THE LACE GHETTO : THE PORTRAYAL OF INDIAN WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ARUNDHATIE BISWAS

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

1997

To The Women In My Life,

Especially

To My Grandmother, My Mother And Meryl,

For Their Love, Support And Wisdom.

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi - 110067 India

Centre for the Study of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled "**THE LACE GHETTO : THE PORTRAYAL OF INDIAN WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS**", submitted by **ARUNDHATIE BISWAS** FOR THE DEGREE OF **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, is an original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university.

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

PROF. K.L. SHARMA
SUPERVISOR

PROF. J.S. GANDHI
CHAIRPERSON

JULY 1997

Fax: +91-11-616-5886 Gram: JAYENU Tel.Office: 6107676/6167557 Extn. 2408, Telex: 031-73167 JNU IN.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the outset, I am extremely indebted to my supervisor, **Prof. K.L. Sharma**, who took a keen interest in the subject and provided me with valuable suggestions which helped me to complete this work.

I am obliged to the Centre for Women's Development Studies and the JNU Library for their kind cooperation in collecting materials.

This work shall be incomplete without the mention of my friends **Sanjeev, Manjeet, Swati, Gomati** and of course, **Puneet** for giving me constant support and encouragement.

I also thank **Mr. Rafi, SLS, JNU**, for doing a splendid job in typing this manuscript.

Finally, I owe a special debt of gratitude to **my parents** and **my brother** who have always stood by me and given support of every conceivable kind.

Arundhatie.

New Delhi (ARUNDHATIE BISWAS)

17th July, 1997

CONTENTS

		Page No.
	PREFACE	
CHAPTER - I	INTRODUCTION CONCEPTS OF GENDER, MEDIA AND THE SEXIST STATUS QUO	..... 1 - 12
CHAPTER - II	THE ASPECTS OF THEORY AND PSYCHOLOGY IN THE MEDIA	.....13 - 42
CHAPTER - III	WOMEN, MEDIA AND CRISIS : FEMINITY AND DISORDER	.....43 - 59
CHAPTER - IV	THE MYTH OF MODERNITY : NEXUS BETWEEN MEDIA AND MONEY POLITICS	.....60 -103
	CONCLUSION	.....104 -118
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	.....119 -123
	APPENDICES	.....124 -133

PREFACE

The modern agencies of the media have colonized our civilization. One cannot do away with the morning news on our television sets nor can miss out the launching of a brand new product through advertisements carried out by our favourite magazines. Thousands of beautiful women grace the centre-spreads of acclaimed national and international magazines, not for any other reason than displaying their magnificent bodies. The compartmentalization of women into such an exclusive yet secondary groups, gives rise to the feminine ghetto; a closed world of glamour, money and sexual politics moved away from the ideas of self-actualization and liberation. These prisoners of gender are the citizens of 'The Lace Ghetto'.

Chapter I of this dissertation looks into the definitional problems of the media portrayals of women and the concepts of gender, media and the patriarchal ideology.

Chapter-II has dealt with the aspects of theory and psychology in the media and its subsequent impact. This chapter also discusses the various nations of gender-stereotypes and its origins.

Chapter-III examines the need and efforts to understand the crisis generated by the media thus giving birth to feminity and disorder.

Chapter-IV deals with the conception of the myth of modernity and the nexus between media, money and sexual politics. It also examines the rising importance of consumerism in developing countries, growing popularity of beauty pageants and the changing attitudes in middle-class moralities.

INTRODUCTION

The world of today, in which we live in is a world of technology, innovation and of speed. One does not feel the necessity to conjure up things/images/pictures of distant lands or of some inpenetrable subject, because, one can surf through the vast ocean of knowledge right in the bedrooms. The Internet. The magnificience of web sites make it possible to venture out anywhere in the world and gather information of any kind ever made possible by mankind. It's benefits apart, the multiplicity of the couch potato, the increasing exposure of young children to pornographic literature have set off an alarm to our civilization cautioning us against the colonization of our minds by the media and other technologies. And one of the worst victims have been women.

Media portrayals of women have altogether legitimized gender-stereotypes and have made the strongholds of patriarchy manifold. "Patriarchy legitimizes culturally-backed bio-physiological differences between men and women as the basis of unequal access to resources, opportunities and rewards and to rights. Status-inequality between men and women is an age-old phenomenon reinforced through patriarchy and its institutions, gendered division of labour, and social institutions like marriage, dowry, property and

inheritance, and subordination"[1]. Sylvia Walby (1994)[2] (pp. 22-28) observes that patriarchy is not just a matter of the differential distribution of power; it is built into the very mechanisms of production. Therefore there is the existence of a 'patriarchal mode ot production'. And the media is atune with such parallels by which women as projected as saleable objects through the commodification of their bodies. New forms of sub-ordination and gender asymmetry have superseded the old, leaing patriarchal control undisturbed in India. Advertisements have been in a big way, powerful megaphones of the partiarchal idology. Advertisements have repeatedly negated the presence (not physically) of the women as a 'person', and their effective invisibility has led to the low status of women in the society. Women in advertisements have been percieved as a social category inferior to men in almost all respects, except the domestic sphere. A woman as such, derives her status from the position of her family and her husband. Her status within the family is in effect lower than the familys' status as percieved by outsiders as she is inferior to her husband and other adult members (both males and females) of the family. And this picture is reified by media projections.

Inequalities of gender can be explained by 'gender regimes' (Cornell 1994, pp. 24-40)[3]. Gender regimes refer to

a complex of institutions (family, work, media, state) that create and substantiate gender inequalities; gender is reproduced within these institutions through 'male reason' and the dichotomy of 'maleness' and 'femaleness'.

"A gender regime is a cluster of practices, ideological and material, which in a given context, acts to construct various images of masculinity and feminity and thereby to consolidate forms of gender inequality" (Ibid)[4].

And this trend has been progressively highlighted in media portrayals of women. The modern Indian woman is projected as a super-human being, fulfilling her status as a home-maker and as a career-woman. Yet she is never projected as a 'person', but as an 'object' in relation to something, in most cases being the product itself which is to be promoted through the advertisements. She remains the object of the 'human gaze' (borrowing the concept of 'gaze' from Michel Foucault)[5], to be scrutinized anatomically by the masses. This vision of beauty then becomes commodified and perverse.

Though recent advertisements have employed 'male models' to sell various products in a daring way, baring the male torso as never done beofre, there is a great difference between displaying the female body to the male one. Male

bodies can never be 'objectified' because their portrayals emit the very essence of sexual power. A male body is positioned and clothed in such a way that it shows off the very character of being a male; demanding, aggressive, powerful and arrogant. While the female body positioning and clothings are designed in the other extremes so as to effect visual pleasures.

And the recent media hyped beauty pageants have further consolidated such sterotypes. More and more urban women are lured into the world 'of selling beauty' with the promise of an attractive pay-check and a glamourous life-style. And most women do succumb to such temptations thus completing the on-going cycle of exploitation and objectification of women's bodies. The women that we see in most of our high-tech advertisements do not represent the true picture of the lives of Indian women. The images thrust upon us by our advertisements come in sharp conflict with the average Indian woman, be it the ever busy housewife or the sophisticated office-going woman. Real empowerment of women lies in allievating their status through education, intellectual stimulation, better employment opportunities, and the subsequent freedom from rigid social norms for, emancipation occurs, only with the freedom of the mind.

Violence against women also has been on the rise, there is sexual harrasment at work and at home. Who is to be actually balmed ? Do we focus the blame on the patriarchal agents only for the impoverishment of women, or do we hold ourselves equally responsible for the increase in the exploitation of our bodies ? All these questions need to be answered empirically. In our attempt to do so, we shall have to look into the real definitions of gender, media and its nexus with the sexist status-quo.

Many of the great male writers and philosophers of our culture, whose task it is to interpret the human condition, have taken upon themselves to define woman. But woman herself has not yet succeeded in defining her own identity. Even in this relatively enlightened century, the human condition continues to be considered as something quite apart from the female condition. By isolating those influences that have formed and motivated our behaviour (without our fully conscious knowledge), we will be able to see ourselves, and the world, through our own eyes and not through the eyes of others - the first step for anyone in reaching towards freedom.

Concepts of Gender, Media and the Sexist Status-Quo

The freedom to choose and to create an image of self, whether in the tangible forms of appearance or the abstract qualities of self-concept, has been a celebrated source of self-expression and a chronic source of conflict. Throughout our history, men and women have struggled to forge an alliance between their own ideas of personal image and the collective social vision of their gender. The struggle is complicated because it does not occur in a vacuum. It is rooted in our biological histories, shaped by our structures of power and interdependence, and informed by our cumulative experiences. And it changes as we try to balance home-work, leisure and personal ties.

Central to this discussion of the interaction between clothing and gender identity is the understanding of the term gender, genderised advertisements and the role that the media plays in portraying such images in our society.

The term, 'gender' implies more than an identification with a biological sex. Generally, gender is regarded as the cultural coequivalent of sex. Ann Oakely (1972)[6] defines 'sex' as a word that "refers to the biological differences between male and female : the visible differences in genetalia, the related differences in proactive function".

Gender is not static; as Simone de Beauvoir puts it - one does not only become a woman, but continuously becomes one [de Beauvoir, 1953][7]. Gender thus becomes a part of one's self-identity by internalization of the culturally "appropriate" behavioural patterns. In analyzing gender identities, we use the term, **'gender conventions'** to refer to the social and cultural experiences of behaviour, clothing, and images that have divided men and women into separate spheres.

The mass media (like television, theatre, radio, press, etc.) has emerged as the 'technological giant' of our times and has invaded the most private spheres of our lives. It plays a powerful role in the socialization of individuals in the perception of their gender identity. "They subtly shape social reality", argues Gallagher [1983 : 35][8]. The media are not simply mirrors reflecting societal values. "They subtly shape our value hierarchy (i.e. normative standards) and even project values into society" [Gumpert, 1986 : 472][9]. Studies on gender in the field of mass communication have been done mainly from feminist - liberal and Marxist-feminist perspectives (Janus, 1977 and Sayers, 1985)[10]. According to these perspectives, society organizes itself according to expectations about the place, men and women should occupy in keeping with their biological functions or reproduction. The social regulation of these functions has

restricted participation in the public sphere. The feminist-liberal and Marxist-feminist paradigms connect this sexual segregation in '**image-representation in mass media**' to the socio-economic sphere.

The feminist perspective Baehr (1981)[11] notes, the crucial shift in the debate of media in capitalist society to a discussion of the construction of women's exploitation and subordination, materially and ideologically within patriarchy. Media is seen as a system of representation, a point of production of definitions. Because these are cultural questions, a cultural reading (decoding) is necessary to understand this. Following this, feminists can move towards alternative modes of media production and distribution.

A cultural reading of media messages is possible because feminist scholars study diverse social constructions of femaleness in order to understand the universal phenomenon of male dominance (Green and Kahn, 1985)[12]. They quote Simone de Beauvoir (1952) that "one is not born but rather one becomes a woman ..... it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature". Thus this conception becomes the central assumption of feminist scholarship which undertakes to deconstruct the social construction of gender and the cultural paradigms that support it. Feminist

criticism of media then attends to the processes by which the work of gender ideology is done. Barret (1980)[13] lists these processes as "stereotyping, compensation, collusion and recuperation".

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-feminity theme, as well as characters. Thus the term gender, as is a socio-cultural construct, with advertisements based on this standard are bound to convey messages and advice about the ideal male or ideal female (or rather one could say ideal masculinity/feminity; because it is this quality which is emphasized).

Genderism :- a theory popularized by Goffman can be a useful tool for understanding the portrayal of women in advertisements. Goffman opines that females, in both advertisements as well as in real life usually take up a 'feminine position' not simply vis-a-vis the males but also towards other women. This seems to suggest that the feminine identity or the 'feminity' is exhibited to the male no doubt but 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.

Coming back to the average depiction of gender-arrangement, advertisements depict a socially 'desirable and attractive male' as being always surrounded by females and he is the taller (dominant) of them all, though it is hardly the other way around. Similarly in an all male company, it is the taller, larger (and relatively older) male who is the 'boss'. Some advertisements seemingly talk of equality, invariably exhibit genderism.

Sexism as Status-Quo :

Women's lesser social status relative to mens' and womens' exclusion from particular places and situations are general conditions in this society. What do we mean by sexism ? It can be understood in an interpersonal context, in social psychological terms, as having three related components : (a) negative attitudes towards women-

generalized hostility, dislike misogyny, or prejudice; (b) beliefs about women that reinforce, complement, or justify the prejudice, including a basic assumption of inferiority - in other words, **stereotypes,** or well learned, widely shared, and almost irresistible generalizations about the nature of women; and (c) acts that exclude, distance, or keep women separate - that is 'discrimination'. And most of our advertisements, in a covert or overt way portray women along such lines. In India, a trend towards more negative portrayals of women was reported, rather than any improvement. This trend featured increase in violence towards women, in offensive advertisements and in availability of pornography (Agarwal and Bhasin, 1984)[14].

Notes and References

1. Sharma, K.L. (1997) **Social Stratification in India : Issues and Themes**, Delhi, Sage Publications.

2. Walby, Sylvia. (1986) **Gender, Class and Stratification : Towards a New Approach** in Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann (eds.) **Gender and Stratification**, Cambridge, Polity Press.

3. Cornell, E. (1994) in Sharma, K.L. (1997), **Social Stratification in India : Issues and Themes**, Delhi, Sage Publishers.

4. Ibid., p.213.

5. Foucault, Michel. (1980) **Power/knowledge**, New York : Pantheon.

6. Oakley, Ann. (1972) **Sex and Gender**, London, Templesmith.

7. de Beauvoir, Simone (1953) **The Second Sex**, New York, Bantham, Trans. Parshley, H.M.

8. Gallagher, Margaret. (1983) **Unequal Opportunities : The Case of Women and the Media**, (UNESCO, Paris).

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

10. Sayer, Janet. (1985) **Science, Sexual Difference and Feminism** in B.B. Hess and M.N. Feree eds. Analyzing Gender : A Handbook of Social Science Research, New bury, CA Sage.

11. Baehr, Hilen. ed. (1980) **Women and Media**, London, Pergamon Press.

12. Green, C. and Kahn, L. (1985) **Towards Sexual Liberation**, London, Oxford University Press.

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

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

CHAPTER - II

THE ASPECTS OF THEORY AND PSYCHOLOGY IN THE MEDIA

The situation of woman is that she - a free and autonomous being like all human creatures - nevertheless finds herself living in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the Other.

- Simone de Beauvior, 1949.

The human personality is a nexus of communication. Human culture and all social institutions are products of communication. Many anthropologists assert that communication is the building block of culture. Hall's (1959)[1] in "Silent language" argues that 'culture is communication'. Kroeber and Kluckhohn[2] (1959, p.181) note that it consists of "Patterns explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols....". The mass media is a convenient shorthand term usually used to describe all those forms of communication that reach larger audiences. It includes films, television, radio, newspapers, magazines, popular literature and music. Communication, in all its varied forms, invokes great interest for all social scientists because it is a pre-condition of the very existence of society.

The world we live in is passing through a stage of anxious confusion and cultural ferment, where morality is no longer an endowment of culture. Sexual impudence and moral

decadence, as a corollary to 'greater freedom of women is slowly going beyond social admonition'. The focus of this study is on the portrayal of women in the media, but which today, with the benefit of hindsight and analysis, is called '**representation**'. In the early years of protesting against the negative portrayal of women in the media, the issues seemed crystal clear and the strategies obvious. It was soon evident even to the otherwise 'unfeminist" reader or viewer, that, advertising, commercial films and television used women's bodies in a particular way, which tied neatly with a manipulation of desire and aspiration, consumerism and hard cash.

Advertisements : The earliest advertisements available in its original form was 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, Eqypt - and is some 3000 years old [Colliers Encyclopaedia, 1983]. The first printed English advertisement appeared in the year 1472. Consequently, women became a regular and inseparable part of advertisements. Words, especially in advertisements can have varied meanings:- (i) Denotational or conceptual meaning, and (ii) Connotational or associative meaning. The first category results from a logical interpretation, whereas the second is based on the individuals biases and attitudes.

Advertisements are basically psychological persuaders [Schmidt and Kess, 1986; Packard, 1960][3] 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)[4], 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 "Advertisements ..... paid communication, by means of the printed word, radio ..... (etc.) aimed at persuading individuals to take a desired course of action". Most individual advertisements are based on direct suggestion for persuading consumers. Direct suggestion is of two types :- (i) prestige (e.g. a famous personality advocates buying the product) (ii) social (i.e. buy the product because most people purchase it).

However, it is not direct suggetion as much as the subliminal suggestion which is mostly used in advertisements, especially in genderised advertisements. 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][5] observes that there have been 'apparent' changes in women's depiction, without any 'real change' because the advertising industry merely adopted the rhetoric and superficial attitudes of the so called sexual revolution to it's 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.

Though the high-priests of the advertising world constantly argue their work out, as being aesthetic and class oriented, (i.e. targeted at a particular stratum), but most advertisements projected in these ways can have negative implications for various sections of the society. Lot of people aim at imitating luxury goods which are beyond their purchasing power, thus leading to an anomic situation. The masses opt for an illusion, rather than realising their

own social reality. The elitist consumerist class thus becomes the elusive reference group, which most of the masses can actually identify with. Advertisements thus, therefore are stratified eventually sharpening class divisions in the society.

The contribution of Vance Packard in advertisements-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)[6] "what the probers look for is the "why's" of our behaviour", for effective manipulation of our behaviours (Ibid : 4)[7]. Packard's contribution to understand of the "why's" of behaviour is helpful in reference to gender advertisements (like advertisements dealing with anxiety, passivity, health and body consciousness, status-consciousness etc.). Packard also gives/analyzes the psychology of advertisers who regard the masses as a 'bundle of day-dreamers' (Packard, 1960 : 7)[8]. This opens us up to face a plethora of questions, as to whether women are mostly believed to be easily decieved or they are taken up as the unintelligent category. Packard also observes that creating

"the ideal image" (of the gender) is important for the product's sales. This is the reason for the emphasis on a brand-name and a brand-image, so that when a person goes to purchase an item, he or she will remember the label by immediately associating with it.

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 advertising 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.

The media's nexus with money politics and consumerism is highlighted sensitively in the works of Robin Williams. His contribution here is being viewed specifically in the context of advertising as an aspect of the capitalist mode of production. He relates modern advertising to monopoly (coporate) capitalism (Williams, 1980 : 175)[11]. He has given a critical analysis of capitalist society (the West) and relates consumerism to captialism 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" or "should buy it", to advertisements of vehicles, furniture, etc. which are purchased in installments. Gendered advertisements use this psychological theme a lot as examples, advertisements for refridgerators or cooking range's 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 patterns"** to show how consumerism leads to purchasing of items which are not necessary or useful but are simply catering to the snob-appeal. The current spurt in India in consumerist items (fashion-garments, club holidays etc.) can be explained by this.

Just because consumption materialises as an individual activity the advertisers try to sell the 'magic' of associating 'this consumption with human desires to which it has no real reference' (Ibid : 189)[12]. Therefore, like the magic wand of a magician, advertisements induce hypnotism for the viewers strong enough to convince them to purchase the item. Williams opines that the very fact that advertisements are used shows that out culture is not sufficiently materialistic, 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 at heart..... (Ibid : 185)[13]. So advertisements play the role of indicators in the market situation where competition is stiff.

The portrayal of women in the mass media is but a reflection, albeit a distorted one, of how women are regarded in a consumerist society. Women are not manipulated by the media into being domestic servants and mindless sexual decorations, the better to sell soap and hair spray. Rather the image reflects women as men in a sexist society and forces them to behave in a particular manner. Simone de Beauvoir (1949/1961)[14] has argued that men have found it advantageous to identify woman as different from themselves - hard to understand, complicated, ambiguous, and not the same as man. Henry Higgins in 'My Fair Lady' asks, "why can't a woman be more like a man ?" but I suspect that he did not really want a woman to be more like himself, preferring to define her as the 'other', as distinct from the male 'one'. The real evil of the media image of women is that it supports the status-quo. Such a view appears to have served men well, providing them with a useful scapegoat to which they could attribute the various evils and temptations of the world, ranging from lust to the excesses of greed and

materialisms that men claim to pursue for the sake of women (Dinnerstein, 1977)[15]. surprisingly, in a sharp contrast to this, fashion, cosmetics and 'feminine hygiene' advertisements of today are aimed more at men than women. They encourage men to expect women to sport all the latest trappings of sexual slavery - expectations women must fulfill if they are to be 'desired' and 'feel wanted'.

Berger has given an indepth analysis of the psychological games which advertisements play with out minds. His explantation 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 utimately 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 advertisements, which simply means something at which we look and then register it's 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

DISS
331.4816591
B545 La
TH6489

TH-6469

short-time it stimulates imagination by reminding something from the past or as expectation for the future.

Berger observes that the concept of advertisements 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.

Berger regards this 'transformation' to be just an eyewash. Publicity as a system makes only a simple proposal and that is of imploring each one of us to 'transform' our lives by buying an item or something more.

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

1. **Personal level** :- He calls this the 'Cindrella Syndrome', where 'she' - the individual person is transformed into a glamourous personality. Truly applicable to women who ultimately become victims of the illusion woven by the advertising world.

2. **Transformation of relationships** :- This is known as the 'Enchanted Palace Syndrome'. This, is the derivative of the first notion. Advertisements thus, not only promise to

change one's personality but also his/her relationships with others.

Berger regards advertisements to be suggestive in content becasue they have the power 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. Berger argues that these advertisements work upon the human-anxiety - "if you have nothing - you will be nothing". Thus advertisements seem to be signalling solutions to all anxieties - to be money (for women it is shown as physical - 'looks', rather than money).

Thus money places itself as a powerful centrifugal force, in simple words money transforms into power. The anxiety to lead a comfortable life is made use of in advertising 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 - or having memebership to elite clubs; credit-card schemes, health-resorts etc. dwell on such a notion. Models (males) are shown, thus surrounded by women, 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.

"It goes without saying that the Erotic Principle has, for almost the whole of human history, been the dominant factor in the female dress..... The function of fashion is to increase the erotic appeal of the female body by constantly shifting the emphasis from one part of it to another".

James Laver
The Concise History of Costume
and Fashion (1969).

Many custume historians have assumed that the role of clothing in sexual attraction differs significantly for men and women. The most influential of the Sex Appeal theorists, the late James Laver, argued that, "Women's clothes..... are governed by the Erotic or Seduction Principle". By contrast, men's clothes are said to be governed by the Hierarchical principle (dressing to indicate ones' position in society)[16].

Do women dress to attract men ? Certainly, women's cloting has frequently emphasized female sexual beauty through selective concealment, exposure, exaggeration, and occasional titillating cross-dressing. Is Laver's famous theory of the shifting erogenous Zone correct in maintaining

that fashion change occurs because of the shift of a part of female anatomy to another ? Contemporary journalists and sociologists have often agreed with Laver. Recent fashion trends emphasise on the bare midriff, even revolutionalising the traditional wardrobe (like the sari and the blouse, worn in a particular style) to highlight such a trend.

Roland Barthes' work almost explains Lavers' argument as of why women are believed to be dressing up for their male counterparts. His contribution is of 'semiology as ideology' [Hervey, 1982 : 128][17]. He regards 'signs' as entities endowed with signification. In this context we can analyze 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][18]. This is of vital importance for genderised 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 the literalness, setting aside....its' advertising intention" [Barthes : 1988, 174][19]. The second message is not analytical like the first, and Barthes believes it to be about the associational nature of the product (one could

include genderism and patriarchy too). Thus the notion of 'connotation' is very useful for analyzing genderized advertisements.

Therefore, a woman may dress to look beautiful, sometimes to attract sexual admiration, but only rarely with the aim of actually seducing the viewer(s). Physical beauty is ultimately derived form sexual attraction, but they are not synonymous. Human sexual attraction is learned behaviour, and it varies according to personal experience and the customs of society - "what a man finds attractive in a woman is not biologically determined, but depends on his age, his social class, his personality".

Given our present location within a patriarchal society, for us the crucial question becomes - how are media images and representations of feminity constructed within patriarchal, social and sexual relations of production and reproduction ? "How can one change without change in the order" ? (Baehr, 1981)"[20]. The complexity of the interaction between women and media may arise from the production of self-consciousness by media and society. Feminist film criticism, based on psychoanalysis credits the Lacanian construct of the 'look'. Keohane and Gelphi (1982)[21] distinguished between 3 levels of women's self consciousness viz. feminine, female and feminist. The feminine self-

consciousness sees the female body as the object of the attention of another. As Berger (1972)[22] puts it, "Men look at women". Women watch themselves being looked at. The surveyor of woman in herself is male, the surveyed, female. Thus she turns herself into an object - and most particularly, an object of vision; a sight". The woman holding this consciousness of herself is defined by the male gaze, construct and desire. She is typically the object of masculinist pornography.

Berger opines "the social presence of a woman is different from that of a man" [Berger 1983 : 45][23] not only today but in the past too. Bergers' 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 womans' case, to her person i.e. how she is percieved by the male-eye and only this constitutes her awareness of herself. Therefore she must continuously watch/survey herself from the male view. This is not so for the male. His presence is not internalized-perception as hers' is, but is exterior to him, his presence suggests more of what he is capable of doing to, or for you.

Mogne (1985)[24] quoted Loura Mulvey (1975) on the power of the male gaze. "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in woking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its Fantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. Even when this female figure is embodying abstractions such as dawn, peace, justice or motherland, the aesthetics of the male gaze prevail, these qualities are depicted in the form of well-fleshed women.

In the Indian context, the female and feminine categories as distinguished by Keohane and Gelphi, blur and merge. For the dutiful wife and mother-earth archetype belong to the female category, yet in addition to their nurturing services, they have to provide visual pleasure. This brings us to discern the underlying implications of **'objectification'**. Berger asserts that the male 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 what ever she does or portrays contributes to her presence, and not the other way around. Berger observes - "presence for a woman is so intrinsic to ehr person that men tend to think of it as an almost physical emanation, a kind of heat, or smell or aura" [Berger, 1983 : 46][25]. Thus man is the ideal surveyor and woman is the ideal surveyed. She thus gets objectified for the male-eye. As to be a 'pleasing sight' for the male, she develops into a split-personality - becasue 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 ones' life, one continues to act as both surveyor and the surveyed. Her self-worth gets limited only to the extent to which her 'feminity' 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 example of analyzing

paintings, where the male eye surveys the objectified female. He cites an example - "The judgement of Paris" [Rubens, 1577-1640][26], 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 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 understanding properly when we see depictions where a woman is accompanied by a male (her husband, boy friend etc). Either she looks at him with 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 from masculine, but because an archetypal spectator or viewer is always assumed to be a male, and the female is a flattering object of desire for men. Like Goffman, Berger too uses a technique to suggest, the stark differences we have in our minds while percieving the two genders. Goffman calls this

technique 'reversals' [Goffman, 1979 : 26][27]. Berger argues that if we choose any image of the 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.

Socialization :

How do the differences in masculine - feminine characteristics come about ? Do men emerge from the womb with genetic patterns bearing such assorted qualities as courage, logic, talent and the divine right of authority ? Are women biologically preordained to unfold as sweet, sensitive, yielding, and only whimsically intelligent ? Not exactly. From the time female babies are wrapped in pink and male babies in blue, the personality differences between them are basically learned.

As infants we begin life with no innate ideas of the social order that surrounds us; we look for clues to guide us in percieving both ourselves and our environment. We do not witness the world directly, but through a filter of images, ideas and conventions that we have learned. This is a major part of a very necessary process known as

socialization; without it we would have no reference points - no criteria with which to choose among the infinite possibilities that exist. Socialization eases our relation within society.

And through this almost unconscious guidance we learn what it means to be a woman or a man. But it is becoming more and more evident that the feminine and masculine role, as they are assigned at present, are extremely restrictive, limiting the personal development of women, as well as men. Kate Millet asserts that 'whatever the 'real' differences between the sexes may be, we are not likely to know until the sexes are treated differently, that is alike. And this is very far from being the case at present" [Kate Millet, Sexual Politics (1970)][28].

Denied the opportunity to experiment independently with their personalities, little girls readily respond to meek stereotypes of the feminine ideal, and spend their lifetimes striving to emulate them. As reality intrudes - a bullying little boy, sexual frustation, depressing house-work, female competition - women often retreat even further into fantasy. Fantasy can be natural and beautiful aspect of childhood, but if used as an escape, as so often with women, it becomes an excuse to avoid action. Many housewives become compulsive television-comedy fans or become absorbed by the glamourous

events of the rich and famous lives or by some impossible idealized future of their own. And rather than summoning up courage to get out of depressing environments, women tend to blame themselves for not being able to adapt or live up to the ideal. They learn to look for deficiencies within themselves, rather than reforming the situation. Products, be it of any kind, are injected into their vulnerable minds to camouflage such deficiences.

Psychologists such as Janet Lever (1976) Jean Piaget (1965) and Erik Erikson (1958) have studied the defereing socialization processes of the genders. The penchant of developmental theorists to project a masculine image, and one that appears frightening to women, goes back at least to Freud (1905)[29], who built his theory of psychosexual development around the experiences of the male child that culminate in the oedipus complex. In the early 1920's, Freud struggled to resolve the contradictions posed for his theory by the differences in female anatomy and the different configuration of the young girl's early family relationships. Freud concluded that women "show less sense of justice than men, that they are less ready to submit to great exigencies of life, that they are more often influenced in their judgements by feelings of affection or hostility" (1925, pp. 257-258)[30]. Nancy Chodorow (1974)[31], writing against the masculine bias of pschoanalytic theory,

argues that the existence of sex differences in the early experiences of individuation and relationship "does not mean that women have 'weaker' ego boundaries than men or are more prone to psychosis". It means instead that "girls emerge from this period with a basis of 'empathy' build into their primary definition of self in a way that boys do not" (p. 167)[32].

Consequently, relationships, and particularly issues of dependency are experienced differently by women and men. For boys and men, separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separtion from the mother is essential for development of masculinity. For girls and women, issues of feminity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother or on the progress of individuation. Since masculinity is defined through separation while feminity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation. Thus men tend to have difficulty with relationships, while women tend to have problems with individuation. Advertisements too, reflect such a situation, wherein the male is dominant in his own presence, while the female form is shown in relation to something/someone else. Lever asserts that the male model is the better one since it fits

the requirements of modern corporate success. In contrast, the sensitivity and case for the feelings of others that girls develop through their socialization has little market value and can even impede professional success.

Erikson (1968)[33] argues that the woman holds her identity in abeyance as she prepares to attract the man by whose name she will be known, by whose status she will defined, the man who will rescue her from emptiness and withness by filling "the inner space". While for men, identity precedes intimacy and generativity in the optimal cycle of human separation and attachment, for women these tasks seem instead to be fused. Intimacy goes along with identity, as the female comes to know herself as she is known, through her relationships with others. Advertisements reinforce such ideas, although in a subtle way now-a-days. Frilly feminine clothes and soft manners are not harmful in themselves but in what they represent - a submissive, shy, unconfident personality, or else a devious one. Bardwick and Douvan explain. "For the girl overt freedoms, combined with cultural ambiguity, result in an unclear image of feminity. As a result of vagueness about how to become feminine or even what is feminine, the girl responds to the single clear directive - she withdraws from what is cleary masculine" (pp. 125-126).

And this triggers off the game of sexual politics and power.

One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.

- Simone de Beauvoir
The Second Sex

Sex as a symbol of Personal Identity or Power :

Some writers (e.g. Person, 1980)[35] have argued that women are less likely than men to use sexuality to achieve self-identity. Ann Snitow (1980)[36], in reviewing how women novelists have treated sex in their works, concluded that although sex is sometimes presented as a reward for being daring and liberated, it is not presented (as in mens' fiction) as a testing ground for the ego, as a way to assert oneself, or as a "symbol of ..... triumph or defeat". Kate Simon (1982)[29] ends her autobiographical description of emergence of childhood into adolescence by exulting in the discovery of how she can use her sexuality to control men, to mesmerize them, thereby to become "invincible and

immortal", like her favourite female movie stars.

Goffman, even though has not explicitly or elaborately explained this term (power) per se, he has used it a lot, to give meaning to the various forms of genderised 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, 1979 : 234][37]. 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 partriarchal implications of genedered advertisement. 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 is, 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 display for persuading the audiance, it is often as a 'means of communication (and) not merely as a means of action" [Goffman, 1979 : 234][38].

Women have been purchased, won, conquered, taken, and traded, and they have been part of the victors' booty in

war. Women are also used to attract attention and to sell paroducts. For example, an advertisement for a centrifuge in a prestigious science journal reads, "The first beautiful centrifuge", and shows a beautiful blonde woman in a lab coat standing next to the item; a major airline attempts to lure customers by presenting a swimsuit-clad woman under giant caption that reads, "What's your pleasure "" Women are used as "incentives" for men of varied backgrounds, education, and interests. Thus, Gloria Joseph (1981b)[39], writing about the childhood and adolescence of African-American women, has noted that in our society "sex is the dominant cmmodity for monetary profit, personal gains and gratifications, and human exploitation" (Ibid., p. 205)[40]. Many adolescent girls are taught to "cash in" on their sex appeal, to use it to manipulate boys for material advantage. This statement can readily hold true for our own Indian society, though people engaged in such business spheres refuse to accept the fact.

Women are confused and pulled in conflicting directions by their objectification as sex goddesses. On the one hand, they are pulled toward making themselves match as closely as possible the sexual image considered attractive to men. On the other hand, they experience the disappointment and pain that stems from the realization that they are percieved only as collections of body parts that titillate men and are

useful for men's pleasures. The length to which many women go on to conform to our culture's demeaning standards of sexual atractiveness can be illustrated by two phenomena; the enormous amounts of money spent on cosmetics and beauty-aids, and the growth of the practice of cosmetic surgery. As noted by Gloria Joseph (1981b)[41].

The female image..... requires women to be simultaneously senuous, slim, smooth and shiny, subtle and attractive ! A plethora of aids needed for women to achieve this image..... (Women) use billions of dollars of beauty products annually, plus countless hours, in an effort to 'attain' this image. More than 48 million dollars is spent annually on eye make-up alone.... The selling of ....woman as a sex object is big business (p.157-158)[42].

Notes and References

1. Hall, Edwin (1959) **Silent Language : Communication and Civilization** Oxford, Oxford University Press.

2. Kroeber and Kluckhohn C. (1959)in Edwin Hall's, **Silent Language : Communication and Civilization**, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

3. Packard, Vance (1960) **The Hidden Persuaders** New York, David Nckay Company Inc. Schmidt, Rosenaric; Kess, Joseph F. (1986) **T.V. Advertising and Televangelism - Discourse, Analysis of Persuasive language** Amsterdam and Philadelphia, John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

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

5. Howitt, Dennis (1986) **Mass Media and Social Problems** (International Series in Experimental Social Psychology, vol.2) Oxford, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Frankfurt, Pergamon Press.

6. Packard, Vance, (1960) **The Hidden Persuaders**, New York, David Mckay Company Inc., p.3.

7. Ibid., p.4.

8. Ibid., pp.10-12.

9. Ibid., pp.18-24.

10. de Beauvoir, Simone, (1949/1961) **The Second Sex**, New York, Bantham, Trans. Parshley, H.M.

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

12. Ibid., p.189.

13. Ibid., p.185.

14. de Beauvoir, Simone, (1949/1961) **The Second Sex**, New York, Bantham, Trans. Parshley, H.M.

15. Dinnerstein, K. (1977) in Talkey, James and Kolka J. ed. (1977) **The Face of Fashion** New York, Locus Inc.

16. Laver, James (1969) **The Concise History of Costume and Fashion**, New York, Pantheon.

17. Hervey, Sandor (1982) **Semiotic Perspectives** London, Boston, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin.

18. Ibid., p.135.

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

20. Baehr, Hilen, ed. (1980) in Morris, K. (1982) **The Unfazed Vision**, London, Pergamon Press, pp. 302-304.

21. Keohane E. and Gelphi D.C. (1982) in Morris, K. (1982) **The Unfazed Vision**, London, Pergamon Press, pp. 302-304.

22. Berger, John. (1983) **Ways of Seeing**, British Broadcasting Corporation, London, Penguin Books, pp. 23-27.

23. Ibid., p.45.

24. Mayne, C. (1985) **The Male Gaze**, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 201-203.

25. Berger, John. (1983) **Ways of Seeing**, British Broadcasting Corporation, London, Penguin Books, p. 46.

26. Rubens, K. (1577-1640) **Painters of Paris**, in Berger, John. (1983) **Ways of Seeing**, British Broadcasting Corporation, London, Penguin Books.

27. Goffman, E. (1979) **Gender Advertisements** Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harward University Press.

28. Millet, Kate. (1970) **Sexual Politics**, New York, Avon. p.49.

29. Freud, Sigmund (1905), in Millet, Kate (1970) **Sexual Politics**, New York, Avon.

30. Ibid., p.205.

31. Chowdrow, Nancy. (1978) **The Reproduction of Mothering : Psychoanalysis and Sociology of Gender**, Berkley, University of California.

32. Ibid., p.167.

33. Erikson, Eric. (1968) in Freud, Sigmund (1905), in Millet, Kate (1970) **Sexual Politics**, New York, Avon. p.13-14.

34. Ibid., pp. 125-126.

35. Person, C. (1980) **The Loss of Identity**, N.L.B. London, Verso Editions.

36. Snitow, Ann. (1980) in, **Holding on to the Reins of Youth** ed. by Ross, M. and McKintosh, J. (1980), New York, Seeman Publications, pp. 33-39.

37. Goffman, E. (1979) **Gender Advertisements**, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harward University Press, p.234.

38. Ibid., p.234.

39. Joseph, Gloria. (1981b) in, Benstock, Shari and Ferris, Suzanne (1994) eds. **On Fashion**, Brunswick, N.J. Rutgers University Press.

40. Ibid., p.205.

41. Ibid., p.157.

42. Ibid., pp. 157-159.

CHAPTER - III

WOMEN, MEDIA AND CRISIS : FEMINITY AND DISORDER

There is no savor
more sweet, more salt

than to be glad to be
what, woman,

and who, myself,
I am, a shadow

that grows longer as the sun
moves, drawn out

on a thread of wonder.

- **Denise Levertov** (1973, p.101)[1]

It's a cliche, this epithet - the new woman. And yet few can deny her existence. Marketing pundits are taking note of her. The media have found in her, a new target and the idustries are zeroing in on her. Although tonally there is a change in the image of women in advertisements, there is also an emotional baggage carried over. So that the advertisements for love and care products which shows women in a family situation still dominates.

The 'Affluent Sophisticate Woman' is more conversant with the ways of the world. She is also more exposed to the media. Her social values are well and truly liberal. She is quite open to media/advertising influences and has more

access to such technologically generated visuals - 'The Cindrella Factor' (discussed earlier).

Advertising is the accelarating force in distribution and has become an institution of persuasion to promote social and economic values such as safety, health, education, behevolence, liberty, democracy, free interprise and tolerance. Advertisements have also helped mould society's concepts about the role of women in the society - their characterisation, be it verbal or non-verbal, implied or explicit. Advertisements in essence, refer to the image that is being communicated.

Methodology in this study is adopted as below :-

1. Society is hierarchically arranged with the famales 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 patriarchal ideology.

4. Advertiseemnts are a reflection of social reality.

The Research Problem :-

The problem attempts to study the present day image of the Indian woman in contrast to what it is depicted by the dream merchants of the electronic media. There is something to look beyond the much hyped notion of 'cultural imperialism' because most advertisements are produced, screened and promoted indigenously. It also aims to identify the social determinants of the emerging patterns of 'new roies' and their social implications. Along with all these, the current portrayal of the 'male form' vis-a-vis the 'female form' shall also be studied.

The analysis will be based on a 'time-frame' reference in order to facilitate the meaning of 'patriarchal ideology' - the dynamics of patriarchy and also its continuity i.e. how advertisements have changed in their content according to the changing milieu and still have been able to maintain the patriarchal status-quo, by predaminantly depicting the image of women as being 'non-image' (the term 'non-image' basically refers to the absense of women, not only as physical beings but as independent authorities (Gallagher, 1983 : 72)[2]. The time-frame will not only include magazines and newspapers but also its partrayal through another great technological giant - the electronic media. The movement through this time and space frame will eventually depict the

nature of advertisements, whether the have been any qualitative changes in the portrayal of women, how transparent has been the development and the celebration of a new entrant - the bold depiction of the 'male form'.

The Objective :-

The objectives of the present study may be posited as under :-

1) Is the portrayal of the modern woman in consonance with the image of the present day Indian woman ?

2) Is it a hypodermic model ? (that is media messages are seen as being directly injected into the minds of individuals who are powerless to resis it).

3) What has been the societal reaction, replayed via the mass media ? Has it exaggerated and distorted reality ?

4) What is the media's nexus with money, power and sexual politics ?.

5) To which of these dual images dose the image of the illiterate rural Indian woman comply ?

6) Can the male form be objectified ?

The foundation for 'sociology of Mass Communication' was laid down by the pioneering work of Park (1925), Mead (1934) and Cooley (1956) who were particularly interested in the evolutionary process taking place within society and based their work on the definition of communication as a process enabling individuals to convey meanings to each other. Their primary concern was to build on the underlying idea that there occurs in the individual consciousness, a social process, whereby one forms a picture of one-self and of others. Charters (1933) and Blumer (1933)[3] were one of the earliest researches on the effect of motion pictures on young people. Their approach was simple and pragmatic aiming at gearing up the efficiency of the different modes of mass communication. By the mid-50's there was a marked shift towards the areas of agriculture, behavioural psychology etc. Contemporary trends emphasize three different models of communication processes :-

1) That of an inter-dependence between the communicator and the recipient;

2) That of a link in a whole chain of communications moving backwards and forward;

3) As a part of an overall patterning of interaction.

There have been various studies concerning the projection of women in the media, but the bench mark in data related issues concerning the status of women in our society was 'Towards Equality' Report of the Bureau of Women and Child Welfare on the status of women in India (1974)[4]. The present study analyzes secondary data, collected magazines, books and of course through televiewing.

Whether these portrayals reflect the real life situations or vice-versa, is a debatable issue. Nevertheless, that there is a subtle shift in portrayals has to be accepted. In the early nineteenth century, J. Walter Thompson identified housewife as a centre for dissemination of the ideology of consumption, given her various roles in the family, and percieved her to be the 'ultimate target consumer'. And hence, home was depicted as the locus of her aspirations and activities. Her identity and personality were measured in terms of her ability (or lack of it) in managing her home. Thus as Baehr (1980)[5] puts it - "The struggle against representation is basically the struggle against the structures of patriarchal economy and social relations which produce sexist images and representation". Thus the media depiction succeeds in "symbolically annihilating" women, through their condemnation, etc. The latest trend is to depict her as a '**super human being**'. The

locus is still the family, but the difference is that in addition to cooking and looking after the family, she is shown as rushing to her work place. While there is a change in the setting, the image more or less is that of a demure and soft person. Thus, the employed woman is shown as solving the problems of child-care by a re-organization or the personal and public life, thereby succumbing to the patriarchal dictum of motherhood, being her primary role.

This brings us to recognize the fact that media has constantly ignored "the desolation, the vulnerability and the crippling sense of isolation that women-headed households face in our country" (Pande, 1988)[6]. among the most devasting consequences of gender inequality in our country is the impoverishment of women and their children. The data are unambiguous, and the **"feminization of poverty'** has become one of the catchiest new phrases in the social science lexicon. Women in our country, (at least in the rural areas) are seen as ancillary to the task of meeting economic calamity, but tragically are denied access to rural banking schemes and loan facilities. "It is tragic that most of our highly placed women officials choose to mouth malecentric developmental jargon, and support sexist attitudes such as : "these women are poor loan risks because they are so ignorant" and so on (Ibid., 1988)[7]. Most of the

fertilizer based advertisements feature men as being their target consumers and feature women constantly at the background inspite of the fact that women in rural India contribute sufficiently to field and cultivation labour. There are no work/insurance policies for women working under hazardous conditions in the fields too. And of course there is a marked difference in wages between the two sexes inspite of the fact that both the working conditions and the time period of the job be similar. A trend called "grazing" - sporadic munching on the run instead of sitting down to a full meal - has been blamed on 'female careerism'. "Now that they are spending all day at the office, they're no longer preparing meals" (Patinkin, 1984, p.3)[8].

In the 60's, when feminism was in vogue, women was subtly portroyed as job-snatchers'. In the next two decades when a small yet constant proportion of woman were taking home a pay check, a new market market for womens' cosmetics and accessories opened up. Advertising, in its' bid to develop the need for new products, started portraying 'her' as a liberated woman, in contract to the earlier family centred dimension. In the early 90's advertisements were reknown for its display of female models, sex and eroticism. It has established that female models are constantly used irrespective of whether they are relevant to the advertised product or not.

"The body is a womans' own environment".

(Vogue, April, 1971).

Although the clothing-as-freedom concept is gaining acceptance, the strict dictates of glamour still hold sway over most women. Berger regards the situation of being envied as glamour and advertisements are the vehicles of glamour-creation. They goad individuals to try and be enviable in the eyes of others. Thus publicity-images are basically concerned with social relations 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 us 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. And herein lies the importance of fashion and the desire to buy and sport designer labels.

We use **fashion** to describe a formal arrangement of male and female clothing that expresses the aesthetics and customs of a cultural period. Fashion includes widespread social norms that may be modified by individual self-expression. It is part of what Roland Barthes refers to as "the syntax of clothing"[10]. Costume historians must always

be mindful of the schism between fashionable ideals and reality. To examine the ideal image alone is to look at historical evidence through a distorted window. As an image is transformed into an ideal through an interconnected system of mass communication, social organizations, and personal choice, we become attached to it and committed to emulate it. Some advertisers have obligingly included career women in their advertisements, not so much as attribute to their careers or professions, but as a testimonial to the products they use. The new roles and settings have been added, but it seems merely as incidental to capture another segment of the market, rather than to portray women in their various emerging roles outside the gambit of their sexuality and their homes.

Advertisements, in a way, compel a woman to constantly review her physical appearance. A woman's constant awareness of how she is being seen can become a neurotic symptom. She may quickly confuse her outward appearance (her mythical self) with her real self and may consequently lose her sense of identity altogether. Thus women simply appear to display themselves, whereas men act. Only when women began to assert that they, too, could be sexual aggressors, were **men presented as objects** of desire for women. It is only in this context that we can understand how radical it is to portray

a (mostly) clothed woman watching a half-naked man. Today, young beautiful male bodies are increasingly being used in the most boldest forms in advertising and in art. Men's underwear company's have shed their inhibition about displaying their products through the depiction of a well toned male torso. And the captions for such advertisements are not usually targeted for the male consumer, but for the 'modern woman' who would appreciate this piece of garment for her man. Nevertheless, images of beautiful women still seem to have a far greater appeal (for both men and women). The male objectification therefore remains very different from the representation of women as sex objects. The most successful images of men as sex objects have caused controversy because of a number of viewer's have interpreted them as homosexual erotica.

But a womans' beauty has been celebrated over centuries and advertising is just following a precedent set in the past. The relevant use of the woman motif notwithstanding, in a product category, where she can alternated with a man, the toss up is always in her favour, for, aesthetically there is no comparison, argue advertisers. This inappropriate stereotyping can have the effect of a self-fulfilling prophecy that hinders self-realization among women. Men, because of these images of women, are affected too. After all, sex role stereotypes encompass both sexes,

so that the portrayal of one sex in a very traditional way carries with it indirect messages about the other sex. In both cases, what results is the distortion or denial for both men and women.

Rules and regulations have been passed in order to curb the espousal of stereotyping women in advertisements. Recommendations made by the **P.C. Joshi Committee**, in respect to the portrayol of women on television, made these interesting observations. "Women must not be portrayed in stereotyped images that emphasize and eulogise the passive, submissive qualities of women and encourages them to play a subordinate role in the family and society. Both men and women should be portrayed in ways that encourage mutual respect and a spirit of give and take on equal terms between the two sexes. Also, all advertisements shown on television must be scrutinized carefully by a special committee to ensure that they do not portray women in derogatory stereotyped ways"[9]. Yet it is to be seen, whether a change in the ideologies and mindset of the populace will materialise. Also to be watched with bated breath is the role that advertisements will play in bringing about this change.

However state censorship cannot restrict indecent portrayal of women. What is required is self-correction by a

society. Aesthetic representation of nudity can be distinguished from the pornographic as the latter only titlillates. As its basis assessment of what is art and what is not-depends partially on the packaging - and on the social segment targetted. What is being appealed to either through sexually suggestive advertisements or through art, is the power of human fantasy. No laws and no institutionalized authority can restrain and direct its function. People will enjoy what they like.

The Supreme Court identified 'obscentiy' that which teats sex "in a manner appealing to the carnal side of human nature or having that tendency. The logical conclusion that the statement leads to can be a little confusing. An appeal to the carnal might be perfectly enjoyable. By implication, only those who don't enjoy it would be able to identify the obscene. The court, however took care to narrow the field of application. What is obscence has no "social purpose or profit". But this attempt to define the obscene it terms of social utiltiy can be self-defeating. The producer of 'obscenity' can always claim his purpose to be aesthetic or scientific. Besides, the mandatory article' (in some magazines) carry framed boxes of information about 'sexually transmitted dieseases' on the same pages which present women baring themselves in a visual, sequence of prolonged

titillation. Besides, what is vulgar on the screen is being termed as 'chic' on the catwalk.

To pick one's way sensibly through this confusing situation is a supreme exercise in common sense. Deliberate appeals to the prurient, whether in advertisements or in popular films, would become less frequent only through a change of attitude towards women. Self-correction by society, and not moral guardianship by any authority including governments, is ultimately the only way to healthier representations.

As our culture moves from stricture to relaxation, so move the relations between men and women. Rudi Gernreich speaks with assurance about the present emancipation of women, and men, as symbolized by dress. "Fashion has become anti-fashion"[10]. It stands for values which no longer apply to our current thinking. All the male-female symbolism is beginning to fade. I no longer think in male-female term of design. We are moving into an era of less conspicuous, more anonymous clothes". This statement of unisex says : "We're human beings - not male and females" [Ibid]. This is a social statement, not a sexual one. And sexually, it is healthier.

Films are usually criticized for western onslaught on Indian culture. But when advertisers portray Indian women as

western stereotypes, the image is readily accepted and emulated by the affluent and rich section of the society. Again, when women are sent to participate in international beauty contests, the idea is most universally accepted. They are dubbed as the 'ambassadors of peace and compassion'. Such personalities emerge as role-models for the city bred young woman. The irony is that the standards by which such contestants win or contest is in sharp contrast to the image of the ordinary Indian woman. Most of us cannot relate to such image representation. It is artificially created for the viewers. Yet winning such 'crowns' are seen in to bring in change of status and a re-definition of the image of the new woman. To understand this hypocrisy, one has to unravel the relationship between the 'concepts of beauty' changing in accordance to the patriarchal needs in society. Beauty contests are sponsored by company's who cash in money and attract consumers by employing the contestants to advertise for their products. The contestants are artificial, in the sense that they are taught to be perfect, the words that they use to talk or communicate are carefully selected, the smile and the walk is carefully manoeuvered. What the contestants do on the stage, is merely a performance, an act. Therefore it is difficult to relate oneself physically or mentally to such an image irrespective of a metropolitan upbringing. What one can at the least do, is dream about

becoming like the personality, at least physically.

The feminist analysis of the negative portrayal of women in the media worldwide, and the action against it, have been such that there is now no going back to the bliss of innocence as far as the media's nexus with money, power and sexual plitics is concerned. That is why it is been quite easy to place Sushmita Sen, Aishwarya Rai etc. dolled up and trotted out to make more and more money. And all the while we are told what a great career opportunity, this is now for well-bred girls from "respectable families ..... because after all, our own brothers, uncles, father's and (sometimes) husbands who are in the business". Most advertisements make needless use of the female body and escape censure precisely because women themselves hardly protest. There may be occasional howls of protest. But the body of opinion never reaches the critical mass necessary to put such advertisements out of action. At the same time it is disturbing to see the way Indian women over and over again are depicted as little more than second class citizens. Indeed, perhaps the greatest irony of Indian advertising is the way advertisers try to woo their women consumers by showing them in a fairly abject light. And the rate at which concepts of public morality are changing, they will be perhaps be recieved with blase indifference.

Notes and References

1. Denise, Lervertov. (1973) From Stepping Westward, in B. Segnitz and C. Rainey, eds. **Psyche : The Feminine Poetic Consciousness**, New York : Dell pp. 101-102.

2. Gallagher, Margaret. (1983) **Unequal Opportunities : The Case of Women and the Media**, UNESCO, Paris, p.72.

3. Charters, C. and Blumer, A. (1933) **Motion Pictures : A History**, London, Mackley Inc. pp. 304-305.

4. **Towards' Equality Report of the Bureau of Women and Child Welfare on the Status of Women in India (1975)**, Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

5. Baehr, Hilen, ed. (1980) **women and Media**, London Pergamon Press.

6. Pande, Mrinal. (1988) in Sushila Jain ed. Women's Voices. New Delhi, Cannan Publishers.

7. Ibid., p.28.

8. Patinkin, John. (1984). **Housework and the Economics of Home**, New York, Dell.

9. **P.C. Joshi Committee on Representations of Women in the Media (1983).**

10. Wilson, H.T. (1989) **Sex and Gender : Making Actual Sense of Civilization** New York : E.J. Brill.

CHAPTER - IV

THE MYTH OF MODERNITY : NEXUS BETWEEN MEDIA AND MONEY POLITICS

WOMEN AND LIBERALIZATION

The change in the image and role of women has been endorsed and encouraged to a great extent by an economic system which has profited from it in times of expansion. Magazines and media programmes specially aimed at women have adjusted themselves to this new market and have even accepted the problems and conflicts arising from this new image of women as a suitable subject matter for their products.

Crises always threaten to usher in a revival of the philosophies of security. This is true at an individual, domestic and national level, as well as internationally. The present economic crisis is accompanied by a moral crisis to which women have greatly contributed. And this in turn invites us to foucus on a decisive issue : the present crisis has to find a solution to a number of specific contradictions which arise from the unrest among women, to whom - because of their restricted autonomy - the ruling culture has assigned a regulatory or pacifying role, and

responsibility for maintaining a balance in society.

So it becomes important to ask what image of women does the media naturally promote ? And what change occurs in the universe of symbols during period of crisis, as compared with times of relative stability ? In liberal democracies, the legitimacy of the culture of "modernity" is closely linked to the ability of the economic and political order to respond to democratisation by the market and to the ever increasing consumption of goods and services. The seduction of the world of material goods, which is widely associated in modernist ideology with the idea of a female being, is based on an overemphasis on growth. We are a society continuously transformed by technology, and we are a people now continuously exposed to reversals in fundamental, traditional values. In this decade, shifts in basic values have profoundly altered what many people expect from themselves, from others, and from life. We are all affected by the changes, or the appearances of change, because their visibility in the media makes awareness unavoidable.

The media's prime target has been the 'house-wife' or the 'home-makers' (to use a more politically correct terminology). Our cultural stereotype describes the Indian 'home-maker' as a passive, chained to domestic drudgery, and unconcerned with events outside the cozy cottage/home.

Advertisements constantly entice 'her' to attain the 'super-woman' status by buying their products which would eventually revolutionize her domestic chores. What does housework actually entail ? Is it productive ? Such issues have been hotly debated and discussed.

According to J.K. Galbraith[1], housework exists to service consumption function of the economy. The rising standards of consumption made possible by advanced capitalism are only attractive economic goals if they do not mean the loss of labour power. A gourmet meal is enjoyable when not preceded by long hours in the kitchen; a well-furnished house soothes the eye as long as it's maintenance has not already worn out. It is the conversion of women into a 'crypto-servant class' that renders consumption pleasurable to the dominant economic group.

.....the servant-wife is available, democratically to, almost the entire present male population..... If it were not for this service (of women as housewives) all forms of household consumption would be limited by the time required to manage such consumption to select, prepare, repair, maintain, clean, service, store, protect, and otherwise perform the tasks that are associated with the consumption of goods. The servant role of women is critical in the modern economy (Galbraith, 1974, p.33)[2].

But Galbraith's language of the 'crypto-servant functions of consumption administration hides the chief significance of the housewives' invisible and unpaid work from the maintenance of the economy. The housewives' work remains productive, for what she produces is workers for industry, her husband with clean clothes, well-filled stomach and mind freed from the need to provide daily care for his children; the children fed, clothed, loved and chastised ready for their own gender-specific role as workers or worker.

To say that the modern housewife is still a productive worker, despite the changes that have stripped the housework role of its manufacturing aspect, is an important restatement of the position of women. In the early years of the women's liberation movement when feminists began to grapple with the theoretical problem of how women's subordination might be explained, it was the situation of women as unpaid workers in the home that come to be seen as the central enigma. This brings us to analyze Marx's conception of housework which "consists largely in purchasing commodities and transforming them into usable forms" (Hartmann, 1981, p.373)[3]. In fact Marx did not address housework as productive. In volume one of Capital, he said that the representation of labour power was

productive consumption, but he did not say it was productive labour (Malos, 1977, p.15)[4].

Domestic labour is unproductive (in the economic sense) and conforms with Marx's description of an unproductive labour 'exchanged not with capital but with revenue, that is wages or profits' (Secombe, 1974, p.11)[5]. 'Production' in capitalism according to Marx's theory, means the creation of surplus value - the part of labour that enables capitalist profits to be made (workers sell their labour power to capitalists who extract profit from their use of this labour power by paying workers less than the amount for which they sell the products of labour in the market). Housewives create goods through their labour as producers and consumers in home, but these goods do not enter the commodity market. Wally Secombe maintains that, while housework is productive in the sense of actually transferring and creating value, it is not productive 'in the specific context of capitalist production, because it is not 'conducted in direct relation with capital and it does not produce surplus value. (Others have countered that it does, on the other hand, produce a surplus-value creating commodity, labour power. (Dalla Costa and James, 1972)[6].

The central point in the Marxist domestic labour debate is "that the housewife works for the maintenance of

capitalism rather than simply being a worker in her family". (Glazer-Malbin, 1976, p. 919)[7]. Industrial capitalism as an economic system requires somebody to buy the food, cook the meals, wash the clothes, clean the home and bear and bring up the children. Without this back-up of domestic labour the economy would not function or at least, enormous and profit-handicapping resources would have to be devoted to catering for these personal and reproductive needs. Women as housewives who meet these needs are thus the backbone of the economy, and their contribution, whether viewed as the psychological welfare of children, the stability of marriage or the employer's pocket, is certainly productive.

Leonore Davidoff (1976)[8] has observed that the Marxist model of domestic labour can interpret the housewife's oppression (by privatised, unpaid and socially trivialized work) but cannot show why this oppression takes the form it does. It is part of the conventional wisdom of family life that, just as the family has historically lost its' functions (of production to industry, of reproduction to the hospital, of child socialization to the educational system), so women within families have lost their function to household technology - it is the washing machine, not the vote, that is the true liberator of women. However, it is nearer the truth to see mechanical household aids as rather like the Marxist model of housework, but in practice neither

does so. One factor is that housewives have not benefited to the same extent as other segments of the population from technological advance; it is obvious to anybody who does housework that existing household equipment is not desired with maximum efficiency in mind. Second, the machines-liberate-housewives theory, ignores as Cowan (1974)[9] has pointed out, the possibility that the component activities of housework are merely profoundly transformed when they undergo mechanization. Thirdly, to assume that domestic technology liberates housewives is to ignore all that is known about the social impact of technology on work. Increasing division of labour and increasing routinization are the most inevitable product of general technological 'improvements' in the work process, and what these lead to for the worker is an intensified area of powerlessness, not a feeling of freedom from the bondage of work.

For a few years now, the international feminist movement, with the aid of analytical work by specialist sin social science (male and female), has been vigorously denouncing the negative value attached to women's household work. This becomes transparently obvious when we think that is has always been assumed that this work should be unpaid. Now, "as a rule, once manual work is paid, it takes on economic value, so that any unpaid work (such as womens'

housework) becomes economically, and thus also socially and culturally, devalued" (Stavenhagen, 1980)[10].

The part played by this invisible work in the functioning of economies has been amply demonstrated. Everywhere, in developed and developing countries alike, women form the mainstay of the support economy which makes it possible for all the other activities to be carried on. A woman at home performs a fundamental role in any economy : she services the labour force each day. This economic activity, carried on by most layers of the female population, is of great importance; but the indicators by which the socio-economic position of each country is defined, and its development measured, conceal the economic value of household work.

The arrival of capitalism, which introduced the factory and institutionalised the sale of labour power, undoubtedly represented a decisive moment in the segregation of sex roles in the productive process, mainly by developing the family of its' old function as a productive unit. But we should be aware of a nostalgic attitude and of the tendency to idealize the situation that traditional society gave women in productive activities. It has been shown (with reference to Africa, for example), that this often went hand in hand with forms of slavery. Capitalism merely continued

and deepened a hierarchical division of labour which had come into being long before, reserving for males the most prestigious and best-rewarded work and restricting women to the lowest kind. This sex role discrimination is fundamental to the maintenance of the capitalist economy, and it has been shown that :

....."but for this vast female underpinning - the women who provide food and clothing for the proletariat in a world where the necessary facilities for a collective restoration of labour energy simply do not exist - the hours of surplus value extorted from the worker by capital would be fewer. We can even say that women's work in the home is expressed through men's work outside by the creation of surplus value"[11].

Gradually isolated from the world of production through the long process of consolidation of the monogamous family and its close links with the system of private property, women by virtue of the kind of tasks they carry out at home and their dependence on men, become the **cement of class society**. This division of labour finds expression in a definition of masculine and feminine qualities transmitted, reinforced and rearticulated by the different institutions of society.

The **invisibility of women's work** and the concealment of the productive value of their household tasks are of decisive importance in determining the image of women projected by the media and the media's relationship with them. The media have made a point of following the traditional household timetable. Radio and television programming is particularly revealing in this respect : it punctuates the day with moments that make womens' condition "all worth while", and helps to compensate for being shut up at home all day. It makes women's work legitimate, not as work, but as a duty (sometimes pleasurable) that forms part of their natural function.

The genre of these womens' broadcasts may differ (afternoon magazines, television serials radio serials) ; the values around which their themes are structured can correspond to different points in womens' relation to capital, and to the more or less modern and free-thinking character of the sections of the bourgeoisie that produce them. But they still have in common the purpose of integrating women into their everyday life.

The market and the beauty.

> To be born a woman is to know -
> Although they do not talk of it at school -
> That we must labor to be beautiful.
>
> (William Butler Yeats : Adam's Curse)[12].

Laboring to be beautiful is a task that women throughout history have had to undertake. There have been periods, from time to time, during which men worked hard to present themselves as elegant and desirable, but for women beauty was most often associated with popularity and preferability, and for women being wanted by a men, especially for marriage, was commonly associated with survival. Women depended on men to support them and to legitimize their existence. Marriage was the expected goal for all women, and those who did not achieve this status were often thought to have failed because of their lack of appeal to the other sex.

Experiments have demonstrated that when people are shown photographs, they tend to imbue good-looked people with favourable personality characteristics (Byrne et.al., 1964; Miller, 1970 and Barocas and Karoly, 1972)[13]. Plato said that all that is beautiful is good, so it is evident that the equation of beauty and goodness has existed for over tow thousand years. Shakespeare himself said, "She never yet was foolish that was fair" (The Rape of Lucrece)[14]. And Keats pointed out that :

> Beauty is truth, truth beauty - that is all Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know. (Ode on a Grecian Urn, p.234)[15].

It was Robert Brownings' belief, that :

> If your get simple beauty and naught else,
> You get about the best thing God invents.
>
> (Fra Lippo Lippi, p.430)[16].

Women who are pleasing in appearance were found to be more assertive than those women who were considered physically attractive (Jackson and Huston, 1975)[17]. Because people who are attractive are often thought as having other positive traits, the attractive individual receives positive social messages, which in turn increases her self-esteem and consequently her assertiveness. Women soon learn to use their bodies to obtain their desires. Unlike the male, who uses such manipulative techniques as deluding, women manipulative with their looks, because they realize that 'looks' pay-off in a number of ways. Success in many careers of a multitude of women is often correlated with the selling of one's looks. Beauty is power, said Aristotle. Beauty he declared to be a greater recommendation than any letter of references. (Aristotle : quoted by Diogenes Laertius, p.461)[18].

The concept of beauty is therefore the concept held by men. Arelene Dahl (1965)[19] demonstrates, perhaps in an exaggerated way, the fact that men are the reference point in our culture, and Dahl in no uncertain terms states that this is how it should be. What a tremendous burden is placed

on women to achieve femininity. To be feminine is to do for others, then, and not to be self-actualizing, and few women can hope to achieve the standard of beauty that is establized as the model. The way we picture our bodies (body image) is basic to the way we picture our bodies about ourselves (self-esteem) (Gutze, 1969)[20]. For women in our society, developing a real self-concept is difficult - "conflict and self-denial" can continuously occur (Gutze, 1969)[21]. A persons' image about herself is closely enmeshed in the way others see her. Charles Horton Cooley (1922)[22], a well known sociologist of his time, pointed out that an individual develops a self-image based on how she or he is viewed by others, accepted or rejected, approved or disapproved. The judgements that are made by others toward a person are incorporated into the view the individual develops of himself or herself. This Cooley calls the "looking-glass self".

Our society gives messages to women, that they must not get old, and that they must continue to be sexually appealing. That is why the cosmetic industry is thriving and spreading its wings to new horizons of profits and money-making, progressively victimizing women by coercing women to sell and buy their products. The new multinational culture marketing the modern beauty pageants on a mega scale, operate not with the intention of appreciating but of

appropriating beauty. The problem is that this culture is marketing a beauty myth that is only fragmenting and distorting beauty itself but also glamourising a global culture that is far removed from the harsh realities of most people even while being violent and violative of their existence.

Beauty is not being celebrated by the new global culture. It has been marketed and commercialized over and over again. This homogenised and universalized cosmetic culture also refuses the diverse notions of beauty in different cultures - for, in some, fat is beautiful, in some, thick lips are sensuous, in others dark is divine; while in some, a big nose is nothing to be sneezed at. What these beauty pageants do is, reduce and standardise all notions of beauty into one universal ideal - which is of course, white, blonde, blue eyed and svelte. For it is this culture that has always and will dominate all others in relation to this are found wanting. Campaigners of the new liberal market often argue that beauty contests are a peripheral issue. But we all know that they are harbingers of the depth of the degradation and destruction caused to all 'developing' cultures by the culture of affluence encapsulated in the Western lifestyle which is being sold as the universal dream.

The irony is that this slow genocidal destruction of the lives of the weak and vulnerable of the world by this high consumptive life style is legitimized and accepted in the name of development and progress. Nelia Sancho, a one time beauty queen from Philippines and at present a strong voice in the Womens' Human Rights movement and co-ordinator of Asian Womens' human Rights Council (Manila) says in a reflective statement :

"After being crowned 'Queen of the Pacific' in an international beauty contest held in Australia, I was thrown into a dizzying world of travel and excitement, but also of drudgery and humiliation. As I went from one place to another and met different kinds of people it became more and more evident that people only expected me to smile and look pretty; nobody expected me to have any intelligence at all, and after the preliminary greetings, nobody tried to have any sort of intelligent conversation with me. That was when I began to see that people saw me as nothing more than a preety object to beautify a room, or add atmosphere to a gathering or event. "The most eye-opening experience of all, is the way in which I had to promote one product after another, which made me start to question the whole woman-product equation. After my reign, I began to more fully study the link between the market economy and the profit

motive behind beauty pageants with the objectification of women. Women in a global market economy set-up, are just another commodity to be sold at a price"[23].

On the other hand, the protest is for the increasing legitimacy of this new, international, secular, liberal, corporate culture that too will recognize and acknowledge women only in so far as they are willing partners in the promotion of the great global market in which womanhood is iconised in the degendered entrepreneur or consumer whose feminity and aesthetics is determined by the needs of the market. The market needs after all to formulate a beauty culture that can be packaged and sold by the cosmetic industry only when it can have fragmented view of the women.....in terms of her hair, her skin, her teeth, her toe-nails..... for it is on the foundations of this fragmented part that great cosmetic empires are built. This empire has little use for the naturally beautiful persona of a woman who in non-consumerist worlds is valued primarily for her wisdom, her sensitivity, her generosity, humour with which she sustains her people and the strength and fortitude with which she fights and faces the exploitation and violence in her life.

Of late, beauty queens have been seriously taken up to be role-models for young women especially in the developing

countries. And the media has constantly hyped such an image, which shows the beauty queen as an epitome of success, glamour and fame. Most women are obviously lured by such incentives but what they fail to realize that this success is short-lived and exhaustive. As time weans away, such beautiful images melt away into oblivion. Many would argue that such titles would empower women in several ways, but the irony is that money/wealth would fetch power, till the time, the media cashes on the young face and the body.

A television advertisement boosts its impact through repeated telecasts. Repetition is one of the main characteristics of advertising approach to communication. There is a distinct difference between viewing a message once and viewing it ten or hundred times. Repetition of advertising messages day after day, and even some technologically-made to be perfect advertisements make forms of communication not only irrestible but also easy for retention. All this make it very important to ascertain as to how women are projected or portrayed in these advertisements.

Two major factors have led to an increase in the number of advertisements on the Indian television. From the advertiser's point of view, television is the most effective means to reaching the largest number and in a manner most

conducive to creating consumer demand. According to them, the press can, at best, be used only to supplement the audio-visual media. The audio-visual character of television makes for a unique persuasive combination, which through sophisticated packaging techniques, has a power multiplier effect. Secondly, the electronic media in India has been pursuing a policy which is primarily concerned with enhancing its advertising revenue, increasing its target year after year.

In India's mixed economy, advertising has acquired the status of an inevitable reality. Not only has it come to stay - it has become an integral part of the economic and social life in India. When advertising has become such a major force because of its pervasive and persuasive character, its social responsibility becomes a matter of concern. Its contents and forms, as used by the advertising world have become a subject of fierce controversy. Admittedly, the advertiser's aim is to sell, but at what and at whose cost ? How concerned is the advertiser about the direction which society's value systems must take ?

The advertising industry as a whole has been subject to controversy over the ethics of propagating factual veracity in its contents, sex and gender portrayals, aesthetic values, and its fall-out on society. These have been a large

number of accusations against certain advertisements being inaccurate in their claims, obsence portrayals of women and promoting negative attitudes about women. To safeguard against the propagation of the wrong kind of values by the media through the telecast of advertisements, the government has formulated a code for Commercial Advertising on Television in India. in the General rules of Conduct in Advertising, Clause 2 (viii) deals specifically with the portrayal of women. The clause reads as follows :

"No advertisement shall be permitted which in its depiction of women violates the constitutional guarantees to all citizens such as equality of status and opportunity and dignity of the individual. In particular, no advertisement shall be permitted which projects a derogatory image of women. Women must not be portrayed in a manner that emphasises passive, submissive qualities and encourages them to play a subordinate, secondary role in the family and society. The portrayal of men and women should not encourage mutual disrespect. Advertiser shall ensure that the portrayal of the female form is tasteful and aesthetic, and is within the well established norms of good taste and decency"[24].

Nalini Prasad (1994) analyzed more than 300 commercial advertisements telecast by Doordarshan, of these 100

featured women. The 210 advertisements that did feature women were studied according to content - analysis method.

i) Need for inclusion of women in Advertisements. Whether women in each advertisement were 'needed' could be avoided or 'not needed'.

ii) Portrayal of the Role of Women : What is the kind of work, women are shown to be portraying in commercial advertisements - "non-traditional", traditional or neutral.

It has been observed that in many advertisements, the use of female models were 'not needed' at all and still were included simply to "attract" the attention of viewers. In a few other cases, use of women models, "could be avoided".

The following table (1.1) clearly shows that keeping in mind the product, the target audience and the story line of the advertisement, almost half did not really need to feature women.

TABLE 1.1

NEED FOR INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS

	Needed	Could be Avoided	Not Needed
1. Bath Soaps	10	-	2
2. Detergents and Cleaning Agents	1	5	6
3. Toiletries, Cosmetics, etc. for Women	24	-	-
4. Household Appliances	9	13	12
5. Edible Oils	1	3	-
6. Chocolates, Chips, Biscuits etc.	7	1	-
7. Supplementary Nutrients	4	2	3
8. Bicycles, Cars, etc.	1	-	1
9. Tyres	-	1	2
10. Home Decoration Material	4	4	2
11. Electronic Items (TV) etc.	4	-	2
12. Clothes for Women	2	-	-
13. Clothes for Men	-	-	8
14. OTC medicines	12	4	2
15. Pest Control	-	2	3
16. Tea/Coffee	9	1	2
17. Cold beverages	5	-	-
18. Toiletries for Men	-	-	1
19. Toothpaste and Powder	3	1	1
20. Food items	2	4	-
21. Services	3	1	-
22. Others	9	6	4
Total	**111**	**48**	**51**

TABLE 1.2

ROLE-PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS

Role-portrayal in Advertisements	Needed	Could be Avoided	Not Needed
1. Bath Soaps	1	1	10
2. Detergents and Cleaning Agents	1	8	3
3. Toiletries, Cosmetics, etc. for Women	3	-	21
4. Household Appliances	3	18	15
5. Edible Oils	-	3	1
6. Chocolates, Chips, Biscuits etc.	1	1	6
7. Supplementary Nutrients	1	4	4
8. Bicycles, Cars, etc.	2	-	-
9. Tyres	3	-	1
10. Home Decoration Material	2	2	6
11. Electronic Items (TV) etc.	2	1	4
12. Clothes for Women	-	-	2
13. Clothes for Men	1	-	7
14. OTC medicines	1	9	10
15. Pest Control	1	4	-
16. Tea/Coffee	1	3	7
17. Cold beverages	2	-	3
18. Toiletries for Men	1	-	-
19. Toothpaste and Powder	2	1	3
20. Food items	1	3	2
21. Services	-	-	4
22. Others	6	5	8
Total	**35**	**63**	**117**

At the end of 1960's, the "working woman' became a new target for magazine publishers and advertising agents. In their professional journals, advertising men gave their

reasons for believing in this new market : "By the turn of this century a remarkable percentage of women will be bringing home a pay check. Will the working woman run right past you ?" ...."As an advertiser, it'll pay to find out how this growth will affect you".... "Reaching todays' working wife any prove to be the most challenging, rewarding, and lucrative job you'll ever have. How to woo the working woman. (Media Decisions, 1976)[25]. In India, the arrival of cosmopolitan and such other magazines coincided with the emergence of a new image of women which was to lead to changes in the editorial content and promotional strategies of the older magazines. The aim was to develop a narcissistic dimension, as opposed to the earlier family dimension, the incentive to buy.

A split has occurred on the issue of sexual morality also between the older representation and the new. Magazines carrying elite-tags like the Cosmopolitan, with the phenomenon of transnationalization has transformed, in recipient countries breaking the traditional model of the mother in the home. On the other hand, the liberation of the housewife presented by the Hindi magazine 'Grihashobha' never takes her too far from the kitchen and sexuality is still confined to the context of marriage and the family. This model of sexuality oriented towards reproduction within

the family - a model which the magazine continues to promote - is an accurate reflection of the model still prevalent in real life. Other, more urbane magazines, purport to be magazines primarily concerned with female sexuality. The women featured in these magazines are economically independent and, above all, sexually aggressive and sensual: the magazines publish articles on socio-psychological problems and conflicts related to sexuality - a sexuality no longer defined in the context of reproduction, although marriage to one partner from among the many partners is seen as an ultimate goal.

This representation of feminine sexuality undeniably opens up a new and original potential, since sexuality is no longer governed by the rules of a repressive code; but its potential is channeled into a marketing process accentuated by the imagery of the all-too-prevalent advertisements - Advertisements indulge in, for instance, in commercialisation of parts of the body not previously defined as sexual (eyes, lips, ears, skin, teeth) and the sexualisation of situations and places in which sexuality was previously taboo (employment and the street). However, this leads to contradictions in the media projections about women; on the one hand, advertisers exploit the subversive potential of the new depiction of feminine sexuality; on the other, the highly narcissistic self-discovery which the

media encourages women to undertake parallels "the explicit politicization of sexuality by the women's movement - a politicization to effect transformations in the social position of women. (Coward, 1978)[25].

Critics often argue that the media portrayals of feminity have tended to present the new feminine normality in terms only of changes that have occurred in the lives of upper-class women who have had the necessary higher education and training to enter a profession on an "equal footing", so to speak, with men of their own milieu (F. Magazine, 1981)[27]. Although these critics cannot deny that the magazines in question are transmitting a more encouraging and stimulating image of women, they deplore the fact that the media is an accomplice in the involvement of the womens' liberation movement in the commercial market. They complain that the media does not show any real solidarity with the working - class women, their struggles, sit-in strikes etc., but display their feminist bias in a manner consistent with the norms of competition advocated by the system. In short, they never tackle the question of sexist ideology as the basis of the capitalist system.

Advertising and rural women :

"Intellectual freedom depends upon material things. And women have always been poor, not for 200 years but from the beginning of time ..... Women have not had a dog's chance of writing poetry. That is why I have laid so much stress on money and a room of one's own" - Virginia Woolf[28].

Whether we approve or disapprove of the role advertising has come to play in our society, we can enjoy the ingenuity and wit used by commercial artists in the use of old symbols and the invention of fresh ones. Freud's analysis of the kinship between verbal wit and dreamwork could be easily applied, as Ernst Kris has shown, to the condensation and selective emphasis are used both for their power of arousal and for their surprise effects.

It might be tempting to equate the poetry of images with the artistic use of visual media, but it is well to remember, that what we call art was not invariably produced for purely aesthetic effects. Even in the sphere of art the dimensions of communication are observable, although in a more complex interaction. The strength of the visual image posed a dilemma for the Christian church. The church feared idolatory but realized the importance of the image as a meant of communication. Therefore the Pope Gregory the Great

remarked that "pictures are for the illiterates what letters are for those who can read".

This statement goes well enough to prove the present situation in our country. An efficient network of communication has provided a link between places within the country which were earlier separated by geographical distance. Satellite and cable network systems have facilitated advertising campaigns to almost make a direct impact on the rural folk. One important consequence of such an intrusion is a change in various aspects of the cultural life of the village community, who have to organize their life under an environment of greater subjugation to externally oriented forces of change. Popular soap-operas of today often feature the lavish life-styles of the rich.

Bollywood film-stars promote various goods through advertisements. Lot of young people go on to emulate their favourite film-stars by buying the product. Sometimes, such products are beyond the purchasing capacity of the individuals, thus manifesting in conflict within the family. Though it is largely believed that advertisements have maximum effect on women and children, but the present scenario tells us of a different story after all. With the multinationals invading our markets (especially the garment and the cosmetics sector) men too, have been largely

affected by such high-tech 'made to look real' advertisements. Therefore it is just not the young girl pestering her middle-class parents for an expensive garment, the adolescent son too vehemently craves for designer labelled jeans.

Thus the diffusion of the universal appeal of the advertising culture (arising from the consumer society of the metropolis) generates a desire among young people to catch up with 'modernity' and to be identified with it. When such images are continuously injected into the minds of the people it is bound to have its own implications. Lot of rural women find it hard if not impossible to identify themselves to image of the dolled up model on the catwalk. But women living in the suburbs, moffusil towns or the urban village have been most affected by genderised advertisements. In a broader dimension, this group has emerged as a rural urbanite group, demonstrating a relatively high degree of "cosmopoliteness" (By cosmopoliteness is meant ..... the degree to which an individual's orinetation is external to a particular social system. (Rogers, E.R. and R.J. Burdge, 1970)[29].

Territorially it borders the village and the town; its way of life or its' orientatin in life is already entrenched in the urban social fields or urban social networks. Their

orientaiton or ideological base of their day to day existence has transcended the village life and therefore seek closest identification with the urban way of life or urbanism. In all societies, there are strata, and each of these shows distinct social relations, behaviour patterns and attitudes. In other words, the strata in society are composed of sub-cultures and sub-social cultures. In this perspective, the emergence of mass media environment in an otherwise oral-oriented social system is a parallel development with the emergence of a sub-social group, which have attained control over the antecedent environment comprising such geographical, social and psychic mobility, urbanization and literacy (Lerner 1964, pp. 43-45) social, education, age and cosmopoliteness. (Rogers 1969, pp. 101-114)[30].

Critics of the current international order contend that the Western news and information sources cause internal divisions and factional conflict within developing nations. Generally stated, the claim is that inputs of western information create increased dometic struggle for developing nations. Factors such as the 'demonstration effect' are transmitted througn Western programming and advertising. These conditions make ethnic groups within developing nations less likely to co-operate and compromise. Each group

comes to demand more and more of the limited national resources in order to attain a western style of living.

The "demonstration effect" is said to raise levels of frustation, therefore produce domestic violence. Third World Nations often suffer from severely limited resources. These are also nations which are marked by many ethnic divisions, particularly in much of Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Western media transmit and import into these nations images of prosperity and material wealth. Western programming portrays more comfortable and exciting ways of life. From these it is alleged that 'a demonstration effect' raises the expectations of Third World peoples. Advertising is a crucial element in this argument, as it was in regard to the claims concerning cultural imperialism. By its' very nature, advertising increases the expectations and desires of the peoples. Halloran points out that "one of the tasks of advertising is to make people dissatisfied with what they have and to stimulate them to want more, irrespective of their economic circumstances" (Halloran, 1980, p.437)[31]. He calls this the frustration aggression thesis.

At several points in her report from the UNESCO symposium on violence, Burnet relates the 'dangers' that developing countries see in the "alien media" materials. Audiences, especially women in the developing nations are

made to believe that "the change to a more advanced society can be made simply by adopting its surface modes of behaviour, its gadgets and status symbols". Hence "the astonishing number of telelvision sets, high fidelity radios and oversize refrigerators counted in a shanty town". Furthermore, the alien media "may lead to frustation because audiences cannot acquire these status symbols, or live in the comparatively luxurious way that is shown on the screen". (1971 : pp. 32-33)[32].

Elsewhere, Burnet points out that 'quite aside from any representation of violence..... the content of the media in general, and of television in particular may arouse or reinforce feelings of frustation by an emphasis on materialistic aims which is not by any means confined to advertising matter. By showing to the disadvantaged, visions of luxuries beyond their reach or by holding out goals which to them seem at unattainable (except, perhaps by violence), television advertisements constantly reminds these sections of the audience of what they lack, and stimulate achievement drives which are new sources of frustation (p.21).

Halloran makes a similar point, linking western media to rising frustations in these deprived nations, and then goes on to make the tie from this process to subsequent domestic violence more explicit.

"In these circumstances, deprived groups in society are reminded, by a daily bombardment, of what is available to others, what is said to be theirs for the asking, yet what they certainly do not possess and, moreover, are not likely ever to achieve. There are, of course, other powerful agents of frustation operating at a variety of levels, from the interpersonal to the environmental, but it would be foolish to ignore the possibility that media, in their normal day-to-day operations, by the presentation of these norms and values, may increase expectations unrealistically, aggravate existing problems, contribute to frustation and consequently to the aggression and violence that may stem from this. (p. 437)[33].

After all women's drugery is fathomless. They do not have voice in decision-making. Domestic violence and crime against women (Ahuja, 1987),[34] are understood to be man's priviledge. The list of injustices are endless. How can one identify the Indian village (woman) with the image that is projected daily on our television sets ? Advertisers distort social reality, to such an extent that we tend forget the actual state of affairs. It thus becomes a hypodermic model. Modernity occupies the centre of the duality - inherent in the advertising message - between information and incitement, to the extent that its 'signifiers", or concrete

supports, cover the global field of temptations, while its' "signified" is equipped with the notions of dynamism, change and irreversible progress. In other words, modernity is the formula for the opening of the consumer world towards the future, characterised by the rhetoric of fantasy, which hides the essential fact that the theme of newness only plays back the deceptive myths of bourgeois culture and ensures the perpetuation of the process of dependency. Modernity allows the technocratic society to stimulate the alliance with liberting ideologies. Responding to a strategy of consumer massification, it tries to eliminate the sign of the act which it propitiates, by offering itself as a way of integration into the ideology of harmony, health and happiness. It tends to make one forget that the compulsion of consumption which unleashes deeply selfish forces, in its search for a temporary pleasure in buying, makes the consumer a prisoner. Through such advertising campaigns, the act of consumption disappears as a cultural act which contributes to developing an individualistic and repressive civilisation.

EDUCATION AND WOMEN :

'Educate women like men', says Rousseau, 'and the more they resemble our sex the less power will they have for us'. This is the very point I aim at, I do not wish them to have power over men; but over themselves.

(Wollstonecraft, 1929, p.69)[35].

Mary Wollstonecrafts' reply to Rousseau was written at a time when it was rare for females to get any education - in the formal sense - at all. Education in institutions outside the home has always had a special place in feminist programmes of reform. Education was the golden door, the automatic escape from second-class citizenship. The idea seems obvious enough. If education is a prize men have, and it is oriented to such noble (and apparently gender-neurtal) ideals as the pursuit and kindling of knowledge, then there are two reasons why women must have it; it is good in itself and it must enable them to claim the same portion of power and fortune that men have. However, the argument as it was put by educational reformers in the nineteenth century, and as it is put by feminists today, suffers from two fatal flaws. One is a consequence of the particular function education has in a capitalist society; the other derives from the ideology of women's incapacity to be anything than slaves to their bodies.

Historians have repeatedly glorified names such as Maitreyee and Gargi as women scholars of ancient India. But what has not been realized that these women did not represent the plight and status of the entire female population. A large section of them, remained impoverished in mind and in soul. Most of them lived isolation, seeped in

domesticity and cut off from the mainstream activities of life. But the arrival of the British and the consequent reform movements launched by some of our leaders did bring to the forefront, the real lives of Indian women. With the active role of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Vidyasagar, India saw the coming of Western education and rationalism. New vistas of knowledge and thinking opened its doors to the Indian mind. A number of schools were opened for women despite opposition from the orthodox sections. What was really remarkable was the active participation of women in the Peasant movements (Indigo, Pabna, etc.) reaching its peak during the freedom movement. Though the overall situation of women did not change, they began to identify themselves with the rest of the population in their frenzy to achieve independence. This was a turning point in the lives of Indian women.

At the turn of this century, our country has to live with the curse and disadvantage of having more than 70% illiterate women. Pauline Marks (1976)[36] has distinguished three different approaches in the history of girls' education. In the first, educators see no relevant differences between boys and girls. In the second, girls are handicapped or deficient boys who need to special help to 'catch up' with boys. In the third, boys, and girls are

percieved as entirely different and in need of completely different types of education. In most cases, professional and technical degrees draw very low proportion of women. Women in professions remain secondary earners, hence the low status accorded to them. Traditional stereotypes encourage secondary jobs especially said to be tailor-made for women such as teaching and as office assistants. This is due to the 'hidden curriculum' of our educational system.

Therefore, though we have seen the arrival of the male body form in a more explicit way in our advertisements, female bodies are still more preferred and thus objectified. Can these models be called educated ? Most of our beauty pageants prescribe entry rules which limit the age of its participants to all of 23 years. Largely our so called successful models/beauty queens have been school going teenagers or barely high school graduates. How can such women be empowered to protect themselves against exploitation and discrimination in their professions ? The answer seems difficult, because do they not attain the maturity to combat such situations, blinded by the glamour and money that the advertising world offers to them, they finally succumb to temptations, such that they override the fact that they no longer remain as individuals as but objects to be marketed. Money does not elevate their situation, nor bring in power, though it does in a big way,

financially.

Raj Mohini Sethi (1976)[37] on the basis of a comparative analysis, arrives at two conclusions regarding the effects of employment of women : (a) it does not necessarily lead to a change in the work patterns at home; and (b) their contribution to the family does not bring about a change in the persisting status-role nexus and power relatins within the family. So whether one becomes a 'super-model' or an international beauty queen, the politics of gender-role sterotypes never change. Moreover in the nineteenth century, the combined effect of the domestic ideology of women and the masculinity of the educational world they wish to penetrate meant that educated women were accused of manlines - of being, or wanting to be, men. Charlotte Perkins Gilman recalled that :

> Under the universal assumption that men alone were humanity, that the world was masculine and for men only, the efforts of the women were met as deliberate attempt to 'unsex' themselves and become men. To be a woman was to be ignorant, uneducated, to be wise, educated, was to be a man. Women were not men, visibly; therefore they could not be educated, and ought not to want to be.
>
> (Gilman, 1911, p.152)[38].

Media portrayals of educated women in advertisements goes back with some justification, as could be said that the

legacy of the feminist educational pioneers was the creation of two new stereotypes, the celibate career woman, and that of the wife who was an intellectual partner in marriage, "an articulate companion who could swap Greek epigrams or scientific formulae" (Delamont, 1978b, p.184)[39]. The media has not succeeded in establishing the idea that education was a good in itself to be shared equally between the sexes and independently of any future occupation (domestic or otherwise) they might pursue.

The advertising agencies and the media in itself are related to the capitalist economy as whole which not only produces goods, it produces people too. In order to achieve its goals of commodity production, both the forces of production (workers and technology) and its relationships - between social classes, and between men and women - must be constantly reproduced. The economic system maintains the means of production through the accumulation of profit, but it is the role of other institutions to ensure the continuation of labour power and the social relations of production. The family is one such institution, education and the media is another. They can be said to function as 'ideological state apparatus; transmitting the ideas and practices intrinsic to the survival of captialism. (Althusser, 1971)[40].

Employers use schools as suppliers of amenable and profitable workers (Women used in advertisements focussing on the 'new' woman image' are usually the city educated, English speaking ones). Financially independent, these commercially successful women do carve out a name for themselves, but while paying the price for a short-lived status and an even shorter career span.

Frame-analysis of few selected advertisements :

Illich (1982)[41] argues that "it is women more than any other identifiable group who suffer most from the degendering of collective life and the collapse of gendered complementarily which has resulted from capitalism, industralisation and the installation of the regime of sex and scarcity so central to the idea of an economy. Gender has been effecively commodified by having been reduced, in practice as well as in theory, to an emphasis on the homogeneous common properties of polarized, sexed individuals".

Women are perhaps are the largest consumers and sellers of modern products be it anything, resort holidays, clothes, domestic appliances, medicines or food products. Few dominant images that have emerged after analyzing few of our day to day advertisements can be posited in a frame-analysis

technique. I have used Focault's (male gaze) Goffman and Bergers' frames with my own application and interpretation to suit them according to Indian depictions of the female form. We could perhaps have these frames :

Female-body frame : Only a part of the anatomy focus, was only found in the female-depiction, especially in advertisements of underwear, figure-trimming, dress-materials, etc. The Ginderella Syndrome is dominant in most advertisements where cosmetics, tonics and clothes trasform the body form. Feminity 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). Feminity is characterized by gentleness, modesty, compassion, tenderness, nurturance, physical attractiveness (for the male that is), passivity, etc. or as Osho puts it :

"The Taoist principle consists of two parts :

(i) yin - feminine principle and
(ii) yang - masculine principle.

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

Yang....refers to ambition, aggression, desire and passion....."(1978)[42].

And most of our advertisements follow such principles. Therefore the feminine image is determined by the male-gaze. Whereas the **masculine image** is marked by (virility, power, grasping hold, body size, physical placement) and an authoritative self-touch. **The ideal family frame** is characterized by the caring mothers, (be it the super-human home-maker or the ever busy career woman) especially in advertisements promoting medicines, food products etc.

The entire concept of fashion is also extemely exploitative for women. It keeps them consuming instead of producing, by attacking their insecurity. The fashion industry makes you feel that there is something wrong with you all the time and they use this to get to your head. This is emphasized in our advertisements. A few assorted advertisements have been attached specifically to show such image-formations.

Notes and References

1. Galbraith, J.K. (1974) **Economic and the Public Purpose**, London, Andre Deutsh.

2. Ibid., p.33.

3. Hartmann, Heidi, **The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class and Political Struggle : The Example of Housework**, Signs, Vol.6, No.3, (Spring, 1981), pp.366-394.

4. Malos, E. (1977) **Housework and the Politics of Women's Liberation**, Reprinted from January-February Socialist Review by RSMR Publications, 11 Waverly Road, Redland, Bristol, BS66ES.

5. Secombe, W. (1974) **The Housewife and Her labour Under Capitalism**, New Left Review, 83, January-February.

6. Dalla Costa and James, S. (1972) **The Power of Wmen and the Subversion of the Community** Bristol, Falling Wall Press.

7. Glazer-Malbin, N. (1976) **Housework** Signs : journal of Women in Culture and Society 1, no.4 (Summer) pp.905-22.

8. Davidoff, L., L'Esperance, J. and Newby, H. (1976) **Lascape with Figures : Home and Community in English Society**, in Mitchell and Oakley (eds.).

9. Cowan, R.S. (1974) **A Case Study of Technological and Social Change : The Washing Machine and the Working Wife** in M. Hartman and L.W. Banner (eds.) Clio's Consciousness Raised : New Perspectives on the History of Women, New York, Harper, Colophon.

10. Stavenhagen, H. (1990) **Beauty and the Beast**, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

11. Ibid., p.97.

12. Yeats, W.B. 91964) **Adams's Curse** in Peter Allt and Russel K. Alspach, eds. The Varlorium Education of Poems of W.b. Yeats, London, Oxford University Press.

13. Barocas, Ralph, Karoly, Paul. (1972) **effects of Physical Appearance on Social Responsiveness**, Psychological Reports, 31 : pp. 495-500.

14. Shakespeare, W. (1912) **The Rape of Lucrece**, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

15. Browning, Robert. (1962) **Ode on a Grecoam Irn**, in the Poetic Works of Robert Browning, London, Oxford University Press.

16. Browning, Robert. (1962) **Fra Lippo Lippi** in the Poetic Works of Robert Browning, London, Oxford University Press.

17. Jackson, B. and Huston, E. (1975) **Women and Sexuality**, London, Oxford University Press.

18. Laertius Diogenes. (1905) **In the Mind of the Thinker**, Rome : Alccasus Publishers.

19. Dahl, Arelene. (1965) **Always Ask a Man : Arelene Dahl's Key to Feminity** Englewood Cliffs, W.J. Prentice Hall.

20. Gutze, Henry. (1969) **Female-body Image in Personality and Culture**, in George D. Goldman and Donald S. Milman - Modern Woman, Springfield, Illinois ; Charles s. Thomas.

21. Ibid., pp. 203-206.

22. Cooley, C.H. (1922) in **Power of Sexuality**, Robert Twinings ed. Los Angeles, Orient Publications.

23. Sancho, Nelia. (1978) **Image of a Beautiful Woman**, Manila, Tornado Publications.

24. Code for Commercial Advertising on Television (1978).

25. Prasad, Nalini. (1994) **A Vision Unvelied - Women on Television** , Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

26. Media Decisions, vol.II, No.2, New York, February, 1976.

27. F. Magazine. (1981).

28. Woolf Virginia. (1975) **The Vintage Book of Historical Feminism** ed. by Miriam Schneir.

29. Rogers, E.R. and R.J. Burdge. (1970) **Social Change in Rural Societies** New York, Appleton-Century Crafts.

30. Ibid. pp. 101-114.

31. Halloran, T. (1980) **Twilight Zone : Sex, Power and money** London : Samorathan house, p.437.

32. Burnet, E. (1988) **UNESCO Symposium on Violence**.

33. Ibid., p.437.

34. Ahuja, Ram. (1987) **Crime Against Women**, Jaipur : Rawat Publications.

35. Wollstonecraft, M. (1929) **Vindication of the Rights of Women**, London, Everyman. (First Published, 1792).

36. Marks, Pauline. (1976) **Feminity in the Classroom : An Account of Changing Attitudes** in Mitchell and Oakley (eds.).

37. Sethi, Raj Mohini. (1976) **Modernization of Working Women in Developing Societies**, New Delhi : National Publishing House.

38. Gilman, C.P. (1911) **The Man-made world of Our Androcentric Culture** London, T. Fisher Unwin.

39. Delamont, S. (1978b) **The Domestic Ideology and Women's Education** in Delamont and Duffin (eds.).

40. Althusser, L. (1971) **Ideology in the Labour Force** Signs : Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 2, no.4 (Summer), pp.843-55.

41. Illich, Ivan. (1982) **Gender** New York : Patheon.

42. Rajneesh, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh (1978) **Tao The Pathless Path**, vol.II. Rajneesh Foundation, Poona.

CONCLUSION

The process of internationalism is so often approached on a global scale that it is easy to forget that transnational firms have a country of origin. The successful models, the touch stones for the cultural mass production of advanced capitalism, come from Western multi-media conglomerates. On close examination, it becomes clear that very few other developed countries have created systems that can be standardised and reproduced on a world scale. Therefore these countries increasingly apply the development model based on the expansion of transnational capital, and feel obliged to resort to the formulae which have proved to be most effective in this context. Thus the immense success and popularity of beauty pageants in India.

In short, consumptionsm is the new doctrine, and it is admitted today to be the greatest idea that the west has to give to the world - the idea that workmen and masses be looked upon not simply as workers and producers, but as consumers... Pay them more, sell them more, prosper more is the equation. The new feminine ideal was that the modern housewife who "is no longer a cook - she is a can-opener". The household was urged to open its door to industrial products and to stop being a closed domain where the reproduction of life was ensured through traditional

feminine activities and the traditional practices of mending, hand sewing, laundering, home-cooking, reheating etc. The awakening of industrys' interest in the home required that the housewife should learn to get accustomed to the principles of the market.

Her role in the household was upgraded and at the same time modified in the direction imposed by the new criteria of rationalisation and technology. The approaches adopted in advertising campaigns, first in magazines, then on radio and television, glorified this new concept : the traditional image of the woman as a "domestic slave" was shattered. Technology was enhancing the old order of things by virtue of its sophistication. The household, opened to all the new promises of comfort, wellbeing and interior decoration, was depicted as a place where the housewife could give free rein to her talents, develop her imagination, and use all the skills she would have otherwise used outside the home. Advertising and women's magazines constantly played on the attractiveness of this fulfilment in a household open to the ever-changing outside market. The situation has not altered since. Advertising approaches, constantly updated, still try to make woman feel that she has a power of control and a savoir-faire that is circumscribed only by the ideology of the market.

In this strategy of recycling, the role of the mother was being given importance as well. Here, once again the tendency was to strip mothers of their intuitive knowledge, and to place them under the power of the new scientific knowledge. Advertisements often project the young office going mother, finishing off her daily chores amidst a flurry of other activities (like preparing her husband, for work, and children for school) before she herself can leave home for work. This new image, was inherently linked to the expanding consumr goods market, (since it enticed her to use their highly technical/modern gadgets) modernised the traditional role of women in order to prevent a search for novelty from finding outlets elsewhere. The ideological world of the man was the world of production; the world of the woman was consumption. Thus in this new industrial age, the cultural world of women did indeed break free from traditional forms of patriarchal authority; but at the same time it fell into the hands of a new authority in the form of the industrial rationale of companies, and the scientific know-how of specialists.

The media has given value to women's work, but even so it is never something desirable per se. The work of a woman is always regarded as a substitute for a husband (the one she doesn't have, doesn't have yet, or has lost), or for the

love she longs to recieve or that she seeks to give. Womens' work is regarded as legitimate only as a form of compensation. It is portrayed in advertisements as a secondary territory (the first and foremost being the home) for the conventional signs of feminity to be manifested. Women's dependence on their family role is depicted as the very essence of womanhood : their fulfilment can be achieved only in conformity with her husbands'/man's wishes. The difference between the old model and the new is resolved; unlike the traditional family model, the present-day model does not require the husband to express a wish which must be obeyed. The wishes of the husband are now percieved by the wife to be her own wishes. Thus, subordinaiton is experienced as freedom. A woman's primary role is imposed on her by the predominance of her duties as wife and mother. Any other role appears secondary and superflous, if not detrimental to the proper performance of her first role.

This similarity between the sociological picture of earlier times and in which the subject is projected by advertisements now a days is highly significant. It would seem to indicate a certain permanence in the cultural definition of women, despite the fact that the reality of their lives have changed. And it is precisely in this failure of the media to keep up with the current sociological reality, and with the actual world of today in

which women have new dynamic roles to play, that we can discern most clearly the regulatory role of mass culture, which gives new life to an out-dated vision of reality in order to hold in and check any possible excesses of the present, and their subversive influence. Advertisements subsequently become hidden persuaders.

Another aspect that one often ponders to reflect upon is the blatant and exploitative display of the female forms in modern advertisements. The body, or the embodiment of the subject, is a key area in the feminist struggle for the redefinition of subjectivity. It is to be understood neither as a biological nor as a sociological category, but as Patrizia Violi argues, is rather a point of overlapping between the physical[1], the symbolic and the sociological[2]. The concept of the body in the specific inception given to it by philosophy of modernity and theories of sexual difference refers to the multifunctional and complex structure of subjectivity, the specifically human capacity for transcending any given variable - class, race, sex, nationality, culture, etc. while remaining situated in them. The body in question is best understood as a surface of signification, 'situated at the intersection of the alleged facticity of anatomy with the symbolic dimension of language'[3]. As such, the body is a multi-faceted sort of

notion, covering a broad spectrum of levels of experience and frames of enunciation. In other words, the subject is defined by many different variables : class, race, sex, age, nationality and culture overlap in defining and coding the levels of our experience.

In a move which characterizes it among all others, however, Western culture has set very high priority on the production of the sexed body, situating the variable, sexuality on top of the list. The embodied sexed subject thus defined is situated in a web of complex power relations, which as Focault pointed out[4], inscribe the subject in a discussive and in a structure of normativity. Sexuality is the dominant discourse of power in the West. In this respect the feminist redefinition of the subject as equally discontinuing is subjected to the normative effect of many complex and overlapping variables (sex, race, class, age, etc.). Both perpetuate the western habit of giving sexuality a high priority and also challenges it as one of the dominant traits of western discussive power.

Barduwick (1970)[5] puts forward the theory that feminist redefinitions of subjectivity is a new form of materialism that inherits the corporeal materiality of the post-structuralists and thus places emphasis on the embodied and therefore sexually differentiated structure of the speaking

subject. The variable of sexuality has high priority in the bodily materialism thus advocated. Women's identification with sexuality is derivative from the sexual character of both men and women. It is men's sexuality that makes women into sexual objects, and gives rise to women's identification with what is sensual. Weininger (1906)[6] believes that sexual desire leads men to treat women as 'objects' which conflicts with both our reason and morality. For women to be emancipated and become educated to something better than are now, it is necessary that sex ceases to relate the sexes. But with this change there will also be a transformation in women's nature.

"A woman who had really given up her sexual self, who wished to be at peace, would no longer be a woman" (Weininger, 1906)[7]. The difference of sex, as Weininger sees it, gives rise to a moral problem concerning sexuality and the use of women as objects.

But then, we all know that one cannot banish sexual differences at least on the visual screen and in print - women with their bodies are increasingly being projected as 'objects' in the name of creativity and art. And the irony is that most women who are projected in this manner are usually unaware that advertisers actually sell their body forms to the masses. Sexuality if is power, then it has not

really empowered women at least in the ways that they are projected by the media. The male body still emits power through the physical positioning of the body and via the language that goes along with it. Male models in designer under-wear advertisements are shown to be demanding, aggressive, muscle-flexing, while showing off their well toned torsos. On the other hand, women are shown in similar lingirie advertisements as wearing the product for the pleasure of their men, who are either present in the advertisement themselves, or are subtly referred to.

In the advertising jargon of fashion, there is invariably a reference to the "world', the product becoming the centre of a universe which seems to expand until it has the dimensions of the globe and in this way emancipates all 'its' consumers. Simultaneously, it creates a community around itself. The product becomes the new way to fight against isolation and repel the unknown and the strange. This corresponds exactly to the order which regulates womens' magazines and which they in turn promote and advertise; the world of home, the world of women, the world of youth.

The world of the object ? It is the realisation of Utopia. No need for change. Your happiness is right there. Our daily coffee or detergent will at last satisfy your

desire to be yourself. They will fulfil your need to give your opinion, to be in command of your own experience. They will give you pleasure, freedom and fantasy, to you and all those who can now share your good fortune. The consumers rise to power.

The acquisition of these goods, invested with the magnificience radiated by such capitals, brings to life the mythical participation in the lifestyles and images of the upper regions of the developed world which concede a little of their exclusivity and fortune with every new design. And this same incentive is repeated in dependent countries, where the modernist model, through ritual acts of consumption, symbolically gratifies the desire for integration into the society which generated it.

In the intellectual domain, we find a strikingly identical phenomenon. Cultural references in advertising revolve around the "best sellers", regardless of the objects place in the hierarchy of cultural productions. The only criteria used are sales, prestige, controlled good taste, and indispensable style. Advertising only penetrates the category of culture in order to disguise the colonisation to which it contributes, limited to the domestic sphere. Advertising seeks to situate the object within the noble chain of the power of the immaterial (relative

immateriality, however, contaminated with immediacy by its consecration as an object of fashion).

The advertising world has gradually taken an ideological form. A qualitative transfer is produced between the subject and the object. The inanimate world (things, objects) becomes animated, while in an exact parallel, the animate world loses it's animation. To a humanised object there corresponds a reified being. And if this being manages to recover its quality, movement, dynamism and personality, it is through the mediation of the object. The sense of value is found not in the being, but in the thing.

The relationship between individuals is thus transformed through the introduction of the product, and through the technological innovations : "The world belongs to you..... me.....Colgate". Graphically, the pre-eminent object, the toothpaste, is inserted between the two faces of a couple and encourages their meeting, taking priority over the quality of love. Moreover, there can be seen a constant wavering between the semantic field of emotion, on the one hand, and of the object on the other. In this constant transposition, you no longer know who is who. Love and sensuality are crystallised in socks or lipsticks, promoted to the ranks of essential actors. The human-to-human relationship disappears, with the resurgence of the human-

object couple, which seems to satisfy them in a much more effective and less painful way. The object is integrated in the frustations felt by the consuming entity in the domain of interpersonal and sexual relations. It proposes a compensation for the compexity and hardness of the world.

In advertising compaigns, promoting women's products durability is transformed into fidelity, proximity to the skin into sensuality, silky fibre into caresses and affection. Fidelity, tenderness, smoothness, sensuality, an intimate comprehension of the desire for liberation : the object replaces the best lover and moves into the centre of the narcissistic relationship one has with oneself. Thus, through the world of the object, and in the democratised and standardised context of consumption, the mythology of the good and bad genies, is now recreated, and a magic universe is staked out beneath the efficient and rational surface of modernity.

Critics might object to the fact that advertising is an autonomous area and that the meanings which we have discovered and pointed out may not be valid outside this limited sphere. But this objection fades in the light of a global examination of these publications : The mechanism of reduction of reality operates throughout the many areas, whose fragmentation confers a mosaic quality on women's

portrayals in advertising. The advertising language which the object the individual and him/herself and the individual and others is only reflecting a constant of the language of modernity which evades an unsteady, deep and conflicting reality, to the benefit of the false object.

As we have seen, the woman is at the centre of this consumerist strategy. Through her, all the emancipating postulates of modernity are revealed and absorbed. The institutional basis of her status and her participation in the production of goods remains unscathed. Marriage, the family, the controlled disbalance between the roles and the authorities, come forth as the elements of the order whose static nature must be recognized in order to establish the norms of the harmony - always precarious, but ceaselessly desired - within the very walls of the cage. Normality continues to be defined in relation to an untouched order and an intangible legality. Women, limited and held down in this way, are the centre of the everyday world. Through womens' temproality, a quality of life and reality is attained, a whole atmosphere is created, and a dimension of culture is engraved in daily gestures.

The liberation of Eros, is inscribed, likewise, within the emancipating self-definition of media projections. The consumer culture is undoubtedly nourished by this source of

desire, disturbance, prohibition and frustation which sex continues to signify. Yet a key question emerges : Eros, unchained, or Eros chained ? Answer : Eros, unchained, chained. The structure of motivations of which consumption is a part confuses sex with the elements of social success and access to the sphere of money and material well-being. As a model of liberation it offers the images of the advertising cover girls, neutered and antiseptic. Sex has become an aesthetic - playful motifs, rendered banal and stripped of both the dazzling nature of Eros and its cursed and painful aspects. Advertisements depicting women in such ways continue to envisage sexuality as a compensation, the counterpoint of work, the source of leisure which rewards a life organized in such a way that the reality principle contradicts the pleasure principle, a life centred on the acquisition of goods which standardies and isolate, turning the individual away from the search for pleasure and mobilising his or her instinctive energy towards goals other than those of Eros, as a possibility for real communication and immersion in the community. Fashion, for instance, constitutes the alibi of sexuality, a provocative and insolent alibi, certainly, but never the expression of the liberation of Eros; styles are the index of an exceedingly demanding submission to the imperatives of the social code which dissolves pleasure in a narcissistic satisfaction and

mundane enjoyment, and sublimates it to the level of conformity with the conventions of a social milieu.

Wassertorm (1977)[7] points out that sex is a central organizing category in society. Unlike eye colour, which is an irrelevant category, an unimportant cultural fact, sex is crucial. "It is evident that these are substantially different role expectations and role assignments to persons in accordance with their sexual physiology, and that the positions of the two sexes in culture are distinct. The author reviews the possibility that in a just society sex and race would be no more important than eye colours'[7]. This is termed as 'the assimilationist ideal'. But we all know for the advertising world, eye-colour does matter. There are prescribed 'international looks' that a model has to possess in order to be in the profession. Beauty is therefore artificially created. but then beauty is never static, what is considered beautiful today may not be considered beautiful tomorrow. And women have constantly changed their bodies and appearance in accordance with the demand of the commercial standards of beauty. Women though most of the times unaware of their objectificatin, do realize the blatant marketization of their bodies. But then the trade-off pays well and along with it comes glamour and the rags-to-riches story. Most of them believe that they have a right to show-off their bodies and there is no harm in doing so, because

after all the money transactions always gives one the freedom to be financially independent. Therefore, as someone said, that we are trying to live as if we were an experiment conducted by the future, blasting cell walls that no protective seal or inhibition has evolved to replace. We live for the world, the world however, does not live for us. We are slaves fettered for eternity and this is the curse of modernity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The term 'symbolic' is complex; I am using it here in a post-Lacanian sense, as referring to the cumulated and multi-layered structure of signification of language, where language encapsulates the fundamental structure of a given culture. the literature on Lacanian feminism is so vast that it shall not even attempt to discuss it here; here is an excellent summary. See T. Brenans, 'Introduction', to T. Brennan (ed.), **Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis**, London, Routledge, 1989, pp. 1-23.

2. For a fuller analysis of this vision of the body see H.T. Wilson's article, in **Organs Without Bodies, Differences**, 1(1), 1989, pp. 14-61.

3. Bardwick, J.H., Dauvan F., Horner, M.S. and Gutman, D. (1970) **Feminine Personality and Conflict**, Belmont, California, Wadsworth.

4. Foucault, Michel, **The History of Sexuality** Volume-I (New York : Random House, 1978).

5. Otto Weininger **Sex and Character**, London & New york : Putnam, 1906, p.106.

6. Ibid., p.348.

7. Wasserstrom, R. **Racism, Sexism and Prefesential Treatment : An Approach to the Topics**, 24 University of Calif. L.A. Law Review 581 (1977), p.606.

PRIMARY SOURCES :

Burnet, E. (1988) **UNESCO Sympiosium on Violence**, Paris.

Code for Commercial Advertising on Television.

Gallagher, Magaret. (1983) **Unequal Opportunities : The Case of Women and the Media**, Paris.

P.C. Joshi Committee on the Representations of Women in the Media.

Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration - fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China.

UNESCO Report No.84, **Mass Media : The Image, Role and Social Conditions of Women**, Paris, 1979.

ARTICLES :

Agarwal, Bina. (1986) **Women, Poverty and Agricultral Growth in India**, The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol.13, No.3.

Agnihotri, Indu. (1996) **Bringing Land Rights Centre-State**, Economic and Political Weekly, vol.XXXI, no.9, pp.526-29.

Ahmad, Karuna. (1979) **Studies of Educated Working Women in India : Trends and Issues**, Economic and Political Weekly, vol.XIV, no.33, pp.1435-40.

Ahmad, Karuna. (1984) **The Trishankus : Women in the Professions in India**, Sociological Bulletin, vol. 33, nos. 1&2, pp.75-90.

Bardhan, Kalpana. (1985) **Women's Work, Welfare and Status : Forces of Trdition and change in India** Economic and Political Weekly, vol.XX, nos. 51 and 52, pp. 2207-20 and 2261-69.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baehr, Hilen. ed. (1980) **women and Media**, London, Pergamon Press.

Bardwick, Judith M. (19800 **Women in Transition : How Feminism, Sexual Liberation and the Search for Self-Fulfilment have Altered our Lives**, Sussex, The Harvester Press Limited.

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

Benstock, Shari and Ferris, Suzanne. (1994) eds. **On Fashion**, Brunswick, N.J. Rutgers University Press.

Barthes, Ronald. (1986) **The Responsibility of Forms - Critical Essays on Music, Art and Reprentation**, Oxford, Trans. Rechard Howard, Basil Blackwell.

Barthes, Ronald. (1988) **The Semiotic Challenge** Oxford, Trans. Rechard Howard, Basil Blackwell.

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

Bhagwan, Shree Rajneesh. (1978) **Tao the Pathless Path**, vol.II, Poona, Rajneesh Foundation.

Browning, Robert. (1962) **Fra Lippo Lippi** in the Poetic Works of Robert Browning, London, Oxford University Press.

Chowdrow, Nancy. (1978) **The Reproduction of Mothering : Psychoanalysis and Sociology of Gender**, Berkley, University of California.

Colliers Encyclopaedia. (1983) vol.I, New York, Macmillan Educcational Company.

Colin, Cherry. (1971) **World Communication : Threat or Promise ? A Socio-Technical Approach**, London, Wiley Interscience Publications.

Craik, Jennifer (1994) **The Face of Fashion : Cultural Studies in Fashion**, London and New York, Routledge.

Dahl, Arlene. (165) **Always Ask a Man : Arlene's Dahl's Key**

to Feminity, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall.

Davidoff, L. (1976) **The Rationalization of Housework**, in Barker and Allen, eds. London, Oxford University Press.

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

Dube, Leela, Leacock and Shirley Ardener. (1986) eds. **Visibility and Power : Essays on Women in Society and Development**, New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Focault, Michel. (1978) **The History of Sexuality**, Volume I, New York, Random House.

Focault, Michel. (1980) **Power/Knowledge**, New York, Pantheon.

Freud, Sigmund. (1965) **Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality**, New York, Avon Books.

Ghadially, Rehana (19880 **Women in Indian Society**, New Delhi, Sage Publications.

Goffman, Erving. (1979) **Gender and Advertisements** Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harward University Press.

Greer, Germaine. (1971) **The Female Eunuch**, London: McGibbon and Kee.

Gumpert, Gray; Cathcart, Robert. ed. (1986) **Intermedia-Interpersonal Communication in a Media World**, New York, Oxford university Press.

Gutman, J.M. (19820 **Through Indian Eyes**, New York, Oxford Oxford University Press.

Gutze, Henry. (1969) **Female Body in Personality and Culture** in George D. Goldman and Donald S. Milman **Modern Woman**, Springfield, Illinois, Charles S. Thomas Publications.

Hervey, Sandor. (1982) **Semiotic Perspectives**, London, Boston, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin. Illich, Ivan. (1982) **Gender**, New York, Pantheon.

Jha, Rama. (1989) **Women and the Print Media : Portrayal and Performance**, New Delhi, Chankaya Publications.

Knapp, L.N. (1972) **Non Verbal Communication**, California, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.

TH-6489

Leech, Geoffrey, N. (1966) **English in Advertising - A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Britain**, London, Longman, Green and Co., Ltd.

Lerner, Daniel. (1964) **Towards a Communication Theory of Modernization** in Pye L.W. ed. Communication and Political Development, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Lervertov, Denise. (1973) **From Stepping Westward** in B. Segnitz and C. Rainey, eds. Psyche : The Feminine Poetic Consciousness, New York : Dell.

Lott, Bernice. (1988) **Women's Lives - Themes and Variations in Gender Learning**. Pacific Grove, California, Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Mattlelart, Michele. (1986) **Women, Media and Crisis: Feminity and Disorder**, London, Comedia Publishing Group.

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

McPhail, Thomas. (1987) **Electronic Colonialism : The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication**, Beverly Hills, California, Sage Publications.

Millet, Kate. (1970) **Sexual Politics**, New York, Avon

Nunes, Maxine and White, Deanna. (1972) **The Lace Ghetto**, Toronto, New Press.

Oakley, Ann. (1972) **Sex, Gender and Society**, London, Templesmith.

Oakley, Ann. (1981) **Subject Women**, Oxford, Martin Roberston.

O'Donovan and Szyszczat, Erika. (1988) **Equality and Sex Discriminatin Law**, New York, Basil Blackwell.

Prasad, Nandini. (1994) **A vision Unvieled on Television**, New Delhi, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Rogers, E.R. and R.J. Burdge. (1970) **Social Change in Rural Societies**, New York, Appleton-Century Crafts. Sandage,

G.H.; Fryerger Vernon. (1967) **Advertising Theory and Practice** Richard D. Irwin, Illinois, Homewood.

Sayer, Janet. (1987) **Science, Sexual Difference and Feminism**. In B.B. Hess and M.M. Feree, eds. Analyzing Gender : A Handbook of Social Science Research, Newbury, Sage Publications.

Sharma, K.L. (1997) **Social Stratification in India : Issues and Themes**, Delhi, Sage Publications.

Stacey, Magaret. (1986) **Gender and Stratificatin - One Central Issue or Two ?** in Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann (eds.), Gender and Stratification, Cambridge, Cambridge Polity Press.

Walby, Sylvia. (1986) **Gender, Class and Stratification : Towards a New Approach** in Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann, eds. Gender and Stratification, Cambridge, Cambridge Polity Press.

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

Wilson, H.T. (1989) **Sex and Gender : Making Cultural Sense of Civilization**, New York, E.J. Brill.

Williamson, Judith. (1986) **Woman is an Island : Feminity and Colonisation** From Tania Modeleski, ed. Studies in Entertainment, New Delhi, India University Press.

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

Yeats, W.B. (1964) **Adams Curse** in Peter Allt and Russel K. Alspach, eds. The Varlorium Education of the Poems of W.B. Yeats, London, Oxford University Press.

APPENDIX - I

PLATFORM FOR ACTION AND THE BEIJING DECLARATION

- Fourth World Conference on Women
Beijing, China, 4-15 September, 1995

Strategic Objectives and Actions :

J. Women and Media :

234. During the past decade, advances in information technology have facilitated a global communications network that transcends national boundaries and has an impact on public policy, private attitudes and behaviour, especially of children and young adults. Everywhere the potential exists, for the media to make a far greater contribution to the advancement of women.

235. More women are involved in careers in the communications sector, but few have attained positions at the decision-making level or serve on governing boards and bodies that influence media policy. The lack of gender sensitivity in the media is influenced by the failure to eliminate the gender-based sterotyping that can be found in public and private local, national and international media organizations.

236. The continued projection of negative and degrading images of women in media communications - electronic, print, visual and audio - must be changed. Print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women's diverse lives and contributions to society in a changing world. In addition, violent and degrading or pornographic media products are also negatively affecting women and their participation in society. Programming that reinforces women's traditional roles can be equally limiting. The world-wide trend towards consumerism has created a climate in which ***advertisements*** and commercial messages often portray women primarily as consumers and target girls and women of all ages inappropriatdly.

237. Women should be empowered by enhancing their skills, knowledge and access to information technology. This will strengthen their ability to combat negative portrayals of women internationally and to challenge instances of abuse of the power of an increasingly important industry. Self-regulatory mechanisms for the media need to be created and strengthened and approaches developed to eliminate gender-biased programming.

Most women, especially in developing countries, are not able to access effectively the expanding electronic

information highways and therefore cannot establish networks that will provide them with alternative sources of information. Women therefore need to be involved in decision-making regarding the development of the new technologies in order to participate fully in their growth and impact.

238. In addressing the issue of mobilization of the media, governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in policies and programmes.

Strategic Objective J.1 :

Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in an through the media and new technologies of communication.

Actions to be taken :

239. By Governments :

(a) Support women's education, training and employment to promote and ensure women's equal access to all areas and levels of the media;

(b) Support research into all aspects of women and the media so as to define areas needing attention and action and

review existing media policies with a view to integrating a gender perspective;

(c) promote women's full and equal participation in the media, including management, programming, education, training and research;

(d) aim at gender balance in the appointment of women and men to all advisory, management, regulatory or monitoring bodies, including those connected to the private and state or public media;

(e) Encourage, to the extent consistent with freedom of expression, these bodies to increase the number of programmes for and by women to see it that women's needs and concerns are properly addressed;

(f) Encourage and recognize women's media networks, including electronic networks and for other new technologies of communication, as a means for the dissemination of informatin and the exchange of views, including at the international level, and support women's groups active in all media work and systems of communications to that end;

(g) Encourage and provide the means or incentives for the creative use of programmes in the national media for the dissemination of information on various cultural forms of

indigenous people and the development of social and educational issues in this regard within the framework of national law;

(h) Guarantee the freedom of the media and its subsequent protection within the framework of national law and encourage, consistent with freedom of expression, the positive involvement of the media in development and social issues.

240. By National and International Media Systems :-

Develop, consistent with freedom of expression, regulatory mechanisms, including voluntary ones, that promote balanced and diverse portrayals of women by the media and international communication systems and that promote increased participation by women and men in production and decision-making.

241. By Governments, as appropriate, or national machinery for the advancement of women :

(a) Encourage the development of educational and training programmes for women in order to produce informatin for the mass media, including funding of experimental efforts, and the new technologies of communication, cybernetic space and satellite, whether public or private;

(b) Encourage the use of communication systems, including new technologies, as a means of strengthening womens' participation in democratic processes;

(c) Facilitate the complication of a directory of women media experts;

(d) Encourage the participation of women in the development of professional guidelines and codes of conduct or other appropriate self-regulatory mechanisms to promote balanced and non-stereotyped portrayals of women by the media.

242. By non-governmental organizations and media professional associations :

(a) Encourage the establishment of media watch groups that can monitor the media and consult with the media to ensure that womens' needs and concerns are properly reflected;

(b) Train women to make greater use of information technology for communication and the media, including at the international level;

(c) Create networks among and develop information programmes for non-governmental organizaitons, womens' organizaitons and professional media organizations in order to recognize the specific needs of women in the media, and facilitate the increased participatin of women in communication, in

particular at the internatinal level, in support of South-South and North-South dialogue among and between these organizations, inter alia, to promote the human rights of women and equality between women and men;

(d) Encourage the media industry and media training institutions to develop, in appropriate languages, traditional, indigenous and other ethnic forms of media, such as story-telling, drama, poetry and song, reflecting their cultures, and utilize these forms of communication to disseminate information on development and social issues.

Strategic Objective J.2 :

Promote a balance and non-sterotyped portrayal of women in the media.

Actions to be taken :

243. By Governments and International Organizations, to the extent consistent with freedom of expression :

(a) Promote research and implementation of a strategy of information, education and communication aimed at promoting, a balanced portroyal of women and girls and their multiple roles;

(b) Encourage the media and advertising agencies to develop specific programmes to raise awareness of the Platform for

Action;

(c) Encourage gender-sensitive training for media professionals, including media owners and managers, to encourage the creation and use of non-sterotyped, balanced and diverse images of women in the media;

(d) Encourage the media to refrain from presenting women as inferior beings and exploiting them as sexual objects and commodities, rather than presenting them as creative human beings, key actors and contributors to and beneficaries of the process of development;

(e) Promote the concept that the sexist sterotypes displayed in the media are gender discriminatory, degrading in nature and offensive;

(f) Take effective measures, including appropriate legislation against pornography and the projection of violence against women and children in the media.

244. By the mass media and advertising organizations :

(a) Develop, consistent with freedom of expression, professional guidelines and codes of conduct that address violent, degrading or pornographic materials concerning women in the media, include advertising;

(b) Develop a gender perspective on all issues of concern to communities, consumers and civil society;

(c) Increase women's participation in decision-making at all levels of the media.

245. By the media, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, collaboration, as appropriate, with national machinery for the advancement of women :

(a) Promote the equal sharing of family responsibilities through media campaigns that emphasize gender equality and non-sterotyped gender roles of women and men within the family and that disseminate information aimed at eliminating spousal and child abuse and all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence.

(b) Produce and/or disseminate media materials on women leaders, inter alia, as leaders who bring to their positions of leadership many different life experciences, including but not limited to their experiences in balancing work and family responsibilities, as mothers, as professionals, as managers and entrepreneurs, to provide role models, particularly to young women;

(c) Promote extensive campaigns, making use of public and private educational programmes, to disseminate information about and increase awareness of the human rights of women;

(d) Support the development of and finance, as appropriate, alternative media and the use of all means of communication to disseminate information to and about women and their concerns;

(e) Develop approaches and train experts to apply gender analysis with regard to media programmes.

(pp. 133-137)

Figure:1 'Which woman would you rather come home to?' From the earliest laundry history, husbands have complained about eating cold leftovers and tolerating exhausted wives on laundry day. This 1920s advertisement tells husbands to join industrialization; machines should do the laundry, so women can fulfill their modern roles as loving wives and mothers

erated woma
"JUNIUS". A RED RAGGY PATENT. MOST STYLES $17-$21. HIGHER DENVER WEST. FOR STORES, CALL THIS NUMBER FREE: 800-243-6000. ANY TIME, ANY DAY. DIAL
AS YOU NORMALLY DIAL LONG DISTANCE. IN CONN., 800-942-0655. OR WRITE JOYCE, A DIV. OF U.S. SHOE CORP., DEPT. G-20-J, 1658 HERALD AVE., CINN., OHIO

Figure : 2

Figure : 3

Welcome to the second-most rewarding career on earth.

Be an Oriflame businesswoman. Much as you love them, your little pets are now leading their own lives. Probably leaving you with more time on your hands. Take up a fresh challenge as our distributor. We have over 25 years' experience in direct selling Oriflame natural cosmetics, which are preferred in 40 countries worldwide. You'll have the freedom of choosing your own working hours as well as your growth rate. What makes it more pleasurable is that you'll be operating from home and selling our range to your closest friends and acquaintances. Moreover, as you'll have no fixed territories to operate within, they need not only be your next door neighbours. Your margins will also be extremely attractive. Making this business opportunity infinitely expandable. And consequently, very rewarding. So, how about taking this on as your very own baby? Call Oriflame India Customer Service on 011-8539771/72.

Lead the international beauty revolution. From your home.

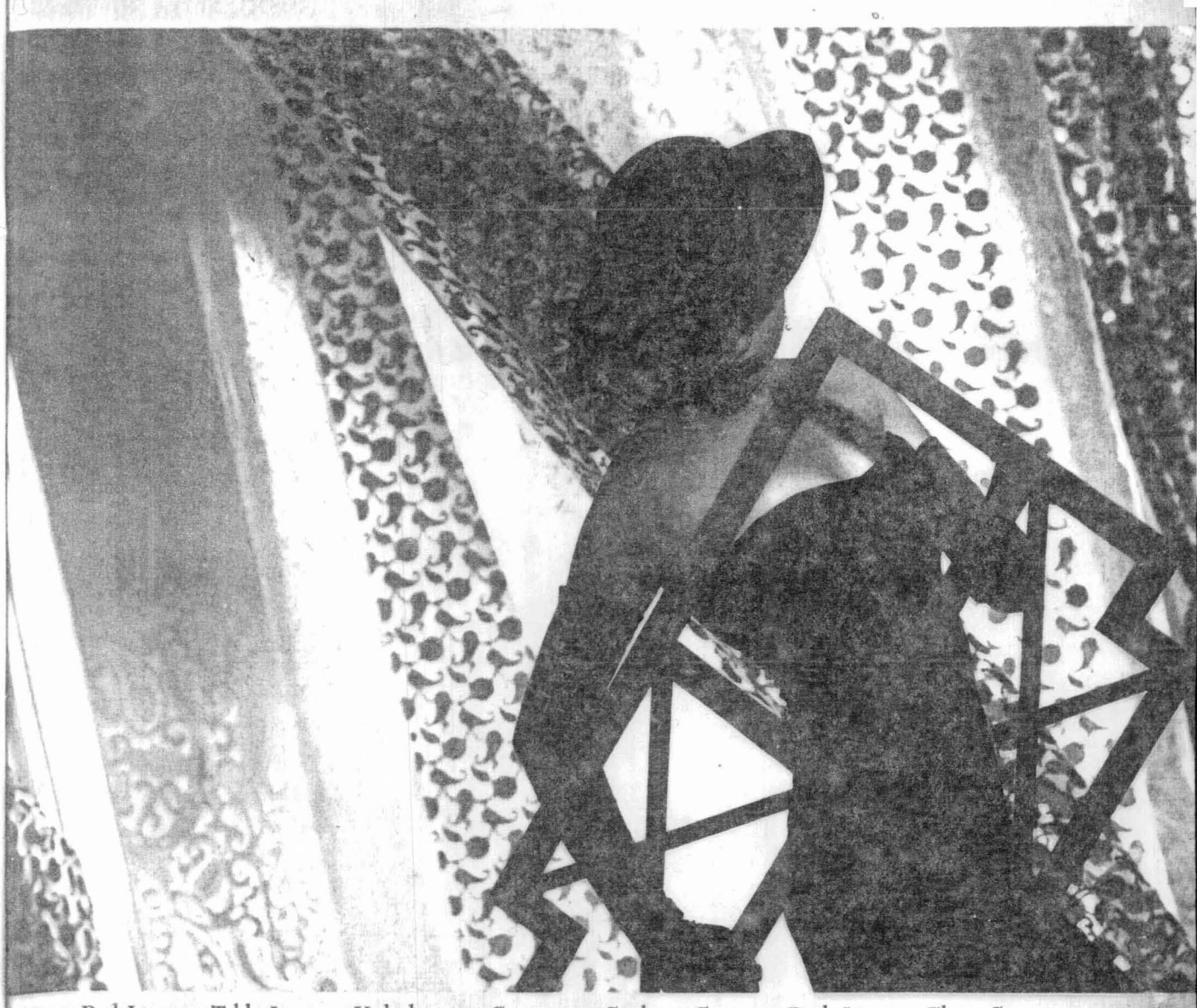
Oriflame

Natural Cosmetics

Oriflame India Pvt. Ltd., P.O. Box 57, Noida 201301, U.P • 4-5 Shiv Smriti Chambers, 49 Dr. Annie Besant Road, Worli, Bombay 400018. Oriflame natural cosmetics are not available at retail outlets. For details write to any of the above addresses.

Figure : 4

Not every window gets to drape JS curtains



Bed Linen • Table Linen • Upholstery • Curtains • Cushion Covers • Bath Linen • Floor Coverings

JAGDISH STORE

A division of J.S. Furnishings Ltd.

2404, Hardhian Singh Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 110 005
Tel : 5767985, 5728349 ; Fax : 5754655.
39, Ring Road, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi 110 024
Tel : 6843206, 6838458 ; Fax : 6844001.

Figure : 5

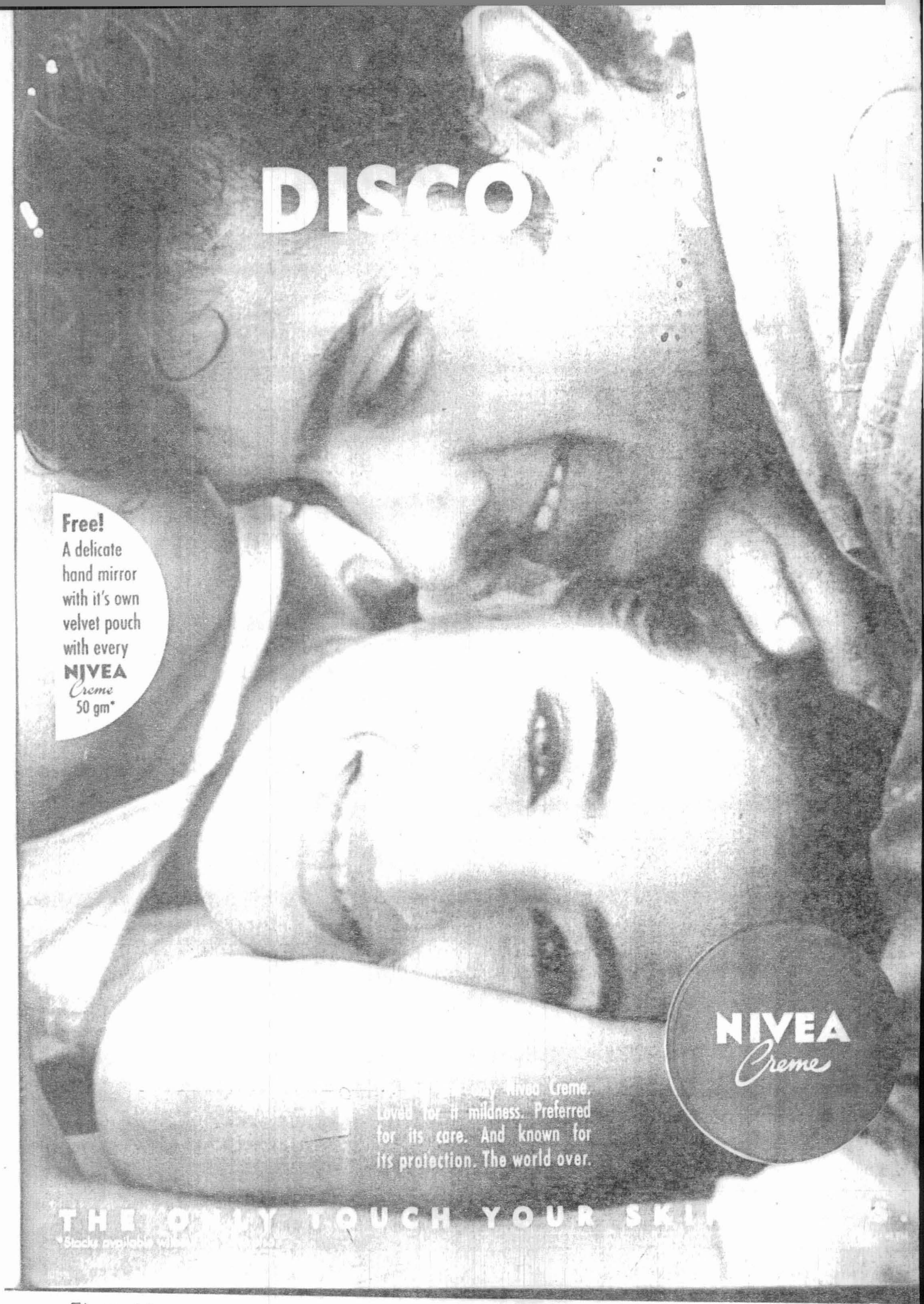

DISCO
Free!
A delicate hand mirror with it's own velvet pouch with every
NIVEA
Creme
50 gm*
NIVEA
Creme
Loved for it mildness. Preferred for its care. And known for its protection. The world over.

Figure : 6

Figure : 7

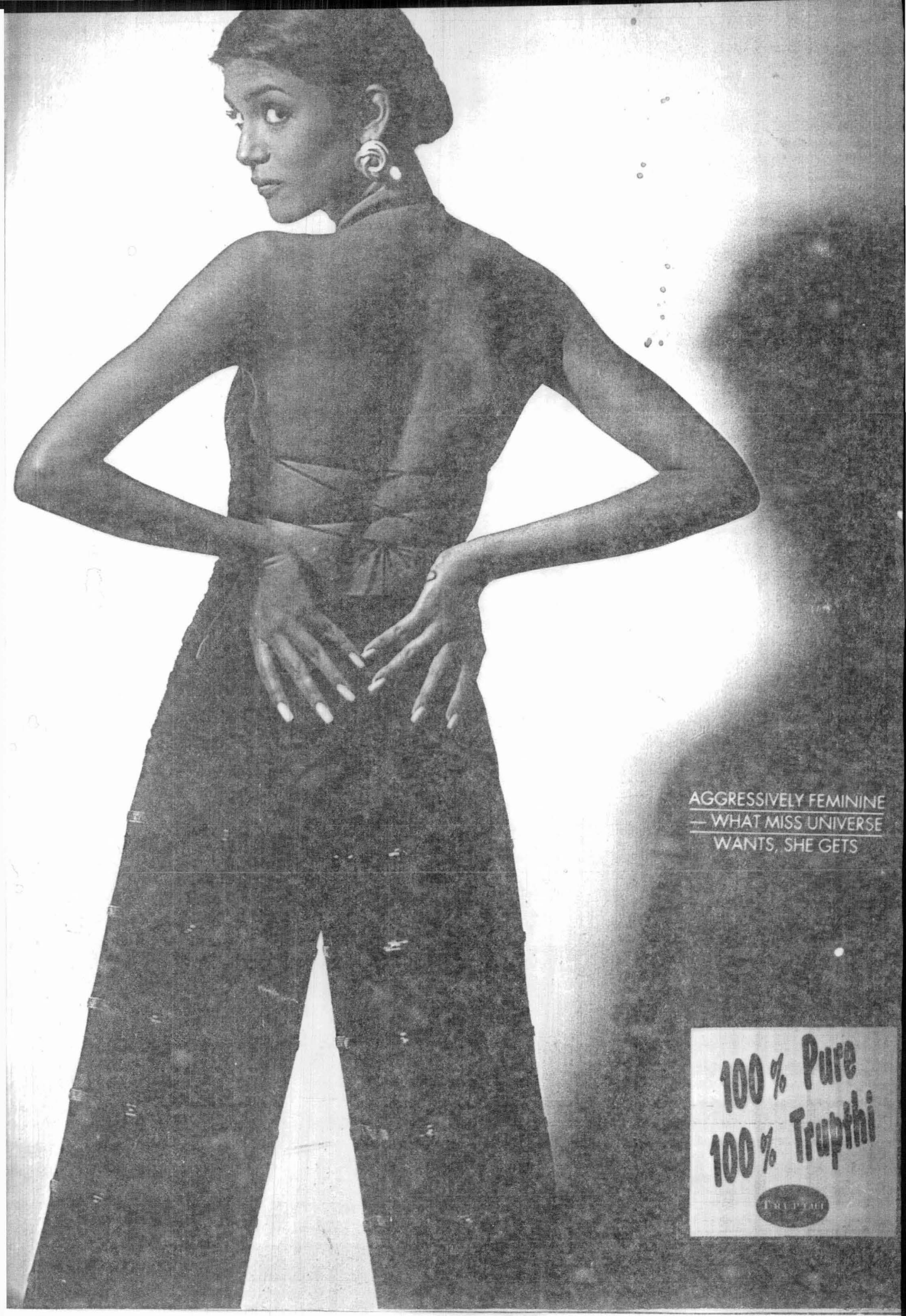
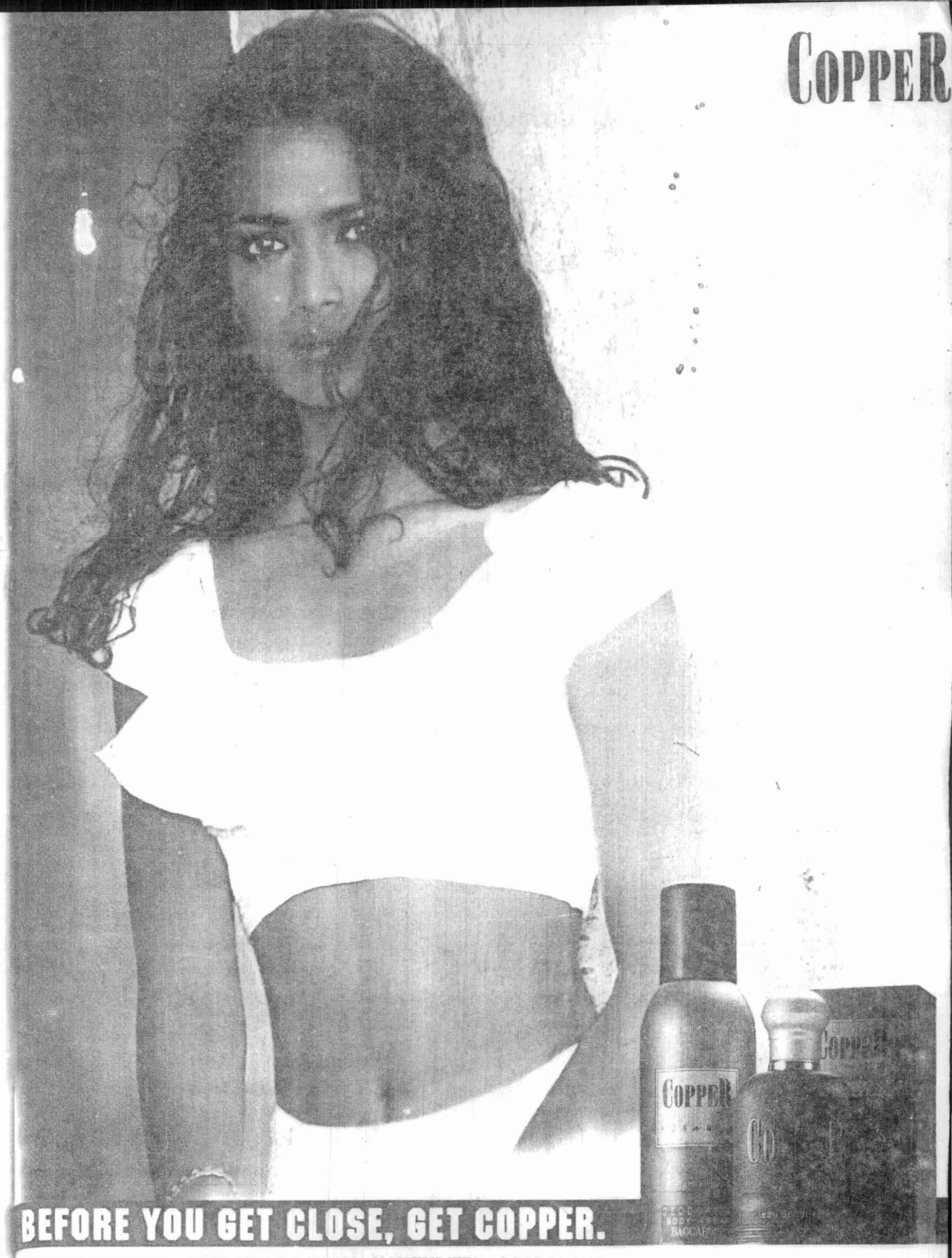

AGGRESSIVELY FEMININE
— WHAT MISS UNIVERSE
WANTS, SHE GETS
100% Pure
100% Trupthi

Figure : 8

HER MOOD IS LYRICAL,
AS VIOLINS PLAY A
SERENADE TO THE
REIGNING MISS WORLD
Hum aaj ki naris.
We refuse
to compromise.

Figure: 9

Figure : 10



EAU DE TOILETTE ■ AFTER SHAVE LOTION ■ MOISTURIZER ■ DEODORANT

MEN'S TOILETRIES FROM **BACCAROSE**

Exclusive Copper Counters at : Bombay: Akbarallys-(Fountain, Santacruz), Premsons Bazar ● **Thane:** Cambridge ● **Kalyan:** Roop Sangam ● **Pune:** Fazal's, Greetwel ● **Delhi:** City Shoppe ● **Lucknow:** Modern Book Stall ● **Bangalore:** Mota's Supermarket, Topaz ● **Hyderabad:** Oban, Q-Mart ● **Vijaywada:** Manhar ●**Vishakapatnam:** S. K. M. L. Readymades.

FOREFRONT/BCL/95/1

Figure : 11

Figure: 12