to the ideas it should promote.



The results of the analysis of the sample set of advertisements show that a nuclear family with 'traditional' gender roles, which is considered by the government as an ideal family model and is expected to find its support, is absent. Advertisements mostly focus on the relationships of a mother and a child, often opposing their interests and introducing in this way 'maternal-fetal conflict' and shaping the negative attitude in the society to women whose behavior does not correspond to what is considered to be 'right'. Besides, outcomes of my analysis seem to evidence that the government encourages women (at least morally) to have children irrespective of their marital status and stimulates in this way single motherhood.

One of the possible explanations of the existing discrepancies is the extreme government's anxiety and concern with the demographic situation and decline of population. As it was mentioned, according to forecasts of demographers, the population of Ukraine to the year 2050 can decline to 36 million that cannot but influence on the development of the country. So, even though the government prefers to promote a nuclear family with at least two children and 'traditional' gender roles, its vital interest is in increasing the population, even through encouraging the emergence of one-parent families. Of course, this cannot be considered as the ideal way of demographic development, as it is supposed that a lack of one of parents negatively influences on a child. Besides, if there is a tendency to have only one child because of material difficulties in bringing it up, it would be more difficult for one parent to raise a child independently.

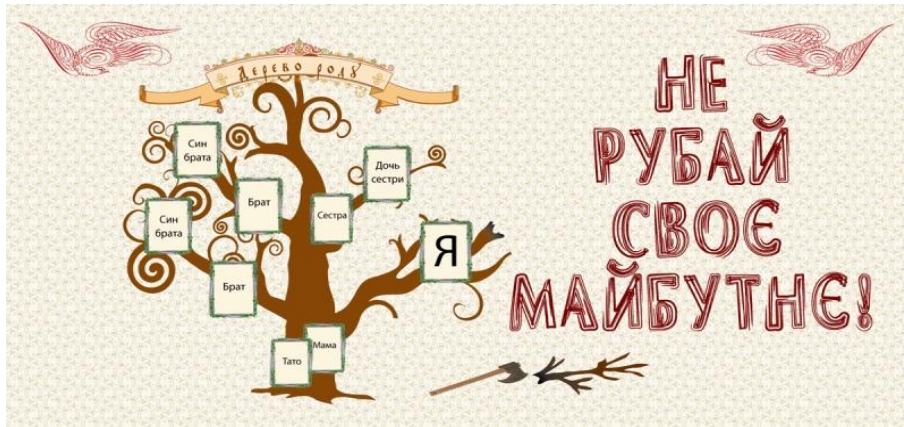
Other possible explanation of existing contradictions between the government policies and social advertisements is that women as bearers of fetuses are considered to be more responsible for the decline of population and any possible health problems of future children. So, if they are guilty for all the negative consequences, it seems to be quite logical to address them, but not men, appealing to change their behavior. And then the absence of a partner or husband is also explainable – why should they be addressed, if they do not bear any

responsibility for what is going on? Such approach cannot bring the desirable results, as it does not take into consideration the issue of problems of men's reproductive health and their responsibilities towards future children.

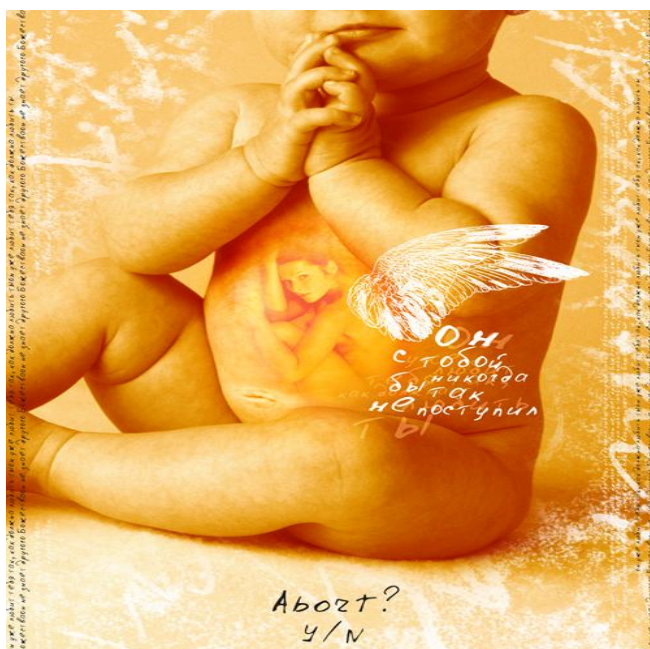
The discrepancies between the declared government policies and its real implementation through social advertising can become an obstacle on the way of achieving the desirable results – increase of population and promotion of a nuclear family with 'traditional' gender roles. It is especially unfavorable for the idea of a nuclear family as addressing only women, social advertising encourages single motherhood and hints on that women themselves can create families, finding support from the government and social services.

## Appendix

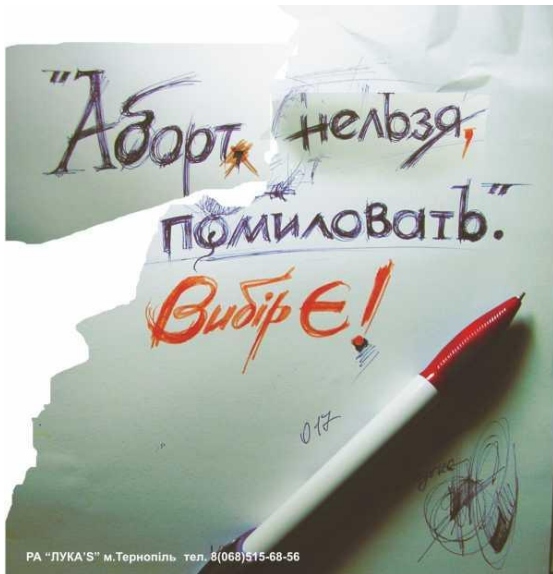
### Advertisements on the Demographic Problems



Don't cut your future!



He would never do it with you



Impossible to abort, forgive



The country lacks creators! Let's make love!)



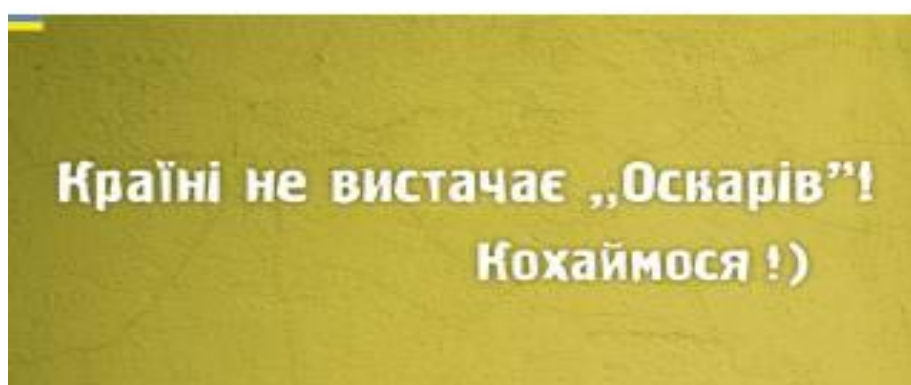
There should be again 52 000 000 of us! Let's make love!)



Let's make love! )



The country lacks Nobel Prize winners! Let's make love!)



The country lacks Oscars! Let's make love!)





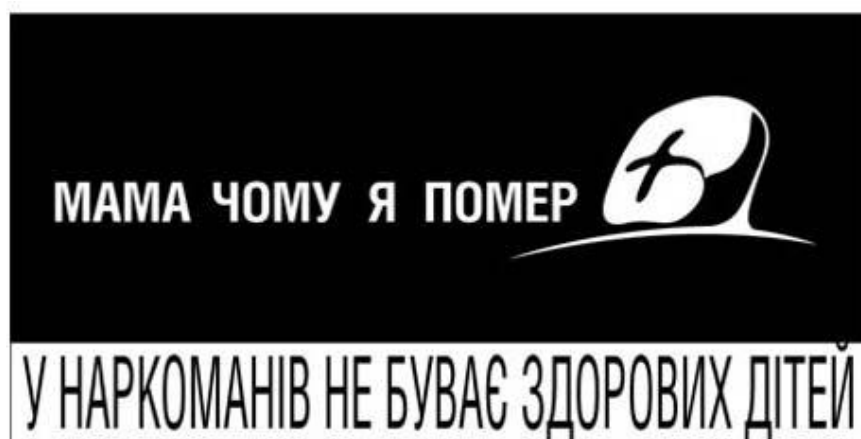
The country has more than enough astronauts! There are 73 000 000 of us! Stop! ☺



The country lacks football players! Let's make love!)



The country needs honest government! Let's make love!)



Mom, why did I die? Drug addicts don't have healthy children



Mom, why am I a freak? Drug addicts don't have healthy children



Life without future? With drugs it is possible!



Mom, don't worry, I will never know that my asthma is because of you



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