

Doctor of Philosophy

**The construction of gender identity in India through television
advertisements: A semiotic analysis**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material of any other degree or diploma in any University, and to the best of my knowledge and belief that it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the Dissertation.

Deodrin Maria Correa

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Deodrin Maria Correa

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Abstract

This study investigates how television advertisements in India construct gender identity. Advertisements that appeared during popular Indian television serials were obtained from a local video rental outlet and recorded on a weekly basis for a period of six months. A representative sample was then screened and used for analysis.

As sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001) – and advertising makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998), this study employed semiotics as a method for analysing the ideological messages of Indian television advertisements – as semiotics is concerned with the study of signs. The proposed structure of the semiotic analysis in this study, is guided by Barthes (1977) essay “The Rhetoric of the image”.

All the advertisements involving domesticity emphasised the traditional role of women – as a wife and mother. Through the ideologically constructed messages, the advertisements not only valorised and affirmed the traditional role of Indian women but also made the domestic role of the woman appear natural to the viewers (Roy, 1998).

This study is one of the first major studies of the nexus between the media, and the construction of gender-identity in India today. Therefore, it will not only be significant to policy makers but also to educators who could use it as a basis for developing and implementing a media literacy program, aimed at developing students’ critical thinking and media literacy skills to enable their capacity to evaluate the role and power of the media in their lives.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Table of Contents	v
Chapter 1 - The construction of gender identity in India through television advertisements: A semiotic analysis	1
Introduction.....	1
The construction of Gender Identity.....	2
The differential treatment of females in India.....	2
The role of Advertising.....	3
Commercial Television in India.....	8
Theoretical foundation for media literacy education.....	8
Critical media literacy education.....	9
The value of media literacy education.....	10
Studies on Advertising.....	11
Theoretical Framework.....	13
Semiology.....	13
Saussure and Barthes.....	15
Ideology.....	16
Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci.....	18
Conclusion.....	22
Chapter 2 - The Study	24
Introduction.....	24
Methodology.....	25
Research question, data collection and method of analysis.....	25
Semiotics: as a method of analysis.....	27
The analysis of data.....	29
Ethical considerations.....	32
Significance of the study.....	32
Conclusion.....	35
Chapter 3 - The Woman of Today: Single, in Transition, and Married	37
Introduction.....	37
Analysis of the advertisement - Rexona Deodorant.....	38
Analysis of the advertisement – NAC Jewellers.....	43
Analysis of the advertisement–Whirlpool refrigerator.....	50
Conclusion.....	57
Chapter 4 - Addressing the Feminine	59
Introduction.....	59
Analysis of the advertisement – Fair & Lovely.....	60
Analysis of the advertisement – Titan Raga watches.....	65

Analysis of the advertisement – Veet	70
Analysis of the advertisement – Hamam	76
Conclusion	80
Chapter 5 - Addressing the Masculine	82
Introduction	82
Analysis of the advertisement – Navratna Oil	83
Analysis of the advertisement – Honda motorbike	88
Analysis of the advertisement – Mirinda	93
Conclusion	97
Chapter 6 - The Sexes Together	99
Introduction	99
Analysis of the advertisement – Boro Plus Ice	100
Analysis of the advertisement – Mr. Muscle Kitchen Cleaner	104
Analysis of the advertisement – Harpic toilet cleaner	108
Analysis of the advertisement – Shree Devi Textiles	113
Conclusion	119
Chapter 7 - Woman as Mother	121
Introduction	121
Analysis of the advertisement – Brooke Bond 3 Roses Natural Care Tea	122
Analysis of the advertisement – Clinic Plus shampoo	128
Analysis of the advertisement – Complian	133
Analysis of the advertisement – Repelex insect repellent	139
Analysis of the advertisement – Surf excel detergent	145
Analysis of the advertisement - Sundrop	152
Conclusion	156
Chapter 8 - Findings: Aspects of Semiotic Analysis	159
Introduction	159
Language of Advertising, The Denotative, Connotative, Paradigms and Syntagms ..	159
Addressing women and men	163
Gender biased socialization	172
The Ultimate Goal for Women – as a Wife and Mother	174
The Public and Private Sphere	177
Dominant Images of Femininity and Masculinity	178
Conclusion	182
Chapter 9 - Evaluation	183
Introduction	183
The Woman of Today	184
Images of Femininity and Masculinity	185
Women as Housewives and Mothers	186
Advertisements of the 1960's to the Present Day	190
The Indian Context and Education	191

Utilizing the framework of Semiotics.....	193
The integration of Media Literacy	194
Future Research	198
References	201
Appendix A	211
Advertisement : Rexona Deodorant.....	211
Advertisement : NAC	212
Advertisement : Whirlpool	213
Advertisement : Fair & Lovely	214
Advertisement : Titan	215
Advertisement : Veet	216
Advertisement : Hamam	217
Advertisement : Navratna	218
Advertisement : Honda	219
Advertisement : Mirinda	220
Advertisement : Boro Plus	221
Advertisement : Mr. Muscle	222
Advertisement : Harpic	223
Advertisement : Shree Devi	224
Advertisement : Brooke Bond	225
Advertisement : Clinic Plus	226
Advertisement : Complian	227
Advertisement : Repelex.....	228
Advertisement : Surf	229
Advertisement : Sundrop	230

Chapter 1 - The construction of gender identity in India through television advertisements: A semiotic analysis

Introduction

This chapter considers the origins of the construction of gender identity and the role of advertising in the construction of notions of femininity and masculinity. Conceptions of femininity and masculinity are constructed in everyday social practices within institutions, and it is represented at the symbolic level in the mass media as the cultural ideals. The versions promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination. Goldman (1992) asserts that advertising is a major social and economic institution whose role is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world.

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology - reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. Thus, the ideology-semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

The successful stories of media education indicate that media literacy is a creative and effective approach for preparing children to face the role and power of the media in their lives. So, an important task of education today must be to suggest a broader framework that would integrate media literacy education within all levels of the school curriculum

(Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998). There is a need to teach our students, wherever they are, to become critical consumers of this powerful technology (Notar, 1993).

The construction of Gender Identity

Gender is considered as an axis of social order. Its categorisation into masculinity and femininity is socially constructed and maintained in everyday life through major social institutions (Clark & Page, 2005; Mackie, 1994). Advertising - as an aspect of the mass media is a major social and economic institution through which notions of masculinity and femininity are promoted at a symbolic level (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991; Goldman, 1992). It is suggested that the role of advertising is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world (Goldman, 1992). The versions of masculinity and femininity promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991) – this view is reflected in the opportunities for education offered to boys and girls (Oakley, 1972).

The differential treatment of females in India

The Hindu religion is predominant in India, consisting of about 80 percent of the population. Hinduism places a high value on purity and modesty therefore favouring the seclusion of women. In patriarchal societies such as India, traditional views on women's roles and relationships were interpreted from the legends and law codes of Sanskrit Scriptures. Some of these views included child marriage, a ban on widow remarriage, and the prohibition against female literacy. Women were considered as a separate and inferior

class, and the purpose of their existence centered on child bearing and compliance to family (Walsh, 1997).

The biased attitudes regarding females that are embedded in the Indian culture, serve to provide restrictive views about females' capabilities and their roles within society. Such biased attitudes influence parents to keep their female children from attending schools, and limit females' confidence, aspirations, and expectations (Appleton & Collier, 1995). Thus, the discriminatory treatment of women begins at birth when families are thrilled at the birth of a male child and show disappointment at the birth of a female child. From then on they each receive differential treatment that informs them about their roles in society (Kulshreshtha, 1990).

The role of Advertising

Cultural texts consist of both representational forms, such as, a video clip or a magazine for instance, as well as lived social relations, such as the experiences of a group of Greek girls in a high school. While these two forms of cultural texts can be analysed separately, they are very much interrelated in everyday social practices (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991). Institutional settings play a part in the gender regime, these include: schools, families, and the work place - where social practices are gender structured.

In the school environment for instance, dominant gender ideologies are transmitted through various resource materials and through classroom interactions. According to an

early study conducted by MacDonald (1981), the message of school texts was found to be embedded with the ideological statement of the dominant minority and the values that it considers essential to transmit. MacDonald (1981) found three main themes, they were, women's invisibility and passivity with an insistent emphasis on domesticity, the under-representation of women in paid work, and with a concentration of women in low-status occupations. MacDonald (1981) asserts that the messages that focused on domesticity were repetitive, and suggested that it was a form of ideological bombardment.

Cultural texts (both representational and lived) are a part of the gender regime in the various institutional settings (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991). Notions of femininity and masculinity are constructed in everyday social practices within institutions, and it is represented at the symbolic level in the mass media as the cultural ideals. The versions promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination. Connell (1987) suggests that the forms of femininity and masculinity that are constructed at the ideological level rest on the premise of the global dominance of men over women.

Gender ideologies work to sustain the patriarchal gender order and cultural texts play a crucial role in promoting the dominant forms of femininity and masculinity at a symbolic level (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991). Television advertisements can be considered as a part of representational cultural texts which play a crucial role in the struggle over meanings in the popular cultural field.

Advertising is an ever-present cultural form that both reflects and moulds our lives (Roy, 1998). Advertisements do not just transmit product information but also social symbolic information that facilitates the shaping of cultural tendencies within society. Advertisements are not created in a cultural void - they are affixed within a culture and all its sub-cultures (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Everyday we are flooded with advertising messages which are loaded with images of gender, types of people, social classes, and other groups, that help to shape our social learning process. Advertising has the potential to mould opinions, attitudes, and behaviour, and is therefore regarded as a major agent of social reinforcement (Roy, 1998). According to Davidson (1992), the role of advertising is not just limited to selling us products and services, but also imparts ways for us to understand the world. Goldman (1992) also argues that advertising is a major social and economic institution whose role is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world.

Advertising is a major cultural form, and as such, is concerned with the promotion of the dominant value system of the culture. It promotes the dominant ideological structures that maintain and reinforce the existing power structures while denying the right of existence to alternative and oppositional ideologies. Advertising perpetuates the dominant ideology by constructing a consensual ideology for all the people in its society. The perpetuation of the dominant patriarchal ideology is a reflection of the interrelatedness between

advertising and the broader socio-cultural, political, and economic systems of a given society (Roy, 1998).

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) a French philosopher was influenced by the ideas of Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes, and Karl Marx. He suggested that by deciphering metaphors we could come to understand the symbiotic relationship between power, knowledge, and stake-holders (Foucault, 1980). Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) is known as the founder of deconstruction and was influenced by the ideas of Saussure. He also recommended the study of metaphors and suggested that metaphors have a role to play in shaping our judgments (Sarup, 1993).

In capitalist societies, advertising creates the need for products and services that propose to enhance our lifestyle. However, the main function of advertisements is to persuade the consumer to do or to think something. Thus, it could be argued that, advertisements generate huge economic and cultural power, and impact in dictating norms, values, lifestyles and consumer trends. While the main aim of advertisements is to manipulate the consumer/ receiver into taking a certain action, it also reflects the social relationships common within that culture, and forms values that promote the dominant ideology (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology - reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. Leiss et al. (1990, p. 5) considers

advertising as a phenomenon that “appropriates and transforms symbols and ideas.” Culture is thought to be recycled and directed back to the audience, who make use of it to construct their own identities (Leiss et al., 1990).

Advertisements have not only become a mirror of consumer needs and aspirations, but also a creator of ideals and wants (Bezuidenhout, 1998). Consumption is one way of completing the ideal feminine identity. For women that identity is claimed to be centered around the domestic sphere and on being the perfect wife and mother. These ideals require that women become consumers and acquire particular products that will make them appear desirable as a wife (Berger, 1972).

The USA is leading the way in the promotion of a new culture based on the American Dream. This influence is evident in the advertisements for various products, ranging from clothing (Nike) to food (McDonalds) to entertainment (films and music videos), which endorse American attitudes and lifestyles. Their values and morals are being spread to the rest of the world and to the detriment of the cultural identities of many smaller cultures. This exploits receivers by fostering in them a desire to own and to have. Signs or symbols of wealth, power, social mobility or status are used in advertising to establish morals and values. They serve to ensure the possessor’s place in the social hierarchy. For example, designer clothing, whether fake or real, distinguishes some people from others, they give social status which would have otherwise been denied (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Commercial Television in India

By the mid 1980's about 80% of the Indian population had access to television and at that time the state-controlled Doordarshan (DD) network was the only viewing option. However, during the Gulf War it was when the Taj Mahal hotel in Bombay set up a satellite dish to capture CNN's broadcast, that prompted the satellite invasion in India. The proliferation of satellite technology in Indian broadcasting served to create a demand for advertising revenue in India. Local entrepreneurs found that they could buy a satellite dish and for a small monthly fee provide their neighbours with access to the various channels (Crabtree & Malhotra, 2000).

Theoretical foundation for media literacy education

As most of the media literacy teaching materials rest on trial and error - there is a call for media literacy teaching to be based on a theoretical foundation in social learning and mass communication theories. Two of such theories are social learning theory and cultivation theory (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998). According to the social learning theory, much social learning takes place from books, film, television, and other mass media (Bandura, 1994). According to the cultivation theory, the repetitive lessons that people learn from television may serve as a basis for a broader world view, therefore, making television a considerable source of values, ideologies, beliefs, and images. Television has become the most widely shared image and message making medium for people and new methods of transmission provide for even deeper penetration and integration of dominant

patterns of images and messages into our everyday lives (Gerbner, 1990). These two theories suggest that if children are given the opportunity to develop skills and concepts that could enable them to understand and decode the way in which media assists in the construction of their own version of realities, that they would be less dependent on and more critical of the cultural environment created by the media (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998).

Critical media literacy education

Critical literacy education can assist in teaching children critical awareness of the mass media. Teaching critical literacy in an image driven culture requires teaching children how to read images critically and how to unpack the relations between the images, text, social trends and products in a commercial culture. Therefore literacy classes must include the teaching of visual symbols systems - a language which transcends the verbal and written. These are important global skills (Notar, 1993).

The successful stories of media education indicate that media literacy is a creative and effective approach for preparing children to face the role and power of media in their lives. So, an important task of education today must be to suggest a broader framework that would integrate media literacy education with the school curricula and to design programs for the same (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998).

It is suggested that without their own critical distance, teachers might find it difficult to explain the dominant definitions of society and deploy these strategies of media analysis - therefore it is recommended that teaching media literacy could begin in teacher preparation programs (Curry, 1999).

The value of media literacy education

Since the visual media plays a role in forming our identities (Curry, 1999), an argument could be made that - if texts affect identity then education can have a role in deconstruction. Outlined below is a series of inferences suggested by Vallocheril and Thorn (1998) about the value of media literacy education which can be built into the curriculum and testing of media literacy units:

1. Students will be able to recognize manipulative production techniques and selling techniques in advertisements.
2. Students will be able to discern and discover overt and covert themes in advertisements.
3. Students will be able to recognize images of women that are presented as desirable and worthy of emulation in advertisements.
4. Students will be able to recognize stereotypes in the portrayal of female characters in advertisements.

It appears that there is a need to teach our students, wherever they are, to become critical consumers of this powerful technology (Notar, 1993). Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) have also advocated for schooling to take on a proactive role in order to contribute to a more gender just society. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p. 222) assert that “if boys are to be shown how dominant masculinity constrains as much as it advantages them, they need to see how these images and practices are sustained, and at what cost to their opportunities to live lives which are open to diverse experiences and positive relationships with others.” In teaching media literacy, it has been suggested that semiotics is useful in media literacy on many levels including analyses of content, production methods and techniques, narrative structure and visual images, and competing ideologies (Brookfield, 1986).

Studies on Advertising

Academic research on advertising in Western societies, and the relationship of advertising content to social relations have been conducted in a number of studies over the past two decades (Berger, 1972; Ewen, 1976; Goffman, 1976; Williamson, 1978; Dyer, 1982; Pope, 1983; Fox & Lears, 1983; Marchand, 1985; Leiss, Kline & Jhally, 1990; Jhally, 1990; Wernick, 1991; Schudson, 1993; Goldman, 1992; Macdonald, 1995; Twitchell, 1996).

There is a deficiency of research regarding the role of the media in the construction of gender identity in developing countries (Roy, 1998). Below is an outline of previous research that have examined role portrayals and the construction of gender identity through the Indian media.

Mankekar (1999) examined the role of Indian teleserials in the ideological construction of identity, womanhood, nation, and citizenship. An analysis of the narratives revealed that ideal womanhood was signified by the attributes of compliance, modesty, and self-sacrifice. And it was suggested that women identify themselves with these teleserials and use it as a means for interpreting their own lives.

Das (2000) examined gender-role portrayals in Indian magazine advertisements. Advertisements from a range of magazines from the time periods of 1987, 1990, and 1994, were collected and analysed across different product types. The results revealed that although the portrayals of men and women were changing over time, that they were still being portrayed in stereotypical roles; and that role portrayals were influenced by the type of product that was being advertised.

Ram (2002) employed ethnographic methods to examine how Indian cinema contributed to the construction of gendered identity. It was observed that Indian cinema valorised cultural identity and contained gendered national discourses which viewers could identify with. It was also observed that when viewers actively re-edit film texts, that they, reinterpret it within transnational contexts.

Roy (1998) examined the symbols that were used in the representation of women as housewives / mothers in Indian television commercials. Commercials were recorded at random for one week during December 1995, and attention was paid to codes of

appearance, manner, and the activity of female characters. Results indicated that domesticity was the dominant ideological message of the commercials; and in keeping with the patriarchal ideology, that marriage and domesticity was the ideal goal for a woman.

Theoretical Framework

Semiology

Semiotics provides us with a conceptual framework and a set of methods and terms for use across the full range of signifying practices, which include gesture, posture, dress, writing, speech, photography, film, television and radio. Semiotics can help to make us aware of what we take for granted in representing the world, reminding us that we are always dealing with signs, not with an unmediated objective reality, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001). In advertising, verbal and non-verbal signs are used to produce meaning, which leads to the creation of social relationships, systems of knowledge, and cultural identity (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Semiotics is a structural model which does not assume that a message passes through a series of steps or stages, rather, it sets out to analyse how a structured set of relationships allow a message to signify something, in other words, what makes marks on a paper or sounds in the air into a message. Here, focus shifts from communication as a process to communication as the generation of meaning. So for communication to take place one would need to create a message out of signs – the more we share the same codes, the

more we use the same sign systems, the closer our meanings would be of the message (Fiske, 1990a). Semiotics is the study of signs and it can be applied to various human endeavours - as we use a variety of signs in our everyday life to convey messages to the people around us, for example, rubbing our thumb and forefinger together to signify money (Seiler, 2005).

Philosophers such as Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Locke are early contributors to the field of semiotics. Modern semiotics emerged through the work of two linguistic theorists namely, Swiss Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and American philosopher Charles Saunders Peirce. These two philosophers inspired the work of Roland Barthes, Roman Jakobson, Claude Levi-Strauss, [Charles Morris], Thomas Sebeok, Julia Kristeva, and Umberto Eco (Seiler, 2005). Also, semiology was said to be one of the chief modes of the intellectual movement – structuralism, which flourished during the 1950's and 1960's. Structuralism challenges commonsense - which purports that things have one meaning and it is very obvious. Commonsense tells us that the world is as we perceive it, however, structuralism tells us that meaning is constructed - as a result of shared systems of signification (Seiler, 2005).

The two pioneers that are drawn upon in this thesis are Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) who is considered as the father of modern linguistics developed and applied the principles of semiotics to language, and Roland Barthes (1915-1980) who then extended these ideas to messages – word and image relations (Seiler, 2005). Julia Kristeva a well-known poststructuralist feminine theorist whose work has an important

place in poststructuralist thought, referred to Barthes as the precursor and founder of modern literary studies (Kristeva, 1981).

Saussure and Barthes

For Saussure, the sign is a physical object with meaning. A sign consists of two parts, namely, the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the image as we perceive it – marks on a paper or the sounds in the air; and the signified is mental concept to which it refers. This mental concept is said to be common to all members of the same culture who share the same language. Saussure claimed that the relationship between the signifier and signified is arbitrary (Fisk, 1990a).

Barthes – a follower of Saussure, introduced the concept of myth into semiotics. He was interested in the role of myth in popular culture as a representational system addressing subjects. Myth functions by taking the signs of messages and using them as signifiers. According to Barthes, the role of myth is to naturalise history. In capitalist societies, myths promote the interests of the dominant classes by making the meanings that serve these interests appear natural and universal (Barthes, 1973).

The terms that are often used in semiological analysis are: signs, signify, signified, denotation, connotation, metaphor, metonymy, and orders of signification (Seiler, 2005).

Ideology

There are no ideologically neutral sign systems - signs function to persuade as well as to refer. Sign systems help to naturalise and reinforce notions of the way things are. Consequently, semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis. In advertising, various codes serve to reproduce bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable (Chandler, 2001). There is no escape from signs. As Bill Nichols (1981) suggests, as long as signs are produced we will be required to understand them.

According to Raymond Williams (1977), ideology can be defined in three ways: firstly, as a system of beliefs that are characteristic of a particular class or group; secondly, as a system of illusory beliefs, that is, false ideas or false consciousness which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge; and thirdly, as the general process of the production of meanings and ideas. Marxists discuss ideology in relation to social relations. They assert that ideology is socially determined and is not individualistic. And, the social fact that determines ideology is class and the division of labour (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideology produces meaning through the use of signs. Signs work to reinforce the second-order meanings in the culture as well as in the user, and maintain the myths and connoted values of the culture. The relationship between the sign, its myths and connotations, with the user, is an ideological one (Fiske, 1990b).

Signs work to give myths and values a concrete form, thereby, endorsing and making them public. When myths and values are made public they enable cultural identification

to take place, that is, they enable the members of a culture to recognize membership of that culture through the acceptance of common, shared myths and values (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideology has also been referred to as a social practice – in that, it helps us to make sense of the way things are, and it possesses a social and political dimension (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideology can essentially work to make the existing distribution of power in society seem natural and normal. For instance, there are more men than women scientists in our society. This has been attributed more to the social and ideological differences between masculinity and femininity rather than innate or natural differences between men and women. Science has been used as a means for exercising power over the physical world. Thus, in a society where men exert power in the social world, it seems natural that this power be extended to the physical as well. Thus, unless women scientists are concentrated in areas of caring or nurturing sciences, such as medicine, they are frowned upon and considered as unfeminine or unusual (Fiske, 1990b).

Capitalism is a system that for all intents and purposes produces commodities, and making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice. We come to understand our desires in terms of the commodities that are produced to meet them; and we come to think of our problems in terms of the commodities that are produced to solve them. For instance, the problems associated with maturing from a girl to a woman can be framed and solved through commodities like: cookbooks, clothes, and make-up (Fisk, 1990b).

The commodities that are produced by the patriarchal system that reinforces and legitimizes gender inequality, and serves to ensure the subordination of women. As women accept what these products claim to offer and experience them as real – they promote an ideology that is against their interests - thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader is in essence practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the common sense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fisk, 1990b).

Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci

The theory of ideology as a practice was fundamentally developed by Louis Althusser (1971), who was a second-generation Marxist but who was also influenced by the ideas of Saussure and Freud, and had thus included theories of structure and of the unconscious in addition to Marx's more economic theories. For Marx, ideology functioned to make the ideas of the ruling class to be accepted as natural and normal. It kept the worker or proletariat, in a state of false consciousness. Marx believed that people's consciousness of who they are, the sense they make of their social experience, and of how they relate to the rest of society is produced by society, and not by nature or biology (Fiske, 1990b).

Marx's theory of ideology as false consciousness had seemed to explain why the majority in capitalist societies accept a social system that disadvantages them. Marx assumed that economic reality was more influential in the long run than ideology, and that eventually the workers would overthrow the bourgeoisie and produce a society that was fair and equal - where one class would not dominate, eliminating the need to keep anyone in a

state of false consciousness. He believed that, in a fair and equal society there would be no need for ideology, as everyone would have a true consciousness of themselves, and of their social relations (Fiske, 1990b).

However, as the twentieth century progressed capitalism continued to disadvantage and exploit the majority in favour of the minority, and it appeared that the socialist revolution in Russia was not going to spread to the rest of Europe and the western world. To account for this, Marxist thinkers refined Marx's theory of ideology by announcing that all classes participate instead of just one class imposing their ideas upon another class. While it still served to promote the interests of the minority, it was now believed to work from within rather than without – whereby it is said to be entrenched in the ways of thinking and living of all classes (Fiske, 1990b).

For instance, high-heel shoes do not impose upon women the ideas of the ruling gender (men), but in wearing it women are said to participate in the ideological practise of patriarchy - by appearing as an attractive object and putting herself under the male power of granting or withholding approval. Also, as high-heels limit a woman's physical activity and strength it is said to represent them as practising the subordination of women in patriarchy. Therefore, a woman wearing high heels as in the above example, reproduces and recirculates the patriarchal meanings of gender that suggest masculinity as being stronger and more active and femininity as being weaker and more passive (Fiske, 1990b).

According to Althusser (1971), communication is a social process and is therefore ideological - and interpellation or hailing is a key feature of its ideological practice that is ever-present in every act of communication. All communication is said to address us and place us in a social relationship. And whenever we recognise ourselves as the addressee and respond to the communication, we thus, participate in our own social, and therefore ideological, construction. All communication interpellates or hails us in some way. For example, a woman wearing a pair of high-heel shoes is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations, and the man who likes to see the woman wearing high-heel shoes is positioned differently – he is hailed as the one with power (Fiske, 1990b).

Antonio Gramsci, also a European second-generation Marxist, introduced the term hegemony – which perceives ideology as struggle. He emphasised two elements namely, resistance and instability. Hegemony basically involves the continuous winning and rewinning of the obedience of the majority to the system which subordinates them (Fiske, 1990b). Hegemony has to work so hard, as the social experiences of subordinated groups continuously contradict the picture that the dominant ideology paints for them. While resistances may be overcome sometimes, they are never eliminated. A key hegemony strategy is the construction of common sense, that is, if the ideas of the ruling class are made to appear as common sense, then they would become accepted - and their ideological purpose would be achieved and their ideological task disguised (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideological theories assert that all communication and meanings have a socio-political dimension, and that they cannot be understood outside their social contexts. This ideological work always favours the status quo - as the classes with power, dominate the production and distribution of not only goods, but also of ideas and meaning. The economic system is said to be organised in their interest, and the ideological system derives from it and works to promote, naturalise, and disguise it. All ideological theories tend to agree that ideology works to preserve class domination, however, their differences lie in the ways in which this domination is implemented, the extent of the resistances it encounters, and the extent of its success (Fiske, 1990b).

Conclusion

Institutional settings including schools, families, and the work place, play a part in the gender regime whence the social practices are gender structured. Notions of femininity and masculinity are constructed in everyday social practices within institutions, and represented at the symbolic level in the mass media as the cultural ideals. The versions promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination.

Goldman (1992) argues that advertising is a major social and economic institution whose role is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world. Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology - reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. Thus, the ideology-semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Both the social learning theory and cultivation theory suggest that if children are given the opportunity to develop skills and concepts that could enable them to understand and decode the way in which media assists in the construction of their own version of realities, that they would be less dependent on and more critical of the cultural environment created by the media (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998).

The successful stories of media education indicate that media literacy is a creative and effective approach for preparing children to face the role and power of media in their

lives. So, an important task of education today must be to suggest a broader framework that would integrate media literacy education with the school curricula and to design programs for the same (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998). It has been suggested that without their own critical distance, teachers might find it difficult to explain the dominant definitions of society and deploy these strategies of media analysis - therefore it is recommended that teaching media literacy could begin in teacher preparation programs (Curry, 1999).

Chapter 2 focuses on the methodology of this study. It explicates how semiotics is the most appropriate method for the analysis of television advertisements and it outlines the aspects of semiotics that will be used to investigate how television advertisements in India assist in the construction of gender identity.

Chapter 2 - The Study

Introduction

This study sets out to investigate the research question of, how do television advertisements in India construct gender identity. Advertisements that appeared during most popular Indian television serials were obtained from a local video rental outlet and recorded on a weekly basis for a period of six months. A representative sample of twenty advertisements were then screened and analysed for the corresponding chapters of the analysis section of this thesis.

As sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001) – and advertising makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998), therefore this study employs semiotics as a method for analysing the messages of Indian television advertisements – as semiotics is concerned with the study of signs. The proposed structure that the semiotic analysis will take in this research, is guided by Barthes' (1977) essay "The Rhetoric of the image" which is applicable to the semiological analysis of texts such as, advertisements, a television program, a movie, and a painting for instance.

There is a deficiency of research regarding the role of the media in the construction of gender identity in developing countries. Therefore, this study is one of the first major studies of the nexus between the media, and the construction of gender identity in India today - the role of the media with reference to television advertising in the construction of gender-identity.

Methodology

This research sets out to investigate how television advertisements in India construct gender-identity. Gender is considered as an axis of social order. Its categorisation into masculinity and femininity is socially constructed and maintained in everyday life through major social institutions (Clark & Page, 2005; Mackie, 1994). Advertising - as an aspect of the mass media is a major social and economic institution through which notions of masculinity and femininity are promoted at a symbolic level (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991; Goldman, 1992). It is suggested that the role of advertising is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world (Goldman, 1992). Furthermore, it has been remarked that students may be learning more social science from television advertisements than from any other formal or informal educational setting (Langrehr, 2003).

Research question, data collection and method of analysis

This study therefore sets out to research the following question: How do television advertisements in India construct gender-identity? For this study, the most popular Indian television serials and the accompanying advertisements were obtained from one local video rental outlet in Melbourne and recorded on a weekly basis for a six-month period. An average of three or more serials that had been most sought after during the week were obtained on the weekend and recorded. These Indian television serials ran for a duration of 30 minutes each, consisting of approximately 17 minutes of the actual program and the

rest of the time being taken up by advertisements. The serials and advertisements were broadcast through the Sun TV channel which is the most viewed channel in the state of Chennai. The serials and soaps on the Sun channel are known to generate the maximum rating for viewership all over India and so it is the most popular channel in India, thus, the advertisements it screens reach a wide television audience. Its television serials are in the Tamil language – which is the state language in Chennai. Therefore, the transcription process also involved translation. The actual translation of the advertisements used for analysis are presented in Appendix A.

Sun TV is available in countries all over the world. The program comes directly from India to Sydney – Australia. In Sydney, the signals are sent to the Optus B3 satellite for telecast. Thus, what is seen in India can be viewed in Australia without any editing. Therefore, the television serials that are available from Indian video rental outlets are guaranteed to be authentic. For the corresponding chapters of the analysis section of this thesis, a representative sample of twenty advertisements were screened and analysed. The products in the commercials, while intended for the global market, are advertised and scripted to suit the local culture, its system of values and practices. So, although many of the products in the commercials were developed or originated from elsewhere, the advertising companies employ local actors for instance, to localize the products. This has become known as glocalization (Khondker, 2004).

As sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001) – and advertising makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998), therefore this

study employs semiotics as a method for analysing the messages of Indian television advertisements – as semiotics is concerned with the study of signs. There is no escape from signs. As Bill Nichols (1981) suggests, as long as signs are produced we will be required to understand them. Semiotics, as a methodology, has been used to analyse advertisements. It is the best methodology for the analysis of advertisements. While this study employs semiotics as the main method for analysing the messages of Indian television advertisements, it also incorporates elements of critical theory and discourse analysis.

Semiotics: as a method of analysis

Williamson (1978), Dyer (1982), and Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1990) all recommend the application of semiotics as an appropriate tool in the examination of meaning making to the critical analysis of advertising. This study draws on the theories of Saussure and Barthes who are considered as pioneers in the field of semiology. Barthes' work in particular has focused on messages and image relations - with regards to the visual media and advertising (Seiler, 2005).

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology by reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. In advertising, various codes serve to reproduce bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable. Thus, the ideology-semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998; Chandler, 2001). The results obtained from this study

might provide an understanding of how a woman's portrayal in advertisements is linked to a woman's status in society.

Since semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis - as there are no ideologically neutral sign systems (Chandler, 2001), this study makes use of the critical perspectives of Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci, in order to explicate the ideological and mythical messages underlying Indian advertisements and to show how Indian women are positioned as "subjects" of such advertising messages.

This study is concerned with the visual media, in specific – advertising, and focuses on the images presented. This is because in visual advertisements images are considered to be more important and persuasive than the accompanying prose as mentioned by Dyer (1982) below.

Dyer (1982, p. 86) considers "pictures to be as, if not more, important than the written or spoken material." She goes on to suggest that analysis must consider: parts of the image (objects, image, social class, colour and so forth) – the denotative; their relevance to the social (how these objects relate to our culture) – the connotative; and the meaning (underlying principles and attitudes) – the ideological (Dyer, 1982). Cook (1992) has argued that the power to create a version of reality can be analysed in advertising images. Davidson (1992, p. 113) in the same way suggests that "Images are ... constructions designed to communicate, and consolidate, ideological truths." Dyer (1982, p. 82) also argues that images are "made to seem true" and can be more persuasive than

accompanying prose. In analysing imagery, Dyer (1982) makes reference to the function of interpellation and aspects of non-verbal communication, such as: appearance (age, gender, race, hair, body size, and looks); manner (expression, eye contact, pose, and clothes); and activity (touch, body movement, and position).

The analysis of data

Television advertising is a complex rhetorical medium, which employs strategies to persuade viewers through for example, the rhetoric of the camera, and text, which includes aspects of lighting, sound effects, voice-overs and editing (Roy, 1998). Graham (1989, p.158) has suggested that pedagogically we could benefit from the fact that “there are many alternative frameworks or positions from which it is possible to interpret a text, and that different interpretations exist for the same set of images.” Furthermore, as any critical analysis involving television will extend itself to divergent views and interpretations, this would therefore make it almost impossible to say everything about a critical piece (Roy, 1998). Hence, this study will focus on aspects of a semiotic analysis and representative examples will be used in the analysis and discussion.

The aspects of semiotics that this study will make use of in order to investigate how TV advertisements in India construct gender-identity, are those that were outlined by Dyer (1982) such as:

1. The parts of the image (objects, image, social class, colour and so forth) - the denotative.
2. The relevance to the social (how these objects relate to our culture) - the connotative.
3. The underlying principles and attitudes - the ideological
4. Aspects of non-verbal communication, such as: appearance (age, gender, race, hair, body size, and looks); manner (expression, eye contact, pose, and clothes); and activity (touch, body movement, and position).

The proposed structure that the semiotic analysis will take in this research, is guided by Barthes' (1977) essay "The Rhetoric of the image" which is applicable to the semiological analysis of texts such as, advertisements, a television program, a movie, and a painting for instance:

1. Firstly, a description of the advertisement will be provided.
2. Key signifiers and signifieds will be identified.
3. Paradigms that have been exploited and the syntagms will also be identified.
4. Finally the principle at work in the message will be identified – as this is the goal of semiological analysis (Seiler, 2005).

A selection of key questions adapted from the work of Jib Fowles (1996) will be employed as a guide for the analysis of data, for instance:

What actually is being advertised?

What seems to be the intended audience, and what suggests this?

Where is it set, who are the participants and what are they doing?

What key objects are being featured?

What part is played by words (choice of words, voiceover)?

What part is played by sound / light?

Which features are fore grounded / back grounded, and what significance might these have for the intended viewers?

What inferences must the viewers make to make sense of the advertisement?

What intertextual references can be discerned (to other advertisements, genres, other people etc.)?

How else does the advertisement seek the viewers involvement?

With what is the product associated and what does it seem to symbolize?

What does the advertisement seem to suggest about gender roles, class / status, age, and ethnicity?

What cultural assumptions and values are involved?

What use is made of humour?

What is the most likely / preferred interpretation offered in the advertisement?

Ethical considerations

As a researcher I am committed to the value of accuracy and maintaining a high level of integrity in relation to research. As this study aims to make a unique contribution to knowledge. It is important that the research method used is appropriate, has a strong theoretical underpinning, and complies with the highest standards of the qualitative tradition.

Much of the data under analysis will involve interpretation of the Indian vernacular. Accuracy demands a high level of verbal communication skills and an understanding of the culture – I believe that I am proficient in these aspects. Apart from my Indian background - I was born there, have lived in India, and have a good understanding of the culture. Having this background and understanding of the culture will greatly assist in accurately decoding the codes of the advertising messages. Codes are complex patterns of associations that are learned in a culture (Roy, 1998), and according to Fiske (1990a) the more we share the same codes, the more we use the same sign systems, the closer our meanings would be of the message - therefore, having a background and understanding of the culture is imperative to maintaining accuracy and integrity of the research.

Significance of the study

There is a deficiency of research regarding the role of the media in the construction of gender identity in developing countries. This thesis aims to add to the body of literature

in the area of how television advertisements in India construct gender-identity; and provide western readers with current knowledge about role portrayals in television advertising in India – for while a number of studies have been conducted on advertising in Western societies, there is a lack of critical research that looks at how women are portrayed in advertisements in developing countries (Roy, 1998). Thus, this proposed study is also significant from an intercultural perspective.

This is one of the first major studies of the nexus between the media, and the construction of gender-identity in India today - the role of the media with reference to television advertising in the construction of gender-identity. The significance of the study is underpinned by its focus on: the symbols used to represent women; how the dominant and cultural myths are produced and regenerated in Indian television advertisements in the construction of gender-identity; and how the ways in which a woman is depicted in television advertisements might be linked to a woman's status in society – it is suggested that the best way to assess the status of women is to analyse the roles that women are being called upon to play (Ghosh & Roy, 1997).

By providing an informed analysis on the role of the media in the on-going construction and re-positioning on gender identity in India today, this study will be significant to policy makers as it is likely to offer pedagogically-informed policy strategies for improving the status, power, equity and educational opportunities for females in India.

As it has been remarked that students may be learning more social science from television advertisements than from any other formal or informal educational setting (Langrehr, 2003), this study could make a case for the need to undertake critical analysis of media studies in schools. This study could be significant to educators who could use it as a basis for developing and implementing a media literacy program, aimed at developing students critical literacy and comprehension skills – particularly in the area of inference formation. Pre and post assessments could be conducted to evaluate the critical comprehension skills learnt through the course. Also, the accuracy by which students decode and comprehend implications embedded in television advertisements could be assessed – as it is my belief that if students were taught how to critically analyse what they are presented with, that they would not simply take in and accept what is being fed to them. It is therefore imperative for schools and other educational institutions in India to incorporate critical thinking and critical literacy skills into all areas of the curriculum, in order to develop in the students the ability to think about television advertisements and evaluate critically media messages.

Conclusion

This study sets out to investigate how television advertisements in India construct gender-identity. As sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001) – and advertising makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998), therefore, this study employs semiotics as a method for analysing the messages of Indian television advertisements – as semiotics is concerned with the study of signs.

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology by reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. In advertising, various codes serve to reproduce bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable. Thus, the ideology-semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998; Chandler, 2001).

This study is one of the first major studies of the nexus between the media, and the construction of gender-identity in India today - the role of the media with reference to television advertising in the construction of gender-identity. Therefore, it will be significant to policy makers as it is likely to offer pedagogically-informed policy strategies for improving the status, power, equity and educational opportunities for females in India.

This study would also be significant to educators who could use it as a basis for developing and implementing a media literacy program, aimed at developing students critical literacy and comprehension skills. For, if students were taught how to critically analyse what they are presented with - they would not simply take in and accept what is being fed to them. It therefore becomes imperative for schools and other educational institutions in India to incorporate critical thinking and media literacy skills into all areas of the curriculum - in order to develop in students the ability to think critically about the media and television advertisements, and to evaluate the role and power of the media in their lives.

Chapter 3 begins the analysis of the Indian advertisements. This chapter focuses on the modern woman of today. It looks at the representations of the modern single woman, followed by the woman in transition - from single to preparing for her upcoming marriage, and then the modern wife.

Chapter 3 - The Woman of Today: Single, in Transition, and Married

Introduction

This chapter portrays women at different stages of their lives. The modern, single woman, presented in the Rexona commercial was predominantly shown outside the four walls of the home and is seen to be wearing a fashionable dress, clad with accessories, and styled hair, which signifies a “western/modern” image and emanating a certain level of sexual freedom.

The NAC commercial presents a woman in transition from being single to preparing to get married and become a wife. She is situated within the domain of domesticity and she is fully adorned with jewellery in order to look beautiful for him. Her shy smiles indicate that she is happy about her upcoming marriage.

The Whirlpool commercial portrays the modern wife as being independent and making use of modern appliances to accomplish her household chores. Nevertheless, she is primarily positioned within the confines of the home, in specific, the kitchen.

Analysis of the advertisement - Rexona Deodorant



This commercial is about Rexona's new roll-on deodorant. The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be used by women. The face of Rexona's new product is Preity Zinta, a popular film actress. She and the jogger are the main characters in this commercial. The format of this commercial begins with Preity speaking about a jogger who goes jogging everyday, we then hear her voice-over while her orchestrated plan to collide into the jogger plays out. The scene is interrupted as we get taken back to her apartment where we see her after a shower, discussing the product. Then the scene of the collision resumes again. The setting for this commercial is predominantly outside.

The commercial begins with Preity walking out of her apartment building, holding a fish bowl in her hands. She is dressed in a pretty flared pink dress, has a handbag over her shoulder, and special focus is paid to her high heeled shoes. She tells the reader, “At this time everyday a jogger in a tracksuit goes past”. We see a young man jog past her. The next shot shows her walking out with the same fish bowl but this time we hear her voice-over, “Where, who, and when, we’ll meet someone is impossible to predict”. As she nears the corner of the street she bumps into the jogger and her bowl flies into the air as he tries to steady her. The scene is interrupted and we see her after her shower talking about the product saying, “New Rexona deo roll-on gives you protection from perspiration all day long”, we see images of the product being applied underarm. The collision scene resumes, showing the jogger and her reach up with hands stretched up into the air. They catch the bowl intact with the two goldfish and laugh. The voice-over says, “Be ready”, and the logo and caption appear: Rexona - it won’t let you down.

The signs in this commercial are: the fish bowl with a couple of goldfish which signifies that a home typically consists of a “couple”; her dress, high-heeled shoes and handbag signify aspects of the feminine; and the product – Rexona deodorant, signifies freshness and fragrance.

Binary oppositions are said to be the basic means by which we find meaning. This is because nothing has meaning in itself. Therefore, it is the network of relationships, which is crucial to the generation of meaning (Burns & Thompson, 1989). The binary oppositions presented are those of problem/ solution, as the commercial sets out to

promote the patriarchal ideology that marriage is the ultimate goal for a woman, it presents the product as providing the solution or means by which women can achieve this goal; before/ after, for it is only after using the product that she is able to successfully execute her plan; formal/ casual, where her attire is central to the beautification process that suggests that in order for a woman to be happy or attract the male attention, she has to be beautiful; married/ single, where as a single woman she enjoys a certain level of freedom, however, this precedes her marriage and domestic life.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers. The adjective 'new', as in this commercial, is supposed to be the favourite due to its applicability to any number of features, for example, shape, size, colour, formula and so on (Dyer, 1982). In this case it refers to the formula, which is claimed to give you, 'protection from perspiration all day long'.

The protagonist in this commercial has been chosen for her authority with the general public as a well-known celebrity (Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985). This commercial relies on the image of femininity represented by this famous actress: the deodorant is fresh, playful, alluring.

The voice-over aspect in this commercial functions as a device to hail the reader (Roy, 1998). As Althusser (1971) suggests, communication is a social process and is therefore ideological, and interpellation or hailing is said to be a key ideological feature that is present in every act of communication. All communication is said to address us and place

us in a social relationship, thus all communication interpellates or hails us in some way (Fiske, 1990b). In this commercial, interpellation or hailing is represented through the protagonist who is wearing a pair of high-heel shoes. In so doing, she has positioned herself submissively within gender relations. In wearing them, women are said to participate in the ideological practice of patriarchy - by appearing as an attractive object and putting herself under the male power of granting or withholding approval. Also, as high-heels limit a woman's physical activity and strength - it is said to represent them as practising the subordination of women in patriarchy. Therefore, a woman wearing high heels (as in this commercial), reproduces and recirculates the patriarchal meanings of gender, that suggest masculinity as being stronger and more active, and femininity as being weaker and more passive (Fiske, 1990b).

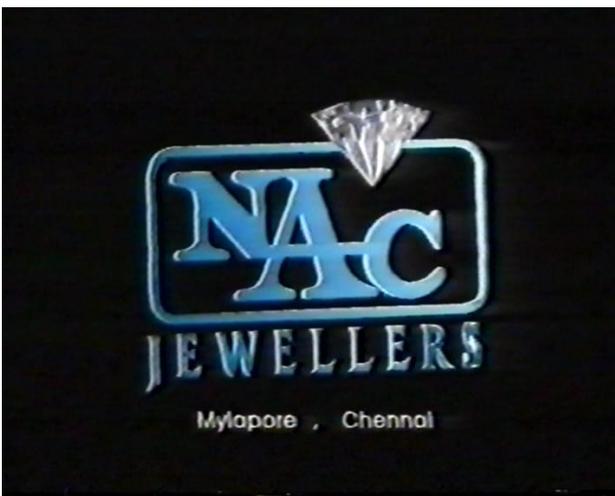
The product of the commercial – Rexona deodorant, is a commodity that is produced by the system of patriarchal ideology and as such, serves to ensure the subordination of women. As women accept what these products claim to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology (Fiske, 1990b).

The product – Rexona, is being promoted for its value on two different levels. On one level, it is being promoted for its use-value, that is, as an anti-perspirant. On another level, it is being promoted for its exchange-value, that is, its capacity to buy something else – in this case, to gain a suitable mate. Thus, in this particular commercial, Rexona

deodorant is promoted on one level for its usefulness; while on another level, it is promoted as a currency to buy things that are difficult to get (Roy, 1998).

The young, single woman, presented in this commercial is predominantly shown outside the four walls of the home and is seen to be wearing a fashionable dress, clad with accessories, and styled hair, which signifies a “western/modern” image and emanating a certain level of sexual freedom. However, the freedom enjoyed by a single woman as depicted in this commercial precedes her marriage and domestic life – which would be harnessed in due course by the patriarchal system of marriage (Roy, 1998). This commercial reinforces the patriarchal ideology that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman through the actions of the protagonist who – strategically pursues her man and gets him. Thus, the unmarried Indian woman does not “jeopardize the notion of a tradition which is preserved intact in the idealized conjugal and domestic sphere (Rajan, 1993, p.132).”

Analysis of the advertisement – NAC Jewellers



This commercial is about the NAC brand of jewellery for women. The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be worn by women. The face of NAC jewellery is Simran Bagga, a well-known film actress. She and a younger sister are the only characters in this commercial. During the advertisement the characters do not speak but we hear the protagonist's voice at the end of the commercial announcing the name of the jeweller, and where it is located. In the background, we hear instrumental music, which sets the mood. Throughout the whole commercial we see the protagonist adorning the different styles of jewellery designed by this particular jeweller. The commercial is set within the confines of the home.

The commercial begins by showing the protagonist sitting at the table with a quill in her hand – we assume that she is writing a letter to her betrothed, as she gets embarrassed when her sister walks in on her. In the background we see a gramophone. Upon being found out, she runs out of the room and sits on a nearby couch – this time we see her fully clad in all her jewellery, from head to waist. Her sister runs after her and teasingly whispers something in her ear, which makes her shy away. We then see her holding up an earring to her ear while looking at herself in a hand held mirror; her sister brings a necklace and puts it on her. Her sister then holds up a mirror, she looks at her image and shies away. We next see her with different jewellery, painting a picture. We then see her seated on the couch fully adorned from head to waist and her sister comes up to her, produces a ring, and indicates that the ring is for the intended husband, to which the protagonist smilingly hides her face in her hand. We then hear her voice-over saying, “NAC Jewellers, Mylapore, Chennai”, as the brand name and logo are presented on the screen.

The signs in this commercial are: all the jewellery that she is adorned with which signifies the Hindu belief in the adornment of the female form – for, the simple appearance without any ornaments is regarded as disgraceful and shocking (Kumar, 2002). The other signs presented include the flowers in her hair, the mirror, and the gramophone in the background. The following is an explanation of the significance of the above-mentioned signs in the Indian culture.

The tika (head ornament) symbolizes a woman's status as the preserver of the order of the human race; the chakka/ pendant, depicts an image of two petals, which signifies the union of the male and female. Therefore, this ornament is specifically associated with women who are about to get married; the necklace is generally worn near the heart in order to attract or to strengthen love; the earring is usually worn as a beauty accessory. However, to the married woman, the ornament is considered as auspicious. Early sculptures reveal that ear ornaments were an important facet of the Indian female outfit; bangles to the Indian woman have always signified marriage. The tinkling sound of women's bangles is said to signify her presence, her wish for attention, or the desire to exchange glances; armbands are worn between the elbow and the shoulder and are an important part of the whole, which consists of a fully adorned woman - a perfect example of complete, flawless beauty (Kumar, 2002).

The kamarband (waist ornament) is worn around the waist of a woman. Indians have always found the mid section of the female alluring; the quintessential garment of the Indian female - the sari is designed so as to provide a view of the midriff, while preventing from vision, any other part of the anatomy. Hence, it is adorned with an ornament to highlight its seductive allure; the waist ornament serves a dual purpose - it keeps the lower garment in place and is yet another decoration to the feminine form (Kumar, 2002).

Hair is regarded as one of the most remarkable parts of the body. Firstly it is associated with the element of earth as it is solid and tangible. Secondly, it is associated with the

element of water since it is free and flowing. Thirdly, it is associated with the element of fire since it derives from the furnace of the brain. And fourthly, it is associated with the element of air since it is light and can be blown by the wind. A woman's hair is supposed to have great attractive power over men and nature. Consequently, women are required to cover their heads when they visit the temple, so as not to distract the men who come to pray. The letting of one's hair down implies behaving in a free and unrestrained manner. Hence arranging the hair in three strands is considered the most auspicious. According to mythology, these three strands of a woman's braid are intended to symbolize the meeting of India's three most venerated rivers - the Ganga, the Yamuna, and the Saraswati - or the trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Yet another legend states that one strand represents the father's house, another, the in-laws', and the third is the woman herself who unites the two (Kumar, 2002).

The kajal (mascara) signifies the maturing of a young girl, although, the symbolism is primarily physical; flowers are associated with being natural erotic stimulants, by virtue of their linkage with Kama, the god of love. They are also a symbol of nature. Flowers have connotations of gentleness, youth, spiritual perfection and artless innocence - which are fundamental attributes of the feminine character; the mirror is used as a device whereby the female can look and check if all that is adorning her is in place. It contributes towards the beautification of both a woman's physique and psyche. Therefore, much delight is associated with this object (Kumar, 2002).

The imagery of the gramophone in the background connotes antique and tradition and represents age-old tradition as something that we should preserve. This is ideology at work as it makes use of imagery to convey what we must preserve (Fiske, 1990b), that is, society's traditional values and beliefs.

According to Burns & Thompson (1989), binary oppositions are said to be a basic means by which we find meaning as nothing has meaning in itself, and it is the network of relationships that is central to the generation of meaning. The binary oppositions presented in this commercial are those of beautiful/ ugly, as the feminine ideal rejects the natural features of women's bodies, therefore, the adornment of jewellery in the commercial suggests that only things covered in ornaments are beautiful, and women who don't adorn themselves with ornaments are frowned upon; masculinity/ femininity, where the feminine ideal rejects the natural features of women's body. The products offered in this commercial are for women, thus implying that it is the woman who needs to look attractive and to care about how she looks; private/ public, where the women in the commercial are depicted within the confines of the home and the absence of man indicates that he is situated in the public sphere or is not involved in the private sphere.

During the commercial we hear harmonious background music that sets the mood, which is pitched towards dreaming - her dreaming of her intended husband and her upcoming marriage. Her shy smiles are gestures of her happiness for the event that is to come - her impending marriage.

The protagonist in this commercial has been chosen for her authority with the general public as a well-known celebrity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This commercial relies on the image of femininity represented by this famous actress: the jewellery is natural, beautiful, and feminine.

All communication is said to interpellate or hail us in some way (Fisk, 1990b). For example, the woman who wears jewellery, such as the ornaments in this commercial, in an attempt to make herself look beautiful to him, is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations (Fiske, 1990b).

The product of the commercial – NAC Jewellery, is a commodity that is produced by the patriarchal society, which legitimizes gender inequality and as such, serves to ensure the subordination of women. As women accept what these products claim to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology (Fiske, 1990b).

The woman in this commercial is presented within the domain of domesticity – the home. She is fully adorned with jewellery in order to look beautiful for him and her shy smiles indicate that she is happy about her upcoming marriage. This highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman (Roy, 1998).

The dominant image of femininity in this commercial is that of the beauty ideal, which implies that in order to be happy, a woman has to be beautiful (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). It has been claimed by philosophers in India, that to beautify the body is to beautify the soul, and Indian philosophers of love, such as Vatsyayana in the Kama Sutra advise that, the art of makeup should be practiced as a ritual. These traditional ideals are still inherent in the India of today (Kumar, 2002).

Analysis of the advertisement–Whirlpool refrigerator



This commercial is about the Whirlpool refrigerator. Since its inception in 1911, in Michigan, USA, Whirlpool has become one of the world's leading manufacturers of major home appliances. Whirlpool was introduced in India in 1987. The brand ambassadors for Whirlpool are film star couple Kajol and Ajay Devgan. The Vice President of Marketing, Mr. Arvind Mediratta suggests that the couple embody the brand values of Whirlpool. Kajol is believed to represent the perfect example of an achiever, both at home and at work. Ajay is part of the campaign as males play a crucial role in the purchase decision of appliances (www.business-standard.com). This year, Whirlpool celebrates 100 years and their phrase is, "the magical journey of Whirlpool – 100 years of creating happier homes". The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product for the modern housewife. The commercial is set in the home.

The commercial begins with Ajay entering the room reciting poetry with a soft drink in his hand. Kajol rubs his face and says, “Hi my action hero, but in poetry you’re a total zero”, and she takes the drink out of his hand and says, “Go wash your face and come and I will give you some cold juice!” In the next scene the product and its features are revealed. As we are shown the inside of the fridge, the message, 6th sense is displayed. A female voice-over sings, “Whirlpool, Whirlpool”, followed by a male voice-over who says, “New Whirlpool genius, new style, new features, its unique new 6th sense technology improves cooling and makes it a genius”. In the next scene, Ajay leans against the fridge and says, “You’re the genius but she is the one who overrules!” Kajol says, “Shut up”, and she laughs and hugs her husband. The brand name and the caption, cooling genius, appear on the screen.

The signs in this commercial are: the name of the product which does more than just label or identify the product. It also brings to mind particular meanings and associations which would help to sell it (Dyer, 1982). The name Whirlpool is associated with the occurrence of a whirlpool, and brings to mind visual images of a rapidly rotating current of water. This helps to make it a distinctive name in the mass market; the 6th sense technology feature. Sixth sense has been commonly referred to as the ability to grasp the inner nature of things intuitively. It has also been referred to as possessing extrasensory perception or ESP (Lefton, 1994). Whirlpool’s 6th sense technology alleges to make all kitchen tasks as easy, pleasurable and time efficient as possible, as special sensors continually monitor and automatically adjust the performance of the appliance – helping to keep food at its freshest and improving energy efficiency. We can see this when we look inside the fridge

and notice how the chilled air is being directed - we can infer that it maintains perfect conditions throughout; the product is referred to as genius, which is attributed to its apparent extraordinary functionalities; when the husband returns from work, the wife is well dressed, adorned with ornaments, and greets him. This signifies the beautification process and implies that adorning ornaments makes you beautiful.

The binary oppositions presented are those of public/ private and masculine/ feminine, for, as he returns from his work and is in need of a wash, she is positioned within the confines of the kitchen, ready to greet him and offer him something refreshing to drink; nature/ technology where technology has taken over the human ability to grasp the inner nature of things intuitively, and performs this for us – Whirlpools 6th sense technology monitors and maintains the best storage temperature to keep food at its freshest.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the ‘new’ style, ‘new’ special features, and the ‘new’ sixth sense technology. The product is ultimately referred to as the ‘new’ Whirlpool genius.

Modern advertising focuses on the problems faced by a growing number of women today, who have either paid full-time or part-time work and still need to fulfill their household chores. Thus this commercial for a refrigerator assumes that the woman addressed is responsible for the providing of food and it also allows for the possibility

that she is employed outside the home - as, it caters for the possibility of a woman who has worked all day and did not have time to shop, therefore, the refrigerator can be a real life-saver! Therefore, a refrigerator can offer her the best of both worlds. Instead of feeling inadequate as a housewife while she is at work, and rushing from shop to shop desperately after work, she will be able to have, thanks to the refrigerator, the best of both worlds - that of traditional female responsibilities and that of paid work (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). We know that Kajol was considered to be the perfect choice for this commercial as she personifies the perfect achiever of both worlds – home and work.

This commercial therefore reflects the fact that although women have become accepted on the labour market, the majority of the household chores are still regarded as their responsibility. And the suggestion that the solution to the problems created by this double role lies in the consumption of commodities is certainly consistent with the role of advertising (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Happy family commercials like this one, imply that if the female viewer's everyday life isn't as happy and harmonious as portrayed in the commercial, the short-comings are in some way due to her inadequacy in fulfilling the functions required of a good wife (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

This commercial contains elements of an oppositional message, for we see in this commercial, traces of tension between the forces of tradition on one hand and modernity on the other hand (Roy, 1998). The wife in this commercial, is not only represented as

modern and enjoying a certain level of autonomy in the household, but she also challenges the traditional role of a wife in a socially acceptable manner. Visual signifiers, such as her wearing her hair down, and speaking cheekily to husband – even telling him to ‘shut up’, established her as a modern wife who was not entirely bound by traditional norms.

While we are led to believe that the wife in this commercial is independent. The woman in this commercial, who is signified as being modern, is in fact upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity as her place is still essentially located within the domain of the kitchen, providing food for the family. In this context, even the "modern" wife is still perennially and transcendently a homemaker (Roy, 1998).

The hegemonic process at work here is clearly explained by Gramsci (1971), who describes that, by integrating small doses of oppositional ideology, the dominant class is able to gain the consent of the oppressed groups to the system that subordinates them. By including and casting a desirable contemporary image of a woman, the television advertisement for Whirlpool could ally itself with the objectives of the feminist movement and thereby obtain the consent of women viewers.

The product of the commercial – Whirlpool refrigerator, is a commodity that is produced by dominant patriarchy and consumerist ideology based on exploitation of women. As women accept what this product claims to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By

recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the commonsense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fiske, 1990b).

On one level this product is promoted for its use-value which is its ability to keep food at its freshest and on another level, it is sold to us on its exchange value (Roy, 1998), in this case it is the gaining of the husband's love and happiness. So in this advertisement, Whirlpool is promoted on one level for its usefulness while, on another level it is promoted as a currency to buy things that are intangible or difficult to get.

Domesticity was the dominant ideological theme of this commercial as it portrayed the woman as a housewife. She was situated within the confines of the home and seemed happily engaged in her tasks – ready to offer her husband a refreshing drink from the Whirlpool refrigerator thus, "crowning" her role. The underlying message in this commercial was that housework was fun and easy for a wife. The commercial implied that the magical qualities of the product took the difficulty out of housework, did the job for the wife and accomplished it in a highly developed manner (Roy, 1998). The new Whirlpool refrigerator with the 6th sense technology sets out to make kitchen tasks easy, pleasurable, and time efficient.

By showing the woman as being pleased of her authority in her home, the commercial not only valorized and affirmed the traditional role of Indian women but also made the domestic role of the woman appear "natural" to the viewers (Roy, 1998). An additional

element is added to her role as housewife and that is to also care about how she looks, and to make herself look attractive (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

When males appear in commercials that are directed at women, they tend to be friendly and less macho than in commercials that are directed at men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). As the family man in this commercial he is dominant in an inconspicuous and friendly way. Although, he affirms her role as the one who is in charge of the kitchen, we know that he plays a crucial role in the purchase decision of appliances.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the woman of today in India. The modern single woman in the Rexona advertisement is portrayed as having a 'western/modern' image and emanating a certain level of sexual freedom. However, the freedom enjoyed by a single woman as depicted in this commercial precedes her marriage and domestic life – which would be harnessed in due course by the patriarchal system of marriage (Roy, 1998). This commercial reinforces the patriarchal ideology that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for all females through the actions of the protagonist who – strategically pursues her man and gets him. Thus, the unmarried Indian woman does not “jeopardize the notion of a tradition which is preserved intact in the idealized conjugal and domestic sphere (Rajan, 1993, p.132).”

The woman in transition in the NAC advertisement is portrayed as being happy about her upcoming marriage as she happily goes about planing what she will wear on the day. This also highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman (Roy, 1998).

The Whirlpool commercial portrays the modern wife as being independent. The woman in this commercial, who is signified as being modern, is in fact upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity as her place is still essentially located within the domain of the kitchen – a place that symbolises the provision of food. In this context, even the "modern" wife is still perennially and transcendently a homemaker (Roy, 1998).

Chapter 4 analyses the notions of femininity that are promoted in Indian television advertisements that serve to provide the basis for women's subordination, and it explains how gender ideologies work to sustain the patriarchal gender order.

Chapter 4 - Addressing the Feminine

Introduction

This chapter analyses notions of femininity that are promoted in Indian television advertisements. The Fair and Lovely advertisement offers to transform women - making them beautiful and desirable.

The woman in the Titan advertisement is presented within the domain of domesticity – the home. She seems to be alone in the house and the suggestion that she is wearing the Titan watch to look beautiful for him implies that he is outside the home – which is typical in commercials that portray women in the domain of domesticity. The range of watches in Titan advertisement signifies the whole beautification process, which suggests that adorning ornaments makes you beautiful. Ideology works here to make these commodities seem natural. Making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice (Fisk, 1990b).

The product Veet is promoted as an essential component of the grooming process for women. The ingredients are supposed to assist in keeping the skin looking youthful and moisturised.

The three characters who appear in the Hamam advertisement are female, they are, the grandmother, mother, and young daughter. The tools involved in the beautification process is passed down from mother to daughter through the generations. All the advertisements in this chapter expose the rationale of female beautification.

Analysis of the advertisement – Fair & Lovely



This commercial is about Fair & Lovely cream. It was launched in 1978 and was promoted as a fairness cream. It vouched to lighten skin within four weeks without the use of bleach or harmful chemicals that can damage the skin. It is one of Hindustan Lever's power brands and is marketed in over 38 countries ([www. scribd.com/doc/](http://www.scribd.com/doc/)). The commercial features a young single woman who is an actress on the stage feeling miserable as the theatre is virtually empty. But then, she is able to go on and achieve success and a brighter future after becoming noticeably fairer. The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be used by females. The commercial is set in the outside world.

The commercial begins with a young female stage actress going down on her knees and remarking to herself about the theatre being virtually empty. In the next shot we see her standing outside the theatre along with the male owner and a few other staff watching a crowd of people line up to go to the theatre across the street. The owner comments that, "For all of them a film star must be on stage then our theatre would also be house full". We then see her in her room reading a magazine. A closer look reveals that it is the advertisement of the product Fair & Lovely with the words, Casting Her Spell, printed in large print. She wonders to herself, "If only a film star can bring the crowd to the stage side, then one must become a film star?" We next see her holding the product in her hand and in the background we hear a female voice singing about the product, "To my becoming beautiful you only are the way". Four pictures depicting the change in facial complexion becoming lighter are shown. We then hear a male saying, "Screen test for Kaho Na", and we hear her voice-over explaining, "I went to the audition, a beautiful face, 2 or 3 [dance] steps, I got the role". We see her dressed up glamorously as she continues to explain that, "The picture was a super hit", and "If you call for a film star I will come". She then beckons the awaiting crowd, follow me and leads them to the theatre where she used to perform. The song starts to play again, "To my becoming beautiful you only are the way, you are the solution". This time we see that the theatre outside displays a sign indicating that its now full house. We see her on stage, this time looking quite glamorous and as the crowd applauds her she speaks to herself, "That same theatre, that same stage, the same being, you can change anything". We hear the owner in the background saying, "Thank you". Then we hear a male voice-over saying, "Beauty is a power", as the product is displayed on the left hand of the screen.

The signs in the commercial are: the product itself which is called Fair & Lovely, which signifies that to be fair equates to being lovely, therefore, it implies that in order for a woman to be lovely she needs to become fair complexioned. Also the words, casting her spell, which appear in the magazine signifies that the product has a magical quality, that will draw in the crowds. In other words it suggests that the product will transform women by making them desirable - allowing them to attract the male gaze.

The binary oppositions presented are those of ugly/ beautiful as she had to transform her plain and simple self into a beautiful woman, whereby, she was able to achieve fame; before/ after, where she was plain and ordinary before and after using the product her whole life was transformed; failure/ success, where she felt like a failure each day that the theatre was practically empty as many did not come to see her performance. However, the product provided the solution to her problem, for, by using it she was able to draw the crowds in – particularly men; dark/ light - as in ones complexion. In India, having fair skin is considered an asset. This is very apparent in the hundreds of matrimonial advertisements, which appear in India's newspapers everyday. While these advertisements attempt to seek individuals with the appropriate religion, caste, regional ancestry, professional and educational qualifications, it also lists skin colour as one of the requirements. Even in the increasing number of advertisements that say caste no bar, the adjective, fair, tends to precede professional qualifications (Leistikow, 2003). Thus, the young woman who is portrayed as miserable in the beginning of this commercial, gains a brighter future after becoming noticeably fairer - as she uses the product to wash away the dark skin that was preventing men from flocking.

All communication interpellates or hails us in some way (Fisk, 1990b). For example, the woman who uses products, such as Fair & Lovely in this commercial, in an attempt to make herself beautiful and attractive to him, is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations, and the man who likes to see the woman looking attractive is positioned differently – he is hailed as the one with power (Fiske, 1990b).

This advertisement addresses a working-class audience drawing on the Cinderella myth of the personal transformation (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). As depicted by the tale of Cinderella, the girl in this advertisement is transformed by the product into an attractive film star.

On one level this product is promoted for its use-value which is its property to lighten the skin, and on another level it is sold to us on its exchange value, which is its capacity to buy something else (Roy, 1998). In this case it is the gaining of a brighter future and being able to attract and woo men. So in this advertisement, Fair & Lovely is promoted on one level for its usefulness while, on another level it is promoted as a currency to buy things that are intangible or difficult to get.

The dominant image of femininity presented in this commercial is that of the beauty ideal. This beauty ideal has become the new straitjacket of femininity, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The crowds who follow her after she has achieved fame, to fill up the

theatre where she is about to perform, are predominantly male. This commercial exposes the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and successful a woman has to be beautiful. This advertisement presents a feminine beauty ideal, which does not recognise beauty as a property resulting from natural characteristics (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). It asserts that no woman can attain the ideal without using this product.

Anticipating that public opinion in India will continue to uphold the possessing of fair skin as an asset, American and European companies are competing for a market share. Major brands such as Avon, L'Oreal, Lancôme, Yves Saint-Laurent, Clinique, Elizabeth Arden, and Revlon are now offering skin-whitening products (Leistikow, 2003).

Analysis of the advertisement – Titan Raga watches



This commercial is about the Titan brand of watches for women. The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be worn by women. The face of Titan for this particular range of watches is Rani Mukherjee, a popular film actress. She is the only character in this commercial and during the course of the advertisement we don't see her speak but we hear a female voice over while the commercial takes place. We assume that it is the voice of Rani as she is the brand ambassador for the product. Also, in the background we hear harmonious music, which sets the mood. The commercial is set within the confines of the home.

The commercial begins by showing a young woman holding a mirror in one hand and about to apply mascara with the other hand. But, then she stops, and puts it away saying, “Tonight there’s no work for you, you can go to sleep... let our hearts speak”. She says all this as she removes all her adornments, one at a time. The next scene shows her sitting beside her swimming pool and about to open a box. As the box opens, we see neatly displayed, Titan’s range of watches for women. She picks one up and looks at it admiringly and says, “Just you, make me beautiful for him”. She then puts on the watch and continues to gaze at it admiringly. She leans over the edge of the pool and we can see her reflection in the water. As she wades her fingers through the water smiling, the logo and the caption of the product appears: Titan Raga – a beautiful relationship.

The signs in this commercial are: the mirror, mascara, flower in her hair, earrings, bangles, anklets, and the watch itself – all of which signifies the whole beautification process, which also suggests that adorning ornaments makes you beautiful; the pool, flowers in the water, and the plant near the pool signify elements of nature. Also, her walking barefoot signifies making direct contact with nature. This is ideology at work, as making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice (Fisk, 1990b).

The binary oppositions presented are those of substance/ style and old/ new wherein, the taking off of her old adornments, such as, earrings, bangles and anklets which seem to be made from solid/ heavy materials, is replaced by the sleek watch.

Adjectives function as key parts of speech for advertisers as they stimulate dreams, desires, and envy, by evoking sounds, taste, smell, looks, and touch without misrepresenting a product. The adjective “beautiful” that is used in this commercial cannot be easily checked upon and is therefore a matter of opinion (Dyer, 1982).

It is not just words that attract attention to a product. We tend to be more inclined to listen to a speaker if the voice sounds pleasant or friendly. Television advertisements especially tend to use actual voices in order to create the right impression (Dyer, 1982). The voice of this commercial is seductive and intimate and the harmonious background music sets the mood, which is pitched towards dreaming.

The protagonist in this commercial has been chosen for her authority with the general public as a well-known celebrity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This commercial relies on the image of femininity represented by this famous actress: the watch is beautiful, sensuous, and feminine.

The entire voice-over aspect in this commercial functions as a device to hail the reader (Roy, 1998). As Althusser (1971) suggests, communication is a social process and is therefore ideological, and interpellation or hailing is a key feature of its ideological practice that is ever-present in every act of communication. All communication is said to address us and place us in a social relationship. And whenever we recognise ourselves as the addresses and respond to the communication, we thus, participate in our own social, and therefore ideological, construction. Therefore, all communication interpellates or

hails us in some way (Fisk, 1990b). For example, the woman who wears jewellery, such as the watch in this commercial, in an attempt to make herself beautiful to him, is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations, and the man who likes to see the woman wearing adornments is generally positioned differently – he is hailed as the one with power (Fiske, 1990b). This commercial addresses a middle-class audience and offers the reader prestige through the utilization of this product (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

The product of the commercial – Titan watches, is a commodity that is produced by capitalism, consumerism and patriarchal ideology, and as such, serves to ensure the subordination of women. As women accept what these products claim to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology (Fiske, 1990b).

The woman in this commercial is presented within the domain of domesticity – the home. She seems to be alone in the house and the suggestion that she is wearing the Titan watch to look beautiful for him implies that he is outside the home – which is typical in commercials that portray women in the domain of domesticity. In such commercials, there is a separation of the private and public social spheres. Therefore, while she is situated within the domain of the private sphere, he is alternatively situated within the domain of the public sphere. This highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests

that it is the woman's job to take care of the household as well as to look appealing for the man (Roy, 1998).

The dominant image of femininity in this commercial is that of the fashion ideal. This has been referred to as the new straitjacket of femininity, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of their man. This exposes the rationale of female beautification, which implies that in order to be happy, a woman has to be beautiful (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Analysis of the advertisement – Veet



This commercial is about Veet hair removal cream. It was launched in April 2004 and actress Katrina Kaif is the brand ambassador. It is marketed by the Reckitt Benckiser Company who is one of the world's leaders in household and personal care products. Veet has become one of the world's leading cosmetic depilation brand and is sold in over 50 countries. It is promoted as a hassle-free method for personal grooming. It is claimed to have no side effects and has been endorsed by the British Skin Institute (www.fibre2fashion.com). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be used by females. The two main characters in the commercial are Katrina and a female friend. The commercial is set in the outside world.

The commercial begins with Katrina and her friend walking together down the street. There is music with an upbeat tempo playing throughout the commercial in the background. Then a female passer-by walks past them, and her arm and the friend's arm brush against each other. The female passer-by turns around and gestures to the friend by rubbing her fingers together and forming the letter V with her index and middle finger. Back at home, the friend demonstrates the gestures that the female passer-by indicated to her, and wonders what it meant. Katrina smiles and as she starts to speak, her name together with the words Actress and Veet user, appear on the screen. She attempts to explain what the gesture meant and says, "That means your skin can become very smooth by using Veet". For the rest of the commercial we hear her voice-over saying, "Now it is also available in a smaller pack", as the product is displayed on screen in the two different sized tubes that it comes in. We next see Katrina taking the tube out of the box, and the voice-over comes on explaining that, "This contains almond milk extracts. It includes a special spatula for perfect hair removal, leaving your skin feeling very smooth". During this, we are shown pictures of almonds and almond milk and we then see the product being applied – we presume it is being applied onto the friend. In the next shot, the two young women are all dressed up and are out. They happen to go past a young man and both their hands brush past his hands - Katrina on the right and her friend on the left. The young man turns around, rubs his left hand and exclaims, "Wow!" The voice-over comes on again saying, "New Veet small pack, Rs. 33 only". They lean in together and Katrina forms the letter V with her index and middle finger. They both laugh as the product is displayed on the screen with the words, very smooth, appearing beside it.

The signs in the commercial are: the outfits that the young women are wearing and the setting which is predominantly outside indicates their status as being single and unmarried; the product, which is an essential component of the grooming process for women; the almond milk extracts, which are generally known to assist in keeping the skin looking youthful and moisturised. Almonds are considered to be one of the healthiest nuts as they are rich in magnesium, potassium, manganese, copper, the antioxidants vitamin E and selenium, and calcium. These nutrients are believed to protect the body from the effects of ageing (Adams, 2005); the spatula, which is promoted as allowing easy application of the cream, enabling close contact with the skin – therefore resulting in perfect hair removal; and the signing of the letter V has some religious significance and is suggested to represent a girl, daughter or virgin.

The binary oppositions presented are those of problem/ solution, where Veet is the solution to her unsightly hair – providing perfect hair removal; before/ after, where she was noticed by a man after using the product; masculine/ feminine, where she has to make herself look beautiful in order to attract the male gaze.

The commercial creates a sense of displacement by allowing the product to be seen in terms of something else (Fiske, 1990b), for example, the product Veet is suggesting that all attractive / beautiful women use Veet hair removal cream, and so, to have the good life or possess perfect beauty you have to use Veet hair removal cream.

Women's bodies and their lives tend to be constructed as, a set of problems for which there exists commodities to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). In this commercial, the unique set

of ingredients used to make the product is widely known to solve a number of women's skin problems.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the 'new' formula which is said to contain the goodness of almond milk extracts, as well as the complementary ergonomically shaped spatula which is now included to allow close and effective hair removal thereby, producing very smooth skin.

The protagonist in this commercial has been chosen for her authority with the general public as a well-known celebrity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This commercial relies on the image of femininity represented by this famous actress: the hair removal cream promotes beauty, elegance, and is alluring.

All communication interpellates or hails us in some way (Fisk, 1990b). For example, the woman who uses hair removal cream, such as Veet in this commercial, in an attempt to make herself alluring / beautiful to him, is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations, and the man who is admires a smooth-skinned woman is positioned differently – he is hailed as the one with power.

The product of the commercial – Veet hair removal cream, is a commodity that is produced by the system of consumerism and status symbols of femininity. As women accept what this product claims to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the commonsense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fiske, 1990b).

The commercial establishes a full ‘gossip’ – relation between women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985), that is, Katrina assists her friend-in-distress, who by describing the course of events assists the reader as a potential friend-in-distress. The communicative relationship between protagonist and reader is therefore established as towards the end, when the friend attracts the admiration of the male, she is amazed and attributes her smooth skin (through gesture), to the success of the product that her friend had introduced her to. The only person in a position to respond is the reader.

On one level this product is promoted for its use-value which is its property to provide very smooth skin and on another level, it is sold to us on its exchange value (Roy, 1998), in this case it is the gaining of a brighter future and being able to attract and allure men. So in this advertisement, Veet is promoted on one level for its usefulness, while on another level it is promoted as a currency to buy things that are intangible or difficult to get.

The dominant image of femininity presented in this commercial is that of the beauty ideal, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of the men they encounter (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Berger (1972), states that this ideal is a passive one and controlled by the 'Male Eye' whereby, men look at women and women watch themselves being looked at. Hence, she turns herself into an object – an object of vision, a sight. This commercial exposes the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and successful a woman has to be beautiful (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). It emphasises that no woman can attain the ideal without using this product.

Analysis of the advertisement – Hamam



This commercial is about Hamam soap. It was launched in 1934 and is a leading product in its category. It is marketed by Hindustan Lever Limited – the Indian unit of Unilever. Hamam is marketed as a natural soap made from natural ingredients such as, green gram, turmeric and sandalwood powder. It has a long history of assuring consumers that it is a natural soap that is safe on the skin. It has now positioned itself as a beauty enhancing soap (www.scribd.com/doc/). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be used by females. The three main characters in the commercial are the young daughter, the mother, and the grandmother. The commercial is set in the home.

The commercial begins by showing a mother happily washing her daughter's hands and face with the product. As this process is taking place we hear soothing music in the background and are shown pictures, of the ingredients while a female voice-over comes on saying that, "Hamam is sandal powder, to keep you clean – gram powder, to keep you safe – turmeric, to keep you smooth – milk, to keep you cleansed – sandal". We next see the girl all dressed up, approaching her mother and grandmother who happen to be sitting next to each other. The girl approaches them carrying a soap dish, she sets it down in-between the two women, and points her finger at the grandmother indicating that, "Daily sandal powder is not only for your daughter but also for her daughter" (indicating to her mother). The female voice-over comes on and as she says, "Life long perfect beauty", the soap dish containing the product is placed in the foreground. The product in its packaging is shown behind the soap dish, along with two other dishes containing the natural ingredients used to make the product. The words sandal powder, life long perfect beauty, appear as the product and its ingredients are displayed.

The signs in the commercial are: the pictures of the ingredients that are unique to the product. Sandal powder has been commonly used in India for the treatment of dry skin, dry cracked feet, itchy skin, and stretch marks. However, it is also used to promote glowing skin; green gram powder is well known for enhancing complexion and removing impurities from the skin without causing any irritations; turmeric has been widely used to heal and prevent dry skin, to treat skin conditions such as eczema and acne, and as an anti-ageing ingredient. Traditionally in India, women rub turmeric on their cheeks to present a natural golden glow; and finally, milk. Milk naturally contains Vitamins A and

D, which help promote soft skin, and lactic acid, which helps to exfoliate and soothe the skin. The natural ingredients found in milk not only help to improve the appearance and condition of the skin but also get rid of dead cells from the surface of the skin, and moisturises the skin (Cote, 2008).

The binary oppositions presented are those of natural/ artificial, where the ingredients in the product are natural and appear naturally in nature, and so do not contain any chemicals that could harm the skin. In light of the new consciousness of natural skin care being good, this product is promoted as containing nature's gifts for your skin; beautiful/ ugly, where the continuous use of the product is claimed to offer the user the benefits of life long perfect beauty; problem/ solution, where the unique ingredients used to make the product have been widely used as solutions to treat various skin conditions; and teacher/ learner, where the lessons of beauty and skin care have been taught and passed down through the generations from mother to daughter. In the commercial we hear the young daughter saying to the grandmother it is not only for your daughter but also for her daughter. We see that that the teaching about womanhood have been passed on from the grandmother - to the mother - to the young daughter.

The whole marketing process of which advertising is said to be the loudest part is designed to create a sense of displacement (Fiske, 1990b). In other words, the product is seen in terms of something else, for example, the product Hamam soap is suggesting that all beautiful women use Hamam soap, therefore to have the good life or possess perfect beauty all through life you have to use Hamam soap.

Capitalism is a system that primarily produces commodities, so, making commodities seem natural is at the heart of its ideological practice. We learn to understand our desires in terms of the commodities used to produce them, and we learn to think of our problems in terms of the commodities by which to solve them. Women's bodies and their lives are constructed as a set of problems for which there are commodities to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). In this commercial, the unique set of ingredients used to make the product are widely used to solve a number of women's skin problems.

The commercial is set within the confines of the home and the three characters who appear in the commercial are female – the grandmother, mother, and young daughter. By depicting the women in this commercial as mothers and wives within the private sphere, it serves to uphold a feminine ideal of domesticity. In keeping with this ideal of femininity, it reflects the gender biased socialisation process in the Indian society whereby the mother teaches and nurtures in her daughter the feminine ideals of beauty and domesticity (Roy, 1998). In this commercial we can clearly observe that the grandmother has taught her daughter how to maintain perfect beauty, who in turn, has taught her young daughter how to do the same. And so, this cycle is set to continue on throughout the generations.

Conclusion

In these commercials, the products offered to women are supposed to transform the natural qualities of women and make them beautiful and desirable (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Also, women's bodies and their lives tended to be constructed as a set of problems for which there exists commodities to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). For instance, in the Veet advertisement, the unique set of ingredients used to make the product is identified to solve a number of women's skin problems.

The dominant image of femininity presented in these commercials was that of the beauty ideal. This beauty ideal has become the new straitjacket of femininity, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). These commercials exposed the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and successful a woman has to be beautiful. The Fair and Lovely advertisement particularly presented a feminine beauty ideal, which does not recognise beauty as a property resulting from natural characteristics (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

The commercials that presented wives and mothers within the domain of domesticity, that is the home, revealed a separation between the private and public spheres. This highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that it is the woman's job to take care of the household as well as to look appealing for the man (Roy, 1998).

The Hamam advertisement especially reflected the gender biased socialisation process in the Indian society whereby the mother teaches and nurtures in her daughter the feminine ideals of beauty and domesticity (Roy, 1998).

Chapter 5 focuses on the notions of masculinity that are promoted in Indian television advertisements, and how gender ideologies work to sustain the patriarchal gender order – which rests on the premise of the global dominance of men over women (Connell, 1987).

Chapter 5 - Addressing the Masculine

Introduction

This chapter analyses notions of masculinity that are promoted in Indian television advertisements. The Navratna advertisement reflects the role that men and women are called to play in society. The actions of the characters depict the kinds of tasks that men and women are supposed to be involved in. By situating men predominantly in the public sphere and the woman in the private sphere, ready to greet the man with a smile when he comes home, the advertisement distinctly creates a separation between the public and private spheres (Roy, 1998).

The Honda advertisement serves to represent the kinds of products that are being offered to men which differs to the kinds of products being offered to women. This difference highlights the fact that advertisers' expectations of male and female needs differ.

The Mirinda commercial sets out to portray the behaviours of a single man and a single woman. These advertisements portray dominant images of masculinity that are in contrast to the images of femininity presented in the previous chapter.

Analysis of the advertisement – Navratna Oil



This commercial is about Navratna oil. It is one of the leading brands of Enami Ltd and is one of the most trusted brands in the cool oil category. It has a monopoly in the southern states with a market share of 98%. Mr. Aggarwal who is the director of the Enami group of companies sought to have a number of brand ambassadors to promote a regional feel and target local consumers. The superstar Surya is the brand ambassador in Tamil Nadu. Navratna is a Sanskrit compound word meaning nine gems. It is claimed to be made from a traditional Ayurvedic formulation containing a unique blend of 9 Ayurvedic herbs. It is acclaimed as a wonder oil because of its multiple benefits (www.indiareviewchannel.com/products). The target audience is men as it is being advertised as a product to be used by men. The main character in the commercial is Surya. The commercial is set in the outside world.

The commercial begins by showing Surya on set being filmed. We hear the director's voice say, "Ok! Pack up!" There are a number of technicians on set and one of them says, "Here it is pack up, but their home duties start up". Another technician adds, "Life is a lock up". Yet another technician adds, "If we were born a star then life would have been so peaceful". Surya hears this and is shocked and says, "Peaceful, uh". He then goes into song: "4 o'clock waking, jogging, jogging, exercising. Next shift shooting, quickly, quickly, eating. Next shift dubbing. Fans are waiting, mum and dad are calling". The male voice-over asks what he does in his other time. He sings, "Dating". The technicians are in awe. He says to them, "How do I remain so cool!" As he opens up his kit and takes out the bottle of Navratna oil, he says, "No matter how much pressure you have, it will make your head cool!" He sings again: "Problem, tiredness, and lack of sleep". The technicians chime in, "Cool it, brother, cool it", as Surya demonstrates messaging the scalp. Surya continues singing: "Who doesn't have tension and headaches?" And they chime in, "Cool it, brother, cool it". At this point, the product is presented on the screen and the male voice-over says, "With Ayurvedic goodness, Navratna hair oil". A caption at the bottom of the screen reads, An Ayurvedic Medicine. Surya goes on to explain, "All the heat will go away and it will be cool". One of the technicians say "When you go home", and they all chime in, "Jo! Will come and smile at you". Surya laughs and as the technicians continue to sing in the background, he jumps up, walks forward with the product in his hand, points it towards the screen and says, "Navratna oil, jill (which means cool), jill, cool, cool". And the frame freezes.

The signs in this commercial are: the name of the product. According to Dyer (1982), the name of a product should do more than just label or identify the product – it should bring favourable associations to mind, which will help to sell it. The name of this product comes from the word Navaratna, which is a Sanskrit compound word meaning nine gems. According to Hindu astrology, life on earth is influenced by the navagrahas (or the nine influencers). The placement of the navagrahas in one's horoscope supposedly has an influence throughout an individual's life. Wearing the nine gems is said to provide an astrological balance and benefit to the wearer (<http://www.humbletom.com/astro>). The Navratna oil in this commercial is said to be made from a blend of 9 Ayurvedic herbs. It has been hailed as a wonder oil as it is claimed to have multiple benefits, such as, providing relief from headache, tension, sleeplessness, body ache, and other hair related problems; the caption "An Ayurvedic Medicine" brings to mind images of naturalness, as the ingredients in the product consist of natural herbs and does not contain any chemical or biochemical substances that can be harmful to the human body; the kinds of actions that the protagonist is involved in are in direct contrast to the kinds of actions women are portrayed to be involved in. For instance, in the song, the protagonist lays out the agenda for his day, that is, after waking up at 4 o'clock he exercises, fulfills his acting schedule outside the home, eats, deals with fans, and has some time left for dating. Alternatively, the commercial, determined where a woman's place should be, for, when the technicians in the commercial proclaimed that when he got home, Jo, (whose name is really Jothika, a well-known Indian actress, whom he is now married to) would come and smile at him. By situating her within the domain of the home, this commercial therefore perpetuates the feminine ideal of domesticity; the characters on set were all men, and all the equipment

was also handled by men – furthermore implying that it is considered appropriate for only men to predominate the public sphere.

The binary oppositions presented are those of natural/ artificial, where the name of the product is associated with the blending of nine natural herbs, therefore the oil does not contain any chemical substances; East/ West, where Ayurvedic medicine which is a holistic approach to healthcare, originated in ancient India. Ayur means life or living, and veda means knowledge of living or the science of longevity. The fundamentals of Ayurveda can be found in Hindu scriptures called the Vedas. It utilises diet, purification techniques, herbal and mineral preparations, yoga, meditation, and massage therapy, as holistic healing methods (Chopra, Saluja & Tillu, 2010). In the West, it is classified as a system of alternative medicine that can be used to complement, but not replace western medical and treatment practices; public/ private, where the commercial predominantly depicts men in the public sphere, and asserts that a woman's place is in the private sphere and that part of her role is to, 'smile at you', when the man returns home from work.

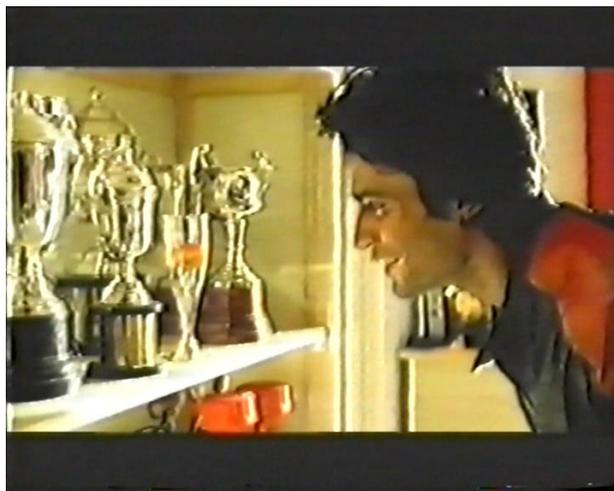
Capitalism is a system that primarily produces commodities, so, making commodities seem natural is at the heart of its ideological practice. We learn to understand our desires in terms of the commodities used to produce them, and we learn to think of our problems in terms of the commodities by which to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). In this commercial, the unique blend of the nine natural herbs are claimed to have multiple benefits. In the commercial, the protagonist sings that, no matter how much pressure you have, Navratna oil will keep your head cool. While it is acceptable for men to become tired, women are

expected to be happily engaged in their chores at home and not grow tired, and as the men return home from their work at the end of the day, the woman is there ready to greet him with a smile.

The protagonist in this commercial has been chosen for his authority with the general public as a well-known celebrity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). He was chosen for his popularity in the region of Tamil Nadu, in an attempt to target local consumers. This commercial relies on the image of masculinity represented by this famous actor – substance, unpretentious and grounded.

The dominant image of masculinity presented in this commercial is the necessity for men to be superior to women in traditionally male spheres, such as, mechanics and technology (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Analysis of the advertisement – Honda motorbike



This commercial is about the Honda motorbike. Honda is named after Soichiro Honda, the person who founded Honda Motor Company Ltd. It is a Japanese multinational corporation and primarily manufactures automobiles and motorcycles. They have been one of the world's largest motorcycle manufacturers since 1959. The Honda Unicorn was developed by Honda Motorcycle & Scooter India (HMSI) and was introduced in 2005. It was the first motorcycle in India to feature a mono-shock. The bike was designed specifically for Indian road conditions. Honda claimed the Unicorn accelerated from 0-60 km/h in 5 seconds and had a top speed of 101 km/h (www.honda2wheelersindia.com). It is no co-incidence that it is named after a powerful legendary creature. The target audience is men as it is being advertised as a vehicle for men. The setting is primarily outside and is in English.

The commercial begins with the male protagonist watching a motorbike race on his television at home. His three friends (two girls and a boy) pull up in their car and honk for him. He goes to the balcony, as one of the girls call out to him to “Come down quickly”. He calls out, “You carry on, I’ll come!” So they drive off. He then goes and grabs his jacket and walks over to his motorbike. A male voice-over announces as the protagonist takes off on the bike, “Introducing the sporty new unicorn”. The words appear on the screen as he says, “150cc black painted robust engine”. As the protagonist rides effortlessly over the bumps on the road, the voice-over says, “Racing inspired mono suspension”, and we are shown a close up shot of that part of the vehicle. As he reaches his destination, the words, International sporty style come up on the screen. We are made aware from the big screen at the bar that he was able to get there before the finish of the race that he had been watching at home. In addition, he also manages to get there before his friends, who had set off before him. When they arrive, he points to his watch and gestures what happened / where were you? One of the girl’s picks up a cup from the bar, kisses it, and presents it to him. He lifts it up in triumph, against the backdrop of the race winner on the big screen, and his friends cheer for him. The voice-over says, “All new sporty Honda Unicorn, race your spirit”. The bike, together with the words, Honda Unicorn be a wing rider, and the caption, race your spirit, appears on the screen. In the next shot, we see him at home, happily placing the cup on his trophy shelf. The Honda logo together with the message, Honda No 1 appears on the screen.

The entire male voice-over is in English. The use of English either written or spoken in advertisements has historical underpinnings. During the period of British rule in India

between 1858 and 1947, as they colonised the country their language permeated through the various parts of society, and as trade and commercial links were being developed, English became the language of communication. After India had gained its independence on August 15, 1947, many people continued working in British companies. The introduction of the Internet has further endorsed the use of English. Today, social and commercial pressures demand the use of English. A new trend is emerging amongst the upper class and involves the fusion of English with native languages - which has been picked up by the media (Daniel, 2000). Nowadays, consumers tend to associate English with modern, cosmopolitan lifestyles.

The signs in the commercial are: the motorbike, which appears to possess superior speed in comparison to a car and it is associated with the name Unicorn, which brings certain images to mind, such as, they can appear fierce yet good, selfless yet solitary, a wild untamable animal possessing an unconquerable nature, a symbol for strength, endurance, agility, perseverance, wisdom, playfulness, purity, hope, love, majesty, grace, and finesse. In heraldry (Machutchin, 1999), the Unicorn is invariably shown collared with a broken chain attached, portraying that it has broken free from bondage and cannot be captured again, forever remaining free of artificial limits set by mankind; one of the primary functions of advertising language is to create meanings and feelings (Dyer, 1982). This commercial uses crisp sentences such as, 'race your spirit', that are easy to repeat and remember; and lastly, the trophy, which signifies competition and success.

The binary oppositions presented are those of fact/ opinion, where the facts of the features of the motorbike, such as, the speed and acceleration, are described and depicted in the commercial; wild/ domestic, where the super-fast speed at which the protagonist was traveling on the motorbike connotes a certain sense of wildness; success/ failure, where the commercial presents an image of masculinity that promotes competitive behaviour, the pursuit of success and the acclamations it brings.

Adjectives are the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the ‘new’ series of Honda motorbikes called Unicorn, which conjures up a myriad of images.

Capitalism is a system that primarily produces commodities, so, making commodities seem natural is at the heart of its ideological practice. We learn to understand our desires in terms of the commodities used to produce them, and we learn to think of our problems in terms of the commodities by which to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). In this commercial, the innovative features of the new series of Honda motorbikes, will equip young men with the necessary device with which to pursue success, triumphantly achieve it, and to be unconquerable like a Unicorn.

Advertisers’ expectations of male and female needs differ – while the products offered to men are merely intended to enhance their characteristics, the products that are offered to women on the other hand are intended to transform their characteristics. The dominant

image of masculinity presented here is that of man being competitive for success in traditionally male fields of operation (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Analysis of the advertisement – Mirinda



This commercial is about Mirinda soft drink. Mirinda is a brand of soft drink that originated from Spain and is globally distributed. The word Mirinda means admirable and wonderful in Esperanto. It is available in multiple formulations of carbonated and non-carbonated fruit flavours. While flavour brands are local to individual countries, the orange flavour now represents the majority of Mirinda sales worldwide. Mirinda is owned by Pepsi Co and it competes with Coca Cola's Fanta (www.behindthename.com). Actor Zayed Khan was chosen to be the brand ambassador for the product. Representatives of Mirinda believe that Zayed represents the youth and that his personality is similar to the brand attributes – therefore he was considered to be the perfect choice. The target audience is men as it is being advertised as a product that men could use. The commercial begins outside and finishes on the balcony of the woman's apartment.

The commercial begins on the road at an intersection and Zayed is on his motorbike, checking his teeth in the reflection of a nearby car window. The woman notices, winds down her window, and sneers at him. He looks away embarrassed. When she drives off, he takes out his Mirinda and has some. The scene turns into animation mode as he rides off after her climbing buildings like a super-hero in pursuit of her. When he reaches her apartment building, the scene becomes real. We see her come out onto her balcony and smile. He drinks some more Mirinda soft drink, the scene turns into animation mode again. He jumps onto a trampoline and soars up towards her balcony. On the way up, he grabs a bunch of flowers from someone's pot plants, lands on her balcony and offers her the flowers. A male voice-over says, "Mirinda orange with natural flavour, the new magic to delight". The product is displayed on screen with the caption, the new magic to delight, and the words, new natural flavour, underneath. We go back to the scene, which is real again. She laughs and grabs the Mirinda bottle out of his hands.

The signs in the commercial are: the name Mirinda which means admirable and beautiful. It promotes associations of youth, vitality, and masculinity, for, representatives of Mirinda believed that Zayed's personality matched the brand attributes; the mode of transport, that is, she drives a car which is a secure vehicle and he rides a bike which is an unshielded vehicle (the structure of a car render it as a sheltered vehicle, in contrast to the structure of a bike which would render it as an unshielded vehicle). This implies that it is the conventional choice for women to drive a car and for men to ride a bike; the caption, which states that it is the new magic to delight - the drink gives him additional super-hero

abilities that enable him to be able to ride across buildings, do tricks on his bike, and soar up high into the air in his pursuit of her.

The binary oppositions presented are those of wild/ domestic, as he rides off on his bike in super-hero fashion in pursuit of her, and she simply drives off in her conventional mode of transport; public/ private, as the commercial begins in the public sphere with the protagonist in the pursuit of the woman, and culminates with him joining her in the surroundings of the home – which is ultimately the predestined place for all women when they make the ‘natural’ transition from single to married.

Since we learn to understand our desires in terms of the commodities used to produce them, and we learn to think of our problems in terms of the commodities by which to solve them (Fiske, 1990b) - in this commercial, it is claimed that Mirinda provides you with the new magic to delight. For, it is after drinking the product that he gains super-hero abilities that enable him to pursue her.

During the commercial we hear upbeat music that sets the mood which is pitched towards dreaming – as the scene goes back and forth from real to animation, the protagonist delights in his adventurous travel to find her.

The protagonist in this commercial has been chosen for his authority with the general public as a well-known celebrity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). He was chosen because of his identification with the youth market, and the brand attributes. This commercial

relies on the image of masculinity represented by this famous actor: the drink promotes energy, vitality, liveliness, and get up and go.

Our gender identities are reproduced in commercials to reflect the fact that in common consensus, man and woman are entirely separate genders - if you are not a 'proper' man, it follows with inexorable logic that you are 'effeminate', conversely, if you are not behaving 'like a woman' you will be stigmatised as 'mannish' (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Therefore, this commercial sets out to portray the behaviours of a single man and the behaviours of a single woman. The image of masculinity presented is of man as a sexual being in pursuit of a mate (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The image of femininity presented is that of the 'modern/ westernized' single woman, outside the four walls of the home, enjoying a certain level of freedom. However, the freedom enjoyed by the single woman in this commercial, precedes her marriage and domestic life (Rajan, 1993).

Conclusion

The Navratna commercial, distinctly separated the public and private spheres by depicting men predominantly within the public sphere and the woman in the private sphere, ready to greet the man with a smile when he comes home. By situating the woman within the domain of the home, this advertisement perpetuated the feminine ideal of domesticity. Furthermore, as all the equipment on set was only handled by men, the advertisement implied that it considered it only appropriate for men to dominate the public sphere. Thus, the dominant image of masculinity presented in this commercial is the necessity for men to be superior to women in traditionally male spheres, such as, mechanics and technology (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

The Honda advertisement highlighted that advertisers' expectations of male and female needs differ. While the products offered to men are merely intended to enhance their characteristics, the products that are offered to women on the other hand are intended to transform their characteristics. This advertisement presents an image of masculinity that promotes competitive behaviour, the pursuit of success and the acclamations it brings.

The Mirinda advertisement serves to explicate that our gender identities are reproduced in commercials to reflect the fact that in common consensus, man and woman are entirely separate genders. Therefore, this commercial set out to portray the behaviours of a single man and the behaviours of a single woman. The image of masculinity presented was that of man as a sexual being in pursuit of a mate (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). All these advertisements presented a dominant image of masculinity.

Chapter 6 focuses on the relations between the sexes when they are presented together in advertisements that target female viewers.

Chapter 6 - The Sexes Together

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the relations between the sexes when they are presented together in advertisements that specifically target female viewers. It discusses the behaviours and actions of men in advertisements that target the female audience.

The performing of domestic tasks by women in the Boro Plus, Mr. Muscle, and Harpic advertisement emphasises the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother. It also serves to distinguish the division of labour in the home. In addition to carrying out domestic tasks, the Boro Plus advertisement also suggests that women need to maintain their physical appearance at all times.

The Boro Plus advertisement also presents a traditional image of the family as the woman carries out the duties of a wife and mother tending to the needs of her husband and children - serving him his coffee and ironing their clothes, and the husband takes time to relax, read his newspaper, and assist the children with their homework.

The Shree Devi advertisement incorporated single women who represent a certain degree of sexual freedom and juxtapositioned them against a traditional, married woman who is wearing a saree and vermilion, thereby, creating a hegemonic process.

Analysis of the advertisement – Boro Plus Ice



This commercial is about Boro Plus Ice prickly heat powder. The product is produced by Emami Limited under the umbrella of Himani Ltd. Emami is an Indian producer of fast moving consumer goods (FMCG) and is based in Kolkata. The company was founded by two childhood friends, Mr. R.S. Agarwal and Mr. R.S. Goenka. The company soon became skillful in selling beautiful dreams to Indian women interested in finding their identity. In 1978, Himani Ltd was acquired and they began to manufacture different types of health care products and toiletries (www.emamiltd.in). The target audience is women as it is advertised as a product that women need to have in their household. The setting is the home.

The commercial begins by showing the husband sitting in his chair, relaxed and reading his newspaper. The wife brings over his coffee and appears to experience some pain and so reaches to scratch the prickly heat over her shoulder – in doing this, she accidentally spills some of the coffee onto his newspaper. He says, “Hey! Watch it!” As he shakes the coffee off his newspaper and says, “Inadequate work!” She shrugs it off and walks away. In the next shot, the father is supervising their daughter and son as they complete their homework. We can see the wife in the corner of the room ironing. She suddenly reaches to scratch the itch on her neck and the iron scorches his shirt. The husband says, “Uh! Oh! Inadequate work!” In the next shot, they are all sitting down and playing caroms. She again, suddenly reaches to scratch the prickly heat on her back and accidentally tilts the board. The children scream, “Oh, Mother!” The husband again says, “Inadequate work!” The wife says, “What inadequate work, inadequate work, you’re irritating me”. He replies, “Who me? It’s your prickly heat that’s irritating you”. In the next shot, she goes to take some powder to apply to the prickly heat and he follows her into the room. She exclaims, “No matter how much powder I put, it keeps coming back”. He grabs the can of powder out of her hands, looks at it and says, “Then it’s inadequate treatment!” She says, “What?” He explains that “It is sweating that causes prickly heat”, and we are shown computer-generated images of how the product works to eradicate prickly heat. We then see her applying the powder in the background as the product is presented on the screen. During this, he continues to explain, “Other powders only alleviate the itching, which is inadequate, Boro Plus Ice prickly heat powder firstly manages the sweating and then reduces the itching – it completely eradicates the prickly heat problem”. She then waves the product in her hand and states, “This is not inadequate! It is complete

treatment!” In the next shot we see the father and the two kids, and we hear her voice calling out, “Catch! Catch!” The kids hold their heads as the product is hurled forward and the father tries to catch it and nearly drops it. The son says, “Dad! Inadequate job!” Both parents laugh and we see her - now happily continuing her household tasks. A female voice-over says, “Boro Plus Ice prickly heat powder”, as the product is presented on the screen.

The signs in this commercial are: the name which does more than just identify the product, it brings associations to mind which will help to sell it (Dyer, 1982), for instance, Boro generally means ‘go’, and plus implies that there is a plus point or certain advantages to the product - the product does not just manage the sweating, it also reduces the itching, and it completely treats the problem. Ice is known to be especially effective for pain caused by inflammation; the objects used by both sexes in the commercial such as, the newspaper and chair which are used by the male, and the coffee and iron that are handled by the female, all of which clearly serve to distinguish the division of labour within the home; her wearing make up and accessories when carrying out her house-hold tasks suggests that, apart from carrying out all her chores, she also needs to maintain her physical appearance at all times.

The binary oppositions presented are masculine/ feminine, as the objects used by the male and female serve to reproduce our gender identities; teacher/ learner, where the husband educates the wife about what causes prickly heat and directs her to the effective product that would completely eradicate the problem; problem/ solution, as the husband

recommends the product that would solve her problem; before/ after, as it was only after using Boro Plus Ice that she able to carry out her house-hold tasks happily and pain-free. This also signifies the healing quality of the product.

In its visual and verbal representations of the sexes, advertising serves to function as an ideological device for the reproduction of our gender identities. Our respective identities are imperative to us, especially to women as they tend to recognise themselves in any representation of woman, however original, because they are always already identified by their gender (Winship, 1980). The types of household tasks carried out by the man and woman in this commercial evidently serves to identify the division of labour within the home. This commercial hence promotes the feminine ideal of domesticity.

This commercial also presents a traditional image of the family as the woman carries out the duties of a wife and mother tending to the needs of her husband and children - serving him his coffee and ironing their clothes, and the husband takes time to relax, read his newspaper, and assist the children with their homework. According to Rowbotham (1977), unlike men, that for women there is no clear distinction between the work place and leisure as it stretches over the whole of the woman's existence.

It has been declared that whenever the sexes are together, that the man always remains in control (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This is particularly evident in the commercial when the husband sets out to establish the cause and the solution to the wife's problem.

Analysis of the advertisement – Mr. Muscle Kitchen Cleaner



This commercial is about Mr. Muscle Kitchen Cleaner. The household cleaning market in India is divided into two segments, namely, toilet cleaners and surface cleaners. The total cleaning solutions market is an estimated Rs. 373 Crore. Mr. Muscle is a brand of hard surface cleaners. The original product was developed at Drackett in 1986. It is now manufactured by S.C. Johnson & Son who acquired Drackett from Bristol-Myers in 1992 (<http://householdproducts.nlm.nih.gov>). The Mr. Muscle range includes products for the bathroom, toilet, glass and other surface cleaners, floor cleaners and polishes, kitchen cleaners, degreasers, etc (www.scjohnson.com). All these products claim that they are scientifically formulated to make the toughest cleaning jobs easier, all over the home. The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product that women should use. The commercial is primarily set within the confines of the home.

The commercial begins in a laboratory and we see a cartoon image of Mr. Muscle standing poised in his super-hero outfit and wearing his lab coat. The message, More Cleaning Adventures of Mr. Muscle Super-Scientist is displayed on the screen. In the next shot we see a mother vigorously scrubbing her stovetop, we see her son studying in the background as she exclaims, "I am so tired of scrubbing these tough stains!" Just then, Mr. Muscle lands in the room and says, "I will give you the right solution to your problem". The son excitedly calls out, "Mr. Muscle!" And Mr. Muscle says, "Right!" He unhooks the product from his belt and offers it to the mother saying, "Mr. Muscle Kitchen Cleaner is prepared using a special scientific formula". We then see two images on the screen, the one on the left shows her previous struggle to clean the stove-top and the image on the right shows her using the product Mr. Muscle to expeditiously and effortlessly clean the stove-top. The words, cleans without water are presented on the screen. During this time, Mr. Muscle goes on to say, "By its power it removes tough stains renewing the original shine without using any water". In the next shot, we see the son sharing a snack with Mr. Muscle and the mother turns around after having quickly cleaned the kitchen and says, "Thank you Mr. Muscle!" He then hears a sound wave and we see a picture of another woman calling out to Mr. Muscle saying, "Please help me!" He says, "Excuse me, I have to leave now!" As he dashes off, the product and the others in its range are displayed on the screen with the company logo and the message, the science of tough cleaning. The male voice-over says in English, "Mr. Muscle the science of tough cleaning".

The signs in this commercial are: the name of the product: Mr. Muscle brings associations and ideas to mind that will help sell it, for instance, it brings to mind images of power and strength which are essential properties for cleaning products. Also, a close look at the letter U in the product name shows that it is shaped like a curved arm with contracted biceps – a characteristic attributed to masculinity, females on the other hand are regarded as weak and inferior (S.A.C.S., 1994). It can be inferred that having the product Mr. Muscle around is just like having the strength of a man around at all times to complete tough jobs in the home; copywriters like to use scientific-sounding terms to impress the audience. Often they use the word science and related terms, as they are more easily understood (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, the words science and scientific formula are used and it is supported with images of a laboratory and laboratory equipment. Mr. Muscle himself wears a lab coat over his super-hero outfit and is acknowledged as a super-scientist. Mr. Muscle is thus epitomized as a cleaning hero for your home that you can count on to tackle dirt and grease wherever it may hide - Mr. Muscle is strong, powerful, is as close as your cleaning cupboard, and brings the science of tough cleaning to any household task; the action of cleaning, is distinctively performed by the woman in this commercial and this serves to distinguish the division of labour in the home.

The binary oppositions presented are public/ private, where Mr. Muscle works in a lab and she works in the home; masculine/ feminine, where her actions in the commercial primarily involve performing all the cleaning tasks as he converses and has a snack with the boy; problem/ solution, where he comes and solves her kitchen cleaning problems;

right/ wrong, for he presents the right solution to her problem; and teacher/ learner, as he explains how the product works to remove tough stains.

It is not only words that attract attention to an advertisers product. We are usually more inclined to listen if the voice sounds pleasant or friendly for instance (Dyer, 1982). This commercial tries to stimulate interest in the product by using an efficient sounding voice.

The performing of domestic tasks by women in commercials emphasises the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother. This commercial therefore upholds the feminine ideal of domesticity. It shows how easy domestic work can be with the help of the right product, in so doing, it trivialises the drudgery involved in domestic work.

When males appear in commercials that are directed at women, they tend to be friendly and less macho than in commercials that are directed at men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In this commercial, Mr. Muscle is the helpful teacher who solves the woman's problem by introducing her to the right product. Also, when males and females appear in commercials together, the male remains in control (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In this commercial, Mr. Muscle had the situation all under control - after he had introduced the woman to the right product and set her off to work, he just stood there and had a snack with the boy.

Analysis of the advertisement – Harpic toilet cleaner



This commercial is about Harpic toilet cleaner. It was first launched in England in the 1920's and is now marketed by a British company called Reckitt Benckiser. Harpic was originally invented by Mr. **Harry Pickup**, and the product was named after him. Harpic is available in around 47 countries and is promoted as a powerful cleaning product. In India, the toilet cleaners segment is divided into liquid cleaners and in-cistern blocks. The liquid segment is dominated by Harpic, which has a market share of more than 70%. During the 1990's, Harpic came out with a distinctive nozzle, which ensured better reach, and the bottle design was adapted to fit the relatively small hands of Indian women (www.scribd.com/doc/). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product that housewives should use. The commercial is set in the home.

The commercial begins with the Harpic salesman dressed in white and with a mike in his left hand and the product in his right hand as he questions the housewife saying, “So Mrs. Vanitha, why do you use plain disinfectants to clean your toilet?” The woman replies, “Because I fear that the children will become infected with diseases caused by the germs”. He says, “Challenge! Harpic provides you with complete hygiene”. A male voice-over comes on stating, “Harpic power triple action goes into the deep crevices of your toilet and eliminates all the germs, it also enters every nook and cranny of your toilet and cleans it up”. During this, we are shown the application of the product in the toilet and a magnified image of the germs. The message reads, kills all germs post 60 minutes of contact with undiluted product. As the product is applied, we see the germs vanish. After it is flushed, we see a spotless toilet. The woman happily exclaims, “How neat this looks!” She gestures and says, “There are no more stains! From now onwards it’s Harpic only!” He hands her the product and tells her, “Harpic powers triple action hygiene is complete hygiene!” He then turns towards the screen with the product and mike in hand and speaks to the viewer saying, “You too take up the Harpic challenge”. He offers the product to the viewer and continues, “See the difference with your own eyes!” The message, the Harpic challenge just for you, is displayed on the screen. A male voice-over comes on and says, “Harpic 200ml is just Rs. 22.” The product in the two sizes is presented on the screen together with the price of the 200ml bottle.

The signs in the commercial are: his white outfit, which symbolises cleanliness and spotlessness, the precise elements that the product is claimed to deliver; the family portrait on the wall tells us that she is a wife and mother. Also, the sales man refers to her

as Mrs. Vanitha and she comments that she is concerned about the health of her children; the climatic phrase, the Harpic challenge just for you, baits all women to try out the product, and it implies that Harpic will challenge any other product in its category.

The binary oppositions presented are those of knowledge/ ignorance, as he tries to describe to her that ordinary disinfectants do not provide complete hygiene, for she previously thought that all disinfectants performed the same. He explains to her that Harpic has a triple benefit – it removed stains, eliminates germs and presents an appearance of freshness; superior/ inferior as the commercial suggests that Harpic has a triple benefit and therefore puts out the challenge to all housewives and all other products to take the Harpic challenge; teacher/ learner, as he explains and demonstrates the effectiveness of the product, she comes to the realization that it truly is the superior product and that from now onwards she will only use Harpic; public/ private as whenever women are depicted in the domain of domesticity it serves to allude to the separation between the private and public sphere.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the new formula, which is said to have a triple benefit - providing complete hygiene.

Interviews can act as testimonials for products and can be very effective. Experienced interviewers are able to elicit what looks like spontaneous remarks (Dyer, 1982). This

commercial is conducted in an interview format, where the salesman asks the housewife questions about her cleaning regime, he is also able to elicit spontaneous remarks such as, it looks neat, there are no more stains. The housewife's responses serve as an eyewitness testimony - telling the truth about how she has personally seen the product perform.

Domesticity was the dominant ideological theme of this commercial as it emphasised the traditional role of women - by portraying her as a housewife and mother who seemed to find her cleaning chore an enjoyable and satisfying experience, as she happily exclaimed, that from now onwards its Harpic only!

When males appear in commercials that are directed at women, they tend to be friendly and less macho than in commercials that are directed at men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In this commercial, the salesman is the helpful teacher who explains, shows, and ultimately offers her the right product to enable her to protect her family from the diseases that germs can cause – which has always been a concern for her.

The predominance of subservient women, such as the compliant woman in this commercial, can be seen to reflect a male longing for those unproblematic days when their sovereignty was unchallenged, and no steadfast feminists demanded changes in men's behaviour and attitudes. Not surprisingly, this image of woman is complemented by an image of masculinity intended to boost the male ego (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

When males and females appear in commercials together, the male remains in control (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In this commercial, the salesman took control of the situation and proclaimed that the product that he was offering was the superior product - he was able to make her see this for herself and then to fervently exclaim that Harpic was the only product for her from now on.

The commercial begins on the street probably not far from where the showroom is situated. Equipment for a live band has been set up and a man begins to sing: “They have set off! They have set off!” A group of young men push the man away and take over. Whenever the man comes back he gets pushed away. The lead singer begins to sing: “It has begun! Enjoyment! It has come! Yeah! Yeah! The holidays! Oh! To buy clothing in many colours and hues we have Shree Devi’s summer festival! Oh to buy clothing of much beauty Shree Devi’s annual festival.” While he is singing, a line of young women strut past and smile and glance in their direction on their way to the store as well as on their way back, carrying shopping bags from the Shree Devi store. After they pass, a male voice-over says, “Shree Devi Textiles, Coimbatore”, and the name of the shop and location is displayed on the screen. In the next shot the man sings: “They have set off!” We see the group of young men take off.

The signs in the commercial are: the brand name. Brand names can communicate denotatively and connotatively. So when it comes to naming a product much attention is given to investing it with particular meanings and associations. The name given to the product also has to be one that would essentially make it distinctive in the mass market. Thus, the name should aim to do more than just label or identify the product. It should also bring to mind pleasing associations, which would help to sell it (Dyer, 1982). The word Shree in the brand name is referred in Hinduism to Lakshmi the wife of lord Vishnu. She is known as the goddess of wisdom, wealth, luck, light, beauty and fertility. The word commands respect and esteem. The word Devi in the brand name is a Sanskrit word and means goddess. Devi is the wife of lord Shiva. She is known as the mother

goddess who can take both charitable and malicious forms. Devi is a supreme power in the universe; the accessories and ornaments worn by the women - all of which signifies the whole beautification process, which also suggests that adorning ornaments makes you beautiful; the word enjoyment in the song that the young men sing exemplifies their whole role in the commercial – which is to enjoy all that is beautiful.

The binary oppositions presented are those of active/ passive where the men in the commercial act out their song and dance performance and then take off after the ladies at the end, and the women simply parade themselves in front of the men who are enjoying gazing at them; masculine/ feminine where the men perform and enjoy looking at the women and the women parade themselves in front of the men and like being looked at; one/ many where there appears to be many women who seem to be competing for the attention of the male gaze.

All communication interpellates or hails us in some way (Fisk, 1990b). For example, the woman who purchases her outfits from Shree Devi, like the women in the commercial, in an attempt to make herself synonymous with the product which is described in the song as, clothing of much beauty, is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations. The man who likes to see the woman wearing, clothing of much beauty, is generally positioned differently – he is hailed as the one with power (Fiske, 1990b).

The product of the commercial – the Shree Devi clothing range, is a commodity that is produced by constructing a consumerist and acceptable to both men and women a desired image of femininity. As women accept what this product claims to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the commonsense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fiske, 1990b).

The commercial incorporates single women who represent a certain degree of sexual freedom and juxtapositions them against a traditional, married woman who is wearing a saree and vermilion, thereby, creating a hegemonic process. Gramsci (1971) stipulates that as a cultural and political process, hegemonic ideology is adaptable and is able to incorporate oppositional discourses without having to make major changes in the ideological principles. The freedom enjoyed by the single women in the commercial precedes their marriage and domestic life, and their sexuality would be controlled in due course by the patriarchal system of marriage (Rajan, 1993).

Many middle-class adverts offer their viewers prestige through consumption (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). For instance, Shree Devi Textiles are well renowned for their Kanjivaram silk sarees and so purchasing them would offer the consumer prestige. Kanjivaram silk sarees are well-known all over the world for their royal look and feel. This silk is thicker than most other silks and is therefore more expensive. The average

cost of a saree would be about Rs. 25,000. Every saree is an artistic creation and no two sarees are alike. The Kanjivaram saree is a tradition often passed on from mother to daughter and spans over several generations as an heirloom in much the same way that they might pass on jewellery. A Kanjivaram saree is made to last a lifetime (<http://www.indianwomensclothing.com>). In the commercial, we especially notice a working-class woman carrying a basket and who is also part of the parade of young women. It can imply to them that, if you do not possess a certain prestige object your friends and neighbours will form a less respectful view of you. It serves to exploit a general characteristic of consumer society, that is, the importance of doing what everybody else is doing, in other words, the importance of keeping up with the Joneses (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). To fail to keep up with the Joneses could be perceived as exhibiting socio-economic or cultural inferiority.

The dominant image of femininity presented in this commercial is that of the beauty and fashion ideal, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of the men they encounter (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Berger (1972), states that this ideal is a passive one and controlled by the 'Male Eye' whereby, men look at women and women watch themselves being looked at. Hence, she turns herself into an object – an object of vision, a sight. This is highlighted in this commercial when the women parade themselves and glance and smile at the men who are looking at them. This commercial exposes the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and improve her ability to attract men a woman has to be beautiful

(Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). It implies that no woman can attain the ideal without using this product.

The ideal of woman in this commercial, is ultimately a passive one, where her activity consists in transforming herself into a passive object awaiting the man's initiative (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The women in this commercial are all dressed up and parade themselves in front of the men who gaze admiringly at them and at the end of the song the men go after them.

The image of masculinity presented in this commercial is that of man competing for women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This is humorously depicted by the group of young men who take over the band and keep pushing the man away, who then keeps coming back to take his microphone and sing.

When males and females appear in commercials together, the male remains in control (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In this commercial, it is the women who parade themselves in front of the men - awaiting the male initiative.

Conclusion

The performing of domestic tasks by women not only emphasised the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother, but it also upheld the feminine ideal of domesticity. The Mr. Muscle advertisement particularly showed how easy domestic work can be with the help of the right product, and in so doing, it trivialised the drudgery involved in domestic work (Roy, 1998).

The advertisements in this chapter showed that whenever the sexes are together, that the man always remains in control (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). For instance, in the Boro Plus advertisement the husband sets out to establish the cause and the solution to the wife's problem; in the Mr. Muscle advertisement, after he had introduced the woman to the right product and set her off to work, he just stood there and had a snack with the boy; in the Harpic advertisement, the salesman took control of the situation and proclaimed that the product that he was offering was the superior product. He was able to make her see this for herself and then to fervently exclaim that Harpic was the only product for her from now on; and in the Shree Devi advertisement, the women parade themselves in front of the men - awaiting the male initiative.

This chapter also showed that when males appear in commercials that are directed at women, they tend to be friendly and less macho than in commercials that are directed at men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In the Harpic advertisement, the salesman is the helpful teacher who explains, shows, and offers the woman the right product to enable

her to protect her family from diseases caused by germs. Similarly, in the Mr. Muscle advertisement, Mr. Muscle is the helpful teacher who solves the woman's problem by introducing her to the right product.

Chapter 7 focuses on how the ideology/ myths of motherhood works to not only valorise and affirm the traditional role of Indian women but also serves to make the domestic role of women appear 'natural' to the viewers (Roy, 1998).

Chapter 7 - Woman as Mother

Introduction

This chapter reveals how ideology works to valorise and affirm the traditional role of Indian women and also highlights the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family.

Domesticity was the dominant ideological theme of the advertisements presented in this chapter as it emphasised the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother for they typically carried out the functions of a wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985) such as, attending to the needs of the husband and children as in the Brooke Bond, Clinic Plus, Complian, Repelex, Surf and Sundrop advertisement – thereby, upholding a feminine ideal of domesticity.

The predominant use of the authoritative male voice-over as in the Sundrop advertisement symbolises patriarchal ideology working to hail the female audience (Roy, 1998).

Analysis of the advertisement – Brooke Bond 3 Roses Natural Care Tea



This commercial is about Brooke Bond tea. Brooke Bond & Company was founded by Arthur Brooke. The company was acquired by Unilever in 1984 (www.globaltea.com). Hindustan Unilever Limited (HUL) is India's largest FMCG company. The Anglo-Dutch company Unilever owns a 52% majority stake in it (www.hul.co.in/aboutus/ourhistory).

Brooke Bond is one of its most promising brands. The products under this brand include: 3 Roses, Red Label, Taj Mahal, Taaza and Arogya. Brooke Bond 3 Roses, which is the leading tea brand of South India, launched Brooke Bond 3 Roses Natural Care tea (<http://www.fbnews.com>). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product that women should use. The commercial is set within the parameter of the home.

The commercial begins with the little daughter asking the mother, “Can you tell me what’s in my hand?” The mother responds, “I don’t know!” The child holds her hand out, and she has a finger puppet on each of her fingers to represent each member of the family, and she says, “Our whole family”. She runs to her mother who bends down and stretches out her hand. Referring to her closed palm, she asks her daughter, “Can you tell me what’s in my hand?” The child replies, “I don’t know!” The mother opens up her hand, revealing the tea mixture and says, “Our whole family’s health!” The daughter is confused and asks, “tea!!!” The mother begins to explain, “This is not just tea”. We see the product in the background and the words “Natural Care” are brought to our attention, she continues, “This is new 3 roses natural care tea, it contains five essential nutrients, it keeps us healthy, every single day!” During this, we are shown an image of the five nutrients, a pot of tea being poured into cups lined up on a tray that the mother then picks up and carries out to the family in the front yard. In the next scene, we see the husband take pleasure in sipping the tea and say to his wife, “Hmmm! I wonder what magic you hold in your hand?” We see the product on the table, the mother looks at the daughter and the daughter replies extending her hand out with the finger puppets on her fingers, “A healthy family!” The mother is pleased with the reply and hugs the daughter. The daughter kisses the mother and runs off to play. The shot expands and we see the grandmother and grandfather also sitting on the other side of the table, and the grandfather gets up to run after the child. A male voice-over says, “Brooke Bond’s 3 roses new natural care”, the product is shown in the foreground with the caption reading, a mix of love and health.

The signs in the commercial are: the words in the commercial, for instance, natural and health, not only describe things, but they also communicate, feelings, attitudes and associations; the name of the blend which is 3 Roses is linked to the three essential characteristics of an excellent cup of tea - perfect colour, perfect strength, and perfect taste. Also, three different types of leaves – fine, medium, and long, are blended together in perfect proportion to create the correct strength, the rich red colour, and the irresistible aroma (<http://www.cookitup.in/beverages>); Natural Care is synonymously linked to the role of the housewife who feels it only natural to care for the health and well-being of her family; the caption which reads, a mix of love and health. The caption anchors meaning and directs the viewer to capture something about the picture. In this case, it presents a view of the happy family who are brought together by Brooke Bond tea to share quality time together. It helps to spread warmth and cheer within the family and promotes the role of the guardian of the family, that is, the wife and mother who loves and cares about the well-being of her family; the five natural ingredients that assist in helping to keep the family healthy are: ginger which is well known in India to relieve symptoms of cough and cold, tulsi assists the immune system, ashwaghandha helps with stress, adhimadhuram soothes the throat, and cardamom aides digestion (<http://www.cookitup.in/beverages>).

The binary oppositions presented are those of old/ young, where the woman's role in the home are explicitly modelled and passed on through the generations. Just like the young girl in the commercial who is being inducted into her pre-destined role in life – as a wife and mother, in a similar way, her mother, and the grandmother in the commercial would

have also been trained by their mother's when they were growing up; nature/ culture where all that is traditional is made synonymous with nature. The role of a wife and mother made to appear as natural and connected to one's roots; masculine/ feminine where the activities of the woman involves taking care of the needs of the family within the home and the men relax and play with the child.

The whole marketing process of which advertising is said to be the loudest part is designed to create a sense of displacement (Fiske, 1990b). In other words, the product is seen in terms of something else. For instance, the product Brooke Bond tea asserts that it is not just tea – it is natural care tea, designed to help keep the family healthy every single day. The commercial suggests that all dedicated housewives and mothers should use Brooke Bond tea. Thus, to show your commitment to ensuring the health and well being of your family you have to use Brooke Bond tea.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the 'new' formula, which is said to contain five essential nutrients that help to keep you healthy always.

All communication is said to interpellate or hail us in some way (Fisk, 1990b). This commercial, hails the housewife and mother to care about the health and wellbeing of her family. A woman who imitates the woman in the commercial, is said to have recognised

herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations (Fiske, 1990b).

On one level this product is promoted for its use-value, which is, it helps to promote good health and on another level, it is sold to us on its exchange value (Roy, 1998), in this case the husband's love and happiness. So in this advertisement, Brooke Bond tea is promoted on one level for its usefulness while, on another level it is promoted as a currency to buy things that are intangible or difficult to get.

This commercial emphasises the traditional role of women – as a housewife and mother. The woman in the commercial carries out the functions of a wife and mother, attending to the needs of the family at home, whereas, the husband and grandfather relax outside and play with the child. They thus fit in with the traditional image of the family (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

By showing the woman as being pleased of her ability in her home, that is, in attending and catering to the needs of her family, the commercial not only valorizes and affirms the traditional role of Indian women but also makes the domestic role of the woman appear "natural" to the viewers (Roy, 1998).

This commercial highlights the role of mother's to groom and prepare their daughters for their pre-destined role in life – as a wife and mother, in a similar way as her mother, and the grandmother's mother would have done when they were growing up. We see the

gender biased socialization process in Indian society being played out in the commercial as the mother typically nurtures the feminine ideals of domesticity. In the commercial we see the mother teaching her daughter best practices that would help to ensure the health and wellbeing of the family. This esteemed responsibility lies in her hands, as she is the one who attends to the needs of the whole family in the home. We later see that the daughter has learnt the lessons that her mother has taught her, as she emulates her mother - when the father asks the mother 'I wonder what magic you hold in your hand', the daughter responds, 'a healthy family'.

This commercial highlights the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family. In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother, she inculcates in her daughter the lessons of womanhood – how to be a good wife, so that when she grows up she can find a good man and become a good wife (Roy, 1998). Chodorow (1979), states that the daughter learns from the mother about what it is to be womanlike, and asserts that this is based on a gradual learning of a way to be in everyday life, which is affirmed through the relationship with the person that she has spent most of her time with.

Happy family commercials like this one, imply that if the female viewer's everyday life isn't as happy and harmonious as that portrayed in the commercial, the short-comings are in some way due to her inadequacy in fulfilling the functions required of a good wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Analysis of the advertisement – Clinic Plus shampoo



This commercial is about Clinic Plus Shampoo. It was launched in 1988 and is one of India's largest shampoo brands (<http://www.hul.co.in/mediacentre>). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be used by females. The two main characters are the mother and adolescent daughter. We see the mother sorting through her daughter's clothes trying to choose an outfit for her to wear as they are expecting someone. However there is a problem, which can only be solved by using Clinic Plus Shampoo. As the characters do not speak in the commercial, a predominant male voice-over is used together with some background music. The commercial is set within the confines of the home.

The commercial begins by showing a mother sorting through her daughter's clothes in an attempt to find a suitable outfit for her daughter to wear. We presume that they are expecting someone. We then see her adolescent daughter running down the stairs and she is wearing runners, pants, a black t-shirt, jacket tied around the waist, and her hair is tucked under a hat. She has a dismayed look on her face as she descends the stairs and approaches her mother. The mother has a puzzled expression and a female voice-over hums "Oh, Oh" twice, as the mother reaches out to take off the girl's hat. A male voice-over is heard as the girl's hair falls out and the mother notices the dandruff. The voice-over says, "During the growing up period dandruff will appear, introducing new Clinic Plus anti-dandruff shampoo, which contains germ guard". We are shown the product, which is packaged in a white bottle. The product name and logo of a cross appear on the front with an image of a family depicted under it. We see the mum using the product to clean the girl's hair and the property of the germ guard at work. We next see the girl all dressed up in the floral dress that her mother chose for her. This time when her mother asks her to let down her hair the female voice-over is heard again saying, "Oh, Oh", and the girl hesitantly lets down her hair. As she looks in the mirror and finds no trace of dandruff she happily sways her hair from side to side and we hear the male voice-over once more, "For dandruff free healthy hair is new Clinic Plus anti-dandruff shampoo, which you can now get for Re.1". The product and a sachet of it with a label reading Re.1 appear in the foreground.

The signs in this commercial are: the girl's former and latter outfits, being transformed from tom-boy to the feminine; the red Bindi worn by the mother to signify that she is

married; the mirror that the girl looks into after the complication signifies the final step in the process, of the beautification of the woman (Kumar, 2002), whereby, she looks into it to check that it is all complete; the product itself and the logo – Clinic, signifies healthcare and treatment. The shampoo signifies clean/ cleaning, and the logo of a cross signifies healthcare/ clean as well as, and something that is used in-addition, meaning advantageous.

The binary oppositions presented are those of problem/ solution, where the commodity Clinic Plus is used to solve female problems; dirty/ clean, where cleanliness is not only a virtue but is a necessary prerequisite to being appealing; and teacher/ learner, where the mother is grooming the daughter for her future role in life.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and the adjective ‘new’ is said to be the favourite. It is frequently used in connection with almost every type of product or service and can apply to a number of their features, such as, size, shape, colour, and formula for instance (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the ‘new’ formula, which contains germ guard. In this commercial, there is a typical tendency to treat products as if they were living creatures, for instance, shampoo doesn’t simply clean it keeps dirt out (Dyer, 1982). In this case, it keeps dandruff out.

Brand names can communicate denotatively and connotatively, so when it comes to naming the product much attention is given to investing it with particular meanings and associations. The name given to the product also has to be one that would essentially

make it distinctive in the mass market. Thus, the name should aim to do more than just label or identify the product. It should also bring to mind associations, which would help to sell it. For instance, the names usually given to cosmetics and other beauty products often recall images of beauty, cleanliness, sophistication, and naturalness (Dyer, 1982). The product recalls these images as the 'new' formula promotes healthy hair and we see the daughter sway her hair from side to side whilst looking in the mirror. Sometimes the names of products can also convey scientific authority (Dyer, 1982). This is evident in this commercial where the product is called "Clinic" Plus.

Through the use of an authoritative male voice-over, patriarchal ideology has worked to directly hail the female audience (Roy, 1998). The male voice-over serves as the knowledgeable, helpful advisor to the female audience.

On one level this product is promoted for its use-value which is its cleansing property and on another level, it is sold to us on its exchange value which is its capacity to buy something else (Roy, 1998), in this case it is the husbands happiness to see his wife and daughter looking their best on his return back home.

This commercial highlights the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in a family. In conforming to societies expectations, she inculcates in her daughter the lessons of womanhood, that is, how to be attractive and be a good wife, so that when she grows up she can secure a good catch and be a good wife (Roy, 1998). The daughter therefore learns from the mother what it is like to be womanlike. According to Chodorow (1974)

this is based on the “gradual learning of a way of being familiar in everyday life, exemplified by the relationship with the person with whom a girl has been most involved” (p. 176).

Analysis of the advertisement – Complian



This commercial is about Complian. It is a major brand in the malted beverage segment in India. It was previously owned by Glaxo (www.heinz.co.in) but was acquired by HJ Heinz in 1995. Complian stands for **Complete Planned** food. It is promoted as a milk based, nutritional health beverage fortified with 23 vital nutrients in balanced proportion, including 100% milk protein to help promote healthy growth (www.heinz.co.in). It provides 50% of the recommended daily allowance (RDA) in India, of vitamins C, D, E, and 25% RDA of vitamin A (www.naturalhealthpharmacy.com). It is also a rich source of essential minerals such as, calcium and iron. Its baseline is, extra growing power. It is available in a variety of flavours (www.heinz.co.in). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product that women should buy for their children. The commercial takes place at a gymnasium.

The commercial is set in the gymnasium. Two mothers have taken their sons there. The first mother measures the height of her son and announces to the second mother and her son who is a little taller and wearing a t-shirt with the message: I am a Complan boy, that, “In just three months he has grown so much”. She indicates just above the first horizontal line on her index finger. The second mother says, “Do you know something? If children get protein in inadequate amounts they will only grow so much”, and she indicates to the first horizontal line on her index finger. The first mother exclaims, “Really!” The second mother says, “Yes”, and she reaches into her bag and produces the product saying, “It has been proven that if they get proteins in the adequate amounts they can grow so much taller!” She indicates to the second horizontal line on her index finger. The screen splits to show a visual comparison of the measurements for physical growth when inadequate and adequate amounts of protein are consumed. Underneath this, the note reads, information based on surveys conducted over a period of 8 months amongst children aged between 7-13 years. The product is displayed on the screen along with a cup of the drink, and the words 100% milk protein, followed by the words, with 23 vital nutrients. A female voice-over says, “Complan contains 100% milk protein along with 23 vital nutrients, this gives children extra growing power”. The first boy then stands alongside the Complan boy and indicates to his height and says, “From now on I will also become a Complan boy!” Both boys put their thumbs up. Their mothers laugh and walk with them out of the gymnasium. A male voice-over says, “Drink Complan and see the difference!” The product and its various flavours are displayed on the screen with the caption, extra growing power.

The signs in the commercial are: the brand name, which does more than just label or identify the product, it brings associations to mind that will help to sell it. Complan refers to complete planned food as it is claimed to contain 23 vital nutrients in balanced proportion to promote healthy growth. It is marketed as a health drink - providing you with all the nutrients you need. It also conveys scientific authority as it is dealing with the balancing of nutrients to promote growth. It uses scientific sounding terms such as proven, to impress the audience (Dyer, 1982) and convince the viewer of their claim that it provides extra growing power. The message at the bottom of the screen, further supports this claim by suggesting that they have extensively investigated this characteristic over a period of 8 months; the setting for the commercial, which is the gymnasium is a place associated with fitness. It appears that this quality was important for the mothers to nurture in their sons. Coupled with this, is the importance of promoting their physical growth, indicated by the mother measuring her son's height. The product guarantees to do this - exemplified by the Complan boy, who appears taller than the other boy; the appearance of the two mothers. The first mother was dressed in the traditional saree, wore weighty jewellery with hair pulled back, whereas, the Complan boy's mother wore a less traditional outfit, delicate jewellery and her hair was let out. The Complan mum presented an image of a more modern woman. However, she still upholds the feminine ideal of domesticity as she is the one who is responsible for looking after the health and wellbeing of the family; the key nutrients that help to promote growth include: vitamin A which helps support the development of healthy eyes, and promotes growth and bone development; vitamin C is necessary for the maintenance of connective tissue; vitamin D assists in calcium absorption; vitamin E is a great antioxidant; calcium assists

in the development and maintenance of healthy bones, muscles, and teeth; iron is necessary for the transportation of oxygen (Getley, 1992); and milk protein which the commercial suggests is important for healthy physical growth.

The binary oppositions presented are those of fact/ opinion, where the claims that the product makes is justified by the extensive investigations conducted to demonstrate that the product can promote physical growth; problem/ solution, as the commercial claims to offer all the nutrients one needs for healthy growth. It suggests that no matter how busy you are, you can still have all the nutrition you require in a cup of Complan; present/ absent where we observe that there are no girls present at the gymnasium and that it is essentially a place that parents take their sons to - it appears that the values of exercise and fitness are not regarded as important for girls.

The mother using a particular health beverage for her child as in this commercial, functions as a metonym for all her maternal activities of cooking, cleaning, and so on, and as a metaphor for the love and security she provides (Seiler, 2005). Copywriters are said to like metaphors because they allow the right kind of emotive associations to be linked to a product (Dyer, 1982).

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, the adjective 'extra' applies to the unique formula that contains 23 vital nutrients in balanced proportion to promote healthy physical growth.

The commercial establishes a full 'gossip' – relation between the women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985), that is, the Complan boys mother helps a friend-in-distress, who by describing the events assists the reader as a potential friend-in-distress. The communicative relationship between protagonist and reader is therefore established as the Complan boys mother clarifies the first mothers understanding of healthy physical growth, and the most effective way of ensuring it, which is of course through Complan. This mother leaves affirming to do accordingly so that her son can grow and develop as well as the Complan boy. The only person now in a position to respond is the reader.

The women in this commercial carry out the functions of a mother as they tend to their children and their needs for food/ nutrition, thereby, upholding a feminine ideal of domesticity. This commercial glorifies the ideology of motherhood as it features warm scenes of happy mothers and children. The image of a nurturing mother was attached to the health drink to convey the message that good mothering could be accomplished by buying the product. As a result of this semiotic transfer, the product and the mother became interchangeable, that is, health drink equated to good mothering. Therefore, whoever thought of the health drink would then remember the image of the good mother and vice versa.

Also, the carefully constructed messages aimed at mothers homed in on their insecurities about the quality of their childcare (Roy, 1998). We see this clearly in the concern shown by the first mother, who had thought that her son's physical growth was progressing quite well, until she was made aware of the contrary, by the Complan boy's mother. As Oakley

(1981) explains – advertising’s glorification of motherhood tends to create a problem for mothers as it presents the insoluble predicament of attaining perfection in imperfect circumstances.

This commercial reflects the gender biased socialization process in Indian society. It typically showed mothers who were concerned about their son’s health, fitness and physical development, for instance, the Complan boys mother used Complan to ensure the healthy physical development of her son. By the end of the commercial, the other mother was convinced to also use this product for her son. Also, both mothers took their sons to the gymnasium to promote their fitness and physical development. Thus, this commercial highlighted the mother’s traditional role in the socialization process in the family (Roy, 1998). In conforming to society’s expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son’s masculinity - expressed in his being healthy, strong and fit.

Analysis of the advertisement – Repelex insect repellent



This commercial is about Repelex insect repellent. It is sold as an aerosol spray and is supposed to repel mosquitoes, ticks, fleas and other insects. It is marketed by Reckitt Benckiser, a global consumer goods company, considered as one of the world's largest producer of household products and a major producer of consumer healthcare and personal products. Their headquarters is located in Slough, United Kingdom. They have operations in over 60 countries and their products are sold in over 180 countries (www.rb.com/RB-worldwide). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a household product for women to purchase. The commercial takes place within the parameters of the home.

The commercial begins by showing a boy drawing, wearing only his shorts. He turns around as he hears his grandmother calling out to him, “Golu! Wear your clothes or else you will get bitten by mosquitoes!” The grandmother enters the room holding a top for him to wear. But she cannot find him as he hides behind the door. She calls out, “Golu!” He comes out from behind the door and he proceeds to run outside. She runs after him calling out, “Golu! Don’t leave the room!” He runs outside and hides behind the plants that his mother is tending. The grandmother runs out calling, “Golu! Don’t go outside!” His mother smiles and tells the grandmother, “Mother, he has Repelex protection”, and she shows her mother the product. The grandmother looks at the product and says, “Repelex!” We are shown a demonstration of how the product works as a person’s hand is depicted in a glass tank with mosquitoes. The mosquitoes fly around the hand but do not go close to it. A male voice-over says, “New Repelex’s international formula is so useful that not even a single mosquito can bite you whether within the house or outside, apply in areas not covered by clothing”. During this, we see the boy’s mother applying the product on her son. The boy then waves his hands saying, “I am not afraid of mosquitoes at all!” The product is displayed on the screen as a female voice-over says, “New Repelex protection, anyplace, any time”. The caption similarly reads, new Repelex protection, anyplace, any time.

The signs in this commercial are: the name of the product, as, when it comes to naming a product much attention is given to investing it with particular meanings and associations. The name given to the product also has to be one that would essentially make it distinctive in the mass market. Thus, the name should aim to do more than just label or

identify the product. It should also bring to mind associations, which would help to sell it (Dyer, 1982). Repel, signifies resistance and fighting against, and ex signifies being free of. So the name Repelex brings to mind images of it offering resistance to mosquitoes in order to essentially be free of them – as depicted in the demonstration part of the commercial; the types of toys around him such as, vehicles and sports equipment, lends support to claims that parents give gender-appropriate toys to their children. Early studies conducted by Rheingold and Cook (1975) who investigated the types of toys found in boys' and girls' rooms and found that boys had more vehicles such as, toy cars, trucks and wagons, more spatial-temporal toys, sports equipment, toy animals, educational and art materials in spite of the fact that these may be perceived as gender neutral. The girls' rooms contained dolls, dollhouses, and domestic items such as sinks, dishes and stoves. Subsequent studies that have investigated the kinds of toys that are purchased for boys and girls, and the kinds of toys boys and girls request for also revealed similar results (Almqvist, 1989; Bradbard, 1985; Bradbard & Parkman, 1984; Downs, 1983; Etaugh & Liss, 1992; Richardson & Simpson, 1982). Also, other studies that investigated the toys that children played with and the toys that children reported they liked, revealed that boys and girls play with and prefer different toys (Blakemore, LaRue & Olejnik, 1979; Campbell, Shirley, Heywood & Crook, 2000; Carter & Levy, 1988; Martin, 1989; Martin, Eisenbud & Rose, 1995; Serbin, Poulin-Dubois, Colburne, Sen & Eichstedt, 2001; Servin, Bohlin & Berlin, 1999); phrases such as, within the house or outside, in a subtle way serves to separate between the public and private spheres suggesting that it is acceptable for males to be within the house or outside the house and that they could go to,

anyplace, anytime. This is also corroborated by the absence of the husband in the private sphere.

The binary oppositions presented are those of problem/ solution, where the boy wants to go out unprotected in the midst of mosquitoes, but Repelex provides the solution; public / private and present/ absent where the women in the commercial are situated within the private sphere performing the roles of a housewife and mother such as, tending to the garden and the needs of the child. The absence of the husband suggests that he is at work in the public sphere.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to Repelex's 'new' international formula that guarantees that, 'it is so useful that not even a single mosquito can bite you'.

Barthes (1973) prefers to refer to ideology as mythology, that is, the sets of myths which function as organising structures within a culture - organising the meanings, which we attach to the signs. It represents a cultural picture of the world - as it reflects the principles by which a culture organizes and interprets the reality with which it has to cope. In Barthes (1973) view the function of myth is to legitimise bourgeois ideology. Its function is to present to us with a 'reality', which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie in such a way that the values incorporated in that 'reality' appears to be natural, taken for granted, and common sense. This commercial serves to illustrate the myth of childhood

and the myth of mothering. We understand that the child is dependent, needy and innocent, and therefore accept that childhood is something that we nurture and look after to. We also acknowledge that mothering is tender and that a mother is always there. This is Ideology at work as the commercial hails the caring mother by suggesting that - you are a loving mother if you use this product. The image of a nurturing mother is attached to the product.

The product of the commercial – Repelex insect repellent, is a commodity that is produced by images of conspicuous consumption for the ideal of femininity. As women accept what this product claims to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the commonsense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fiske, 1990b).

Domesticity was the dominant ideological theme of this commercial as it emphasised the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother as they carried out the functions of a wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985) such as, tending to the garden and the needs of the child – thereby, upholding a feminine ideal of domesticity.

This commercial glorifies the ideology of motherhood as it presented warm scenes of the happy mother and her son. The image of a caring mother was attached to the insect repellent to convey the message that good mothering could be accomplished by buying

the product. As a result of this semiotic transfer, the product and the mother became interchangeable (Roy, 1998), that is, insect repellent equated to good mothering. Therefore, who ever thought of the insect repellent would then remember the image of the good mother and vice versa.

This commercial reflects the gender biased socialization process in Indian society. It typically showed mothers who were concerned about their child's health and development. The boy was provided with all the play equipment necessary for his intellectual and physical development. This primarily consisted of gender-appropriate equipment for boys. Both women wanted to protect the child from being bitten by mosquitoes and used the product to ensure his safety. This commercial highlighted the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family (Roy, 1998). In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son's masculinity - expressed in his being healthy and developing to his full potential.

Analysis of the advertisement – Surf excel detergent



This commercial is about Surf excel detergent. It is marketed by Hindustan Unilever Limited (HUL), which is India's Fast Moving Consumer Group (FMCG) company with a history of over 75 years in India. HUL is a subsidiary of Unilever, which is one of the world's leading suppliers of Fast Moving Consumer Goods. Unilever has a 52% shareholder stake in Hindustan Unilever Limited (www.hul.co.in/aboutus/ourhistory). With over 35 brands covering 20 diverse categories such as, toothpastes, soaps, shampoos, skin care, cosmetics, deodorants, coffee, ice cream, water purifiers, packaged foods, and detergents, HUL becomes part of the everyday life of millions of consumers across India (<http://www.hul.co.in>). The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product that women would use. The commercial is set in the outside world.

The entire commercial takes place outdoors, and shows groups of boys playing cricket in different areas, such as, dusty grounds and soiled grass. Some of the boys are wearing coloured clothes and other boys are wearing light coloured clothes depicting stains from playing cricket. During the commercial, we are shown shots of boys playing various parts of the game: we see a boy preparing to bowl; a boy preparing to bat; a boy bowling; the wicket keeper getting into position; a boy catches the ball and falls to the ground; the wicket keeper lunges and falls to the ground; a boy throws the ball and falls to the ground; a boy lying on the ground, reaching forward to get his bat across the line; a boy swinging his bat and falling down; a fielder catches the ball and falls down; we hear the chanting of children's voices, "We will win! Yes! We will win! India will win!"; The fielder gets up and goes to get the ball, and we can see that his pants are heavily stained at the back; we see different boys running, falling down, getting back up, landing in mud to make a catch, and triumphant when they succeed; a female voice-over says, "If because of getting stained, the chances of winning the 2015 World Cup are increased, stains are good aren't they?"; We then see all the boys walking back together after their game, resting their bats over their shoulder, cricket balls in hand, and their clothes are dirty. A female voice-over says, "Surf excel! Stains are good!" The product is presented on the screen with the caption reading: Stains are good.

The signs in the commercial are: the name of the product. When it comes to naming a product, attention is given to investing it with particular meanings and associations. The name given to the product also has to be one that would essentially make it distinctive in the mass market. Thus, the name should aim to do more than just label or identify the

product. It should also bring to mind associations, which would help to sell it (Dyer, 1982). For instance, the word Surf brings to mind conceptions of moving rapidly through a medium, and the word excel brings to mind images of showing superiority, surpassing others and being outstandingly good; the cricket gear, which lends support to the claim that parents give their children gender-appropriate toys. Studies conducted as early as that of Rheingold and Cook (1975), who investigated the types of toys found in boys' and girls' rooms, found that boys had more equipment in terms of sporting goods, as well as other gender-appropriate toys. Other subsequent studies have had similar findings, these have been discussed elsewhere in this thesis; the gestures to show their excitement when they succeed represents an image of masculinity where man is competitive for success in traditional male fields of operation (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This quality of being competitive is fostered through the game of cricket, which is predominantly a male dominated sport and an internationally competitive sport. The woman whose voice we hear in this commercial has aspirations for her son to grow up and join the Indian cricket team and go on to win the 2015 World Cup. Thus, the ideals of masculinity are being instilled into these boys from a very young age in order that they can one day, when they grow up - be equipped to fulfill the responsibilities of their predestined role in society; the phrase, stains are good, builds on the image of masculinity that the commercial is trying to promote – that of the competitive male driven for success. Coupled with the aspirations that the mother has for her son, this commercial suggests that if boys are to chase after success then it is normal and natural that they might get dirty every so often. The actions involved in the playing of cricket show the boys continually falling down and then getting up again – this is what it would be like in the adult arena of competitive

sport. Getting dirty, is symbolic for experiencing life, getting stronger and being ready for the world out there. This commercial thus cleverly promotes the product based on this premise that, stains are essentially good!

The binary oppositions are those of masculinity/ femininity as the quality of competition is promoted as a value to be fostered in males rather than females; indoor/ outdoor, as the boys are encouraged to play outdoors and experience all that life has to offer. One can only imagine where the girls are and what activities they might be undertaking; inclusion/ exclusion, where cricket is promoted as a male dominated sport with no room for girls on the team; success/ failure, as the image of masculinity presented is that of the competitive male driven for success. The commercial asserts that allowing boys to go outside, experience life, and get dirty, is the formula for success; public/ private, where the boys are being nurtured and prepared to take on their predestined roles in society, which mainly is situated in the public sphere. The absence of girls suggests that their predestined role lays elsewhere other than in the public sphere.

Barthes (1973) prefers to refer to ideology as mythology, that is, the sets of myths which function as organising structures within a culture - organising the meanings, which we attach to the signs. It represents a cultural picture of the world - as it reflects the principles by which a culture organizes and interprets the reality with which it has to cope. In Barthes (1973) view the function of myth is to legitimise bourgeois ideology. Its function is to present to us a 'reality', which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, in such a way that the values incorporated in that 'reality' appears to be natural, taken for

granted, and common sense. This commercial represents a woman who loves washing for her family/ son by virtue of mothering. The commercial indicates that it is natural and inevitable that that love exists.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features, for example, size, shape, colour, and formula (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the formula, which it promotes as having outstanding stain removal ability – excelling and surpassing others in its category, thereby, alleviating any preconceived concerns that mothers would have had about allowing their boys to wear their normal clothes to go out and play, and in effect get dirty.

Capitalism is a system that primarily produces commodities, so, making commodities seem natural is at the heart of its ideological practice. We learn to understand our desires in terms of the commodities used to produce them, and we learn to think of our problems in terms of the commodities by which to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). In this commercial, the unique feature of the product – its outstanding stain removal ability, supports mothers' in their role of inculcating in their sons the ideals of masculinity and making their task of washing clothes a satisfying experience.

The product of the commercial – Surf excel detergent, is a commodity that is produced by the system of patriarchal ideology and consumerism. As women accept what this product claims to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against

their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the commonsense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fiske, 1990b).

Domesticity was the dominant ideological theme of this commercial as it represented the woman as a housewife and mother, as she carried out the functions of a wife and mother, such as, tending to the needs of the child (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985) including washing his clothes, thereby, upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity. Accordingly, it reflected a distinct separation of the public and private spheres (Roy, 1998).

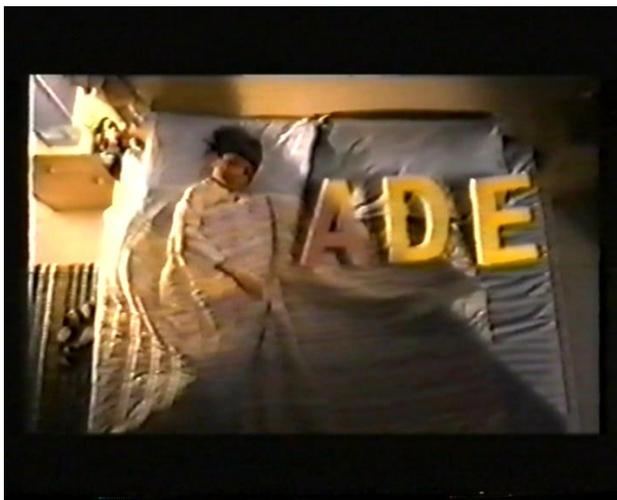
The underlying message in this commercial was that housework was fun and easy for a wife. The commercial implied that the unique qualities of the product took the difficulty out of housework, did the job for the wife and accomplished it in an outstanding manner. Thus, product in this commercial attempts to make washing clothes an easy and satisfying experience by implying how easy domestic work can be with the help of the right product. In so doing, it trivialises the drudgery involved in domestic work (Roy, 1998).

Rowbotham (1977), further explains this by stating that since a woman's work at home is excluded from the economic notion of value, men do not recognize it as strenuous. However, in reality a woman's job is a never-ending process - as there is no clear distinction between workspace and leisure, as it covers her whole life. A woman does not

go out to work – she wakes up to it. Home is essentially work and work is essentially home.

This commercial reflects the gender biased socialization process in Indian society. It typically represented a mother who was concerned about her son's future career advancement, reflected in her aspirations for her son to grow up, join the Indian cricket team, and go on to win the 2015 World Cup. He was nurtured to accept the ideals of masculinity and was provided with the appropriate gender-biased equipment for boys to foster his growth and development towards his predestined role in society. This commercial highlighted the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family (Roy, 1998). In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother - she is fosters her son's masculinity expressed in his being strong and competitive.

Analysis of the advertisement - Sundrop



This commercial is about Sundrop super lite oil. It has its presence in the premium segment of the branded edible oil market (<http://www.ibef.org>), and continues to be the largest selling sunflower oil in the branded retail section. The target audience is women as it is being advertised as a product to be used by females. The two main characters are the mother who is positioned within the confines of the home, and the young son. In keeping with the traditional role of a mother, she not only ensures that her son is wearing all the necessary protective gear before he goes off roller skating, but also, that his physical health is at an optimum in order to prepare him for the challenges he might face in the outside world. As the characters do not speak in the commercial, a predominant male voice-over is used as well as some background music.

The commercial begins by showing the mother who is dressed in a top and pants, fastening on her son's helmet, as he rushes out the door on his roller-blades. She quickly whistles and we see the alphabets A, D, and E come gliding past and follows the boy. We then see him roller-skating speed and stamina down the road and the alphabets follow close behind. The male voice-over comes on saying, "The combination of vitamins A, D, and E being combined together means it's the new Sundrop". As the boy maneuvers around the bus stand, the alphabets collide into the advertisements poster that is conveniently pasted on to the side of the stand. We next see the product being poured out from its packaging, and pictures of the goodness that it contains, such as, a variety of vegetables as well as the alphabets A, D, and E through it. On the packet it is written "Get up to 25% of daily requirement of vitamins A, D, and E in English. The male voice-over says, "This provides you with 25% of the daily intake of the necessary vitamins". Then we see the boy in the foreground dreaming of all his favourite foods and we hear the voice-over of a female child singing softly in English, "A healthy oil for healthy people". The male voice-over follows saying, "Enriched with vitamins is the new Sundrop". The three ranges that the product comes in appears in the background and we see the boy doing cartwheels across the screen with the alphabets A, D, and E following behind. The male voice-over comes on saying, "It helps keep the body healthy". The last shot is of his mother kissing him goodnight as he sleeps. While she turns to leave, we see the alphabets A, D, and E lying right next to him.

The signs in the commercial are: the roller skates, arm and knee guards, and the helmet that the boy is wearing. These signify the types of adventurous sport that boys are

involved in which are daring and requiring skill and stamina; the mother's outfit appears modern as she is not wearing the traditional saree however, as she is situated within the confines of the home she nevertheless is perennially and transcendently a homemaker (Roy, 1998); and the name of the product where the word sun signifies naturalness, energy and its ability to sustain life.

The binary oppositions presented are those of indoor/ outdoor, where the male child is sent out to play and the mother is positioned within the confines of the home; presence/ absence, where the mother is shown to be at home and the father is not. We infer that his absence is due to his working in the outside world/ public sphere; and present/ absent, as there are only two characters presented in the commercial, we see all the foods that the boy is dreaming of, and we know that it is only the mother who is depicted within the confines of the home – we can therefore deduct from this that it is the mother who cooks all the food for the family. She is therefore upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity as she is positioned within the domain of the home, specifically the kitchen, and it is her responsibility to cook for the family.

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and the adjective “new” is said to be the favourite. It is frequently used in connection with almost every type of product or service and can apply to a number of their features, such as, size, shape, colour, and formula for instance (Dyer, 1982). In this commercial, it applies to the new formula, which is said, on the packaging, to give you, up to 25% of the daily requirement of Vitamins A, D, and E. According to Getley (1992), Vitamin A helps support the

development of healthy eyes, and promotes growth and bone development; Vitamin D helps the body absorb calcium from the food and drinks that we consume. Calcium assists in the development and maintenance of healthy bones, muscles, and teeth; and Vitamin E is an essential antioxidant.

The predominant use of the authoritative male voice-over symbolises patriarchal ideology working to hail the female audience. According to the Althusserian concept of “interpellation,” female viewers are likely to respond by recognising themselves as the subjects of that ideology (Roy, 1998). Williamson (1978) explains that advertisements hail viewers, inviting them to enter the space of the advertisement. So, women viewing these advertisements are likely to insert themselves in the space of the commercial – taking the place of the women in the commercials and accepting the patriarchal ideology inherent in the discourse, that is, it is the woman’s job to take care of the home (Roy, 1998).

The voice-over aspect in this commercial functions as a device to hail the reader (Roy, 1998). Interpellation or hailing is said to be its key ideological feature that is present in every act of communication. This commercial highlights the myth of mothering, that mothering is tender and is always there. It sets out to hail the caring mother, and women tend to identify with this by responding, “I am the caring mother.”

Conclusion

Domesticity was the dominant ideological theme of this commercial as it emphasised the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother as they carried out the functions of a wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Even the modern mother such as the Complan mum, still upholds the feminine ideal of domesticity, as she is the one who is responsible for looking after the health and well being of the members of her family.

Happy family advertisements such as Brooke Bond, imply that if the female viewer's everyday life isn't as happy and harmonious as that portrayed in the commercial, the short-comings are in some way due to her inadequacy in fulfilling the functions required of a good wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

By showing the woman as being pleased of her ability in her home, as in the Brooke Bond advertisement, it not only valorises and affirms the traditional role of Indian women but also makes the domestic role of the woman appear "natural" to the viewers (Roy, 1998). Also, the carefully constructed messages that were aimed at mothers homed in on their insecurities about the quality of their childcare (Roy, 1998). As Oakley (1981) explains – advertising's glorification of motherhood tends to create a problem for mothers as it presents the insoluble predicament of attaining perfection in imperfect circumstances.

We see in the advertisements the gender biased socialization process in Indian society being played out as the mothers nurture in their daughters the ideals of femininity, and nurture in their sons the ideals of masculinity.

In the Brooke Bond advertisement, the mother inculcates in her daughter the lessons of womanhood, such as, how to be a good wife, so that when she grows up she can find a good man and become a good wife (Roy, 1998). Chodorow (1974), states that the daughter learns from the mother about what it is to be womanlike, and asserts that this is based on a gradual learning of a way to be in everyday life, which is affirmed through the relationship with the person that she has spent most of her time with. Similarly, in the Clinic Plus advertisement, the mother inculcates in her daughter the lessons of womanhood, such as, how to be attractive and be a good wife, so that when she grows up she can secure a good catch and be a good wife (Roy, 1998).

The Complan advertisement showed mothers who were concerned about their son's health, fitness and physical development. Both mothers took their sons to the gymnasium to promote their fitness and physical development. In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son's masculinity - expressed in his being healthy, strong and fit. Similarly, the Repelex advertisement showed mothers who were also concerned about the boys health and development. In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son's masculinity - expressed in his being healthy and developing to his full potential (Roy, 1998).

The Surf advertisement presented a mother who was concerned about her son's future career advancement, reflected in her aspirations for her son to grow up, join the Indian cricket team, and go on to win the 2015 World Cup. Similarly, in the Sundrop advertisement, the mother not only ensures that her son is wearing all the necessary

protective gear before he goes off roller skating, but also, that his physical health is at an optimum in order to prepare him for the challenges he might face in the outside world.

Also, in line with previous studies, it was found that gender-appropriate toys were given to children. For instance, the Repelex advertisement showed that the boy was surrounded with toys such as, vehicles and sports equipment. Similarly, all the boys in the Surf advertisement were using cricket equipment to play sport.

All the advertisements in this chapter highlighted the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family. Chapter 8 draws together the main findings of this study.

Chapter 8 - Findings: Aspects of Semiotic Analysis

Introduction

As sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001) – and advertising makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998), therefore this study employed semiotics as a method for analysing the messages of Indian television advertisements, as semiotics is concerned with the study of signs. This study utilised various aspects of semiotics as outlined by Barthes (1977) and Dyer (1982), in the examination of the television commercials, such as, investigating the signifiers and signifieds, paradigms and syntagms, and the principles at work in the message – as this is the goal of semiological analysis (Seiler, 2005). This chapter presents the main findings of this study.

Language of Advertising, The Denotative, Connotative, Paradigms and Syntagms

The analysis of signs in this thesis focused on denotative and connotative aspects, such as the objects in the commercial and how they related to culture, as well as aspects of non-verbal communication. The following examples from the commercials, Surf excel and Titan, looks at, the brand name, objects in the commercial, the use of gestures, and phrases.

When it comes to naming a product, attention is given to investing it with particular meanings and associations. The name given to the product also has to be one that would

essentially make it distinctive in the mass market. Thus, the name should aim to do more than just label or identify the product. It should also bring to mind associations, which would help to sell it (Dyer, 1982). Lets consider the brand name Surf excel. The word ‘Surf’ brings to mind conceptions of moving rapidly through a medium, and the word excel brings to mind images of showing superiority, surpassing others and being outstandingly good.

The objects used in commercials contribute to the ideological and meaning making process. Objects such as the cricket gear, which the boys used in the Surf commercial, lends support to the claim that parents give their children gender-appropriate toys. In the Titan commercial, objects such as: the mirror, mascara, flower in her hair, earrings, bangles, anklets, and the watch itself – all signifies the whole beautification process. Also, the pool, flowers in the water, and the plant near the pool signify elements of nature. And her walking barefoot signifies making direct contact with nature. This is ideology at work, as making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice (Fisk, 1990b).

The gestures that were used by the boys in the Surf commercial, to show their excitement when they succeed represents an image of masculinity where man is competitive for success in traditional male fields of operation (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This quality of being competitive is fostered through the game of cricket, which is predominantly a male dominated sport and an internationally competitive sport. This ideal of masculinity is being instilled into these boys from a very young age in order that

they can one day, when they grow up - be equipped to fulfill the responsibilities of their predestined role in society.

Phrases such as, “stains are good” in the Surf commercial, builds on the image of masculinity that the commercial is trying to promote – that of the competitive male driven for success. ‘Getting dirty’, is symbolic for experiencing life, getting stronger and being ready for the world out there. This commercial thus cleverly promoted the product based on this premise that, stains are essentially good.

According to Burns & Thompson (1989), binary oppositions are said to be a basic means by which we find meaning as nothing has meaning in itself, and it is the network of relationships that is central to the generation of meaning. The following are examples of the use of binary oppositions in the commercials. For example, some of the binary oppositions presented in the commercials were those of beautiful/ ugly, as the feminine ideal rejects the natural features of women’s bodies, therefore, the adornment of jewellery in the NAC commercial suggests that only things covered in ornaments are beautiful; masculinity/ femininity, where the products offered in the NAC commercial are exclusively for women, thus implying that it is the woman who needs to look attractive and to care about how she looks; private/ public, where the women in the commercial are depicted within the confines of the home and the absence of man indicates that he is situated in the public sphere or is not involved in the private sphere.

Copywriters are said to like metaphors because they allow the right kind of emotive associations to be linked to a product (Dyer, 1982). In the Complan commercial, the mother using this particular health beverage for her child, functions as a metonym for all her maternal activities of cooking, cleaning, and so on, and as a metaphor for the love and security she provides (Seiler, 2005).

Adjectives are said to be the key parts of speech for advertisers and can be used to refer to any number of a products features. The adjective 'new' is considered to be the favourite and it is often used in relation to almost every type of product or service (Dyer, 1982). In the Veet commercial, it applies to the 'new' formula which is said to contain the goodness of almond milk extracts. Also, in the Whirlpool commercial, it applies to the 'new' style, 'new' special features, and the 'new' sixth sense technology. In addition, the product is ultimately referred to as the 'new' Whirlpool genius. In the Complan commercial, the adjective 'extra' is used and it applies to the unique formula that contains 23 vital nutrients in balanced proportion to promote healthy physical growth.

The entire voice-over in the Honda commercial was in English. The use of English either written or spoken in advertisements has historical underpinnings. After India had gained its independence on August 15, 1947, many people continued working in British companies. The introduction of the Internet had further endorsed the use of English. Today, social and commercial pressures demand the use of English (Daniel, 2000). Nowadays, consumers tend to associate English with modern, cosmopolitan lifestyles.

It is not just words that attract attention to a product. We tend to be more inclined to listen to a speaker if the voice sounds pleasant or friendly (Dyer, 1982). The voice in the Titan commercial for instance, is seductive and intimate and the harmonious background music sets the mood, which is pitched towards dreaming. The commercial - Mr. Muscle, however, tries to stimulate interest in the product by using an efficient sounding voice.

During the NAC commercial we hear harmonious background music that sets the mood, which is pitched towards dreaming - her dreaming of her intended husband and her upcoming marriage. Her shy smiles are gestures of her happiness for the event that is to come – her impending marriage.

The imagery of the gramophone in the background of the NAC commercial, connotes antique and tradition, and represents age-old tradition as something that we should preserve. This is ideology at work as it makes use of imagery to convey what we must preserve (Fiske, 1990b), that is, societies traditional values and beliefs.

Addressing women and men

The protagonist in commercials can tend to be chosen for their authority with the general public as an expert or a celebrity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The following are some examples of this. The protagonist in many of the commercials in this study were famous celebrities, such as: the protagonist in the Rexona commercial. This commercial relies on the image of femininity represented by this famous actress: the deodorant is fresh, playful, alluring; in the NAC commercial the image of femininity represented by the

famous actress was, natural, beautiful, and feminine; in the Titan commercial the image of femininity represented by this famous actress was, beautiful, sensuous, and feminine; in the Veet commercial the image of femininity represented by this famous actress was, beauty, elegance, and is alluring; and in the Mirinda commercial the image of masculinity represented by this famous actor was, energy, vitality, liveliness, and having the get up and go.

The whole marketing process of which advertising is said to be the loudest part is designed to create a sense of displacement (Fiske, 1990b). In other words, the product is seen in terms of something else, for example, the product Hamam soap is suggesting that all beautiful women use Hamam soap, therefore to possess perfect beauty all through life you have to use Hamam soap. The product Veet also suggests that all attractive / beautiful women use Veet hair removal cream, and so, to have the good life or possess perfect beauty you have to use Veet hair removal cream. Also, the product Brooke Bond tea asserts that it is not just tea – it is natural care tea, ‘designed to help keep the family healthy every single day’. The commercial suggests that all caring and dedicated housewives and mothers should use Brooke Bond tea.

Some commercials sought to mediate the marital relationship between the husband and wife (Roy, 1998). In these commercials, the products were promoted for its value on two different levels. For instance, on one level, the product Rexona was being promoted for its use-value, that is, as an anti-perspirant. On another level, it was being promoted for its exchange-value, that is, its capacity to buy something else – in this case, to gain a suitable

mate; in another commercial, on one level, Whirlpool was promoted for its use-value which is its ability to keep food at its freshest and on another level, it was sold to us on its exchange value, in this case it is the gaining of the husbands love and happiness; another commercial, Veet was promoted for its use-value which is its property to provide very smooth skin and on another level, it was sold to us on its exchange value, in this case it is the gaining of a brighter future and being able to attract and allure men. The product Fair and Lovely, was also promoted in a similar manner. So, all these commercials are promoted on one level for its usefulness, while on another level they are promoted as a currency to buy things that are intangible or difficult to get (Roy, 1998).

Copywriters like to use scientific-sounding terms to impress the audience. Often they use the word science and related terms, as they are more easily understood (Dyer, 1982). For instance, in the Mr. Muscle commercial, the words science and scientific formula are used and it is supported with images of a laboratory and laboratory equipment. Mr. Muscle himself wears a lab coat over his super-hero outfit and is acknowledged as a super-scientist. Mr. Muscle is thus epitomized as a cleaning hero for your home that you can count on to tackle dirt and grease wherever it may hide.

Interviews can act as testimonials for products and can be very effective. Experienced interviewers are able to elicit what looks like spontaneous remarks (Dyer, 1982). For instance, the Harpic commercial is conducted in an interview format, where the salesman asks the housewife questions about her cleaning regime, he is also able to elicit spontaneous remarks such as, “it looks neat”, “there are no more stains”. The housewife’s

responses serve as an eyewitness testimony - telling the truth about how she has personally seen the product perform.

Advertisements that utilize female solidarity, exploit it in order to get women to comply with patriarchal definitions of femininity (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The Complan commercial establishes a full 'gossip' – relation between the women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985), that is, the Complan boys mother helps a friend-in-distress, who by describing the events assists the reader as a potential friend-in-distress. The communicative relationship between protagonist and reader is therefore established as the Complan boys mother clarifies the first mothers understanding of healthy physical development, and the most effective way of ensuring it, which is of course through Complan. This mother leaves affirming to do accordingly so that her son can grow and develop as well as the Complan boy.

The Veet commercial also establishes a full 'gossip' – relation between women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985), that is, Katrina assists her friend-in-distress, who by describing the course of events assists the reader as a potential friend-in-distress. The communicative relationship between protagonist and reader is therefore established as towards the end, when the friend attracts the admiration of the male, she is amazed and attributes her smooth skin (through gesture), to the success of the product that her friend had introduced her to. The only person in a position to respond is the reader.

In general, working-class advertisements assumed that their viewers deeply desired to join the ranks of the middle-class (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The advertisement Fair and Lovely, addressed a working-class audience - drawing on the Cinderella myth of the personal transformation (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). As depicted by the tale of Cinderella, the girl in this advertisement was transformed by the product into an attractive film star. Similarly, in the Shree Devi commercial, we especially notice a working-class woman who is also on her way to the store. This commercial suggests to the working-class that, if you do not possess a certain prestige object your friends and neighbours will form a less respectful view of you. It serves to exploit a general characteristic of consumer society, that is, the importance of doing what everybody else is doing, in other words, the importance of keeping up with the Joneses (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). To fail to keep up with the Joneses could be perceived as exhibiting socio-economic or cultural inferiority.

Many middle-class adverts offer their viewers prestige through consumption (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). For instance, the Titan commercial addresses a middle-class audience and offers the reader prestige through the utilization of this product (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Similarly, Shree Devi Textiles are well renowned for their Kanjivaram silk sarees and so purchasing them would offer the consumer prestige. The average cost of a saree is estimated to be around would be about Rs. 25,000.

The voice-over aspect in commercials functions as a device to hail the reader (Roy, 1998). All communication is said to address us and place us in a social relationship, thus

all communication interpellates or hails us in some way (Fiske, 1990b). In the Rexona commercial, interpellation or hailing is represented through the protagonist who is wearing a pair of high-heel shoes. In so doing, she has positioned herself submissively within gender relations. In wearing them, women are said to participate in the ideological practice of patriarchy - by appearing as an attractive object and putting herself under the male power of granting or withholding approval. Also, as high-heels tend to limit a woman's physical activity and strength - it is said to represent them as practising the subordination of women in patriarchy. Therefore, a woman wearing high heels (as in this commercial), reproduces and recirculates the patriarchal meanings of gender, that suggest masculinity as being stronger and more active, and femininity as being weaker and more passive (Fiske, 1990b).

Capitalism is a system, that mostly produces commodities, and making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice. We come to understand our desires in terms of the commodities that are produced to meet them; and we come to think of our problems in terms of the commodities that are produced to solve them (Fisk, 1990b). For instance, Titan watches, is a commodity that is produced by the system of gender inequality and patriarchal society and as such, serves to ensure the subordination of women. As women accept what these products claim to offer and experience them as real - they promote an ideology that is against their interests, thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader in essence is practising patriarchal ideology (Fiske, 1990b).

Also, women's bodies and their lives tend to be constructed as, a set of problems for which there exists commodities to solve them (Fiske, 1990b). In the Veet commercial, the unique set of ingredients used to make the product is widely known to solve a number of women's skin problems.

Barthes (1973) prefers to refer to ideology as mythology. In his view, the function of myth is to legitimise bourgeois ideology. Its function is to present to us a 'reality', which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, in such a way that the values incorporated in that 'reality' appears to be natural, taken for granted, and common sense. The commercial Surf for instance, depicts a woman who loves washing for her family/ son by virtue of mothering. The commercial indicates that it is natural and inevitable that that love exists. In a similar way, the Sundrop commercial highlights the myth of mothering - that mothering is tender and is always there. It sets out to hail the caring mother, and women tend to identify with this by responding, 'I am the caring mother'. The image of a nurturing mother was attached to the product to convey the message that good mothering could be accomplished by buying these products.

A close examination of the commercials also revealed a subtle working of a hegemonic process in the representation of married and unmarried women. The young, single woman, presented in the Rexona commercial is predominantly shown outside the four walls of the home and is seen to be wearing a fashionable dress, clad with accessories, and styled hair, which signifies a "western/modern" image, and emanating a certain level of sexual freedom. However, the freedom enjoyed by a single woman as depicted in this

commercial precedes her marriage and domestic life – which would be harnessed in due course by the patriarchal system of marriage (Roy, 1998). This commercial reinforces the patriarchal ideology that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman through the actions of the protagonist who – strategically pursues her man and gets him. Thus, the unmarried Indian woman does not “jeopardize the notion of a tradition which is preserved intact in the idealized conjugal and domestic sphere (Rajan, 1993, p.132).”

To incorporate single women who represent a certain degree of sexual freedom and juxtaposing them against traditional, married women is a hegemonic process. The commercial Shree Devi for instance, incorporates single women who represent a certain degree of sexual freedom and juxtapositions them against a traditional, married woman who is wearing a saree and vermilion. Gramsci (1971) explains that as a cultural and political process, hegemonic ideology is adaptable and is able to incorporate oppositional discourses without having to make major changes in the ideological principles. The freedom enjoyed by the single women in the commercial precedes their marriage and domestic life, and their sexuality would be controlled in due course by the patriarchal system of marriage (Rajan, 1983).

While most of the commercials in the category of domesticity portrayed an Indian woman in the traditional role of a housewife, a few commercials contained elements of an oppositional message (Roy, 1998). Embedded in these commercials were traces of tension between the forces of tradition on the one hand and modernity on the other. The Whirlpool commercial for example, contained elements of an oppositional message. The

wife in this commercial, is not only represented as modern and enjoying a certain level of autonomy in the household, but she also challenges the traditional role of a wife in a socially acceptable manner. Visual signifiers, such as her wearing her hair down, and speaking cheekily to the husband – even telling him to ‘shut up’, established her as a modern wife who was not entirely bound by traditional norms. While we are led to believe that the wife in this commercial is independent. The woman in this commercial, who is signified as being modern, is in fact upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity as her place is still essentially located within the domain of the kitchen, providing food for the family. In this context, even the "modern" wife is still perennially and transcendently a homemaker (Roy, 1998).

Modern advertising focuses on the problems faced by a growing number of women today, who have either paid full-time or part-time work and still need to fulfill their household chores. Thus the commercial for a Whirlpool refrigerator assumes that the woman addressed is responsible for the providing of food and it also allows for the possibility that she is employed outside the home - as, it caters for the possibility of a woman who has worked all day and not had time to shop. Instead of feeling inadequate as a housewife while she is at work, and rushing from shop to shop desperately after work, she will be able to have, thanks to the refrigerator, the best of both worlds - that of traditional female responsibilities and that of paid work (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This commercial reflects the fact that although women have become accepted in the labour market, the majority of the household chores are still regarded as their responsibility. And the suggestion that the solution to the problems created by this double

role lies in the consumption of commodities is indicative of the role of advertising (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Gender biased socialization

The commercials on motherhood in this study reflected the gender biased socialization process in Indian society. Indian commercials typically showed a mother who was concerned about her son's health, strength and intelligence, and for her daughter she was a nurturer of the feminine ideals of beauty and domesticity. The Repelex commercial reflects this gender biased socialization process in Indian society. It typically showed mothers who were concerned about their son's health and development. The boy in the commercial was provided with all the play equipment necessary for his intellectual and physical development. This primarily consisted of gender-appropriate equipment for boys. Also, both women wanted to protect the child from being bitten by mosquitoes and used the product to ensure his safety. This commercial highlighted the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family (Roy, 1998). In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son's masculinity - expressed in his being healthy and developing to his full potential. Similarly, the Surf commercial represented a mother who was concerned about her son's future career advancement - reflected in her aspirations for her son to grow up, join the Indian cricket team, and go on to win the 2015 World Cup. He was nurtured to accept the ideals of masculinity and was provided with the appropriate gender-biased equipment for boys to foster his growth and development towards his predestined role in society. In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother - she is fosters her son's masculinity expressed in his

being strong and competitive. Also, the play and safety equipment used by the boy in the Sundrop commercial, such as, the roller skates, arm and knee guards, and the helmet that the boy is wearing, signifies the types of adventurous sport that boys are involved in, which require skill and stamina. The mother is concerned for his physical health to be at an optimum in order to prepare him for the challenges he might face in the outside world. The Complan commercial typically showed mothers who were concerned about their son's health, fitness and physical development. The Complan boys mother used Complan to ensure the healthy physical development of her son. By the end of the commercial, the other mother was convinced to also use this product for her son. In line with this, both mothers took their sons to the gymnasium to promote their fitness and physical development. In conforming to society's expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son's masculinity - expressed in his being healthy, strong and fit.

The Hamam commercial also reflects the gender biased socialisation process in Indian society whereby the mother teaches and nurtures in her daughter the feminine ideals of beauty and domesticity (Roy, 1998). We see that the lessons of beauty and skin care are taught and passed down through the generations from mother to daughter. In the commercial we hear the young daughter saying to the grandmother, 'it is not only for your daughter but also for her daughter'. We see that that the teachings about womanhood have been passed on from the grandmother - to the mother - to the young daughter. In a similar way, in conforming to societies expectations, the mother in the Clinic Plus commercial inculcates in her daughter the lessons of womanhood, that is, how to be attractive and be a good wife, so that when she grows up she can secure a good

catch and be a good wife (Roy, 1998). Chodorow (1974) explains that the daughter learns from the mother about what it is to be womanlike, and asserts that this is based on a gradual learning of a way to be in everyday life, which is affirmed through the relationship with the person that she has spent most of her time with. The Brooke Bond commercial also conveys a similar message.

The Ultimate Goal for Women – as a Wife and Mother

Commercials involving domesticity emphasised the traditional role of women – as a wife and mother. The unmarried woman in the NAC commercial is presented within the domain of domesticity – the home. She is fully adorned with jewellery in order to look beautiful for him and her shy smiles indicate that she is happy about her upcoming marriage. This highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman (Roy, 1998).

In the Sundrop commercial, we see all the foods that the son is dreaming of, and we are aware that only the mother is present at home. We therefore work out from this that it is the mother who cooks all the food for the family. She is therefore upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity as she is positioned within the domain of the home - specifically the kitchen, and accepts that it is her responsibility to cook for the family.

The Boro Plus commercial also presents a traditional image of the family as the woman carries out the duties of a wife and mother tending to the needs of her husband and children - serving him his coffee and ironing their clothes, while the husband takes time

to relax, read his newspaper, and assist the children with their homework. According to Rowbotham (1977), unlike men, that for women there is no clear distinction between the work place and leisure as it stretches over the whole of the woman's existence.

By showing the woman as being pleased of her ability in her home, as in the Brooke Bond commercial, that is in attending and catering to the needs of her family, the commercial not only valorizes and affirms the traditional role of Indian women but also makes the domestic role of the woman appear natural to the viewers (Roy, 1998).

Happy family commercials as depicted in the Brooke Bond commercial, implies that if the female viewer's everyday life isn't as happy and harmonious as that portrayed in the commercial, the short-comings are in some way due to her inadequacy in fulfilling the functions required of a good wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Also, a number of commercials depicted an Indian woman as a subservient, home-bound wife who was happily engaged in her domestic chores, serving her husband and family, with the advertised product "crowning" her role. The underlying message in the commercial was that housework was fun and easy for a wife. The commercial implied that the unique qualities of the product took the difficulty out of housework, did the job for the wife and accomplished it in an outstanding manner. Thus, the Surf commercial for instance attempted to make washing clothes an easy and satisfying experience by implying how easy domestic work can be with the help of the right product. The Mr. Muscle commercial also conveyed this message. In so doing, these commercials trivialised the drudgery involved in domestic work (Roy, 1998). Rowbotham (1977),

further explains this by stating that since a woman's work at home is excluded from the economic notion of value, men do not recognize it as strenuous. However, in reality a woman's job is a never-ending process - as there is no clear distinction between workspace and leisure, as it covers her whole life. A woman does not go out to work – she wakes up to it. Home is essentially work and work is essentially home.

In the Navratna commercial, the protagonist sings that, ‘no matter how much pressure you have, Navratna oil will keep your head cool’. While it is acceptable for men to become tired, women are expected to be happily engaged in their chores at home and not grow tired, and as the men return home from their work at the end of the day, the woman is there ready to greet him with a smile.

Also, the predominance of subservient women, such as the compliant woman in the Harpic commercial, can be seen to reflect a male longing for those unproblematic days when their sovereignty was unchallenged, and no steadfast feminists demanded changes in men’s behaviour and attitudes. Not surprisingly, this image of woman is complemented by an image of masculinity intended to boost the male ego (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Following the patriarchal ideology that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman, Indian commercials also glorified the ideology of motherhood. The women in the Complan commercial carried out the functions of a mother as they tend to their children and their needs for food/ nutrition, thereby, upholding a feminine ideal of

domesticity. This commercial also served to glorify the ideology of motherhood as it features warm scenes of happy mothers and children. The image of a nurturing mother was attached to the health drink to convey the message that good mothering could be accomplished by buying the product. As a result of this semiotic transfer, the product and the mother became interchangeable, that is, health drink equated to good mothering. Therefore, whoever thought of the health drink would then remember the image of the good mother and vice versa.

Also, the carefully constructed messages aimed at mothers homed in on their insecurities about the quality of their childcare (Roy, 1998). We see this clearly in the concern shown by the first mother, who had thought that her son's physical growth was progressing quite well, until she was made aware of the contrary, by the Complan boy's mother. As Oakley (1981) explains – advertising's glorification of motherhood tends to create a problem for mothers as it presents the insoluble predicament of attaining perfection in imperfect circumstances.

The Public and Private Sphere

All the commercials involving domesticity reflected a distinct separation of the public and private social spheres. The women in the NAC commercial are depicted within the confines of the home and the absence of man indicates that he is situated in the public sphere or is not involved in the private sphere.

Also, the woman in the Titan commercial is presented within the domain of domesticity. She seems to be alone in the house and the suggestion that she is wearing the Titan watch to look 'beautiful for him' implies that he is outside the home - situated in the domain of public sphere. This highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that it is the woman's job to take care of the household as well as to look appealing for the man (Roy, 1998). There seems to be a switch from the emphasis of motherhood and childcare to the maintenance of their physical appearance.

The types of household tasks carried out by the man and woman in the Boro Plus commercial particularly serves to identify the division of labour within the home. For instance, the mother tends to the needs of her husband and children in the home by serving him his coffee and ironing their clothes while the husband relaxes at home and assists the children with their homework (Roy, 1998).

Dominant Images of Femininity and Masculinity

The dominant image of femininity presented in a number of commercials was that of the beauty and fashion ideal. For instance, the dominant image of femininity presented in the Fair and Lovely commercial was that of the beauty ideal. This ideal has become the new straitjacket of femininity, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). The crowds who follow the protagonist after she has achieved fame, to fill up the theatre where she is about to perform, are predominantly male. This commercial exposes the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and successful a woman has to be

beautiful. This advertisement presents a feminine beauty ideal, which does not recognise beauty as a property resulting from natural characteristics (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Also, the dominant image of femininity presented in the Shree Devi commercial is that of the beauty and fashion ideal, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of the men they encounter (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Berger (1972), states that this ideal is a passive one and controlled by the 'Male Eye' whereby, men look at women and women watch themselves being looked at. Hence, she turns herself into an object – an object of vision, a sight. This is highlighted in this commercial when the women parade themselves and glance and smile at the men who are looking at them. This commercial exposes the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and improve her ability to attract men a woman has to be beautiful (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Advertisers' expectations of male and female needs differ – while the products offered to men, such as in the Honda commercial, are merely intended to enhance their natural features, the products that are offered to women on the other hand are intended to transform their natural features (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Alternatively, the dominant image of masculinity as presented in the Honda commercial is that of man being competitive for success in traditionally male fields of operation (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Similarly, the dominant image of masculinity presented in the Navratna commercial is the necessity for men to be superior to women in

traditionally male spheres, such as, mechanics and technology (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

The phrase, “stains are good”, in the Surf commercial, builds on the image of masculinity that the commercial is trying to promote – that of the competitive male driven for success. Coupled with the aspirations that the mother has for her son, this commercial suggests that if boys are to go after success then it is normal and natural that they might get dirty every so often. Getting dirty, is symbolic for experiencing life, getting stronger and being ready for the world out there.

The image of masculinity presented in the Shree Devi commercial is that of man competing for women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). This is humorously depicted by the group of young men who take over the band and keep pushing the man away, who then keeps coming back to take his microphone and sing.

When males appear in commercials that are directed at women, they tend to be friendly and less macho than in commercials that are directed at men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In the Mr. Muscle commercial, Mr. Muscle is the helpful teacher who solves the woman’s problem by introducing her to the right product.

Also, when males and females appear in commercials together, the male remains in control (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). In the Mr. Muscle commercial, Mr. Muscle had the situation all under control - after he had introduced the woman to the right product and set her off to work, he just stood there and had a snack with the boy. In a similar way,

in the Boro Plus commercial, the husband sets out to establish the cause and the solution to the wife's problem. Also, in the Harpic commercial the salesman takes control of the situation and proclaims that the product that he was offering was the superior product - he was then able to make her see this for herself and then to fervently exclaim that Harpic was the only product for her from now on.

Conclusion

All the advertisements involving domesticity emphasised the traditional role of women – as a wife and mother. These advertisements not only valorized and affirmed the traditional role of Indian women but also made the domestic role of the woman appear natural to the viewers (Roy, 1998).

Furthermore, such advertisements that involved domesticity reflected a distinct separation of the public and private spheres and depicted women primarily in the private domain, and men in the public domain.

The advertisements on motherhood in this study reflected the gender biased socialization process in Indian society. These advertisements typically showed a mother who was concerned about her son's health, strength and intelligence, and for her daughter she was a nurturer of the feminine ideals of beauty and domesticity.

The dominant image of femininity presented in the advertisements was that of the beauty and fashion ideal. In contrary, the dominant image of masculinity presented in the advertisements was that of: man being competitive for success as well as superior to women in traditionally male fields of operation, such as, mechanics and technology; and man competing for women (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Chapter 9 concludes the study and discusses implications and provides recommendations for education particularly in India.

Chapter 9 - Evaluation

Introduction

This study is one of the first major studies of the nexus between the media, and the construction of gender-identity in India today - the role of the media with reference to television advertising in the construction of gender-identity. This study set out to investigate how television advertisements in India construct gender identity.

Conceptions of femininity and masculinity are constructed in everyday social practices within institutions, and it is represented at the symbolic level in the mass media as the cultural ideals. The versions promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination. Goldman (1992) asserts that advertising is a major social and economic institution whose role is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world.

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology by reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. In advertising, various codes serve to reproduce bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable. Therefore, the ideology-semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998; Chandler, 2001). This chapter concludes the study and discusses implications and provides recommendations for education particularly in India.

The Woman of Today

The woman of today in India was presented as being modern. The modern single woman was portrayed as having a 'western/modern' image, and emanating a certain level of sexual freedom. However, the freedom enjoyed by a single woman precedes her marriage and domestic life – which would be harnessed in due course by the patriarchal system of marriage (Roy, 1998). The advertisement reinforced the patriarchal ideology that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for all females. Thus, the unmarried Indian woman does not “jeopardize the notion of a tradition which is preserved intact in the idealized conjugal and domestic sphere (Rajan, 1993, p.132).”

The woman in transition was portrayed as being happy about her upcoming marriage as she happily goes about planning what she will wear on the day. This advertisement also highlighted the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman (Roy, 1998).

The modern wife was portrayed as being independent. However, while she is depicted as being modern, she is in fact upholding the feminine ideal of domesticity as her place is still essentially located within the domain of the kitchen – a place that symbolises the provision of food. In this context, even the 'modern' wife is still perennially and transcendently a homemaker (Roy, 1998).

Images of Femininity and Masculinity

The dominant image of femininity presented in the advertisements was that of the beauty ideal. This beauty ideal has become the new straitjacket of femininity, which requires women to compete through their appearance for the attention of men. These commercials exposed the basic rationale of female beautification, that is, in order to become happy and successful a woman has to be beautiful. The Fair and Lovely advertisement particularly presented a feminine beauty ideal, which does not recognise beauty as a property resulting from natural characteristics. In these commercials, the products offered to women are supposed to transform the natural qualities of women and make them beautiful and desirable (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). Ideology worked to make these commodities seem natural for, making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice (Fisk, 1990b).

The dominant images of masculinity presented in the advertisements was: the necessity for men to be superior to women in traditionally male spheres, such as, mechanics and technology; the promotion of competitive behaviour, the pursuit of success and the acclamations it brings; and man as a sexual being in pursuit of a mate (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

It seems that while the products offered to men are merely intended to enhance their characteristics, the products that are offered to women on the other hand are intended to transform their characteristics (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

When males appeared in commercials that are directed at women, they tended to be friendly and less macho than in commercials that are directed at men (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Women as Housewives and Mothers

The performing of domestic tasks by women in the advertisements emphasised the traditional role of women as a housewife and mother. These advertisements not only revealed a separation between the private and public spheres, but it also distinguished the division of labour in the home.

Women were typically situated within the domain of the private sphere and the absence or rare appearance of the man suggested that he was either situated in the public sphere or not involved in tedious domestic chores. This also serves to validate the belief that the private sphere is the exclusive domain of women. The private sphere for men, generally served as a sanctuary or a place of leisure from the world of work. Ideologically, the private sphere has been associated with femininity and is identified as a place of moral value and support, and the public sphere is associated with masculinity and is identified by power and influence (MacDonald, 1995; Rowbotham, 1997; Williamson, 1986). The separation of the spheres serves to perpetuate the hegemony of patriarchy where women are naturally situated in the private sphere, which is justified as a matter of necessity (Arendt, 1958).

The advertisements tended to present a traditional image of the family as the woman carried out the duties of a wife and mother tending to the needs of her husband and children, while the husband takes time to relax, read his newspaper, and assist the children with their homework. In addition to carrying out domestic tasks, the advertisements also suggested that women need to maintain their physical appearance at all times. This highlights the patriarchal ideology, which suggests that it is the woman's job to take care of the household as well as to look appealing for the man. Advertisements that particularly showed how easy domestic work can be with the help of the right product - trivialised the drudgery involved in domestic work. In portraying women in such stereotypical roles - as a wife and mother, the advertisements upheld the sexist ideology that confined women to such confined roles (Roy, 1998).

Happy family advertisements, implied that if the female viewer's everyday life isn't as happy and harmonious as that portrayed in the advertisement, the short-comings were in some way due to her inadequacy in fulfilling the functions required of a good wife and mother (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

By depicting the woman as being pleased of her ability in her home, the advertisements not only valorized and affirmed the traditional role of Indian women but also made the domestic role of the woman appear natural to the viewers. Also, the carefully constructed messages that were aimed at mothers homed in on their insecurities about the quality of their childcare (Roy, 1998). As Oakley (1981) explains – advertising's glorification of

motherhood tends to create a problem for mothers as it presents the insoluble predicament of attaining perfection in imperfect circumstances.

The glorification of motherhood served to establish it as the most desired vocation for women. It purports patriarchal ideologies of womanhood thereby justifying the confinement of women to the home. A woman's biological capacity to become a mother coupled with gender-related myths that mothers have an innate ability to nurture, allows society to determine what a woman should be and should do. Consequently, the notion of motherhood is idealized by women. The happy scenes of mothers and their children in commercials serves to perpetuate the belief that childrearing is fundamentally the responsibility of the mother. The absence of the father from the private sphere is indicative of this belief (Roy, 1998).

The advertisements also emphasised the mother's traditional role in the socialization process in the family. We see in the advertisements the gender biased socialization process in Indian society being played out as the mothers nurture in their daughters the ideals of femininity, and nurture in their sons the ideals of masculinity. The mother is shown to inculcate in her daughter the lessons of womanhood, such as, how to be attractive and be a good wife, so that when she grows up she can secure a good catch and be a good wife (Roy, 1998). Chodorow (1979), states that the daughter learns from the mother about what it is to be womanlike, and asserts that this is based on a gradual learning of a way to be in everyday life, which is affirmed through the relationship with the person that she has spent most of her time with. In conforming to society's

expectations of an ideal mother, she fosters her son's masculinity - expressed in his being healthy, strong, fit, developing to his full potential, facing challenges and advancing in his career. Furthermore, in line with previous studies, it was found that gender-appropriate toys were given to male and female children.

The advertisements in this study perpetuated patriarchal ideology through myth. As women were constantly depicted as wives and mothers it reinforced the gender biased myth that it was the ultimate goal for women to get married, have children and take care of the household. In disguising their historical and socio-political origins, these stereotypical images of women were made to appear as something obvious and eternal (Roy, 1998).

Indian female viewers were interpellated or hailed to accept the prescribed notions of a housewife and mother as something that was natural and beyond questioning. Interpellation or hailing worked in obscured ways to position the reader to accept the ideological discourse as something obvious. In addition to the linguistic modes, the nonverbal elements in the advertisements also worked to hail the female viewer into accepting the myth of domesticity and motherhood as something that was natural, obvious and immanent. It also served to indicate that women were objects that were to be viewed by men. Women who accept this patriarchal construction of femininity and womanhood tend to lead lives of subservience and passivity and consequently prepares to perform all the associated roles in a patriarchal society (Roy, 1998).

A number of commercials depicted a lifestyle that would be nearly impossible for the majority of Indians to attain. For instance, the expensive clothes and jewellery of the models promoted a superior lifestyle. Also the advertiser's sexist bias was evident in the Fair and Lovely commercial which glorified fair-complexion. In promoting the products and lifestyles of the affluent class, the commercials raised the level of aspiration of the underclass, creating a desire among this group to acquire these products and to emulate such lifestyles. Since the economically disadvantaged group can never attain this lifestyle, they are likely to express feelings of inferiority, confusion, and ultimately discontent (Vilaniam, 1989). The function of advertising would then be to neutralize such responses.

Advertisements of the 1960's to the Present Day

The only difference between the advertisements of the 1960s to the 1990's seemed to be in the portrayal of the modern woman. The woman in the earlier period was portrayed as either passive and domesticated or as seductive. The modern woman of the 1990's however, did not necessarily wear a sari, or vermilion, or appear shy. Nevertheless, her societal status remained unchanged. The introduction of the washing machine for instance, appeared to 'liberate' Indian women by moulding them into 'perfect homemakers' (Radhakrishnan, 2001).

The Indian Context and Education

In every region of the world, including India, gender discrimination is alive and persistent, affecting all aspects of the lives of women and girls. Its powerful influence on a young girl's life is evident as families decide whether their daughters should attend school. Educating girls educates nations and it is one of the best investments a society can make. When schools open their doors to girls, the benefits to society can multiply. For example, an educated woman would be well-prepared to make more independent personal, political and economic decisions, and it is likely that an educated woman would encourage her children especially daughters, to be educated as well. Also, educating girls can help eradicate poverty and promote peace - as education can reduce social burdens on government increasing family incomes and producing a bigger and more prepared workforce. Consequently, it raises living standards and gross national products. Furthermore, widened educational opportunities for all is perhaps the most effective means to reducing the misunderstanding, intolerance, and lack of respect that are at the core of most disputes between communities, groups and countries (UNICEF, 2000).

In working towards bridging the gender gap, what is needed is the inclusion of the most vulnerable children in educational settings, introducing more female role models in educational systems, allowing girls access to all studies and extra-curricular activities, ensuring that the curriculum, text books and materials in schools are free of bias, and promoting the involvement of parents and the community (UNICEF, 2000).

I believe that education has a key role to play in eradicating biased attitudes about women that are embedded in the Indian culture: men need to be re-educated to accept women as equals; parents need to be educated into realizing that female children are not a burden, and that if they were given the opportunity that they would be as capable, or possibly better than male children; all aspects of gender bias need to be eliminated within educational systems; and appropriate incentives need to be provided for parents to send their female children to school, and encourage women to pursue further education.

Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) have also advocated for schooling to take on a proactive role to contribute to a more gender just society. They assert that this could be promoted if individuals, in particular boys, were shown ‘how dominant masculinity constrains as much as it advantages them, they need to see how these images and practices are sustained, and at what cost to their opportunities to live lives which are open to diverse experiences and positive relationships with others (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998, p. 222).’

In advocating for governments to also play a central role in this process we need to consider whether gender should become a universal principal overriding other value systems through cross national and national government interventions, or should only certain aspects of gender equity be required, for instance, access to education, and imparting weight to local values, tradition and culture, since, reforms rely on localized support for gender equity (Blackmore, 2005).

Utilizing the framework of Semiotics

We live in an age that is information rich but question poor, it is not difficult to access information – kids do it all the time through the television, Internet, mobile phones, and iPads for instance. It is important now more than ever that teachers work towards developing in students the skills they need to interrogate information, to determine the reliability of the source, the credibility of the arguments, and the tactics that are used to convince the reader of the validity of the information. Not only do students need to become critical readers of this information but they must also become critical users too.

In order to understand the messages in the media particularly television advertisements and to manage their consequences, one would need to learn the ways in which media techniques construct and shape meanings. In other words, a basic knowledge of the techniques is essential in media literacy, because it is through them that the media particularly advertising, functions to naturalise and reinforce notions of the way things are and enables cultural identification to take place (Fiske, 1990b). As advertisements become a vehicle for ideology, gender ideologies work to sustain the patriarchal gender order – promoting the dominant forms of femininity and masculinity at a symbolic level (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991).

Utilizing the framework of semiotics can help to make us aware of what we take for granted in representing the world, reminding us that we are always dealing with signs and not with an objective reality, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001). Voloshinov (1973) declared that whenever a sign is present that ideology is present as well. There are no ideologically 'neutral' sign systems. Sign

systems help to naturalize and reinforce particular understandings of the way things are, although the work of ideology in signifying practices is always concealed. Consequently, semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis.

If signs do not merely reflect reality but are involved in its construction then those who control the sign systems control the construction of reality. However, in the event of there being any inconsistencies or contradictions, ideology would then function to suppress these in the interests of dominant groups (Chandler, 2001). For Roland Barthes (1973) various codes contribute to reproducing bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable. One does not need to be a Marxist to appreciate that it can be liberating to discover whose view of reality is being privileged in the process. Semiotics can thus show ideology at work and demonstrate that 'reality' can be challenged (Chandler, 2001).

The integration of Media Literacy

It is evident from this study that the visual media in particular advertising, works to promote the interest of the dominant class by making the meanings that serve these interests appear natural and universal (Barthes, 1973). The sign systems that advertising employs are not natural but are a development of our culture, and they carry cultural meanings and values that shape the consciousness of individuals – forming us into social beings (Barthes, 1977).

Social learning theory asserts that media studies can develop in individuals a critical awareness of the socializing influence of the media (Winn, 1987). It recommends the

incorporation of media literacy into the curriculum in order to prepare students to function intelligently in the ever-present environment of the media. Both the social learning theory and the cultivation theory maintain that if children were given opportunities to develop skills and concepts that help them to understand and decode the way media constructs versions of reality, that they would be less dependent on and more critical of the cultural environment created by the media. The two theories provide a strong basis for implementing media studies through formal education, and incorporating media literacy into all levels of the curriculum (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998).

The successful stories of media education indicate that media literacy is a creative and effective approach for preparing children to face the role and power of the media in their lives. So, an important task of education today must be to suggest a broader framework that would integrate media literacy education within all levels of the school curriculum (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998), so that students can recognise, analyse, and deconstruct the media messages, assumptions and stereotypes that they are constantly being exposed to. Therefore, there is a need to teach our students, wherever they are, to become critical consumers of this powerful technology (Notar, 1993).

It has been suggested that without their own critical distance, teachers might find it difficult to explain the dominant definitions of society and deploy these strategies of media analysis. Therefore it is recommended that teaching media literacy could begin in teacher preparation programs (Curry, 1999).

At the present time, education about the role and power of advertising and the media is largely ignored in Chennai. The course details on the websites of some of the well-known tertiary institutions in Chennai reveal a lack of media studies in the Faculty of Education. The University of Madras, which is one of the three oldest universities in India, modeled after the University of London, offers only one unit on Advertising at the Masters level of their Arts program. However, their Education department did not appear to offer any subjects in the area of media studies (www.unom.ac.in).

Also, Stella Maris College (www.stellamariscollege.org), which is affiliated to the University of Madras, and Sri Sairam Chennai Teacher Training Institute (www.sairamgroup.in) which is a prestigious institute, and Tamil Nadu Teachers Education University (www.tnteu.in), appear to offer no subjects in the area of media studies. There is a real need to incorporate media studies and media literacy into teacher preparation programs so that teachers and students can become more discriminating and informed about the role and power of media and advertising.

Conclusion

This research investigated how television advertisements in India construct gender identity, with reference to the desired constructs of femininity and masculinity.

The findings of this study found, as demonstrated above, that while the modern woman was portrayed as having a 'western/modern' image and emanating a certain level of sexual freedom that such freedom that was enjoyed by the single woman preceded her marriage and domestic life. It would be harnessed, in due course, by the patriarchal system of marriage (Roy, 1998). Such advertisements serve to reinforce the patriarchal ideology that marriage and domesticity is the ultimate goal for a woman.

Therefore, the findings from past and the present study serve to point out that 'liberation' is just convenient media rhetoric and that reality lags a long way behind, as we haven't distanced ourselves but still embrace our deep-rooted values. Many women are brought up to accept the image of the subservient woman as natural, and hence any personal or marital problems faced by women is attributed to their failing to live up to traditional norms of feminine behaviour. Thus, traditional images of femininity come to acquire the status of a peaceful haven where the roles are well defined and identity conflicts non-existent (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Advertising is far too manipulative to actually present an accurate view of society as it is. And as long as women continue to be defined by the roles society prescribes for them

without questioning the images presented, then advertising will also continue to address traditional family values. The fact that women still perceive themselves in terms of traditional images is made clear, as they do not use their power to cause the demise of offensive advertisements, by choosing not to buy the products they offer (Mower, 1981). It has been claimed that, in presenting an image of subservient and subordinate femininity, that advertisements exploit the yearning of women and men for the ways of former times when life seemed straightforward (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985).

Future Research

The construction of gender identity is a socially constructed construct which demonstrates that femininity is created in society via major agencies of socialization, and is represented and communicated at the symbolic level in the mass media, particularly television commercials. Femininity, just like masculinity, denotes an ideal type, in this case an ideal woman, a powerful global cultural stereotype, which is used by those who have power to define, control and disseminate cultural and gender stereotypes, to dominate, exploit and manipulate social and sexual identities of women globally (Correa, 2009).

The signs present in television advertisements do not merely reflect reality but are involved in its construction, although the work of ideology in signifying practices is always concealed. Those who control the sign systems then control the construction of reality. Semiotics can show ideology at work and demonstrate that 'reality' can be challenged (Chandler, 2001). Therefore it is imperative for students to develop skills and

concepts that can enable them to understand and decode the way the media especially television advertisements constructs versions of reality. Media literacy is a creative and effective approach for preparing students to face the role and power of the media in their lives (Vallocheril & Thorn, 1998).

The findings from past and the present study serves to point out that 'liberation' is just a word and that reality lags a long way behind, as we haven't distanced ourselves but still embrace our deep-rooted values (Vestergaard & Shroder, 1985). And as long as women continue to be defined by the roles society prescribes for them, then advertising will also continue to address them as such. The fact that women still perceive themselves in terms of traditional images is apparent, as they do not use their power to eradicate offensive advertisements by choosing not to buy the products they offer (Mower, 1981).

It would be interesting to learn what the findings of future research into this area might reveal - as India is becoming infiltrated now more than ever with the notions of consumerism that streams from the USA. The USA is reportedly leading the way in the promotion of a new culture based on the American Dream. This influence is evident in the advertisements for various products, ranging from clothing to food to entertainment, which endorse American attitudes and lifestyles. Their values and morals are being spread to the rest of the world. It exploits viewers by fostering in them a desire to own and to have. Signs or symbols of wealth, power, social mobility or status are used in advertising to establish morals and values. They serve to ensure the possessor's place in the social hierarchy. For example, designer clothing, whether fake or real, distinguishes

people from others, they give social status which would have otherwise been denied (Bezuidenhout, 1998). Our needs and desires are commodified whereby there always exists products to meet them.

While this study investigated one aspect of the mass media, that is, how television advertisements in India construct gender-identity, future research in this area could involve actually traveling to Bollywood and examining a wider range of advertisements. Billboard advertisements are becoming particularly popular in India. They could provide more research material into the messages advertisers present about gender roles. Cultural resonances, for example, an Indian frame of a fish bowl, could also be explored. The impact of the glocalization of the products, such as using local actors to localize products that were created or originated from elsewhere could allow further research opportunities, as could the representations made by the use of local actors.

Future research in this area could also investigate how other aspects of the mass media in India, such as the Internet, television serials, newspapers, film and radio all help to construct gender-identity. Indian soap operas would be particularly interesting to investigate as a range of indigenous issues appear to be surfacing through this medium.

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Appendix A

Advertisement : Rexona Deodorant

Script:

Preity Zinta = At this time everyday a jogger in a tracksuit goes past.

Preity Zinta voice-over = Where, who, and when, we'll meet someone is impossible to predict.

Preity Zinta = New Rexona deo roll-on gives you protection from perspiration all day long.

Preity Zinta voice-over = Be ready.

Logo and Caption = Rexona - it won't let you down.

Advertisement : NAC

Script:

Advertisement without dialogue. Music plays throughout.

Simran voice-over = NAC Jewellers, Mylapore, Chennai.

Advertisement : Whirlpool

Script:

Kajol = Hi my action hero, but in poetry you're a total zero.

Kajol = Go wash your face and come and I will give you some cold juice!

Female voice-over sings = Whirlpool, Whirlpool.

Male voice-over = New Whirlpool genius, new style, new features, its unique new 6th sense technology improves cooling and makes it a genius.

Ajay = You're the genius but she is the one who overrules!

Kajol = Shut up.

Caption = Cooling genius.

Advertisement : Fair & Lovely

Script:

Stage Actress = Remarks to herself about the theatre being virtually empty.

Male owner = For all of them a film star must be on stage then our theatre would also be house full.

Stage Actress = (wonders to herself), If only a film star can bring the crowd to the stage side, then one must become a film star?

Female voice singing = To my becoming beautiful you only are the way.

Male = Screen test for Kaho Na.

Stage Actress voice-over = I went to the audition, a beautiful face, 2 or 3 [dance] steps, I got the role.

Stage Actress = The picture was a super hit.

Stage Actress = If you call for a film star I will come.

Song = To my becoming beautiful you only are the way, you are the solution.

Stage Actress = (speaks to herself), That same theatre, that same stage, the same being, you can change anything.

Male owner = Thank you.

Male voice-over = Beauty is a power.

Advertisement : Titan

Script:

Rani = Tonight there's no work for you, you can go to sleep... let our hearts speak.

Rani = Just you, make me beautiful for him.

Logo and Caption = Titan Raga – a beautiful relationship.

Advertisement :Veet

Script:

Katrina = Her name together with the words Actress and Veet user, appear on the screen.

Katrina = That means your skin can become very smooth by using Veet.

Katrina voice-over = Now it is also available in a smaller pack.

Katrina voice-over = This contains almond milk extracts. It includes a special spatula for perfect hair removal, leaving your skin feeling very smooth.

Young man = Wow!

Katrina voice-over = New Veet small pack, Rs. 33 only.

Caption = Very smooth, appearing beside it.

Advertisement :Hamam

Script:

Female voice-over = Hamam is sandal powder, to keep you clean – gram powder, to keep you safe – turmeric, to keep you smooth – milk, to keep you cleansed – sandal.

Girl = Daily sandal powder is not only for your daughter but also for her daughter.

Female voice-over = Life long perfect beauty.

Caption = Sandal powder, life long perfect beauty.

Advertisement :Navratna

Script:

Director = Ok! Pack up!

Technician = Here it is pack up, but their home duties start up.

Technician = Life is a lock up.

Technician = If we were born a star then life would have been so peaceful.

Surya = Peaceful, uh.

Surya sings = 4 o'clock waking, jogging, jogging, exercising. Next shift shooting, quickly, quickly, eating. Next shift dubbing. Fans are waiting, mum and dad are calling.

Male voice-over = asks what he does in his other time.

Surya sings = Dating.

Surya = How do I remain so cool!

Surya = No matter how much pressure you have, it will make your head cool!

Surya sings = Problem, tiredness, and lack of sleep.

Technicians chime = Cool it, brother, cool it.

Surya sings = Who doesn't have tension and headaches?

Technicians chime = Cool it, brother, cool it.

Male voice-over = With Ayurvedic goodness, Navratna hair oil.

Caption = An Ayurvedic Medicine.

Surya = All the heat will go away and it will be cool.

Technician = When you go home.

Technicians chime = Jo! Will come and smile at you.

Surya = Navratna oil, jill, jill, cool, cool.

Advertisement : Honda

Script: In English.

Girl = (calling out), Come down quickly.

Male protagonist = (calling out), You carry on, I'll come!

Male voice-over = Introducing the sporty new unicorn.

Male voice-over = 150cc black painted robust engine.

Male voice-over = Racing inspired mono suspension.

As he reaches his destination, the words, International sporty style come up on the screen

His friends cheer for him.

Male voice-over = All new sporty Honda Unicorn, race your spirit.

Words and Caption = Honda Unicorn be a wing rider, and race your spirit, appears on the screen.

Honda logo together with the message, Honda No 1 appears on the screen.

Advertisement : Mirinda

Script:

Advertisement without dialogue. Music plays throughout.

Male voice-over = Mirinda orange with natural flavour, the new magic to delight.

Caption = The new magic to delight, and the words, new natural flavour, underneath.

Advertisement : Boro Plus

Script:

Husband = Hey! Watch it!

Husband = Inadequate work!

Husband = Uh! Oh! Inadequate work!

Children = Oh, Mother!

Husband = Inadequate work!

Wife = What inadequate work, inadequate work, you're irritating me.

Husband = Who me? It's your prickly heat that's irritating you.

Wife = No matter how much powder I put, it keeps coming back.

Husband = Then it's inadequate treatment!

Wife = What?

Husband = It is sweating that causes prickly heat.

Husband = Other powders only alleviate the itching, which is inadequate, Boro Plus Ice prickly heat powder firstly manages the sweating and then reduces the itching – it completely eradicates the prickly heat problem.

Wife = This is not inadequate! It is complete treatment!

Wife = (calling out), Catch! Catch!

Son = Dad! Inadequate job!

Female voice-over = Boro Plus Ice prickly heat powder.

Advertisement : Mr. Muscle

Script:

Mother = I am so tired of scrubbing these tough stains!

Mr. Muscle = I will give you the right solution to your problem.

Son = Mr. Muscle!

Mr. Muscle = Right!

Mr Muscle = Mr. Muscle Kitchen Cleaner is prepared using a special scientific formula.

The words, cleans without water are presented on the screen.

Mr. Muscle = By its power it removes tough stains renewing the original shine without using any water.

Mother = Thank you Mr. Muscle!

Another woman calling out to Mr. Muscle = Please help me!

Mr. Muscle = Excuse me, I have to leave now!

Logo and message = The science of tough cleaning.

Male voice-over = Mr. Muscle the science of tough cleaning.

Advertisement : Harpic

Script:

Salesman = So Mrs. Vanitha, why do you use plain disinfectants to clean your toilet?

Woman = Because I fear that the children will become infected with diseases caused by the germs.

Salesman = Challenge! Harpic provides you with complete hygiene.

Male voice-over = Harpic power triple action goes into the deep crevices of your toilet and eliminates all the germs, it also enters every nook and cranny of your toilet and cleans it up.

Words = Kills all germs post 60 minutes of contact with undiluted product.

Woman = How neat this looks!

Woman = There are no more stains! From now onwards it's Harpic only!

Salesman = Harpic powers triple action hygiene is complete hygiene!

Salesman = You too take up the Harpic challenge.

Salesman = See the difference with your own eyes!

Words = The Harpic challenge just for you.

Male voice-over = Harpic 200ml is just Rs. 22.

Advertisement : Shree Devi

Script:

First man sings = They have set off! They have set off!

Second man sings = It has begun! Enjoyment! It has come! Yeah! Yeah! The holidays!

Oh! To buy clothing in many colours and hues we have Shree Devi's summer festival!

Oh to buy clothing of much beauty Shree Devi's annual festival.

Male voice-over = Shree Devi Textiles, Coimbatore.

Words = The name of the shop and location is displayed on the screen.

First man = They have set off!

Advertisement : Brooke Bond

Script:

Daughter = Can you tell me what's in my hand?

Mother = I don't know!

Daughter = Our whole family.

Mother = Can you tell me what's in my hand?

Daughter = I don't know!

Mother = Our whole family's health!

Daughter = Tea!!!

Mother = This is not just tea.

Words = 'Natural Care'.

Mother = This is new 3 roses natural care tea, it contains five essential nutrients, it keeps us healthy, every single day!

Husband = Hmmm! I wonder what magic you hold in your hand?

Daughter = A healthy family!

Male voice-over = Brooke Bond's 3 roses new natural care.

Caption = A mix of love and health.

Advertisement : Clinic Plus

Script:

Female voice-over hums = “Oh, Oh” twice.

Male voice-over = During the growing up period dandruff will appear, introducing new Clinic Plus anti-dandruff shampoo, which contains germ guard.

Name and logo = Appear on the screen.

Female voice-over = “Oh, Oh”.

Male voice-over = For dandruff free healthy hair is new Clinic Plus anti-dandruff shampoo, which you can now get for Re.1.

Advertisement : Complan

Script:

First mother = In just three months he has grown so much.

Second mother = Do you know something? If children get protein in inadequate amounts they will only grow so much.

First mother = Really!

Second mother = Yes.

Second mother = It has been proven that if they get proteins in the adequate amounts they can grow so much taller!

Words = Information based on surveys conducted over a period of 8 months amongst children aged between 7-13 years.

Words = 100% milk protein, followed by the words, with 23 vital nutrients.

Female voice-over = Complan contains 100% milk protein along with 23 vital nutrients, this gives children extra growing power.

First boy = From now on I will also become a Complan boy!

Male voice-over = Drink Complan and see the difference!

Caption = Extra growing power.

Advertisement : Repelex

Script:

Grandmother = Golu! Wear your clothes or else you will get bitten by mosquitoes!

Grandmother = Golu!

Grandmother = Golu! Don't leave the room!

Grandmother = Golu! Don't go outside!

Mother = Mother, he has Repelex protection.

Grandmother = Repelex!

Male voice-over = New Repelex's international formula is so useful that not even a single mosquito can bite you whether within the house or outside, apply in areas not covered by clothing.

Boy = I am not afraid of mosquitoes at all!

Female voice-over = New Repelex protection, anyplace, any time.

Caption = New Repelex protection, anyplace, any time.

Advertisement : Surf

Script:

Chanting = We will win! Yes! We will win! India will win!

Female voice-over = If because of getting stained, the chances of winning the 2015.

World Cup are increased, stains are good aren't they?

Female voice-over = Surf excel! Stains are good!

Caption = Stains are good.

Advertisement : Sundrop

Script:

Male voice-over = The combination of vitamins A, D, and E being combined together means it's the new Sundrop.

Male voice-over = This provides you with 25% of the daily intake of the necessary vitamins.

Female child voice-over singing = A healthy oil for healthy people.

Male voice-over = Enriched with vitamins is the new Sundrop.

Male voice-over = It helps keep the body healthy.