

**The Patriarchal Gaze :**  
**A Symbolic Interactionist Study of Genderized Advertisements**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the Degree of  
**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

*MONICA SHARMA*

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110067.  
1990



जवाहरलाल नेहरु विश्वविद्यालय  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI - 110067

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
NEW DELHI

DECLARATION

This dissertation entitled "The Patriarchal Gaze - A symbolic interactionist Study of Genderized Advertisements" by Ms. MONICA SHARMA for the degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

Dr. Patricia Uberoi  
(Supervisor)

Yogendra Singh  
Centre Chairperson and Professor.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude for Dr. P. Uberoi who encouraged me at every stage of my research work.

My sincere thanks are also due to my teachers especially the Chairperson, Prof. Y. Singh, for their support.

I also wish to thank the staff of the Centre for the Study of Social Systems and the office of the School of Social Sciences for their co-operation.



MONICA SHARMA

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	Terminological Introduction	1
2.	Theoretical Perspectives	-
	(i) Kate Millett Sexual Politics	15
	(ii) Michel Foucault Discourse, Knowledge, Power	23
	(iii) Chris Weedon Power Relations	26
	(iv) Reflections	30
3.	Methodology and Techniques	-
	I INTRODUCTION	35
	II DISCUSSION	37
	(1) RESEARCH PROBLEM	37
	(2) CONTRIBUTORY PERSPECTIVES	39
	(3) JOHN BERGER - Ways of Seeing	44
	(4) ERVING GOFFMAN Gender Advertisements	77
	(5) METHODOLOGY ADOPTED	143
4.	(i) THE SOCIOLOGICAL FINDINGS	148
	(ii) CONCLUSION	159
	APPENDIX	
	I COLLECTION OF ADVERTISEMENTS	i
	II SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES	xviii
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	

CHAPTER - 1  
TERMINOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

I

The quest in any scientific endeavour must be to change the status-quo<sup>1</sup>. In this context when one deals with the concept of 'patriarchy' and its varied manifestations one finds its ubiquitous existence visible in almost every aspect of our lives. Consequently the goal of this work is to conscientize<sup>2</sup> ourselves, so that we are able to perceive the patriarchal strategies, and can initiate plans to alter its status - quoism.

The following work deals with the ubiquity of patriarchy, and tries to explain how it evolves cyclically. This has been done by analysing advertisements, which are the reflection of the popular culture, of our society. Keeping in mind the specificity of this work an introductory account of the terminology used in this work, is being given here.

## II

As this work analyses genderized advertisements, the present account starts with the term 'gender', and concludes with the concept of "advertisements".

1. **Gender** - Generally, gender is regarded as the cultural coequivalent of sex. Sex "refers to the biological division into female and male; 'gender' to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity" [Oakley 1972; Stoller 1968]. The permanent placement of infants at birth, in a sex-class, is based on the genitals [Goffman 1977]. Thus, sex has a biological connotation i.e. dealing with physiology/anatomy, whereas 'gender' has socio-psychological connotations or as Butler opines 'gender' is the "sculpturing of the original body into a cultural form." [Butler 1987; 131] Gender is not static; as de Beauvoir puts it - one not only becomes a woman, but continuously becomes one [de Beauvoir 1953]

Gender thus becomes a part of one's self-identity by internalization of the culturally 'appropriate' behaviour patterns.

2. Genderism: - According to Goffman (1977) Genderism refers to the sex-class linked individual behavioural practice. In simple words, it refers to those culturally characteristic features of behaviour which act as indicators of belonging to a particular gender. We can use the term to refer to the bias which comes up while dealing with depictions of the masculine and feminine, such that hierarchical attributions are given to the two - the two are thus hierarchically segregated. When genderism becomes evident in interaction/depiction, we refer to this process as genderization (as eg. genderization of news-headlines, advertisements etc.)

3. Gender - System: 'Gender-system' is a symbolic or meaning system that consists of two complementary mutually exclusive categories into which all human beings are placed. [Cucchiari in Orther and Whitehead 1986; 32] Thus the social set-up, itself can be regarded as the gender-system, because it is the society which determines what are the roles and status of its constituent masculine and feminine elements.

4. Gender Roles: I prefer to use the term gender-roles than sex-roles, because personally I consider sex-roles to

refer specially to the biological sexual - interaction aspect; whereas gender-roles refer to the non-sexual, culturally determined, interaction between the two genders. Consequently, gender - roles in the Parsonian language are instrumental for the males and expressive for the females. (The male and female being the biological embodiments of the cultural-behaviour-patterns). 'Instrumental' here refers to the mastering of the actual, action - oriented behaviour whereas 'expressive' refers mainly to the emotional, supporting non-functional role. Thus, the cultural-image of a man is powerful and active, whereas of a woman, it is - weak, frivolous and insignificant.

In "The Princess", Tennyson holds that -  
"Man for the field and woman for the hearth,  
Man for the sword and for the needle she;  
Man with the head, and woman with the heart;  
Man to command and woman to obey".

This aptly sums up the Parsonian roles of the two genders.

Consequently, women are confined to the household as daughters and wives (in India, mainly as mothers) and are made to 'realize' that their femininity can be preserved only

if they keep away from the harsh, grimy world. According to Goffman (1977) this segregation has a political consequence - it relieves persons who are males, from half the competition ( in jobs, etc.) they would have otherwise faced. (I would regard this phenomenon as an instance of gender - politics)

5. Gender Stereotypes:- Nevertheless, we find that the gender- stereotype of a female views her as a dependent creature, one with weak ego-boundaries, whereas the masculine is equated with strong ego - boundaries<sup>3</sup>. This means that the sexual role of a female is mothering. The female child, is socialized to take up this role so that she becomes an extension of her mother's personality, and thus very dependent on her mother, and later, on others. The males are more independent because right since childhood they are made aware of the differences between the 'male' and the mother (-the emotionally dependent female). In this sense, the culturally produced gender differences can be said to be rooted in biology (i.e. sex), though it does not mean to say that gender and sex roles are interchangeable concepts. Thus, the common perception of a female is in the sense of being a 'caring' person (-housewife, nurse,

secretary, primary school teacher etc.) whereas the male is viewed more in the 'executive role'. Stereotypes are thus, symbols of a web of social relationships. The domestication of woman continues when in the name of helping them, domestic technological devices are given to them, thereby further alienating them from the mainstream<sup>4</sup>. The oppression of woman as the 'oppressed - majority'<sup>5</sup> is thus not simply rooted in biology but also in the economics, socio-cultural as well as political structures. Keeping this in mind what does gender - identity mean? Identity generally refers to the stable, consistent perception of who one is and what is her/his standing in the social system. Gender-identity then, emerges out of social relationships/interactions, between the two genders, and refers to the awareness of one's own gender.

6. **Sexuality:** Sexuality is basically a cultural creation, it refers to those characteristic patterns of activity/behaviour the appearance of which lead to sexual stimulation. Foucault regards it to be the primary locus of power [Weedon 1989]. But he refers to this term, more in the sense of population - control policies, which are initiated to control the 'Bio-Power' (i.e. - the population). Sigmund

Freud, opines that individuals are sexual beings from birth and thus sexuality is not an effect of puberty. He believes that infants are initially 'polymorphously perverse' (i.e. neither masculine nor feminine). According to his theory, the first five years of a child's life are psychologically important and are the basis of his/her identity formation. Thus, sexuality for him, is a psycho-sexual development.

7. **Femininity - Masculinity:** Femininity refers to the personality traits, interests and behaviours that either are, or are believed to be, more characteristic of females than of males, and similarly masculinity refers to such characteristics of males. The two terms are culturally specific. It seems, this difference in personality traits is the reason for having female roles (in the domestic/private realm) and male roles (in the public realm). Femininity is generally characterized by gentleness, modesty, compassion, tenderness, nurturance, physical attractiveness (for the male that is), passivity etc. Whereas masculinity, refers to strong will, power, aggression, autonomy, ambition, non-emotional etc. Or as Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh puts it:

"The Taoist principle consists of two parts:

(1) yin = feminine principle and

(2) yang= masculine principle

Yin refers to the mind, meditation and like the moon,..(is) cool, non-ambitious, non-aggressive, receptive, peaceful.

Yang ... refers to ambition, aggression desire and passion...." [1978; 9-12]

8. Socialization: This can be regarded as an indoctrination (by primary social institutions like - family, school etc.) about the expected behaviour patterns roles and status of an individual. Spencer E. Cahill [Deegan and Hill 1987] believes that acquisition of a gender - identity is a product of childhood socialization. Everyday practice like language use, patterns of conversation, gaze, behaviour etc. are all the result of childhood socialization.

"What is appropriate for a particular person in a particular situation is defined ..... by the institution itself and is transmitted through such means as (institutional) socialization. [March and Olsen 1984] Mass-

Media (advertisements etc.) thus act as an institutional - socialization/agent. The child associates gender designating labels with one's own behaviour pattern (and the type of response which the behaviour gets), and in this way develops a gender identity.

9. Patriarchy: Etymologically 'Patriarchy' refers to rule by the father. S.Ruth observes that in a society where men have controlled knowledge and have interpreted the classical texts, it is not surprising that women have lost the power of naming, of explaining and defining for themselves, the realities of their own experiences [Ghadially 1988: 21]. Thus in a patriarchal set-up only the masculine definitions of every aspect of life is recognized. This indicates that Patriarchy is a form of political power. 'Patriarchy' is defined by Hartman [1976 76: 138] as a system of male oppression of women. It is a set of hierarchic relations which has a material base, and in which there are hierarchical relations between men, and solidarity among them, which enables them to control women. Thus this term mainly refers to power - relations which in a discursive - way relegate women to subordinated positions, by forcing them to follow the norms of behaviour as determined by the males. According to Lerner [Lerner 1986:

10] patriarchy, is not uni-causal: infact 'both men and women participated in creating patriarchy'. Patriarchy can be regarded as a universal feature of oppression, throughout history. [Barrett 1980 and Rowbotham 1979] Patriarchal relations exist in almost all institutions - social, economic, political, cultural etc.

Patriarchy, like gender is natural and inevitable, but is socially produced.

10. Media: (i) This term refers to all of the means/devices etc which are utilized for acquiring, storing, and displaying messages. Mass-media (like T.V., theatre, advertisements etc.) play a powerful role in the socialization of individuals in the perception of their gender identity.

'The media are not simply mirrors reflecting societal values. They subtly shape our value-hierarchy (i.e. normative behaviour standards) and even project values onto society'. [Gumpert 1986: 472] "They subtly shape social reality" [Gallagher 1983: 35].

The Centre for Women's Development Studies (New Delhi) conducted a seminar which found that women are

continuously portrayed in negative roles e.g. - a woman's place is the home, her most important asset is her physical beauty; all her energies and intellect must be directed to finding the right man and in "keeping" him etc. [Akhiles hwari 1988: 39] Similarly women's journals (and popular magazines): "are in some cases, blatantly sexist, promoting a value - system that views women as commodities [Ibid: 38]

Thus as Baehr (1980) puts it - "The struggle against representation is basically the struggle against structures of patriarchal - economic and social, relations which produce sexist images and representations"<sup>6</sup> Thus media depiction succeeds in 'symbolically annihilating' women, through their condemnation, trivialization etc. in the mass-media<sup>7</sup>. The portrayal of an employed woman shows her solving the problems of child - care by a reorganization of the personal and public life - thereby succumbing to the patriarchal dictum of motherhood being her primary role.

11. Advertisements: The earliest advertisement available in its original form is a sheet of papyrus showing a notice of an escaped slave and a reward for his return. This was found

in the ruins of Thebes, Egypt - and is some 3,000 years old [Colliers Encyclopaedia 1983]. The first printed English advertisement appeared in 1472 (See Appendix I, No. A.) Words, especially in advertisements, can have varied meanings : (1) Denotational or conceptual meaning and (2) Connotational or associative meaning. The first category results from a logical interpretation, whereas the second, is based on the individual's biases and attitudes.

Advertisements are basically psychological persuaders [Schmidt and Kess 1986, Packard 1960] and operate with the aid of the visual/verbal signifiers and the implicit or explicit signifieds (meanings), as Saussure would put it. According to Sandage and Fryburger (1967) advertising is highly persuasive when the consumers are not conscious of specific needs or wants or when the product's qualities are not easily observable; so that the advertisement interprets the hidden - qualities of the product in terms of basic human desires. Similarly the Collier's Encyclopaedia [1983: 136] says that "Advertisement ... paid communication, by means of the printed word, radio ... (etc) aimed at persuading individuals to take a desired course of action." Most advertisements are based on direct suggestion for persuading consumers. Direct suggestion is of two types (1) Prestige (i.e. a famous personality

advocates buying the product. e.g., Kapil Dev on Palmolive Shaving Cream) (2) Social (i.e. buy the product because most people purchase it, e.g. Lifebouy Soap).

However, it is not direct suggestion as much as the subliminal suggestion which is mostly used in advertisements, especially in genderised ads. The subliminal message is associational in nature and connotes achievement of success, popularity, attractiveness etc. by using the product. The language and graphics function as signifiers here.

✓ Advertisements are Genderised when the masculine brand or product is portrayed as rough and tough, whereas the feminine one is delicate and sensuous; and also when the female body is used merely as an attention-gaining tactic (thus objectifying her body for the male audience). In fact, Denise Warren [Howitt; 1985] observes that there have been 'apparent' changes in women's depiction, without any 'real' change - because the advertising industry (which, I believe is a vehicle of the patriarchal society) merely adopted the rhetoric and superficial attitudes of the so called sexual revolution to its own needs, Also, now-a-days one does find advertisements trying to sell products with

the aid of the career / liberated woman image, but the end result is a "contradictory production" in which verbal and visual images conflict so that messages about existing gender-roles become ambiguous.

Nevertheless, the majority of advertisements depict women as dummies and sex-symbols and not as thoughtful rational beings. This in brief, is the general introduction to the theme of the present work as well as to the vocabulary used.

## CHAPTER - 2

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

'Gender - politics' and its existential form - 'gender - power relations' (which are evident in visual advertisements) is the subject of this chapter.

The concept of 'gender - politics' has been viewed in the context of Kate Millett's work - Sexual Politics (1971), and 'gender - power - relations' in the perspective of Foucault and Weedon's notions of power and power-relations respectively.

(i) Kate Millett - Sexual Politics (1971) The implicit basis of her theory is the realization that women as a social category have subordination at its core. 'Sexual politics' is mainly to be viewed in the context of dominance in sexual behaviour, with its repercussions on social behaviour i.e. sex is not as much a biological category as a political one. The term 'politics' here refers to the tactics involved in managing people of the opposite sex with the corresponding power-structures and arrangements between the two sexes. Sexual dominance, she opines, is more ubiquitous than racial or class dominance. Male-sexual dominance via the masculinist ideology prompts the family to be the chief institution of patriarchy. This ensures that

sex-based roles are inculcated in the 'individuals' by 'proper' socialization.

Nevertheless, she observes, that sexual behaviour consist of male-dominance and female-sexuality. She starts her work with the Victorian Era where women are projected as having no sexual-needs, and are basically 'embodied - sexuality' for male - consumption. From the later phase of history, she cites examples from works of Henry Miller, Norman Mailer and Jean Genet, which try to drive the point that the male sexual urge is so strong that they "can't help it" and thus 'naturally' resort to rape of women or visiting prostitutes. Miller's description of women is as hungry, greedy, sexually starved women, who only has a physical body for appeasing the males, and no intelligence worth its name.' (- Millett finds the description "not so much of sexual intercourse but rather of intercourse in the service of power" - 1971:5). Not only the physical acts (depicted in the novel) but also the language used reeks of power-game. [eg. the hero Van says "In a moment I had (emphasis mine) her in the tub"]. The males are considered so powerful that they can make females do whatever they want to, for their own pleasure. Millett gives examples from

Genet's works to show that "sexual role is not a matter of biological identity but of class or right in the hierocratic homosexual society" [Millett 1971: 17]. This means that in the homosexual society the "feminine" [i.e. female-role] males are the ones who are ravished, used, subjugated and objectified, by the other males. This once again indicates the game of power-politics in sexual-relations. Thus, the term 'politics' here refers to those methods/ways which maintain the patriarchal system i.e. maintain the power-structured relationships. Millett here has borrowed the Weberian notion of power, by referring to the arrangement between the sexes as a relationship of dominance and subordination. She finds that sexual dominance, almost universally refers to 'the so-called birthright priority, whereby males rule females'. Thus "the essence of politics is power" [Millett 1971: 25] and we can say that 'manipulation of power is politics'.

Millett in this context also refers to the sexual revolution [two phases - (1) 1830-1930 (2) Counter-revolution 1930-60]. According to her such a revolution when successful will be awarded by an absence of negative sanctions against traditional sexual inhibitions/taboo (- i.e. homosexuality, "illegitimacy", adolescent/pre-and extra marital sexuality etc.) and a change in the socialization

pattern. This will ensure a single standard of sexual freedom, for the two sexes, and will thus have the demise of the masculinist ideology, as its basis. Millet regards the first phase as a failure, because even though women started having a slight say in sexual matters (-thanks to the contraceptives), even then this liberated image was subverted to serve patriarchal ends, so that she became more of a sexual machine, which could be started or switched off as and when required for producing children. A product of this phase, John Ruskin, still regarded the domestic scene to be the true place of a woman. Unlike him, John Stuart Mill, (his contemporary) regarded the home to be the centre of a system, which he defined as "domestic slavery".

Even in the counter-revolution phase, the theories of sexual-ideologies, e.g. of Sigmund Freud, had a point of view which was essentially conservative (-"she is not a male, and 'lacks' a penis-" thus a negative image of woman was given). Consequently, in this phase adherence to sexual-stereotypes became a matter of a new morality.

As Millett has laid a lot of emphasis on 'patriarchy' in the context of sexuality a brief introduction is being given here to her notion of patriarchy. Millett observes 8 facets of patriarchal,

powered - relationships:

(1) Ideological - Millett borrows the concept of 'conditioning to an ideology' from Arendt who observes that government, is upheld by power which is supported either by consent (conditioning) or coercion, (Millett 1971). In sexual politics, conditioning refers to the socialization-pattern, with regard to the status, role and temperament of the two sexes.

(2) Biological - Even though social sciences, religion and popular attitudes, dichotomize roles, status and temperament on the basis of sex, specifically biology, Millett does not accept this assumption, because, she says, even though males have a heavier musculature, this is mainly a secondary sexual feature and is emphasised and maintained by the male-biased socio-value system (-by emphasis on better diet and exercising for males). Thus the so-called "biology" based distinction mainly refers to two socially produced cultures the male and the female [Millett 1971:31].

(3) Sociological - The basic institution of patriarchy is the 'family' which reflects the social reality as well as acts as a link between the individual and the society i.e. it is a 'patriarchal unit within the patriarchal whole'.

The possessor of the superior status - the father (pater) determines all the interactions of the family members, the same theme occurs in the Church and in the State, as institutions for social control (especially for 'controlling' females).

It is in the family that the young are socialized and both the mother and the children are primarily and ultimately dependent upon the male, in every aspect of their lives.

(4) Class - Millett analogizes racial supremacy with male - supremacy. Just as the black (supposedly socially - inferior) doctor is racially and therefore socially inferior to the whites, even to a poor white sharecropper; similarly a female even if she is the superior officer, is ultimately treated as an inferior even by her male-clerks. Also the black males (whatever be their socio-economic strata) consider themselves powerful than white females (despite being racially 'inferior').

The patriarchal order also succeeds in pitting the socio-economically inferior woman (e.g. a housewife) to the

superior one (e.g. a career woman) (by having advertisements which depict the career-woman as more glamorous and exhibiting a snobbish look).

5. Economic and Educational basis: In patriarchy the females position directly depends upon the level of her economic - dependence. Even when some of the females take-up paid-jobs, the majority of females are still involved in house-work, for which no monetary-compensation is paid; because seemingly it has no market value. Also. they neither own nor control any mode of capital - production, nor do they even collectively, have a sound knowledge of 'technology', which the males do have. Thus, Millett believes that knowledge becomes a dimension of power, especially because even though the modern male-biased society has created avenues for female's education. the qualitative content is very different and more domestic-oriented for women.

6. Force: Force is as essential a component of patriarchy as is conditioning. Millett opines that today we cannot perceive force in our daily existence. because the patriarchal socialization has made us lose that capacity of perception. The legal systems. (in the context of 'immoral'



TH-34321

women, abortions etc), the sexual system (force as sexual assaults in marriage, rape etc.) treat women as 'really not human beings at all'.

7. Anthropological basis: The ideal notion of a female, the symbols by which she is described, has always been created by the males. There is a near-universal recognition of her sexual functions and sexual-organs, as being impure/derogatory. Anthropological analysis of folktales show how Eve (or any other version of her) has been depicted as the main cause of misfortunes.

8. Psychological: All the above facets of the masculinist ideology profoundly affect the psychology of the two genders and its ramifications are observable in the socialization-pattern, which determines the superior status (and corresponding roles) of the males and subordinated ones for females. Thus the reification and trivialization of woman results in her being denied an autonomous 'human-personality'.

Thus Millett has attempted a theory of dominance and power in the sexual sphere, which she aptly calls politics. She has tried to discuss the social-relationship pattern between the two sexes (I would rather say - genders)

from the sexual standpoint, in the overall matrix of a patriarchal society which serves as a political institution. Her analysis tries to draw attention to the fact that since women occupy an inferior position in the sexual-acts ('men are sadistic and women masochistic') it is also a reflection of her subordinate position in the various social circumstances.

(ii) Michel Foucault - Discourse, Knowledge, Power -The notion of dominance and power can be viewed also from the perspective of Foucault, and his notion of discourse. Like Millett, Foucault too recognizes the close bond between knowledge and power, which he says are found together in discourse. In simple words, discourse is the language practiced and Foucault uses this term to analyse specific social practices, which he calls discursive practices. These specific social practices (-discursive practices) are basically present in the technical processes and institutions, in our patterns of gender-behaviour. in pedagogical forms etc. [-Lemert and Gillan 1982]. Thus discourse consists of a group of propositions/statements, which are themselves in turn, the result of a series of signs dealing with social practices. Discourse is thus the

articulation of experience.

Knowledge, is here understood more as an organizing scheme or system which controls the changing forms of social reality. Foucault uses the term knowledge in 2 senses:

(1) *Connaissance* - this refers to 'formal' knowledge of an established discipline (eg. Clinical Knowledge)

(2) *Savoir* - i.e. knowledge in general i.e. it is a broader concept and refers to knowledge in the everyday life (eg. medical knowledge, political knowledge etc.). Power is seen more in the context of *Savoir*. Foucault believes that the exercise of 'power itself, creates and causes to emerge new subjects of knowledge,..... 'it perpetually creates knowledge, and inversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power (Gordon 1980: 51-52). Thus, knowledge and power are mutually dependent upon, and interacting with each other, to form an integrated whole. Power cannot be exercised without knowledge (according to Foucault). So Kate Millett's proposition that patriarchy ensures that women are kept ignorant and devoid of knowledge, seems all the more illuminating in this light. Foucault says that power creates knowledge, but we can say that it does so only for

those who possess power. Coming to the notion of power per se, Foucault gives secondary importance to the question "what is power?" and emphasises more on the question of how power is exercised. Thus for him 'power-relations' are crucial, and power means 'a.....hierarchical coordinated cluster of relations; 'Or, in more precise terms, power 'denotes the ensemble of actions, exercised by and bearing on, individuals, which guide, conduct and structure its possible outcomes' [Cousins and Hussain 1984: 229].

For Foucault power is not an attribution to be possessed by an individual (We can view the patriarchal order of society in this context, as power being held not by an individual male over an individual female, but by the masculinist ideology which forms the basis for licensing the males to be superior to the females). He also does not believe that power is exercised by the dominant class upon the dominated class, because power is diffused at all levels of the society. Nevertheless, we can say that even if power is diffused throughout the society and at all levels, it does not necessarily mean that dominance by one class on the other is absent and not visible.

By the term 'technologies' of power he means the

institutionalized mechanisms for operation of power, like the signs of loyalty, rituals, law etc.

Foucault opines that all facets of power, originate in the smallest elements of the social body: the family, sexual relations, neighbourhoods, friends etc. These elements constitute the 'microphysics' of power (Gane 1986).

Techniques of power refer to those procedures which are used in the operation of power. 'Strategies' as a concept here, is not the same as the military one. Foucault regards strategy to be a 'regularly reproduced pattern of effects e.g. the patriarchal strategy. Foucault like Millett, observes sexuality in the context of its political content. 'Sexuality is a political apparatus' [Gordon 1980: 189]. However Foucault does not emphasise on 'repression' per se in sexuality, but regards sexuality mainly as a good example of 'power-relations'.

(iii) Chris Weedon -Power-relations:

The notion of power-relations has been dealt with, by Chris Weedon in her work - Feminist Practice and Post Structuralist Theory (1989). Her definition of feminism

itself deals with the notion of power-relations. She says "Feminism is a (kind of) politics. It is a politics directed at changing existing power relations, between women and men in society" [Weedon 1989:1]. Like Foucault, Weedon too perceives power-relations as shaping and formulating all aspects of life - she aptly says that they determine who does what and for whom, as well as what we are and what we might become. In this light the task of feminism as a political movement concerns issues like what it is to be a woman, how her femininity and sexuality are defined not by her but by the males, and how, she might begin to redefine them for herself. In other words, the balance of power must not tilt in any particular sex's favour.

Power-relations are present in every aspect of the patriarchal structure i.e. the society. Weedon's notion of 'patriarchal' refers to those power-relations in which the female's interests are subordinated and trivialised, as compared to those of males. The patriarchal structure thrives on the culturally - determined meanings /interpretations of the biological differences between the sexes. Also, the patriarchal discourse consists of the male interpretation of the nature and social role of women.

Patriarchal relations i.e. power relations, are 'structural', this means they exist in the institutions and social practices of our life (-her opinion is similar to Foucault's here, who also regards power-relations to be operating through institutions etc.).

Weedon accepts the powerful role of socialization, which dictates women, 'to do whatever they want to do, but be sexually attractive and desirable to men'. Thus we see that sexual power-relations are connected to other power-relations like class (-"whatever they want to do " i.e. be a housewife or be a career woman), race etc. She explains her points about the patriarchal power relations, with the aid of the concept of advertisements, which consistently portray a family scene as essentially patriarchal in composition e.g. the father usually stands slightly above his wife/children and symbolically (e.g. by placing his arms around their chair etc.) encompasses, protects and controls his family. Weedon (as do Millett and Foucault) believes that the key political issues are those of knowledge, because knowledge creates the chances of possessing power or control. Weedon gives an interesting interpretation of the notion of gender. Gender is not only a social-creation, but

is also subject to various interpretations as they occur in different forms of discourses. For example a lot of advertisements give models of femininity which show women as sexually desirable objects for satisfying the male - gaze, male - desires, male fantasies (Weedon 1989). At the same time, there are other versions of femininity where her asexuality is depicted prominently (i.e. her sexuality is almost denied) and emphasis is laid on her virginity, motherhood etc.

Weedon has significantly borrowed from the Foucauldian version of discourse. She believes that power relations can be balanced only with the aid of reverse - discourse which will enable the subordinated class (i.e. women) to speak in her own right ; this indicates that only by a resisting discourse can the situation be changed.

The above mentioned authorities clearly explain the relationship between power relations and sexuality, and the ramification it has on the social behaviour of the two sexes. Thus in the patriarchal society it is observed that dominance is maintained at any cost, because the only other alternative to this is to be dominated by the other class.

(iv) Reflections: Social interaction, according to me is the situation where social control of women, with the aid of political techniques is most clearly visible. This is usually expressed in terms of patriarchal subordination of women, sexual asymmetry etc. Thus power here refers to the ability to act autonomously, to command compliance from others, or to control their action. In the context of gender (I prefer to use the word gender and not sex for reasons stated earlier) power is viewed in the context of the ubiquitous dichotomy of roles between the public and the private sphere, with reference to the male and the female respectively. Gender - politics (the term refers to the game of politics in all socio - cultural situations and not simply in sexuality based context) makes use of power and not authority. Barnes (1988) distinguishes between the two by saying that authority does not ensure the use of discretion, but power enables you to make your own choice/judgement. Power is thus manifest in behaviour. Particular behaviour are taken as signs or indicators of the existence and operations of power (Barnes 1988) Thus power is the capacity to shape or form social relations and consequently is political in nature. Gender - politics, in

the context of power relations, has three main focal

(i) Gender - Femininity, Masculinity

(ii) Household (i.e. private sphere)

(iii) Gender - models of job

(i) The concept of gender has been adequately dealt earlier, Gender-politics revolves primarily around culturally created dichotomy, which regards the female as intellectually inferior and therefore in a dependent status. This dependency of females allows the male to control or manipulate her. Thus the notion of gender identity is supreme here.

(ii) Household (Private sphere) By and large household domesticity is universally regarded as the female's and the outside world is the male's. As Meyrowitz (1985:188) even when women do work in the public sphere do so only to hook a man, get married and then leave (in India, I feel they also work so as to collect sizeable dowry for themselves). Meyrowitz further states that those women who prefer a career-oriented life are dubbed as trading their potential maternal and domestic bliss for an unhappy existence as a surrogate male.

The very term - 'surrogate - male' reeks of patriarchal politics in its true colours, which defines the world in terms of real males (-a positive aspect), real females (again a positive aspect) and surrogate - males (i.e. a negative and unhealthy aspect). Power relations are thus viewed here in the sense of gender - roles. Chris Kramare quotes (Kramare 1988: 171) that men who have primarily controlled the invention of household technology have provided tools which reinforce the predominant values of patriarchal industrial capitalism - efficiency, materialism and rationality. But ironically the designated operators of these tools the women do not seem to reflect these values, they rather emphasise on the repetitive and boring nature of the work. This shows how women's voices are controlled by men via the male based technology.

Another crucial dimension-the gender model of jobs, deserves special mention keeping in mind the image of the newly emerging career woman. In the context of jobs, the media reflects an image of this woman as being extremely hard -pressed for time and expressing complaints about childcare (Baehr 1980;184)

Nevertheless, one of the crucial determinants of

the job - models is the opinion that for women , the 'social dimensions' of wage - work are important and for men the related economic and political issues are important [Siltanen and Stanworth 1984:13]. In other words, men are depicted as preferring those jobs which have greater promotion - chances for their career advancement, as well as increasing financial prospects. Whereas the job-model for women is depicted as being mainly concerned with the working conditions (like cleanliness, better ventilation, beautification of the office premises etc), a passing - concern with wages or career - advancement prospects, as well as flexible working hours which ensure that they can accommodate the domestic sphere with the public sphere etc. The work attitudes thus differ for the two genders in the given models, so that one feels that 'career - model' is specified for the males whereas the females are supposed to feel content with the 'accommodative model' (consequently the media depicts women not as serious, responsible decision - makers, but as props - secretaries, receptionists, typists etc).

Thus gender politics, succeeds in giving a distorted picture of women (as irrational human - beings). They are shown as ever - dependent, ever-ignorant, good -

for - nothing creatures, who should feel gratified for the protection they are given by the males.

Consequently the need has now arisen which indicates that a perspective be popularised where women's experience, needs, ideas, voices are incorporated in the mainstream, as being valid in their own right; and androcentricity (man as the norm) stops being the only recognized frame of reference for human beings (Bowles and Klein:1983).

## CHAPTER - 3

### METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

#### I INTRODUCTION

The methodological approach here is based on interpretative sociology, which advocates that there is no single assumption about social reality. This perspective emphasises the point that "society is not so much an objective reality as a subjective one, or rather an intersubjective one i.e. it exists in the shared world-view of the socialactors who comprise it "(Mc Neill and Townley 1982: 54). The social researcher in this approach, tries to discover how these social actors view the world, and also how they perceive it in their terms. As Weber would put it, the social actor here is a conscious, choice-making, active social being, who in one word can be called a 'rational' being. The society, here, is perceived as the consequence of all their collective and inter-influencing actions. To understand what motivates people and how situations affect them, the researcher has to - as Weber would put it -stand in the shoes of the other people.

Symbolic Interactionism, as a branch of understanding, makes use of this ability to perceive the other's view by placing oneself in his (-the other's) position. It is an empathetic understanding of knowing what the other feels so as to not only understand the action of others, but also to anticipate how they will react to our action (Mc Neill, Patrick and Townley 1982:41)

The 'dramaturgic approach' is a branch of symbolic interactionism and its famous exponent is Erving Goffman. According to him, in this perspective the 'social actor' occupies an important place. The term 'social actor' "when used in an unqualified way, refers to that 'any body' whose action is the subject of the dramaturgic analyst's analytic efforts. 'Anybody need not be a stage actor' "(Truzzi 1968: 8)<sup>1</sup>. This perspective regards life as a theatre in which all social situations are like 'shows staged'. In the theoretical language when one is 'on' stage one's actions are regarded as 'performances' and the others around us are the 'audience'; so that the world is an arrangement of 'scenes' and 'props' (i.e. supporting devices of the scene). The audience's perception of the actor is more important for the analyst. The analyst deals with the 'impressions' which the actor makes on those with whom he/she interacts. Thus,

here, the social identity is not regarded as rigid but fluid because of its constant building and rebuilding by interaction with others.

## II DISCUSSION

The present discussion will be in five sub-headings:

1. a short description of the problem
2. the authorities chosen as the framework and the reasons for the choice
3. a detailed introduction to the work of John Berger
4. a detailed reference to the work of Erving Goffman
5. methodology adopted.

### 1. Research Problem:

Perception of patriarchy in new forms as seen in visual advertisements is the theme of this work. Specifically, I will be analyzing genderized advertisements, especially in the frame of 'social placement' of women as related to gender politics. Gender politics will be referring to power-relations in daily social-interactions (between the genders).

The analysis will be based on a 'time-frame' to discern the various facets of patriarchal ideology - the dynamics of patriarchy and also the continuity aspect, i.e. how the advertisements have changed their depiction according to changing circumstances and have still been able to maintain the patriarchal status - quo, by predominantly depicting the image of women as being non-image<sup>2</sup>. The time frame will include magazines (women's and family) from the early 1970's to the late 80's, in order to see whether there is a cyclical or circular movement of the patriarchal manifestations in advertisements; and also to see whether there is any difference in the depiction of women - as the female gender, in advertisements of the two types of magazines. As Kamla Bhasin puts it: "media succeeds in depoliticizing women's miseries and issues, such that the suppression of women remains a personal or family issue". [1984 14]. I find this depoliticizing act itself a political issue because it tries to throw women back into the dungeons of anonymity.

This research work analyses gender-based depictions in advertisements to find out how the gestures and poses of the female affect her social relationships and

therefore ultimately her social placement, and what is the role of patriarchy in this setup. Thus the following questions will be dealt with:

1. What are the symbols, signifiers and themes of gendered advertisements?
2. What are the functions of genderised advertisements in the social setup?
3. What impact do the changing social conditions have on themes etc. of genderized advertisements.

2. Contributory perspectives:

The two visibly important guiding authorities in this work are, Erving Goffman, a sociologist and exemplar of Symbolic Interactionism and John Berger an art historian and critic (in order of importance). These two contributors are being dealt with in greater details in sub-sections 3 and 4.

This sub-section will be concentrating largely on (i) Vance Packard, one of the pioneering authorities on advertisements; (ii) Raymond Williams a well known analyst of contemporary culture and society; and (iii) Roland Barthes - the well known semiologist.

(i) The contribution of Vance Packard in advertisement - analysis is of vital importance, especially since his is one of the earliest discussions on the psychological basis of advertisements. His work, The Hidden Persuaders (1960), deserves special mention because of his depth approach. He says: "Advertisements are large scale efforts made... to channel our unthinking habits....(and these) take place beneath our level of awareness; thus ... 'hidden'" (Packard 1960:3) "What the probers look for is the 'whys' of our behaviour" for effective manipulation of our behaviours (Ibid:4). Packard's contribution to understanding of the "whys" of behaviour is helpful in reference to gender-advertisements (like advertisements dealing with anxiety, passivity, health and body consciousness, status-consciousness etc.). For example, the recent advertisement for 'Sundari-Kalp' (a tonic) deals with female anxiety about the menstrual cycle (Sundari = female beauty). This advertisement tries to give assurance about the tonic being helpful in "those difficult days". Packard also analyzes the psychology of advertisers who regard themselves as 'symbol manipulators' but regard the masses as a 'bundle of day-dreams' (Packard 1960:7) This I feel reflects a lot

about the female level of intelligence, because a lot of depictions are concerning women, which presumably means that they are believed to be most easily deceived. Packard also observes that creating the "ideal image" (of the gender) is important for the product's sales. This is the reason for emphasis on a brand-name and a brand-image, so that when you go to buy the item, by association, you will immediately remember the brand name.

Packard rightly observes that sex-images are used in advertisements, purely as "eye-stoppers", with overtones of exhibitionism, narcissism, masochism, etc. Like Freud, he implies that oral activities like sucking, chewing, etc., are related to 'the mouth satisfaction of breast feeding'. He thinks that advertisers highlight this sensation, in the advertisements of cigarettes, toffees, ice-creams etc. Similarly, he says that products like cars, high-fashion clothes, etc., have a snob-appeal and are thus indicators of high status.

Thus Packard's analysis contributes richly to the psychology of advertisements.

(ii) Raymond William's, contribution here is being viewed specifically in the context of advertisements<sup>as</sup> an aspect of

the capitalist mode of production. He relates modern advertising to monopoly (corporate) capitalism (Williams 1980: 175). He has given a critical analysis of capitalist society (the West) and relates consumerism to capitalism via the advertisements, which act as market control devices. One can apply his notion of the policy of "never able to buy this" changing to "may buy it", to advertisements of vehicles, furniture, etc. which are purchased in instalments. Gendered advertisements use this psychological theme a lot, as e.g., in advertisements for 'fridge or cooking-ranges' for women, or of cars, houses for men. Consequently, he regards advertisements as 'magical inducements' for satisfaction. He also regards them to be a key vehicle of the ruling few, who thus impose their values on the majority. He uses the term 'cultural pattern' to show how consumerism leads to purchasing of items which are not necessary or useful but are simply having a snob-appeal. The current spurt in India in consumerist items (cold drinks, fashion-garments etc.) can be explained by this. Just because consumption materializes as an individual activity, the advertisements try to sell the 'magic' of associating "this consumption with human desires to which it has no real reference" (Ibid: 189). This theme is similar

to Berger's theory of 'transformation', which is dealt with later. Nevertheless, we find that the reason why advertisements are a success, is due to this promise of hope for betterment. He opines that the very fact that advertisements are used shows that our culture is not sufficiently materialist, because had it been so, then the need would not have arisen to attempt to increase the usage of an item. "Beer would be enough for us, without the additional promise" of being seen as "manly, young in heart...." (Ibid: 185). So advertisements act as indicators of the demand for a good, in a stiff market. Thus Williams gives a Marxist and consumerist interpretation of advertisements.

(iii) Ro}and Barthes contribution here is of 'semiology as ideology' [Hervey 1982: 128]. He regards 'signs' as entities endowed with signification. In this context we can analyse advertisements as signs having signification in terms of genderism and patriarchy. Generally, here, signification means "something that is left unsaid in the actual text" [Ibid: 135]. This is vitally essential for gender-advertisement analysis. He observes that every advertising message contains a signifier and a signified; so

that there are two messages conveyed: 1. the denotation and 2. the connotation respectively. The first message is "constituted by the sentence taken (if possible) in its literalness, setting aside... its advertising intention" [Barthes 1988: 174]. The second message is not analytical like the first, and Barthes believes it to be about the associational nature of the product (- I would include genderism and patriarchy too). Thus the notion of 'connotation' is very useful for analyzing genderized advertisements.

### 3 John Berger:

In this section I have made an extensive use of Berger's "Ways of Seeing" (1983), which I will be utilizing to analyze gender advertisements in India.

#### I. Theoretical Orientations:

In this particular work he comes up as an art critic of some recognized authority. He has systematically analyzed photographs and advertisements, with the aid of analogies from famous pieces of art and painting. He has successfully shown how e.g. certain advertisements, to

emphasize superior quality, advertise the product, with a large reproduction of an original famous painting. Sometimes famous personalities, give their support to elucidate the products superior quality (even Goffman has pointed this out). [Goffman; 1979:26] All this, Berger believes help in creating a consumerist society which correspondingly means, it supports the capitalistic structure of the society (These aspects will subsequently be dealt with, by me at a later stage). Berger, almost takes on a psychologists approach, when we recognize the terms he uses to explain the phenomenon of advertisements (eg. usage of terms like envy<sup>3</sup>, glamour, reassurance) and their role as devices of market control. Infact, he seems close to Vance Packard who uses the term 'hidden persuaders' [Packard 1960:3] to describe these psychological devices.

At another level, Berger seems to draw a lot (-<sup>4</sup> without explicitly saying so) from the Marxist class analysis. Especially in the context of his implications about consumerism, capitalism etc. Advertisements create psychological reference - groups (-my opinion of his analysis) for a socially lowerplaced class, which imitates the ways of the higher (-desirable) class, by observing these advertisement, which act as guides. Here Berger seem

to agree that capitalist society is marked by class-differences and a class is identified with reference to what consumer - items it owns and controls.; e.g. he says "'Art' is a sign of affluence and suggests a cultural authority". [-Berger; 1983: 135] This means, to possess something of similar qualitative value, is to be the occupant of an enviable status. Berger opines that paintings are not simply an instrument of knowledge but also an instrument of possession and an indicator of class - differences. Berger again, I feel goes along the marxist lines of thought when he says "the art of any period tends to serve the ideological interests of the ruling class" [Berger; 1983:86]

## II. Basic Concepts

### a) Looking and seeing:

Nevertheless one observes a unique style of looking at the advertisements in Berger. He gives a lot of importance to the chain-like arrangement between, seeing, looking and words, so that what we see is affected by what we know or what we believe, in as much as, one just looks and recognizes before one can speak about something. Thus substantial importance has been given by Berger to 'looking

and seeing' especially when he discusses his concept of 'reciprocity of vision'. The concepts of 'surveyor' and 'surveyed.' Thus for Berger 'seeing and knowing' are an important elementary pair. Infact, he starts his work with these concepts and the relation between them. The Collins Dictionary defines "seeing" as percieving something with the eye, whereas 'looking' is directing the eye towards something. In simpler words seeing refers to the creation of an impression of the object so as to discern it or recognize it, in future. Whereas 'looking' mainly has a directional magnitude. However, Berger doesnot make such fine distinctions between the two. He says "seeing comes before words" and this is in two ways. '1. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak 2. It is seeing, which establishes our place in the surrounding would' - in the micro ecology, as Goffman would say [Berger; 1983: 7]. Only after we perceive things can we talk about the world in words. However what we see is not always explicable by what we know about it, so that there is always a lacuna between seeing and words (-what we know). Nevertheless "The way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe". [Berger 1983:8]. The concepts 'the way' and 'believe' in the above statement can be clearly understood with the aid

of surrealism which was an art/literature form in the 1920's, where the creator depicted things or perception, as he perceived them to be. In this sense advertisements also get a meaning, according to the 'type of eye' which watches it. At present the perception of an advertisement is jaundiced by the patriarchal eye in the sense that whatever we perceive in an advertisement copy is coloured by our patriarchal ideology - e.g. some depictions suggest the ideal gender-based role models to be followed, others suggest what an ideal family composition should be (in the context of sex-based membership) and so on.

Berger further clarifies the phenomenon of 'seeing' by saying 'we only see, what we look at.' [Berger; 1983: 8]. Here one does find a faint distinction between the two phenomena; in the sense that, to look is basically an act which involves the notion of choice. For example, in an advertisement of the Liril soap, the male-based eye (even if it is of a female) will first gloat at the semi-nude body of the female; and then note the props in the whole scene viz. the mention of the soap-brand, etc. Berger substantiates his argument further by saying "we never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves" (emphasis mine) [Berger;

1983:9] (This reminds one once again of the micro ecological aspect of Goffman, who too places the individual in the inter-connected web of relation between him/her and the focus of vision). To touch something - either in reality or in fantasy - is to situate oneself in relation to it.

b. Visual Reciprocity:

Berger introduces here another interesting concept i.e. of visual reciprocity. By this he means that as soon as we see a thing and perceive it, we are conscious that we too can be seen. In an advertisement for example, when the model is looking at the audience, her eye combines with our eye, so as to make it believable that we are a part of the visible world (-emphasis mine) i.e. we are in a relationship with the advertised product (and the model) In the context of social relationship it implies that one ought to always be conscious (-especially females) that one is always being physically observed by others and so one has to behave or react accordingly.

c. Image:

After looking and seeing, an image is recorded in

the mind, and this reminds us of the fact that all images are human-made. Technically speaking an image is a sight which has been recreated or reproduced and it reflects the photographer's choice of subject as well as the way he views. Now eventhough an image embodies a way of seeing, our perception of the image/advertisement depends upon our way of seeing.

d. Implications of an image:

It is an important contribution of Berger to the analysis of advertisements, when he says that "the meaning of an image is changed according to what we see immediately beside it or what comes immediately after it" [Berger; 1983:29]. This can be seen at two levels, (1) Immediate relational aspect. e.g. an expensive bronze statue of the "Dancing Natraj" is shown with a brand of cigarette. This is done to show that both are of an equally superior taste or quality. (2) Another aspect is the context of placement - certain advertisements are placed in ironical contrasting positions, next to, above or beneath a news item or another advertisement. This means that the space where it has been placed is very significant. In case there is a newspaper item (adjacent to it) which deals with some aspect of

poverty, then I 'feel' the advertised luxury product will be more substantially visible, just because of its contrasting value. Or, sometimes e.g. there is an advertisement of steel utensils and adjacent to it is the advertisement of a cooking gas - stove. The implication can be of continuity here, i.e. you buy the gas-stove and you are reminded of the need for buying vessels also, by seeing the adjacent advertisement.

Berger gives an example from 'The Sunday Times Magazine' (June 6, 1971). The 'contents' page has two sets of pictures - one of a real scene of Bangladesh war refugees ( - a depiction of poverty and struggle and another is an advertisement of a toiletry item). I perceive the former to be dealing with naked poverty and the latter with nude materialism. Berger feels this is done to shock our moral fibre, due to the very preposterous placement of the two items. It makes the advertised product thus strikingly visible. At the same time we can see that the semi-nude display which follows the depressing picture, can act as a 'relief' for the spectator.

### III. Bergerian Interpretation of Advertisements

#### 1. Psychological basis of advertisements:

Berger has given an indepth analysis of the psychological games which advertisements play with our minds. His explanation reminds one of Maslow's theory of needs. It shows that the image of an advertisement creates an "appearance" of something that was previously absent for me. "This appearance" leads to the desire for possessing it, and ultimately it is anxiety which prompts one to think about buying the product. This, says Berger shows that advertisements simply do not deal with the past or the present, but also have a future perspective.

Berger uses the descriptive word 'publicity-image' for advertisement, which simply means something at which we look and then register its impression in our minds. Berger also regards advertisements to be 'visual-messages' i.e. a visual means of communication. His work also implies that a publicity-image is both suggestive as well as proposing in nature. At the same time it is momentary because for a short time it stimulates imagination by reminding something from the past or as an expectation for the future. Berger observes that the concept of advertisement is justified by

analysts because they believe it to be useful for the public, since it grants them a greater range of products to choose from - i.e. it has a democratic basis.

Transformation : Berger regards this to be a sham, since publicity as a system makes only a simple proposal and that is of imploring each one of us to 'transform' our lives by buying this item or something more.

Vance Packard's notion of 'hidden persuaders' is applicable to Bergerian 'suggestive meanings' because Berger too says that advertisements promise to transform our lives. This transformation is promised at two levels:

1. Personal level (He calls it Cinderella syndrome, where she - the individual person was transformed into a glamorous personality)
2. Transformation of relationships (- Enchanted Palace Syndrome). The second is usually a derivative of the first.

Advertisements promise not only to change one's personality but also his/her social relationship with others.

Anxiety: Berger regards advertisements to be suggestive in

content because they have the task of making the customer feel dissatisfied with his present state of mind, so what the advertisements suggest is an improvement in her or his life - style. Thus says Berger, they work upon the human-anxiety - "if you have nothing - you will be nothing". The advertisements portray the solution of all anxieties to be money (- of course for women it is shown as physical - looks rather than money)

Thus money or power becomes the slogan. The anxiety to lead a comfortable life is made use of in advertisements of saving schemes etc. So that the power to spend money, opines Berger, becomes the power to live, and those who lack these are literally faceless, non-entities, whereas the wealthy are the ones who are the centre of attraction. Advertisements dealing with luxury items - expensive furniture/drapery, palatial houses etc., or having membership of exclusive clubs, health - resorts, credit-card schemes etc. dwell on this theme (- of the human mentality to be part of an exclusive group). Models (male) are shown, thus, surrounded by many females, lesser-males (in advertisements of such economic schemes) who look up to him with wondering, adoring and reverential eyes. Berger

observes that money is here used as a symbol of one's sexuality i.e. a person is sexually desirable if he is capable of buying the given product.

Nostalgic past: Berger makes another interesting observation about advertisements, by linking them to our basic school education especially in the realm of history, literature, etc. He, believes that advertisements connect the nostalgic past' (i.e., characters and situations from history etc.) to the product and its promise. He gives the example of a particular brand of Cigars being sold in the name of a king. Or as in India room-freshners (D-odor of Shingar products) are sold by associating its fragrance with the nostalgic atmosphere of the Taj Mahal, or e.g. selling the Tiara shampoo (Helen Curtis' product) by associating its name with the King/Queen's head dress.

Envy: Berger believes that advertisements draw our attention also on the basis of our interest in a particular category of product. The advertiser takes advantage of this weakness of the customer and persuades us to buy the product, by showing people (models) who have apparently been transformed and are consequently now enviable. I feel that in Bergerian understanding of advertisements the crucial

factor is that of envy, which explains the whys and hows of people's behaviour.

Happiness: It is presumed that being enviable is supposed to be the basis for an individual's happiness. Which shows that innately, a human being is supposed to be self-centered to this extent. Thus advertisements do not simply lead you to dreams/fantasies but suggest something as practical as - "you are not yet enviable but you could be .....". Thus it is a promise, a hope.

Glamour: Berger regards the situation of being envied as glamour and advertisements are the vehicles of glamour - creation. They ~~good~~ the individual to try and be enviable in the eyes of others. Thus publicity-images are basically concerned with social relationships, and not merely objects.

Berger also points out that advertisements assure us with hope and promise of bliss rather than pleasure, i.e., the promise not of something which gives you happiness but of intrinsic happiness itself. Glamour in this context means the happiness obtained by being envied by others; by others wanting to be like you.

But this assurance of promises from the

advertisement is an isolated form of reassurance, at least experience-wise. This is because the state of being envious depends primarily upon not sharing this experience with others, especially those whom you are envying; because, it is human not to reveal your weakness to someone who already possess that which you envy. This is so, because you do not want to give him/her the satisfaction of feeling happy due to his or her being glamorous. The glamorous ones do not condescend to look at others' ways/styles, with interest. This explains the absent, dreamy, unfocused look of so many glamour images. "They look out over the looks of envy which sustain them" [Berger 1983:133] i.e. they do not condescend to look even at those who are looking at them with interest.

This in brief, has been the psychological explanation of advertisements, as Berger observes it.

This leads us on to the next important factor in his analysis i.e. of art and painting.

## 2. Art, painting and advertisements:

This is a unique technique of Berger; he draws analogies from famous paintings etc. and interprets today's advertisements in the light of these analogies, especially

with reference to gestures and behaviour as depicted, and as genderized.

Associational relationship:

Berger believes that each painting is distinctive in the sense that it forms an important part of the place to which it belongs; in other words, it has an associational relationship with that place; its value is known by the type of (-socio economic level) house in which it is. Or in Goffmanian language, the value is known by its (-paintings) micro-ecological frame.

Consequently when a priceless painting or piece of art is used in an advertisement (-with the product) its associational nature is clearly understood. (i.e. of the product being equally good in quality and value). Art is thus supposed to be an indicator of affluence and authority, observes Berger. Art-works are used to attract and captivate consumers. Berger opines - "Any work of art quoted' by publicity serves two purposes - art is a sign of affluence, it belongs to the good life ... to the beautiful. But the work of art also suggests a cultural authority, a form of dignity, wisdom" [Berger 1983:135]. He gives the example of

an advertisement of Parker Pen which is shown against a background of a doodle by Michelangelo with the words "For the serious doodler"; thereby suggesting that if you use this pen you too can become a great artist like him.

Ambiguous Ambience:

At the same time, says Berger, the meaning of a painting in an advertisement tends to acquire multiple versions, because each individual according to his own capacities interprets the meaning. Similarly in advertisements, each gives a meaning according to his own fantasies. This is the reason that advertisements do not clearly illustrate their meanings and are simply shown in an ambiguous ambience. (Nevertheless the common string through all advertisement - meaning is that of the patriarchal ideology which deals with role-models, and gender-statuses).

Verbal messages: The need of verbal messages for an advertisement, can be understood, by analogizing it with a painting which is accompanied by words. Berger gives the example of a painting which looked ordinary enough, till one read the words below it "This is the last picture Van Gogh painted before he killed himself" - These words have a dramatic effect which prompts you to once again look at the

painting-maybe trying to discover any traces of his psychological state before he killed himself.

In advertisements the verbal messages act like props (- in the Goffmanian terminology) to facilitate the confirmation of their product's superiority.

Mimetic Representation: Berger points out that many advertisements directly borrow visual images from famous works of art. In this mimetic representation of that painting, almost identical details are found in the advertisement, the difference being only of the persons or models. Thus the theme of the depiction remains the same, down the ages - only the representatives change.

Berger has used the reference of paintings not only to deal with the socio-economic interpretation of advertisements (- in terms of economic value as well as prestige) but also to show how bodily gestures are symbolic especially in the context of expected genderized behaviour. The following discussion deals with this aspect.

### 3. Social presence of genders:

This concept is of direct relevance to the

analysis of gender-advertisements. Infact this term can also be replaced by the Goffmanian 'Social placement' in a 'social situation' [Goffman 1979] because both the concepts essentially deal with the same area i.e. of how the genders are depicted in public, especially with reference to their roles and normative behaviour - pattern.

#### Intrinsic Vs. Extrinsic

Berger opines - " the social presence of a woman is different from that of a man" [Berger 1983: 45] not only today but in the past too. Berger's analysis shows that - a woman expresses, her own attitude to herself; whereas a man expresses promised power. Her presence in the public is intrinsic to her person - i.e. presence in the sense of being noticed by others or as Goffman says "presentation" is equivalent, in the woman's case, to her person i.e. how she is perceived by the male-eye and only this constitutes her awareness of herself. Therefore she must continuously watche /survey herself from the male-view. This is not so for the male of this species. His presence is not 'internalized - perception' as her's is,, but is exterior to him, his presence suggests more of what he is capable of doing to or for you.

### Objectification:

In other words he is shown as the embodiment of power; the promised power can be physical, moral, temperamental, economic, sexual etc. Nevertheless, the object of this promise is always extrinsic to him, whereas for a woman it is not so, she is a thing in herself. This is because acts are done to her, not by her. A man/male is the manipulator - the actor who does all the actions to the external things around him. A woman is regarded as a thing which has the capacity to 'communicate what can and cannot be done to her'. Her existence is manifested in her gestures, expressions, clothes, surroundings, taste etc -- in fact whatever she does or portrays contributes to her presence, and not the other way around. Berger observes - "Presence for a woman is so intrinsic to her person that men tend to think of it as an almost physical emanation, a kind of heat, or smell or aura" [Berger 1983: 46]. Thus man is the 'ideal' surveyor and woman is the ideal surveyed. She thus gets objectified for the male-eye.

As she is continually watching herself, so as to be a 'pleasing sight' for the male, she develops into a split-personality - because she orients herself and observes

herself as though she herself is the male. This obsession (with continuously visualizing oneself involved in any activity or inactivity) is taken to the extremes, when even in the most tragic/emotionally upsetting moments of one's life, one continues to act as both the surveyor and the surveyed. Her self-worth gets limited only to the extent to which her 'femininity' is appreciated by the males.

Thus women simply appear or display themselves, whereas men act. "In the genderised advertisements, the female model behaves like the male surveyor, and surveys her female self, thus transforming her own self into an object - especially an object of vision; a focus; a sight. This theme can be understood better by Berger's examples of analyzing paintings, where the male eye surveys the objectified female. He cites an example - "The judgement of Paris" [Rubens, 1577 - 1640], where Paris rewards an apple (reward) to the most beautiful woman he spots; thereby implying that female beauty is a sort of competition to be judged by the males (the theme continues till date). The advertisements thrive on this theme - e.g. the man is shown giving appreciative glances" (i.e. the prize) to the woman whom he finds most attractive from a host of others; and

this "lucky one" is using/has used the advertised product. The social presence of men and women is also understood properly when we see depictions where a woman is accompanied by a male (her husband, lover etc). Either she looks at him with a loving, submissive gaze, in which case the viewer imagines himself in the male-model's place, so as to establish a relationship with the object of sight i.e. the woman. But in a greater proportion of advertisements, opines Berger, we see her attention or looks focussed out of the picture, towards the one who considers himself her true lover and owner - the spectator owner.

Thus the male and female depiction are different - not because feminine ought to be different from masculine, but because an archetypal spectator or viewer is always assumed to be a male, and the female is a flavouring or flattering object for him.

Like Goffman, Berger too uses a technique to suggest, the stark differences we have in our minds while perceiving the two genders. Goffman calls this technique 'reversals' [Goffman 1979:26], though Berger has not given any specific name. Berger says that if we choose any image of traditional nude - and transform the woman into a man -

then the resulting violence to our perception of the gender, proves our biased perception. Thus postures, gestures etc. are all a cultural creation, and mainly a contribution of the patriarchal ideology.

4. Naked-Nude: This is another frame used by Berger while examining gender advertisements. He says 'Nakedness' of the nudes is created in the mind of the beholder. This implies that the nude is an object which is dwelt upon by us. The earlier paintings (from which we borrow themes in today's advertisements) treat the 'shame' of being seen naked as a kind of item which is to be displayed. Thus, we see in advertisements, this shame being disguised as coyness, shyness etc of the subject i.e., woman who is aware of being surveyed by the male - eyed audience. "She is not naked as she is. She is naked as the spectator sees her" [Berger; 1983: 50]. I perceive Berger's interpretation to mean that when one is naked one is not always a nude; because naked means not being self-conscious of one's unclothed state, whereas when we display nakedness it becomes nudity. So, I would say 'being bare is naked - being conscious of it, is nudity. Berger again gives an example of a painting by Tintoretto [1518-1594] titled - 'Sussanah and the Elders',

where the audience i.e. we join the elders to spy on her having a bath. Her objectification becomes glaringly conspicuous, when she too, looks at herself bathing, through the mirror, thus joining her spectators. Similar instances are found in Indian advertisements of Bindis, Bathsoaps, etc. which show the model admiring herself in the mirror, through the eyes of the male-audience. Or some advertisements show the woman (allowing herself to be surveyed) passively looking back at the audience, who is staring at her body. This passivity is not an expression of her enjoyment but of her "submission" (as Berger puts it) to the owner's (I mean the patriarchal ideology, here) feelings or demands. Thus "-nudity is a form of dress" [Berger 1983: 54], i.e. it is a display. I feel that a body, even if fully clothed, can be a nude, if displayed as a sight / feast for the eyes. Thus genderized - advertisements, which depict women as objects are also a form of nudity.

Nude dipictions also deal with the theme of sexuality. The female - body is displayed in a way so as to appeal to the male sexuality. In the West, Berger, has found that hair denotes sexual power and passion, therefore women in the advertisements (also in India, because we borrow ideas usually from the West) are shown as hairless

bodies, so that they are devoid of any sexual power or influence. They merely serve as 'appetizers' for the male sexuality, without any say or influence of their own in that matter". Berger seems to have ignored one important contradicting point here - i.e. the hair on the female head. This is usually glorified both in the west and in India (Shampoos, hair-oil etc.) e.g. in the Hindu tradition long hair has been a symbol of femininity and a highly demanded virtue in the would-be brides.

Nevertheless, we find that advertisements show women in such a way as if "she is offering up her femininity as the surveyed" [Berger 1983:55].

#### 5. Devices for analysis:

Berger has analyzed publicity images with the aid of the following devices:

- a. - the gestures of the models. (as well as the mythological figures in art etc.)
- b. - The romanticized use of nature (like of leaves, trees, clouds, water,...) to create an impression of innocence (-innocence in

- the context of Adam and Eve's behaviour)
- c. - The poses denoting stereotyping of women (e.g. serene mother - Madonna, Durga; Free-wheeling secretary - King's Mistress; Sex-object - Venus, Devoted wife - Sita, Savitri).
  - d. - the special emphasis or focus on women's legs (-i.e. sexual implications)
  - e. - use of materials like textiles, engraved metals, leather, furs etc, to indicate luxury
  - f. - gestures and embraces of lovers, showed frontally for the spectators benefit [Goffmanian frame of 'licensed withdrawal behaviour' is aptly applicable here. [Goffman; 1979].
  - g. - The physical posturing of men implying association or ownership of wealth; virility, strength etc. (e.g. advertisements of house-ownership schemes).
  - h. - The associational relationship depicted between drinking and success (or between card-playing or smoking.. and success), i.e.

the man's depiction in a knightly way - by becoming the motorist with the woman as the pillion-rider or sitting beside him. (as in advertisements of tyres, cycles, scooters, engine-oil etc.).

Berger has kept these and similar themes in mind while analyzing advertisements and these serve the functions of Goffmanian frames, because each theme frames a particular idea as applicable to a picture's perception.

#### 6. Advertisements and Consumerism:

Berger has not confined himself only to discussing genderism in advertisements as has been the theme of Goffman. He has also tried to analyse the repercussions of visual - publicity on the society. Berger regards publicity to be the life-blood of Western culture (which I believe is marked by a consumerism). This is so, because without competitive advertising, capitalism of the West would be unable to survive; similar is the case with the mixed economy of countries or pluralistic societies like India, where publicity itself becomes the culture. Consequently it exhibits through visual images, the society's belief in

itself (-an example of this exhibitionistic culture is found in the newly rich section of Delhi popularly called the - PUPPIES).

Advertisements sell the theme of transformation (as mentioned earlier). Here Williams notion of "magic" [Williams; 1980] is evident, especially in the context of consumerism, where the socially lower class gets the promise of a metamorphosis in lieu of purchasing the particular consumer item. Berger calls this the Cinderella and Enchanted-Palace syndromes. He has resstricted this to the middle and working classes of the West only, but I think that in India, also the middle-class, especially the neo-middle class is included in this category. This neo-middle class forms one of the largest sections of our consumers, and has enormous purchasing potential. Just as in the West, the working class apes the ways of the bourgeoisie, the Indian neo-middle class also keeps the Western bourgeoisie, as its reference-group. This weakness, of this Indian section is adequately utilized by the advertisers. Berger distinguishes between the two given syndromes, by saying that the Cinderella syndrome is applicable to the working class, whereas the Enchanted Palace Syndrome is applicable to the middle class. However I do not find such a

distinction valid because one cannot strictly dichotomize aping patterns of classes; especially since the neo-middle class is not mentioned anywhere by him. To which category does this class belong then? - to the working or to the middle class? Similarly it is not always necessarily found that a person or a class, to be upwardly mobile, first transforms her/his appearance and then goes about transforming relationships.

Nevertheless advertisements act as catalysts for the increase in consumerism. Especially the advertisements which deal with female roles and statuses (housewife, devoted mother, attractive wife/secretary etc) get a large attention from the consumers.

#### IV Assessment:

Berger's approach in advertisement - analysis has been distinctive because of his reliance on his exceptional qualities as an art-critic.

Berger's interpretation about the advertisement - based consumerist societies, has slight marxist overtones. As for example when he observes that the authority of art,

is exploited to glorify the present social system and its inequalities [Berger; 1983: 29]. In the Marxist vein one can perceive art to be the superstructure which is influenced by the economic base (rich class). Berger also opines that "Capitalism survives by forcing the majority, whom it exploits, to define their own interests as narrowly as possible... Today in the developed (-and I would also add developing) countries it is being achieved by imposing a false standard of what is and what is not desirable" [Berger 1983: 154]. In this context advertisements are the media through which these normative standards of consumerism are broadcasted. Consequently, the paintings used in advertisements, in the consumerised setup, are regarded as impressive not because of the meaning of its image, but, says Berger, because of its market value. "This is the final, empty claim for the continuing values of an oligarchic, undemocratic culture" [Berger 1983: 23]. This is the means by which consumerism survives.

Art and even advertisements try to serve the ideological interests and ambitions of the ruling capitalist class. According to Berger -"works of art in earlier traditions celebrated wealth --- (which) was then a symbol of a fixed social or divine order. Oil paintings celebrated

a new kind of wealth which was dynamic and which found only sanction in the supreme buying power of money" [Berger 1983: 90]

Coming back to the history of gender advertisements it is quite evident that Berger has analysed gestures and postures of models in advertisement comparing them with those of traditional paintings. Compared with Goffman, his method is thus more indirect. Goffman (as will be seen in the next section) has directly analysed the symbolic meanings of the given gestures and poses. Berger tries to draw a parallel or continuity between the depictions of past and of today. Just as Goffman emphasizes on body-positioning, Berger emphasizes on 'gaze' and the 'male-vision'.

As regards the nature of the consumerist society or culture, Berger can be regarded as agreeing with the Marxist interpretation. One is reminded here of Raymond Williams (1980), who clearly gives this interpretation of the capitalist society, which is consumption-oriented, where advertisements are socially market-controlling devices.

Berger and Williams have similar views as regards advertisements being psychological persuaders / inducers. Williams opines that the psychology of advertising enables the creation of "an organized system of commercial information and persuasion..." [Williams 1980: 179]

The above discussion indicates how advertisements act as stepping - stones for the expansion of consumerism; and consequently capitalism.

Nevertheless, we find that even here genderism is quite conspicuous. As mentioned earlier, advertisements which deal with female role and status are more prominently displayed. In this context one can see the linkages between consumerism / capitalism and gender depictions, as follows -

Just as I do not find any validity in restricting the two syndromes (Cinderella and Enchanted Palace) to two particular classes, similarly I find that these two syndromes are not important for the males - at least not in the sense in which it is for the females. As has been observed by Berger the woman is treated by the man solely with reference to her physical looks. Thus she internalizes the male-surveying - eye and constantly moulds herself to

look attractive and desirable to the males around her. This tendency is commercialised by the commodity - producers who advertise their products so as to appeal to this surveyor - surveyed game. Consequently, the female anxieties as regards her youth, and beauty are cashed on by the advertisers. So the Cinderella syndrome is aptly applied to the woman. Men are also conscious of their looks, but that is a secondary concern for them, whereas for women it is the primary concern. A large number of advertisements dealing with cosmetics, tonics, fresheners, etc thus emphasise this concern for women. The very fact that women submit themselves to the 'male gaze', shows the level of passivity, submission and fawning which they internalize. This depiction acts as the guiding factor as regards her normative behaviour, which thus gets reflected in all her relationships.

Even though I do not agree with the sequential class applicability of the two syndromes, as given by Berger, I do find a sequential application of the two (syndromes) in the context of gender, specifically for the females. This is because for a woman her 'looks' are of supreme concern; only thus can she get the confidence of

interacting with others. But ironically this confidence is not of self-dignity and self-worth but only about "being a desirable sight" an 'appetiser' for the male-eye". Consequently, we see her in the advertisements as being coy, shy, devotional, submissive etc. - all being the symbols of accepting her 'inferior status, as she is dependent on others for her acceptance in the male-world. This is also reflected in her relationships with others (mother, wife, beloved, daughter-in-law, secretary, hostess etc). This 'Enchanted Palace' syndrome is simultaneously made use of by the advertisers in the cosmetic and other such products (- i.e. Cinderella products). The other advertisements like of food-items, cooking-medium, medicines, textiles etc. give the message - 'use this to improve your relationship'.

The patriarchal ideology is such that it keeps the focus on woman but at the same time deprives her of any self-importance. This is because this focus is regarding her to be an object; consequently the advertisement might be of any product, the women's dependency status is always highlighted in it. Thus genderism plays an important role in consumerism via the advertisements.

#### 4. Erving Goffman :

Goffman is regarded as one of the greater authorities on analyzing advertisements, from a gender - perspective. His work in this field Gender Advertisements, [Goffman 1979] deserves special mention as an indepth analysis of the way in which advertisements manipulate the depiction of genders in the visual displays. His special concern here is with the female depiction. As is well known, his framework comes under the symbolic interactionist school of thought, and his technique can be termed as the 'frame analysis' with which we shall deal at a later stage. The perspective he employs in his work is that of the theatrical performance, which he has elaborated upon with the aid of dramaturgical principles. Consequently, Goffman's terminology borrows heavily from the language of dramatics. Goffman's major contribution in this work, has been, about the continuous ever-strengthening connection between women and children or, as I would put it, women as pseudo-children. I quote Goffman here to substantiate this point - "A child's behaviour and so also a woman's, indicates that a loving protector is standing by allowing not so much for dependence as a relief form, the realities, that is the necessities and constraints to which adults in social

situations are subject "[Goffman 1979:5]. Consequently, the emphasis in such situations is on the 'saviour' aspect of the adult-male; he will save the child or the female (adult) come what may. This implicit faith and thrust in the male partner, seems to drip from the eyes of the women in advertisements. Thus when women act, pose, look and behave like little children and 'pretty pollies' both in advertisements and in real life, one sadly finds a singular lack of the society, dignity and elan which comes so naturally to adult men. To make matters more pathetic, the women act as ego-boosters for the males, by looking and behaving in a submissive, helpless, dependent way. Consequently, what we find in the commercial advertisements as males and females, are in reality, a depiction of 'masculinity and femininity' so as to make the social situation functionally relevant. By this, one means that these depictions orient males and females to the idea of ideal men and women, but this orientation-strategy is not based on the advertiser's figment of imagination; rather he simply uses the ritualized expressions, as available from the daily social situations. Before proceeding further, in the Goffmanian analysis of genderized advertisements, it would be worthwhile to get introduced to some of his more

important concepts, and terms of his vocabulary .

## II

1. Goffmanian Vocabulary Celebrations / ceremonies - Goffman, has borrowed this concept from Durkheim, and uses it to show how social events and social relationships are 'dramatized' in a precise and glorified way. Goffman gives examples from the common - life situation, e.g., season cycles are given exaggerated theatrical boundaries, and parties etc. are held to exhibit the festivity of such occasions. Similar examples can be found in India when e.g. the harvest season in Punjab is celebrated with a joyous dance-form called 'Bhangra'.

Thus Goffman believes, that it is in social situations that the raw materials for celebrations must be found; "materials which can be shaped into a palpable representation of matters, not otherwise packaged for the eye and the ear and the moment" [Goffman 1979:1]. In simple words, one can find occasions for celebrations and its accompanying festivity , from everyday happenings in the society, and these can be glorified according to one's

wishes and fantasies. This seems to indicate that Goffman like, Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, regards ceremonies to be an expression of the rejuvenation and reiteration of the moral values, norms and such other expressions of social solidarity. Thus ceremonies are an exaggerated presentation of those beliefs, which we are supposed to hold dear to ourselves. Goffman further opines that ceremony has two essential functions -

(i) affirming the basic social arrangements; (2) presenting and making evident the doctrines about man (I prefer to use the term - human being) and the world, and the interactional relations between the two.

2. Ritual : Goffman has used this term in a unique way; he regards it to be the basic constituent element of a ceremony, which has a fixed and distinctive identity. In other words, rituals are for Goffman mainly symbolic codings in our social interactions. They are indicators of one's behaviour, as well as his/her social placement in the society. At the same time, rituals can also act as indicators of expressions like regard, affection, respect etc for others. Goffman's usage of ritual is distinctive. Generally speaking, as in the 'International Encyclopaedia

of Social Sciences' the words rite (ritual), ceremony (ceremonial) and custom... are used interchangeably, as for example has been done by Frazer in 'The Golden Bough' [Frazer 1890] Those non-instinctive, predictable actions which cannot be justified or explained by a rational means-to-end type of explanation, come under this category of words. 'The International Encyclopaedia'.... 'gives an example to make the point clearer-the English custom of shaking hands is a ritual, but the act of farming for harvesting a crop is not a ritual. Thus rituals need not have a rational-basis. Similarly there are certain acts, private to certain individual, as e.g. the neurotic person who compulsively washes her hands many times a day believing that this act is a rational means to cleanliness. Thus it must be remembered, that, the rationality element of an action, is to be judged not by the doer or the actor, but by the observer. Similarly, the term 'ritual' is also regarded as a body of customs, particularly with reference to any religious performance. Robertson Smith opines that beliefs (e.g. of Christianity) are dogmas- and practices are the rituals [Smith 1889].

Anthropologist mean it to be a "category of

standardized behaviour... in which the relationship between the means and ends is not 'intrinsic'" [Goody, 1961]. Infact, Leach believes that circumstances allowing coding, like that of marriage, birth, initiation, death etc are "rituals". Here Goffman comes quite close to Leach in his notion of rituals because both regard them as codes for behaviour and social placement as well as social positioning as evident by one's body positioning-sitting down, standing, lying down, kneeling etc. Durkheim regards rituals to be rules of conduct; but his usage is more specific, because he regards them to be connected with religion, so that they are religious practices and norms of behaviour about how a person should conduct himself in the presece of sacred objects [Durkheim 1912]. As distinct from this approach is that of Radcliffe Brown, who views rituals in a secular context. He opines that ritual value is attached to those objects which are socially impotent - for secular reasons. [Radcliffe, Brown 1922]. Malinowski believes, that this value depends upon the scarcity of that item, rather than on its utility or economic value.

In the background of the various implications of the term 'ritual', we can see that Goffman gives it a more particular meaning. For him, the ritual is an act-not

specific only to the religious aspect of life-but as an efficient indicator of responses, from and to, witnesses of the behaviour-display. Thus rituals are not to be confined only to the traditional notion of ceremonial events, but to our everyday life as being social actors on the stage of life, as observable by others. At the same time, rituals are guides to an actor's social positioning in the social hierarchy, as they help in identifying stereotypes from the performers. In the social interactional situation, or in the Goffmanian terminology, in our 'ceremonial life', one finds a systematic arrangement involving a scheme of opposite number'; by this we mean the presence of male-female differences which "help" the individual in self-definition. The advertisements make prominent use of this opposite-number arrangement ritual.

Goffman uses an interesting term - 'hyper ritualization' - and by this he refers, to the ritual itself, getting ritualized; e.g. women, to look more attractive, mimic small children's behaviour, but when this device is commercialised and used institutionally in advertisements, it culminates in hyper - ritualizing that act of being a pseudo-child. Goffman has divided rituals

into types, on the basis of statement - response pairs. 'Statement - Response' simply, means - 'The expression on the part of one individual calling forth an expression on the part of another... the latter being understood as a response to the first [Goffman; 1979:1]. The first division of rituals is called

- (i) the symmetrical and
- (ii) the asymmetrical pair.

The symmetrical, as the name suggests has a mutual first name relationship, while the latter is more heirarchical-e.g. first-name/Sir relationship. Sometimes the asymmetrical ritual can be dyadically reversible, e.g., the greetings between the guest and the host in reverse situations. Nevertheless, there are instances where the asymmetrical ritual is in addition irreversible too, as eg. a Major in the India army will always be called 'Sir' by the army jawan.

These rituals of symmetry and asymmetry are amply made use of, not only in the 'natural' life but also in contrived situations of advertisements. It is believed here, that to get one's ritual due, one ought to present oneself in such a way that the audience is influenced by the

actor's impression management technique.

Thus we see, that Goffman has made quite an important contribution in the field of dramaturgy by his notion of rituals.

In fact, such a detailed emphasis has been given by me to this term, because it forms the backbone of Goffmanian analysis. He, for example, aptly uses this concept in analyzing advertisements depicting females with the typical (ritualistic) feminine touch (i.e. ritualistic touching, not grasping or gripping).

This leads further into Goffmanian vocabulary, especially the notions of social situations and displays.

3. Social situation: This, refers mainly to social arrangements, - social arrangements of sexes, their inter - and intra personal behaviour, norms, sex-related roles etc. An intrinsic part of the social situation is the 'scene' - which basically constitutes our cultural values and is visible or perceivable in our gestures, styles, postures, expression etc. - and these together add up to form a social arrangement. Social situation, as a concept, refers to any physical area in which the performing actors have the

capacity of mutual-monitoring, so that each can affect the other's behaviour or expression in some way or the other. As mentioned earlier the social situation acts like the proverbial coal-mine from which coal is dug out - i.e. it acts as the source of raw materials for social interaction and ceremonies. This is because it is here that the participants get physically aware of each other's presence and then get involved in a free communication with each other. Goffman' illustrates this point with a simple example - suppose that in a still picture (i.e. unlike an action - motion depicting one) there is only one person present - a solitary figure - inspite of this solitude there will arise a social situation. But how? Such a situation is generated because solitary or in company, the figure implicitly addresses itself to us - the viewers-who are seeing 'what they are permitted to see' in the picture. The presence of a social situation becomes evident by the responses of the viewers. This concept is one of the more frequently used terms by Goffman and is one of the basics of his vocabulary.

Only in a social situation can any social act be performed - be it the individuals' physically coercing one

another, or assaulting one another, or interacting sexually etc. Thus, any level of physical or psychical communication is made possible in the social situation.

In the context of genderized advertisements, we see that these are social situations where faces and bodies are used in social portraiture and social interaction. Thus social situations are the settings for ceremonies which reaffirm social arrangements.

4. Displays: As mentioned earlier, a scene refers to the embodied cultural values, as reflected in our gestures, expressions etc. which are together arranged in the social situation. Within these scenes, human behaviour becomes visible as displays. Displays are the conscious flaunting of one's self. They are an expressive form of ritualization of some portions of the 'act' itself, which consequently, and in a deliberate way, invites attention as responses, from the audience. According to Goffman, the displays provide evidence of the actor's alignment in a gathering - the social situation; thereby indicating the position he will take up in that context. Displays, consequently have an informatiave/informing function, for ensuring an effective communication of gender. In the context of genders, the

displays can be referred to all those displays which are conventionalized portrayals of the cultural co-relates of sex (i.e. of gender). They thus represent in an iconic way the fundamental features of our social structure. They lay down an understanding of what and how the social organization ought to be, and who, why and how - has to take the major and minor decisions in the social arrangement, etc.. The displays as rituals, inform the sexes, as to what ought to be their ultimate nature and how and in which place this nature ought to be exhibited. Just as in animals, emotions motivate displays, similarly in human beings displays are a reflection of one's social identity, mood, etc; except that human beings have an additional capacity of 'reframing' and 'rearranging' one's behaviour and expressions. This indicates that human expressions are not instinctive but socially and culturally imbibed. Goffman gives a detailed account of the origin of displays, and how these factors are utilized in advertisements. The basic origin of displays is in biology - i.e. all human and animal beings are divided into two classes based on sex - male and female, and this 'determines' their respective roles. Also certain displays of animals, are used as models by the human beings; e.g. the

- power or physical strength etc. In India we see advertisements of mobikes with the aid of Cheetah, which symbolizes speed and agility. Thus not only are animals used per se in the advertisements, but even human beings, ape their behaviour e.g. the female/models fawn over the single male model, in advertisements of dress materials, suitings; shirtings etc. (-the gesture of the dog towards his master or any such superior.)

Gender displays involving the show of respect or subordination to a higher authority (usually male shown as the superior, in advertisements - be it an office scenario or a 'homely' one), borrow from the military code of conduct - e.g. the standing at attention pose. This can also be seen in advertisements where not a male and female but only a couple of males are involved, as e.g. advertisements of classy hotels with the door keeper shown in this pose.

Nevertheless, it is the parent-child behavioural pattern, which is the most prevalent form found in advertisements. This behaviour is usually employed while showing women as the children and their male - counter parts as the parent. Goffman has paid a lot of attention to this

aspect of behaviour and the way it affects gender-relations in the various social situations.

Even though both the sexes experience the role of being a child and also a parent (- or a parental figure) in some part of their life, inspite of this, it is the woman who ought to have greater alignment with the child. This seems all the more striking, because in the line of social hierarchy the man is supposed to be superior to the woman, who in turn is to be superior to the child; so logically, the man must be equally if not more, aligned to the child! Also, the man treats both the woman and the child, as children. This situation can be understood better by keeping the prevalent social hierarchy pattern in mind - just as the superordinate male treats his subordinate male like a child (-caring, indulging, reprimanding), similarly these two categories of males treat the woman as a child. These three categories in turn, treat the child like a child.

This parent-child interaction has specified values for orienting the individual to dealings in the various social situations. The child's 'privileged position' attitude, his acceptance of his parents' commands (-"for his

own betterment", as they say) the parents' indulgent behaviour, their protectiveness - all determine the future interactional pattern between the two genders (of any age-group) in such a way that the female plays the role of a child - the 'encompassed'; and the male that of a parent - the 'encompasser'. This indicates that the female like the child is dependent for getting all basic needs fulfilled and satisfied, does not have to care/bother about the future in this regard, is tolerated like a child who in his drifting moods throws various tantrums; and also has the license for childishly displaying her emotions - of joy, fear and unhappiness - with childish exaggerated gestures. Similarly, there is the 'protective - intercession' for softening / cushioning the contact between the child/female and the 'harsh' world.

All these points go on to explain that the superior provides some privileges to the subordinate but the price for it is such that it negates the individuality of the subordinate.

In Indian social situation e.g. of the advertisements, I find similarity with the West, in terms of women being treated like children (- protectiveness and

indulgence by the male). The male partner almost always seems to be oozing self-confidence and gives a reassuring look to the female(s) accompanying him, (see advertisement no . 12 ) just as the father does with his child. Similarly, we see children behaving very shyly with strangers or with the friends of their parents etc. I remember how I would almost melt with shyness when 'uncles' came to my house, and lovingly called me towards them. Replications of this can be found in advertisements where females put on a very coy -shy appearance and the male once again looks very confident, and poised (see advertisement no .2 to )

Many advertisements show the male as the 'advice-giver' and the female obediently abiding by whatever he has said. As for example in the 1980s the Colgate tooth powder advertisement, showed a male dentist eulogising the virtues of that tooth powder, and a woman guiding her child to brush her teeth with it (-thereby both the child and the woman behaving like obedient subjects). Just as the males look supremely self-confident, the women are quite often shown as being unsure and uncertain of themselves, just like a child who seems quite unsure of how to behave in public, especially in a formal situation.

So we find that ritually females exist as

equivalent to subordinate males and children.

The parent-child pattern of behaviour leads us to the next Goffmanian concept i.e. rules of conduct.

5. Rules of conduct: This term is viewed in the overall context of gender arrangements in any social situation. "A rule of conduct may be defined as a guide for action not because it is pleasant, cheap or effective but because it is suitable or just" [Goffman 1972: 48] (However, who determines what is just or unjust, is not very clear in this statement).

When behaviour adheres to some rules, it starts having a uniformity, a consistency in it, which leads to formation of behaviour - patterns or stereotypes. These rules act directly as guides for the individuals obligations towards others, as well as indirectly in the form of expectations.

As mentioned earlier rituals and displays are of two types - 1. symmetrical and 2. asymmetrical. Similarly the rules of conduct can be divided into the above two categories [Thouless 1951 272-73]. In a symmetrical rule

of behaviour an individual has obligations similar to the one with whom he is interacting. In an asymmetrical arrangement the concept of superior - subordinate comes up, e.g. the doctor gives medical orders to the nurse, but she or he cannot reciprocally give the doctor such orders.

Thus these rules are organized into codes like law, morality, ~~e~~tiquette etc) in every society so as to ensure that everybody acts appropriately as well as gets their dues adequately.

6. Expressions: This is another of the theatrical words of Goffmanian vocabulary. In any gathering, Goffman opines, the participants provide information for others/audience in two ways. 1. They give it; 2. they give it off. This information helps the others to define the situation and also to know in advance what is expected of them and what they can expect from others. When information is 'given', it is done through actions which are voluntary and involve symbols which are verbal, or their substitutes (i.e., communication in the narrow, traditional sense) whereas the expression which the actor 'gives off' involves a variety of actions that can be regarded as 'symptomatic' of the actor - "the expectation being that the action was performed for

reasons other than the information conveyed in this way" [Goffman 1959: 14]. The information provided here is not necessarily voluntary. An example is - "I may tell you the way to the Cathedral, but in doing so I may provide, through my choice of words, through my accent, etc. all sorts of additional information - i.e. I 'give off' rather than 'give' information [Drew and Wootton 1988:23].

Human expressions are not always natural - they can be also be faked (as in the films and advertisements), but these fakes are not always difficult to detect. Goffman opines that the so - called natural expressions of genderized advertisements, are basically illustrations of ritual like behaviour - roles, which portray an ideal notion of the two sexes (rather gender) as well as their structural relation to each other and also to the social situation. "Natural expressions are commercials performed to sell a version (- emphasis mine) of the world under conditions no less questionable .... than the ones that advertisers face...." [Goffman 1979: 84]

Advertisers do not create these rituals, they merely reframe them and hyper - ritualize the various displays.

7. Idealization: In continuance with the notion of rules of behaviour, is this term of idealization. In the Goffmanian language, we can say that when an individual presents himself before others, his performance tends to include and proclaim the officially accredited and cherished values of the society, as an expression of solidarity and reaffirmation of the moral values of that community (almost in the Durkheimian sense). These individuals try to conceal those behaviour pattern which are inconsistent with these ideal normative standards and exhibit/display the others.

8. Illustration and Instantiation : These two terms are especially relevant for the analysis of gender advertisements. 'Illustration' per se does not imply anything about existence nor does it attest the existence of an event. But the term instantiation means that it is a proof or an instance - record of an event, so as to prove that the event has actually occurred (e.g. a marriage-ceremony photograph) and is not merely being posed.

Advertisements serve as illustrations of the various social situations and the arrangements in them, so that the emphasis is on hyper-ritualization and the models,

and not the real subjects. However, I think that the model is in a sense reflecting the prevalent social reality, so that in a way, the models also behave like real subjects.

9. Frame: This term forms an important aspect of Goffmanian technique. The term 'frame' here refers to the layer or environment in which a particular social situation occurs. Goffman's concept of frame has levels or layers of frames, frames within frames; there are 3 such layers; 1. the physical world, 2. the social ecology, 3. the institutional setting.

The physical world: Some actions/statements have meaning only in a particular physical context or world; ethnomethodologists call this embedding in a particularized physical world as 'indexicality' This embedding leads to emergence of certain mental levels, so that actions/statements emerging out of it, get a meaning only in that situation. e.g. if a mechanic calls out to his partner 'pass me that' then his partner can understand what he means - because of their being present in that same physical world.

Social Ecology : The term ecology here refers to the

individuals in a social situation, being aware of each other's presence - i.e. as being potentially dangerous or potentially helpful. Here Goffman is viewing human beings in the same way as the biologist views birds who are in the range of each other. All this signifies that, here, not only the 'actual talking, acting participants' but also the non-talking or non-acting participants as well as the bystanders are also included.

Institutional Setting : this is the innermost frame, surrounded by the above two frames. It refers to those arrangements which need informal talks. In simpler words only the mutually recognizing partners are involved here, who behave in an informal way with each other; so that the given concept can almost be used to refer to the institutionalized ways or norms of behaviour.

10. Power: Even though Goffman has not explicitly or elaborately explained this term per se, he has used it a lot, to give meaning to the various forms of gender - advertisements. In fact he believes that if an individual is to direct someone he will often find it useful to keep strategies secret from them [Goffman: 1959:234]. This statement can in fact also be applied to the various

mystified, so-called, norms of behaviour as specified by the patriarchal society, for an ideal woman. It is also very useful when one deploys it to analyze the patriarchal implications of genderized advertisements. Goffman further opines "Power of any kind must be clothed in effective means of displaying it, and (thus it) will have different effects depending upon how it is dramatized.." Thus the more dramatically you display the power you possess, the more successful you will be in influencing others as e.g. the 'dramatic' thunderous roar of a lion in a zoo, has the desired effect of momentarily silencing everyone around it. Thus physical power is displayed for persuading the audience, it is often a means of communication (and) not merely a means of action" [Goffman 1959: 234].

### III Goffman's Theory of gender-advertisements:

1. Erving Goffman has elaborately dealt with this topic in his book - Gender Advertisements (1979). Before we proceed further to understand his theory, it will be useful to have an idea about his methodology. He has analysed pictures/advertisements as they are placed in their frame of context, this means, the pictures have been analyzed at all the 3 levels of the frame or environment.

2. The social ecology
3. The institutional setting.

In other words the characters' / actors' interreaction is viewed in the context of their sharing a common physical environment (-where each understands the gestures/motives of the other) and not only are the actors analyzed by the researcher but also the other props in the scene-which can range from passers-by and onlookers to the objects and material - setting of the scene, (i.e. the furniture in a house or vehicles on a road - so that they have an associational meaning with the main actors). At the same time the 'informal behaviour' and its constituent elements (e.g. the male placing a 'reassuring' hand on the female's shoulder, or the 'way' in which the male hand rests on the females, or the way in which 'her' hand is placed on 'his' body) are also critically analyzed in this frame - analysis.

Goffman's technique of collecting samples involves a random sampling from particular magazines as well as from photographs. For facilitation of dealing with their

analysis, Goffman has used slides. His collection of sample mainly includes those pictures in which genderism is conspicuously visible and thus makes the picture 'fit' enough to comment upon. Though, I would have preferred if he had also chosen more pictures in which genderism is depicted in a subtle, camouflaged way, because it is this which needs to be exposed to the people, because its very existence looks politically motivated. By this what I mean is that the very fact that something is dealt with in a camouflaged way, shows how shrewdly manipulative the doer of that act is (-because he is trying to fool everyone by his 'innocent' depictions).

Goffman has creatively, used the techniques of introducing 'reversals' which ensures that the jarring message of sex-role expectations as well as exceptions, is clearly conveyed to the audience. This technique shocks one into awareness of the stereotypes and this is done by imagining the sexes switched and imagining the appearance of what results or ensues.

2. Gender-advertisements: Refer to those advertisements in which the aspect of genderism is glorified and made highly conspicuous. According to Goffman these

advertisements emphasise glaringly on the 'masculinity - femininity' theme, as well as characteristics. The term gender, as is well known is a socio-cultural construct, so that the advertisements based on this standard are bound to convey messages and 'advice' about the ideal male or ideal female (-or rather we should say ideal masculinity / femininity, because it is this quality which is emphasized)). Based on this perception of genderized advertisements, we can see that Goffman has a unique theory (of gender-advertisements).

3. Naked Bodies - Nude Vs. Naked: Goffman's concept of naked bodies can be seen here in contrast to Berger's theory of nude Vs. naked<sup>5</sup>. To understand the term 'naked bodies' as used by Goffman, it will be more useful to first deal with the various perceptions of this term as well as the term 'Nude'. The Collins Dictionary of English usage (p 1020) considers naked as 'having the body completely unclothed; undressed.... bare.... exposed'. The term 'nude' also refers to being 'completely unclothed; undressed..., the state of being naked (esp. in the phrase 'in the nude')'. Thus the dictionary usage treats the two terms interchangeably. But Berger has borrowed his interpretation of the two forms from Kenneth Clark, who in his book 'The

Nude' say that to be naked is simply to be without clothes; whereas the nude is a form of art...a way of seeing [Berger 1983: 53]. Berger regards not only bodies to be 'nude', but also gestures, poses, photographs, etc. This is because here these items: "are regarded as objects of sight, as displays - to use Goffmanian vocabulary. Coming back to Goffman, we see that he has used the general and commonly used dictionary form of the word naked. Vivian Gornick in his introduction to this book, says that "Goffman will not be concentrating on the usual depiction of women as naked-bodies. But on their various body-gestures and movements". One can discover here that naked does not mean nude even though he meant naked bodies to be in the sense of nudity (-Bergerian language). Nevertheless, he seems to be quite unaware of the point that nudity is also visible in bodily - gestures, even if one, is fully clothed.

Coming back to Goffman's interpretation of advertisements, we find that he concentrates a lot on body - gestures under various sub - headings like hands, knees, eyes, facial expression, head postures, relative sizes of the individuals, positioning and placement of the bodies, head-eye aversion, finger-biting, sucking etc. He has

divided the sample into sets and even if they are under different headings, they have a common theme - genderism. His collection of advertisements are concerned with 'gender - relevant behaviour' and the way the 'styles' concerned with it are visible in actual life, as well as the ways in which these advertisements slant or distort the view of gender-relevant behaviour.

4. Sets : Goffman has arranged the pictures in sets, in such a way that the relevant subject matter proceeds from children to adults and also from actual life pictures to the contrived ones i.e., the commercial pictures . He makes this arrangement to show how the ritual behaviour of everyday practice becomes hyper-ritualized in the advertisements, and this is seen more clearly/strikingly in the context of women.

5. Genderism: In his theory, Goffman opines that the females, in both advertisements as well as real life usually take up a 'feminine position' not simply vis-a-vis the males but also towards the other women. This seems to suggest that the feminine identity or the 'femininity' is exhibited to the male no doubt, but it is also used on a 'comparative scale' with other women. It also means that even if there

are only two females in a given social situation there might be a sort of competition between them in regard to one being more feminine than the other. Nevertheless what Goffman suggests is that in the advertisements the feminine position is seen with reference to gender-stereotypes - mainly in the sense of role-differentiation. That is, gender-stereotyping in this context is not concerned so much with subjects of opposite sexual identity as much as with role - differentiated subjects.

Goffman's method includes analyzing the presence of genderism in this (above) sense, in the commercial pictures, which we see has parallels in the ceremonies and rituals of our daily life, and this task is facilitated by his using the symbolic interactionist interpretative language - especially his usage of dramaturgy.

6. Commercial Realism: Goffman uses this term to denote those advertisements which seem like a simulated/feigned piece of real life. Here the emphasis is also on the advertiser who succeeds in making the audience infer what he wants them to infer; which means that they accept what is going on in the artificial make - believe scene as the real or rather the ideal and do not bother about the actual

reality (- which is, that the models in the picture are not the real subjects, but only a mock-up of the real subject). But, I think the pictures are real in another sense - and that is they reflect the social reality; the ways social relationships are arranged in the society.

7. Frame - analysis: It is in this (above) context that Goffman's notion of frames and their analysis comes up as being important. Goffman's notion of frame within frames has been mentioned earlier. To understand this work vividly we need to refer to his work 'Frame Analysis,... (1975). This work is concerned with the need to simultaneously deal with reality both literally and figuratively [Ditton and Sharrock 1976: 329]. This means Goffman does not confine himself to the dramatized version but also tries to seek out the actual reality of the real world and not the world as a stage only.

The term 'frame' is used here as a conceptual scheme through which we share and create realities and social meanings. It is more in the sense of a frame in the mind, which is evolved by learning through experiences. Thus frames can deal with reality both at manifest, visible, explicit level, which Goffman calls 'perception' (-or the frame of perception) and at the latent or rather implicit

level, for which he uses the term 'reality'. So according to Goffman one is perception and the other is reality; whereas I prefer to call both these terms as seeing the various manifestation of 'reality - because what is falsely perceived to be the real' is not actually unreal but the reflection of the social reality, where the model and the subject of the picture/social situation are not necessarily the same.

Coming back to the concept of 'frame - analysis', Goffman regards it to be an organization of experience. A simple example can drive this point more easily. For example a drama rehearsal is going on. You as an outsider can hear the actors/performers shouting at each other angrily. If someone asks you "what is going on here?", you might say 'some people are fighting'; this is one frame you have used. The other frame (of reality as Goffman says) is used when you realize that the fight is not a real one but merely a drama - rehearsal. These frames you are able to create on the basis of similar experiences in the past. So for Goffman a framework is a scheme of interpreting society, Goffman uses the term 'keying' in thus analysing commercial pictures. This term is used to emphasize that the social

situation depicted in the picture is only patterned on the primary activity or everyday, real life situation, and is actually something else (-in the sense that it is only a 'simulated version' and is actually an advertisement to promote the sales of a product).

Goffman's theory of gender-advertisements thus deals with interpreting the advertisements keeping the various frames in mind which can be grouped under the three categories (of frames) mentioned earlier. The intricacies and the vital observations of his analysis can be understood with the aid of the various frames which he has used.

#### IV Framing advertisements

I have used the word 'framing' here to denote the frames which have been applied by Goffman to interpret his collection of sets of advertisements. He has made use of six types of frames to discover the 'reality' as keyed in the pictures.

- a. Relative size
- b. The Feminine touch
- c. Function Ranking
- d. The Family

- e. The Ritualization of subordination
- f. Licenced withdrawal.

Some of the frames here have an animal (dog, wolf etc.) to depict the various gestures involved in that frame. The animals almost serve as a reference model while analyzing the poses of the performers/actors.

a. Relative Size: One's height or size seems to be a physically visible indicator of one's social position in the society [Goffman uses the word social weight) [Goffman 1979:28]. One's physical structure coupled with the added authority (which one seems to acquire due to his/her being larger than the others) as well as confidence makes one acquire a special rank in the social situations. This point is all the more visible in the selection - interviews and personality tests, where one's height (especially the male's) is given a lot of importance. Even in the more familiar, family situations the father/mother due to their larger build (biological factor) are able to keep the young children under their control (- especially, in the context of 'physical punishment of the youngsters' as well as the 'protection' which they are capable of giving to the children). In the context of gender, we see social

situations are usually constructed in such a way that there is a predominance of males being larger than the females. [see Goffman 1979: 28]. This assumption about a direct correlation between relative height and relative social weight or power is so completely entrenched in us, that even the commercial pictures regularly use relative size as a means of ensuring that the story of the picture will be understood even by a single glance.

Goffman has used certain pictures as reversals. He says that on those few occasions when women are shown as being taller than men, the men seem, invariably to be her subordinate, in terms of social class and status and almost always "completely costumed as craft-bound servitors" - [Goffman; 1979:28] as e.g. like drivers, cooks, gardeners etc. Reversals for comic effect can be seen e.g. even in the Hindi comic strip (Dabbusji) by Abid Surti; where the wife is large and overdominating, whereas he himself is small and insignificant).

Coming back to the average, depiction of the gender-arrangement, Goffman observes that many advertisements depict a socially 'desirable and attractive male' as being always surrounded by females and he is the

taller of them all - though it is hardly ever the other way round. Similarly in an all-male company it's the taller, larger (and relatively older) male who is the 'boss'. Also those advertisements which seemingly talk of equality, invariably exhibit genderism, e.g. an advertisement in his collection is of a wrist watch, which shows two hands clasped (one male, one female) - with the caption - 'equal pay, equal time' - apparently the message is of equality, but a careful look shows the woman's hand being distinguishable because of being delicately manicured, well polished, well-cut nails etc. Thus for such advertisements the female hand chosen is almost always more slim and more delicate than the males'.

b) Feminine touch: This frame is the most commonly applied one, in most of the advertisements. Goffman deals with this analytical category at 3 levels.

1. Hands, finger, nails 2. Face 3. Self-touching.

1. In the first category - hands, fingers, nails, one sees advertisements in which the way the males and females position and place their hands etc are shown. One finds that women more than men use their fingers/hands to trace the outline of an object or to cradle the product or to

caress its surface (also includes nuzzling it). This ritualistic touching by the females is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind employed by males for grasping, holding, gripping or manipulating an object. Many advertisements show the female's carefully manicured hands, with slim long, fingers and polished finger-tips either touching the objects - advertized, or the fingers with each other, or touching her lips or hair or any other part of her anatomy in a coquettish way. Some advertisements show clearly the "delicate" (-associated with being feminine) bent of fingers, and hand - e.g. gently holding something only with the finger-tips. Even in an advertisement which employs the hands of both the sexes, her hand is lightly placed on his hand which is grasping the product being advertised.

2. Face: As the feminine touch is not supposed to be prehensile (i.e. adapted for seizing or grasping) in nature, these ritualistic contacts (touchings) can also be maintained by the face instead of the hand e.g. advertisements show a product e.g. face powder by having two or three female faces juxtaposed with each other - all smiling, unoblivious of each other. I feel, the very fact

that one part of a woman's anatomy can easily be replaced (function-wise, in the advertisements) by some other part, shows the abominable level to which a woman's body is objectified. In some instances the face, or hands are done away with, and only the eyes are shown, as sometimes is the mouth ( - red lipped usually).

3. Self-touching is another such category or frame, coming within the frame of feminine - touch. This seems to be the more popular of the lot. This technique is usually adopted by females, especially in the sense of merely touching one's own body as though it is a precious, delicate, fragile chinaware. A lot of advertisements (of cosmetics, clothes etc) show women 'touching' their temples or their hips in a way which is regarded in the patriarchal society to be typically feminine. It is because of this that when men mimic a woman (e.g. as Amitabh Bacchan does in the Hindi films) they place one hand on their heads and the other on their hips and cant their body so as to give a feminine look.

Goffman believes that such advertisements, seem to convey the message that being feminine is equal to light touching. Personally I feel that this patriarchal message

can be linked up in the long run to sexual behaviour also, because patriarchy demands here also, women to play a submissive, passive and light role (-i.e. not the initiator or demanding partner) - in other words not to be forceful in any form of bodily contact.

I have also observed that if and when men are shown 'touching their body' they usually have a firm grasp or hold over their own body. In this sense one feels, that men regard their bodies as belonging to their own self; whereas women tend to regard their bodies as belonging to someone else, preferably any male. It seems here, as though they are fearing to trespass' someone else's territory.

c. Function-ranking:

Goffman observes that in any face-to face especially man-woman interaction in the advertisements, the man more often seems to be performing the executive role (i.e. instrumental, instructional) <sup>6</sup>. He observes this trend in quite a few categories: a. occupational frame b. non-occupational frame c. children d. kinaesthetic form e. body addressed help/service f. males pictured in traditional domains of females. and females in traditional male task.

[Males in traditional female-domain:-

1. no contributory role at all.
2. man as ludicrous or child-like
3. Man working under the direct appraising scrutiny of she (woman) who is an expert in that house task.]

The function-ranking between male and females shows that male are to be instrumental and females expressive.

a. Occupational frame: In any occupational scene (- advertisement) it is always a male who is seen performing the executive or action based role, with the woman as a mere aid or onlooker. (e.g. a Doctor-nurse scene). Goffman quotes the work of Komisar (1972: 307) and says that the "irony has been noted that, an appreciable amount of advertising aimed at selling supplies for women's (traditional) household work employs males in the depicted role of instructing professionals or employs male celebrity to tout the efficacy of the product" [Goffman 1979:32] (The Eureka Forbes advertisement in India, selling water filters and Vacuum cleaners is a good example of a male-instructor.)

Goffman gives the example of an advertisement of sports gear, which shows the female player being instructed

by the male coach (-i.e. the male in the instrumental status).

b. Non-occupational sphere

This is seen as for example when the father instructs or guides the wife and kids while building sand castles, or when he is expertly using the water hand pump while the wife lovingly looks on. etc., Or as Chalfen (1975:94) puts it in his American sample: the male head of the household used the camera most of the time. In a few cases, a teenage son, who was learning about camera and film-making, took over this responsibility. While, one presumes, the females around simply posed and modelled. These scenes are visible in advertisements of cameras in the West, however this principle is not strictly or regularly adhered to in India, although it can be seen in advertisements of four wheelers etc.

c. Children-frame

Emphasis here is on 'cutness', which prompts one to ask the question-whether this principle is applicable to women too who are made to appear in a similar frame?

Evidently the answer seems to be in the affirmative. Coming back to the sphere of children, function-ranking is applied to them with the assumption that although the little actors are themselves perfectly serious, their activity itself is not.' [Goffman 1979:34], so that it seems to involve an anticipatory note about expecting something pleasurable as a response by the viewing adult; leading to that 'oh!so cute!' response, [Goffman, here has taken the aid of Weitzman et al (1972) who have analyzed gender stereotypes in illustrations in the children's books]. Similar instances are found in advertisements where grown up females ape the gestures of children to look cute and charming. However, the cuteness here occurs because it is an adult trying to behave like a child, where as with children it is a child trying to behave like an adult. It is this behaviour -reversals, which create the element of cutness. The concept of cutification' as introduced by the educationalist Krishna Kumar, too can be applied here, which leads to little girls behaving like little women, especially like mothers and wives. This shows how the natural behaviour gets transformed into a 'fashioned' image, which orients the future personality development not only of a child but also of a woman (-the female child groomed into the future role of mother and

wife; the adult woman, is made to feel that men will find her more desirable if she behaves like a child, showing no individuality and autonomy of her own.)

This discussion forwards us to the notion of moulding - giving rules of guidance and this is dealt with in the next frame - the kinaesthetic frame <sup>7</sup> .

d. Kinaesthetic frame:

The notion of giving instructions seems to involve some sort of subordination of the instructed and deference for the instructor. This type of relationship is drilled in the individuals learning phase of life and career especially with the help of age-grade subordination. One form of such learning is basically associated with the child status. (i.e. any age group person who can be placed in this status because of his/her behaviour) and is called the kinaesthetic form. This form involves a moulding, physical contact between the instructor and the instructed. In many advertisements, women are placed in this child-status and more often than not, the male is pictured as the instructor (parent like) instructing women in this way. (e.g. instructing in an advertisement how to play the piano, even

though the advertisement will be of window curtains!)

e. Body-addressed help or service.

According to Goffman any such help/service from another, results in actions which usually involve the collaboration of hands, most commonly occurring in the form of the recipient guiding the action and/or taking over at the terminal phase e.g. helping some one on with his coat) This presumably indicates the receiver's sense of autonomy, but surprisingly all such autonomous creatures are males and almost never a female which reminds one that children and infants too are not granted this privilege. When grown-ups are posed as 'guying' that action or in simpler words mimicking that action in some way, it usually indicates that this projected life-style is not their real self. Usually advertisements show women getting such help from men and the response/reaction which they exhibit is never gayed. This indicates an important point - that, the act of helping or "spoon-feeding" women is not something unusual or ridiculous, because they are 'after-all lacking self-reliance' as much as a child does. In other words it seems to indicate this dependence on others as the intrinsic nature of women, who are thus non-assertive and powerless

like children.

Conversely, in case men are shown as receiving such help, they are seen as making fun of such actions almost in a comic way, which shows they are only mimicking, for the sake of fun.

f. Genders and their traditional domains:

The concept of male and female domains is quite well known by now. Generally we find that male activities mainly cover the public area i.e. those work, activities which are outside the house. The female domain is presumed to be private sphere i.e. the house activities.

Nevertheless we find pictures and advertisements which show the domain switched, with the consequences shown as being comic/undesirable.

(a). Males in the traditional female domain:

i. Usually males have no contribution in this so that they avoid either subordination or contamination with female task, e.g. in traditional Hindu households, the male is not supposed to sweep the house, let alone touch a broom, because it might make him impure. Consequently, a lot of

the advertisements show women surrounded by kitchen gadgets etc seemingly seated in heaven with a supremely satisfied look on their faces. These commercial pictures show that whether indoors or outdoors, it is she who cooks and serves (see the many advertisements of Eagle Flasks, Casseroles etc.) The male is shown giving approving looks/glances and generally lazing about.

(ii). Sometimes the advertisements show the male to be involved in the household work, but almost always this involvement is given the cover-up of being ludicrous or childlike, as though the whole scene involves something very funny. Why? It is because, presumably it is not the male's real self. So this technique is resorted to, which seems to preserve the real male's competency image (-in challenging areas, not in the 'petty' household), as though domestic work is something inferior and does not need an active, rational mind.

Such an unrealistic depiction of males in the 'females' domain (cooking, washing, bathing baby etc) reaffirms the patriarchal view that this domain is not a part of his intrinsic self.

(iii). Direct scrutiny of female expert:

The word 'expert' here refers, not to a sense of superior authority, but to the point that it is natural for women to be efficient in the domestic task.

Consequently, advertisements depict women as giving fond smiles or giving admiring looks to the man who is doing any domestic chore; as though he has been daring (or is it condescending?) enough to accept her 'challenge' and is now winning in this task too (i.e. other than success in the public sphere) Thus proving that males are superior.

b. Women in traditionally male-domain:

First of all let us be clear that advertisements rarely venture into such spheres. Nevertheless, when they do, the male seems to bracket up the activity i.e., by giving explanatory remarks and "looking on appraisingly, condescendingly or even with wonder" [Goffman 1979:37]. Here the appraising factor indicates the instructor-instructed roles and superior-subordinate status. The condescending factor indicates - "after all this is a male domain and what is she an inferior creature - a woman doing

here?" Similarly wonder expression is there, because he can not believe that a stupid, irrational, idiotic creature can do the male task 'also' (-no matter how simple that task was).

The above discussion [no. f( a and b)] prompts us to consider whether sex-role stereo types are identical in India and in the West; and if not then what are the differences. A general idea of the concept of sex-roles has been given in Chapter 2 , so that on its basis we can say that studies in the field of sex role development have explored sex-role orientations, preferences and behaviour. Consequently its been seen that "traditional belief patterns affirm stereotypes perspectives of proper sex roles; contemporary belief patterns rfect an egalitarean value system" [Travis and Seipp 1978:534]. As Mead quotes a 14 year old girl on the meaning of 'tomboy' - "yes, it is true that it used to mean a girl who tried to act like a boy, dress like a boy.. But that belonged to the Hoop skirt era. Now-a-days all girls have to do is to act exactly like boys..." [Mead 1963:310].

Coming to the more specific context of India and the West, we find that despite general similarities (in

terms of male-female dichotomy and public-private sphere dichotomy), the stereotypes are not exactly identical. As for example in the Hindu society the role and status of motherhood is the most desirable one i.e. there is a greater mother-complex. Whereas in the West wife and mother are both synonymous in terms of importance.

Even in the primitive societies studied by Margaret Mead we find that greater emphasis is placed on the concept of motherhood. She observed that there is an element of envy and even awe in men's attitude toward women. Men's devaluation of women results in part from their envy of women's capacity of motherhood i.e. their procreative power. Thus some initiation rites etc are seen as attempts to give this power to men. " It is men who spend their ceremonial lives pretending that it were they who had borne the children, that they can 'make men' [Mead 1974: 97]. Here motherhood is more in the sense of power and authority and something which is to be envied. In her book 'Coming of Age in Samoa "... (1928,1969) Margaret Mead observed that unlike in our societies (both Indian and Western) cooking was done by both men and women (ibid. p45). Nevertheless as in India, even here domestic activities like tidying the house, washing, weaving, gathering flowers for weaving, baby

sitting etc. are the domain of girls. "... for better chances of marriage she should be adept in domestic tasks" (ibid-p.33). At the same time the heavy routine agricultural work and plantation work is also done by women. Unlike the males, adults and boys, who go for deep sea fishing the females confine themselves to reef-fishing - "Between men's formal work and women's formal work there is a rigid division. Women do not enter into house-building or boat-building activities ... nor men may enter the formal weaving house or the house where women are making tapa (bark cloth).." (ibid p.72). Similar is the situation in the Hindu society (traditional) where kitchen is regarded as an all-woman domain and the male-entry is debarred.

In the western society, marriage revolves more around the two partners, but in India the married woman's roles get defined not only with respect to her husband but to the "entire family, caste, class and community" [Ghadially 1988:16]. Ghadially also observes that gender-roles are not simply due to biology or social situations but are quite deeply embedded in myths and legends. This is especially true of India. In the West one does not find Virgin Mary presented as a model to be emulated (-Virgin

Mother Mary) as one finds Sita, Savitri, Damyanti in India. Similarly Kakar observes that Indian society considers the purpose and identity of a woman to be synonymous with motherhood irrespective of her caste, class, religion, wealth etc. and each child (especially if its a son) borne and nurtured by her is a certificate of her womanhood (Ghadially; 1988: 44). Kakar aptly describes an Indian woman's psycho-social personality and roles in three parts.

1. as a daughter to her parents.
2. as a wife to her husband (and daughter-in-law to his parents).
3. as a mother to her sons.

M.N. Srinivas reports - "It is the mother's duty to train her daughter up to be an absolute docile daughter-in-law (Srinivas; 1942). According to Kakar, her status within her husband's family is not of a wife but of a servile daughter-in-law. [Ghadially 1988:62]. Nandy observes that the mother-son relationship is the basis of all social relationships in India. "... the distinguishing point in the justification of her loneliness and self-abregation is her symbolic status as a mother (i.e. motherhood is a compensatory mechanism here) (Nandy, 1980).

In India, greater emphasis is laid on the maternal role, in the West the emphasis is more on conjugality, for the woman (Nandy, 1980:43)

The above discussion shows that the Western and Indian perception of females are slightly distinct. But is this distinction reflected in the advertisements (of West and India)? This is to be seen.

d. The Family:

Goffman considers a nuclear family's depiction in an advertisement as a visual representation of the basic unit of social organization and its function of serving as symbolization of the family's social structure. Almost every 'family advertisement' has a set of parents and at least one boy and one girl. (i.e. both sexes included). Goffman finds that women are shown more similar and compatible to their daughters (and to themselves, in their younger age). But this is not so in the case of males (This principle is not very strictly applicable to India, especially in the 70's when the social demand for a son's birth, was visible also in the advertisements.) In family advertisements, it is either the father or the son or both,

who are shown being "powerfully" active. Or, in some cases, the father and son are shown standing together protectively around the other female members. This is not a very regular pattern in Indian advertisements, again may be because of social factors which are biased and thus more protective towards the son.

In India in case the advertisement is about household appliances or something typically female-oriented or feminine (like washing, cooking, cleaning, bandaging wounds/burns, cosmetic etc) then the little girl is shown in a fond relationship with her mother (e.g. the advertisement of Carefree Sanitary napkins, Burnol, Medicare, Ponds Talcum powder, Videocon washing machine etc.).

Goffman further observes that often the father and/or son, stand away at some distance from the visible physical circle of the family. He believes this to represent an expression of relationship whose protectiveness is linked with distance (avoidance of an incestuous relationship). However, I feel this can also be interpreted in terms of:

1. The role assigned to the male for acting as a protector or a guardian of the rest of the family almost in the sense

of being a herdsman.

2. Or, in terms of superior status as the head of the household, so that, he does not need to get involved in those expressive, non-instrumental functions which are being performed by his wife. It is almost inevitable in such advertisements that women molly - coddle children while the men either give approving looks or exhibit boredom or indifference. In the majority of Indian advertisements, the father's presence is not even shown, if it is a depiction relating to such typical female - domains (-domestic sphere).

e. Ritualization of subordination is another frame by which Goffman analyzes hierarchical social relations. He first deals with depictions involving a child and an adult, and then proceeds to adults (This is because a child is inferior in the social hierarchy and women and children are both subordinate to men). He uses an analogy between dogs (fawning animal) and the human depiction of subordination - superiority. He finds a direct co-relation between respect (fear-induced, maybe) and inferior social statuses; as is visible in lowering oneself physically in some way to depict prostration. Corresponding response by the superior is to

stand erect, head held high so as to exhibit unashamedness, superiority and scorn/superciliousness.

1. The lying posture (of women) in advertisements signifies not only social class-difference but also marked gender differences (-as seen in advertisements of beds, carpets etc where the lying/reclining person is obviously visible as being physically lower placed than the other on the chair etc. or standing) The lower physical placement also implies lower social status, because floors etc are regarded as being unclean - impure, so that the rubbish items, footwear, dogs etc are placed here - and to include a female here drastically reduces her status. Also, when one is lying it is difficult to defend oneself; so that he/she lies there at the mercy of his/her surrounding (-i.e., no self-dependence). It also implies free sexual availability - as depicted in Indian advertisements of mattresses, bedsheets etc (e.g. Kurlon and Bombay Dyeing respectively).

2. Body cant and head cant: (Here too Goffman uses the dog's bodily contortions and distortions, as an analogy) These two canting postures have the same effect; viz. of subordination.

By the term "canting" what the author presumably means is lowering of the level of head/body-part to that of others, including viewers. It indicates the

- a. acceptance of subordination
- b. represents ingratiating (i.e. acceptance of favours by deliberate effort
- c. submissiveness and
- d. appeasement.

The term 'head cant' refers to the way the head is bent at an angle usually by females or children, in a coquettish or cute way, so as to show appreciation or enjoyment.

e. Smiles, according to Goffman are basically ritualistic mollifiers, which suggest a desire of a non-argumentative, non-aggressive situation so as to show that the other individual or actor is approved of or appreciated. It appears, that in a cross-sexed social situation in a number of societies, women smile more and more expansively than men; and this hyper-ritualization is evidently made use of in a profitable way, even in the advertisements.

4. Copy the puckish, impish smile and behaviour of little

children - This is done by advertisers for women, so as to place them in the subordinate and indulgent category of children. Women not only ape the smiles of children, but also their ways of standing - i.e. hands behind the back, one foot placed on the other, both hands placed in the side pockets, or using the "entire body as a playful gesticulative device - sort of body clowning" (Goffman; 1979:50). There are mainly two reasons for this:

1. to act as a pampered child; so as to appear cute in the eyes of men (again, parent-child complex between the two sexes).
2. to try out various guises in different social situations and at the same time not be deeply or irrevocably involved or committed to it. (e.g. when the advertisements, show a supposed career-woman; the attire and the whole getup somehow looks not her real self, but merely a costume) unlike the women, the men are shown both in formal and informal attires but at the same time, each guise seems to give him a totally serious and deeply 'identified-with' look i.e. not wearing a costume.
5. Mock assault games - Advertisements abundantly use this gesture. Adults play these games with children chase and

capture, grab and squeeze, striking but not hurting. Here the child is playfully treated as a prey under attack by a predator. However, men play these games also with women (pseudo-children) so that symbolically, women here are in the category of children. Goffman believes that underneath this display there lies a profound statement of threat - which seemingly suggests of what he could do if he got serious about it. Thus the innocent looking playfulness in the commercial pictures, is after all not so innocent.

6. Boundary marking by males. In many advertisements we see the male extending an arm around a female (either holding her or resting his hand on or around her chair etc.) - in effect this denotes the boundary of his social property (i.e. the female) and guards it against any encroachments.

7. Pairs of persons:

1. Micro ecology: Sometimes male and a female are shown standing or sitting alongside, with or without touching. This is a symmetrical arrangement involving no differences in social rank or role.

2. Arm lock: Usually the woman is shown under the protective custody of the accompanying male (be he her

father, husband, brother, boy friend etc). Even though it is asymmetrical both physically and socially, Goffman believes that no sexual or legal link is implied here.

3. Shoulder-hold - This is also an asymmetrical arrangement. Usually the person who holds the other's shoulder, is a male and is taller than the other person who invariably is like a subordinate, be it a subordinate male or any female in general. The grasp implies that the person held, should be accepting the holder's direction and limitations between adult cross-sex partners, this also suggests sexually potential proprietorship. (-usually of the man over the woman) Similar implications are involved in the frame of hand-holding between an adult males and females.

f. Licenced withdrawal: Goffman has devoted a sizeable amount of his work to this frame. He observes that women more than men appear in the advertisements to be withdrawn from the present social situation. What the author means by this is that women are frequently shown as being at a psychological loss or distanced, detaching them from the social situation which makes them unoriented for any action and presumably therefore dependent on the protectiveness and

goodwill of others who are present. Nevertheless the important point here is that, almost always women are shown as being lost, with a far-away look in their eyes; thereby showing a character which is licenced for not being realistic and down to earth (i.e. easily malleable).

Hyper- ritualized versions of this condition are shown in the advertisements with various poses - e.g. hiding the face, finger touching the mouth, finger to finger contact, head-eye aversion, turning one's gaze away, mentally drifting away, snuggling etc. Covering the face, or a lighter version of this, touching the mouth with a finger, is a ritualization which is associated with children, who due to any emotional response lose composure and then try to conceal the lapse. Goffman therefore deliberately uses first a child's picture in each of these sub-headings, so that one can easily contrast the male-female hyper-ritualized interaction, with the help of the child's position.

One usually hides one's face due to remorse, fear, shyness or laughter, this is also achieved symbolically by covering the mouth with hands (a lot of advertisements bear testimony to this interpretation). Other advertisements

show finger biting or sucking, which is supposed to depict anxiety, fear etc. The social conditioning is such that when a male eye (i.e. patriarchal society) sees this picture, he immediately thinks in terms of protecting the 'damsel in distress'. Similarly turning one's gaze away or having a head-eye aversion, indicates the reluctance on the part of the actor to exhibit his actual feelings. It means withdrawing from the current stream of communication so as to be able to control one's emotions.

Head-lowering - involves denotation of reduction in height, accompanied by its social implications of subordination and submission. It is so because one feels quite ashamed for being unable to control one's emotional outburst and thereby getting under the control of the partner.

Another interesting frame employed is that of "participation shield". Here it is possible to look (usually done by females) from a distance or from behind certain objects in such a way that the person who is looking, is not visible - atleast not clearly visible (-as is done by Indian women in public, observing purdah (ghunghat for the Hindu and Burka for the Muslim women). This is done so as to observe the events no doubt, but not

be subject to a public exhibition of their feelings or responses to that event (licensed withdrawal).

The hyper-ritualization of this gesture is generously used in advertisements and is made visible by presenting the actor at the edge of the situation/frame, (as was observed also in traditional Indian Photographs).<sup>8</sup> Advertisements also show women shielding themselves behind objects (products being advertised), behind persons - usually males - so that he can't see how she is expressing her feelings (- because she might not want to display her feelings to him) etc. The expression on her face in such situations is one of coyness and dependance; but in case one finds a reversal of positions (male behind the female) - the male definitely does not seem coy or dependent; rather he looks smug and self-assertive.

Some advertisements show women twisting a part of the man's apparel e.g. a button or as in India, she tugs at her own sari's "pallav" or her "dupatta"; thereby distracting attention away from her social expression, atleast for some time. This as well as the dreamy looks in her eyes when in close physical contact with a male, suggest how protected and carefree she feels in his shielded

company., so that she can enjoy herself, and the male will take care of her and keep her away from any harm. Consequently men are shown having a 'wary' and monitoring look'. In case the male is not looking directly at the camera his gaze is usually not given that dreamy expression, which becomes a must for the women. The advertisements which involve a cross-sexed pair showing an emotional response (pleasure, delight etc) show the women like a child - expressing her delight in gay - abandon, and in a more expressive and expansive way, than the man; as though if a man behaves similarly he will lose his prestige or dignity.

Advertisements abound, which show women nuzzling their babies, men or objects as well as snuggling into the arms/chest of the man. These two depict giving comfort and seeking protection respectively. However it is very rare that men are shown seeking such protection from women. Nuzzling denotes symbolic shower of affection and love, done by the nose (-as when a horse nuzzles his master). Even while snuggling, it is usually the woman who snuggles and is placed lower (physically and therefore socially) to the male.

**Assessment :**

The given discussion thus shows how women usually become children in the advertisements. At the same time any expression of a physical contact between the partners (-of opposite sex), is shown not in the males eyes or behaviour but only in the females', i.e., the woman's face and body are used as signifiers of the experience. This implies that only women are expected to exhibit their feelings in public, just as children do. Thus advertisements are used as illustrations for the desired behavioural practices/arrangements conveying social meanings i.e. advertisements become sign - vehicles of behavioural norms. It is from here that the ideals/aspirations of people get moulded in terms of physical looks and behaviour/social roles.

Goffman indicates how the status - quo (-of patriarchy, I will say) is maintained in the society via the advertisement.

Goffman observes - 'the task of the advertiser is to attract viewers to his product by using a device which

shows a sparkling version of his product in the context of glamorous events. "The implication is... if you buy the one (this product), you are in the way to realizing the other (usually the female model)..." [Goffman 1979:26]. Thus the female's body is used to draw the audience-attention, - "a classy young lady is .... adding her approval of the products and herself to its ambience...." (ibid). But in real life, especially in countries like India, where a woman's life itself is dictated by men, the question of giving her approval does not arise at all. Famous personalities/often lend their glamour (glamour in the Bergerian sense) to products being advertised. (An example is Lux soap, which is approved by female film stars, so that the buyer presumably treats Lux as a means to becoming glamorous).

The display of natural expressions in such advertisements are actually not so natural, because they are the contrived and carefully performed poses, which merely simulate the natural behaviour and expressions. These poses succeed in aligning the actors to the idealized/ritualized ways of conduct etc. The photography here is not of the various actors but is actually a depiction of masculinity

and feminity in their ideal forms. Here both Goffman and the feminists might agree with each other that women are depicted as :

- a . creatures of embodied sexual utility,
- b. as completely mindless domestics, who feel thrilled looking at well scrubbed floors or feel the opposite with dirty floors and the like.

The feminists also point out the social and political purposes served by the advertisements, which try to reinforce the notion of men being 'naturally' superior intelligent and dominant , and women as 'naturally' subordinate and dim - witted.

Usually advertisements show a subject (i.e. a model) and a product accompanied sometimes by an 'unfocussed look (- in the Bergerian terminology). The result does not seem natural or real, but gives a rather frozen look. Such a look in the context of males, I believe, refers to the notion of glamour which is generated, when others feel envious of the model portrayed, , (-as Berger would have put it). But for women, this expression denotes submission (when she returns a passive gaze to the intrusive male-look,

thereby rendering submission to the male-look) Even when she is shown as being enviable she is placed with a "withdrawing - into - herself" bodily expression, rather than a self-confident and assertive expression.

The given discussion shows how advertisements affect accepted views about appropriate gender behaviour. In this context one can also see the important role played by socialization in a child's development. The child observes, not only in the advertisements but also in her family, that it is a particular gender (-the male) who takes the important decisions as well as has his opinion voiced forcefully and also gets it accepted by others. She also observes that women behave like little childrens (or as she behaves with her parents) to get attention from the men. This orients the minds of the little boys and girls about how they are to behave when they grow up.

Nevertheless, coming back to the concept of society/social arrangement, Goffman observes that the task of an advertiser is to dramatize the value of his product, and this orientation has parallels with society, which tries to infuse its social situation with ceremonies and rituals (-i.e. dramatize) so as to have well-defined social

relationships. the advertizer hyper-ritualizes this situation in his pictures, and this differentiates his depiction from the real life. Advertizers however do not create these ritualized expressions, they simply utilize them as available from the society and mould them in an economically profitable way.

5. Methodology adopted:

The method adopted here is based on the interpretative - understanding scheme, with emphasis on evaluation through discovery of the inner meanings / connotations of genderized advertisements.

The following methodological assumptions have been adopted here:

1. Society is hierarchically arranged with the females being placed in an inferior category vis-a-vis the males.
2. The patriarchal ideology tries to maintain this status quo, by determining the 'appropriate social behaviour' of the genders.
3. Social institutions are extensions of the patriarchal ideology.

#### 4. Advertisements are a reflection of the social reality.

Keeping the above assumptions in mind, I have made a 'longitudinal study' of advertisements' within the time-frame of the last two decades. The sample thus includes advertisements under the theme of 'genderism', and the collection of samples is through secondary sources viz. popular magazines. The random - sampling technique has been used for choosing the various issues of particular magazines. The time-frame includes three divisions (i) 70's; (ii) early 80's; and (iii) late 80's. The magazines are of two types: (i) women's magazines; (ii) family magazines (ie. read by all). The women's magazines include - Femina and Woman's Era (English); and Manorama and Grihashobha (Hindi). The family magazines include - The Illustrated weekly (English) and Dharmyug (Hindi). The total number of magazine issues consulted is 24 with 2 issues of each magazine-type in each of the three divisions.

The advertisements have been collected in the following way:

In each magazine-issue chosen, all the full-page,

half-page, three-fourth page, and one-fourth page size advertisements have been analyzed. Copies of those advertisements have been included which serve as reference points. The advertisement copies are given in Annexure I. The advertisements have been analyzed with the aid of the frame-analysis technique, so that the depictions are viewed under various frames. Goffman's and Berger's frames have also been used here with my own application and interpretation of them to suit the Indian depictions. The frames used are of six types (as given below) and these are to be aided by props like accompanying texts of the advertisement, depiction of romanticized nature and other such factors which are present in the micro-ecology of the given advertisement.

1. Image frame

(i). Masculine Image: (Virility, power, grasping hold, large body size, taller than female, physical placement, authoritative self touch, bold, male as the expert).

(ii) Feminine Image : The feminine image is determined by the male-gaze. The characteristics of the image are - smaller frame, shorter than male, light touch by fingers,

face, nails; hesitant self-touch, social presence i.e. gestures and physical placement (lying down, seated lower, reverential eyes, canting postures, cutification/smiles, body-clowning, mock assault games, expressive faces/eyes, canons of feminine beauty etc.).

2. Ideal family frame: (The ideal family compositions, roles assigned to each gender, i.e. expressive Vs. instrumental, reversals in the traditional domain).

3. Female-body frame: (Female anatomy shown in parts - i.e. sexual overtones: positioning of women's bodies in an 'all-woman' advertisement; boundary-marking/protection by males - arms around body/shoulder, arm-lock, hand-holding, body-leaning).

4. Magical Transformation Frame: (Personal transformation for glamour, envy. Interrelationships transformation; transformations and racial superiority.

5. Licensed withdrawal (- turning one's gaze away, head-eye aversion accompanied usually by child like behaviour - finger in the mouth, one foot on another etc., mentally drifted away look, participation shield, snuggling, nuzzling, etc.).

6. Racial superiority: (White male/female gives the ultimate judgement about the quality of the product etc.).

Each magazine - issue has been analyzed keeping the above frames in mind. All incidences of genderization are noted. Further, these instances are related to the patriarchal ideology by combining the use of the signifiers employed (in the advertisements) so as to trace the outline of responses of patriarchy to the contingencies of the situations as they arose in the given period. The response of patriarchy is to be seen in terms of :

- a. The programme, these responses are part of;
- b. The strategies that are adopted to achieve the goals identified.

## CHAPTER - 4

### THE SOCIOLOGICAL FINDINGS

In this Chapter the six frames mentioned earlier, have been used to analyse those advertisements, where genderism - as explicitly visible or implicitly connoted - has been found. Advertisements have been regarded as having a "female-role" theme, even when the physical depiction is not there, though the written text mentions it. Similarly those advertisements dealing with food-items or cooking vessels etc, which do not show a male or a female and use the word "you/your"; have also been placed in the 'female-role' theme because the traditional, patriarchal ideology regarded this to be a woman's domain (so that the advertisements now cleverly use this theme). The total number of advertisements, analyzed from the randomly chosen magazines, is 692 .

The analytical frame can be understood clearly with the following examples.

Adv. No. 1 shows an advertisement apparently of fabrics. It shows a glamorous woman, seated in a dreamy

background (as is depicted by the greenery reflected in the water.) The most prominent frame is of the ideal image of femininity, which has as its basis the implicit recognition of the male - gaze. She almost seems to be capable of walking out of the picture - frame, and settling down into the arms of the male-spectator, The way she lifts her hands and places them lightly on her face, (light feminine touch as well as self - touching in a hesitant way ) almost shielding the upper portion of her body shows that she can understand the implication of the way the male - spectator is viewing her. She is shown as being both eager and shy, as well as hesitant of the ensuing reaction of the male (audience). This also explains her averted - gaze (psychologically withdrawn, immersed in her own fantasies of her encounters with the male; the licensed withdrawal frame)

At the same time, the way she is placed or seated (apparently in a boat) makes her lower-placed than the spectator who is looking at her from the top; this connotes her socially inferior status, as being easily available for sexual - participation, as being at the mercy of the male, etc. Her 'carefully' posed 'natural posture', shows her dual role of the surveyor and the surveyed. At the same time, her lifted eye-brow (one) signifies two things - a symbol of

pride and glamour, thus a source of envy for the females; and an open challenging invitation, for the males.

Another frame which is thus visible here is of glamour - related, magical transformation. The promise and hope extended by the product makes the female audience (or the male, for his girl friend or wife) feel that she too can be as attractive and affluent as the model if she uses that product (the Cinderella syndrome)

Advertisement no. 2 Is another case in point, which explicitly deals with the female - body frame especially in the context of the female body being regarded, as the exclusive property of the accompanying male. The sub-frame is thus of boundary-marking The way he firmly places his arm around her shoulder makes this political message very clear. This message is supported by his head being positioned above (or rather on) hers, as well as his firm grasp, larger frame etc. She is once again shown as psychologically withdrawn , using his arm as her participation shield, so that he cannot immediately observe her coy reaction (but the male - audience can). The canons<sup>of</sup> feminine beauty (image - frame) depicted are of slim long fingers, well painted nails, sharp - features etc.

Advertisement no. 3 is an ideal depiction of the concept of male - gaze. Here she is made to sit as an object put on display-her eyes giving the audience her reciprocal gaze . The gaze suggests that she knows she is looking attractive but at the same time she is inviting the male for a game (of pursuing her and then ultimately 'winning' her). The deliberate and suggestive baring of her shoulder (with the light focussed on it) invites the attention of the male viewer. Thus, the whole depiction is oriented to be a feast for the ideal audience i.e. the male audience.

Advertisement No. 4 This depiction once again refers to the Image frame. e.g. The way the feminine - touch is depicted by female fingers lightly cradeling the toys. Also it is a depiction of female body-clowning (e.g. see no's 1 and 2 in it) i.e. the way she contorts and distorts her body in a clownish, childish, joker-like way (so as to appear cute).

Advertisement no. 5 This shows the direct contrast in the way males are depicted and the way females are shown. Here he is not bothered about how he is looking (in terms of physical attractiveness for the audience). He is shown not as a passive dummy but as an ideal male i.e. full of power,

action, virility.

Advertisement no. 6 This depiction explains Berger's notion of the female not giving much attention to the male who is accompanying her, because she prefers to have a larger audience for appreciating her looks. Here the smile on her face and in her eyes, is mainly for the spectators.

A glance at the given table indicates that women's magazines have a comparatively larger number of advertisements (398) than the family magazines (294). This coupled with the point that it is in the women's magazines that "women-only" theme is used much more frequently than "men only" theme has a lot of significance. In the first phase the ratio between the two was 4:1 and 5:1 in Women's Magazines, and 3:1 and 3:1 in Family magazines. In itself this shows the greater reliance on women's bodies as eye stoppers; at the same time hinting at an increase in this tendency, ironically in those magazines which are supposedly "women's magazines". The second phase showed an interesting pattern with first an increase (11:1) and then a decrease (10:1) in the first category and a radical change in the family magazines, where first an equal ratio and then an increase (double) in the depiction of only male

advertisements occurred. This when seen in the light of changing circumstances, emergence of strong women's movements, greater participation of women in the public sphere etc, speaks volumes. Once again the pioneering agent is the family magazines. The women's magazines in both phases, showed greater emphasis on the depiction of woman as the personification of beauty whereas the family magazines gave an almost equal importance to her confident depiction in the public sphere. The trend has been similar in the third phase as compared to the first phase (i.e. greater ratio of 'women only' to 'men only' category).

Another indicator of the changing perception of women is the 'non-genderized' advertisements. Interestingly, both the magazines (women's magazines and family magazines) had an almost equal total number of such advertisements (69 and 68 respectively) but the family magazines had this proportion greater than the women's magazines. Nevertheless, both types of magazines showed an increase in this category, in the second phase and a decrease in the third. (-thus, similarity being evident in the first and third phases' trends).

In the context of such similar signifiers of women's emancipation (-signification), I have utilized the

"reversal-technique" to show, that the second phase, in both the magazines was more open and emancipatory. The following sub-frames are some such indicators:

(1) Public/Private sphere: Greater participation by females in the non-domestic sphere, was visible in the early 80's. [for example, in the The Illustrated Weekly of India, April 17, 1983, the advertisement on an Electronics industry - where both genders are shown involved in actual-office-work; or the advertisement in the Woman's Era, October 2nd 1984, which lays a greater emphasis on building her personality for the public sphere]. Leather-bags, short hair/tidily maintained hair, saris worn in a crisp way (not the bridal way), books, western dresses, etc. were the markers or symbols which indicated her presence in the public-domain.

2. Roles - Cooking, taking care of the children, etc. were shown in an increasing number of advertisements, in the second phase, as being performed by males too (-and without female supervision); eg. see ad.no.7. (or - for example there was an advertisement of the father massaging the baby, - Woman's Era, Dec.84). This trend was visible both in the Hindi and English magazines, of the two categories of

magazines.

3. Physical Placement - A lot of advertisements mainly in the second phase showed the woman sitting higher than the man, or the man stooping and she standing and so on [e.g. the Colgate advertisement in Dharmyug (21st May, 1985) shows the woman standing in a caring yet authoritative way, whereas the daughter and father are placed lower and are looking up to her (See advertisement no. 8). Or, the advertisement of Kohinoor condoms in The Illustrated Weekly of India, May, 8, 1983, where she is sitting higher than him and has placed an authoritative, "my-property" - type elbow on his shoulder. This indicates that women in that phase were emerging to assert themselves.

4. Image frame: As opposed to the coy submissive image of the first and third phase the women here have been increasingly shown as confident, independent outgoing human-beings. Various advertisements of Boroline, Bharat Gas etc; show her as biking/driving alone, going to the office, going to the college/university etc.

5. Ideal child - Emphasis on a son, has been a norm in our society, nevertheless, greaater instances were found in the

second phase (than in the others) of an ideal family having one girl or sometimes one girl and one boy. (See ad.2 the first phase practically lacked this feature). This was also the period of a great emphasis by the Indian Government on a small family norm.

6. Alienated Male-bodies - Usually (in the female-body-frame) women are shown as being alienated (and thus objectified as sexual objects to the male gaze) from the other females, as in, all-woman advertisements. And this is visible by the completely absorbed look in their eyes. Nevertheless, a new trend started, mainly in the Family Magazines' where even men were objectified in this way, each trying to impress the two-genders of the audience - without noticing the others around him. (see ad.no.9)

Of course, this was not female-emancipation; nevertheless, atleast, females were not the only ones objectified.

### III

Coming to the general depiction of women, in the overall period (1970's to late 1980's, it was observed that the "ideal family frame" had greater instances of the role

of women especially on the role of motherhood (-cooking for the children, feeding the baby, changing the baby's napkins, washing, stitching clothes, etc). The second important role seemed to be of the wife - again mainly "mothering" him. Similarly the 'Image Frame' laid more emphasis on canons of female beauty (long dark hair, sari-clad, bindi, wearing a 'mangal sutra' if a mother, large-eyed, sensuous lips, delicate hands, well adorned feet, nails polished, wearing "bichuas" and anklets, designed with henna or alta etc) as well as on feminine touch, cutification of smiles/gestures etc. In all such instances, she was shown with a gaze which communciated (-in Bergerian language) and her smiles/gestures were more indicative, of her submission to her spectator owner (-Bergerian Vocabulary again). It was also observed that "only a part of the anatomy" focus, was only found in the female-depiction, especially in advertisements of underwear, figure-trimming, dress-materials etc. which clearly had sexual overtones (for example See ads.no. 10,11). 'Boundary-marking' was amply used in all phases by males and in very few instances by females (in the second phase only). Also, The frame of magical transformation included greater depiction of females of the Cinderella Syndrome (cosmetics, tonics, clothes) and

consequently also for the Enchanted Palace Syndrome. Women were found in this, more often as giving greater attention to the male-audience gaze, than to their accompanying 'Prince Charming' thereby proving Berger's hypothesis of abject subordination to the patriarchal, male-gaze. Men in the Enchanted Palace Syndrome were more often found in the context of suitings, scooters, etc. (See ad.nos. 12,13). White social supremacy too was used in some ads (either as a white female giving admiring looks to the male, or as a 'white male' attracting a bevy of beauties (see ad.no.14). This trend was more popular in the 1970's, and re-emerged in the third phase again.

In the context of the parent-child relationship, over the whole period, advertisements showing a close bond between the mother and daughter, were those of the typically female-domain (beautiful body/hair, cooking, washing, sewing etc), so that it seems to me, more of an extension of the mother -image in the daughter. Mother - son relationship, on the other hand, showed the mother as caring about his health (Bournvita, Amul cheese etc) and about his future education/career (e.g. The Allahabad Bank, advertisement, Dharmyug Aug 5, 1973). The father-daughter relationship is

more of indulgence /caring (see ad no. 15) whereas the father-son relationship is seen in the context of his education and career. Thus gender-role extensions are clearly visible in these advertisements.

(ii) Conclusion

The above discussion clearly shows the ways in which women are placed in the non-instrumental, dependent status of the social hierarchy. The patriarchal ideology cleverly "cons" the female into submitting to the male sexual appetite, apparently in the name of feminine beauty, charm, gracefulness and delicate nature" (of the woman). This political strategy ensures that she is always busy in making herself "presentable" to any male eye, so that she does not even have the time to bother about the more rational pursuits of life, as an independent individual. Physically placing herself lower (symbolized in sitting near his feet/kneeling) canting her body, lying on the floor, beds etc., simply convert her into an object of lust, which is as easily available as disposable. Similarly the "protection and comfort' given by the male to her, transforms her into his appendage, who thus has full control or authority as well as power over her body and sexuality.

Also, glorification of motherhood is another political strategy, which binds her to the realm of domestic duties. This domestication<sup>1</sup> once again ensures, that she does not go out, and is thus constantly available to serve her master (husband) and his children. One can see the applicability of Maslow's theory<sup>2</sup> of 'Needs' here (Davis 1978) in the sense that women are shown more in the need of emotional security and thus more domesticated, and men are mainly shown as associated with autonomy and achievement in public spheres. Thus, the esteem needs and physiological needs become more important for them. At the same time, one finds that female role depictions are also borrowed from our ancient pieces of sculpture (thus the child theme as depicted in ad. no. 16 is borrowed from an Orissa Medieval temple. (Deneck 1984)

The given analysis shows how the patriarchal ideology has managed to maintain a status quoist position. This becomes more evident, when we see that there has been a cyclical trend in the depiction of genderism in advertisements in the 3 phases. A look at the tables can show the similarities of the representation of femininity (and consequently the politics of gender) in the first and third phase, of the 2 types of magazines. The middle phase

led to the creation of certain signifiers of the emancipated woman (as mentioned earlier). Kate Millet's dealing with the sexual revolution, in two - phases, can be used as an analogy in the sphere of gendered advertisement analysis. She observed that the first phase was a remarkable failure, because the new image of females was subverted to serve the patriarchal ends. I find that a similar phenomenon has occurred in the third phase of my study, where the signifiers of an emancipated woman of the second phase, were readapted to the patriarchal ideology so that the signifieds of the same signifiers, had opposite implications in the two phases. (So that even if a woman has a career, or is more public-sphere oriented, the advertisements give this a secondary emphasis, with the major emphasis being on her domestic - duties).

The very fact, that in the given samples (as depicted in the table) the Imageframe occupies the largest share of all depictions, shows, how advertisements visibly create role-models (in terms of behaviour to be adopted and gestures to be shown) for the audience.

Thus the gender system in India is so entrenched in the male biased ideology, that advertisements act as

catalysts in the creation of gender - role identities as well as one's gender based role - orientations and stereotypes. The genderised advertisements, are like the measuring - scales, which help in calculating how close or distant one is to the normative and thus accepted, depiction. As VIMOCHANA, a womens group, aptly puts it - "The communication media has ..been an integral part of society's myth making machinery....as regards gender - identity. (Desai and Patel 1985)

Gender - identity involves the recognition that the female is only an appendage of the male. Her existence serves no other purpose than to be an object of pleasure for the males, i.e. to be his ego - booster. This reification of woman is clearly and explicitly evident in the gendered advertisements, where the male - gaze or the patriarchal gaze i.e. the androcentric audience, is regarded as the sole focus of attention. In other words, it is assumed that the male is the typical and ideal spectator as well as judge of female beauty and sexuality. Gutman (1982) observes that a photograph (picture) has a central focus, the spot towards which eyes automatically gravitate, so it acts as an inviatation (my emphasis) into the picture. We can see that

in advertisements, the focus point is the woman's body/face / any part of her anatomy. The female (in the advertisement) either looks at the male-spectator coyly (by turning her gaze/face side ways i.e. by being; slightly psychologically withdrawn-being too shy to face him directly) or tries to return his gaze by a challenging look in her eyes, which is construed by the males as a direct invitation to her sexuality. Foucault terms this conversion of women into objects as subjectification (king Vs. subject).

The very fact that even the women's magazines depict women in this way shows that patriarchal socialization has been quite successful in India. Gender politics is thus effectively reflected in these depictions, where power relations are not recognized as existing between the oppressors (male) and the oppressed (females). By this we mean to say that, the very recognition that it is natural for women to be regarded as show pieces/ego-boosters for the males, shows that oppression is cleverly made to be internalized in the females. This internalization by the prevalent ideology with the aid of various 'social' technologies (in the Foucauldian sense) like advertisements, cinema etc. ensures that power - relations exist in the gender - system, in a status quoist way.

Advertisements in the Indian society are thus the powerful megaphones of patriarchy. They conveniently reflect, as well as adapt to the social reality and the dictates of the patriarchal set-up. The children are socialized by this technology of power - relations, so as to follow the set patterns of gender - based behaviour. As Kamla Bhasin says (1984:12) media has a two - way relationship with social reality. On the one hand it reflects what exists, but on the other it, affects social reality. By being selective in what it shows and how it shows it, it interprets and creates its own reality.

Thus, in a way sexual politics is a part of gender politics. This we can say is a powerful statement, but its meaning becomes clear, when we observe that in any social interaction (and not specifically a sexual - arena), the feminine looks are given a lot of importance by both the males and the females, i.e. her sexuality is recognized by the male-gaze, nevertheless the sphere remains gendered rather than biological.

APPENDIX I

If it please any man spiritual or temporal to buy any  
pys of ryes and thre comenonacions of Calicut use  
imprynted after the forme of this present letter which  
ben well and truly correct late hym come to westm;  
wester in to the almonshouse at the west gate and he shall  
have them good chape . . .

Supplicatio vestra



Translation of First  
Printed English Advertisement

If it please any man spiritual or temporal to buy any  
pys of ryes and thre comenonacions of Calicut use  
imprynted after the forme of this present letter which  
ben well and truly correct, let him come to westm:  
wester in to the almonshouse at the west gate and he shall  
have them good chape . . .

Supplicatio vestra

William Caxton, 1472

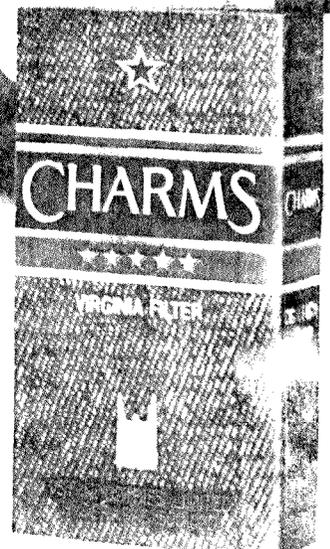
FIGURE 2.1. First Printed English Advertisement

*You are now. You are eternity. It's your way to be. You fascinate me.*



*Garden*

Advertisement No. 1.



2

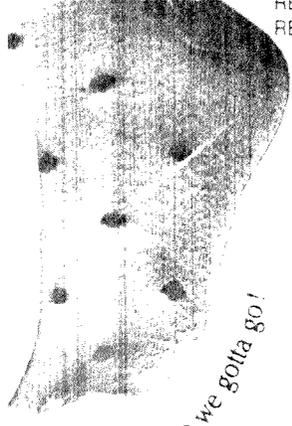
सिगरेट पीना स्वास्थ्य के लिए हानिकारक है.  
WARNING: CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH.

Enterprise



Beautiful skin  
is something you wear  
twenty-four hours a day

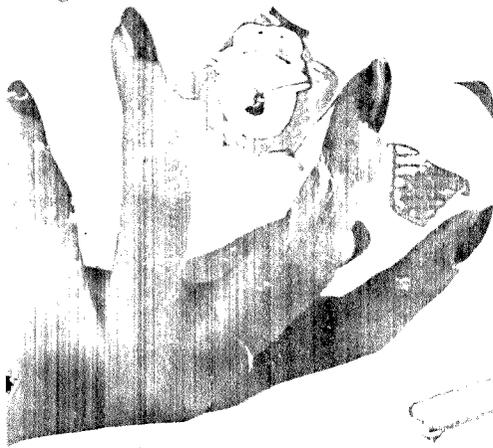
Advertisement No. 3



Good-bye JO we gotta go!

**B**Y JO!  
YOU GOT  
IT!

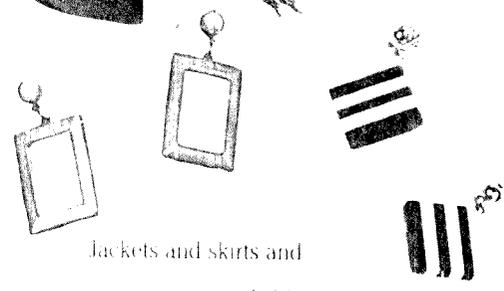
Oh Jeremie!



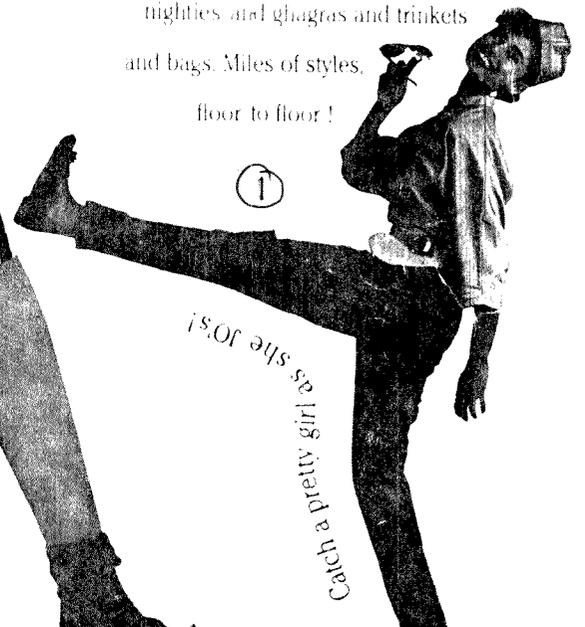
We gonna have fun on the run...



With the fandango!



Jackets and skirts and  
trousers and shirts and  
nighties and ghagras and trinkets  
and bags. Miles of styles,  
floor to floor!



Catch a pretty girl as she JO'S!

**JO'S** **JAINSONS**  
**OUTFITS**

The store to explore for mums, kids, teens 'n' babes!

E-11, CONNAUGHT PLACE, NEW DELHI 110 001.  
TEL. 3329363.

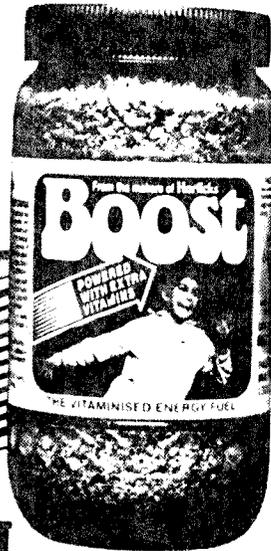
R. KANGA JO. 4. 89

**बूस्ट**  
**अब अधिक विटामिन, अधिक शक्ति**  
**के साथ!**

"अधिक विटामिनों द्वारा अधिक शक्ति - जब मुझे इनकी ख़ास ज़रूरत होती है।"

अधिक विटामिनों की शक्ति:

बूस्ट में अब अधिक विटामिन हैं। विशेषरूप से चुने गए विटामिन, जो बढ़ते हुए बच्चों की हर दिन की आवश्यकता के लिए शक्ति का भंडार बनाते हैं।



**अधिक विटामिन,  
 अधिक शक्ति**

**बूस्ट**

Advertisement No. 5.

**विटामिन-युक्त शक्ति का ईंधन**



पहला हफ्ता



दूसरा हफ्ता



तीसरा हफ्ता

Advertisement No. 6

स्विए!  
सेर्फ 6 हफ्तों में  
अनोखा गोरापन



छठा हफ्ता



### क्लियर-टोन गोरेपन प्लान का कमाल!

आप अक्सर अपने मंजिल मलाने प्राकृतिक रंग रूप की कल्पना करते हैं, क्लियर-टोन गोरेपन की टीम आपकी त्वचा में वैसीमिक निष्कार लाकर आपकी कल्पना को साकार करती है।

दिन में दो बार हल्के-हल्के क्लियर-टोन लगाइये, इसकी गर्म टीम आपकी त्वचा में जल्द ही समा जायगी, यह जायगी सिर्फ़ इसकी भीनी भीनी प्रे-वर्मापन, बस इसी समय इसका तीतरका अमर भी शुरू हो जायगा।

**एक अनोखा गोरेपन का तब** ( जो सिर्फ़ इसी टीम में है) आपके गोम गोम में जादू उभारकर आपकी त्वचा को वैसीमिक सुन्दरता प्रदान करेगा।

**एक विशेष मन-स्कीन** जो दिन भर वैसीमिक आपकी त्वचा को सुरक्षित की अपनी किण्वित व कयायगा वस्तु आपकी त्वचा को काली पदुन में भी नसेका।

**भरपूर माइश्राइज** जो आपकी त्वचा की तोगाजा बसकर आप में यौनन की पाहकहा टाककागगा।

**दाग धब्बे सब खत्म** उन चन्द हफ्तों के बाद, उह हफ्तों बाद आप खुद क्लियर-टोन का कमाल महसूस करोगी, सिर्फ़ उन्ही तब ही हम भारत की ओर कदम में नौगिया पहलने में ही प्रयास कर रही हैं।

...ने आपको भी चाहिए न क्लियर-टोन



Clear-tone  
the perfect fairness cream

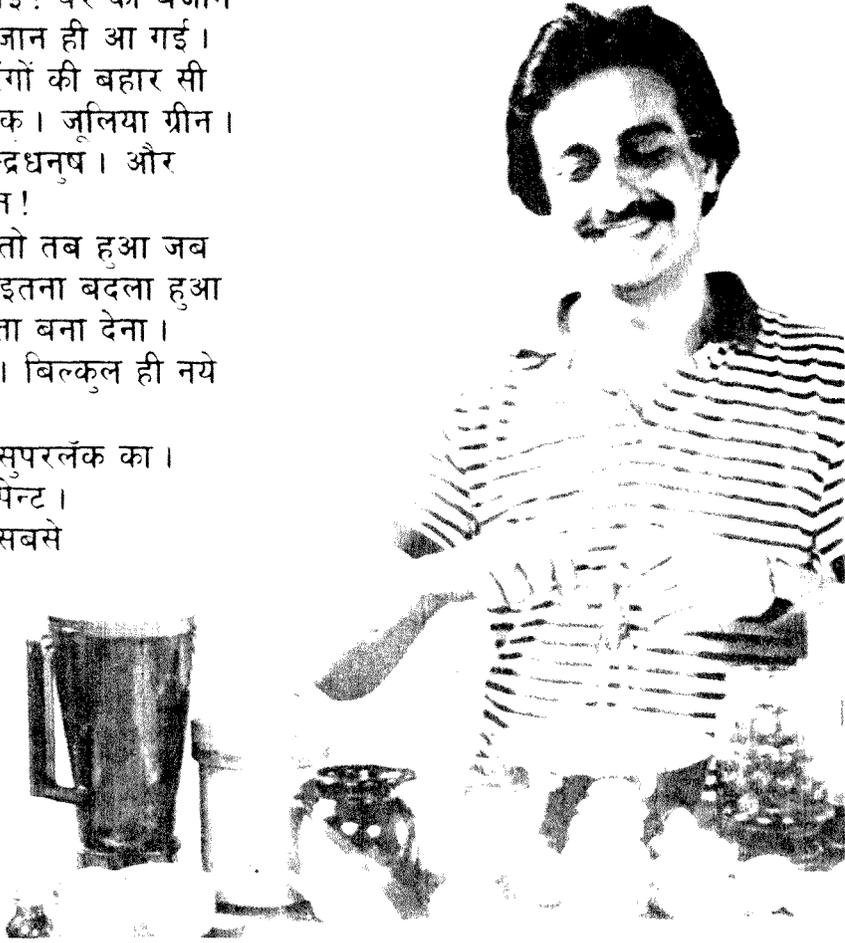
Advertisement No. 7

## जरा इन्हें ही देखिए!"

मैं देखती ही रह गई! घर की बेजान दीवारों में जैसे नई जान ही आ गई। प्यारे-प्यारे सुन्दर रंगों की बहार सी आ गई। पेल लाईलैक। जूलिया ग्रीन। चार ४४ रंगों का इन्द्रधनुष। और पलाई इतनी आसान!

"सबसे ताज्जुब तो तब हुआ जब मैंने अपने पति को इतना बदला हुआ पाया। चट से नाश्ता बना देना। नये पोस्टर लगाना। बिल्कुल ही नये इन्सान!"

यही तो जादू है सुपरलैक का। एक बेमिसाल वॉलपेन्ट। जसे देश की एक सबसे शहर पेन्ट कंपनी ने



बनाया है—शालीमार पेन्ट सुपरलैक से अपना घर और अपने घर संसार को हुआ पाइये!

### सुपरलैक

एक्रिलिक प्लास्टिक इम



शालीमार पे  
रंग हज़ार सदा

Wedding

Dharmapala  
21 May 1985



Advertisement No 8

डी सी ग्या डिटेल् स्टोर पर पाइय...  
हर वार कुछ नयाय



Advertisement no

9



Post-pregnancy  
stretch marks  
**NEED NOT  
BE PERMANENT**

Rub them away  
the tried-and-tested way...  
manne**Q**uin's  
**VITAMIN E**  
SKIN OIL



*Advertisement No. 10*  
Continue to look beautiful for your husband  
even after the birth of your baby.

Mannequin's Vitamin E Skin Oil



***YOUR KIND OF PAGE***

Advertisement no. 11

*Dearest,  
I put the rose in the vase by  
the window, there's some chilled  
wine in the fridge. Looking forward  
to a long, cool evening.*  
XXX M

WEAVE  
ROMANCE  
INTO  
YOUR LIFE.



Raymond's Sapphire Suitings. An intriguing blend of Trilobal Polyester and Wool.

Sapphire  
From  
**Raymond's**

कामयाब साधन...

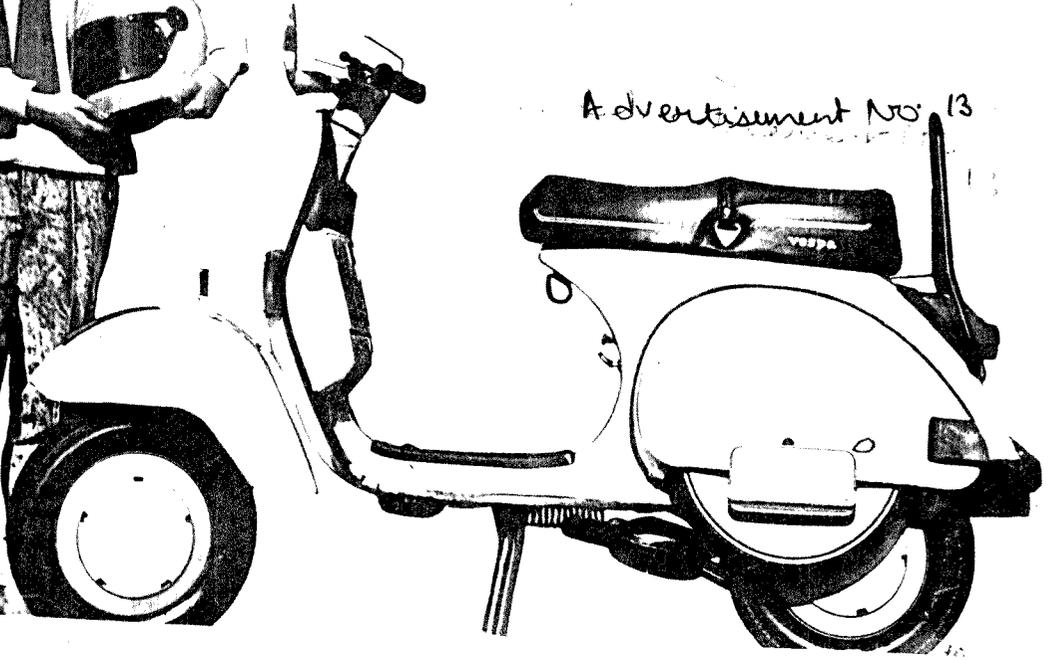
व्यक्तिगत उपयोग के लिए  
सर्वोत्तम और सुरक्षित साधन है। इसका  
उपयोग कर सकते हैं।  
इसके अलावा इसमें एक बड़े  
टैंक और एक बड़े  
एंगिन का उपयोग किया गया है।  
इसके अलावा इसमें एक बड़े  
टैंक और एक बड़े एंगिन का उपयोग  
किया गया है।

**एलएमएल  
वेस्पा  
150  
एनवी**

प्रमाणित रूप से सफल स्कूटर  
एलएमएल वेस्पा 150 एनवी का स्कूटर



Advertisement No: 13





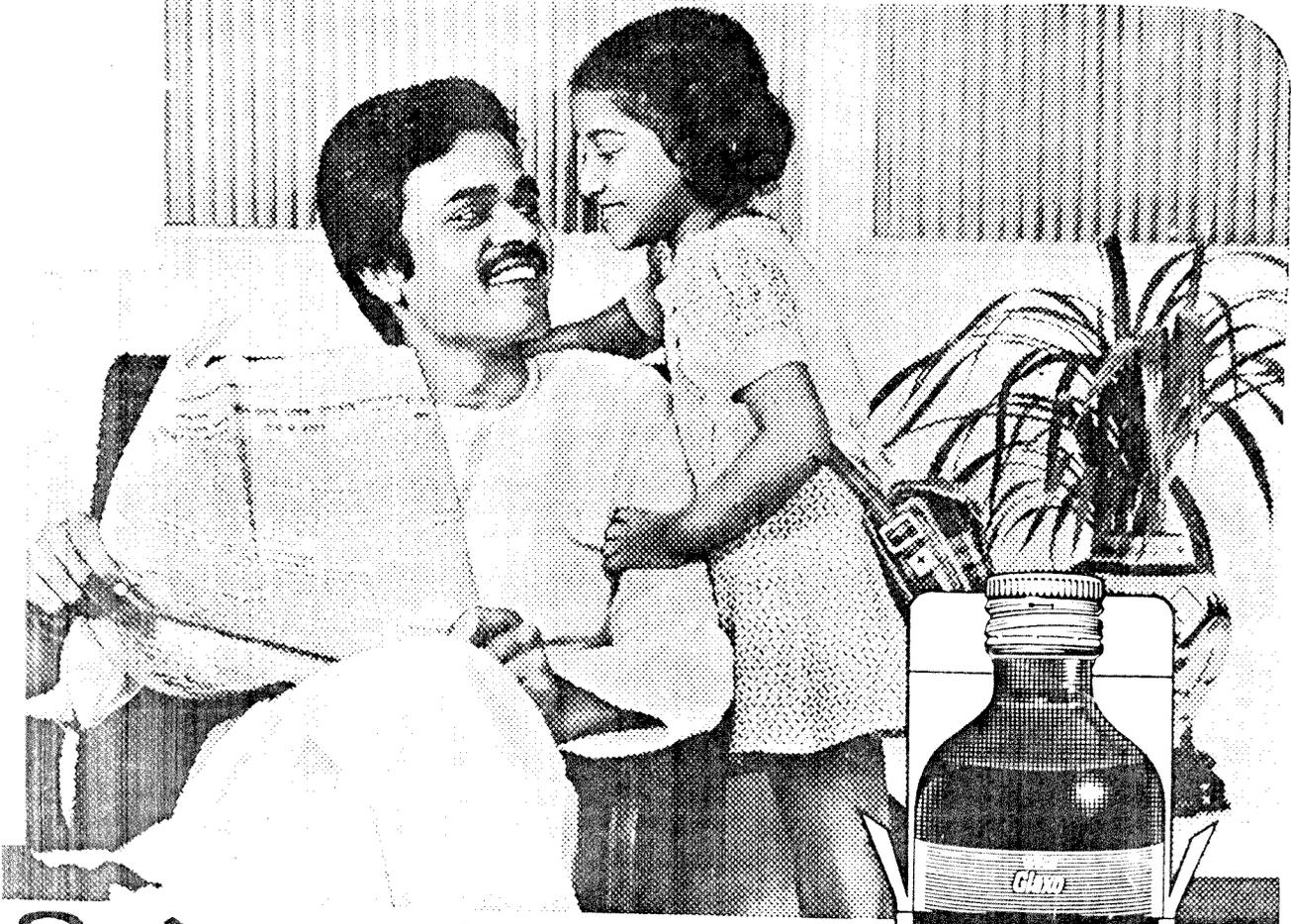
Adv. NO  
14

HECKS, STRIPES AND TEXTURES OVER A HUNDRED NEW DESIGNS EVERY MONTH.

IRTINGS FROM THE EXECUTIVE COLLECTION

**BOMBAY DYEING**   
ESTABLISHED 1879

Adv No 15.



## मिनाडेक्स का भी आपके रखून के साथ गहरा रिश्ता है

स्वस्थ खून अच्छी सेहत का आधार है। और स्वस्थ खून के लिये जरूरत है लौहत्व की। मिनाडेक्स में लौहत्व की प्रचुर मात्रा के कारण इसके हर चम्मच से आपके खून को पूरा फ़ायदा मिलता है।

रक्तशक्ति दायक

# मिनाडेक्स®



ग्लैक्सो

मिनाडेक्स

स्वस्थ रक्त और  
नयी शक्ति के लिये



दांत के सुराखों के दद से  
अपनी लाइली की मीठी मुस्कान को  
आंसुओं में न डलने दें. अभी से अपनी लाइली को  
फ्लोराइड के बारे में समझाएं.



वेजोड फ्लोराइड सुरक्षा. (C) 1974



APPENDIX II  
Supplementary Notes

Chapter - 1

1. This idea has been taken from Maria Mies, who has given an elaborate account of the methodologies adopted in women's studies, in a book edited by Bowles and Klien (1983).
2. The term 'conscientization' has been used by Paulo Friere (1973), and it denotes making one aware of her/his oppression.
3. This explanation of 'ego - boundaries' is explained clearly by Nancy Chodrow in her work 'The Reproduction of Mothering' (1980).
4. Cowan (1983) observes that the household 'labour-saving' devices have actually not made the task easier nor freed women from other such activities.... women are (still) doing the repetitive tasks, mostly .... alone.
5. I have borrowed this concept from Robin Morgan (1985).
6. A sexist advertisement (which I call genderized advertisement) according to Bhasin depicts half of the human

race (women) as inferior... and thus) humiliates one sex in relation to the other (1984).

7. The concept has been borrowed from Gaye Tuchman's vocabulary (Bacher 1980:30).

8. Barthesian terminology (Barthes 1986;1988).

9. I distinguish between spheres which are sexuality based (e.g. interaction between a possessive male boss and his demure female secretary and those spheres which do not have a direct, immediate sexual reference (e.g. the interaction between female medical doctor, and the father of very sick child - here it is not as much here sexuality, as her competence and intellectual level which is taken into account, and trivialized. The father believes that she being only a woman, might not actually be capable enough to cure the child). Power, I believe, is thus the manipulation of the daily life, by the structures of the masculinist i.e. the patriarchal ideology.

### Chapter - 3

1. This notion has been used in the context of Goffman's work - The Presentation of Self in Everyday life (1959).

2. The term 'non-image' basically refers to the absence of women, not only as physical beings but as independent authorities (Gallagher 1983:72)

3. A recent example of this concept (envy) is the advertisements of Onida T.V., which are as follows:

- i. "Neighbour's Envy, Owner's Pride!"
- ii. "Dont just envy it, buy it!"

4. Marxists are of course not a homogeneous category; Berger can be called a Marxist because:

- i. his point of departure is the assumption that art is a component of the ruling class ideology, and,
- ii. he presents a critique of contemporary consumerism and its values [Berger 1983 : 152-154]

5. Berger, John (1983: 49-64) in his book 'Ways of Seeing', has painstakingly dealt with the differences between 'nakedness' and 'nudity' , and has drawn examples largely from famous European paintings.

6. I am using the terms 'instrumental' and 'expressive' here, more in the Parsonian sense (A fuller discussion regarding such roles is in chapter -2). Parsons has dealt with these two terms, especially with reference to symbol systems and actions.

Those actions where cognitive beliefs have primacy in relation to the attainment of a given desired goal may be called instrumental action. Similarly, action where expressive symbols have primacy will be called expressive action (Parsons & Shils, 1962 :165). In the present context those roles and action which are mainly guided, oriented by emotions are in the expressive category. And those which involve rational judgement and reasoning are the instrumental. (-rational in the sense of using best means to give the maximum benefits etc.)

7. Goffman has divided this notion of Kinaesthetic learning from Bateson and Mead (1942 : 85)

8. Gutman observes that in earlier Indian photography - Physical reality was unimportant. A person was often depicted with gestures and symbols that connected him to ideas, (Gutman 1982:5). One can find parallels here, with today's advertisements where ideas of ideal masculinity and femininity are announced. She further observes that in the Indian photographs "The subjects stood on an edge, as if they were about to step out or fall off" (Ibid:7).

## Chapter - 4

1. I have immensely gained from Barbara Roger's term - 'domestication', especially when used in the context of public Vs. private domains. [Rogers 1983].

2. Maslow's arrangement of the hierarchy of needs is as follows:

- i. Physiological Needs (hunger, thirst, sex-desire).
- ii. Safety Needs (security, health etc.)
- iii. Emotional Needs (love, belongingness, affection etc.)
- iv. Esteem Needs (Self-respect, prestige etc.)
- v. Self-actualization Needs (Self-fulfilment etc.).

Family Magazines

<u>Periods</u>	Total	W only	M only	M+C +W	C only	N.G.	F R A M E S						
							1	2	3	4	5	6	
<u>I(1970's)</u>													
D <sub>1</sub> Aug.5,1973	35	17	8	8	-	2	23	14	3	12	4	0	
D <sub>2</sub> May.4,1975	16	7	-	5	1	3	10	4	1	5	1	1	
Total	51	24	8	13	1	5	33	18	4	17	5	1	
<u>Vol XCIII</u>													
WK <sub>1</sub> Dec.24,1972	49	12	5	13	-	19	27	14	5	15	6	1	
WK <sub>2</sub> Oct.15,1972	52	22	6	13	-	11	35	27	8	22	5	1	
Total	101	34	11	26	0	30	62	41	13	37	11	2	
<u>II(Early 1980's)</u>													
D <sub>1</sub> May 12,1985	19	6	6	7	-	-	16	11	3	12	4	0	
D <sub>2</sub> April 29,1984	20	3	4	8	2	3	13	10	2	7	1	1	
Total	39	9	10	15	2	3	29	21	5	19	5	1	
<u>Vol CIV 16</u>													
WK <sub>1</sub> May 8,1983	32	6	6	7	2	11	14	11	2	7	2	0	
<u>Vol.CIV 15</u>													
WK <sub>2</sub> April 17,1983	22	-	6	8	-	8	11	6	3	8	4	0	
Total	54	6	12	15	2	19	25	17	5	15	6	0	
<u>III(Late 1980's)</u>													
D <sub>1</sub> Jan 17,1988	10	3	3	3	-	1	8	5	2	3	1	0	
D <sub>2</sub> April 16,1989	7	2	-	2	-	3	2	4	1	1	2	0	
Total	17	5	3	5	0	4	10	9	3	4	3	0	
WK <sub>1</sub> June 18,1989	14	1	6	2	1	4	10	4	1	7	2	0	
WK <sub>2</sub> April 26,1987	18	3	7	5	-	3	15	9	4	4	0	0	
Total	32	4	13	7	1	7	25	13	5	11	2	0	

KEY

- D = Dhamyug (Hindi)
- WK = The Illustrated weekly of India (English)
- W = Women
- M = Men
- C = Child
- N.G.= Non - gendrad
- 1 = Image Frame
- 2 = Ideal Family Frame
- 3 = Female-Body Frame
- 4 = Magical Transformation
- 5 = Licensed withdrawal
- 6 = Racial Superiority.

TABLE - 1(b)

## Women's Magazines

Periods	Total	W only	M only	MHC +W	C only	N.G.	F R A M E S					
							1	2	3	4	5	6
I(1970's)												
WE <sub>1</sub> Oct.(First) 1979	12	6	1	0	3	2	6	1	2	4	4	0
WE <sub>2</sub> Oct.(Second) 1979	20	8	2	4	0	6	8	2	5	5	6	0
Total	32	14	3	4	3	8	15	3	7	9	10	0
M <sub>1</sub> June (Second issue) 1979	28	16	4	7	0	1	22	14	5	10	3	0
M <sub>2</sub> July (First issue) 1979	32	19	3	6	2	2	28	16	4	13	5	0
Total	60	35	7	13	2	3	50	30	9	23	8	0
II(Early 1980's)												
G <sub>1</sub> Jan.1985	49	25	2	14	0	7	34	20	5	11	5	0
G <sub>2</sub> Feb.1985	50	26	1	16	1	6	37	18	2	12	6	0
Total	99	51	3	30	1	12	71	38	7	23	11	0
WE Dec.(second) 1984	14	5	0	0	2	7	5	5	2	4	1	0
F Oct.(second) 1984	13	5	1	1	0	6	8	11	2	5	2	0
Total	27	10	1	1	2	13	13	16	4	9	3	0
III (Late 1980's)												
M <sub>1</sub> 31st Oct.1988	56	22	2	19	0	10	29	26	5	16	5	0
M <sub>2</sub> 30th Nov.1988	46	24	2	13	0	7	33	25	10	10	13	3
Total	102	46	4	32	0	17	62	51	15	26	18	3
F <sub>1</sub> Jan 23,1987	44	19	1	15	0	9	25	19	5	23	9	0
F <sub>2</sub> Sep. 8,1989	34	16	1	8	2	7	21	17	3	16	5	1
Total	78	35	2	23	2	16	46	36	8	39	14	1

## KEY

WE	=	Woman's Era (English)
F	=	Femina(English)
M	=	Manorama (Hindi)
G	=	Grihashobha (Hindi)
W	=	Women
M	=	Men
C	=	Child
N.G.	=	Non-gendrad
1	=	Image Frame
2	=	Ideal Family Frame
3	=	Female-Body Frame
4	=	Magical Transformation
5	=	Licensed withdrawl
6	=	Racial Superiority.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agarwal, Bina (ed.) (1988), Structures of Patriarchy - State Community and Household In Modernising Asia, (Kali for Women, Delhi).

Akhileshwari, R. (1988) Portrayal of Women in Indian Media . In Vidura Vol.25, No.2.

Ardener, Shirley. (ed.) (1981), Women and Space Ground Rules and Social Maps, (Croom Helm, London).

Baehr, Hilan. (ed.) (1980), Women and Media, (Pergamon Press, London).

Barrat, David. (1986), Media Sociology, (Tavistock Publications, London, New York).

Barret, Michele; Corrigan, Phillip; Kuhn, Annette; Wolff, Janet (ed.) (1979), Ideology and Cultural Production, (Croom Helm, London).

Barrett, Michele. (1980), Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis, (Verso Books, London).

Barry, Kathleen. (1989) Biography and the Search for Women's Subjectivity, in Women's Studies International Forum.

Barthes, Roland. (1986), The Responsibility of Forms - Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation, (Trans. Richard Howard), (Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

Barthes, Ronald (1988), The Semiotic Challenge, (Trans. Richard Howard), (Basil Blackwill, Oxford)

Bateson, G; Mead, M. (1942), The Balinese Character (New York Academy of Science, New York).

Beere, Carole, A., (1979), Women and Women Issues - A Handbook of Tests and Measures, (Bass Publishers, Jossey).

Berger, John. (1983), Ways of Seeing. British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books. London)

Berger, Arthur Asa. (1986), Media Analysis Techniques, Vol.10 The Sage COMMTEXT series, (Sage Publications, Beverley Hills, London, New Delhi).

④ Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. (1978), Tao The Pathless Path, Vol.II, (Rajneesh Foundation, Poona).

Bhasin, Kamla and Agarwal, Bina. (ed.) (1984), Women and Media - Analysis Alternatives and Action, (Kali For Women, New Delhi).

Bilton, T.; Bonnett et al, (1981) Introductory Sociology, (The Mac Millian Press Ltd. London)

Bowles, Gloria; Klin R.D. (ed.) (1983), Theories of Women's Studies, (Routledge & Keagon Paul, London, Beston, Melbourne & Henley).

Brittan, Arthur; Maynard, Mary. ( 1984) Sexism, Racism and Oppression, (Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

Brydon, Lynne; Chank Sylvia, (1989), Women In The Third World - Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas, (Edward Elgar).

④ Butler, Judith. (1987), Variations on Sex and Gender: de Beauvoir, Wittig, Foucault., In Benhabib, S.; Cornell, D. (ed.) Feminism as Critique, (University Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).

Caplan, Patricia; Bujra, Janet M. (1978) Women United, Women Divided: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Female Solidarity, (Tavistock Publication, London).

✓ Chodrow, Nancy (1978), The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and Sociology of Gender, (University of California Press, Berkley).

Collier's Encyclopadia (1983), Vol.1, (Macmillian Educational Company, New York).

Collins Dictionary of English Usage (1986), (William Collins Son and Co. Ltd. London).

Connel, R.W., Gender and Power - Society The Person and Social Politics, (Polity Press, Oxford).

Country Papers - Women in India (1985), (Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare, G.O.I., New Delhi).

✓ Cowan, Rutu Schwart. (1983), More Work For Mother - The Ironics of Household Technology from the Open Heart to Microwave, (Basic Books, New York).

Dasgupta, Kalpana. (1976), Women on the Indian Scene: An Annotated Bibliography, compiled by M.C. Usha etc. (Abhinav Publishers, New Delhi).

Davis, K. (1978), Human Behaviour At Work: Organizational Behaviour, (Tata Mc Graw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd, New Delhi).

⑤ de Beauvoir, Simone (1949, 1953), The Second Sex, (Trans. Parshley, H.M.) (Bantam, New York).

Deegan, Mary J, Hills, Michael (ed) (1987), Women and Symbolic Interaction Boston, (Allen & Unwin Inc. London, Wellington, Sydney).

Deneck, M.M. (1984), Indian Art, (Plate No.23, pp.30) (Hamlyn, London etc.).

Desai, Neera; Patel, Vibhuti. (1985), Indian Women - Changes and Challenges in the International Decade, (Popular Prakashan, Bombay).

ew, P; Wootton, A. (1988), Erving Goffman - Exploring the Interaction Order, (Polity Press, Oxford).

de, Leela. (1988) On the Construction of Gender - Hindu Girls in Patrilineal India, in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. III, No.18, April 30, 1988. Bombay.

rkheim, Emile. (1912, 1954), The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, (Allen and Unwin, London, Mac Millan, New York).

azer, James (1955) The Golden Bough - 13 Volumes, (St. Martins, New York; Mac Millan, London).

aire, P. (1973), Pedagogy of The Oppressed (Trans. & ed. by Ramos, M.B.) (Penguin, Harmondsworth)

ledan, Betty. (1982), The Second Stage (Michael Joseph, London).

llagher, Margaret. (1983), Unequal Opportunities, The Case of Women and the Media, (UNESCO).

ne, Mike. (ed.) (1986), Towards a Critique of Foucault (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London & New York).

adially, Rehana. (ed.) (1988), Women In Indian Society - A Reader, (Sage Publications, New Delhi, Newbury, Park, London).

ffman, E. (1972), The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. (Penguin, Harmondsworth).

ffman, E. (1975), Frame Analysis - An Essay on the Organization of Experience, (Penguin Books, Middlesex).

ffman, E. (1976), Frame-Analysis.. In, Sociology - The Journal of The British Sociological Association, Vol.10, (Clarendon Press, Oxford). pp. 329 - 334.

③ Goffman, E. (1977), The Arrangement Between the Sexes, In Theory and Society, Vol.4 (Fall), pp.301-331.

Goffman, E. (1979), Gender Advertisements. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts).

Goody, J.R. (1961), Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem, British Journal of Sociology, (Vol.12: 159)

Greere, Germaine. (1971) The Female Eunuch, (Mc Graw Hill Book Co.)

Gumpert, Gary; Cathcart, Robert.(ed.) (1986), Intermedia - Interpersonal Communication in a Media World, (3rd Edition), (Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford).

Gutman, J.M. (1982), Through Indian Eyes, (Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford).

Hamilton, Roberta (1978), The Liberation of Women - A Study of Patriarchy and Capitalism, (George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston, Sydney)

Hamilton, Roberta; Barrett.M. (ed.), (1986) The Politics of Diversity, (Verso Publications).

⑧ Hartmann, H. (1976), Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job - Segregation by Sex, In 'Signs' Vol.I, No.3.

Hayden, Dolores. (1984) Redesigning the American Dream - The Future of Housings Work and Family Life, (W.W. Morton, New York).

Hervey, Sandor, (1982), Semiotic Perspectives, (George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston, Sydney).

Howitt, Dennis. (1985), Mass Media and Social Problems (International Series in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol.2) (Pergamon Press, Oxford, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Frankfurt).

Josselson, Ruthellen. (1987) Finding Herself - Pathways to Identity Development in Women, (Jossey Bass Publications, San Francisco, London).

Journal of Advertising Research, April-May 1982, Vol.22, No.2, p.27.

Kramarae, Chris (1988) Technology and Women's Voices - Keeping in Touch, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, New York & London).

Leach, Edmund. R. (1961), Rethinking Anthropology, (Athlone Press, London).

Lemert, Charles, E; Gillen, Garth. (1982) - Michel Foucault: Social Theory As Transgression, (Columbia University Press, New York).

Leone, Christopher; Robertson, Kevin. (1989), Some effects of Sex linked clothing and Gender schema on the stereo-typing of infants, in the Journal of Social Psychology, Vol.129, No.5, p.610 Oct.1989, Yale University.

② Lerner, Gerda. (1986), The Creation of Patriarchy, (Oxford University Press, New York).

Mackintosh, Maureen, (1981), Gender and Economics: The Sexual Division of Labour and the Subordination of Women in Kate Young, Card Wolkowilz & Rosylyn McCullagh (ed) of Marriage & the Market, (C.S.E., London) pp. 1-15.

Magas, Branka. (1971), Themes of Women's Liberation, in New Left Review no.66, pp.69-92.

Mc. Neill, P; Townley, Charles. (ed.) (1982), Fundamentals of Sociology, (Hutchinson, London etc.).

March, James, G.; Olsen, Johan P. (1984) The New Institutionalism: Organisational Factors in Political Life, in American Political Science Review, Vol.78 (1984) pp.738-79.

Matehart, Michele (1978), 'Reflections on Modernity: A way of reading Women's Magazines', in Two Worlds, Vol.I, No.3, pp.5-13.

Mead, M. (1963), Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, (William Morrow and Co. New York.)

Mead, M. (1974), On Freuds' View of Female Psychology, in Strese, J. (ed.) (1974) Women and Analysis; (Grossman Viking, New York.)

Mead, M. (1969), Coming of Age in Samoa - A study of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies, (Penguin Books, U.K).

Mitchell, Juliet (1971), Women's Estate, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth).

Mitchell, Juliet (1974), Psychoanalysis and Feminism, (Pantheon Books, New York).

Mitchell, Juliet and Oakley, Ann (ed) (1986), What is Feminism? (Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

W Morgan, Robin (1985), in Proceedings - Asahi International symposium - Woman in a changing world (Oct 23-25, 1985), (Symposium Secretariat, The Asahi Shimbun; Tokyo, Japan).

Morton, Peggy. (1972) Women's Work Is Never Done; in Women Unite!, pp.46-68. (Women's Educational Press, Toronto).

Nandy, Ashis. (1980) At the Edge of Psychology - Essays in Politics and Culture, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras).

Nead, Lynda.(1988) Myths of Sexuality - Representations of women in Victorian Britain.

② Oakley, Ann. (1972), Sex, Gender and Society, (Temple Smith, London)

⑥ Ortner, Sherry; Whithead, Harriet (ed.) Sexual Meanings - The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).

Packard, Vance. (1960), The Hidden Persuaders, (David McKay Company Inc, New York).

Parsons, T.; Shills, E.A. (ed) (1962), Towards a General Theory of Actions, (Harper and Row Publishers, New York).

Pateman, Carole. (1988), The Sexual Contracts, (Polity Press, Oxford).

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1922, 1948), The Andaman Islanders, (Free Press, Glancoe III).

Reed, Evelyn, (1972), Is Biology Women's Destiny?, (Pathfinder Press, New York).

Rogers, Barbara. (1980), The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies, (Tavistock, London)

Rossi, Alice. S. (1973), The Feminist Papers - From Adams to de Beauvoir, (Northeastern University Press, Boston).

⑧ Rowbotham, Sheila. (1979), The Trouble with "Patriarchy", in New Statesman (21-8 Dec, 1979), p.970.

Sandage, C.H; Fryberger Vernon (1967) Advertising Theory and Practice, (Richard D. Irwin, Inc. Homewood, Illinois)

Schmidt, Roseanaric; Kess, Joseph F.(1986) T.V. advertising and Televangelism - Discourse, Analysis of Persuasive lang, (John Benjamin's Publishing Co, Amsterdam and Philadelphia).

Sharpe, Sue. (1972), Role of the Nuclear Family in the Oppression of Women, (New Edinburgh Review, Summer 1972).

Siltanen, Janet; Stanworth, Michele (ed.) (1984), Women and the Public Sphere - A Critique of Sociology and Politics, (Hutchinson and Co. Pub. Ltd., London. ).

Singh, Renuka. (To be published, 1990) The Womb of Mind: A Sociological Exploration of the status experience of women in Delhi. (Vikas, Delhi).

Smith, W.R. (1889,1956), The Religion of Semites, (Meridean, New York).

Srinivas, M.N. (1942), Marriage and Family In Mysore, (New Book Co., Bombay).

② Stoller, R. (1968), Sex and Gender, (Science House, New York).

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1987) Vol. II. Micropaedia Ready Reference, (Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc. 15th edition, Chicago).

Thouless, R.H. (1951), General and Social Psychology, (University Tutorial Press, London).

Travis, C.B; Seipp, P.H. (1978), An Examination of Secondary Reinforcement Operant Conditioning... in, Sex-Roles - A Journal of Research Vol.4. No.4, Aug-78, (Plenum Press, New York, London).

Truzzi, Marcello (ed.) (1968), Sociology and Everyday Life, (Prentice Hall, Inc. Englewood, Cliffe, New Jersey).

Tuchman, Gaye; Arlene Kaplan Daniels; Benit James (ed.), (1978) Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass media, (Oxford University Press Inc. Oxford).

Venkatesan, M.; Losco J. (1975), Women in Magazine Advertisements, 1959-71. in, Journal of Advertising Research, 1971. Vol.15, pp.49-54.

Wagner, Louis, Benos J.B. (1973), A Woman's Place - Roles portrayed by women in magazine advertisements in, Journal of Marketing Research, 1973. Vol. 10, pp.213-214.

Weedon, Chris, (1989), Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory, (Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

Weeks, Jeffrey, (1986) Sexuality. ( Ellis Horwood, Chichester).

Williams, Raymond (1980) Problems in Materialism and Culture - Selected Essays. (Verso Editions and N.L.B, London).