

**The role of marketing strategies in the maintenance of
gender stereotypes in the French fashion industry:
Analysis of print T-shirts and consumer's perception**

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I certify that the dissertation entitled: The role of marketing strategies in the maintenance of gender stereotypes in the French fashion sector: Analysis of print T-shirts and their consumer's perception.

Submitted for the degree of: **Msc in International Business Management** here is the result of my own work and that where reference is made to the work of others, due acknowledgement is given.

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Abstract

This study explores the role of marketing in reinforcing gender stereotypes in the adult ready-to-wear sector in France, through the analysis of print T-shirts and consumer perceptions. 200 adult t-shirts from 12 popular French fashion retailers were selected; a detailed analysis of messages, images and colours shows that disparities exist between men and women. Men are invited to be the best they can be and to explore the world through themes such as sport, adventure, or the urban world, while women are confined to an ideal and superficial world where relationships, physical appearance and emotions take priority. The analysis also shows that gender stereotypes on T-shirts are specific to the adult segment and to French culture. Interviews were conducted with 7 individuals, including 4 women and 3 men aged 15-74, to analyse their perception of gender stereotypes on T-shirts. The analysis revealed that three factors influence this perception: the individual's gender, the individual's gender-roles attitude and the individual's age. This research is a continuation of the research on gender marketing and these findings confirm the need for marketing strategies to be aware of their effects on social representations of gender roles.

Keywords: Gender marketing, gender stereotypes, print T-shirts analysis, consumers perception, French fashion industry

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Chapter 1

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Introduction & Objectives

Introduction

This research aims to explore the issue of gender discrimination in the French fashion industry, focusing on marketing strategies and on consumer's perception. The clothing sector is a sector that has received little study on gender issues in France, even though clothing is both a constituent element and a mode of expression of personal identity (McNeill and McKay, 2016). The ready-to-wear offer explicitly segments men and women, through cuts, materials, finishes or colours (Carré, 2011). The focus of the research will be on the role of marketing strategies in the diffusion and reinforcement of individual representations subject to gender stereotypes within the French fashion industry. According to Bernays, "*when the example of the leader is not at hand and the herd must think for itself, it does so by means of clichés, pat words, or images which stand for a whole group of ideas or experiences*" (Bernays, 1928, p.74). Under the pretext of wanting to segment their customers to better meet their expectations, brands use the male-female dichotomy through clichés and symbols that will consciously or unconsciously orient their behaviour around notions of gender.

This research aims to explore the issue of gender discrimination in the French ready-to-wear offer of popular brands, through a study of print T-shirts and their perception by consumers. The choice of popular brands is motivated by a desire to study ready-to-wear clothing for the greatest number of people. The logic in clothing choices leads affluent consumers to frequent both premium and popular brands, whereas such a possibility is not offered to people with a limited budget who cannot afford to frequent the more upmarket brands. I chose to focus my study on the messages and images printed on T-shirts because texts are explicit vectors for the expression of values and symbols (Sayre, 1992). Historically, they have been part of the identity construction of sub-groups such as the US Army Corps, university sports teams or music fans like the hippies of the 1970s (Crane and Bovone, 2006). Most ready-to-wear brands now offer T-shirts with messages or images printed on them, whose content is now much more varied (music, politics, humour, seduction, travel, etc.). These prints enrich the meaning of the clothes and have the positive effect of allowing people to connect with what is written. But they also carry the risk of locking people into imposed figures, reflecting the preconceived ideas of the

brands or the major stereotypes of a society, ultimately discriminating between female and male content.

To date, the role of marketing (in the form of product offerings or advertising production) as a vehicle for gender stereotyping within the fashion industry has been an under-researched area. My study aims to offer a first look at the issue through the print T-shirt.

Aims and Objectives

Marketing is often accused of all the wrong things. By its omnipresence, it maintains consumers in a state of permanent frustration, which leads them to buy things they do not need, all the while plundering the resources of the planet (Benoit-Moreau and Delacroix, 2020). Popular brands that are part of the fast fashion industry accentuate this mechanism even more with the help of attractive pricing and an incessant rotation of their products. The reality is undoubtedly more complex, but it is difficult to deny these accusations, and above all, it is necessary that the actors of marketing (practitioners, students, teachers) become aware that their decisions and actions have cultural consequences, which cumulatively shape society.

Within marketing literature, gender has mostly been used as an explanatory variable. Called a “gender-as-variable” by Haynes (2008), it examined and measured sex differences across consumer behaviours. This type of gender research is still applied in marketing research today: Kraft and Weber (2012) examined the differences between men and women regarding purchase decision and its marketing implication, Dahl *et al.* (2009) conducted an experimental study to highlight differences between men and women’s attitudes and responses to sex advertising. However, these studies focused on biological differences and excluded the notion of social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity. Under the guise of “gender segmentation” to more accurately address demands deemed specific, marketing can contribute to the reinforcement of certain clichés and inequalities, as some scholars have shown, through advertisements (Paff and Lakner, 1997)(Martin and Gnoth, 2009), product offerings (Borau, 2014) or even discriminatory pricing policies (Duesterhaus *et al.*, 2011). However, the issue of gender discrimination in the adult fashion sector remains almost unexplored.

Launched in 2017, following the revelation of the Weinstein affair, the #MeToo movement has put feminism back in the media spotlight. Women's voices were then freed to denounce the oppression they are often victim, as well as the discrimination they face in their daily lives. This global movement has given new impetus to feminism, and the subject of gender equality is now a priority issue in society again. This research is intended to spark debate and to disrupt cultural beliefs of gender roles. Through behaviours, attitudes and appearances, marketing strategies participate in social construction and reproduction of traditional gender roles. The risk lies in the fact that these gender roles may not be representative of society's evolutions and often reinforce social and gender inequality. It is expected that this research will provide a better understanding of the social and cultural implications of marketing strategies on the representation of gender roles in the French fashion industry.

The objectives of this research are as follow:

- How do marketing strategies diffuse gender stereotypes through the supply of printed T-shirts?
- What are the specificities of the gender stereotypes disseminated in the adult clothing of French brands?
- What factors influence consumers' perception of gender stereotypes?

Structure of the study

In the next chapter of this research, a literature review of the various works done around the three main notions of the study - namely gender, marketing, and clothing - will be carried out. This review will show the complexity of the notion of gender, the definition and measurement of which are highly debated, but also the use of gender in various marketing practices and finally the different social roles of clothing.

The third chapter will be dedicated to the methodology adopted for this research. The influence of the interpretivist approach will be analysed, but also the method of data collection, combining a collection of 200 printed T-shirts as well as interviews. Finally, the method of analysis of these data through a coding grid will be studied.

The results of this study and their analysis are developed in chapters four and five. Regarding printed T-shirts, this analysis shows that gender stereotypes are disseminated by marketing strategies through messages, illustrations, but also symbols and colours that

diverge according to male and female gender. However, these gender stereotypes have three specificities: we find gender stereotypes associated with adults and which can be the source of discrimination, particularly against women; the study also reveals the presence of gender stereotypes associated with French culture; finally, certain T-shirts contain gender stereotypes alongside messages of female empowerment. The second part of this analysis shows that consumers' perception of the stereotypical attributes present on printed T-shirts is influenced by three factors: gender in the sense of biological sex, attitude towards gender and age.

Chapter 2

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Literature Review

Under the guise of 'gender marketing', marketers use gender within their practices to target, attract and shape consumer behaviour. Gender roles have evolved considerably, and the issue of gender inequality is now a priority issue in society. However, through stereotypical behaviours, attitudes and appearances, marketing strategies continue to participate in the social construction and reproduction of traditional gender roles. In terms of image, the fashion sector is the one that receives the most criticism regarding sexist clichés in advertising campaigns in France. Visible to all, clothing is an ideal product for marketers who can exploit its communicative role (Burgelin, 1996) by reinforcing gender stereotypes through the colours, images and messages on T-shirts. This literature review aims to contextualise this research study by analysing the themes and theories that have been developed in the field. It is structured around three main themes that are central to the study: gender, marketing, and clothing. Firstly, the notion of gender will be analysed, we will see that gender is a complex notion that has been highly debated as well as the social construction of gender stereotypes and their presence in France. The contribution of gender to marketing practices will be the second section to be analysed. This section will study how gender can be used to explain consumption behaviour, to categorise products and to explain how consumers react to communication. Finally, an analysis of clothing will be made to study its role and functions as well as the different relationships to fashion of men and women. The last part of this chapter will focus on the analysis of the fashion market in France. This literature review will conclude with the conceptual framework of this research study.

I. The notion of gender

A. A complex notion

Gender is a complex notion that has been highly debated over the years. To understand the debates over this notion, it is interesting to go back to its origin.

The concept of gender was first studied by John Money in the 1950s. By creating the term “gender role”, he established a difference between biological sex (male and female) and gender – a social manifestation of what individuals do to define themselves as man, woman, boy, girl or not, which does not include sexuality (Money, 1952). John Money has made gender a concept that goes beyond Manichean thinking of “male – female” by integrating a personal and societal recognition dimension into it. This definition

incorporates two influential factors – psychological and socio-cultural – that shape the conception of gender. However, these factors have been questioned by some authors.

A debate exists regarding the influential factor of gender construction. Thinkers are not yet in full agreement whether gender is due to personal behaviour or to societal influence. The personal and individual dimension of gender appeared in 1968, thanks to the psychoanalyst Robert Stoller, who spoke of "gender identity". In his book *Sex and Gender*, he defines gender as a "psychosocial" sex (Stoller, 1968). This construction of gendered identity is the result of a complex and continuous process that takes place from childhood to adulthood. However, for the anthropologist Maurice Godelier, gender, male or female, is the set of attributes that a society attaches to individuals according to whether they are male or female at birth (Godelier, 2005). In fact, the way in which a person feels about his or her gender goes hand in hand with the way in which that same person is recognised by society. Therefore, in my study, I decide to define gender as the **socio-cultural construction of male and female roles and gender relations**.

The translation of the concept of gender into different scales of measurement also reveals different conceptions. In early psychology, gender appears only through the concepts of masculinity and femininity, considered as a set of personality traits, some associated only with males and others only with females, without anyone having both. This one-dimensional concept of masculinity versus femininity was later challenged by Bem (1974) who consider that a man and a woman have both masculine and feminine traits. Today, many authors seem to agree on the need to understand gender as a set of factors. In this study, I will retain the concept of multifactorial gender developed by Spence and Sawin (1985) including five factors: the individual's perception of being male or female, instrumental/expressive personality¹ traits, attitudes towards gender roles (Fischer and Arnold, 1994), gender behaviours - hobbies, professions, activities, some of which are female, others male - and sexual orientation. The factor of attitudes towards gender roles will be of particular interest when analysing the reactions and perceptions of the different consumers interviewed to the stereotypical features present on the T-shirts. It helps to explain individual attitudes towards the roles, rights and responsibilities of men

¹ The individual evaluates him/herself with qualifiers such as "competitive", "courageous" for instrumental/male traits - and "tender", "emotional" for expressive/female traits (Spence, 1993)

and women. Individuals can be classified as having traditional or modern attitudes towards gender, depending on the degree of acceptance of certain situations or features.

B. Gender stereotypes

Lippman was the first to introduce the notion of stereotypes with the terms “Pictures in our head” (Lippman, 1922, p.69). In this research, we will describe the concept of stereotypes as beliefs about characteristics - such as traits, attitudes, and behavioural tendencies – of groups of individuals (Hess, 2013).

The process of stereotype formation is categorisation. Social categorisation aims to classify individuals by attributing to them characteristics inherent to a group. The existence of different social, physical, and behavioural categories of humans implies that stereotypes can be based on different categorisations (gender, race, social class). Gender stereotypes are based on the establishment of antagonisms attributed almost automatically to the male and female groups. These stereotypes can be negative or positive and involve positive or negative attitudes towards these groups (Gaborit, 2009).

The particularity of gender stereotypes is that they are immediately detected (Ellemers, 2018). Gender is one of the primary traits that people perceive when they see an individual. Moreover, even though contemporary societies reflect a plurality of different gender identities, gender continues to be seen as binary categorization comparing men to women. For Ellemers (2018), the fact that gender stereotypes are immediately detected, seem relatively fixed and are easily polarized, contributes to their creation and maintenance, and reinforces perceptions of differences between men and women.

An important issue for my research is the cultural dimension of gender stereotypes. According to (Wolf *et al.*, 2014), culture shapes the content of gender stereotypes. Their study shows that men embody cultural ideals through their stereotypes. In countries where independence is valued (such as in the United States), men are seen as more independent than women: they are more autonomous and focus on their individual goals. However, in countries where interdependence is valued (such as in South Korean), men are seen more interdependent than women: they are more socially integrated and dedicated to communal goals and social obligations (Wolf *et al.*, 2014). Gender stereotypes are then not universal but rather moderated by culture: men are believed to possess more of the characteristics

that are more culturally valued (in France for example qualities such as adaptability, sense of responsibility, decisiveness). The commentary and conclusions that I will make during the analysis of print t-shirts will then be influenced by the French culture my research is set in. The symbols and messages that I will interpret as being gender stereotypes will be align with the characteristics that French culture consider as the most valued. A useful tool for analysing the culture of a country is Hofstede's theory of six cultural dimensions: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long term orientation and indulgence (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). The two cultural dimensions which are interesting for this research are power distance and masculinity. Power distance is defined as "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). With a score of 68, France is a society where inequality is accepted and where a high degree of hierarchy is present in companies and government. Regarding the masculinity index, France has a score of 60 which reflects the presence of a masculine culture in the country. The society is driven by competition, achievement, and success (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). This high masculinity scores also refers to an inequality in fathers' and mother' roles: men deal with facts, women with feelings (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). Sense of responsibility, decisiveness and ambitiousness are considered characteristics for men only, whereas caring and gentleness are seen as for women only (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). If we combine the power distance and masculinity index, we obtain a society where families are defined with a tough father and a submissive mother who is the refuge for consolation and tenderness (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). Considering that the family is the first place of socialization, boys and girls will then grow up with these norms of male dominance and gender differentiation.

C. The persistence of gender stereotypes in France

In France, the last twenty years have seen a rise in environmental and social concerns within society. The introduction of the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in French legislation in 2001 was a turning point in the recognition of these issues and has led companies to review their activities to act in a more respectful way towards the environment and people. However, despite this regulation, gender stereotypes are still present in the French society today.

The leading author on the use of gender in marketing practices in France is Professor Tissier-Desbordes. According to her, taking into account the notion of gender in marketing is essential to better identify the needs and characteristics of consumers and to develop more precise strategies (Tissier-Desbordes and J.Kimmel, 2002). Gender marketing is also cultural; it depends on the roles assigned to women and men and the relationship to the body that men and women have, which differ according to country and culture. It is in this context that Tissier-Desbordes conducted a study on gender and nudity in advertising (Manceau and Tissier-Desbordes, 1999). This analysis showed that in France, women are more hostile than men to the presence of nudity and sex in advertising. However, these results can be explained by the fact that the sex portrayed in an advertising environment generally corresponds to women's nudity, and rarely to men's. Through a multifactorial measure, gender can provide a better understanding of certain consumption behaviours. Tissier-Desbordes also investigated the role of products, brands, and consumption in the development of French self-image and conceptualisation of masculinity (Kimmel and Tissier-Desbordes, 1999). The results of this study reflected a reluctance on the part of men to admit that products and consumption are an important part of their lives. Men's difficulty in discussing brands and products may be based on a fear of admitting the feminine side of their self-image, reflecting an internalisation of some of the clichés about masculinity by the men themselves.

As regards gender stereotypes, they have been largely mobilised in studies of the French education system (Daréoux, 2007; Plante *et al.*, 2010; Lignon *et al.*, 2013; Bonnot *et al.*, 2013). The social environment plays a major role, particularly during childhood, when the family and the school will gradually lead the child to conform to the roles expected of him or her, particularly in their provision of toys and/or educational tools. In a study conducted by (Gleyser, 2021), the labels given by teachers to their middle school students reflect a stereotypical view; boys are described as violent, dirty, immature, and uneducated and girls as applied, emotional, mature, and wise. Boys and girls are directed or oriented differently according to the prevailing gender stereotypes, which have a major influence; thus, most boys choose scientific or technical subjects, and many girls choose literary, humanities and social subjects. This difference in treatment, based on gender stereotypes, then produces inequalities between men and women, which are visible the employment sector: in France, women's salaries are 16.7% lower than men's on leaving school (Gleyser, 2021). Women suffer from the persistence of traditional gender norms, derived from an outdated biological determinism, according to which men are predestined

for paid work and women for domestic and family work. Being reduced to the role of mother, beauty or high emotionality can be an obstacle in finding a job. A majority of French people think that discrimination against women is fairly or very widespread, compared to only a third of respondents in the European Union, according to a 2015 survey (Carcillo and Valfort, 2018). Physical appearance is also one of the factors of discrimination in employment that women suffer most in France (Barth and Ramboarison-Lalao, 2013). Stereotypical standards of beauty in French society further accentuate this discrimination in employment, particularly against women whose physique does not fit these criteria.

A study of *Salut les copains* [Hey friends], a magazine for young teenagers, analyses the dominant culture and ideologies present in French society during the 1960s and 1970s (Tinker, 2008). This monthly magazine is useful for analysing the cultural origin of gender stereotypes as it covers an important period in the development of mass and so-called 'youth' cultures in France. Despite the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, during which the magazine was published, SLC largely confirmed traditional gender stereotypes. It emphasises the importance of the heterosexual couple, romantic love, marriage and family, and female beauty. Gender stereotypes are perpetuated in young people's musical tastes - girls prefer pop songs while boys prefer rock 'n' roll - or in their professional orientation - girls become air hostesses, beauticians or secretaries and boys become car racers, barmen or cooks. Celebrity role models also maintain gender stereotypes. In the early years of the magazine, Sylvie Vartan, a popular French singer, embodied traditional notions of femininity such as housekeeping and shopping.

The presence of stereotypes towards the LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transexual, queer) community in French advertising was also explored (Kunert, 2013). The 2000s saw the emergence of gay marketing and the largely homogenising figure of the gay consumer in France. However, this targeting did not reduce the stereotypes linked to sexual and gender minorities. The desire to transgress norms by mobilising people with minority sexual or gender orientations, very often in a comical tone, on the part of the advertising messages, reinforces the heterosexual norm at the same time as gender polarisation.

The role of marketing strategies in the diffusion of gender stereotypes has therefore been studied in many areas in France. However, the ready-to-wear sector has so far been ignored even though the country's capital is known as the "fashion capital".

Gender is therefore a complex concept that has provoked much debate in the literature. However, within this study we will retain the definition of a socio-cultural construction of the roles of men and women and the relations between the genders as well as a multifactorial approach including different variables influencing gender. Gender stereotypes are characteristics associated with groups of individuals through a process of categorisation and have an important cultural dimension. After having analysed the way gender stereotypes are disseminated in France, it is interesting to see how these gender stereotypes are reflected in gendered marketing.

II. The contribution of gender in marketing

The model of a 'binary' society with, on the one hand, feminine women attracted to men and, on the other, masculine men attracted to women, is no longer relevant. Since we are no longer differentiated by biological sex but by the concept of gender, marketing practices have evolved towards "gender marketing", which consists of adapting all marketing decisions and rules of conduct (product, communication, etc.) according to the masculine or feminine character of the target.

One of the foundations of marketing is market segmentation. The traditional division by socio-professional or demographic category is no longer sufficient. The configuration of households has changed, and it is now necessary to consider single-parent families or single people living alone.

Marketers have also noted that there is a difference in consumption practices between men and women (Ulrich and Tissier-Desbordes, 2013), particularly in purchasing behaviour and decisions, product choice, expectations of product attributes and functions, etc. (Tissier-Desbordes and J.Kimmel, 2002). Also, individuals do not react in the same way to advertisements. Men and women are said to have different sensitivities towards information and its assimilation.

Finally, products that are neutral in principle are often categorised according to gender, whether in terms of their functions, their uses, their names or their colours. Differentiating masculine from feminine creates differentiated needs, doubles the target audience, and therefore increases purchase intent.

Gender provides another complementary explanatory dimension. It is therefore interesting to analyse its influence on consumption behaviour, on advertising communication strategies and, finally, on the way the product offer is categorised.

A. The influence of gender on consumption behaviour

The leading author on the use of gender in marketing practices in France is Professor Tissier-Desbordes. According to her, taking into account the notion of gender in marketing is essential to better identify the needs and characteristics of consumers and to develop more precise strategies (Tissier-Desbordes and J.Kimmel, 2002). Gender marketing is also cultural; it depends on the roles assigned to women and men and the relationship to the body that men and women have, which differ according to country and culture. It is in this context that Tissier-Desbordes conducted a study on gender and nudity in advertising (Manceau and Tissier-Desbordes, 1999). This analysis showed that in France, women are more hostile than men to the presence of nudity and sex in advertising. However, these results can be explained by the fact that the sex portrayed in an advertising environment generally corresponds to women's nudity, and rarely to men's.

Through a multifactorial measure, gender can also provide a better understanding of certain consumption behaviours. Tissier-Desbordes investigated the role of products, brands, and consumption in the development of French self-image and conceptualisation of masculinity (Manceau and Tissier-Desbordes, 1999). The results of this study reflected a reluctance on the part of men to admit that products and consumption are an important part of their lives. Men's difficulty in discussing brands and products may be based on a fear of admitting the feminine side of their self-image, reflecting an internalisation of some of the clichés about masculinity by the men themselves.

Tissier-Desbordes is not alone in using gender as a variable to study consumer behaviour. Other authors such as Burns (1977) have also used gender to study consumer purchasing behaviour. His study takes the multifactorial approach of the 5 factors, described earlier in the section on gender, and uses in particular the factor of instrumental/masculine and expressive/feminine traits (Spence, 1993). According to his study, individuals who qualify by masculine traits have more influence and authority in purchasing decisions or in family life than individuals who qualify by expressive traits. This research confirms Fisher and Arnold's (1990) theory of gift buying. Regardless of gender, individuals with female "traits" feel more involved in buying gifts, even though

women are the most frequent purchasers. Recent studies have also focused on the specificities of the consumption behaviour of homosexuals (Dodd *et al.*, 2005).

Gender and its multifactorial approach is therefore a complementary explanatory variable to biological sex in order to explain certain consumption behaviours. Beyond its influence on the individual, the same product will be connoted differently according to the female/male gender.

B. The influence of gender on products

Gender has been used to categorise products or brands, which at first sight, are neutral. This is often linked to the image that a product conveys. For example, dolls for girls and cars for boys or make-up for women and suits for men. This is due to social expectations that have been internalised from a very young age and reinforced by marketing practices. Early work in this field sought to explain men's and women's purchasing behaviour by the gender of the products purchased. Many objects generate gendered associations in individuals, depending on their shape, size, or colour, they will be perceived as male or female (Cina, 2013). Individuals will therefore tend to prefer an object whose image is in line with their gender and the image they want to project. The gender of the object and the gender of the consumer must therefore be aligned. If we take the example of cigarettes (Vitz and Johnston, 1965), "feminine" men would smoke fewer cigarettes of a brand with a male connotation. A male brand is preferred by more masculine and instrumental men, and a female brand is preferred by more expressive men (Alreck *et al.*, 1982).

An object will be perceived as masculine or feminine according to its colour, size, and shape (Tissier-Desbordes and J.Kimmel, 2002). The packaging is often carefully thought out to identify at first glance what kind of product it is. It is a decisive element in the consumer's choice. The case of shower gel (Jonveaux, 2015) is particularly interesting to study to understand gender marketing. Gender differentiation constructs different needs for the consumer while the products are identical in their intrinsic attributes - only the packaging changes. The study on product gender perception carried out by Fugate and Phillips (2010) has filled the theoretical gap around the subject, which was last studied a decade ago. The results of their study are interesting in that they show that people still

tend to recognise and classify products by gender. Moreover, men are more likely to buy gendered products than women.

Gender has also been used as an explanatory variable to study the relationship between brand gender and consumer gender. Studies have examined the influence of consumer gender on the evaluation of male/female brands or on brand extension. Jung and Lee (2006) conducted a study with 233 undergraduate students to examine consumer evaluation of cross-gender brand extensions, i.e. a male brand creating a female product line or vice versa. Their study showed that the gender of the brand influences the evaluation of its extensions: extensions of female brands in the male gender (offering product lines for men) are less appreciated than extensions in the female gender of male brands (male brands offering products for women). But the gender of consumers also influences the evaluation of brand extensions: women are more receptive to an extension of male brands in female products than men – who appreciate less the extension of female brands in male products.

C. The influence of gender on communication

Gender was also considered in the context of advertising strategies. The portrayal of women is contested because of the extensive use of outdated stereotypes that do not reflect reality. Women must be thin and pretty; worse, they are sometimes reduced to sexual objects. The fashion sector is also one of the most criticised for its advertising campaigns which very often represent women through sexist clichés. Stereotypes about men, even if less present, are often associated with qualities: men are strong, handsome, rebellious, seductive, muscular, or athletic. However, sometimes advertisements break the codes and move away from these traditional gender representations by using, for example, humour, exaggeration, or the inversion of male-female roles. The problem lies not in the use of these stereotypes but in the message they convey. These representations reinforce hierarchical gender inequalities - or other forms of inequality - from which prejudices against these individuals then arise.

The two-dimensional factor (female, male) of gender was used to explain differences in consumer's understanding and recall of advertising (Gentry and Haley, 1984). According to Sheehan (2004), once the meaning of an advertisement has been determined, men and women use it differently. Men process messages and make decision

more quickly than women. On the other hand, women process information from multiple sources such as music, visuals, voice, and text. For example, female consumers would be more sensitive to product information and demonstrations, while male consumers would be more attracted to a simple message that advocates the superiority of the product for example.

Women and men react to completely different stimuli when viewing and evaluating advertising messages. In their study, Ulrich and Tissier-Desbordes demonstrate that the relationship between stereotypical situations and gender identity – that is, the degree to which individuals are instrumental/expressive – impacts the appreciation of advertising. There is a congruence between the gender identity of consumers and the gender identity of the models observed in advertising. Men – and those with instrumental traits – respond positively to male imagery and women – and those with expressive traits – respond positively to female imagery (Feiereisen *et al.*, 2009).

Gender stereotypes have been widely used in advertising through Jung's concept of archetypes. According to the psychiatrist, these archetypes represent universal patterns and images that are part of the collective unconscious. For marketing practitioners, the universality of these archetypes is a means to attract consumers because they are internalized by all. These male and female stereotypes have been applied in marketing practices as essential and universal truths about men and women, and in a way that assumes that these stereotypes guide and motivate consumption. By incorporating archetypes into advertising text, marketers aim to guide the consumer's choice or purchase by appealing to their unconscious understanding of archetypes (Dobscha and Høngsmark Knudsen, 2019).

The instrumentalisation of gender in marketing strategies has also been denounced through the term "pinkwashing". This term characterises brands that take up a social cause in their marketing but which, behind it, do not have a committed behaviour (Bodet, 2015). It is therefore not uncommon today to see brands promoting feminist messages in their advertising. However, very often the risk of criticism is high for these companies. Humanist words are no longer enough to sell, consumers want action and are increasingly rejecting the hypocrisy of brands.

Brands have therefore been able to exploit the male-female dichotomy to create differentiated needs, but at the same time have reinforced gender stereotypes, particularly

through communication. While the choice of a shampoo is not socially implied, it is interesting to discuss the presence of gender clichés in fashion, as clothing is a means of expressing one's identity.

III. The clothing

A. Clothing as an expression of personal identity and belonging to a social group

Research specific to the field of fashion and textiles addresses more directly the question of the structuring of gender identity through and by fashion. Clothing fashion is a very interesting area of study because of the psychosocial dimensions it reveals.

Beyond its protective role, the clothing expresses or reinforces the personal identity and inscribes the individual in a social group by movements of distinction and/or imitation. Mauss (1923) considers that fashion is a “total social fact” since it deeply involves individuals and social groups as a whole. According to Spence Spence (1973), individuals would tend to emphasise their social belonging through various signals because social identity is difficult to perceive. Clothing becomes a means of communicating these signals - just like culinary or linguistic practices - and of social distinction. Godart (2010) reinforces this theory by describing fashion as a means of "affirmation" where individuals will use clothing to both imitate and distinguish themselves according to the signals that clothing sends out (superiority, gender, symbol, etc.). This imitation can be found in the clothing collections of popular brands that are strongly inspired by the collections of luxury brands. These popular brands allow average consumers to obtain clothes like those of more affluent consumers.

Cependant, l'influence du vêtement sur l'identité personnelle peut favoriser la diffusion de stéréotypes de genre. According to Paff and Lakner (1997), “gender differences in dress are used in the societal construction and reproduction of gender and gender roles. By producing women's clothing with stereotypical attributes such as images or messages associated with emotions or relationships, and men's clothing with stereotypical attributes associated with the male universe, ready-to-wear brands continue to lock women and men into these stereotypical categories.

B. Clothing as a means of communication

Because of its highly visible appearance and its function as an adornment, the garment is designed as a means of communication to convey a message, whether conscious or unconscious. The person wearing the garment can therefore speak through it: he can address himself or others. It is the main means of identifying oneself in the public space and communicating various aspects of one's identity, gender, age, tastes, or belonging to a community (Deschamps, 1979). This theory has also been applied to business attire. In his article, DeKay (2009) showed that business attire can be a form of communication itself and that employees should be aware about its semiotic functions.

Clothing and accessories are also used to show religious affiliation (the Islamic veil, the Christian pendant, the Jewish yarmulke), the status of an individual (the wedding ring) or the different hierarchical status within a social group. This is the case, for example, with badges and uniforms that show the ranks of the army. Some clothing worn by everyone, such as hats, sent instant signals of assigned social status. Clothing is also a means of expressing an individual's singularity (goths, rockers) or an expression of contestation with the times, as was the case with the hippie movement in the 1960s.

C. Clothing as a gendered product

The suit and tie for men, the floral dress for women. These symbols associated with clothing are so internalized that we immediately recognize what is masculine and feminine. A piece of clothing, however insignificant, is often associated with a gender and even participates in the construction of a gender identity. According to Françoise Carré (2011), both male and female individuals wear any type of clothing, whether it is a skirt, trousers, or a shirt. However, wearing a dress for a man is still frowned upon by society, whereas women in suits are not shocking. The difference between what is considered feminine, or masculine seems to be dictated by deeply rooted norms and stereotypes (Carré, 2011).

However, there are several differences in the actual design of the clothing associated with each gender. Women's and men's clothing have different cuts for different body types: men's clothes are loose around the shoulders and waist, while women's clothes are fitted around the waist (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). There is also a disparity in the categories of clothing. For women, there is a multitude of options ranging from

classic to fancy, however the choice for men is rather limited with more classic models. According to Françoise Carré, there are differences within the gender itself, particularly for men, depending on the occasions when they wear clothes (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). This is especially the case for colours. In principle, no colour is more feminine than masculine, but men censor themselves on certain colours so as not to resemble the female gender. Thus, pink, or flashy tones are well accepted on casual everyday clothes. The distinction between the genres is therefore made based on all the characteristics: shapes, colours, and materials. Regarding the fashion consumption, authors have also observed gender differences. Men have a more functional relationship to clothing than women for whom the symbolic and personal perception are greater (Cox and Dittmar, 1995).

The production of increasingly gendered clothing can be seen in popular brands belonging to the 'fast-fashion' system. In France, these brands, with their affordable prices and wide range of products, are among the most popular brands among consumers.

D. The fashion market in France

In France, low-cost fashion is a success. When it comes to buying a new item of clothing, price is a determining factor for 74% of French people (L'Observatoire E.Leclerc des nouvelles consommations, 2017). The share of clothing expenditure in the budget of the French is also one of the lowest in Europe: 3.7%, compared to more than 6% for the Portuguese, Italians, or Estonians (eurostat, 2018). This price-centred positioning and low budget share are the reasons for the success of popular brands in France. The trend towards economy is clearly evidenced in the French apparel rankings, with the top five clothing brands being economy labels, including Kiabi, H&M and Zara.

These brands are all part of the fast-fashion industry which has been growing over the last years. Behind the term “fast fashion” lies a business system characterised by a short life cycle, a strong impulse to buy, low inventory and a record lead time of 4 to 5 weeks for the design and manufacture of new products (Ghemawat and Nueno, 2019). This system is based on the “speed to market” approach which involves retailers capitalising on fashions that do not yet exist in their competitors' shops and being highly responsive to the market through the rapid incorporation of consumer preferences into the design process in product development (Bhardwaj and Fairhurst, 2010). Fast fashion has

changed the way people consume clothing by establishing itself as the dominant business system.

However, while allowing for a democratization of fashion by offering the latest fashion trends at the lowest price, this system has also been much criticised for its negative environmental and social impacts. The mass production of these industries results in wasted textiles, intensive water consumption and the release of untreated dyes into local water sources (Bick *et al.*, 2018). Human health risks are also high and those who produce are the first to be exposed with low wages and poor working conditions. On the other side of the production chain, consumers of fast fashion are also impacted by this system. The constant renewal of collections in the shops can lead to an addiction to novelty and consumption by the buyer (Mrad *et al.*, 2020). This addiction promotes gender stereotypes in clothing by reducing consumers' attention to the details of the products they buy.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that will be used for my research will consist of a coding grid based on themes present in my literature review.

Print T-shirts Analysis:

The theory of “instrumental” and “expressive” traits developed by Spence (1993) will be central to my conceptual framework as I will use these two categories to analyse the themes present in print t-shirts. The category of “instrumental” trait involves characteristics such as affirmation, aggressivity and competitiveness and is associated with masculinity, so I will analyse men’s print t-shirts through this category. For women’s print t-shirts, I will use the “expressive” trait which refers to themes such as sensitivity, tenderness, and altruism.

T-Shirts	Text	Image	Text/Image Interpretation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • brand • t-shirt • colour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • message • position of the text • form (affirmative, negative) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • description of the image • type of image (drawing, picture) • presence of numbers • presence of a date 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • link between the image and the message • general theme

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • type (affirmative, declarative, interrogative, exclamatory) • verbal/non-verbal • presence of a quality • presence of a defect • colour of typography • type of font 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • presence of punctuation • presence of geometric shapes • presence of mathematical/computer characters • presence of symbols • colour • position of the image 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • presence of “instrumental”/“expressive” traits related themes • presence of stereotypes adjectives list
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Each print t-shirt photo will be analysed and categorised according to four themes: the characters of the print t-shirt, the text, the image, the link between the text and the image and finally the general theme presents on the t-shirt. Women's and men's t-shirts will be analysed separately through this coding scheme. This categorisation will allow me to identify the presence of dominant themes in the women's and men's t-shirts and to establish relationships between the different variables. Once the analysis of the print t-shirts through the coding grid has been completed, the themes and patterns identified will be related to the literature review and theory.

Interviews Analysis:

The multifactorial approach to gender (Spence and Sawin, 1985), analysed in a study conducted by Ulrich and Tissier-Desbordes (2013), will be central to my analytical framework for the analysis of the interviews. This approach to gender includes five factors, four of which will be mobilised for my analysis: the individual's perception of his or her membership of the 'male' or 'female' gender, the individual's self-evaluation by qualifiers associated with 'female' or 'male', the individual's attitude towards gender roles and towards stereotypical male/female traits, and finally the individual's sexual orientation.

This approach is more interesting as these authors have shown that the relationship between stereotypical situations and the gender identity of individuals has an impact on their appreciation of advertising. This study will allow me to investigate the relationship

between the gender stereotypes present on the print t-shirt and the gender identity of the buyers of this product.

Having defined the theories and themes within the conceptual framework, it is now necessary to determine how the framework will be used to analyse the data collected in the methodology chapter.

Chapter 3

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Methodology

In this chapter I will define the methodology used in my study. It will be seen that the interpretivist philosophy has influenced the approach to my research. My research strategy includes an inductive approach: I first collected my data through a qualitative survey and interviews, then I analysed these data through a coding grid to identify patterns and general themes, and finally these observations were linked to theory.

Research Paradigm and Overall Approach

The objective of my dissertation is to identify the role of marketing strategies in the maintenance of gender stereotypes within the French fashion industry. Given the multitude and variety of marketing strategies, I decided to focus my research on the **print T-shirt offer**. I also conducted interviews to obtain the consumers' perception of the elements present on the print T-shirts. My research analyses the social constructions of gender stereotypes disseminated through print T-shirts, which therefore lead to a subjective analysis. The interpretivist philosophy is defined by the subjectivity of the observed reality and by an aim of understanding the observed phenomena (Pizam and Mansfeld, 2009). The researcher interprets the observed facts by means of qualitative methods. This philosophy privileges the specificities of the data received rather than their representativeness. In my study, this philosophy implies the adoption of an inductive approach during which I will interpret the different elements present on the collected T-shirts, as well as the observations made during the interviews, to reveal their specificities.

Gender stereotypes are the product of a complex social construction process. They are part of the social representations that govern our relationship to the world and to others, that orient and organise our behaviour and our social communications. According to the interpretivist philosophy, my research uses an inductive approach: I have observed the text and images on print T-shirts, identified patterns and related them to theory. The data I have collected for my study are qualitative (Dudovskiy, n.d.) as they are non-numeric information such as images, text, and interviews. In addition, I will make observations to identify patterns, categorise the texts and images and interpret their meaning according to their social context.

Critical theory (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006) is a philosophical influence on my research. I aim to challenge the traditional ideologically influenced positions of gender stereotypes.

By identifying and analysing the gender stereotypes present in the ready-to-wear offer of print t-shirts, I aim to reveal current social reality. In line with this philosophy, I used a dialogical method for my study by combining observations and interviews: I confronted the interviewees with selected printed T-shirts (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Consistent with the critical theory philosophy, my research is exploratory as it seeks to provide insights and understanding into the social issues involved in gender stereotyping in the fashion industry.

Research Design

Research Strategy

My research strategy follows an inductive approach. This approach implies the use of a qualitative survey as well as interviews for my data collection methodology. The first step was a qualitative survey that allowed me to take a sample of 200 print T-shirts from ready-to-wear brands for adults that have been selected according to precise criteria. I then analysed the prints (text and images) on the T-shirts through structured observations (Glazier, 1985), the pre-determined categories are defined in a coding grid described in the section on analysis techniques. This qualitative survey is analytical because my observations are intended to evoke the relationships between different variables, such as the colour and font of the text or the symbols on the T-shirts. The interviews provided me with additional information about the consumers of these printed T-shirts and their perception of the stereotypical elements present on them. The combination of interviews and T-shirt observations is interesting in that it puts the data analysed on the T-shirts into perspective by comparing them with the perceptions of the people who can buy and wear them.

Data Collection Method and Sources of Data

As explained in the strategy section, my data collection methods include a sampling method, structured observations, and open interviews.

In order to carry out my study of the print T-shirt offer; I conducted a qualitative survey. To do this, I took a sample of print T-shirt. However, before carrying out my sampling,

it was important to define the selection criteria of ready-to-wear brands that I will have to analyse.

Selection criteria for brands:

As my study focuses on adult ready-to-wear, I only selected brands that offer adult t-shirts. Insofar as I aim to focus my research on brands that appeal to the greatest number of people, I have chosen to select mid-range and popular brands. Brands must also have physical shops in France. Once the range levels have been chosen, several other selection criteria were available for my choice of brands such as: market share, turnover, and brand awareness. Due to the lack of recent data on market share or turnover, I have focused on the criterion of awareness.

According to a 2017 study by Promise Consulting on the favourite brands of the French (Promise Consulting, 2017), 10 brands stand out:

- Kiabi: a mixed brand, not specialised for adults, which offers products at accessible prices
- C&A: mixed brand, not specialised for adults, offering products at accessible prices
- Jules: a brand specialising in men's clothing whose target consumers are young, active urban men aged 25 to 30
- Camaieu: brand specialising in the 20–60-year-old female segment
- H&M: mixed brand, non-specialised in adult clothing, offering products at accessible prices
- La Halle: mixed brand, not specialised for adults, offering products at accessible prices
- Celio: brand specialising in men's clothing, offering products at affordable prices
- Tati: mixed brand, not specialised in adults, offering very accessible prices
- Bershka: mixed brand, specialising in the 'adult' segment
- Esprit: brand specialising in men's fashion

To broaden my study, I have completed this list with two other brands belonging to the accessible brand sector and having shops in France:

- River Island: mixed brand, not specialised for adults
- Jennyfer: brand specialising in women's ready-to-wear clothing

I therefore obtained a total of 12 brands, two of which specialise in women's clothing, two in men's clothing and seven in mixed clothing.

Sampling, selection criteria and support:

My corpus is composed of a total of **200 printed T-shirts, of which 100 are from the women's category and 100 from the men's category**. The T-shirts are from the summer 2021 collection of the 15 brands selected in the previous section.

The selection criteria for the t-Shirts are as follows:

- T-Shirts **must contain a printout**. This can be an illustration, a text, or an image.
- T-Shirts with a license (e.g. Disney, Batman or Totally Spies) will be excluded
- T-shirts in the mixed category will also be excluded to better analyse the difference between the two sexes
- T-shirts must be part of the classic **short sleeve category**, because it is the most popular cut, adopted by all generations

Concerning the support of the sample, the print t-shirts have been collected exclusively on the websites of the selected brands. It is the most effective, fast and sure way to have a complete collection of the models of t-shirts at my disposal. Indeed, if I were to carry out a field study in shop, I could omit certain t-shirts because of stock shortages, non-homogeneity of the models available in shop or by simple inattention/forgetting on my part. In addition, the sanitary restrictions linked to covid 19 did not guarantee me access to the shop to carry out my study.

For the realization of my interviews, I have selected the participants according to their familiarity with the selected brands: they must have made at least one purchase from one of the brands. To identify possible differences in the perception of stereotypes according to age, I also wanted to choose individuals belonging to the four generations (baby boomer, generation X, Y, Z). For practical reasons, I conducted telephone interviews which I recorded via a Dictaphone. I therefore conducted interviews with a total of **7 individuals: 3 women aged 48, 50 and 74 and 4 men aged 15, 23, 60 and 64**.

Regarding the type of interview, I have chosen open interviews because my aim is to obtain the opinions and feelings of the interviewees regarding their knowledge of the concept of gender and their relationship with it. It is therefore qualitative information that

requires reflection, so a structured and short interview would not be appropriate. In addition, the open-ended interview allows for a safe setting in which the interviewee sets the tone and pace of the interview (Kelly, 1985). The interview method allowed me to exchange with the interviewee in a direct and personal way, which helped to establish a relationship of trust and increase their motivation. As the concept of gender and its diffusion within marketing strategies can be complex to grasp, the open-ended interview allowed me greater flexibility in the way I asked my questions to adapt to the person I was interviewing and their level of understanding.

In terms of the saturation level of my qualitative study, I aimed to achieve a satisfactory and representative level. I followed a thematic data saturation; after collecting my 200 printed T-shirts, I noticed that the new themes and symbols to be analysed were decreasing and I obtained enough material to apply my conceptual framework.

Nature of Data

As described in the previous section, the data I collected was of two natures:

For my qualitative study, I took a sample of photos of printed T-shirts directly from the websites of the selected brands. These photos were recorded and stored in a database for analysis using a coding system. The coding procedure was carried out using a coding grid, detailed in my conceptual framework, which I produced in Excel. I then carry out structured observations of the photographs through categorisation. The coding grid allowed me to determine several recurring themes and motifs within the collected printed T-shirts and to analyse the relationships between these different variables.

The second set of data I collected came from open interviews I conducted with fashion consumers. I interviewed 7 individuals: three women and four men, aged between 15 and 74 years (see interviews in appendix). The questions asked in the first part of the interview concerned their relationship to gender and fashion, but also their perception of the use of gender in marketing and its effects. In the second part of the interview, I show a sample of five T-shirts to the individuals – two men's, two women's and one with a feminist message – (see table 9 in appendix) and ask them about their feelings and perceptions of these T-shirts and in particular the different elements present on them.

Access and research ethics issues

I am committed to collecting my data in accordance with ethical principles. The conduct of my qualitative research did not pose an ethical problem to any individual as the sampling was carried out using images from commercial sites. Therefore, the study did not collect data from an individual. The images collected for the sampling were stored in a database on my computer and can be found in the appendix section of my thesis. However, as these images were not used for commercial purposes, there are no ethical concerns about their inclusion in my research.

The interviews were conducted in accordance with ethical principles. I ensured that the interviewees confirmed their voluntary participation in the study by submitting the plain language statement and the informed consent form (see appendix 7 and 8). For the minor interviewee, I submitted both forms to his or her parents for approval before conducting the interview. Data collection during and after the interviews was entirely confidential and private and for the sole purpose of my research. The interview data was recorded via a Dictaphone and then transcribed onto a word document. I also undertook to guarantee the anonymity of the participants at their request. No physical or mental harm was done to the participants and the content of my research, and the questions were explained to them beforehand so that they could prepare themselves in the best conditions.

During the interviews I undertook to:

- Be polite and professional towards the participants;
- Give them the necessary time to think and answer questions;
- Provide them with the necessary details and information so that they can answer the questions in the best possible way;
- Explain the subject of my research and how their data will be used and stored during and after the research;
- Avoid any sensitive issues and ensure that their participation is voluntary;
- If time runs out, ask permission to extend the interview session;
- To guarantee full confidentiality of their identity and the content of the interview transcript.

Approach to data analysis

To classify the qualitative data collected during my survey, I coded and categorised them according to different themes. The collected photos were analysed through a coding grid created on Word.

The coding grid is divided into four themes as follows:

T-Shirts	Text	Image	Text/Image Interpretation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • brand • T-shirt colour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • message • position of the text • form (affirmative, negative) • type (affirmative, declarative, interrogative, exclamatory) • verbal/non-verbal • presence of a quality • presence of a defect • colour of typography 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • description of the image • type of image (drawing, picture) • presence of numbers • presence of a date • presence of punctuation • presence of geometric shapes • presence of mathematical/computer characters • presence of acronym/abbreviation • presence of symbols • colour • position of the image 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • link between the image and the message • general theme • presence of “instrumental”/“expressive” traits related themes (Spence, 1993) • presence of pancultural gender stereotypes adjectives or related nouns (Williams <i>et al.</i>, 1999)

The occurrence of words was counted directly in Excel by hand or with the help of a formula: =NB.SI(\$D\$3:\$F\$142; "*blue*")

This coding system was carried out in Excel (see appendix). Each printed T-shirt photo was analysed and classified according to four themes: the characteristics of the printed T-shirt, the text, the image, and the interpretation of the general theme present on the T-shirt. Women's and men's t-shirts were analysed separately using this coding scheme. This categorisation allowed me to identify the presence of dominant themes in the women's and men's t-shirts and to establish relationships between the different variables. Once the

analysis of the printed T-shirts through the coding scheme was completed, the identified themes and patterns were linked to the literature review and theory.

The recordings of the 7 interviews were transcribed onto Word files and then exported to an Excel file to facilitate their analysis. The data collected from the interviews were analysed along related themes and supported some of the relationships identified in the T-shirt analysis.

Chapter 4

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Findings & Discussion

The aim of this study is to determine the role of marketing strategies in the maintenance and diffusion of gender stereotypes in the fashion sector. This research is guided by three objectives: firstly, to analyse how marketing strategies diffuse gender stereotypes through these printed T-shirts, secondly, to determine whether gender stereotypes associated with adult ready-to-wear have any specificities and thirdly, to study the factors that influence consumers' perception of these gender stereotypes.

To meet these objectives, I collected a sample of 200 photos of printed T-shirts from popular brands, previously selected. I then analysed the messages and images printed on these T-shirts through a coding grid made on Excel. In addition to this analysis, I also conducted interviews with 7 individuals, including 3 women and 4 men aged between 15 and 74. These interviews were conducted in addition to the T-shirt analysis to obtain consumers' opinions and perceptions of gender stereotypes. Due to the current health crisis, I collected the images of the T-shirts from the brands' websites and conducted telephone interviews.

In this chapter, I will analyse and discuss the main findings of my research in two parts: first, I will outline and analyse how marketing strategies disseminate gender stereotypes through the use of messages, images and colours, and then reveal the three specificities of these gender stereotypes; the second part will be devoted to the analysis of interviews and will explain the three factors that influence consumers' perception of gender stereotypes: gender, gender-role attitudes and age.

I. The diffusion of gender stereotypes by marketing strategies

A. One T-shirt, two genders

The results of the analysis of the T-shirt corpus show the extent to which gender stereotypes are still present in the ready-to-wear sector. Marketing strategies diffused these gender stereotypes through the means of **messages** printed on T-shirts, but also through **images** and **colours**.

A comparison of the analysis of messages with that of images shows the way in which ready-to-wear brands place gender stereotypes at the centre of their marketing strategies.

First, an analysis of the **words** on the T-shirts (see table 1 in appendix) shows that women are very often reduced to their **physical appearance** ("beauty", "beautiful"), to **feelings** ("love", "happy"), or to an **imaginary world** and a **romantic nature** ("dream", "butterflies", "flowers"). The word "feelings" also comes up a lot and refers to sensitivity but also to hysteria and mood swings unfairly associated with women. Men, on the other hand, are much more anchored in the concrete and the present, with words that refer to **adventure** ("explore", "adventure"), to **urban cities** ("New York", "Miami") or to **sports** ("surf", "basketball"). The cursory analysis also reveals a greater variety of words among men than among women (see figure 1 in appendix).

The analysis of the **sentences** also reveals a gender differentiation. Men have many more imperative messages (11) than women (2). They can take the form of orders, such as "surf it wild", or "enjoy life". The imperative form enhances that fact that men are associated with a more active world than women which are more passive. There is a notable difference between the two genders in the complexity of the verbal sentences. For women, almost all the sentences are simple (i.e. containing only one verb), with the exception of two, such as: "live in the moment, look to the future". Among the men, 6 T-shirts have a complex structure "relax, take the time, enjoy life".

The analysis of the **visuals** on the T-shirts reinforces these observations. The anchoring of men in reality is confirmed by the greater number of photographs on their T-shirts. The images on the women's T-shirts are mostly drawings and graphics. The theme of **feelings**, in which **love** is predominant, is reinforced by the abundance of hearts on the women's T-shirts (see table 2 in appendix). I even find powerful phrases about love such as "No Love No Life", meaning that the women's lives are entirely determined by the love they receive or give. Images of **flowers** and **butterflies** are also very present for women and reinforce the world of romantic nature. For men, the theme of **surfing** and the **Californian summer** is most strongly reinforced by the large number of images of palm trees, beaches, surfers, and waves. There are also photographs of **skyscrapers** and **cities**, supporting the openness to reality and the world of work for the men.

The analysis of the **qualities** and **faults** present on the T-shirts also shows an important difference between women and men (see table 3 in appendix). The supposed superficiality of girls is highlighted through qualities about **physical appearance**. When it comes to character, it is often **kindness** and **gentleness** that are evoked and rarely assertiveness or power. The only time a woman is referred to as a 'superwoman' is on a

Mother's Day T-shirt: women are only strong by being mothers. These qualities evokes the pancultural gender stereotypes adjectives developed by Williams *et al.* (1999). Their study had the objective to collect cross-cultural data on gender stereotypes in 25 countries including France that they grouped in an adjectives list (see figure 2 in appendix). Adjectives from the list – such as attractive, affectionate, but also sensitive and dreamy – are present on 23 women's T-shirts, which shows that 20 years later we find the same gender stereotypes. Men have a greater number and variety of qualities on their T-shirts. They mostly refer to **strength, courage**, but also a **sense of humour, seduction, and charisma**.

Whether it is T-shirts, typography of messages or images, marketing strategies use also **colours** to differentiate between women and men. When analysing the top 3 most used colours, **pink** come for women and **blue** for men (see table 5, 6 and 7 in appendix). However, this gender stereotype is more marked for men than for women. The top 3 colours for men remain homogeneous between blue and neutral tones (white, black, grey). On the other hand, T-shirts for women include both colours connoted as feminine (pink) and masculine (blue). We have seen in the literature review that men's wardrobe is strongly influenced by social codes for cuts, colours and moments of opportunity to wear a garment. For example, a dinner jacket should be black, white or dark in colour (Carré, 2011). Men tend to censor themselves to stay within the norm. Women are freer in their choice and embrace the varieties of colour more easily. These codes, which have been in place for a long time, are manifested in the gendered marketing practices of brands, particularly through the colours on clothing.

Finally, when I analyse the themes, crossing all the different variables, I notice the existence of two distinct worlds (see table 8 in appendix). Women live in a real world where **physical appearance** and **relationships** are essential, and in an ideal world where one must live one's dreams to be happy (but without really knowing what activities would lead to such fulfilment). Men are invited to be in the **action of travel and adventure, work, or sport**. Women dream their lives while men live them. Through these prints, the marketing strategies of ready-to-wear brands continue to lock women and men into traditional stereotypes. These stereotypes have not changed, as these printed T-shirts have the same characteristics as those described in studies from the late 1990s (Spence, 1993; Williams *et al.*, 1999). In many cases, the messages on women's T-shirts reflect the idea

that the presence of someone who loves them is necessary for women's fulfilment. Through the messages on their T-shirts, men are invited to explore the world and its diversity (cities, forests, mountains, beaches) or to practice a professional (often manual) or sporting activity. Men live in a world in which they can fulfil themselves individually. Finally, the messages on men's T-shirts take on the trappings of scientificity and technicality through the frequent presence of signs and symbols expressing these qualities (see table 4 in appendix).

However, these gender stereotypes, while still traditional, retain specificities regarding their application to adult ready-to-wear T-shirts.

B. Gender stereotypes associated with the adult world

As this study focuses on the adult ready-to-wear sector, it is important to show that the gender stereotypes present on T-shirts are specific to this sector and differ from those found within children's clothing.

Amongst women's T-shirts, the main theme is love and relationships. Although this theme can also be found among children (Benoit-Moreau and Delacroix, 2020), its interpretation is not the same for adults. Here, this stereotype makes the fulfilment of women's lives dependent on their relationships and therefore on the presence of a man or a woman. Meaningful messages were found such as "No Love No Life", studied earlier, "Lost in Love", or "All you need is love". These messages perpetuate the stereotype that women are constantly guided by their feelings and are in constant search of love and their beloved, without which they cannot be fully fulfilled. This also refers to the second theme of affection and the role of the mother, which is only present for women. For Mother's Day, a brand made a T-shirt with the message: "Mum: person whose superpowers are to love you even if you drive her crazy". The only time a woman is called strong is when she is a mother. Furthermore, this message refers to the social pressure on the role of the mother to love in all circumstances and at all costs. The term "Feminine intuition" is also present on one of the t-shirts analysed and spreads the idea that women are endowed with an intrinsic intuition that allows them to have better social contact, especially with children. This theme has an even stronger reasoning when placed in the context of employment discrimination against women in France today. The literature has shown that

women face discrimination in access to positions of responsibility when they are of childbearing age, not only after having children but also before, with negative repercussions on their career progression (Carcillo and Valfort, 2018). The theme of emotions is also specific to women's wear. There are two types of messages, the first refers to the stereotype of hysteria and mood swings associated with women with messages such as "Today's mood". The second refers to sensitivity and fragility with messages such as "Heartbroken", "Deep feelings" or even "Fragile Heart". The theme of motivation and positive thinking, which is frequently found in women's T-shirts, is not present in children's T-shirts. This "obligatory" positivity is spread with messages such as "Look for the good in each day", "Smile is my way of life", or "Always Optimistic". These messages, which are not found among men, refer to the pressure on women to remain constantly positive, smiling, and available for others. Finally, beauty is also an important theme in women's T-shirts. It is also found among young girls but in a different context. Here, the theme of beauty resonates differently when considering all the societal pressures around women's physical appearance. Furthermore, we have seen in the literature that physical appearance has a significant influence on professional life, particularly when it comes to recruitment (Barth and Ramboarison-Lalao, 2013). Being reduced to one's physical appearance can therefore be discriminatory for women whose physical appearance does not fit into societal standards of beauty.

Among the men's T-shirts, there are also themes that are not present among children, but to a lesser extent than among women. The large number of city names such as "New York City", images of buildings or other urban landscapes refer to the world of work and travel. There are also qualities often associated with men, such as charisma, quick decision-making, and seductive character. For Father's Day I also find a T-shirt with the words "Cool Dad", if I compare it with the T-shirt for Mother's Day described above, I can see the difference between the role of the father, who is relaxed, and the mother who must always be available for others, in all circumstances.

Through the analysis of gender stereotypes present on the printed T-shirts, I found stereotypes specific to the adult ready-to-wear sector. However, I also found gender stereotypes associated with France and more specifically with the city of Paris.

C. Paris, city of love

Many messages and images refer to stereotypes associated with France and the French. The first is that of love, a major theme within women's T-shirts, which is associated with France and more specifically with the city of Paris. The latter is disseminated through messages such as "Love in the French way", "Parisian from heart", or "Love Paris" or through images of kisses left on lipstick referring to the French kiss. We saw in the literature review that gender stereotypes have a cultural dimension (Wolf *et al.*, 2014). This romantic and passionate aspect is a stereotype associated with French culture: the city of Paris is perceived as a romantic city and the French as being passionate. An interview conducted for this thesis with an American man who had lived in France for 20 years confirmed this stereotype. « *French people are more passionate, they have messages a little bit more about passion (love, romance, emotion). Much more so than Americans.* » “*From an American point of view, we see the French as being emotional.*” “*Regarding the city of Paris, we look at it as being romantic, city of love, with the Seine, the Eiffel Tower etc.*”. The stereotype of the elegant and refined French woman is also disseminated within the T-shirts through designs of pumps and fashion accessories.

D. Pinkwashing

During my analysis I was able to observe the presence of messages of female empowerment among women's T-shirts. However, these messages are often accompanied by stereotypical elements referring to a "girly" world associated with women. For example, I find messages such as "We are together" and "Woman" surrounded by pink or red flowers, or "Powerful, Successful, Beautiful", even when the woman is successful she is referred to her physical appearance, but also "Feminism" written above a large pink heart and "Girl Power" written inside a red heart. It is clear here that brands are assimilating feminist messages and stereotypical attributes into their T-shirts. This paradoxical practice refers to the notion of "pinkwashing", seen in the literature review. This term describes the recovery of a social cause by brands in their marketing strategies without any committed behaviour. Here, the brands analysed in my study take advantage of the social movement caused by the #Metoo wave to attract engaged consumers. However, the presence of stereotypical messages and attributes within their T-shirts hinder the implementation of female empowerment marketing. Printing the message

"Feminism" on a T-shirt empties the feminist movement of its history and meaning by making it a marketing product. It was also seen in the literature review that the use of feminism in marketing was a controversial practice in view of the financial objectives. The brands selected for this study belong to the fast-fashion system characterised by an abundant supply and low prices, which favour high sales targets. Interviewee 05 confirms this about gendered marketing: *"In general, this practice stems from the fact that companies want to make money. We live in a world where marketing departments have numerical and financial targets, and it is much easier to do segmentation because we have more and more data on potential customers."* The non-profit quality of feminism and social causes runs counter to business and the laws of the market.

The reaction of the interviewees to these falsely feminist messages was of two kinds. Those belonging to the baby boomer generation did not find these messages controversial and perceived them as supporting the feminist cause. This reaction is due in part to the recent nature of the feminist movement, which creates a distance between the culture of these individuals and current social issues. However, the interviewees belonging to other generations all qualified these messages as controversial by implying the instrumentalisation of the feminist cause by the selected brands. Interviewee 01 firmly confirms this: *"Even when they want to present themselves as defenders of the feminist cause, brands cannot help but use visuals, illustrations or words belonging to the cliché and sexist register"*. This marketing practice has deteriorated the relationship between the consumer and the brand for individuals belonging to generations X, Y and Z as stated by interviewee 07: *"It makes me even angrier, and it distances me even more from the brand. This practice is completely detrimental to my purchasing act because it is opportunistic uses of causes that are very important to me. It can even lead to a boycott of these brands because I feel it is manipulation."*

II. Consumers' perception of gender stereotypes

Alongside the analyse of the print T-shirts, I realized 7 interviews to have the consumer's perception of the gender stereotypes present on selected T-shirts (see table 2 in appendix). The interviews were conducted among three women and four men from 15 to 74 years old. The findings of the analysis reveal three factors that have an influence on consumers' perception: gender, attitude towards gender and age.

A. Gender and gender stereotypes perception

In this section, gender is analysed as an influencing factor in the sense of its two-dimensional conception: male and female gender (Ulrich and Tissier-Desbordes, 2013).

During my analysis, I was able to observe differences in perception according to gender. Of the 3 individuals identifying as female, all recognised and were challenged by the presence of gender stereotypes on the T-shirts shown (see table 8 in appendix). Woman 07 described the messages as clichéd because « *they put the man in stereotypical positions with messages such as the man is irresistible, the man is strong and the girl is fragile, and reduced to their role of mother.* ». Beyond the simple recognition of these clichés, their negative effects were also recognised. According to woman 01, “*These t-shirts are dangerous because they condition, they continue to lock girls and boys into these stereotypes that exist from birth, a man is strong, he is there to protect, he is there to be solid, and a woman is fragile and is only strong as a mother*”.

Of the four individuals identifying as male interviewed, two (no. 4, no. 6) also recognised the presence of gender stereotypes. However, their interpretations differed from those of the women in that they did not consider these messages to represent a real danger and were less strongly challenged by them, as seen with man 05 stating that he “*has never been shocked by this kind of messages*”. The more sensitive reactions of women to these stereotypical messages can be explained by their gender identity. Ulrich and Tissier-Desbordes (2013) have shown that the relationship between stereotypical situations and the gender identity of individuals has an impact on their appreciation of marketing strategies. Using Spence's theory (1993) of instrumental/masculine and expressive/feminine traits as seen in the literature review, I asked the three women interviewed to self-qualify using adjectives associated with masculine traits² and others associated with feminine traits³. All the women self-identified only with masculine traits such as competitiveness, courage, or perseverance, leaving aside the feminine traits, except for the aged woman. The gender identity of these women is therefore not defined by the several stereotypical attributes present on the T-shirts such as fragility or emotionality. This discrepancy between gender identity and stereotypical attributes results in a poor appreciation of the printed T-shirts by women.

² « competitive”, “never give up”, “courageous”

³ « fragile”, “emotive”, “tender”

The other two men interviewed, on the other hand, did not interpret the messages and images on the T-shirts as gender stereotypes but rather as gender segmentation. Their first reaction to the T-shirts was positive, they both found them "nice" and above all very "funny". They could also buy these T-shirts and have similar message T-shirts. Concerning the marketing practice of gender segmentation, while all the other interviewees denounced the drifts of this practice such as the diffusion of stereotypes and the confinement of consumers in boxes, men 04 and 06 described it as a good practice. According to man 06: "*[...] men and women are very different so [...] the clothes should be very different, the choice or selection of clothes should be very different.*". Gender segmentation in marketing is consistent with their beliefs about what a woman and a man should wear.

However, it is interesting to note here that there is a difference in perception among the four men: two perceive and identify gender stereotypes while two do not. This within-sex difference can be explained by the attitudes of the four individuals towards the notion of gender.

B. Gender-roles attitudes and gender stereotypes perception

As seen in the literature review, the multifactorial approach to gender (Spence and Sawin, 1985) can be an additional explanatory variable to biological sex to analyse within-sex differences. One factor of this multifactorial approach is the gender roles-attitudes theorized by Fischer and Arnold (1990). Individuals can be classified as having traditional or modern attitudes towards gender, depending on their degree of agreement with stereotypical situations. In my interviews, I therefore gave individuals four sentences describing stereotypical situations and asked them how much they agreed with these situations (see table 10 in appendix). Men 04 and 06 were the only ones to agree with at least three of the sentences, which reflects a "traditional" attitude towards gender. They behave differently from others because their gender representation is based on traditional norms that assign specific roles to men and women. Thus, these two people do not perceive the gender stereotypes present on the T-shirts because for them the stereotypical images or messages represent attributes that they associate with women and men.

In addition to gender and gender-roles attitudes, my analysis also revealed that age was another factor influencing the perception of gender stereotypes.

C. The influence of age on gender stereotypes perception

The second factor that emerged in my analysis is age. Depending on the generation of the interviewee, their perception of stereotypes and gendered marketing is not the same. Given the recent nature of society's reflections on gender inequality issues, my analysis reveals that the younger the age of the interviewee, the more sensitive they are to gender stereotypes on T-shirts. The three interviewees from the baby boomer⁴ generation have a different perception of stereotypical messages than other interviewees from more recent generations. Of these three, two men, aged 64 and 60, did not describe the messages as stereotypical. Their feeling towards the T-shirts was pleasant and positive as they were attracted by the humorous nature of the messages written on them. After asking interviewee 04 if he could buy one of the T-shirts shown, his answer was: *“The physical aspect of the t-shirt (colour, design) will initially attract me and then the message will reinforce my desire to buy it by its funny aspect.”*. The influence of the humorous nature of messages on these two individuals is interesting to analyse. Humour is used by marketing strategies to attract the consumer's attention and to create a bond of proximity with the public by making the product sympathetic (Velarde, 2004). However, here the humour will have the effect of mitigating the sexism of the messages by making them funny. The two interviewees therefore did not decipher the messages as problematic but simply as amusing. A 74-year-old female interviewee also found it more difficult than other younger interviewees to discern gender stereotypes on T-shirts. At first, she had a positive perception of the T-shirts, but after a longer analysis of the messages written on them, she realised that they were stereotypical. As seen in the literature review and in the previous section, gender stereotypes have a cultural dimension and thus depending on different cultures (Wolf *et al.*, 2014). For example, these three baby boomers grew up in a culture where the traditional view of gender - the man is strong and works; the woman is weak and takes care of the home - was the norm. They have therefore internalised these traditional roles of masculine and feminine and find it more difficult to recognise them as gender stereotypes today.

⁴ People born between 1946 and 1965

However, I was able to observe a difference in the perception of stereotypes among the other four interviewees belonging to more recent generations. Interviewees 01, 07, 05 and 02 - belonging to generation X⁵ (01, 07), generation Y⁶ and generation Z⁷ respectively - directly perceived the gender stereotypes on the T-shirts shown. Beyond this perception, they are aware of the evolution of society on gender issues but also of the consequences that gendered marketing may have had on them. Interviewee 01 (50 years old - generation X) mentions this when she says: “[...] we realise today how much we were influenced or manipulated by gendered marketing. The evolution of society, the reflections on these themes, which are quite recent, less than 10 years I would say, make mentalities evolve and show how much this gendered marketing has effectively influenced the confinement in groups.”. I also noticed a greater intolerance of stereotypical messages on T-shirts among the younger interviewees, as stated by interviewee 05 (23 years old - generation Y): “Today's young generation no longer accepts, even for fun, this type of message. Mentalities are evolving and today for us these messages are outdated.”. The youngest interviewee (15 years old - generation Z) confirms this: “In 2021, we can't afford to still be doing gendered marketing with all the struggles for gender equality that are going on”, he concludes his interview with these words: “[...] I would like to grow up in a world with almost no gender stereotypes and gender segmentation.”. Generations Y and Z are the most impacted by the various gender equality movements but also by the evolutions around the notion of gender, whose two-dimensional definition (male, female) is increasingly expanded to include all other types of gender (LGBTQ+⁸).

⁵ People born between 1965 and 1980

⁶ People born between 1980 and 2000

⁷ People born from 2000 onwards

⁸ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer

Chapter 5

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Conclusion & Recommendations

Conclusion

My study is a continuation of the work carried out on gender marketing in the clothing sector (Benoit-Moreau and Delacroix, 2020). This research shows how gender stereotypes are still present in the popular adult wear sector in France today.

Implication of findings for the research questions

The analysis of findings showed how gender stereotypes are diffused through marketing strategies in France with the example of the print T-shirt. The marketing strategies of the brands do not hesitate to reinforce the disparities between men and women through messages or illustrations printed on their T-shirts.

Messages for men are mainly related to exploring the world (countries, cities, nature, adventure), manual or sports activities (surfing, basketball), self-confidence or strength and escape. These observations are confirmed by recurring themes associated with the urban environment, sport, or adventure. Furthermore, the symbols and signs on the T-shirts - much more numerous than for women - show a more scientific and complex dimension to the sentences (mathematical, computer, numerical and punctuation signs). Men are thus invited to explore the world and its diversity and to challenge themselves and develop their physical and intellectual capacities. They are not dependent on anyone and do not need a partner to be fulfilled.

Themes such as love, nature, beauty, dreams and fantasy, kindness and care, or sensitivity and emotions, and images such as hearts and flowers, present on women's T-shirts, lock them into stereotypes related to relationships, physical appearance, and the pursuit of happiness. In many cases, the messages on women's T-shirts reflect the idea that the presence of a partner is necessary for women's fulfilment. The absence of mathematical signs, numbers, and little punctuation perpetuates the stereotype of women's technical and scientific incompetence.

I complemented my semantic study with an analysis of the colours used in the images, typography, and fabric of the T-shirts. I have concluded that gender stereotypes are reinforced by the pink-blue dichotomy, even though women's clothing is more open to the use of colours other than pink. While women are more locked into the stereotypes

conveyed by the messages, men - whose messages are more positive - are trapped in the colour stereotype (absence of pink).

The analysis also revealed that the gender stereotypes present on T-shirt contained three types of specificities.

The gender stereotypes in printed T-shirts for adults differ from those found in children ready-to-wear. The theme of care and the role of the mother, but also emotions such as hysteria or sensitivity are themes that are only present in women ready-to-wear. However, other themes such as physical appearance and superficiality, which are also reflected in children, have a particular resonance for women when linked to the employment discrimination they experience because of these stereotypes. For men, the specificities are less numerous except for the theme of cities and urban landscapes referring to the working world or qualities specific to adults such as charisma, the ability to make choices and decisions or seduction.

The second specificity of these gender stereotypes is their attachment to French culture. Many women's T-shirts have messages and images associating France and Paris with the theme of love and romance. Elegance and fashion accessories are also recurrent themes among women's T-shirts. The stereotypical image of the elegant and passionate French woman is thus conveyed through these printed T-shirts

The last specificity revealed by this analysis is the incorporation of gender stereotypes and feminist messages in some of the T-shirts analysed. Some brands go even further by including a message of female empowerment with stereotypical attributes in the same T-shirt. This "pinkwashing" practice used by popular ready-to-wear brands, which recuperate the social cause of feminism to turn it into a marketing product, has been criticised and denounced by all consumers belonging to the younger generations and especially by women. This practice also has the effect of damaging the relationship between the brand and the consumer.

This study showed that three factors influence the perception of gender stereotypes.

Differences in perception occur depending on the **gender** - male or female - of the individuals. The women all perceived and interpreted the messages and images on the T-shirts shown as gender stereotypes. Their sensitivity (irritated and annoyed reaction) to the persistent presence of these sexist clichés among the ready-to-wear offer was greater than that of the men. They also showed greater concern about the consequences of

gendered marketing and the presence of gender stereotypes on the categorisation of the population. The relationship between women's masculine⁹ gender identity and the stereotypical attributes present in T-shirts explains their negative assessment of the latter. Of the four men interviewed, two also recognised the presence of gender stereotypes among the T-shirts, although the sensitivity of their reaction was less than that of the women. The other two men interviewed, however, did not perceive the messages and images as gender stereotypes. They appreciated the print T-shirts shown and noted the humorous nature of the messages.

Differences in perception within the same sex are explained by **gender-roles attitude** of individuals. Individuals with a traditional attitude towards gender do not have the same perception of gender stereotypes as those with a modern attitude. Thus, among four men, two did not perceive and interpret the attributes on the T-shirts as stereotypical because they fit their traditional view of femininity and masculinity.

Finally, **age** is the most determining factor in the perception of gender stereotypes. The younger the age of the consumer, the more they identify and are sensitive to gender stereotypes and their consequences on society and individuals. Interviewees belonging to the baby boomer generation did not perceive T-shirts as containing gender stereotypes. This difference between the generations can be explained by the cultural dimension of gender stereotypes. Indeed, the older interviewees grew up in a culture where traditional gender roles were the norm, so it is more difficult for them to perceive these roles as stereotypical today.

Limitations of the research

Although I have made every effort to be as comprehensive as possible, there are some limitations to my study that should be recognised.

My analysis may present some inaccuracies resulting from a possible cognitive bias. Indeed, the coding of certain messages was not obvious. They could be interpreted differently depending on the value system of the coder. For example, a word like "rebel" was not considered in an obvious and objective way as a "quality" (strength of character?) or a "defect" (deviant character?).

⁹ Having male/instrumental traits

A larger number of participants for the interviews would also have strengthened the validity of my results. It would also have allowed me to vary the characteristics of the participants, especially regarding their gender and social background, to obtain more information on other factors that may influence the perception of gender stereotypes.

Finally, the restrictions linked to Covid 19 did not allow me to go to the shops of the selected brands to collect the T-shirts. It is therefore possible that some of the T-shirts collected on the websites are not physically available in shops in France.

Recommendations for practice

In France, all marketing actors - practitioners, students, teachers - must be aware that their actions have cultural and social consequences that impact on the whole of society. Through messages, images or illustrations printed on their T-shirts, marketing strategies participate in the social construction and reproduction of traditional gender roles.

Furthermore, the analysis of the interviews showed that consumers belonging to the younger generations - and who are therefore the current and future consumers - are the ones who are the most sensitive to the presence of gender stereotypes in products. The evolution and multiplication of gender identities also makes it increasingly difficult to establish gender marketing based on a traditional view of gender.

Finally, this study also showed that women are more sensitive to the presence of stereotypes than men and are aware of their social implications. Marketing strategies must therefore take into account the perception of these female consumers when we know that their consumption of ready-to-wear clothing exceeds that of men in France by 20% (Institut Français de la Mode, 2020).

Recommendations for future research

My research also suggests ways to improve. It will be interesting to increase the validity of the corpus by including more high-end brands, such as Sandro, Maje or The Kooples, and why not integrate luxury and haute couture brands such as Louis Vuitton, Dior, and Gucci. This should allow us to explore the extent to which popular culture reflects these stereotypes more than more elite culture.

Regarding the consumers' point of view, it would be interesting to interview individuals whose gender is other than male and female, but also to make a comparative study of the perceptions of individuals coming from an affluent social background versus those coming from a more modest social background, to analyse the influence of the social background on the interpretation of gender stereotypes.

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Figure 2: Pancultural gender stereotypes adjectives list (Williams *et al.*, 1999)

Table I. Pancultural Gender Stereotypes: Samples of Hightly Stereotypic Items^a

Male Stereotype			Female Stereotype		
Item No.	Adjective	M%	Item No.	Adjective	M%
2	Active	81	5	Affected	20
4	Adventurous	93	6	Affectionate	10
7	Aggressive	88	11	Anxious	23
10	Ambitious	82	18	Attractive	14
19	Autocratic	86	30	Charming	19
35	Coarse	91	38	Complaining	21
50	Courageous	86	53	Curious	24
52	Cruel	79	61	Dependent	19
53	Daring	86	71	Dreamy	17
70	Dominant	87	77	Emotional	12
78	Energetic	82	83	Fearful	17
79	Enterprising	81	86	Feminine	8
90	Forceful	93	98	Fussy	24
122	Independent	84	149	MeeK	25
136	Inventive	81	151	Mild	22
143	Logical	79	220	Sensitive	14
147	Masculine	96	224	Sexy	14
186	Progressive	78	230	Shy	25
209	Robust	85	240	Soft-Hearted	19
210	Rude	83	253	Submissive	16
213	Self-Confident	79	256	Superstitious	13
248	Stern	84	261	Talkative	22
251	Strong	92	268	Timid	25
271	Tough	91	293	Weak	17
279	Unemotional	82	294	Whiny	23

^aM% = Mean M% scores (see text for explanation of Mean M% scores).

Table 1: Most frequent words present on T-shirts

Men		Women	
Words	Occurrence	Words	Occurrence
Surf	10	Love	56
Explore	7	Day	10
Los Angeles	6	Dream	6
City	5	Beauty	5
California	5	Sun	5
Miami	5	Life	4
Adventure	4	Heart	3
Cool	4	Feelings	3
Wave	4	Kind	3
Wild	4	Positive	3

Table 2: Most frequent images present on T-shirts

Men		Women	
Images	Occurrence	Images	Occurrence
Palms	19	Nature	28
Beach/sea	10	Flowers	22
Surf	8	Heart	18
Sun	7	Kiss	8
Montains	6	Birds	5
Bike	5	Sun	4
Buildings	5	Butterflies	3
Car	4	Princess	3
Wave	3	Teddy bears	3
Skull and bones	3	Peace and Love	2

Table 3: Qualities and defects present on T-shirts

Men		Women	
Qualities	Defects	Qualities	Defects
Adventurous/ courageous (7)	Rebel (2)	Pretty (6)	Fragile/ Sensitive (4)
Original (5)	Superior (1)	Positive/ Optimistic (4)	Hysteric/ Mood swings (2)
Strong (4)	Bad cook (1)	Kind (3)	Rebel (1)
Cool attitude (3)	Stubborn (1)	Powerful (1)	Dreamy (1)
Authentic (2)	Lazy (1)	Lucky (1)	Odd (1)
Energetic (2)	Dunce (1)	Authentic (1)	
Sporty (2)		Affectionate (1)	
Seductive (2)			
Charismatic (1)			
Concentrate (1)			
Decisive (1)			
Funny (1)			
Creative (1)			

Table 4: Signs and symbols present on T-shirts

	Example	Men	Women
Presence of numbers	1	7	0
Presence of a date	1971	11	2
Presence of punctuation	?!	0	1
Presence of geometric shapes	Circle, square...	29	1
Presence of mathematical/computer shapes	#, +, %	3	0
Presence of acronyms/abbreviation	Est., NYC	15	0
Presence of symbols	Heart, stars...	5	22

Table 5: T-shirts' colours

Men		Women	
Colour	Number	Colour	Number
White	39	White	51
Blue	16	Black	13
Black	11	Pink	13
Green	10	Blue	7
Grey	9	Yellow	5
Navy blue	9	Red	4
Red	5	Navy blue	3
Yellow	3	Green	2
Purple	1	Grey	1
Orange	1	Brown	1

Table 6: Typography's colours

Men		Women	
Colour	Number	Colour	Number
Black	47	Black	32
White	30	White	22
Blue	25	Pink	19
Red	8	Red	12
Yellow	6	Blue	7
Orange	4	Orange	6
Multicolor	4	Gold	6
Grey	3	Yellow	3
Green	2	Glitter	3
		Multicolor	3

Table 7: Images' colours

Men		Women	
Colour	Number	Colour	Number
		Pink	21
Black	16	Red	12
White	17	White	9
Blue	11	Black	8
Multicolor	10	Blue	6
Red	7	Yellow	7
Yellow	6	Orange	3
Green	4	Glitter	3
Orange	1	Multicolor	3
		Purple	2
		Green	1

Table 8: General themes on T-shirts

Men		Women	
Theme	Occurrence	Theme	Occurrence
Urban/cities	21	Love/romantism	51
Surf/California	19	Nature	17
Sport	18	Beauty	14
Beach/summer	17	Dream/fairytale	8
Adventure/exploration	12	Emotion/sensibility	7
Nature/wild	7	Peace	7
Freedom	5	Feminism	7
Strength	4	Positivism	7
Cool attitude	4	Peace	7
Travel	3	Kindness	4
Energy	2	Care	4
Seduction	2	Summer	4
		Paris/romantism	4
		Luck	2

Table 9: Sample of printed T-shirts shown to interviewees

 <p style="text-align: center;">1</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">2</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">3</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">4</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">5</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Man's T-shirt : "Irresistible, strong man with broad, comfortable shoulders. Official creator of all kinds of jokes. Best shellfish cooker in the world. Superpower: professional boo-boo blower." 2. Man's T-shirt: "Made to be stronger" 3. Woman's T-shirt: "Fragile heart" 4. Woman's T-shirt: "Mum (also called superwoman) person whose superpowers are to love you even if you drive her crazy" 5. Woman's T-shirt: "Feminism"

Table 10: Analysis of gender-roles attitudes

	1	2	3	4
Individual 01	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
Individual 02	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
Individual 03	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
Individual 04	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree
Individual 05	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
Individual 06	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree
Individual 07	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

1: "men are often bad cooks"


























2: "women are more sensitive than men",

3: "men make decisions more quickly than women"

4: "women have to take care of children more than men"
































T-SHIRTS			TEXT															IMAGE															TEXT/IMAGE INTERPRETATION													
Photo	Brand	Colour	Message 1	Message 2	Message 3	Position of the text 1	Position of the text 2	Position of the text 3	Form affirmative/negative	Type (declarative, interrogative, exclamatory)	Verbal/non-verbal	Simple/complex	Presence of a quality 1	Presence of a quality 2	Presence of a quality 3	Presence of a defect	Who is speaking?	Colour of typography 1	Colour of typography 2	Colour of 3	Description image 1	Description image 2	Description image 3	Type (drawing, picture)	Presence of numbers	Presence of a date	Presence of punctuation	Presence of geometric shapes	Presence of mathematical/computer shapes	Presence of acronym/abbreviation	Presence of symbols	Colour 1	Colour 2	Colour 3	Position of the image 1	Position of the image 2	Position of the image 3	Link between image and text?	General theme	Presence of "expressive"/"instrumental" traits	Presence of pastoral/gender stereotypical adjectives					
	C&A	red	Exploring the world	Hiking Dept.	Adventure expedition	bust	bust	bust	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	simple	no	no	no	no	t-shirt holder	white	white	white	south america	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	triangle yes	no	yes	no	red	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	adventure/ exploration	no	yes					
	C&A	white/blue	Crashing the waves	BRZ. Adventures	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	simple	no	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	red	blue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	adventure/ surf	no	no				
	C&A	orange/black	Surf Supply	EST 1971	X	heart	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	X	no	N/A	blue	blue	X	plants/flowers	sun	X	drawing	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	black	blue	X	bust	heart	X	yes	surf	no	no					
	C&A	white	Tropic Flow	Authentic product	EST 1971 California	chest	chest	chest	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	yes	no	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	black	sea and surf picture	Venice picture	X	picture	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	X	X	X	chest	chest	X	Link	surf/california	no	no					
	C&A	blue	Tropical Surf Island Vibes Calif Bay	Surf Spots	1976	bust	bust	chest	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	black	black	black	surfer	sea and palms	X	drawing	no	yes	no	yes circle	no	yes	no	black	black	X	bust	bust	X	yes	surf/california	no	no					
	C&A	white	Los Angeles True originals	California, USA State of mind	X	heart	heart	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	no	X	no	N/A	blue	blue	X	palms	X	X	drawing	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	heart	X	X	yes	surf/california	no	no					
	C&A	white/black	Made to be STRONGER	EST 1841	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	simple	yes	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	red	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes circle	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	strength	yes	yes			
	C&A	blue	Extreme travel	Global explorer	Authentic outdoor	bust	bust	chest	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	yes	yes	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	black	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	adventure/ exploration/ travel	yes	yes		
	C&A	white	Energized	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	energy	no	yes		
	C&A	yellow	Explore more	Nature is calling	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	imperative	non-verbal	complex	no	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	blue	white	X	sun	mountain	X	drawing	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	mountain yes	orange	black	X	chest	chest	X	yes	exploration/ nature	no	yes					
	Celso	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	USA flag	biker	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	red/white/blue	black	X	bust	bust	X	X	USA/biker/ sport	no	no					
	Celso	white	San Francisco	Bay Area	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes circle	X	yes	waves yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	San Francisco/ surf	no	no			
	Celso	green	Jungle Race	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	car	palms	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	green	green	X	bust	bust	X	yes	exploration/ nature	no	no						
	Celso	white	My travel	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	scooter	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	X	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	travel	no	no					
	Celso	white	Surf fit wild	Surfside mind sensation	wavebreaker	bust	bust	chest	affirmative	imperative	Verbal	simple	no	no	yes	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	black	sea	X	X	drawing	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	X	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	surf/sensation	no	no					
	Celso	white	Tokyo	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	yellow	X	X	stadium	X	X	picture	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	X	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	tokyo/stadium urban	no	no					
	Celso	white	Old school city riders	Since born to ride 1959	Philosophy of freedom	bust	bust	chest	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	simple	no	no	no	no	N/A	grey	grey	grey	skull and crossbones	motorbike helmet	X	drawing	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	black	red	X	bust	bust	X	yes	biker/speed/ freedom/ sport	no	no					
	Celso	grey	Keep it cool	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	imperative	Verbal	simple	no	no	no	no	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	swimming pool	X	X	picture	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	blue	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	relaxation/cool	no	no					
	H&M	purple	City trains	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	white	X	X	tree, building, basketball	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	tree, building, basketball yes	white	X	X	heart	X	X	yes	city/urban	no	no					
	H&M	yellow	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	palms	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	palms/surf	no	no
	H&M	black	New York city	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	New york/urban	no	no	
	H&M	grey	Broken bones	Still kickin	X	heart	heart	X	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	complex	no	no	no	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	X	skull and crossbones	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	heart	X	X	yes	strength/death	no	no					
	H&M	black	07:24 PM Venice beach Los Angeles	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	yellow	X	X	palms	basketball	X	picture	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	X	X	X	chest	chest	X	yes	Los angeles/ beach/basketball sport urban	no	no					
	H&M	black	Los Angeles California	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	yellow	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	Los angeles urban	no	no	
	H&M	black	Tokyo NYC	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	white	X	X	buildings	X	X	picture	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	white	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	Tokyo/urban	no	no					
	H&M	blue	Escapism	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	black	X	X	buildings	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	escape/urban	no	no					
	H&M	blue	San Francisco	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	San Francisco urban	no	no	
	H&M	white	Cool max	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	no	no	no	N/A	blue	X	X	palms/basketball	X	X	picture	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	X	X	X	chest	X	X	no	cool/basketball sport	no	no				
	H&M	blue	Cool max	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	no	no	no	N/A	black	X	X	space	X	X	picture	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	X	X	X	chest	X	X	no	space	no	no					
	H&M	white	New York city	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	green	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	New york/urban	no	no
	Jules	green	Sportif	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	no	no	no	t-shirt holder	orange	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	sport/qualification	no	no
	Jules	red	L'original [The original]	Le vrai, l'unique [The true, the unique]	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	yes	no	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	Originality/ qualification	no	no
	Jules	blue	IRRESISTIBLE	Homme fort aux épaules larges et confortables.Créateur officiel de blagues en tous genres. Meilleur joueur de coquette.	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	complex	yes	yes	no	yes	t-shirt holder	multicolor	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	Sex-appeal/strength	yes	yes	
	Jules	navy	Beach Volley	Since 1987	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	no	no	N/A	white	white	X	sun,sea,palms	X	X	drawing	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yellow	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	sport/surf/ summer	no	no					
	Jules	white	Relax	Take the time, Enjoy life	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	imperative	Verbal	complex	no	no	no	no	t-shirt holder	blue	blue	X	X	X	X	X	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	no	blue	X	X	bust	X	X	X	yes	relaxation/cool	no	no				

Appendix A : Table grid of men's T-shirts

	La Halle	white	Explorateur	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	leaves	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	exploration/nature	no	yes	
	Tati	grey	Rebel generation	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	street	car	palms	picture	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	no	black	X	X	bust	X	X	no	rebellion	no	no
	Tati	red	Arizona	cars & bikes	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	blue	red	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Arizona/cars	no	no
	Tati	grey	Premium	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	red	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Originality/qualification	yes	no
	Tati	navy	Improvisation	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	yellow	X	X	circle	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	yes circle	no	no	no	yellow	X	X	chest	X	X	no	improvisation	no	yes
	River Island	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Skull and crossbones	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	red	X	X	bust	X	X	X	skull and crossbones	no	no		
	River Island	blue	Los Angeles	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Los angeles urban	no	no	
	River Island	white	La Palma Miami	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	palms	X	X	drawing	no	yes	no	yes circle	no	no	no	black	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	miami urban	no	no
	River Island	green	New York city	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	yellow	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	New york urban	no	no
	River Island	blue	Tokyo	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Tokyo urban	no	no
	River Island	white	La Palma Miami	Los Angeles	X	heart	heart	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	X	no	N/A	blue	red	X	X	X	X	X	no	no	no	no	no	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Miami/los angeles urban	no	no	
	River Island	yellow	Los Angeles	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Los angeles urban	no	no
	River Island	white	Twenty four seven	Tokyo	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	no	X	no	N/A	black	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Tokyo urban	no	no	
	River Island	navy	Olympic games	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	stars	X	X	X	no	no	no	no	yes	stars yes	yellow	X	X	bust	X	X	X	Los angeles urban	no	no	
	Esprit	red	Just grow wild	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	imperative	Verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	red	X	X	savannah	X	X	picture	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	no	black/white	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	nature/wild	no	no
	Esprit	white	Salt, sun, surf	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	palms	sea	X	picture	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	no	red	red	X	bust	bust	X	yes	surf/beach	no	no
	Esprit	black	Choose your style	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	imperative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	surfboards	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	surf	no	no	
	Esprit	white	Naturally summer	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	palms and waves	birds	X	drawing	no	no	no	yes circle+square	no	no	no	multicolor	multicolor	X	bust	bust	X	yes	beach/summer	no	no
	Esprit	grey	Forever summer	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	multicolor	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	summer	no	no
	Esprit	black	Nature	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	leaves	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	heart	X	X	yes	nature	no	no	
	Esprit	blue	Find your wild	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	imperative	Verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	finger print	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	yes square	no	no	no	white	X	X	bust	X	X	no	wild	no	no
	Esprit	white	Find me under the palm	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	palms	X	X	picture	no	no	no	yes circle	no	no	no	multicolor	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	palms	no	no
	Mango	grey	More focus	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	Verbal	simple	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	focus/quality	no	no
	Mango	white	The simple life	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	simplicity	no	no
	Mango	green	The energy	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	yes	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	no	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	energy	no	yes
	Mango	white	Sprinters classic	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	blue	X	X	bikers	X	X	picture	no	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	biker/speed/sport	no	no	
	Bershka	black	Coney Island	Brooklyn	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	N/A	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	beach	X	X	picture	yes	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	beach/new york urban	no	no	

T-SHIRTS			TEXT														IMAGE														TEXT/IMAGE INTERPRETATION												
Photo	Brand	Colour	Message 1	Message 2	Message 3	Position of the text 1	Position of the text 2	Position of the text 3	Form affirmative/negative	Type (declarative, interrogative, exclamatory)	Verbal/non-verbal	Simple/complex	Presence of a quality 1	Presence of a quality 2	Presence of a quality 3	Presence of a defect	Who is speaking ?	Colour of typography 1	Colour of typography 2	Colour of typography 3	Description image 1	Description image 2	Description image 3	Type (drawing/picture)	Presence of numbers	Presence of a date	Presence of punctuation	Presence of geometric shapes	Presence of mathematical/computer characters	Presence of acronym/abbreviation	Presence of symbols	Colour 1	Colour 2	Colour 3	Position of the image 1	Position of the image 2	Position of the image 3	Link between the image and the message ?	General theme	Presence of "instrumental"/"expressive" traits	Presence of pancultural gender stereotypes adjectives		
	H&M	grey	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	tiger	flowers and butterflies	moon and stars	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	white and black	purple	pink	chest	chest	chest	X	fairytal nature	no	no	
	H&M	light blue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	flowers	bird	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	pink	X	chest	chest	X	X	nature	no	no		
	H&M	yellow	Living peacefully in nature	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	rabbits	butterflies	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	blue	blue	X	bust	bust	X	yes	nature/peace	no	no			
	H&M	yellow	Fly like a bird	Free your soul	X	chest	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	pink	pink	X	bird	mountains	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	purple	X	chest	bust	X	yes	nature/liberty	no	no		
	H&M	pink	My sunshine	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	sun	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	nature	no	no			
	H&M	pink	Love	X	X	heart	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love	no	no
	H&M	black	Positive days	Look for the good in each day	X	chest	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	yes	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	orange	orange	X	peace and love symbol	flowers	butterflies	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	peace and love yes	pink	green	orange	bust	bust	bust	yes	peace/nature/positivism	no	no	
	H&M	light blue	Angelic soul	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	yes	no	no	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	heart made of flowers	angels	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart yes	pink	white	X	chest	chest	X	yes	kindness	yes	no	
	H&M	pink	The signs in the stars	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	sun	constellations	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	white	white	X	chest	bust	X	yes	astrology	no	no		
	H&M	yellow	Energy	positive	earth	bust	bust	bust	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	yes	no	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	black	butterfly and flowers	sun	peace and love	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	peace and love yes	black	black	black	bust	bust	bust	yes	nature/peace/positivism	no	no	
	H&M	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	horses	mountains	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	white and brown	green and blue	X	chest	chest	X	X	nature	no	no		
	Tati	white	Mi amor [my love]	Mon amour pour ta vie [my love for life]	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	X	heart with "love" writings in it	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart yes	red	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love	no	no	
	Tati	white	Feminism	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	heart	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart yes	pink	X	X	chest	X	X	no	love/feminism paradoxal	no	no		
	Tati	navy blue	Girl power	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	navy blue	X	X	heart with arrow through it	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart yes	pink	X	X	chest	X	X	no	love/feminism paradoxal	no	no	
	Tati	white	Bye my love	Heart broken	X	chest	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	no	X	yes	t-shirt holder	red	black	X	woman's sad face	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	black/blue	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	love/sadness/sensibility	yes	yes			
	Tati	white	Amour [Love]	X	X	heart	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	red	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love	no	no	
	Tati	light pink	Je t'aime vraiment beaucoup [I love you very much]	Déclaration d'amour [love statement]	X	chest	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	black	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink/blue	X	X	bust	X	X	no	love	yes	yes		
	Tati	pink	Tropic	X	X	bust	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	red	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	summer	no	no	
	Jennyfer	white	Chelou [weird]	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	pink	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	personality trait/negative	no	no
	Jennyfer	black	Cute	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	beauty	no	yes
	C&A	pink	Living my Barbie life	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	doll	X	X	picture	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink/red	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	beauty	no	yes		
	C&A	red	I love sunny days	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	palm	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	nature/summer	no	no		
	C&A	white	Summer	X	X	bust	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	white/gitter	X	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	black	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	nature/summer	no	no		
	C&A	pink	Today's mood	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	flowers with different faces (moods)	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink/white	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	moods/emotion	yes	yes		
	C&A	green	More love	X	X	heart	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love	no	no	
	C&A	white	Love	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	pink	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love/peace	no	no	
	C&A	black	Care bears	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	purple	X	X	toddy bears	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink/yellow/blue	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	care/affection	yes	yes		
	C&A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	red	X	X	bust	X	X	X	nature	no	no		
	C&A	red	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	hearts	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	bust	X	X	X	love	no	no		
	C&A	light blue	Lost in love	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	sea	shells	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	blue	gold	X	chest	chest	X	yes	love/nature	no	no		
	C&A	white	Wear the change	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	imperative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	heart	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart yes	pink	X	X	bust	X	X	no	love/paradoxal feminism	no	no	
	C&A	white	Kindness is my kinda thing	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	bird	flowers	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	peace (love) yes	black	multicolor	X	bust	bust	X	yes	kindness/peace	yes	no	
	Camaleu	light pink	Success/Power/Beauty	Full	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	yes	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	orange	orange	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	kindness/beauty/power paradoxal feminism	yes	yes
	Camaleu	yellow	Smile is my way of life	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	multicolor/gitter	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	kindness/smile	yes	no

Appendix B : Table grid of women's T-shirts

	River Island	white	London	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	red	X	X	heart	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	heart yes	red	X	X	chest	X	X	no	city/love	no	no
	River Island	white	Believe in love	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	gold/black	X	X	kiss	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love beauty	no	no	
	River Island	red	Bisous de mon amour [kiss from my love]	L'amour Paris [Love Paris]	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	no	X	no	N/A	white	black	X	kiss	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love/paris beauty	no	no	
	River Island	white	More love	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	red	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love	no	no
	River Island	red	Love yourself athletic club	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	heart yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love/mind-positionism	no	no	
	River Island	white	L'amour Club	Paris Est 1988	X	chest	bust	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	no	X	no	N/A	white	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love/paris	no	no	
	River Island	white	Avec amour [with love]	Bisous [Kiss]	X	chest	chest	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	no	X	no	N/A	black	black	X	kiss	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	glitter	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love beauty	no	no	
	River Island	green	Mon amour [My love]	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love	no	no	
	River Island	white	Chaussures d'amour [Shoes of love]	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	gold	X	X	pump	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	X	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love	no	no	
	River Island	white	L'amour [Love]	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	gold	X	X	kiss	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	gold/glitter	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love beauty	no	no	
	River Island	white	L'amour [Love]	Love yourself	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	verbal	simple	no	no	X	no	N/A	black	black	X	kiss	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	red	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	love/mind-positionism beauty	no	no		
	River Island	white	Chanceux [lucky]	Paris	X	chest	chest	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	yes	no	X	no	t-shirt holder	orange	orange	X	kiss	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	chest	X	X	no	love/peace beauty	no	no		
	River Island	white	Love is our revolution	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	love	no	no	
	River Island	camouflage	Love is the answer	Live in the moment, look to the future	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	complete	no	no	X	no	N/A	gold	white	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Love/future	no	no	
	Bershka	white	Teddy bear club	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	X	X	teddy bear	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yellow	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	care/teddy bear/ cute	yes	no	
	Bershka	white	California honey	Live your dream	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	car	diner	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	multicolor	X	X	bust	bust	X	yes	California/dream	no	no	
	Bershka	white	Cute Baby	X	X	bust	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	yes	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	teddy bear	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	multicolor	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	cute/baby/ teddy bear	no	no	
	Bershka	beige	Feelings in flames	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	red	X	X	heart	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	red	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	emotion/ sensibility	yes	yes		
	Bershka	black	Deep feelings	Authentic soul	X	bust	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	yes	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	white	X	X	chest	X	X	no	emotion/ soul/authenticity	yes	yes	
	Bershka	white	Dreamland	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	pink	X	X	mushrooms	flowers	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	pink	X	chest	chest	X	no	dream/fairytal	no	yes		
	Bershka	white	Mind illusion	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	yellow	X	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	mind/ psychological	no	no		
	Bershka	black	Mystery feelings	Dream, deep, love	X	chest	bust	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	yellow	yellow	X	flowers/ butterflies	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yellow	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	emotion/ love/dream	yes	yes	
	Bershka	white	Sticky feeling	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	pink	X	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	bust	X	X	no	emotion	yes	yes		
	Bershka	black	Mystical	Baby girl	X	chest	bust	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	multicolor	multicolor	X	mushrooms	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	blue	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	baby/emotion/ psychological	no	no		
	Bershka	brown	Waking for adventure	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	pink	X	X	princess	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	bust	X	X	no	chance/wich far/ position of inferiority	no	no		
	Bershka	black	Dreaming	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	verbal	simple	no	X	X	yes	t-shirt holder	blue	X	X	princess	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	yellow	X	X	bust	X	X	no	dream	no	yes		
	Bershka	white	The romance	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	N/A	black	X	X	bird	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	love/romantism	no	no		
	Bershka	black	Princess	X	X	chest	X	X	N/A	N/A	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	pink	X	X	princess	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	multicolor	X	X	chest	X	X	yes	princess/fairtal	no	no		
	Bershka	black	Everybody loves sunshine	X	X	chest	X	X	affirmative	declarative	verbal	simple	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	white	X	X	sun	flowers	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	yellow	multicolor	X	chest	bust	X	yes	love/sun	no	no		
	Bershka	black	Great postcards from daydreams	X	X	bust	X	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	pink	X	X	flowers	X	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	pink	X	X	bust	X	X	yes	dream	no	yes		
	Bershka	white	Lucky day	Holiday dream	X	chest	chest	X	affirmative	declarative	non-verbal	X	no	X	X	no	t-shirt holder	black	blue	X	casino	woman	X	drawing	no	no	no	no	no	no	multicolor	multicolor	X	chest	chest	X	yes	chance/dream	no	yes		

Appendix C : Interview 01

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity, education, social background)

R: I am 50 years old, I am a woman, mother of two children and I work in the administration, I am a manager. I studied engineering and I am middle class.

I: Would you say that you are part of the female gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: I am courageous, competitive, and I never give up.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I don't agree with any of these statements.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: I have an intense relationship with fashion. I'm very interested in it, I read a lot of articles. I have a daughter of more than 20 years old who keeps me in touch with fashion, to see what's going on and the evolution.

I: Has your relationship changed?

R: Yes, especially in the last few years in a positive way.

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: On average over the year at least once a month.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: They don't define it, but they are part of who I am. For example, the people I live with or work with may have reflections that show that the way I dress is part of my identity. I dress in a way that is a bit professionally out of step with the world I work in.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: I think this is something that was extremely prevalent when I was young and until quite recently. And we realise today how much we were influenced or manipulated by gendered marketing. The evolution of society, the reflections on these themes, which are quite recent, less than 10 years I would say, make mentalities evolve and show how much this gendered marketing has effectively influenced the confinement in groups. I think it's a bad marketing practice. I don't see any positive aspect to this practice other than the prevalence of stereotypes, the fact of locking people into boxes, into categories, into groups.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: No, it's a practice that has never made sense, but clearly today it doesn't.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R: It may have a slightly stronger impact, although the objective is still the same. But it's obvious, the way you're dressed is something that's immediately visible when you communicate. So, it has even more impact. Little girls in pink, boys in blue, it has an immediate impact. Because we are manipulated, shaped by this way of seeing things and gendering things, we will be shocked if a boy puts on a pink shirt or if a girl dresses "like a man", in a very masculine way.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: Yes, I think it's even stronger with children. When you look at the displays, without even reading their names, you can quickly identify which are the girls' and boys' displays, there is no pink in the boys' displays, there are flowers in the girls' displays, there is plain khaki in the boys' displays. This is immediately obvious. For adults too, women's clothes will be sexy and men's

clothes more sober, more serious, the glitter is on the women. The sexy, shallow, happy side, but in a bad way - a bit naive - is more on the women.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R: I never do. But I have a girl who does it and it's interesting because she does it for subtleties that I couldn't see. A boy's t-shirt is going to be straight, the same t-shirt - same colour, design, message - for women will not be straight but will follow the shape of the body.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: This is one of the first developments in fashion, there are brands that will create unisex ranges. I'm thinking of fast-fashion brands such as Zara and others. I find that as soon as we say "unisex", we find clothes that, in the previous stereotypes, were men's clothes. That is to say that we switch to men's cuts, with sizes that can be worn even by women. So even within unisex clothing, it's as if the masculine is also prevailing. Unisex is straight t-shirts, straight shorts, when we talk about unisex, finally for me we are in the masculine universe.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, I am automatically attracted to the women's section. My generation I think is still extremely conditioned.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: We are really into gender stereotypes.

I: In your opinion, does this t-shirt contain attributes associated with gender stereotypes? Why?

R: [About man's t-shirt 2] The stereotype on this shirt is quite clear and quite visible, a man is strong, a man must be strong. It's a sports shirt, a man is sporty. There are two male gender stereotypes, strength and the field of sport. [About woman's t-shirt 5] In terms of the female stereotype it is pink and above all the most obvious and unbearable stereotype is that girls are sensitive little beings, driven by their varying moods. It is reminiscent of hormones. These t-shirts are dangerous because they condition, they continue to lock girls and boys into these stereotypes that exist from birth, a man is strong, he is there to protect, he is there to be solid, and a woman is fragile and is only strong as a mother (ref t-shirt 4) and she must be pretty (ref t-shirt 6). We are really in the heart of gender stereotypes.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R: No.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (tex, image)

R: No, but I've already been offered one. I was offered a white t-shirt with "femme fatale" written in red. I've never worn it. It didn't shock me when I was offered it, it made me laugh but I never actually wore it.

I: This did not shock you at first, but did this feeling change afterwards?

R: Yes, of course. These are subjects which are much more present today, it's a reflection which we didn't do 15 years ago and today in the society in which we live, with these young women who no longer accept, even for fun, such important subjects, I wouldn't support it either. It's on the same level as zero tolerance in the face of racism, in the face of many other important issues in society. Because gendering, globally women even more than men - at least I have this feeling - is no longer possible.

I: What do you think of the "Feminist" T-shirt?

R: Even when they want to present themselves as defenders of the feminist cause, brands cannot help but use visuals, illustrations or words belonging to the cliché and sexist register. These brands just want to take up the cause of feminism to increase their sales and give themselves a good image. However, this practice is not good because for me it taints the image I have of the brand even more.

I: Would you recommend the brand to a friend?

R: No.

I: Do these messages make you laugh?

R: No.

Appendix D: Interview 02

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity, education, social background)

R: I am 50 years old, I am a woman, mother of two children and I work in the administration, I am a manager. I studied engineering and I am middle class.

I: Would you say that you are part of the female gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: I am courageous, competitive, I never give up and I am understanding.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I don't agree with any of these statements.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: I have an intense relationship with fashion. I'm very interested in it, I read a lot of articles. I have a daughter of more than 20 years old who keeps me in touch with fashion, to see what's going on and the evolution.

I: Has your relationship changed?

R: Yes, especially in the last few years in a positive way.

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: On average over the year at least once a month.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: They don't define it, but they are part of who I am. For example, the people I live with or work with may have reflections that show that the way I dress is part of my identity. I dress in a way that is a bit professionally out of step with the world I work in.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: I think this is something that was extremely prevalent when I was young and until quite recently. And we realise today how much we were influenced or manipulated by gendered marketing. The evolution of society, the reflections on these themes, which are quite recent, less than 10 years I would say, make mentalities evolve and show how much this gendered marketing has effectively influenced the confinement in groups. I think it's a bad marketing practice. I don't see any positive aspect to this practice other than the prevalence of stereotypes, the fact of locking people into boxes, into categories, into groups.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: No, it's a practice that has never made sense, but clearly today it doesn't.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R: It may have a slightly stronger impact, although the objective is still the same. But it's obvious, the way you're dressed is something that's immediately visible when you communicate. So, it has even more impact. Little girls in pink, boys in blue, it has an immediate impact. Because we are manipulated, shaped by this way of seeing things and gendering things, we will be shocked if a boy puts on a pink shirt or if a girl dresses "like a man", in a very masculine way.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: Yes, I think it's even stronger with children. When you look at the displays, without even reading their names, you can quickly identify which are the girls' and boys' displays, there is no

pink in the boys' displays, there are flowers in the girls' displays, there is plain khaki in the boys' displays. This is immediately obvious. For adults too, women's clothes will be sexy and men's clothes more sober, more serious, the glitter is on the women. The sexy, shallow, happy side, but in a bad way - a bit naive - is more on the women.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R: I never do. But I have a girl who does it and it's interesting because she does it for subtleties that I couldn't see. A boy's t-shirt is going to be straight, the same t-shirt - same colour, design, message - for women will not be straight but will follow the shape of the body.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: This is one of the first developments in fashion, there are brands that will create unisex ranges. I'm thinking of fast-fashion brands such as Zara and others. I find that as soon as we say "unisex", we find clothes that, in the previous stereotypes, were men's clothes. That is to say that we switch to men's cuts, with sizes that can be worn even by women. So even within unisex clothing, it's as if the masculine is also prevailing. Unisex is straight t-shirts, straight shorts, when we talk about unisex, finally for me we are in the masculine universe.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, I am automatically attracted to the women's section. My generation I think is still extremely conditioned.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: We are really into gender stereotypes.

I: In your opinion, does this t-shirt contain attributes associated with gender stereotypes? Why?

R: [About man's t-shirt 2] The stereotype on this shirt is quite clear and quite visible, a man is strong, a man must be strong. It's a sports shirt, a man is sporty. There are two male gender stereotypes, strength and the field of sport. [About woman's t-shirt 5] In terms of the female stereotype it is pink and above all the most obvious and unbearable stereotype is that girls are sensitive little beings, driven by their varying moods. It is reminiscent of hormones. These t-shirts are dangerous because they condition, they continue to lock girls and boys into these stereotypes that exist from birth, a man is strong, he is there to protect, he is there to be solid, and a woman is fragile and is only strong as a mother (ref t-shirt 4) and she must be pretty (ref t-shirt 6). We are really in the heart of gender stereotypes.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R: No.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (tex, image)

R: No, but I've already been offered one. I was offered a white t-shirt with "femme fatale" written in red. I've never worn it. It didn't shock me when I was offered it, it made me laugh but I never actually wore it.

I: This did not shock you at first, but did this feeling change afterwards?

R: Yes, of course. These are subjects which are much more present today, it's a reflection which we didn't do 15 years ago and today in the society in which we live, with these young women who no longer accept, even for fun, such important subjects, I wouldn't support it either. It's on the same level as zero tolerance in the face of racism, in the face of many other important issues in society. Because gendering, globally women even more than men - at least I have this feeling - is no longer possible.

I: What do you think of the "Feminist" T-shirt?

R: Even when they want to present themselves as defenders of the feminist cause, brands cannot help but use visuals, illustrations or words belonging to the cliché and sexist register. These brands just want to take up the cause of feminism to increase their sales and give themselves a good image. However, this practice is not good because for me it taints the image I have of the brand even more.

I: Would you recommend the brand to a friend?

R: No.

I: Do these messages make you laugh?

R: No.

Appendix E: Interview 03

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity, education, social background)

R: I am a woman, I am 74 years old, I am a retired doctor, I live in a middle-class town in the south of France. I studied medicine, specialising in hematology. I grew up in a modest social environment, my father was a worker.

I: Would you say that you are part of the female gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: I am tender, understanding, and emotional.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I agree with the one saying that men are bad cooks and I think that sometimes women can be more sensitive than men.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: I have always loved fashion and I have been able to follow it because I have had two daughters and I have a granddaughter. So, I've been able to follow fashion as it has evolved through the three generations. For me, fashion is a way to show your personality, to be good with your body and with your time. I like fashion when it is simple and modest.

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: 4 times a month.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: They do not define my identity and personality, but they influence the image I give to the world and to others. They do not influence my own identity but only the image I project.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: I lived through a period when fashion was not gendered. In particular, fashion was quite monotonous for boys. Fashion was gendered because men's clothes were always the same, there was no real men's fashion. Men were not the core target of marketing at the time, it was essentially women. For men it was basically the same suits. In the 70s, 80s, men had suits, trousers and shirts, still very classic. The revolution is more recent where there is really a fashion for men. For women there was more choice. I lived through a period when I went to high school and was not allowed to wear trousers. So women's fashion became more diverse and we had access to trousers.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: I think that gender marketing is mainly market driven, it's about selling. It is a practice that offers more possibilities to men and women, so this is a positive aspect. On the other hand, it is a practice that maintains gender stereotypes, so this fashion is not favourable to the evolution of women. It locks them into the "light" side of women: pink, the mother. Today, in terms of marketing practices, it is a practice that remains effective because society is slowly evolving. But it should be possible for boys' slogans to be put on girls' T-shirts and vice versa. It is a practice that is more rewarding for men than for women.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R : In all sectors, the risk is the same with this practice. Men and women are different but we are fighting for equality, difference is not inequality.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: No, I don't remember that.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R : Yes, pullovers because they were very comfortable. Some sportswear as well because I'm a bit chubby and I fit into the sizes on offer. There is more choice of sizes for men because the problem with women's clothing is that for a long time there was no collection of clothing for curvy women.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: Surely. I think it's good. I like the idea of unisex because it gets us out of the gender stereotypes. It's a very positive evolution.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, it's the prevailing ideology that influences me to go to the women's department. Just like compulsive buying, I sometimes buy products that I don't really need.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: If I don't look at the inscriptions and when I look at all four (1, 2, 3, 4) I find them suitable and nice. When I read the slogans, I fall back into something that is negative for me. The man is irresistible and strong, two extremely empowering adjectives, whereas the women's slogans ("fragile heart" and "mum"), put the woman in a state of inferiority, fragility and her role as a mother. I find this very stereotypical, it refers to two aspects of women that are not rewarding. A woman is a fragile heart. It says Mum and not Bac+6. These are really four stereotypical messages.

I: What do you think of the "feminist" T-shirt?

R: I feel like struggles like feminism are something that is very present in the new generation. I think that's why these brands are producing T-shirts with these kinds of messages in order to attract young female consumers.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R : On second thought I won't buy them. On the spur of the moment, I might buy them because they are pretty but when I think about it I think it's a shame. I would have preferred to have the t-shirt with the "irresistible" message.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (text, image)

R: I must have bought some, but I can't remember which ones.

I: Would you recommend the brand to a friend?

R: No.

I: Do these messages make you laugh?

R: At first sight, yes, it can make me smile. But soon after I realise the true meaning of the message and it doesn't make me laugh at all.

Appendix F: Interview 04

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity, education, social background)

R: I am a woman, I am 74 years old, I am a retired doctor, I live in a middle-class town in the south of France. I studied medicine, specialising in hematology. I grew up in a modest social environment, my father was a worker.

I: Would you say that you are part of the female gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: I am tender, understanding, and emotional.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I agree with the one saying that men are bad cooks and I think that sometimes women can be more sensitive than men. I also think that men need less time to make decisions than women.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: I have always loved fashion and I have been able to follow it because I have had two daughters and I have a granddaughter. So, I've been able to follow fashion as it has evolved through the three generations. For me, fashion is a way to show your personality, to be good with your body and with your time. I like fashion when it is simple and modest.

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: 4 times a month.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: They do not define my identity and personality, but they influence the image I give to the world and to others. They do not influence my own identity but only the image I project.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: I lived through a period when fashion was not gendered. In particular, fashion was quite monotonous for boys. Fashion was gendered because men's clothes were always the same, there was no real men's fashion. Men were not the core target of marketing at the time, it was essentially women. For men it was basically the same suits. In the 70s, 80s, men had suits, trousers and shirts, still very classic. The revolution is more recent where there is really a fashion for men. For women there was more choice. I lived through a period when I went to high school and was not allowed to wear trousers. So women's fashion became more diverse and we had access to trousers.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: I think that gender marketing is mainly market driven, it's about selling. It is a practice that offers more possibilities to men and women, so this is a positive aspect. On the other hand, it is a practice that maintains gender stereotypes, so this fashion is not favourable to the evolution of women. It locks them into the "light" side of women: pink, the mother. Today, in terms of marketing practices, it is a practice that remains effective because society is slowly evolving. But it should be possible for boys' slogans to be put on girls' T-shirts and vice versa. It is a practice that is more rewarding for men than for women.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R: In all sectors, the risk is the same with this practice. Men and women are different but we are fighting for equality, difference is not inequality.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: No, I don't remember that.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R: Yes, pullovers because they were very comfortable. Some sportswear as well because I'm a bit chubby and I fit into the sizes on offer. There is more choice of sizes for men because the problem with women's clothing is that for a long time there was no collection of clothing for curvy women.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: Surely. I think it's good. I like the idea of unisex because it gets us out of the gender stereotypes. It's a very positive evolution.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, it's the prevailing ideology that influences me to go to the women's department. Just like compulsive buying, I sometimes buy products that I don't really need.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: If I don't look at the inscriptions and when I look at all four (1, 2, 3, 4) I find them suitable and nice. When I read the slogans, I fall back into something that is negative for me. The man is irresistible and strong, two extremely empowering adjectives, whereas the women's slogans ("fragile heart" and "mum"), put the woman in a state of inferiority, fragility and her role as a mother. I find this very stereotypical, it refers to two aspects of women that are not rewarding. A woman is a fragile heart. It says Mum and not Bac+6. These are really four stereotypical messages.

I: What do you think of the "feminist" T-shirt?

R: I feel like struggles like feminism are something that is very present in the new generation. I think that's why these brands are producing T-shirts with these kinds of messages in order to attract young female consumers.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R : On second thought I won't buy them. On the spur of the moment, I might buy them because they are pretty but when I think about it I think it's a shame. I would have preferred to have the t-shirt with the "irresistible" message.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (text, image)

R: I must have bought some, but I can't remember which ones.

I: Would you recommend the brand to a friend?

R: No.

I: Do these messages make you laugh?

R: At first sight, yes, it can make me smile. But soon after I realise the true meaning of the message and it doesn't make me laugh at all.

Appendix G: Interview 05

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity)

R : I'm a man, I'm 23 years old and I'm a student in my 5th year of master in business school. I live in Paris and I belong to a middle class.

I: Would you say that you are part of the male gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: They all describe me.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I don't agree with any of these statements.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: My relationship with fashion fluctuates over the years and seasons. I would say that there are times when I'm really interested in what's going on, what's out and what's new, and there are times when I'm a little less interested. Living in Paris, which is a fashion capital, I keep up to date with the fashion scene because I live in an environment that pushes me to be interested in it. However, the older I get, the less interested I think I am.

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: It's not really month by month but rather in phases. There are phases where I don't shop for 5 months and others, like at the beginning of the school year, which also depends on my income as I'm a student, or like during Christmas when I'll buy lots of clothes. But it's not something I do regularly. During my shopping phases, I buy about ten items.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: Of course, clothes are the first thing you see in someone. I'm lucky enough to be in several circles, some of which are very fashion conscious and others which are not at all. So, depending on the environment, my relationship to clothing is different. I know that in some circles, the image I will send out through my clothes will be more important than in others. However, for me, clothing is more about sending an image to others than defining my identity.

I: Would you say that a clothing is a constituent element or a mode of expression of personal identity?

R: I would say that, for me, clothing is a mode of expression of my personal identity only not a constituent element.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: In general, this practice stems from the fact that companies want to make money. We live in a world where marketing departments have numerical and financial targets, and it is much easier to do segmentation because we have more and more data on potential customers. For me, gender neutrality does not work. I would like to have the transgressive opinion to say that this practice is not good and that we should move towards a non-gendered society where everyone decides what gender they want to be, but the reality is that we all have something in us that ties us to a group, and it's much easier to buy a product that ties us to that group than a product that ties us to a larger group. We all want to be attached to a smaller, more specific group, so if the evolution is towards non-generic, that's fine, but I think it's a bit utopian.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: In France, there are regions that are very open to this type of issue (gender evolution) and others that are much less so. So, I think this practice will always work, we will always try to categorise people, to put them in boxes. That's what reassures us as human beings, it's to control the person we have in front of us.

I: Do you think there will be an evolution in the marketing practice of segmentation? Segmentation towards all the different genders like queer, gender fluid, transgender, etc.

R: It depends on the brand, there are brands that will accept this because they know their core audience will accept it. And others that won't be able to do it because their audience is not adapted. Let's say Celio does this, the average Celio customer is going to think, why is Celio doing this? So, these brands will be afraid of losing part of their clientele by making this evolution. So, I think that this evolution can happen but only for very specific brands that have very open-minded customers.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R: This practice applied to clothing has necessarily a different impact because other products are not shown to others as clothing. It influences in a more sinuous way through the clothes, especially the young people who will say to themselves, if the boys wear this type of clothes, I must also wear it if I am a boy and conversely for the girls. So yes, of course this practice applied to the ready-to-wear sector has a greater impact than applied to other products.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: No, I was never really marked by it.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R: I don't think so. Because I have a very broad-shouldered build that doesn't allow me to wear women's clothes. These are clothes that are not cut for my body type, so not from a physical point of view.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: There are more and more of them, and I think that all clothes can be gender neutral. I don't see why a white shirt should be either for women or for men. It depends on the size and cut of the clothes. There are also classics, wardrobe basics that can be gender neutral as well as pieces that are a bit more elaborate. I may have bought some without knowing it.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, completely.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: These are shirts that don't appeal to me at all because I prefer graphic shirts to those with messages written on them. I don't enjoy reading messages written on someone else's t-shirt. As for the messages on the t-shirts, I find them very gendered. On the first t-shirt, the message places the man in simple to identify themes and categories. Even more so for the women's t-shirts as there is not even any design effort, they are just plain t-shirts with a message. Concerning this t-shirt (t-shirt 4), it's all a question of reading level. First, I didn't expect it, but this t-shirt is made for mothers, I thought it was a t-shirt for children (a message from children to their mothers which is cute). This t-shirt is aimed at the mother, so she is self-constructing as a woman who must be strong (superpowers) and there for her children no matter what and at all costs.

I : What are your feelings when seeing these t-shirts?

R: I couldn't be shocked by a t-shirt. These messages appeal to me because I know that they can be diffused in an ecosystem of consumers who may be mired in these stereotypes. I know that in the long run it is a sad thing. But I've never really been shocked by these kinds of messages. I understand the different degrees of reading, so it doesn't shock me. Depending on each person, each personality, there will be people who won't even read these messages, others who will take them in a humorous tone so even if there are dangerous biases for the society, it will remain for them messages that won't analyse and push away. Finally, there are also people who will be influenced by these messages and who will take to heart what is written on their t-shirts, and these are the people who are most at risk.

I : According to you, the people who read the messages and understand them are the most at risk, but what about those who read these messages without understanding their stereotypical aspect but internalize them anyway? Are they at risk too and even more ?

R : Yes I think it's unconsciously dangerous. They are more at risk, but printed t-shirts are the last thing through which gender stereotypes are disseminated and we are confronted with these stereotypes long before.

I: What do you think about the "Feminism" T-shirt?

R: To me it looks like pinkwashing, this brand is using feminism to attract more consumers and I find this practice shameful. For me it is not by wearing a T-shirt with "feminism" that one becomes a feminist. Especially on this T-shirt you can see that there is a heart, so the brand mixes stereotypical attributes that always refer to the same theme of love for women with messages of feminism that refer to a liberalization of women, it does not make much sense to me.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R: No.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (text, image)

R: Yes, I bought a jumper from an English brand with a long, somewhat meaningless text on the back. I was also given a jumper with "Dreamer" written on it. I also have a jumper with "forever young" written on it.

I: Do these messages make you laugh?

R: No.

Appendix H: Interview 06

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity)

R: I'm American, 64 years old, male, living in Paris, working in the communications industry at Havas Sport & Entertainment. Grew up in a black family in Los Angeles, went to Occidental College in LA and did a political sciences major.

I: Would you say that you are part of the male gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: I would say competitive for sure, courageous and I never give up.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I only agree with two of these statements: women are more sensitive than men and men make decisions more quickly than women.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: Probably the thing I own the most is clothing. I have more clothes than the kids and my kids. I use clothes for sport, so for practical purposes, I use clothes for business, which is professional, and I have some clothes for casual. But it is mostly professional and sports.

I: Do you follow the news about the evolution of this sector?

R: I wouldn't say I'm at the heart of what is going on. I'm more of a traditional sort of men about clothes. I buy them when I need them but I'm not really what you could say "fashion".

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: Four times a month and mostly in the same shop.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: I'm not sure they define my identity and my personality, but clothes give first impression of who you are. I'm in business, so in business when people look at you, the first impression they have is what you're wearing.

I: So, your clothes impact the image you give to others, but they don't define your identity, right?

R: They don't define my identity, but they can tell you a lot of things about the persons, the way they are dressed. So, it is important.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: I think it is good. Because I think that men and women are different, physically mostly. And so, I think it is always good to allow for the different of physically and personally and emotionally in clothing. I think that men and women are very different so I think the clothes should be very different the choice or selection of clothes should be very different.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: That's where I would say I'm not as aware, since I'm 64 years old, of how the gender has become much more fluid, almost liquid. Today, some people want to be known as a man, some as woman, so want to change identity, some of them want to be queer. When you're queer, I guess that means that is not exactly clear how you identify. I have someone in my office that is queer, and I noticed that is kind of a mix between men and women so I would say that the current offer would not be adapted for the new generation.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R: I think the clothes are much more powerful. It is different because when you are wearing clothes you are expressing something about yourself. You can overstate or understate. You can

see a lot of things on a personality or someone. It doesn't define you, but it says a lot about you, the way you dress.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: Yes absolutely. When shopping recently, I saw a girl wearing a t-shirt that said, "treat me like a princess". Anytime I see a message on a t-shirt, I always take a look at it and take a look at the person to see if it reflects him/her. First of all, is it true or could it be funny, or it doesn't look like it reflects the person. So yeah, I'm drawn to t-shirts with a message on them.

I: When you see the message "treat me like a princess", what are your feelings about it?

R: Did you deserve it? Should I treat you like a princess? Are you cute or not? Are well-dressed or not? I make a judgement of the person not of the message.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R: Well, I'm an old guy, traditional, so I would never wear pink. But, they are some places where I could now. But before I could never wear pink. They are certain colours I would associated with women and I would say "I'm not going to wear those clothes". The best example is pink, it is a colour that is for little girls when you are a kid, blue is for little boys, as you are growing up, they are certain colours that women wear and others that men wear. So, yeah I would always want to be in my code colours, for my gender.

I: Would you say that you couldn't wear pink because of the social pressure associated with it?

R: Yes, I would say that if I wore pink, I could be perceived as maybe gender fluid, or homosexual so I wouldn't wear it. However, that was when I was younger. Now is different and when I played in a rugby team where they became famous because of the pink bowtie so it completely changed what this typically macho sport could represent to the overall population.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: I guess, what I would call unisex are the basics. For instance, Gap, Uniqlo, Celio a little, these stores to me have made the money off with basics. Basics are black, white, tan, brown, and these are basic colours that you can wear with anything. So, I am more of a basic person.

I: What do you think of some brands, like Zara, which created unisex lines?

R: Fantastic. Because it's affordable, anybody can wear it, it just depends on how you put things together. So, I don't think it has brought men and women closer in terms of what they look like. Even though I tend to think that when a woman and a man wear basics they still wear them differently. A woman will wear it in a way to feminise it and a man will have a way to make it plain.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, as soon as I see the section for women, I never go to look. I always go to the men's section.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: They are typical t-shirts for people. These are things you buy in the summer, for fun and on a weekend. And I love them, I love when people have messages. I tend to look at the message and look at the person and make the judgement. And I make the judgement also on the look and the physical presence of the person, is the person fat or skinny? Is the person good or average looking? I go far on the judgement.

I: When looking at the messages more precisely, what do you think of them?

R: For the first one, the person who wears it think he/she is cool. When I look at the one with "mum", I have a really good laugh, it is very funny. I think that these messages are created for certain types of personality. I think that this one (t-shirt 2) is for a macho guy, this one (t-shirt 1) is for a guy who thinks he is cool. This one (t-shirt 3) is for a girl who is kind of emotional, young, for a teenager and the last one (t-shirt 4) is for a young mum.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R: I would not for myself but for others yes.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (tex, image)

R: Yes, I buy sometimes some t-shirts that are funny. I bought a t-shirt once that says "I'm old but I'm low", and the reason of that is because normally you would say "I'm old but I'm fast", which is funny because it is reinforcing the fact that you are old.

I: According to you, all these messages are only funny? Or do they contain a danger?

R: I like them because they are funny. I would not say a "danger" but some are problematic yes. Because they have messages that are sometimes political, or social in nature.

I: Regarding France and Paris, can you think of clichés associated with French people?

R: I think that French people are more passionate, they have messages a little bit more about passion (love, romance, emotion). Much more so than Americans. Americans are not about passion they are about statements, they are macho, they are feminist, but they are much more straight forward. From an American point of view, we see the French as being emotional. To use one adjective, it would be emotional for both genders. Another one would be passionate, or even arrogant. Regarding the city of Paris, we look at it as being romantic, city of love, with the Seine, the Eiffel Tower etc.

Appendix I: Interview 07

I: Can you present yourself? (Age, gender, activity, education, social background)

R: I am 49 years old, female, a decorator, designer and art director, a graduate in applied arts and a middle-class person.

I: Would you say that you are part of the female gender

R: Yes.

I: Would you say that these adjectives describe you? "Competitive", "never gives up", "courageous", "tender", "understanding", "emotional".

R: I am competitive, and courageous.

I: Do you agree with the following statements: "men are often bad cooks", "women are more sensitive than men", "men make decisions more quickly than women", "women have to take care of children more than men"?

R: I don't agree with any of these statements.

I: What is your sexual orientation?

R: I am heterosexual.

I: What is your relationship with fashion?

R: Relatively important because it is part of my representation and I do a job that is somewhat representative. Automatically, I have to adopt a style that is more or less recognisable and above all it is a mix between comfort and the fact of not being completely disconnected from fashion.

I: Would you say that you follow the evolution of this sector?

R: Yes, a little bit, because I am also a consumer.

I: How many times per month do you go shopping?

R: When the seasons change, I go shopping. I would say once a month.

I: Would you say that your clothes define your identity and personality?

R: I wouldn't go so far as to say that they define my personality, but it's a bit of an image that I send back to people. I would say that the clothes I wear both reflect a certain image of myself to others and influence my personality.

I: What do you think about gendered marketing segmentation? Do you see this marketing practice as a good or bad thing?

R: I would say that it is a natural practice. The representation is still stronger for women despite the changes. But we are still on the basic level, when we look at the quantity of offers in the shops, we realise that there are many more offers for women than for men. This segmentation is therefore stronger for women. For men in department stores, 1/3 of the shelves are allocated to them. Segmentation is a logical practice in my opinion because historically women wear skirts and men do not, because of which there is a huge proportion of offers.

I: Do you think that gender marketing is still a relevant practice nowadays?

R: I think that gender-related developments are still minimal. There are some brands that are unisex but otherwise I don't see that much gender plurality. It's still effective today because I don't think there's enough demand from other genders.

I: Do you think that gendered marketing applied to the fashion sector has a different impact than in another sector? (e.g. objects)

R : In marketing, we work by niches, there are codes, colours, formalities. If we take hoovers for example, today we create hoovers for women, simpler and lighter. People identify with this, and we have created codes for this. In haute couture, for example, the boundaries are much more flexible. We see catwalks with men wearing skirts. There are simpler bridges that are being built more and more. Perhaps it is haute couture that will at some point smooth out the borders. It will come more from haute couture than from Zara and H&M, which are followers.

I: Have you ever been confronted with a stereotyped product when shopping for clothes?

R: Yes, it already struck me.

I: Have you ever bought clothes of the opposite gender? Why?

R : Yes, it has happened to me, once a shirt because I liked it.

I: What do you think about unisex clothes? Have you ever bought one of them?

R: It's more the conduit line of a brand I think like American Apparel. I think it's nice to have spaces in common with these products that are uniform. Yes, I've already bought some.

I: Have you ever been influenced by your gender when buying clothes? Pushed towards a certain type of product rather than another?

R: Yes, I am automatically drawn to the women's department. Sometimes I go to the men's department but only to see what's going on and to keep myself informed, not because I want to wear them.

I: (After showing the interview an example of a print t-shirt with stereotypical attributes) What do you think about this t-shirt?

R: They are very clichéd because they put the man in stereotypical positions with messages such as the man is irresistible, the man is strong and the girl is fragile, and a mother. For me it's basic marketing. They are very stereotypical.

I: Would you buy this product? Why?

R : No.

I: What do you think of the "feminist" T-shirt?

R: It makes me even angrier, and it distances me even more from the brand. This practice is completely detrimental to my purchasing act because it is opportunistic uses of causes that are very important to me. It can even lead to a boycott of these brands because I feel it is manipulation.

I: Have you ever bought a similar product? If yes, what was its content? (text, image)

R : Yes, but they had funnier messages, or more related to the music, to the graphics, which was the most important for me. When I say humorous, I mean the offbeat. For example, I had one with "money maker" written on it or some with a more "California" feel or another with "sex, drug and rock'n'roll".

I : According to you, these messages are not even funny?

R: No because they are old messages. We're almost back to the 1950s so it doesn't make me laugh at all.

Appendix J: Plan Language Statement

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT

Introduction to the Research Study

Research Study Title: The role of marketing strategies in the maintenance and reinforcement of gender stereotypes in the fashion industry.

University: Griffith College, Graduate Business School.

Principal Investigator: Dr Garrett Ryan.

Researcher Name: Iman Moreaux

Email: iman.moreaux@griffith.student.ie

II. Details of what involvement in the Research Study will require

This project involves taking part in semi-structured interviews. The interviews responses will be recorded, and seek to gather information on your experience of gender stereotypes diffused through marketing strategies in the fashion industry. Questions are directed towards your thoughts on your awareness of the impact of your gender in your fashion consumption. I estimate the interviews will take no longer than 20 minutes to complete.

III. Potential risks to participants from involvement in the Research Study (if greater than that encountered in everyday life)

I do not anticipate any risk to participants as a result of participation in this Research Study.

IV. Benefits (direct or indirect) to participants from involvement in the Research Study

The objective of this Research Study is to gain new knowledge that will enable a better understanding of the social and cultural implications of marketing strategies on the representation of gender roles. This study may, therefore, be of benefit to you by providing you with the opportunity to contribute to body of knowledge on the role of marketing strategies in the maintenance and reinforcement of gender stereotypes in the fashion industry so that you and or society may benefit.

V. Advice as to arrangements to be made to protect the confidentiality of data, including that confidentiality of information provided is subject to legal limitations

Every effort is made to ensure the confidentiality of the participant. Participant names will not be recorded, as all participants will be assigned a code. Where used, recorded interviews/survey data will be downloaded to a password-controlled computer, typed transcripts/survey results are held within password-controlled documents. Participant biographical details and or mention of other persons will be omitted in the final report. Confidentiality of information provided is subject to legal limitations.

VI. Advice as to whether or not data is to be destroyed after a minimum period

Audio tapes/Survey data will be destroyed on the successful completion of this master's degree in full compliance with GDPR regulations.

VII. Statement that involvement in the Research Study is voluntary

Involvement in this Research Study is voluntary. Participants who decide to take part may withdraw from the Research Study at any point. There will be no penalty for withdrawing before all stages of the Research Study are complete.

Appendix K: Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I. Research Study Title: The role of marketing strategies in the maintenance and reinforcement of gender stereotypes in the fashion industry.

University: Griffith College, Graduate Business School.

Principal Investigator: Dr Garrett Ryan.

Researcher Name: Iman Moreaux

Email: iman.moreaux@griffith.student.ie

II. Clarification of the purpose of the research

The aim of this research is to explore the role of marketing strategies in the diffusion and reinforcement of individual representations subject to gender stereotypes within the fashion industry. The study will concentrate on the marketing strategies of popular clothing brands and the supply of adult clothing. Furthermore, through a combination your participation and the latest research into the diffusion of gender stereotypes through marketing strategies in the fashion industry, this research will add to body of academic understanding of the role of marketing strategies in the maintenance of gender stereotypes in the fashion industry.

III. Confirmation of particular requirements as highlighted in the Plain Language Statement

This project involves taking part in semi-structured interviews. The interviews responses will be recorded, and seek to gather information on your experience of gender stereotypes diffused through marketing strategies in the fashion industry. Questions are directed towards your thoughts on your awareness of the impact of your gender in your fashion consumption. I estimate the interviews will take no longer than 20 minutes to complete.

Participant – please complete the following (Circle Yes or No for each question)

Have you read or had read to you the Plain Language Statement	Yes/No
Do you understand the information provided?	Yes/No
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	Yes/No
Have you received satisfactory answers to all your questions?	Yes/No
Are you aware that interviews will be audiotaped?	Yes/No

IV. Confirmation that involvement in the Research Study is voluntary

Involvement in this Research Study is voluntary. Participants who decide to take part may withdraw from the Research Study at any point. There will be no penalty for withdrawing before all stages of the Research Study are complete.