

T.C.
Mersin Üniversitesi
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Ana Bilim Dalı

GENDER IDEOLOGIES IN TURKISH LANGUAGE OF ADVERTISING
FROM 1980s TO PRESENT

Didem ERŞEN

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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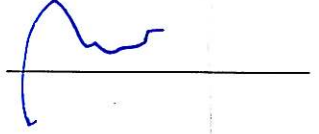


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YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Mersin, 2011

Mersin Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğüne,

Didem ERŞEN tarafından hazırlanan *Gender Ideologies in Turkish Language of Advertising from 1980s to Present* başlıklı bu çalışma, jürimiz tarafından İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalında YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Yukarıdaki imzaların, adı geçen öğretim elemanlarına ait olduklarını onaylıyorum.

26.07/2011

Doç. Dr. Nalan YETİM
Enstitü Müdürü


ÖNSÖZ

Öncelikle, sonsuz destek ve sevgileri için aileme teşekkür etmek istiyorum. Onların anlayışı, sabrı ve güveni bana herşeyden çok yardım etti. Bu yüzden, bu çalışmayı sevgili ailem Sevim, Hayri, Esen ve Duygu Erşen'e armağan etmekten gurur ve mutluluk duyuyorum.

Danışmanım ve çok değerli hocam Dilek Kantar'a, çalışmanın başından sonuna kadar bana rehberlik eden düşündürücü soruları ve eleştirel okumaları için teşekkür ederim. Onun öğrencisi olma fırsatına sahip olduğum için çok şanslıyım.

Jürimdeki diğer üyeler ve değerli hocalarım, Mustafa Aksan ve Aygül Uçar'a geri dönütleri ve yorumları için teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Son olarak, bu yolda yürürken beni sabırla dinleyen ve yanımda olan arkadaşlarım... Ayırdığınız zaman, gösterdiğiniz ilgi ve verdiğiniz ilham için çok teşekkür ederim.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, reklam diline yansıyan Türk mitlerindeki cinsiyet ideolojilerinin kültürel bir incelemesidir. Ana hedef, dergi reklamlarında kadın ve erkek için kullanılan dilin, cinsiyet rollerini toplumda nasıl tanımladığını, Türk kadın ve erkeğinin streatip imajlarını nasıl yarattığını araştırmaktadır. Araştırmada reklamların belli bir ürün hakkında bilgi vermekten çok, insanlara arzu edilen yaşam şekilleri ve kimlikler sunarak kapitalist dünyadaki hakim ideolojiye hizmet ettiği varsayımı desteklemektedir. Çalışmanın verisi 1980-2010 yılları arasında Türkiye’de yayımlanan dergilerdeki 81 temsili reklamın göstergebilimsel analizinden oluşmaktadır. Analiz, ağırlıklı olarak Erving Goffman’ın (1979) kadınlara erkekler tarafından hükmedildiğini ve kadınların genel olarak itaatkar rollerde resmedildiğini ortaya koyan *Gender Advertisements* adlı çalışmasını temel almıştır. Çalışmada, batılı bir bakış açısı görünümü altında, Türk dergi reklamlarındaki derin anlam yapılarının erkek egemen söylemi yansıttığı açığa çıkarılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal cinsiyet, Türkçe reklamlar, ideoloji, göstergebilim, mitler

ABSTRACT

This study is a cultural exploration of gender ideologies in Turkish myths reflected in the language of advertisements. Its main purpose is to investigate how the language used for men and women in magazine ads define gender roles in society and create stereotypical images of Turkish men and women. This research is based upon the supposition that the advertisements serve the dominant ideology by offering people desired life styles and identities of a self serving capitalist world, rather than giving them information about a certain product. The data of the study consists of a semiological analysis of 81 representative magazine advertisements published between 1980 and 2010 in Turkish long running magazines. The analysis is mainly grounded on the work *Gender Advertisements* by Erving Goffman (1979) who demonstrates that women in the ads are dominated by men and they are generally portrayed in subservient roles. It reveals that under the guise of a westernized outlook, the underlying meaning structures in Turkish magazine ads reflect the male oriented discourse.

Keywords: Gender, Turkish advertisements, ideology, semiology, myths

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INTRODUCTION

Advertisements are amongst important cultural factors that reflect our social life and shape our way of thinking. They not only carry information, they are also very powerful in framing attitudes and forming opinions. The thoughts, emotions and images created by advertisements have a strong impact on constructing, maintaining or changing social values. People do not often give conscious attention to advertisements, and their social messages are likely to remain unquestioned. In fact, they stimulate our brain by soliciting our participation to the imaginary world we see to make us first remember these images, and eventually accept them as part of our reality. Advertisements unawaringly affect the nature of our thought processes by thoroughly pervading our thought systems. These systems of thought and meaning are communicated by the language which attributes new meanings to some certain products. New meanings attributed to certain products are potent vehicles for a transfer of values and image repertoires through an interminable flow of commercial exchange between countries. Advertising is such a pervasive form of media that it is almost impossible to avoid the dominance and power of the images in the advertisements, which have long been standing at the center of today's consumer culture. For a long time we have been bombarded by these images that encourage us to buy and consume various products. These images act as socializing agents that greatly influence our attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours (Kang 1997).

According to Kilbourne (1999:57-58),

Advertisers like to tell parents that they can always turn off the TV to protect their kids from any of the negative impact of advertising. This is like telling us that we can protect our children from air pollution by making sure they never breathe. Advertising is our environment. We swim in it as fish swim in water. We cannot escape it. The messages of advertisements are inside our intimate relationships, our homes, our hearts, our heads.

That is the reason that the advertisements designed to associate our feelings with certain products provide an excellent way to study how people make sense of our social relationships and thought systems. Fiske (1991) emphasizes that the prominent meanings in the ads surrounding our lives always serve for the dominant ideology. These meanings and thought systems are produced and communicated by language. When examining the persuasive use of language, Williamson (1978) states that what is presented is not just the qualities of the product but the cultural meanings embedded in the ads. The advertisers transform the products into the forms that are meaningful for people. The codes and meanings are not outside the society, they are always subject to the social context of the period (Foucault 1980). These cultural codes created by the language presents new life styles and identities. This is because of the fact that ads are the texts that can reproduce social and cultural values. They have an important role in the production of meaning and conveying ideology and maintaining the continuity of values in the center of consumer culture and capitalism. This study considers mass media as a force enabling a legitimization of the values of capitalism as the dominant ideology in Western and Westernized cultures of our world today. Individualism and competition are the basic concerns that come into prominence in this ideology.

Advertising as a non-personal form of communication aim at convincing the audience to take some action upon products to reach an ideal life. As Schudson (1993:13) illustrates, the promotional culture of advertising is embedded in “what we read, what we care about, the ways we raise our children, our ideas of right and wrong conduct, our attribution of significance to image in both public and private life.” Since advertising is a social practice, it must be considered in the light of social relations based on cultural expectations. The concept of shared meanings emphasizes cultural norms and beliefs. Hall

(1997) points out that members of the same culture interpret the world in roughly similar ways because they share almost the same cultural set of concepts about the images, which enable them to think similarly. This shared understanding is the fundamental requirement for the construction of the advertising process. In spite of the fact that ads have limited space to construct meaning, they do more than that. They convey an ideology, culture, traditions and conventions while telling a persuasive story in a short period of time. They appeal to our feelings to attract our attention and to persuade us. They tell us what products signify and mean, just as the products we consume express who we are (Frith, 1998). In order to understand advertisements and the representation process better, we should take their social context into consideration. According to Hall (1997), representation is an interpretation process of how a meaning is produced through language in everyday social interactions. It's through representation that images and objects convey meaning beyond what is inherent in the actual physical thing. Representation provides an illusion of reality, which makes advertisements seem more convincing for the audiences to believe in something that is just represented.

In the advertisements, concerns aimed at consumption are revealed by both male and female images which promise relatively "new" lifestyles through the use of certain products. As a social constructor, ads impose gender portrayals in terms of appropriate behaviour and appearance for both men and women. They shape our ideas of what it means to be a male or female in a particular society.

How the gender roles are constructed and imposed through Turkish advertising on Turkish society is the basic starting question of the study. The most important research objective that motivates the study is to reveal portrayals of gender roles in selected print advertisements since 1980. Another goal is to find out how these portrayals have changed

in the past 30 years. By studying advertisements in popular media, we attempt to disclose gender ideologies and socially constructed differences between men and women in Turkey. Since advertisements are indicative of the gender relations and they reflect the society's ideology about femininity and masculinity, the approach we have adopted involves exploring the meaning potential of advertising images. This study will utilize Roland Barthes' (1972) modern myths, Judith Williamson's (1978) study of meaning in advertising, gender categories of Erving Goffman (1979), Mee-Eun Kang's (1997) gender analysis and Katherine Frith's (1998) tripartite analysis of advertisements.

In this study, the advertisements will be considered as cultural texts and analyzed by the main principles of semiological method. Semiology is a way to examine cultural myths and signs conventionally agreed on. It is an area that is embedded in a rich combination of ideas whose implications are still actively debated which the following part will briefly touch on. Theoretical framework and the theories of the most influential theoreticians contributing to semiological analysis of ads will be explained in the light of these debates. Applying semiological method to the advertising texts from gender perspective is aimed in the scope of this study. The reason of preferring semiological method in order to analyze the advertisements is that semiology mirrors the way how the thought systems are reflected through the language. It helps us to illustrate the ways through which the reinforcement of status quo and gender stereotypes are maintained by the language in the advertisements.

Purpose of the Study

Since the advertisements have an important role in selling certain products, they are generally examined economically from the points of view of marketing and persuasion.

The fact that the advertisements are one of the most powerful communication forms with concentrated images anywhere in the media system is often underestimated. However, it is possible to shed light on a historical period and to describe the social structure and values of the society by considering the ads as cultural texts which include myths, role models of men and women, and representations and stereotypes. This study is a semiological analysis of cultural myths in Turkish advertisements and it attempts to deconstruct the ways in which signs operate within these texts, and they reveal how certain values, attitudes and beliefs are supported whilst others are suppressed by the dominant ideologies. It is known that the images provided by media have become persuasive and manipulative so much that they now organize and direct our thoughts considerably. The overall concern of this research is to uncover the myths which have significant influence on their audience. Of course the effect of the advertisers' use of persuasion and manipulation strategies for this attainment is undeniable, but this study seeks for cultural explanations rather than technical. The fundamental question that motivates this study is to find out the social and cultural implications of gender stereotypes in Turkish advertisements through an analysis of the written and pictorial language used in the ads. The main claim of this study is that the stereotypes forming the role models for genders are created from a masculine point of view. This is directly connected with patriarchal roots of the Turkish society which is manifested in the use of the verbal and visual language ideologically. It is evident that cultural values often go to the heart of the advertisement of a product people use. Since almost every advertisement is written with a set of values in mind, disclosing the ideological relations in the advertisements is possible. This study aims to show the way the qualities and characteristics of gender stereotypes are reflected and constructed in the media by certain ideologies by portraying the representations of genders in the ads.

Hypotheses

The main hypotheses to be explored are as follows:

1. Gender is constructed from a masculine point of view in Turkish advertisements.
2. Men are shown as the goals to be achieved by women in the visual depictions. There is an admiration for men who are portrayed as the targets for women. This is more frequently seen in the 80s and more subtly touched upon after 90s.
3. Women look modern on the outside, but they are in a secondary position despite many images of Europeanization and modernization.
4. Women are in the role of a servant. Their lives and bodies are under the control of men.
5. Women are sexual objects. They are like toys. They are socially needy and are treated as children. They are the object and subject of consumption.
6. There has been a tendency to shift from the product to the images of woman and from the woman's face to the woman's body in the period analyzed which spans approximately thirty years. There has been more nudity and objectification as time progresses.
7. For the women, becoming old means becoming unimportant.
8. Turkish language becomes gradually more metaphorical through the years and it hides the ideology which hides the truth.

Data Collection Techniques and Methodology

The framework of interpretation process is built around a relationship between the advertisements and cultural meaning structures. It is known that different media result

in different relationships to audiences. For this reason, this study restricts the analysis to a single medium, which is magazines. Magazines are chosen as resources for the best indicators of changes in advertising in general, in part because they are heavily dominated by national advertising, and in part because they are a communication form open to influences from other media such as newspapers, radio, film, television or photography. It is expected that magazine advertising allows us to construct a historical sample that would reflect the desired or actual changes in the society. The advertisements are selected from the popular general-interest magazines (*Tempo, Hayat, Ses, Aktüel, Samanyolu*) spanning between the years 1980–2010 and from the womens' magazines in recent decades (*Cosmopolitan, Elele, Hülya*). Successful magazines are chosen rather than the ones that fell by the wayside. Since 1980s *Tempo, Hayat, Ses* and *Aktüel* have been targeted for both male and female audiences. *Cosmopolitan* and *Elele* which start out with an almost exclusively female readership still have a female readership in 2010. All available volumes of the magazines are obtained from National Library of Turkey in Ankara and the advertisements are photographed. It is assured that the overall market is covered and our sample contains a reasonably wide net with almost 300 advertisements in terms of capturing the most significant trends in gender behaviour in advertisements. To make the selection of the advertisements, they are separated and classified with respect to the product type in all available copies of the magazines for each year beginning from 1980. 81 advertisements considered to be representative are selected to be analyzed. Since it is easier, our minds have a tendency to accept the denotative meaning of a sign as the truth, and semiological analysis encourages us to counter these habits of mind, reach beyond what is seen on the surface level and decode the connotative meaning. By using the semiological method, we can uncover the ideological meaning of advertisements and

examine cultural codes closely because it is very sensitive to the nuances and metaphors in cultural systems.

Limitations

The study is based upon the applications of semiological analysis to a historical sample of magazine advertisements. As a method for the study of advertising, semiology suffers from a number of weaknesses. The semiological analysis heavily depends on the skill of the individual analyst. Establishing consistency and reliability in these types of studies requires further studies that can be carried out by several analysts on what is found in a message to reach a sufficient level of agreement. Since the semiological approach focuses on individual readings of messages, it does not lend itself to quantification of results. As Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1988:165) state “it is impossible to base an overall sense of constructed meanings on the examination of a large number of messages. What insights may be extracted from it must remain impressionistic.” Another limitation is about the results of the selection of the advertisements. The sample of the advertisements are not randomly chosen before the application of the semiological method, they are chosen specifically. There are surely more advertisements with the images of women since there are more women in advertising world because the women shop more than men. Though almost all advertisements published within our restricted time framework are included in the study, the representative ones that can be analyzed semiologically are selected to illustrate our points because semiology cannot be applied with equal success to all kinds of advertisements. The advertisements of automobiles and banking are excluded from this study as they were analyzed by Banu Dağtaş in 1999. That no historical material for constructing a sample existed other than print media is another practical problem that

emerges in similar analyses. As a result, the conclusions are confined to the specific instances that are selected from the magazines alone, and they cannot be used to make generalizations on the entire range of advertising. The findings that are reached on the basis of the study are only applicable to things within that specific universe.

Organization of the Study

Initially, the opinions of the most influential theoreticians and their approaches to ideology within cultural studies in literature will be presented in the first chapter of the study. The theoreticians exploring the basic principles of semiology will be summarized and the terms denotation, connotation and myth which are the important concepts in semiology will be briefly explained. In the next part, the analysis of media texts from semiological perspective will be emphasized and gender theories will be touched on. Following this part, the general presentation of gender roles in advertisements will be explained as the last part of the first chapter. Chapter II will be the decoding of Turkish advertisements from gender perspective. The findings through the years will be interpreted in this chapter. The concluding part will summarize the general argument and the results of the study.

CHAPTER I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

I. 1. Ideology

Barthes (1957) claims that everything can be a myth on condition that it is conveyed by a discourse. In this discourse, what is important is not the object of its message, but how this message is structured. The mythical speech is not confined to oral speech or written discourse, but it also encompasses the representations of photography, cinema, mass media, popular culture, sports or social behaviour. As Barthes (1957:111) asserts “even objects will become speech”; the communicated substance is not important so far as it is meaningful in a society. For him, myths are the dominant ideologies of our time. An ideology is a system of abstract thoughts and a set of ideas mostly proposed by the dominant class in the society. Through it, an individual interprets the world and manipulates his/her expectations. An ideology is a way of looking at things with implications to tendencies for behaviour. It is the totality of our principles concerning individual conduct and social relations. By the ideology, not only are the expectations of the individuals directed, but the desired way to act is indirectly imposed on individual’s actions as well. The main purpose behind an ideology is to adhere to a set of ideals where conformity already exists. This is made possible through a normative thought process.

Whether or not it is propounded as an explicit system of thought, every political tendency implicitly entails an ideology. It is how society is made to see things. Dominant ideologies appear as neutral, holding to largely unchallenged assumptions. Ideas about the world and the way it works are presented as normal, natural or common sense. It is accepted by the society that it is just the way things really are. Ideology has four functions as stated by Trethewey, A. Corman, S. R. Goodall, B. (2009:2):

Naturalizing means turning socially constructed, politically-motivated, and fluid ideas into taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs, and meanings. Doing so makes them seem fixed, objective, and “naturally occurring.” *Obscuring* is denying or hiding contradictions in ongoing systems of meaning, making them seem to be seamless, coherent, and unified worldviews. *Universalizing* means presenting the interests or concerns of those in power as the interests of all group members. And *structuring* involves creating rules and resources in a social system that preserve an ideology.

More here on ideology, it distorts reality and offers desired representations with the signification of “ideas-in-form” (Barthes, 1957:112). As a study of how the signs make meaning, semiology accepts the principle of signification revealed by a relation between signifier and signified. The correlation between the signifier (the sound of a spoken word, the written word, a photograph, a drawing etc.) and the signified (the concept) creates signs. For example, Barthes (1957) employs the traditional image of the roses signifying passion. He thus illustrates the connection between language and ideology by disclosing the relations of both linguistic and non-linguistic signs.

Althusser (1969:234), another influential theoretician defines ideology as “the expression of a relation between men and their ‘world’, that is, the -overdetermined- unity of the real relation and the imaginary relation between them and their real conditions of existence”. He remarks that social institutions such as press, radio and TV serve the ideology which reflects the imaginary representations of individuals. His contribution to the field is his focus on the media as one of the most important ideological apparatuses for maintaining the re-generation of power and ideology of the states. Althusser (1970) considers ideology as a reflector of choices, desires, preferences, values or judgements which are the products of social practices. For Althusser, an individual is not endowed with self-consciousness and his/her actions cannot be explained by his/her beliefs and thoughts only. For him, the perception capacity of the self or the individuality is not innate, but

acquired within the structure of established social institutions which impose on an individual the role of a subject. Social institutions called “Ideological State Apparatuses” by Althusser both determine the characteristics of an individual and limits his/her way of life. The family, the media, the education system, the communication, the religion and all their organizations are ideological practices that individuals accept as propagandized. There is no single ideological state apparatus that makes the individual believe that he/she is a subject with a property of being self-conscious. Ideological practice is formed by the combination of institutions whence the individual derives this belief in the course of learning what is to be a daughter, child, worker, female or old.

For Althusser (1969), the identity of the subject is culturally produced within social institutions which create several illusory ways for the continuity of the dominant ideologies. Since these illusionary relationships are widely used in the ads, we will examine how certain gender representations are constructed in the minds of the people. One of the most evident illusion in the ads is that the characters represented never complain about their lives. They are unaware of the troubles in life and they go on their lives with a big smile on their faces. Capitalist ideology imposed on people wants to make them believe that the more you consume a certain product, the closer you become to the idealized characters in the advertisements in terms of physical attraction and life style. As a result, the people exposed to the ads try to establish a similarity between the life presented in the ads and their lives. The ads are the constant reminders of the privations in the lives of the middle class. Also, the ads are situated in the daily lives of people in a subtle and successful way by having influence on people from diverse backgrounds. The message of the ads provoked by consumerism is that life is better for those who use a certain product. However, the idealized images also have a dream-like, virtually attainable quality to them,

which serves the continuity of capitalist ideology. In contemporary criticism, it is now accepted that values and ideology are not under the surface. They 'are' the surface (McMinn 2008). People are made to wear ideological glasses that hide the reality by the dominant groups who own power and maintain power. Althusser expresses that ideological state apparatuses are the means of this domination. Society is trained by certain images to recognize how to be wealthy through the display of stereotypical media images of a dominant ruling group. For Jones (2001:227), ideology "is not just any system of ideas or beliefs, but ways of thinking in which historically transient exploitative forms of social organization are represented as eternal, natural, inevitable or rational." For example, society usually does not ever question their actual need for commercial products. More importantly, the inequalities in society are often hidden underneath appearances and the media encourage people to accept these social inequalities. The ideal appearances of people also relate to the society's underlying media ideology, which we shall see in more detail by the advertisements selected. We shall examine our data within this framework and explore the ways the dominant ideologies are imposed on our social life by the advertisements.

I. 2. Terms and Theories of Semiology

Semiology is the study of signs which stands for something other than themselves. As Bal and Bryson (1991:174) express the idea that "human culture is made up of signs" which necessitates the understanding of the signs in order to understand the culture. Semiology aims to reveal how the meanings are created by hypothesing that every sign is connected to one another in deep meaning constructions. Since no satisfactory explanation can be made by excluding meaning, semiology obligatorily includes the study of meaning structures that are semantic. Discourse semantics including subject focus,

lexical choices or implications may be influenced by underlying ideologies. Semiology is concerned about all these concerns such as how meaning is created, the thought systems and the ideologies producing these meanings.

The first studies of “sign” started with the *General Courses of Linguistics* by the French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure in The University of Genève between the years 1907-1911. The book published in 1916 after the death of Saussure provided the basis for the other studies in semiology. For Saussure, meaning production is based on the language which is the system of “sign” that represents something other itself. He defined the sign as being composed of a form called as “signifier” and the represented concept called as “signified”.

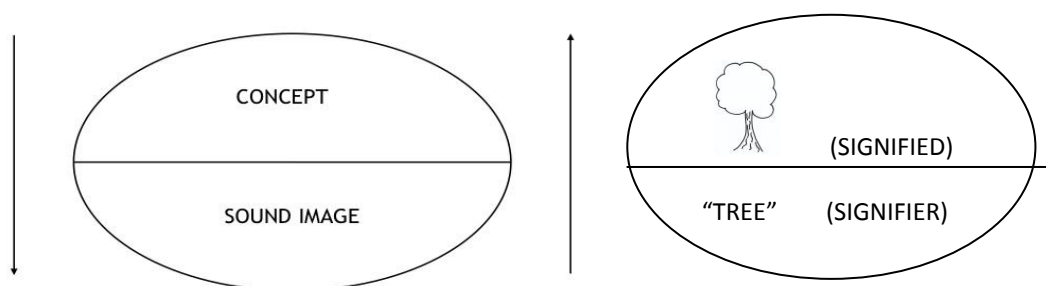
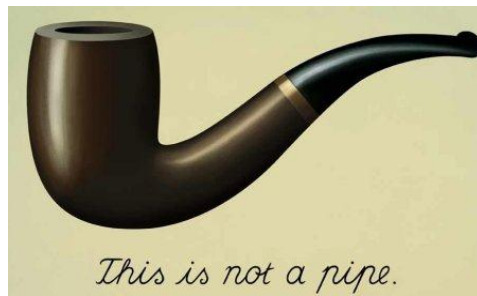


Figure 1: The components of a linguistic sign (Saussure, 1996:66)

The sign is the whole that results from the relationship of these two elements: “Signifier” and “signified”. The association between them is referred as signification. Saussure emphasized the importance of signification and the value of a sign. For him, each sign gains its value by the contrast among the other signs. The color “red” is not meaningful when it is not different from the color “yellow”. What makes the color “red” meaningful is not the redness but the distinction between “red” and “yellow”. His ideas about signification are followed by other theoreticians. Following him, Levi-Strauss (1969) states that the meanings are special to the specific culture although the processes of meaning creations are universal. The idea that the meanings produced are restricted or

extended by that specific culture is suggested by Hall (1997) developing Levis-Strauss' ideas 30 years later. For Saussure (1996) the meanings referred are not permanently fixed by the signifier-signified relation which is determined by the culture. Williamson (1978) also emphasizes that meaning is something we produce in our social relationships and it pertains to cultures, groups and historical periods.

Barthes (1957) argues that semiology is concerned with all forms of social practices, not only with the language itself. He claims that everything reflecting life ranging from daily used random objects to the works of art can be interpreted as a sign in a system and can be analyzed as a sign. The philosopher Charles Sanders Pierce (1931) is the first theoretician to analyze the functions of the signs. He divides the signs into three categories as iconic, indexical and symbolic signs, which he thought the division is the key to understand semiology. Iconic signs are the signs that acquire their function through similarity to what they signify. A photograph is an iconic sign of the person or a picture of a chair is an iconic sign of the chair. Indexical signs acquire their function through the casual connection with what they signify. Smoke is the indexical sign of the fire since there is a relation between them. Symbolic signs are the signs that are conventionally agreed on so the arbitrary relationship between them must be learnt in the process of socialization. They establish the relationship with what they represent by conventional agreement since this relation is mostly culture-specific. For example, languages, letters, words, numbers, lights, codes are all symbolic signs. Because the relationship between each word in the dictionary and its object is formed by convention, it is arbitrary and symbolic. The concept of "a car" (signified) does not have any similarity with the word "a car" (signifier) in any language, which makes the relation institutionalized.



Picture 1: *The Treachery of the Images*. (Magritte, 1929)

In one of the famous paintings that Rene Magritte did in 1929, he wrote a sentence that the painting is not a pipe (“Ceci n’est pas une pipe”). Although it seems quite contradictory, it is actually true. It is an *image* of a pipe. However hard we try to reach to reality by using art, we cannot get close to the real object itself. We cannot smoke with the picture of the pipe which is just a sign.

According to Pierce (1931) people think only through signs. He states that no symbol can become a sign unless its meaning is interpreted and constructed by a certain community. Pierce’s understanding of a symbol or a sign coincides with the understanding of Saussure who states that every sign takes its value by the opposition that it creates with other elements. It is important to define these distinctions for the meaning productions because the simplest way to make distinction is to create a contrast. Therefore, the meaning of any word is defined with regard to its opposite, that is, the meaning is in relation to what it is not, rather than what it is (Culler 1976). It is emphasized by most structuralists that what makes the sign valuable is the difference between them. This corresponds to the matter that what makes a product valuable is the difference among the others in the world of advertising. This point of view reflects to the language in a way that the distinction -which does not really exist in similar products- is generated by the language by giving them different images. Therefore, Williamson (1978) concludes in two perfume

advertisements that the meaning of Margaux Hemingway doing karate and breaking traditions is resulted from the fact that she is not Catherine Deneuve who dresses delicately and womanly. In this context, they become signs. In general, ads make a connection between feelings and products based on contrasts and make the consumers believe that what seems unattainable can be attainable and they use the product as the signifier which points to the feeling. Thus, the product and the feeling become replaceable as the signifier and the signified. Thanks to the relation between the signifier in the ad of the *Chanel* perfume (Catherine Deneuve) and the signified (attractiveness), perfume takes the place of Catherine Deneuve's face and connotes attractiveness (Williamson 1978).

I. 3. Denotation, Connotation and Myth

In semiological analysis, it is important to understand the concepts of denotation and connotation which indicate "first and second levels of meaning in a sign" (Dyer 1986:128). Denotation is descriptive or the surface meaning of the sign while connotation refers to what the viewer brings to the meaning of it or the emotion conveyed by it. The relationship between denotation and connotation is called signification that reveals meaning. Denotation and connotation are related but connotation can be said to go beyond what is being denoted. In Roland Barthes' (1964) terms, denotation is "signifier of the connotation". It is mostly described as the obvious or commonsense of a sign. In the case of linguistic signs, the denotative meaning is what the dictionaries of a specific language provides for a word. While most semioticians find it useful to distinguish connotation from denotation, a clear-cut separation is not practically possible. For Barthes the most important factor in connotation is the signifier on the first level which forms the sign of the connotation. In "The Rhetoric of the Image" Barthes (1964) argues that the difference

between connotation and denotation is more obvious in photography although the photographic signifier looks the same as its signified. The same street can be photographed with different aspects and what creates the difference is the change in the signifier, that is, the change in the form or the appearance of the photographs. Fiske (1982) explains that denotation is a mechanical reproduction of the object that the camera is directed to. Connotation is the social dimension of this process, that is, it is the choice of the things to be included in the frame, the focus, the light, the angle and etc. Fiske (1982:91) states that “denotation is what is photographed, connotation is how it is photographed.”

Denotation and connotation are mostly defined in terms of *levels (orders) of meaning or level of representation*. In Barthes’ terms, the first order of signification is denotation: At this level, there is a sign consisting of a signifier and a signified. The second order of signification is connotation which uses the denotative sign (signifier and signified) as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified. Connotation can be said to be the sign which derives from the signifier of a denotative sign so denotation leads to a chain of connotations.

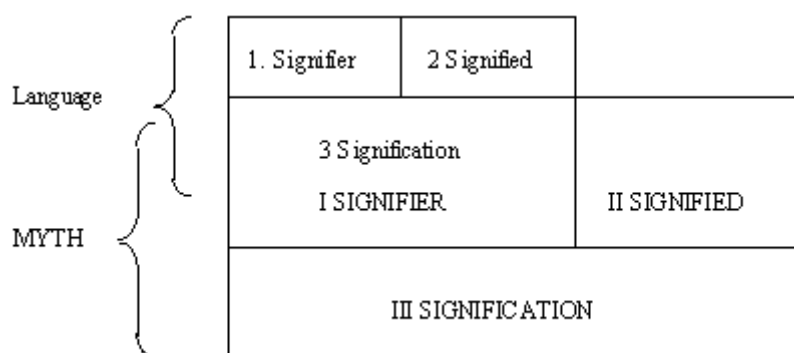


Figure 2: Barthes’ diagram of language and myth (1957:115).

This suggests that beyond its literal and primary meaning (denotation), a particular word may have several connotations such as cultural, sexual or ideological connotations. Chandler (1997) expresses that this is the mechanism by which signs appear

to signify one thing but are loaded with multiple meanings. These are generally connected with the interpreter's age, gender, class, ethnicity or cultural background. Besides socio-cultural factors, historical factors have an important role in reaching different connotations since meanings can change over time. It is possible to reach different connotations by changing the form of a signifier with the same signified. The choice of words, the use of metaphors or the place of the focus on an image can generate different meanings. Connotation is entirely a matter of how the language is used. Barthes (1957) argues that the levels of signification called denotation and connotation combine to produce ideology described as the *third level of signification*. For him, the signification which is the association between form and concept refers to the *myth* itself just as the Saussurean sign refers to the word. In his collection of essays *Mythologies*, Barthes defines myths as the dominant ideologies of our time. They serve to naturalize the cultural values, beliefs, attitudes or the way the things seem normal and true. As Barthes (1957:143) puts it:

Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification. It gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact.

Although the differences among the three levels of signification are not clear-cut, some theorists distinguish them for analytic purposes. The first (denotative) level of signification is seen as primarily representational. The second (connotative) level of signification suggests expressive values which are attached to a sign. In the third (mythological or ideological) level of signification, the sign indicates major culturally-variable concepts underpinning a particular worldview such as masculinity, femininity, freedom, individualism reflected in the discourse of media, science, law, government, morality or education.

As in all ads, readers use cultural codes to interpret the sign “by uniting signifier and signified” (Dyer, 1986:128), but in advertising, by the very nature of the codes, connotation is not neutral or untouched by ideology; “it is set within society.” (Dyer, 1986: 130). Whatever image is being used, some sort of meaning is attached to the sign that goes beyond the literal meaning. That is the reason why the advertisements not only reflect ideology, but they produce new meanings also. “This connotation process depends on our knowledge of the forms of ideology that advertisements employ” (Dyer, 1986:130).

Most of the theorists agree that no sign is purely denotative, no sign lacks connotation and no meaning is free of value judgement. A sign is always more polysemic in its connotations than its denotations since connotation describes personal, emotional, socio-cultural or ideological associations. Connotation can create the illusion of the signifier and the signified as being identical. It is, in short, is an illusion of denotation, which is produced by the language. From such a point of view, denotation is said to be nothing more than the natural meaning than of the sign. This perspective can be misleading, in that, denotation is supposed to be purely literal which is not cultural or ideological at all (Chandler, 1997). In fact, it pretends to be so, under this illusion, and the connotations that seem most obvious to people are just “natural”. “According to an Althusserian reading, when we first learn denotations, we are also being positioned within ideology by learning dominant connotations at the same time” (Silverman, 1983: 30). The arbitrariness of signifiers, diversity of interpretations and cultural contexts make the notion of literal meaning difficult to accept since it has several connotative meanings. Although denotations involve a broader consensus, members of the same culture would agree upon the similar connotations to some degree. For example, it is widely known that a car

connotes freedom or virility in Western cultures or a gun is associated with masculine power in Turkish society.

Since the meaning is conventionalized by society members, it is useful to examine how the layers of this meaning construction process are built. Katherine Frith (1988) introduces a tripartite approach in order to read the advertisements culturally in her book *Undressing the Ad: Reading Culture in Advertising*. According to Frith's (1988:5) analysis, there are three levels of meaning including surface, intended and ideological meanings.

The surface meaning consists of the overall impression that a reader might get from quickly studying the advertisement. The advertiser's intended meaning is the message that the advertiser is trying to get across. Some marketers refer to this as the strategy behind the ad. It is the 'preferred' or expected meaning that a reader might get from the ad; the meaning that the advertiser intends for the reader to take with them. The cultural or ideological meaning relies on the cultural knowledge and background of the reader. We all 'make sense' of ads by relating them to our culture and to the shared belief systems held in common by most people.

I. 4. Semiological Approaches to Advertisements and Ideology

In this part, the theoreticians that shape the approaches of the cultural studies to media images will be explored. The studies of the production and consumption processes of media texts in terms of ideological perspective have started with English Cultural Studies. Cultural critics consider media as an institution that recreates the dominant ideology and the values, which make the ideological analysis of media texts possible.

Beginning from 1930s in Frankfurt School, the analysis based on social and cultural studies have steadily increased, especially since 1980s. As Kellner (1992) expresses, the new media technologies have made cultural diversity and autonomy possible but they have also made the intervention on culture easier at the same time (qtd in Dağtaş,

2003:18). Cultural studies are regarded as the criticism of the capitalist economic systems. Cultural studies adopt a post structural perspective that rejects history and degrades all social life into certain discourses. The most significant affect of studying discourses in relation to cultural studies is to prioritize the importance of language to understand the cultural and social life. Kellner (1995:334) states that “all ads are social texts that respond to key development during the period in which they appear”. One of the most important sociologist Erving Goffman, in *Gender Advertisements* (1979), speaks of advertising as a world in which we are given realistic images of domestic life and male-female relationships. Schudson emphasizes (1993:215) that “advertising does not claim to picture reality as it should be – life and lives worth emulating.” Goffman’s influential book *Gender Advertisements* (1979) provides the theoretical framework for depiction of gender in advertising. He published an analysis of nearly 400 visual images in print advertisements focusing on very subtle signs which he thought were the key elements to provide an understanding of gender relations. Goffman claims that advertising conveys cultural ideas about each gender, mostly in subtle forms, since gender relations are socially defined and constructed. He believes that the best way to understand the relationship between men and women depicted in the advertisements is to compare them to the parent-child relation. He claims that men play the part of the parents responsible for their children who are animated by the women in the depictions. In his book, he categorizes gender behavior displays into five categories and illustrates how women are portrayed as the weaker sex in advertisements in several ways:

It is essential to note that there may be few exceptions to the classification he makes. However, the purpose to concentrate on Goffman’s concepts is not to make a

mechanical application to the ads chosen in this study, but to use them in order to become more sensitive about the ways how the advertisements communicate ideas about gender.

An outline of the key concepts Goffman (1979) developed is given below.

1. Relative size: In an advertisement, the size of the image in comparison with others in the scene communicates as social weight, that is, it refers to power, status, authority or rank. It is demonstrated by Goffman that women are mostly pictured as lower and smaller than men.

2. Feminine touch: In the ads, women are observed to use their fingers to caress the surface of an object lightly or touch themselves in a non-utilitarian way as opposed to men who grasp the objects purposely to demonstrate its use.

3. Function ranking: When models in the ads are shown together, one person is depicted engaging in an activity or in an occupational role while others are assistants, watchers or the objects of the activity. The functions that the models engage in the advertisements can be used to communicate their relative status. Goffman states that this category can be tested in terms of activity or passivity which reflects gender-based occupational specializations. When cooperating with a woman, the man often has the executive role in the advertisements.

4. The ritualization of subordination: One way in which subordination in social situations is echoed expressively in ads is through prostration or just lowering physically. This term refers to a number of signs that communicate deference through the positioning of the body. The basic ritual of domination that can be seen in the ads is one in which the person, especially a woman, is reclined before the viewer, often on a floor or a bed. In these cases, standing upright with head high performed more often by men. It

connotes their superiority and their attitude towards the other person or viewer with strong contempt.

5. Licensed withdrawal: This term conveys a sense of distance explaining that a person is psychologically removed from the social setting displayed in the ads. Women are mostly shown drifting away mentally and unconscious while men have the control.

Goffman (1979) asks about what is signified about the relative social positions of men and women by such portrayals in the ads. He comes to a conclusion that gender images in the ads are highly ritualized forms of the parent and child relation in which the woman is treated like a child. The images reflect the concentrated real life stereotypes though they are deliberately posed creations produced by certain ideologies. The question is why the ads would not look strange to us if they were not merely accidental portrayals of gender roles. According to Goffman, the answer lies behind the strong relationship between advertisements and reality since advertisements draw their materials from everyday life. That is the reason why most of the advertisements do not seem odd to us. Jhally (1989:29) supports Goffman and clarifies that point as:

From the way we dress, the way we behave, and the structure of our interactions, to things such as body postures and ceremonial activities (opening doors, giving up chairs, etc.) we are communicating ideas about gender using culturally conventionalized routines of behavior. These displays, or rituals of gender behavior, help the interpretation of social reality, they are guides to perception. It is from these conventionalized portrayals of gender that advertising borrows so heavily.

In Goffman's (1979) opinion, advertising is directly related with the ritualization of the social world. A number of studies have proved that this applies not only in theory, but in real life as well. For example, Lavine, Sweeney and Wagner (1999) show that advertisements that represent women as sex objects cause body dissatisfaction among the audiences. As Goffman's coding model concentrates on the bodily expressions,

Winship (1981) also states that women in advertisements are mostly signified by their lips, legs, hair, eyes or hands and represented in a fragmented way, which stands for their sexuality.

As socio-cultural texts with different signs and symbols, advertisements manage to create an ideology with using language verbally and visually. They are the combination of verbal and visual texts that reproduce and legitimize cultural values. All types of messages given by the texts can be more effectively given through visual images. That is the main reason why the visual images are emphasized as nonverbal symbols in studying advertising.

I. 5. Gender Theories

The most common way to categorize people is to perceive the world as “us” versus “them”. Gender is one of the basic categories that human mind first and easily notices related to classifying social life. Fiske (1991) considers gender as one of the most important categories which focuses on stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination together with age and race.

Gender, as a concept, proposes that all the perceptions about both sexes are constructed by the society. Although some think that the differences between sexes are originated from biological factors, it is not accepted in its entirety as this opinion is not sufficient enough to understand this difference by itself. Beyond biology and physical appearance, gender refers to socially constructed roles, behaviour, activities and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women. It is the general expectations of the way how men and women act according to social norms. Gender role is described as the totality of the personal traits and behaviours related to sexes desired by the

society and embraced by the individuals. According to the gender theories of Parsons and Bales (1955), the personality of any human starts to be constructed during the socialization process among family members. Henslin (1999:76) states that “an important part of socialization is the learning of culturally defined gender roles.” He maintains that learning gender roles refers to learning how to be a girl and a boy, which emphasizes the reinforcing power of the family in the gender acquisition process. This is also reinforced by social environment and mass media.

One of the most influential philosopher, who contributed to the fields of gender studies with her book *Gender Trouble* (1990) is Judith Butler. Butler’s argument is that gender and heterosexual desire are culturally established through the repetition of stylized acts in time which constructs the essence of the genders. She examines the definition of being a woman in Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* first published in 1949. Beauvoir states that throughout the history women have been defined as “the other sex”. According to her, (1997: 19-20) “woman is the Other in the totality of which two components are necessary to one another.” The women constitute a lack against men that excludes the representation of women. Butler expresses that Beauvoir makes the distinction between sex and gender. For Beauvoir, “one is not born but rather becomes a woman” and gender is a gradually-acquired aspect of an identity including the processes of socialization, education, cultural expectations and ideology. She concentrates on the idea that one’s identity is not innate but acquired by living. Her assertion about gender acquisition is also supported by the constructionist theory of gender. The theory distinguishes sex and gender claiming that sexual difference does not inevitably cause inequality between men and women. According to the theory, inequality is accepted as a social fact, not a natural one. In contemporary theory there has been a remarkable increase in the number critics, including postmodernist

feminists, who consider gender to be a vehicle in the inequality of the society. Postmodernist feminists try to restructure and analyze the dominant discourses based on gender, that is, being a woman or a man is one of the main elements in any individual. However, not every individual's social identity is composed of the same elements. Individuals can be old or young, rich or poor, single or married apart from being a male or female, and individuality is formed by the constitution of these variables. It is not possible to explain the complex relationships between men and women by reducing them to a gender category.

I. 6. The Presentation of Gender Roles in Media Texts

Gender is described as the socially constructed differences between men and women referring mostly to cultural ideas and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. The definition of gender comprises a great deal. Behaviors, activities, abilities, tendencies, accepted and unaccepted deviations from the ideal based on what it means to be male or female are all part of the gender constructs in a society. Being feminine or masculine is emphasized strongly in any culture and can be one of the most important aspects of self-conceptions. That is why the differences and similarities between men and women are almost compulsory study areas for their implications on individual identity and sociological differences. Apart from the obvious facts, there are certain attributes underpinning our understanding of the way how to group individuals into one or the other gender and to address men and women as male or female. Therefore, the concept of gender is not simply biological but a cultural fact. While the notion of sex roles is defined as the biological-based sexuality, gender roles are defined as learned behaviours in the socialization process. To make the children who do not have obvious gendered physical differences, the earrings

similar to those worn by the mother are used for girls and the uniforms of father's favourite football team are used for boys. The summary of gender traits represented by Park (2007) is illustrated in the table below to inform us about the typical tendencies of gender behaviours:

Male Gender Traits	Female Gender Traits
Independent	Dependent
Rational	Emotional
Rough	Kind
Unemotional	Fragile
Brave	Cowardly
Insensitive	Sensitive
Aggressive	Placid
Natural	Ornamental, artificial
Strong	Weak
Disobedient	Obedient
Active	Passive
Powerful	Subordinate
Assertive	Unassertive
Confident	Submissive
Competitive	Co-operative

Table 1: Gender Traits (Park, 2007)

It is easily seen that both genders have opposite characters. Lips (2005) points out that gender stereotypes are socially shared beliefs that certain traits can be assigned to

individuals based on their membership in the female or male half of the human race. The stereotypes of men and women are adjusted by considering the roles they occupy. For example, if men tend to be in the roles that demand taking charge, and women in those connected to nurturing, it will probably be assumed by the audiences that men and women have the required attributes for such roles. In terms of gender stereotypes, physical appearance is the most outstanding aspect of how masculine and feminine a person is thought to be. Although appearance is considered to be important in both males and females, concern with appearance is regarded as part of the feminine stereotype, and beauty is frequently defined as a feminine quality (Ivy and Backlund 2004). When physical appearance is displayed by men, it is mostly reflected in strength as a masculine quality. It is less acceptable for them to talk about their bodies since preoccupation with appearance is supposed to be stereotypically feminine.

In feminist studies, it is emphasized that gender is a concept based on the duality of modernism and the subject of enlightenment is the man. These binary relations can be more frequently seen in eastern thought systems. In Chinese Yin/Yang thinking, Yin is dark and not active side associated with females. Yang related to males is the clear and active part of the whole. For example, men are thought to be represented by their brains, whereas women are assumed to be represented with their bodies. To know the definition of women in the society is only possible by learning the definition of women in the minds of the people in that specific society. The contrast can be clearly reflected in conventionally agreed ideas.

Inferiority, violence or patriarchy are not perpetrated only by the signs or discourses in the texts but by the ideas invoking mythologies about them and prior knowledge is brought into mind. For example, people tend to believe that females (and

children and elders) are the victims of violence. Gender is one of the most important forms of codified behaviour in all societies and it provides an ideal place to examine the encoding of cultural norms and values in ritualized format. Advertisements as a channel to maintain gender ideologies by idealizing gender roles depict socially acceptable scenarios. That is the reason why the advertisements are a vehicle for socialization through which the knowledge about gender roles and expectations are acquired. For communicating gender identity, certain routine forms have been accepted in every culture. These cultural social norms demonstrate the way men and women are supposed to look, act and have a relationship with each other in a variety of social settings. While men are viewed as aggressive, analytical, competitive, dominant, independent, strong and risk taking; women are seen as cheerful, compassionate, gullible, sensitive, understanding, and yielding (Bem, 1974). These designate social expectations and behaviours of the genders, which renders the use of gender necessary as a prominent feature in advertisements.

Waters (1996) states that what women and men know or learn role-appropriate behavior such as impressions both genders get from the image of a good mother and the successful businessman. The images in the media serve to persuade women that one of the principal responsibilities is to stay eternally young and beautiful is by buying the right kind of product. Media images communicate quickly, at a glance and require the participation of the audience to construct meaning. The advertising process requires taking into consideration of daily life, norms and rituals. Therefore, advertisements offer a world that enables subjects to recognize social behaviour regarding genders. There is no better source than gender that touches the very core of our definition as human beings. Advertisements say a lot about the relative social positions of men and women. Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1988:168) express that “advertisements are not the accidental portrayals of these roles;

they are deliberately posed creations”. That is why it is not so easy to imagine a reversal in the positions of male and female models. There is a strong relationship between advertisements and social rituals if the displays are correctly read. Goffman (1979) examines the origin of these gender displays by not focusing on our biological history and instinctual behavior. He suggests an answer based on specific cultural relations within the family – that of parent and child. He states that men attempt to constrain women and regard them as equivalent to children. In the advertisements, Goffman tries to find the patterns through which women are treated mostly as children with the ritualized versions of parent-child relationship. They are under the physical protection of men. While women are portrayed as dependent on men, doing unimportant things, concerned with physical attractiveness, sex objects, and housewives (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971; Goffman, 1979), men are shown as muscular, sexually appealing, career oriented, dominant, adventurous and autonomous (Fowles, 1996).

Taflinger expresses that getting a man’s attention by using women’s bodies and making him associate getting the woman by buying a certain product is easy in advertising. It is playing on his instinctive rather than intellectual view of the world. Thus, advertising can show the image of a woman and sell the product on the basis of “women want this ‘product’ in a man. Get the product, get the woman.” Harris defines sexual information (1994:206) as “any representation that portrays or implies sexual interest, behavior, or motivation”. It is often integrated within the advertisement as images, verbal elements, or both. For example, advertisements can contain images of attractive people in revealing dress or tight-fitting clothing or contain verbal elements such as ambiguous and sexually suggestive words. Often, both elements become integrated to create a sexual meaning in advertisements.

Apart from involving sexual content, sexual information in advertisements can be in connection with the message to greater or lesser degrees. For example, some advertisements contain images of obvious nudity or models engaged in erotic affairs. On the other hand, some advertisements contain only a hint of sexual suggestion, or perhaps an implication or play on words.

Taflinger (1996) expresses that sex is a very strong appeal in advertising. However it easily sells to men; it is an adjunct to women. Tom Reichert (2003) supports the idea by expressing that using sex as an appeal for women is not common for advertising. Unlike men, women are often less concerned with the act of sex. They are more interested in sex for what it can mean in the future. As Taflinger (1996:6) expresses, “advertising cannot take advantage of a woman’s instinctive sexual desire, because the job of advertising is not to build for the future- it is to sell a product now”. To sell a product to a woman, advertising relies on a modern idea about how men and women relate to each other. This relation is romance for women. Romance suits the woman's view of relationships since it is the major element for beginning a relationship for her. The romantic appeal rarely contains an evidently sexual message. Unlike men, women are used as a device to establish a relationship and usually shown in a romantic rather than sexual context. Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1988) reveals that romance and family relations are more prominent in advertisements for a female audience. Another finding of this study is that beauty is stressed more for a female than a male audience, and the reverse is true for ruggedness and fraternity. The study indicates that a romantic relation and appearance is more important for females.

In *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger (1972:47) observes the “conventions which are at last being questioned but have by no means been overcome - men act and women appear.

Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at.” Berger argues that women are depicted as being “aware of being seen by a [male] spectator” (1972:49). Writing in 1972, Berger (1972:64) insists that women are still “depicted in a different way to men - because the “ideal” spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him”. Twenty four years later Jib Fowles (1996:204) agrees on the idea that “in advertising males gaze, and females are gazed at”. Even the intended viewer is a woman, the advertisements appear to imply a male point of view, in that, women who look at these advertisements see the scene from the point of an implicit, opposite-sex viewer. That women are things to be looked at is suggested by the study of Stankiewicz and Rossellini (2008). In their study (2008:587) they conclude that “a woman’s value lies largely in terms of her appearance and sexuality.” Lindner (2004:414) defines objectification as being “portrayed in such a way as to suggest that being looked at is a woman’s major purpose or function in the advertisement.”

CHAPTER II. SEMIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TURKISH PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS

After presenting general knowledge about the connoted meaning of the advertisements, we will begin with analyzing the advertisements of the products that are mostly used by females. It is clear that there is little real difference among the brands of detergents, margarines, toilet papers or cosmetics. That is why creating difference is an obligation for a product among the other products in the same category. An advertisement gives a different image to the product to draw attention to itself. These differences give the product its value in the system. This is based on the idea of Saussure (1996) that the value of any element depends on the opposition and the identity of something depends mostly on what it is not, rather than what it is. The oppositions determine the place of an element in the system according to structuralist thought. However, there are no natural differences in many of the the products unless a different image is attached to them. In the example in 2009 below, we see the differentiation process created by a famous person who starred in one of James Bond series: “Gemma Arterton”. This is a perfume advertisement called “Bond Girl 007” and we are supposed to see ‘the bond’ between the woman and the perfume.



Ad 1: Avon Bond Girl (Cosmopolitan 2008)

Here, the perfume and the face of the woman is not related but just putting them next to each other makes us think that they are related in some way. This is our mental tendency to see the elements not as segmented units, but as complex wholes. Even if the relation may be arbitrary, we think they have a logical connection owing to the fact that we are inclined to seek for the wholeness. We tend to combine the units in order to see the whole picture. In this ad, two elements in the picture are situated appositionally as stated by Williamson (2001). In simple words, a beautiful, attractive, elegant woman and a bottle of perfume are shown. The connection is established by understanding what Gemma Arterton means for us. In order to attract the attention, this advertisement uses female beauty and it uses the relationship between signifier (Gemma Arterton) and signified (attractiveness) for its own benefit. Therefore, perfume stands for the qualities of Gemma Arterton. A famous person can be a focus of the identity of the things in the advertisement. If we get into a little bit deeper on the colors used in the ad, we can see that the bottle of the perfume and the

lipstick of the woman have exactly the same color. This color is not used in anywhere in the picture but on the lips of the woman to attract attention sexually. Another point in the ad is the phrase “impossible to resist” referring to two things at the same time. It seems to refer to the odour of the perfume but it is exactly written on the naked shoulder of the woman who appears to be impossible to resist. The slogan is in fact intended to refer to the woman, rather than the perfume. In this way, the consumer assimilates her identity with this imaginary identity and attractive image promised to be given by the perfume, which is connoted by the ad. In advertising texts, myths and cultural elements are utilized while marketing the products. The fact is known by the advertisers that the values conveyed to the audiences should be the same with the values that the audiences already have. The ads send messages about the ideal life which is possible to attain with using the product and the positive change in the viewers’ life thanks to the consumption of the product. The promises are all about the sociopsychological needs of the consumers such as acceptance, appreciation or state of belonging.

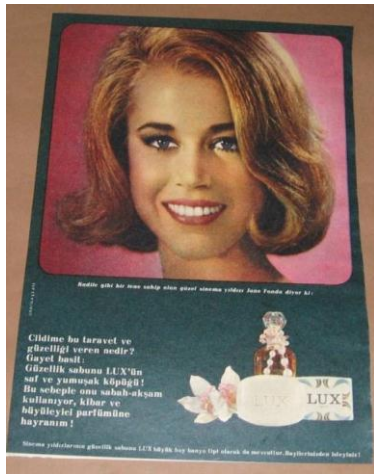
By using semiological method, we will start with examining the advertisements in 1980s. Roland Barthes was one of the first to apply semiotic tools to an analysis of popular culture. In *Mythologies* (1957), he explored a diverse range of topics ranging from toys to soap powder commercials. In his discussion about soap powders and detergents, he investigates the psychoanalytic meanings of some cleansing materials that offer different remedies for what he called “the evil” (1957:36). He classifies them as chlorinated fluids which burn, powders which force out dirt and detergents which clean in depth. He draws attention to the relations between the evil and the cure, between dirt and a given product in his essay *Soap-powders and Detergents*. These relations can clearly be seen in many of the advertisements. In a slogan of an advertisement of a detergent called *Ace*, this relation is

explicitly reflected by the expression “Lekelere düşman, çamaşıra dost.” Advertising also creates new needs for living a more practical way of life which gives you a high status. Barthes discloses these creations of needs that have a surplus value. Barthes (1957:37) claims: “matter is endowed with value-bearing states” and he gives an example of the foam that is well known to signify luxury. Here, we see a famous singer and film artist for Turkish people, Emel Sayın.



Ad 2: Lux (Ses 1982)

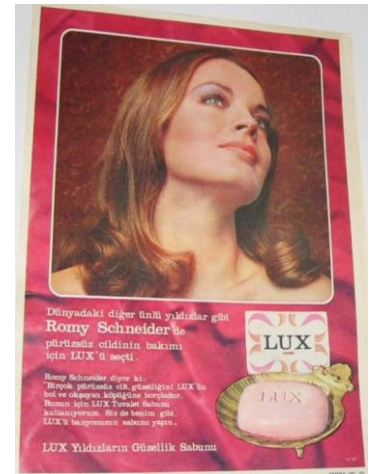
The text of the advertisement claims that Emel Sayın admires the abounding and soft foam of the soap advertised. An additional value is added to the soap by the foam that is the sign of abundance with its self-reproducing nature. The soap called *Lux* focuses on this quality of the foam in many of its advertisements as in the following ads:



Ad 3: Lux (Ses 1982)



Ad 4: Lux (Ses 1882)



Ad 5: Lux (Ses 1982)

In each of the print advertisements above, there are two elements: the soap and the face of the woman. In order to attract the attention, this advertisement uses female beauty and the relationship between signifier (for example Raquel Welch) and signified (attractiveness) for its own benefit. The ad mostly does not tell anything about the quality of the products consumed. What is focused on is the characteristics of the people who consume that product. In the Turkish ad as well soap stands for the qualities of Emel Sayın who is a focus of the identity of the product advertised. Attractiveness is promised to be given by the soap, therefore the consumer easily accepts this quality by assimilating her identity with a celebrity. The address is exposed to the requirement of being beautiful, which is only possible for a woman by consuming these tools which become essential for women to be able to compete against the image created in the advertisements that support the competition. They unconsciously compare their look with the images in the ads and they lose or gain their self-esteem depending on this evaluation. In the pictures, the women are presentable, well-cared, charming, and mostly under the age of thirty and inviting, which is an unrealistic state for women to keep up for long. The women in real life fall behind the imaginary women and that ensures the continuity of the consumption of the

products advertised. The more advertising creates new needs and set unattainable goals, the more people consume the products advertised. The people who consume similar things get close to each other and separate from others who consume different products. This fact makes it easy to categorize people based on their consuming habits. In some fake categories provoked by ads, people get classified according to what they consume instead of what they produce. The consumption is believed to dignify people therefore we are made to believe that we have a higher social status by means of the goods we buy. The main difference in our societies is still class differences but using consumer goods as a device for creating classes ironically covers all these differences. This covering is ideology. Ideology is what sociologic situations make valid and even obligatory. As Althusser (1969:235) states, “ideology is indispensable in any society if men are to be formed, transformed and equipped to respond to the demands of their conditions of existence”. We need the requirement of having a place which is not easy to find. Instead, an imaginary place is given to us and this imaginary representation of the world constitutes an illusion. The consuming behaviour of people makes it possible for them to have a part in the imaginary world by giving them false promise of the life represented by objects of desire.

II. 1. Social Images of Men and Women

II. 1. 1. The Mother Figure

Signifiers in ads 6 and 7:

Visual texts: A caring mother and her children

Verbal texts: “For the mothers who look after their children with great care. (It is) The habit at meals and in kitchens for years”

Referent systems: Motherhood, maternal love

Myths: Using Sana in cooking makes the woman a good mother.



Ad 6: Sana (Ses 1982)



Ad 7: Sana (Ses 1982)

Ideological meaning: In these depictions, “Sana” shows the woman in the role of a mother. The text frankly states that the women show adequate care for their families on the condition that they use “Sana” for cooking. In this way, their children are raised appropriately by their mothers who are responsible for their nutrition. As in many of the advertisements, we can also see in this ad that the attention is paid to the children by their mothers, not by their fathers. The society makes a clear distinction between the roles of men and women. This differentiation is reinforced by the myth that the women are naturally better at bringing up the children and men are naturally better at earning money. As Fiske (1982) puts it, there is a belief that the women’s natural place is home; their role is to look after their children and their husbands who struggle to make a living. These roles structure the smallest unit of the society, that is, a family. Myths not only make these beliefs universal and constant but also show them to be fair for all family members in a family. He emphasizes that myths make the roles seem to be equally distributed for the benefits of both men and women. In a text of a margarine advertisements by *Rama* in

1980s, it says that: “*Siz hala annenizin margarini mi kullanıyorsunuz?*” This question addressed to women posits that women need to replace their old cooking habits with something new. The following advertisement is another example of the a traditional role of a woman as a mother.

Signifiers in ad 8:

Visual text: A mother in the kitchen

Verbal text: “You have another reason to kiss your mum”

Referent systems: Motherhood, childhood, maternal love

Myths: Femaleness means motherhood.



Ad 8: Çokokrem (Hülya 2007)

Ideological meaning: Above, we are presented an advertisement in which we can see a woman and a little girl at breakfast. The natural characteristics of a mother such as being compassionate, sensitive or tender is demonstrated by several media images as it is shown in this ad, too. The woman above seems to carry out the role of a mother which is reflected by her affectionate and caring stereotypical image. This image reinforces the Turkish cultural

values, gender-role expectations and behaviours since common stereotypes are generated not only by the existing reality but also by the culture including media images.

Signifiers in ad 9:

Visual text: A mother washing the dishes in the kitchen

Verbal text: The best quality cream detergent

Referent systems: Cleaning

Myths: Femaleness means to work as a cleaner at home.



Ad 9: Mintax (Ses 1985)

Ideological meaning: We see that a woman in the ad is engaged in an activity which is situated in the kitchen. The clothes worn by the woman and the kitchen she is in indexically underline the social position of the woman - a housewife of a middle class family. The ad is the portrayal of the certain areas of life in which women traditionally expertise. The ad above is a kind o photographic image of a Turkish woman in 1980s. It is based on the myth that the kitchen is the place of the woman so the ad uses the woman to complete the kitchen (and to wash the dishes, of course). There are many advertisements which show this functionalist point of view towards women as this one. In these ads woman becomes a

matter of primary importance for what she does, not for who she is. In this ad the product resembles the real product so the products are iconic in older ads. They are more symbolic in modern ads.

II. 1. 2. Idealized Women

Signifiers in ad 10:

Visual text: A woman looking at the mirror

Verbal text: “Here we have the woman we watch with admiration. Cabriole: The award for being a woman.”

Subtext: “She is a wonderful motif knitted with contrasting colors. She laughs in a way that resonates through the ears of all people. And she sheds tears that nobody can see. She is a swimmer who never bathes. She is a musician who prefers listening to playing. She is a wife who is emotional like a lover. She is a mother returning to her childhood days. Here is the woman. Here is the scent that reaches her feelings.”

Referent systems: Femininity

Myths: A woman is rewarded for being a woman.



Ad 10: Elizabeth Arden (Samanyolu 1986)

Ideological meaning: The verbal text starts with an admiration expressed for the woman and continues with the descriptions of the different aspects of the woman. The first sentence of the subtext also sounds very praising and complimentary. However, we are faced with some restrictions and contradictions when we look closer. The text does not describe an ordinary woman but prescribes what a woman should do in order to be admired. Although the whole text speaks highly of the woman, it conditions her to suppress her feelings. Because of being a woman, the woman is not rewarded, she is rather kept under control. By listening, she is expected to be a passive wife, lover or mother. She is under the pressure of hiding herself, because her identity is reduced to her family roles.

Signifiers in ad 11:

Visual text: A woman's face and a cream tube

Verbal text: "I don't need surgical intervention"

Referent systems: Beauty and plastic surgery

Myths: Being naturally beautiful by using *Yves Rocher* products



Ad 11: Yves Rocher (Elele 2007)

Ideological meaning: The picture publicizes the cosmetics *Yves Rocher* for the area of skin around eyes. The face of a beautiful woman stays appositionally with a product and we unconsciously try to make a connection between the two. This is an illusion for us because there are not any connections in most cases. According to the verbal text, the woman does not feel the need for a surgical operation thanks to the cosmetics she uses. This statement hypothesizes that it is natural and even necessary for a woman to have cosmetic surgery just because she has some wrinkles in her face as she gets old. The idea of the need to be beautiful at all hazards for the women is advertised by this brand. Although it contradicts with logical thinking, a surgical operation is presented as a must by the ideology. The message is that if the women do not use *Yves Rocher* cosmetics, they have to go through plastic surgery. Who wants to undergo an operation when Yves Rocher gives you your beauty back? The answer simply lies in the fact that the women are manipulated by the ideology that is implicitly given by the advertisement, which shapes their stereotypical thinking and leads them to certain actions that reveal their social identities.

In the next part, we will explore how the presentation of the ads can be that manipulative on our emotions. This statement supports the ideology that image dominates modern culture (an ideology supported by other ads).

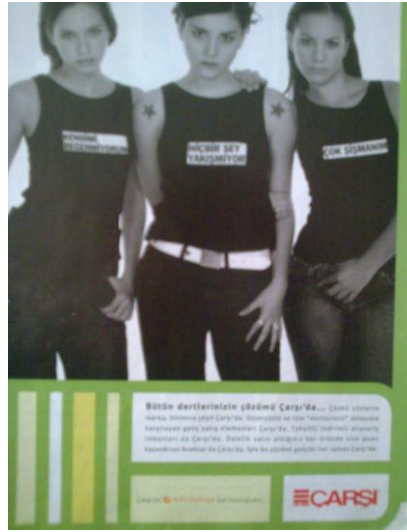
Signifiers in the ad 12:

Visual text: A woman in a bathing suit, her face is not seen. A box of cereals

Verbal text: "You can be yourself in your dreams"

Referent systems: Self-image, ego, ideal self

Myths: Having a fit body by eating Nesfit.



Ad 12: Nesfit (Elele 2008)

Ad 13: Çarşı (Elele 2009)

Ideological meaning: The advertisement of Nesfit does not mirror how the women really are, but it represents how they dream of themselves. It benefits from the assumption that women are not how they want to be. In a sense, the brand recognizes the ideals of a woman and sells it back to the woman by presenting the ideal appearance with a space for herself to fill in. Broadly speaking, the meaning in the advertisements is not a self-production, it is something we produce in our sociologic relations which have an enormous impact on our emotions. Ads in fact aim to make us feel that we lack something psychologically. Through the possession or the use of the product, people are assumed to make themselves better. They are invited to imagine themselves in an idealized state, which means to have an imaginary place. This representation that we dream to be able to fill as the way we want creates an illusion. Advertisements in today's world attempt to erase the line between ideals and reality. They try to bring us closer to what we want, what we really need, and most importantly who we want to be.

Up to this point, the women shown in the advertisements are fascinating and charming. Although the advertizers try hard to erase the line between ideals and reality, it is

obvious that the promises and images in the ads contradict with reality. Where are the millions of real women dissatisfied and unhappy about their appearances? In the ad above, displeased women are used to provoke shopping in order for them to feel beautiful. Armstrong (1999:2) states that “the problem of what is real and what is not real is rather complex in terms of social presentations.” He relates this case to the fact that the media involves others’ observations about their behaviours and ideals. These ideals are established not only by the advertisements, but also by the social ideology of women that subconsciously exists in the minds of women. Society has set some set of standards of beauty, attraction, confidence and control that are reinforced by advertisements. So, as a result, women looking at these ads consider an autobiographical photograph, a reflection of herself, who they want to be, who they are told to be and ultimately who they want to become. The ad 13 represents the women discontented about their physical appearances. However, the ad claims that their dissatisfaction is easily compensated by shopping at the mall *Çarşı*.

Signifiers in the ad 13:

Visual text: A woman in a bathing suit, her face is not seen. A box of cereals

Verbal text: “I don’t like myself. Nothing looks good on me. I am too fat.”

Referent systems: Social identity-ego, being unconfident

Myths: Shopping from *Çarşı* changes you into a more confident person.

Ideological meaning: Since the notion of beauty has always always been called for the women, the mall called *Çarşı* uses this ideology for its own sake. Three girls with different complaints written on their shirts are depicted. They represent the girls who lose their self-esteem about their appearance and they establish a close relationship with the girls in the real life. This ad promises to compensate for the girls’ discontentment by offering them

new images. That a girl should be fashionable, thin and attractive is expected and *Çarşı* makes it possible by attaching this feeling to the goods it sells. It seems that *Çarşı* gives you the sense of satisfaction you want to feel without taking anything from you, which is a delusion as in most of the advertisements.

II. 1. 2. 1. Always Fit

Signifiers in the ad 14:

Visual text: A woman smiling and sitting on a packet of biscuits

Verbal text: “Take the life lightly! Eti Form Light”

Subtext: I wish I didn't diet, but eat whatever I want. I wish I made my waist thinner a little bit. I wish I looked more attractive. Believe me, there's no limit in these wishes. Don't exaggerate to be fit. It is easy if you want to make a change with yourself. Take life lightly.

Eat Form and keep your form”

Referent systems: Attraction

Myths: Keeping fit by eating Eti Form.



Ad 14: Eti Form (Cosmopolitan 2009)

Ideological meaning: In this category, we are presented with women who are successful at keeping fit thanks to the products advertised. They concentrate on their beauty, which gives shape to the way they live their life including what they eat, what they consume, and what they buy.

Although it is difficult for a woman to keep fit continually, it appears that it is quite easy with the advertised biscuits. If we analyze the text deeply, we may find it hard to believe the so-called logic behind this argument in the ad. The ad advises that the woman should eat biscuits in order to be thinner, which ignores the fact that no one could get thinner by eating biscuits! We, as the audiences, surely know that light foods contain fewer calories than fatty foods and this simple truth is used by this ad to convince women to make them prefer eating these biscuits. However, the ad does not actually verbalize a preference. It directly orders women to eat *Form* to keep fit. This is the misleading aspect of the ad which is considered to be a common strategy that is used in other ads, too. The verbal signs in the text are also worth noting. We can infer from the whole picture that the audiences of this ad are women but the ad tells them not to take their life so seriously. The message is innovative for women because the idea of living a life without responsibilities was not supported by the ads addressed to women in 1980s. As a part of modernization, the ad reflects the modern women of 2000s and normalizes the process of living women's own lives. With this ad, we are able to observe the social changes and attitudes towards women.

Signifiers in the ad 15:

Visual text: A woman smiling and standing. Some packets of crackers.

Verbal text: "The minuses on a weighing scale have turned into the pluses in my life. *Mavi Yeşil Light*. Eat light food. Live lightly."

Referent Systems: Attraction

Myths: If you lose weight, you attain the things you want.



Ad 15: Ülker Mavi Yeşil (Cosmopolitan 2009)

Ideological meaning: The verbal text of this ad starts telling women to eat light food and live their lives lightly. The cultural signification of this part of the verbal text in this ad is almost the same as the previous advertisement. The ad portrays a life which does not have to be taken seriously by the women, which is a recent attitude recommended for women. In the rest of the verbal text, the ad supposes that the women addressed will be happy to lose weight thanks to *Mavi Yeşil*. When we read the visual text, we see that the supposition is exemplified by a happy woman. She is shown as the proof of this argument and her smiling face signifies her satisfaction about losing weight. The message, of course, is more complicated than losing weight, because even the phrase “turning into pluses” has a separate denotation and connotation. The text really has several possible connotative meanings. It can simply be talking about being thinner and being able to dress the way the woman wants. Since neither of these things are clearly defined as the “pluses” however, it

connotes that she could substitute these for sex, clothes, men or a number of other positive things in her life, and the statement would still be equally applicable. In recent years, these advertisements have played on women's fear of losing their partners to younger and thinner women. The women addressed are expected to believe that if they lose weight, they will obtain what they want as the model in the ad. Appearing slim is presented as a method for women to reach their desires. We see the same signification in the ad 16 below. It is suggested by the ad that female body shape is a criterion for happiness. The women should always be in a struggle for controlling physical appearance. For women, it is assumed as a key to the satisfaction of their psychlogical needs.



Ad 16: Nivea (Elele 2008)

Signifiers in the ads 17 and 18:

Visual text in ad 17: A woman in a sportive dress and a box of ice cream.

Verbal text in ad 17: "The sweetest way to keep fit. Panda Diet!"

Myths in ad 17: "Eating Panda Diet keeps you fit."

Visual text in ad 18: A part of the body of a woman in leotards and some vitamin packets.

Verbal text in ad 18: “Every woman boasting about her mind wants to boast about her body, too.”

Myths in ad 18: “Taking vitamins keeps your body fit.”

Referent Systems in both ads: Attraction



Ad 17: Panda (Tempo 1995)



Ad 18: Nutrition (Tempo 2000)

Ideological meaning: In the advertisement 17, the method to have the right body shape is associated with eating the advertised ice cream. Although it is not logically possible, the ad uses the deception as the other ads do. Presenting a famous singer as a model, the ad conditions women to be fit by eating *Panda Ice cream*. The assumption of the advertisers is as follows: If the model in the ad is fit, then the viewers will consider themselves fit, too. This is a quite common strategy for the ads to convince the audiences. That the women should control their body shape is imposed on them. There is not such an imposition on men about their physical appearance to possess what they want.

II. 1. 2. 2. Age As an Enemy

The advertisements have a role to arouse people's jealousy -especially women's jealousy to remind them of the absence of their unfulfilled desires in their own lives. Therefore, the figures in the ads are presented in such a way that they always have a happy life that is free of problems. The figures portrayed are only unhappy on the condition that they are unable to lose weight, cook a delicious meal or clean the dirt in the washbasin. They are always young, attractive and ideal happy images.

Signifiers in ad 19:

Verbal text: "Your skin is always young."

Visual text in: A woman's naked back and a bottle of lotion.

Myths: Putting Bepanthol Lotion on your skin makes you younger.

Signifiers in ad 19:

Verbal text: "May your hair always remain young"

Visual text: A woman seeming very happy and a shampoo

Referent Systems in both ads: Youthfulness

Myths: Washing with Organics Vital makes your hair younger.



Ad 19: Bepanthol (Tempo 2000)



Ad 20: Organics (Tempo 2000)

Ideological meaning in the ads 20 and 21: As in most advertisements directed at women, there is an implied “male gaze”. Each woman in fact looks at this implied man with a gesture which is a symbol of reciprocity, but she is also twisting her body, opening her mouth, and her head is tilted downward while smiling. This is a very childlike pose, and it would be difficult to take any man or woman seriously if they were looking at you this way in real life. This posturing implies a meek and playful attitude which signifies lack of seriousness. According to Goffman’s (1979), this connotes the licensed withdrawal of women who are mostly shown as unconscious. Apart from this, the woman in ad 20 is depicted in such a way that she is in a state of euphoria originated from the products advertised. Her happiness is connected with her hair that looks lively. For the women in both ads, youthfulness is conceptualized as something acquired by lotions or shampoos no matter how long the time passes. Always having a young skin or hair is presented as a must for the women, which is not even discussed for the men.

Signifiers in ad 21:

Verbal text: “I will not reveal my age by the appearance of my hands”

Visual text: A face of a smiling woman and a cosmetic cream.

Referent Systems in both ads: Youthfulness

Myths: Nivea cream hides your age.



Ad 21: Nivea (Elele 2008)

Ideological meaning: Nivea company claims that their product will prevent the damage caused by aging which is a condition to be avoided at all costs. A middle-aged woman says that her age cannot be understood by the appearance of her hands. For women, time is metaphorically conceptualized as something that should be captured and taken under control. However, there is not such a conceptualization for men.

Signifiers in ad 22:

Verbal text: “You as a new person in six minutes...”

Visual text: The face of a naked woman and some bottles of shower gel.

Referent Systems in both ads: Rejuvenation

Myths: Nivea Shower Gel creates a new person in six minutes.

Signifiers in ad 23:

Verbal text: “The only cream against 7 signs of growing old”

Visual text: A smiling woman and a cosmetic cream.

Referent Systems in both ads: Youthfulness

Myths: Putting *Olay* cream on your face prevents you from becoming old.



Ad 22: Nivea (Elele 2005)



Ad 23: Olay (Hülya 2007)

Ideological meaning: The majority of information on advertisements on skin care in magazines clearly plays on women's fears of aging and eventually abandonment. These advertisements try to convince women that women's duty is to remain magically young and attractive and this is possible by using proper products. In our sample, there are no ads that include such a message from which we infer the same conclusions about men.

Signifiers in ad 24:

Verbal text: "Give her 5 years as a gift for Mother's Day."

Visual text: A face of a woman and a cosmetic.

Referent Systems in both ads: Youthfulness

Myths: Wearing *Max Factor* make-up gives your 5 years back to you.

Signifiers in ad 25:

Verbal text: "Your body will not reveal your age thanks to DNAge "

Visual text: A middle-age woman and some cosmetics.

Referent Systems in both ads: Youthfulness

Myths: You can get younger by Nivea DNAge.



Ad 24: Max Factor (Elele 2008)

Ad 25: Nivea (Elele 2007)

Ideological meanings in the ads 24 and 25: According to the visual text of the ad 25, MaxFactor claims to give a younger image to a mother as a present for her Mother's day: What miraculous process, five years off your life instantly! By materializing time, the ad asserts that time is something that can be controlled by using these cosmetics by women. Most of the claims made about cosmetics are deceptions as in the advertisements above. That these products nourishes the skin with a super cosmetic effect is one of them. Cosmetics in actuality never nourish the skin. The truth of the matter is that they just work as aesthetic agents which hide people's slight imperfections on their skin. Another deception is that beauty is permanent and stable as connoted in ad 26. The cosmetic brand Amway's constant aim is to grant women the beauty that will never disappear through years. These myths created by the text writers fill up the meaning with the intentioned new meanings in order to manipulate women.



Ad 26: Amway (Cosmopolitan 2009)

Because society is always in relation to the nature and it fights against the forces of nature, the aim is to make a natural condition for our object and to make it something we can possess and control.

Signifiers in ad 27:

Verbal text: “There is a secret about looking young.”

Visual text: The face of a woman and a cosmetic.

Referent Systems in both ads: Youthfulness

Myths: *Avon* cosmetics make you younger.



Ad 27: Avon (Elele 2007)

Ideological meaning: The verbal text of this advertisement can be summarized as using *Avon* products is the key to look younger. The cosmetics can do nothing more than hiding their real appearances which is presented as a secret to the women. In order to look

younger, a woman should have this secret by consuming the miraculous product. While most manufacturers and advertisers are very careful not to promise for miracles, the text starts to sound as if the aging skin will get younger in time. The product is advertised under the guise of the myth that it can eliminate the effects of old age. In fact, it only makes fine lines seem less evident. “Seem” is the operative word.

II. 1. 2. 3. Fear of Losing Beauty

Signifiers in ad 28:

Visual text: Face of a woman and some lipsticks

Verbal text: “The permanent beauty on your lips. Elizabeth Arden that completes the beauty of a modern woman of our age and its colors. Fascinating, matching with your skin, soft, oily and shiny. Elizabeth Arden lipstick adds colors to every remark coming out of your lips.”

Referent systems: Time, temporary quality of beauty.

Myths: Beauty is permanent.



Ad 28: Elizabeth Arden (Samanyolu 1986)

Ideological meaning: In this lipstick advertisement, a woman's face with a direct look at the viewer is shown. She wears lipstick on her lips and represents the general appearance of the modern women wearing it. Under the slogan, it is stated in the text that "Catherine Arley" lipstick completes the beauty of modern woman of our age. That the woman is considered to be modern when she uses this product is implied in this text. The advertisement establishes a close relationship between the product and the women who feel modern. These women are made to feel that their beauty cannot be defeated by the passage of time.

Signifiers in ad 29:

Visual text: Face of a woman and some cosmetic products

Verbal text: "Nothing sweeps away this beauty"

Referent systems: Time, temporary quality of beauty

Myths: Beauty is not temporary.



Ad 29: Carmina (Tempo 1995)

Ideological meaning: According to the verbal text, beauty is something that a woman can acquire with using the advertised product. Time is conceptualized as a possession that can

never be taken away. Under the myth that a woman should always be beautiful, this ad conditions the women to preserve their beauty to be considered as modern. The effort expected to be made by the women to be beautiful serves for the continuity of consumerist culture.

II. 1. 3. Women As Potential Customers

The messages sent by the advertisements prevent people from effective thinking. Consumer ideology creates dissatisfied people who always ask for more as in PEPSI slogan translated from its English into Turkish “*daha fazlasını iste*”. As Pepsi promises the audiences to give more, it directs them to ask for more. These motives make the people disappointed about their desires that are not fulfilled.

It is considered that the primary shoppers for an overwhelming majority of households are women. This is supported by the advertisements showing the ease of spending money. In these ads, the readers are generally not presented with the images of men, but women who are active in consuming, passive in producing. This creates a tendency to view the women as potential consumers’ lack of self-control. The girl in the advertisement below uses her credit card presented by Akbank so liberally that she cannot even stop herself.

Signifiers in ad 30:

Visual text: A girl lying in an untidy room

Verbal text: “Somebody stop her!”

Referent systems: Money

Myths: You can buy everything by using Akbank credit card (without giving anything).



Ad 30: Akbank (Elele 2009)

Ideological meaning: In this advertisement, the customers' attention is directed to comfort and ease of having a consumer loan from Akbank. The consumer is made to believe that Akbank provides you financial support without any demand from you and you are just the receiver. The girl in lying position in the ad is presented as a person who lacks auto-control. As a representation of the other women, she is addicted to shopping. In fact, the consumer ideology behind this picture hides the truth that people spend money, and they are not the receiver but the giver. By correlating these presentations with the distorted reality, Althusser says "they do not correspond to reality, they constitute an illusion" (qtd. in Leitch, 2001:1498). In this way, the real existence of people is represented by imaginary forms. The advertisers motivate the consumer to be dependent upon the companies advertised by changing the truth hidden by the cultural myths. The addressee is given a reason to pursue, which makes him/her begin to act. All the obstacles, conditions or responsibilities are projected as they have minor importance since the world of the advertisement is not the real world, but created by the myths in our belief systems. Barthes (1957:121) states that the myth's function is "to distort, not to make disappear". Using

these myths, the advertisers direct our thoughts and intend to make us believe in something that is distorted.

In some advertisements, products clearly stand for humans' actions, not only for what humans can do, but also for the actions humans can't do easily. In personalized advertisements people are explicitly and directly interpreted by their relationship to the product. Sometimes, the product itself speaks as if it were a person saying things humans can't. There are advertisements in which the objects are made to talk as in "*A little diamond tells how you feel*". That means, you can never be competent enough to explain your feelings if you do not have a diamond to give to the person you love. The following has that specific theme:

Signifiers in ad 31:

Visual text: A blue box

Verbal text: "Love. Goldaş is now in a box specially made for you. In order for you to express the emotions that you can't put into words."

Referent systems: Love, feelings, women's fondness to jewellery.

Myths: A material can buy a nonmaterial concept.



Ad 31: Goldaş (Elele 2008)

Ideological meaning: Here, *Goldaş* advertises its jewellery as a means for the expression of the inexplicable. It thematizes the concept of love in its advertisement and takes over the responsibility of expressing one of your strongest emotions in your stead. Intended meaning is to make an expression for a person's love to another by using this blue box. However, we can also read this ad that the word at the top of the picture "love" may be referring to women's fondness for jewellery. What is used here is the women's mythified love for jewellery, which makes it difficult to determine what is signified by the word "love". Since the product takes human characteristics, the distinction between the person and the product becomes confused in *Atasay* advertisement, too. As Akerson (2005) states, diamonds which are taken as the sign of love, uniqueness and endurance -not as simple stones- can be advertised by associating them with eternal love. Here, diamonds take a human quality and a connection is made between an object and an emotion. The signifier object has the signified emotion, so we take diamonds as a sign of love as seen in the next ad:

Signifiers in ad 32:

Visual text: A smiling woman, a ring

Verbal text: "Only you have no equal and neither does he"

Referent systems: Love, jewellery, uniqueness

Myths: A material can buy a nonmaterial concept.



Ad 32: Atasay (Elele 2007)

Ideological meaning: This advertisement focuses on the uniqueness of the beloved person through the diamond by attaching a human quality to it. This value is revealed by the sentences: *“It is only you who is unique and it is only him who is also unique”* From the third person point of view, it may be understood that the lover and the loved one are meant for uniqueness. However, the words *‘bir de onun’* are seen exactly on the ring, which prompts us to think that the ring is as valuable as the person loved. Therefore, the word ‘o’ can both signify the beloved person and the diamond ring. The diamond gives an emotion of uniqueness so it could mean that if the woman does not wear this ring, she is not even considered to be unique. These values are fixed by the capitalist system and reinforced by the media to guarantee the continuity of the purchase.

As shown in the examples above, a little diamond is used in order to represent the emotions and a cultural usage is added to pure matter as Barthes explains (1957). Advertising gives cultural meanings to these products beyond their practical use. As Williamson (1978) states, the materialistic goods we need become the representation of the non-materialistic things we do not need. The change between them creates meaning, it creates value which is confined to the societies, periods and groups.

II. 1. 4. Women As the Ones Having Low Intelligence

In a television advertisement of *Beko*, we are presented with a very happy woman in a cheerful life. Her happiness originates from the easiness that the advertised product provides. She saves time for her daughter and her husband because all the housework is already done by an air conditioner or an oven or a washing mashine of *Beko*. The lyrics of generic song of this ad are as follows: “*Beni eğlendiriyor. Bana akıl veriyor. Pişiriyor. Temizliyor. Soğutuyor. Hayatın neşesi o. Beko.*” It is sung by a woman so we interpret the pronoun “me” as the woman talking about herself. Of course, one does not consult an oven or a dishwasher about an idea but Turkish conventions and cultural perceptions make it very natural for a woman to ask for advice. It is not an exceptional phenomenon, however, there is an intention of emphasis on women’s low intelligence.

In another advertisement, a company *Vodafone* uses the myth that men are wiser than women. A young couple talk on the phone and the boy uses the term “offside” again and again. The girl does not understand the meaning of the term. The connection between the audiences and the images in the ad are not built on the lack of interest of the girl in soccer, but her low capacity to understand. These series of the ads that underrate women’s comprehension potential continue with the story of the same young boy and her mother. The boy tries to tell her mother how to start the computer but her mother does not understand. The emphasis is not on the indifference of the women towards electronic machines, but on her level of understanding. The relation of intelligence and men is also exemplified by the phrase “Beyin Bey” in one of the ad of a cheese brand *Pınar Beyaz*.

Gender stereotypes have drastic negative effects on people’s perceptions. Since the problem is thought to be based on the fallacy that the women have less mental capacity than men, the solution is to provide the equality of the opportunity between genders and to

eliminate gender discrimination. The members of insulted groups, as stated by İmançer (2010), are in under threat of being stereotyped since they internalize their personality as worthless images. For example, the misconception that the girls are less capable of mathematics causes them to lower their motivation and it may lead to a failure eventually. The bad reputation of women about driving has a negative effect not only on their driving performance but also on their will. These value judgements contribute the continuity of gender inferiority in Turkey.

II. 1. 5. Men as Leaders

Signifiers in ad 33:

Visual text: A man reading a newspaper and a woman looking at him. Only one of a pair of shoes.

Verbal text: "Play for being indispensable"

Subtext: "It is your aim at forward-looking success, confidence and charisma that makes you indispensable. Be successful with determined steps and with good shoes *Oggi*."

Referent systems: Leadership, seriousness, irresistibility

Myths: Men are the ones who are indispensable.



Ad 33: Oggi (Tempo 1988)

Ideological meaning: In this ad, the shoes are advertised by making use of the myth that the product is the image itself. According to the visual text, the man is concentrated on reading his newspaper and the woman is watching him. Engaged in reading activity, the man is represented as an intellectual, serious and conscious businessman. The words “success, confidence and charisma” are intentionally used to emphasize the cultural expectations about men. Watching the man, the woman is represented as a passive observer.

II. 1. 6. Men As the Ones Having Power

Signifiers in ad 34:

Visual text: A famous footballer

Verbal text: “Find the target and destroy it”

Referent systems: Male power, destruction

Myths: Wearing Nike makes you strong.



Ad 34: Nike (Elele 2008)

Ideological meaning: In the picture, we are faced with a famous football player, Roberto Carlos. The product that is advertised by Nike is the sneakers. We know that the characteristics of Roberto Carlos are transferred into the shoes advertised. The

advertisement can simply be read as ‘if you wear these shoes, you can be powerful and successful in sports just like Roberto Carlos. Since this brand is depicted as a choice of a famous person, the addressee feels the likeness between his identity and Roberto Carlos provided that he prefers to wear Nike, too. The text in the depiction orders the viewer to find the target and destroy it, which provokes aggressive behavior. The ad deliberately encourages the men to behave in that way by giving them strength of fight so as to use their power to destroy. This ad is emotionally appealing for men owing to their ideology of having and controlling power.

II. 1. 7. Men As Decision Makers

Signifiers in ad 35:

Visual text: A modern woman shopping and holding two different shoes. Her partner is looking at his mobile phone.

Verbal text: “Which one would you choose?” “Share the colorful moments of life.”

Referent systems: Shopping woman, businessman

Myths: Men make the decisions.



Ad 35: Turkcell (Cosmopolitan 2006)

Ideological meaning: This advertisement is another exemplification of gender socialization supported implicitly by Turkcell company. It plays a role in displaying occupations publicly accepted for men and women. Although it is possible for a woman to work, the woman is delineated as the one who stereotypically shops and the man is represented as the one who stereotypically works. The man who seems to be a businessman pays attention to his partner (thanks to Turkcell multmessage service) while he is busy with his job. However, the only thing that the woman focuses on is her new shoes that she will buy since looking physically attractive, fashionable and elegant is supposed to be the first priority for a woman. Turkcell becomes a part of this important activity by letting her send photos which impose meaning at touch of a finger.

The advertisements generally do not tell us much about the product. The content generally focuses on the convenience to have the product and the people who consume that product or get service. In this ad, a man and woman play a role and become models for us. They both look modern as we can understand from the way they dress. The advertisers' aim is to show the audience the possibility of seeing from a distance which enables the sharing of an opinion between men and women to make a decision. This modern idea is well matched with their physical appearances. This is the surface level. When we elaborate on the deep level, we can see the child-parent relationship that Goffman (1979) suggested. Women ask, men answer, which makes the men decision-makers. Although they represent a modern Turkish man and a modern Turkish woman, the decision is still made by the man.

II. 1. 8. Modern Men

Signifiers in ad 36:

Visual text: A man holding balloons on the tramcar and a woman looking at her cell phone.

Verbal text: “Forgive me”. “Share the colorful moments in life”

Referent systems: Apology

Myths: Modern men apologize.



Ad 36: Turkcell (Cosmopolitan 2006)

Ideological meaning: The emotions that engage people in human intercourse such as love, anxiety, pride, belonging, friendship, apology are also associated with the products. We see this signification in the advertisement of Turkcell. In this advertisement, the man uses Turkcell multimedia messaging service to voice an apology. In this way, the advertisers intend to convince the consumers Turkcell’s messaging service will help them maintain a good relationship. It seems that the subject who apologizes to the woman is not the man himself, but Turkcell. Therefore, Turkcell gains an identity that can apologize or be forgiven and the consumer is made to believe that it is impossible to express how sorry you are without the photos that can be sent by the service that Turkcell offers and the emotions that Turkcell supplies for its customers.

When we think of ‘the apology’ in our cultural conventions, Turkcell publicizes that it has the resources to make up for the inability of apologizing, which is assumed to be a humiliating act for Turkish men. This ad implies that modern men use Turkcell by attaching its brand name the myth of modern men who are able to show their feelings.

II. 2. Sexual Objectification of Women



Ad 37: L&M (Tempo 1990)

Signifiers in ad 37:

Visual text: A man and a woman.

Verbal text: “Live limitless freedom!”

Referent systems: Freedom, quality.

Myths: America as a land of freedom

Ideological meaning: In ad 37, the woman again touches the man. The man is not interested in the woman and he is completely absorbed in the newspaper he is reading. Two men in the



Ad 38: Barclay (Tempo1990)

picture create a world that excludes the woman from their setting. Under the protective power of the accompanying man, the woman appears dependent on him but she is still psychologically distant from the men's world. This cigarette ad claims to present American myths to Turkish society to satisfy the need of the Turkish people to be approved by a nation that has always been considered to be rich, powerful and dominant. This implies cultural dominance on the part of the United States of America through economic control.

Signifiers in ad 38:

Visual text: A man and a woman.

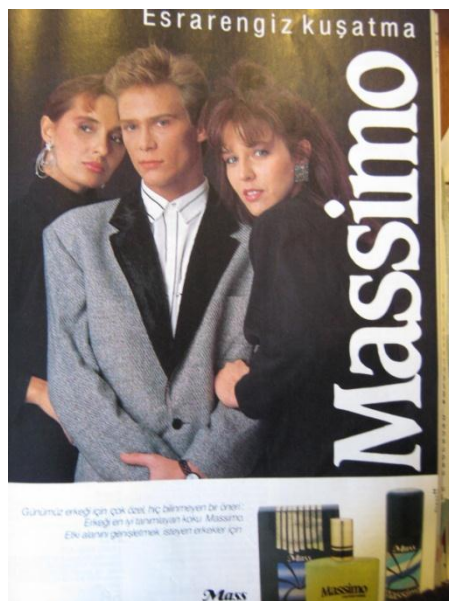
Verbal text: "Distinguished quality of taste"

Referent systems: Distinguished quality

Myths: Being one of the rich elite people by smoking *Barclay*.

Ideological meaning: In ad 38, the woman's attention is on the man, however the man's gaze is turned to a direction other than the woman. She is behind the man suggesting her submissive role in society.

In both of the depictions above, the woman is placed in the middle of the page. Her posture signifies that her presence was of secondary importance.



Ad 39: Massimo (Tempo 1988)

Signifiers in ad 39:

Visual text: A man and a woman.

Verbal text: “Mysterious surrounding”

Referent systems: Physical intimacy

Myths: Being surrounded by women when used *Massimo*

Ideological meaning: In ad 39, the man is between two women who seem to surround him.

They all stand together as if there was a symmetrical relationship with no differences in rank among the three. However, both women try to stay close to the man by snuggling up to him, which shows feminine dependency. The man has a determined look on his face.

What is implicitly imposed on the viewers is very different from what is explicitly seen in this advertisement. By using two female models, the ad appears to concentrate on the women since the formalistic preponderance of the depiction belongs to women. However, holding of the two women makes the man appear like the “desired” person by the women, which is the truth hidden by the ideology of this ad. On purpose, it is shown that he is the one desired by two different women. Putting two women around the same man in a frame

is a part of the ideology, which normalizes the possibility of having a relationship with two women at the same time for the man, because he is desired by both of the women! In fact, the man uses the women as a means of supporting his own supremacy and women's objectification is hidden under the myth of attracting women on the condition of using the advertised product.

Signifiers in ad 40:

Visual text: Two men wearing suit and a blonde woman standing together

Verbal text: "You are wearing the material Aksu weaves with skilled hands. Aksu: Woolen material"

Referent systems: Men as the authoritative figures

Myths: Wearing *Aksu* makes the men admirable



Ad 40: Aksu (Ses 1983)

Ideological meaning: In the advertisement on the left, males consist of the majority of the visual presentation. They are separated from the woman by a column which appears to group them sexually. What is interesting about the picture is that the blonde woman

directly looks at them although neither of the men seems to notice her. We, as the readers, have an eye contact only with the men, not with the woman which shows that the woman is of minor importance. As for their dressing style, it is completely different, in that, the men wearing suits represent their roles in business life versus the woman wearing a casual yellow dress connotes her lack of seriousness. The advertised cloth produced by Aksu is made of wool and it cannot be referring to the woman's dress. The fabric that has nothing to do with the woman is woven for the men with great care because of the supposition that men are more important than women in society. The woman is out of the subject matter which makes it true that she just has a decorative role in this frame. Here we also have the stereotypical use of blonde-haired woman who makes little use of her intelligence and relies on her physical appearance rather than her intellect. Her sculpture-like pose represents her passivity and her dazed look reflects her ornamental display, which contributes to the myth that wearing a suit made by Aksu makes the men desirable by a blonde attractive woman.

In the example above, the interpretation process is directly based on the relationship between the figures, especially on their bodily expression. This is the impression we get from their postures but it is not the only way to make our inferences about the subject. It is also structured by the interaction between the viewer/reader and the images in the advertisements. Bell and Milic (2002:208) express that ways of direction relate the viewer to the figures in the ads on an imaginary level, so figures are able to make demands when they look directly at the viewer. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) call these images or figures as represented participants. For them the representations make a connection to the viewer by directly addressing him/her. The images are used as tools to make the viewer do something about the ad. That is the reason the relation between the

viewer and the representations is called as a demand. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:122) express that:

The participant's gaze and the gesture demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her. Exactly what kind of relation is then signified by other means, for instance by the facial expression of the represented participants. They may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them; they may stare at the viewer with cold disdain, in which case the viewer is asked to relate to them, perhaps, as an inferior relates to a superior; they may seductively pout at the viewer, in which case the viewer is asked to desire them. In each case the image wants something from the viewers – wants them to do something (come closer, stay at a distance) or to form a pseudo-social bond of a particular kind with the represented participant. And in doing this, images define to some extent who the viewer is (e.g. male, inferior to the represented participant, etc.), and in that way exclude other viewers.

On the other hand, the figures in the advertisements make offers when they look away from the viewer. In such cases, these figures are offered as “items of information, an object of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimen in a display case” and the viewer is invited to join the scene as an “invisible onlooker” (Kress and Leeuwen, 1996:124). These functions are in connection with some of Goffman's categories. When the female gaze is less likely to be directed at the viewer or the other figure in the images, it would be in line with Goffman's dimensions of licenced withdrawal. Men are more often represented as doers, leaders or controllers who have innate freedom in contrast to women. According to Berger's (1972) summary of women's restriction in their acts, having been born as a woman is to be born in a special surrounded place the possession of which belongs to men. The assumption that freedom in behaviours is given to men can be seen in the advertisement below.

II. 2. 1. Seductive Figure



Ad 41: Yünsa (Tempo 1987)



Ad 42: Yeni Tekstil (Ses 1983)



Ad 43: Modello (Ses 1984)

Signifiers in ad 41:

Visual text: A man in suit and a woman's profile.

Referent systems: Physical intimacy

Myths: Self-confident man. Image is identified with the person.

Ideological meaning: In this advertisement on the left above, the man is a major part of the scene, which suggests his higher status. He has a concentrated and direct look on his face and his posture communicates as if he took charge of being conscious for the woman as well. That the woman holds and snuggles into the man without looking at the audience is a sign of inferiority because she seems as if she were under his protective custody. She snuggles into the man in the same way that children solicit protection and comfort from their mothers, which confirms Goffman's (1979) observation about the parent-child relationship of men and women.

Signifiers in ad 42:

Visual text: A man in suit and a naked woman.

Verbal text: "A difference"

Referent systems: Seduction

Myths: Males attract women's attention effortlessly.

Ideological meaning: In ad 42, the man looks directly to the target audience as in the previous ad and the woman's look is directed to the man. The man looks like an extravert who is open to external relations with other people, however, the woman looks like she is withdrawn from the social setting; she just appears with her partner on whom she is dependent. Snuggling, watching and touching the man, the woman is shown as a seductive figure. She is presented as flirtatious because she is naked but the man has a suit on him indicating his occupational role in the area of life in which men have expertise.

Signifiers in ad 43:

Visual text: A man and a woman standing. The woman snuggles into the man.

Verbal text: "Leather should be worn if it is high in quality"

Referent systems: Wealth

Myths: Quality product makes you a qualified person

Ideological meaning: According to the body posture of the woman, it is possible to conclude that she tries to get closer to the man. Unlike the man who makes contact with only the viewers, the woman's attention is on the man. Although she wears a quality leather jacket, her representation is not focussed on her richness, but her way of establishing a relation with a man. She seems quite flirtatious but he seems quite uninterested in the woman, which normalizes our social conventions about gender relations.

Signifiers in ad 44:

Visual text: A woman looking directly to a chocolate bar that she holds

Verbal text: "At last, I will eat you"

Referent systems: Pleasure, gusto, lust

Myths: Modern women express their desires.



Ad 44: Nestle (Elele 2008)

Ideological meaning: Looking self-confident and determined, the woman in the ad seems very modern. Apart from the visual text, the words used in the ad are attention grabbing. In the sentence of the woman, the pronoun “*you*” seems to be used for the chocolate bar which she directly looks at. However, it may be referring to the reader when the verbal text is considered separately. Generally speaking, advertising has an idiocratic life, in that, it addresses us with a voice that is hard to define. The reason is that advertising has no particular subject but it has a power to control any subject who is exposed to its imperative voice: “*Look!*”, and “*Hey, you!*”. The use of subject pronoun “*you*” in the advertisement directly influences the addressee and captures him/her. It enables the addressee’s involvement in the projected scene. Here, the ad uses a colloquial language with the phrase ‘*yiycem seni*’, which metaphorically means to have sex with the addressee.

Althusser (1970) exemplifies this with the concept of “hailing” or “interpellation”, which he draws heavily from his concept “Mirror Stage”. For him, the people in societies acquire their identities by seeing themselves mirrored in ideologies. He compares ideology to a policeman shouting “*Hey you there!*” toward a person walking on the street. Upon

hearing this call, the person responds by turning around, which transforms him/her into a subject. The person becomes conscious of himself/herself by being a subject and aware of the other person. Thus, for Althusser, subjectivity including self-awareness and being aware of other people is a form of ideology. All ideologies constitute a subject that is addressed. The person being hailed recognizes him/herself as the subject of the hail, and knows to respond in some way.

Signifiers in ad 45:

Visual text in ad 45: A young woman looking directly at the viewers and some lipsticks

Verbal text: “The irresistible attractiveness of wet lips. Water Shine Lipsticks. Shining lips looking wet”

Referent systems: Beauty

Myths: Being beautiful by using *Maybelline*



Ad 45: Maybelline (Cosmopolitan 2001)

Ideological meaning: To show the outcome of using the advertised cosmetic products, sexually-attractive, descriptive words such as “wet appearance, irresistible and shining lips” are used. Females are conditioned to buy the product with the promise of being like the model presenting these lipsticks. Using the myth that you can buy beauty by buying cosmetics is a widely accepted way of persuasion addressed to women.

II. 2. 1. 1. Touch

In the group below, we will analyze the advertisements related to one of the categories of Goffman (1979), “feminine touch”. All of the women in these advertisements grasp the object, touch themselves or another’s body to indicate that the thing they touch is precious.

Signifiers in ad 46

Visual text: A woman.

Verbal text: “Hear your skin!”

Subtitle: “Give your body the things it has lost back”

Referent systems: Human body

Myths: Woman’s beauty

The ideological meaning: Here, the woman’s face is not completely seen. She is not clothed, she uses her hand to cover the naked parts of her body, and touches herself to show that her body is an important object that should be treated delicately. The magazine depicts her body as its own separate entity. It is personified as having a voice that should be heard, and it is pictured as having lost something that should be given back. It is as if, by touching herself, the woman adds value to her body, which reduces her presence to her naked body. She exists in the advertisement only with her body.

Signifiers in ad 47:

Visual text: A woman.

Verbal text: “For you and your baby”

Referent systems: Human body

Intended meaning: The myth of woman’s beauty

Ideological meaning: The following advertisement portrays a woman as the accumulation of her parts. She is dehumanized and reduced to parts of her anatomy. She is naked but she wears make-up on her face. She is objectified sexually by touching her neck and by caressing herself sensually. She is portrayed in the advertisement to be a mother, but the baby is not seen in any of the frames. What is focussed on is the woman's physical appearance rather than the product that is actually being advertised.



Ad 46: Bepanthol (Tempo 2000)



Ad 47: Dalin (Samanyolu 1985)



Ad 48: Yeni Tekstil (Ses 1983)



Ad 49: Yeni Tekstil (Ses 1983)



Ad 50: Yeni Tekstil (Ses 1983)

Signifiers in ads 48, 49, 50:

Visual text: A man and hands of a woman.

Verbal text: "A difference!"

Referent systems: Femininity, masculinity, physical intimacy

Myths: Changing into a different person and being desired by women when wearing *Yeni Tekstil*.

Ideological meaning: The fact that only the hands of women are seen in these ads communicates that women are inferior and their presence as a whole is not important. The woman behind the man has a subordinate role because a female model's size in comparison to the man alludes to the man's higher power and rank. The woman who has a minor part in the scene touches the man as something precious. However, he does not seem to acknowledge the fact that he is being touched by her.

II. 2. 1. 2. Body Parts

Signifiers in ads 51, 52, 53:

Visual text: A part of a woman's body in each of the advertisements

Verbal text in ads 51, 52: No verbal texts in ad

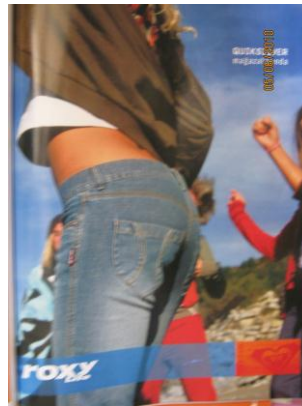
Verbal texts in ad 53: "Unwanted hairs are not a problem anymore."

Referent systems: Femininity

Myths: Attractiveness of a woman's body parts



Ad 51: Hotiç (Elele 2008)



Ad 52: Quicksilver (Cosmopolitan 2004)



Ad 53: Veet (Elele 2008)

Ideological meaning: In these ads, the women are used as sexual figures that are only constituted of their body parts to promote the selling of the product. They are objectified through their bodies.

Signifiers in ads 54, 55, 56, 57:

Visual text: A part of a woman's body in each of the advertisements

Verbal text in ad 54: "Enjoy the new taste"

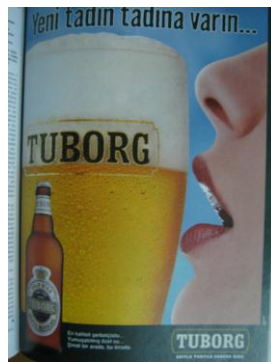
Verbal text in ad 55: "Innovations of Nelson 81"

Verbal text ad 56: "No stockings"

Verbal text in ad 57: "A difference"

Referent systems: Femininity

Myths: Attractiveness of a woman's body parts



Ad 54: Tuborg
(Tempo 2000)



Ad 55: Nelson
(Tempo 1995)



Ad 56: Sally Henson
(Elele 2008)



Ad 57: Yeni Tekstil
(Ses 1983)

Ideological meaning: The woman in each of the advertisements is represented as an object with no identity. She is divided into parts and she is sexualized by parts of her body. In ad 55, the action has nothing to do with beer drinking, but feminine touch which is one of the categories defined by Goffman (1979). That the woman with her partly seen face is very close to the glass of the beer makes the depiction sexually appealing. In ad 58, the woman seems to be available for a sexual relationship according to Goffman's category about body

positioning. In ad 58, man grasps the woman's leg as an object. By preventing her from moving, the man seems to claim that he possesses her self-control and will.

II. 2. 1. 3. Availability

People on beds and floors or are obviously lower than those sitting or standing. According to Goffman, people lying down are in poor position to defend themselves and thus they seem to be available to others. This is conventionalized expression of sexual availability, which is observed as a position reserved for the women in Turkish advertisements. In this study, the samples of advertisements show women on beds and floors a lot more often than men.

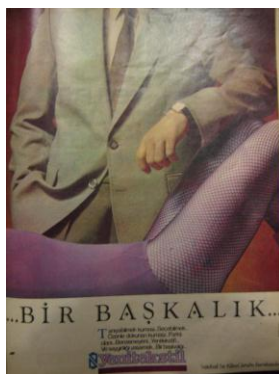
Signifiers in ad 58:

Visual text: A man in suit and a woman in leotard and stockings. Both of their bodies are partly seen. A man standing is putting his arm on the woman lying down.

Verbal text: "A difference"

Referent systems: Femininity, masculinity

Myths: Clothes they wear change the people.



Ad 58: Yeni Tekstil (Ses 1983)

Ideological meaning: In the surface meaning, the advertisement denotes a male standing in a suit with a female in lying position wearing a bathing suit and fishnet stockings. Showing

that men will feel in a different way when wearing Yunsa is the intended meaning of the advertisers. Using the product will add distinction and self confidence to the men, so the men will have their particular styles. The visual composition and poses of the two figures speak to the dominance of males over females who are presented to serve men sexually. The woman in the ad is objectified, she serves as a prompt to lean on. In contrast to the woman lying down, the man holds his body upright, which is a mark of disdain.

Signifiers in 59, 60, 61,62:

Visual texts: A woman in a lying down position in each picture.

Verbal texts: No verbal texts

Referent systems: Fertility

Myths: Women in lying down position are available for a sexual relationship.



Ad 59: Aprido
(Tempo 1995)

Ad 60: Yeni İnci
(Elele 2006)

Ad 61: Elle
(Cosmopolitan 2008)

Ad 62: Zeki Triko
(Elele 2009)

Ideological meaning: In these ads with only the images of women and the names of these brands, we delve into the meaning by considering the visual texts. The women in these advertisements are represented as unresisted, irrational, lacking in opposition to a relationship, and frivolous in view of their leaning body postures. These media images become a part of the humiliation imposed on women. These ads normalize such representations of women.

II. 2. 2. Decorative Display

Signifiers in ad 63:

Visual text: A woman covered with a white covering at the corner of a chic, spacious bathroom.

Verbal text: “Imagine and furnish”

Referent systems: Fantasy, Goddess, heaven

Myths: Dreaming suffices to have it.



Ad 63: Çanakkale Kalebodur (Tempo 1995)

Ideological meaning: A woman’s femininity is not only emphasized by her lonely existence in a corner of the bathroom but also connoted by the simplicity of her dress that wraps around her like one of a Greek Goddess. This image of a Goddess stands for the concept of worship. Her white cloth covering signifies women’s wish for being looked at and eventually adored. The advertisement places the women in the picture to make the bathroom seem like a heavenly place for the men. Not only does the women have a role of pleasing the eye, but also she is objectified and becomes a part of the decoration of the bathroom.

In some advertisements, women are depicted as the figures who are in a reclined position, often on a floor or on a bed as we can see on the following ad of knitting wool.

Signifiers in ad 64:

Visual text: Two women.

Verbal text: “Knitting is a different world”

Referent systems: Animals, wild nature

Myths: Men are strong enough to tame wild animals.



Ad 64: Aksu (Samanyolu 1985)

Ideological meaning: This advertisement claims that knitting wool presents a different world by displaying the female models dressed in animal print leotards which evoke a sensation of fur. There are several contradictory significations about the visual presentations of this advertisement. Firstly, wildness and availability for a relationship are interconnected in the picture. On the one hand, mildness is connoted by the way the images play with wool like cats. On the other hand, wildness is signified by the texture of their clothes. Although they are shown as compliant figures surrounded by wool, they are represented as animals to be tamed and it is the men's job to do so. Secondly, the bodies of the figures are in tilted and slanted positions which signify a lack in their resistance against

a sexual relationship. Thirdly, although the users of the advertized product are women, the women seem to address men since they look wild and sexually available for them. How the women look or how much they are found attractive by a man become a matter that matters in this advertisement as in most of the advertisements. It is common for women to be portrayed from a man's point of view, which enables the continuity of the ideology that women should present themselves in accordance with the men's taste.

The next advertisement we shall examine is about a detergent called "Fay". The words such as *faylamak*, *ciflemek*, *mintaxlamak* are added to the Turkish lexicon with these advertisements.

Signifiers in ad 65:

Visual text: A woman and her act of cleaning.

Verbal text: "Clean it with *Fay!* Let's live in a very clean world of *Fay!*"

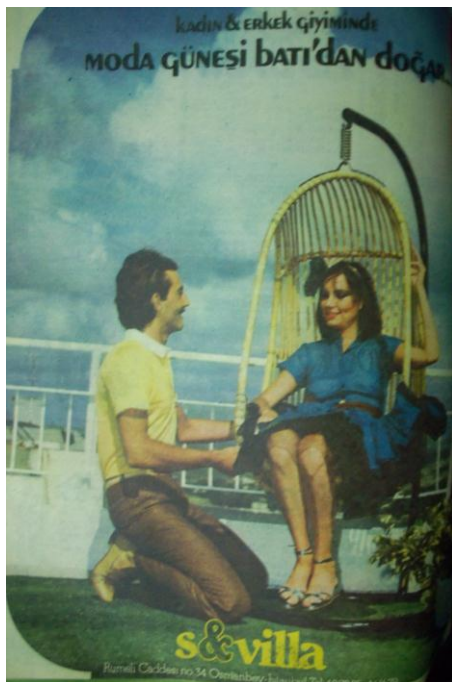
Referent systems: The woman's profession.

Myths: A happy and glamorous housewife



Ad 65: Fay (Ses 1985)

Ideological meaning: A woman in this picture engages in an activity of cleaning that reflects her traditional gender-based occupation. This is one of the advertisements that portray an area of life that women have specialized since these acts are mostly confined to women. In addition, it is worth noting that the posture of the woman in the advertisement seems quite confident with her well-cared appearance. She seems to grasp the product purposely to demonstrate its use. However, she has an inviting facial expression on her face which does not have anything to do with the act of cleaning. We can see the starting of the transformation of woman's image from the stereotypical housewife figure whose life is composed of housework to the new modern woman who is also concerned with her look, besides housework.



Ad 66: s&villa (Ses 1985)

Signifiers in ad 66:

Visual text: A woman sitting and a man bending on his knees in a garden

Verbal text: “The sun of fashion rises in the west”

Referent systems: Nature, sun, mother nature, European countries

Myths: The sun rises in the west.

Ideological meaning: We see a woman and a man looking at each other. The man bends down on his knee and he is pictured as proposing something to the woman, which gives us the impression that the woman becomes the decision-maker. With the reference of European fashion, new forms of appropriate behaviour originated from West is presented to Turkish society. In this way, the visual image and the verbal text can both be considered to reflect the starting points of a new era which initiates new thoughts and manners about men and women in Turkey. Therefore, it is possible to say that the ad depicts a period in which Turkish society starts to follow the sun that rises in the West. When it comes to the relative size of the figures in the frame, it is obvious that the woman's size in the picture is almost the same as the man, which inspires us to think that they apparently have no difference in status. As a conclusion, this advertisement uses the modern idea of equality of gender by relying on the myth of equality between men and women in European countries.

Westernization can also be seen in the jeans advertisement below:

TÜRKİYE'DE ÜRETİLEN İLK "AVRUPA BLUE JEAN"
İNTEX-BLUE JEAN
1099 TL

Mont modaunda en son örnek. İhracat için hazırlanan özel atığız kumaşından, mevsiñik.
İNTEX-MONT
1199 TL

İntex'in büyük başarısı: Lacoste'un anayurdu Fransaya ihrac edilen İNTEX-LACOSTE
Simdi Türkiye'de Rahat, şık, havatlı T-SHIRT
599 TL

Lacoste
Mont
Blue Jean

İLK "AVRUPA BLUE JEAN"
İNTEX-BLUE JEAN

İntex-Blue Jean, Türkiye'de üretilen ilk "Avrupa Blue Jean" dir! Çünkü, İntex-Blue Jean, Batı'daki benzerlerinden farklıdır. Batı için üretilir. İntex-Blue Jean asla çekmez. Modern makinelerde, özel formülle. Yıkandıktan sonra sunulduğu için...

İntex-Blue Jean Avrupa kalitesi taşıyor. Kullanılan malzeme Avrupa damgası taşıdığı için... İntex-Blue Jean, ihracat malı kumaşından fermuarına tüm kalitesiyle ülkemizde üretilen ilk "Avrupa Blue Jean" dir! Tek farkı fiyatında: İntex daha ucuz.

Ad 67: Intex-Blue Jean (Ses 1980)

Signifiers in ad 67:

Visual text: A couple lying down together on the grass, a woman on her own, a man and a woman standing together.

Verbal text: "Intex-Lacoste: The first European jeans produced in Turkey"

Subtitle: It is produced in factories similar to those in the West. It has European quality since the material used has a European label.

Referent systems: European countries.

Myths: Modernization

Ideological meaning: This is one of the advertisements that demonstrate European fashion to Turkish people and it urges the Turkish society to become closer to the western culture unconsciously through the idea of modernization. Jeans are part of modernization in clothing, in that, wearing jeans have some implications such as equality between man and woman's physical appearance, freedom and comfort. It should be noted that jeans were first

produced for mineworkers who needed strong and comfortable casual pants in 1960s. After that, jeans have been preferred by mostly young people around the world and have become popular in Turkey starting from the 1970s. Wearing jeans has brought comfort in clothing especially to the women whose public appearance is mostly under control of mainly their fathers and their husbands. When the ad is analyzed more deeply, it is obvious that the people on the first frame wearing jeans not only look comfortable with their clothes but also have relaxed body postures. This advertisement is an illustration of the way people look in their daily lives in 1980s when wearing jeans is considered as a sign of modernization in clothing for women. The women start to wear pants and they gain a different status in appearance, which is some kind of equality: they could wear a piece of clothing that men wear as in the European countries. This ad obviously reveals the period that we are trying to become European since the text mentions the word “Europe”, which is a rhetorical strategy that Turkey does not need anymore. It makes use of the concept of becoming Europeanized since the idea of wearing jeans sounds modern for Turkish society and the people need the credibility of European models, which is the ideal model for modernization.

The following advertisement introduces the sun lotion “Delial”.



Ad 68: Delial (Ses 1980)



Ad 69: Delial (Ses 1980)



Signifiers in ad 68 and 69:

Visual text: A woman with a bathing suit

Verbal text: "It is ideal for sunbathing"

Subtitle: "To benefit from the sun consciously. Ideal to get a tan"

Referent systems: Sun, nature

Myths: Getting tanned is healthy and it means becoming more beautiful.

Ideological meaning: In the verbal text of this advertisement, the addressees are informed that the sun is a requirement for health, nature gives the sun to us but it cannot protect us from the harmful effects of the sun. The advertisement claims that "Delial" is the product that we need to protect ourselves from the sun. Nature, including the sun, is considered as a necessity for what it gives to people, but at the same time, it is presented as a danger that one needs to protect herself from. That makes using "Delial" an obligation especially for the women who have a wish to be bronze. The ad tries to urge the women to consume sun lotion for protecting their skin in an obligatory way and for making it look more attractive aesthetically. In this way, this advertisement adds another criterion of beauty to our collective consciousness, the women should have bronze skin as well. Using sun lotion is another sign of modernization, which starts with the swimming culture and women's wearing bathing suit in Turkey. As the women's appearances and how much they reveal their bodies are considered to be part of the modernization in daily life of Turkish society in 1980s, this is one of the ads that reflects the starting era of the attempts of Turkey's modernization.

The movement of liberal feminism which comes into being largely in Europe in 1980s claims that the ideal living conditions are attainable not only for men but also for the women. New needs and wants are developed for the women.

In some advertisements, potential customers are male and they are promised to have a relationship with a woman when presented the product as in the following:

The advertisement below presents a perfume brand called “Axe”.

Signifiers in ad 70:

Visual text: Two women and some bottles of Axe perfumes

Verbal text: “The rest is up to you”

Referent systems: Sexual desire, seduction

Myths: It is easy for women to attract men but it is easy for men to possess women.



Ad 70: Axe (Tempo 1995)

Ideological meaning: This is a visually plain advertisement of a perfume for men. Reading this advertisement first requires identifying a possible target group, who are men. However, the figures making a direct connection with the readers with a direct look on their faces are women, who will not be the actual users of the product. The women in the ad iconically

stand for the women who are supposed to be attracted by the men wearing the advertised product. In the verbal text of the advertisement, it is implied that the addressee can further this attraction and have a sexual relationship with the woman. Another interesting point is that a single woman figure could be enough to symbolize the women impressed but two women appear in the depiction. Their facial features are very different from each other, which makes us think that different types of women can be impressed by the specific perfume used by a male consumer. In this way, men are encouraged to buy the product with the idea of attracting different types of women's attention. There can be two different interpretations of the verbal text "the rest is up to you". Firstly, the word "you" may be referring to the women who are considered to seduce men easily. When the audience is thought to be a woman, we can conclude that the myth that women are the ones who seduce men is used. This makes men passive but women active for the role of seduction. Secondly, the word "you" may be referring to the men who are considered to have the control over the women that are attracted by the perfume advertised. When the audience is thought to be composed of men, we can conclude that the myth that women are easily possessed by men is reproduced here. The ad implies that wearing Axe is enough to have these women and it is up to the men's decision to carry out a sexual relationship. In this advertisement, women are presented as either the ones who are available sex objects or the ones whose possessions are taken by men for their sexual desires. In both readings, there is an impression that women seduce men which put them in a subordinate condition. This is quite contradictory, in that, the one who demands sexuality is the man.

II. 3. The Freedom of Men and Women

II. 3. 1. The Freedom of Men

Signifiers in ad 71:

Visual text: A man with his arms open under the rain and a bottle of whisky.

Verbal text: “Release yourself”

Referent systems: Freedom.

Myths: Man’s has the right to freedom.



Ad 71: Ballantines (Tempo 2000)

Ideological meaning: In this advertisement of a drink called “Ballantines”, we see a man under pouring rain. It is expected that the viewer should create a context that is both related to the rain and the man. As they are in the same frame, the viewer makes a connection and transfers the qualities of the rain to the man. The text of the advertisement demands that the man release his inner feelings. Pouring like the rain, the man is able to pour his heart out when he drinks Ballantines. Ballantines is assumed to give him the masculine qualities of self-confidence, independence, courage and free will. When we read his body language, we see he is barefoot, his eyes are looking up, his arms wide open

suggesting that he has nothing to hide as a man. In this advertisement, the idea that the man could exist only when he is free is supported. A woman is not expected to live her own life freely. Freedom is not accepted as a need for any women. As a matter of fact, this is something restricted for women. For example, it is not always socially approved for women to behave freely after drinking whisky.

The common ground in most of the the ads is the personalization of the product image. The people in the advertisements appear as part of a social setting that transfers abstract symbolic qualities to the product. “Social administration, pride of ownership, anxiety about lack of use, or satisfaction in consumption become important humanizing dimensions of the interpretation of products” as stated by Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1988:194). The meaning of the advertisement is conveyed by the relationship between the attributes associated with the people and the product. The way this relation is constructed depends greatly on the characteristics of the person in the advertisement by the person’s representation of certain personality types. The people may be shown as satisfied consumers, users, models, testifiers, presenters, housewives or successful businessmen in the course of daily life.

Signifiers in ad 72, 73, 74:

Visual text: A man’s hand with gloves in the first picture, a man smoking

Verbal text: “The taste of freedom and adventure”

Referent systems: Freedom, masculinity.

Myths: The man smoking “Marlboro” is free.



Ad 72: Marlboro (Tempo 1990) Ad 73: Marlboro(Tempo 1990) Ad 74: Marlboro (Tempo 1990)

Ideological meaning: In the visual text, men's hands are shown strongly grasping the object like a cup or a lighter. It means they are in full control of the object according to Goffman's category about the touch, in contrast to women who just caress the objects. The figures in the ads convey a range of qualities associated with the advertised product. These are harshness, strength and roughness which are the essential attributes of masculinity. Their typical characteristics are transferred to the product so the product itself stands for the masculine gender traits. In this way, the ad implies smoking Marlboro makes the men feel more masculine by promising freedom and adventure which are obviously attributed to men and rarely approved for women. As for the verbal signs, it is necessary to take the word "taste" into account. Taste is one of the basic human senses. However, when this word is used together in the phrase "the taste of freedom and adventure", it conveys the meaning to the accompanying words and these words become like additional senses since the whole meaning of this cluster comprises the meaning of each word. In this way, freedom sounds like one of the senses for men by being juxtaposed with the sense of the word "taste".

Masculine traits are demonstrated in ad 74 too, but in a different way. In ad 72 and 73, what is emphasized is the manly manner that the figures hold the objects when smoking cigarette. As for the ad 74, we see that there is motion, power and freedom signified by the horses running. One of those is ridden by the man, which gives us the impression that the one who controls something powerful is the man. He is in the active role and he is at the countryside, which point to his ability to cope with nature. The common connotation in these three advertisements is that smoking Marlboro signifies being a man.

II. 3. 2. The Freedom of Women

Signifiers in ad 75:

Verbal text: "Beauty is freedom. Smooth armpits"

Visual text: A young woman in good spirits and two bottles of deodorants.

Referent Systems in both ads: Freedom

Myths: *Nivea* sets you free.

Ideological meaning:

Signifiers in ad 76:

Verbal text: "What is going to happen now?"

Visual text: Two backpackers. Both of them are famous singers.

Referent Systems in both ads: Freedom

Myths: *Turkcell* gives you freedom.



Ad 75: Nivea (Elele 2008)



Ad 76: Turkcell Hazırkart (Cosmopolitan 2008)

Ideological meanings in the ads 75 and 76: In both of the advertisements, the advertisers convince the consumer that if she buys the product, she will buy the promised values at the same time. In ad 75, beauty is connected with freedom guaranteed by Nivea deodorants.

In contrast to men whose freedom is associated with adventure, women's freedom is in relation to their beauty. In ad 76 a mobile phone operator *Turkcell Hazırkart* is presented by a famous Turkish pop singer Nil Karaibrahimgil. She plays the role of a "free" backpacker girl in all series of this advertisement. This ad is provocative since the freedom is attached to a girl, not a boy. This can be considered to be a fundamental change in the way how society thinks of women. It is interesting to note that the girl's travel seems to aim at reaching someone she dreams of at the end of her journey. The girl's freedom is again restricted by a womanly goal and it again comes to an end when she meets the dream boy played by Tarkan, a famous singer, who will accompany her and maybe take over her freedom. This advertisement not only reflects a representation of a new modern image of a Turkish girl, but it creates and reinforces these images as well, which are the tools for displaying gender-appropriate behaviour.

Signifiers in ad 77:

Verbal text: “It is worn in order to feel free!”

Visual text: A girl in bathing suit

Referent Systems in both ads: Freedom

Myths: Wearing a bathing suit makes you feel free.



Ad 77: Nelson (Cosmopolitan 2002)

Ideological meaning: The verbal text of the advertisement connotes that being able to wear a bathing suit is a kind of freedom for women because of the body exposure. We should note that this ad taken from a magazine in 2002 reflects a new perspective on the perception about the freedom of women. In fact, the text still keeps the traditional thinking by using the words “feeling free”, instead of “being free”. According to the ad, women wear bathing suits not to be free but to *feel* free, which suggests that they are not free, they can only *feel* free. However, we do not see any advertising texts discussing the freedom of women 30 years ago because the freedom of women was not under consideration then.

II. 4. The Relationship of Men and Women

Signifiers in ad 78:

Verbal text: "I was a spinster until a month ago. All my friends got married but there were no men who liked me. Now, I am very pleased. I have my husband who adores me and a lovely home. Altınbaş Creme that makes my dream come true will be your savior in the future."

Visual text: An unhappy girl sitting alone in the right corner of the picture and the same girl in a wedding dress walking together with his partner.

Referent Systems in both ads: Marriage

Myths: Using this cream makes your dreams come true.



Ad 78: Altınbaş (1954)

There is nothing new about focus on beauty. For years, skin care products have been sold to women with the promise of attracting men's attention. The text of the this old advertisement above links it to being engaged. What the reader faces is a girl thinking of her unhappiness about being single and not desirable for men. In the ad it is postulated that her expectation of getting married is only possible by using the cream *Altınbaş*, which makes her dreams come true and provides her a place in the world that she desires. This advertisement is based on the unwritten rules and thought systems of Turkish society about the necessity of marriage for young women. The key of a girl's happiness is to get married, which is connoted by this advertisement. When we analyze the modern ads, we see that the the relationship between men and women is completely different from the focus in 1980s.

Signifiers in ad 79:

Visual text: A man behind a smiling woman, holding glasses of wine

Verbal text: "The sweetest moment of the night"

Referent systems: Alcohol and pleasure

Myths: Ease of intimacy while drinking.

Signifiers in ad 80:

Visual text: Hands of a man and a woman, holding a bottle of wine and two empty glasses

Verbal text: "The sweetest way of coming closer to him/her"

Referent systems: Alcohol and joy.

Myths: Ease of the close relation of men and women while drinking.



Ad 79: Doluca (Tempo 2000)



Ad 80: Doluca (Tempo 2000)

Ideological meaning: In “Dolucasafir” ads, the product is supposed to bring people into greater intimacy. The depictions place the product at the center of social interactions. The product is woven firmly into the web of human relations. It is romance that provides the main social context for the product advertised. Ad 80 is built around the relationship between the man and the woman. “Dolucasafir” is thought to be a starter of the close relationship between them and coming closer is supposed to be the outcome of drinking this wine. The sweet taste of wine is associated with the relationship that could be established between the opposite sexes and drinking wine is a way to make it possible since it brings intimacy. The drink is considered as a way to build an intimate relationship according to the verbal text of this ad. Drinking alcohol is an action mostly considered to pertain to the man’s world, however, in this advertisement the woman is the obligatory participant to change this social setting into a flirtatious atmosphere. The man reaches the woman who seems to be in good spirits with the lightening affect of wine. In both depictions, the background color is dark blue reminding the viewer of the night. The sweet

taste emphasized in both pictures is associated with the relationship that is desired to be established with the woman at midnight. Here, the woman next to the product in the advertisement becomes an object of desire for the man.

Signifiers in ad 81:

Visual text: A smiling woman with her eyes shut, holding a glass of raki and a man behind her.

Verbal text: “Loyalty is valuable. The refined taste produced by remaining loyal to just one grape. A unique slenderness with its bottle and its sip. Mest Raki with its Misket and Sultaniye alternatives. It tells the value of the loyalty with each sip. It is the raki that is loyal to its grape.”

Referent systems: Alcohol, loyalty

Myths: Ease of the close relation of men and women while drinking.



Ad 81: Mest Raki (Elele 2008)

Ideological meaning: At the surface level, we can say that the woman is happy with the man behind her. Apparently, they do not have spatial distance, which makes them a couple. As for the verbal text, it focusses on one the most important moral values of human beings. When the meaning is analyzed deeply, the verbal and visual text can be better understood in terms of social relations. Since this is an alcohol advertisement as the previous ads 79 and 80, we should take into consideration the effect of the alcohol to human body and human relations. Although raki is mostly a man's drink, the subject holding the glass of raki is the woman. The primary effects of drinking alcohol on the woman include blurry vision, slurred speech, unclear sensation and perception, and reduced inhibitions. Making her unconscious and dazed, the alcohol will give her control to the man standing behind her. The man stands for the raki and the woman stands for the grape. According to the verbal text of the ad, his loyalty to the woman is matched with the loyalty of the raki to one and the only grape. The ad makes a proper expression for the cultural conventions in Turkey that loyalty in a relationship is precious. However, there are some negative traits attributed to the woman such as having dazedness, frailty and weak-willingness.

CONCLUSION

The lives of the women represented as good mothers and wives are full of their responsibilities of cooking, cleaning and looking after children through the years. This is the way the women are expected to live their lives by the dominant classes of the society. They should not ask for more according to the ideology imposed on them. Beside the good housewife stereotypes, there are women represented by their sexual attraction. The only concern of these women is to draw the men's attention and seduce them in order to attain their goal. In an advertisement, a woman succeeds in winning her husband's love by using her bodily beauty. In another advertisement, a woman accomplishes catching the last parking lot by using her charm while the male drivers are fascinated by her. Briefly, physical appearance has become increasingly central to defining personal identity and attractiveness has been considered as a necessary condition for personal happiness of the woman. This is prompted by explicit sexuality that has increased over the years. Beauty which has become a matter of primary importance for modern women in time is presented to be a way to get what they want. Beauty for women is also associated with freedom in contrast to men whose freedom is connected to adventure. A modern woman is fond of her beauty that is presented to be a method of holding on to her partner, however, the woman is still dominated by a man. Decisions are still made by men, which supports the traditional Turkish attitude. Although a modern woman seems more self-expressive, her desires are still conditioned and limited by the tendencies in the patriarchal structure of Turkish society.

The developments in media have made different tools in communication possible. It seems that the text has been declining in importance throughout the period under study. The emphasis on writing in advertising's early years shifted gradually to one

on display and illustration. The contemporary ads include nothing more than a brand name, a slogan, and a few explanatory words. This indicates a change in the way ideas are expressed in advertising, that is, in the relationship between language and visual images. Increasing visualization of selling messages in advertising is one way of persuasion since the images say more than words.

The shift away from text to visual representation is important because it demonstrates that new relationships are being established between language and visual elements within the basic codes of advertising. In the very earliest magazine ads, the emphasis is clearly on the text and the information it conveys. In these ads, the text often explains the meaning of the illustration, the reasons for consuming the product and the benefits of the product. After an increase in visualisation, the verbal information has been condensed, the language has become more metaphorical and the visual language becomes the predominant medium for expressing meaning in advertising. The visual information becomes an important way to express the meaning in the advertisement, therefore, the message becomes more impressionistic and interpretative for the audiences. The more the language uses metaphorical expressions for material goods, the more it stands for non-material goods. Consequently, reality is hidden by several figures of speech in advertisements, which is one of the major functions of ideology.

The role of women is expected to take place in Turkish culture since Goffman's time because of the women's participation in workforce in the developed nations. However, in print advertisements in Turkey, women are not frequently represented in management positions which is a male province. Therefore, it is difficult to say that women's place in the workplace is better established in Turkish society since 1980s.

It is a fact that advertisements present individuals with various behaviour models and life styles. Although they seem to be informative, they deliver social messages and create stereotypes of men and women in the discourse of the advertisements. Finding the image in the advertisement attractive, the audience tries to embed the image into their life totally as if the image were his/her own personality as Rigel (1995) expresses. In spite of the fact that the presentation of traditional gender roles are critically viewed, the extent of stereotyping men and women in print advertisements does not seem to show any clear decrease as has been revealed in this study. On the contrary, it is revealed in this study that gender stereotyping is increasingly constructed according to men's perspective, which contributes to the perception of women as objects in the service of men. The negative connotations of the signs referring to women as a disempowered group are uncovered. The women never get satisfied since they think that they can never attain a perfect body like those of models presented in the ads. They experience psychological or physical diseases like eating disorders because of the dissatisfaction imperceptibly imposed by the language in the ads on them. Traditionally men are predominantly found to be portrayed as authority figures and women are primarily shown in housewife roles. There is not much decline in the portrayal of women in traditional housewife roles but an obvious rise in their decorative displays. The depiction of the women in sex appeal roles is not a new way of attracting attention. Using a physically attractive woman reiterates the fact that a beautiful person has a better chance of getting noticed as Solomon and Rabolt (2006) states. Even male-oriented products are now advertised with women for their ornamental display. Both Turkish men and women are mostly portrayed in traditional ways, with men shown as authority figures, self-reliant, outdoor and career oriented and women depicted as non-assertive mothers or wives. Eagly and Wood (2000) state that such portrayals are reflective of societal

expectations from men to be competent and independent and women to be nurturing. Women depictions in housewife roles indicate the fact that women in Turkey continue to invest more time and energy in the mother and wife roles. After joining workforce, women portray themselves as strong and confident females in recent years as implied by one of the slogan of the advertisement: "*Çocuk da yaparım, kariyer de...*" It is expected that a large number of educated women taking up jobs and gaining financial independence has made old values give way to equality and sharing responsibilities between men and women. However, radical role shifts have not appeared in Turkish print advertisements. The women appeared more often in domestic settings and less often in occupational roles. Purchasing role is still attributed to women although changing lifestyles patterns have made the women both consumers and producers. According to Lindner (2004) western ads portray women more often in career roles. This, however, is not true for the advertisements in Turkish print media. According to the results of this study, women appear more often in decorative roles and settings than in occupational roles. Despite some sociological progress in women's participation to the society, the stereotypes of the women mostly appear in the print advertisement as a modern housewife, not a working woman. Advertising has offered negative gender stereotypes towards women, which is dangerous since much of the advertising resonates in the minds of a large audience. The stereotyping of women leads to several serious consequences. People adjust themselves by taking into consideration the roles women occupy. When women tend to be in roles that demand nurturing behaviour, observers will assume that woman's place should be inside home and she should nurture her children. The more the audiences are exposed to these kind of scenes, the more they think that woman's place is home. This is an idea supported by the Islamic ideology in

Turkey. The cultural and religious ideas about women's position in society limit the women's life socially and cause them to live their lives full of responsibilities.

Traditional gender stereotypes used in Turkish media are found to support rigid gender roles which restrict the options for mostly women's development. In addition, traditional gender roles are discovered to be shown as hierarchical, as women are often delineated in more lowly and passive roles whereas men are depicted in controlling roles even when they are not in the advertisement.

This study demonstrates that the subordination of women still occurs much in advertising. Frequently women are portrayed in subservient roles and as sex objects in the advertisements. The society and the culture seems to have the power to take control of women's bodies and lives, in fact, women as a whole. For this reason, the women do not feel that their own bodies and sexualities belong to themselves but to their husbands'. As the subject of male desire, the woman is materialized for the man's satisfaction. In the discourse that the patriarchal ideology imposes, the woman is squeezed between two concepts: Being a sexually attractive woman and being an ideal housewife. As a modern wife, she has to be attractive for her husband for his approval and as a modern mother, she has to be caring about her children in a house that is always kept clean. Although these obligations seem pleasing for all family members, it is logically not so easy for a woman to achieve the ideal woman image as presented in the ads. While busying herself with her children and housework, a woman's keeping an appearance of the ideal wife in the ads is just a misleading manipulation. The woman spends her lifetime carrying out her duties obligatorily loaded on her by the society. What is expected from the woman at home is to be a loyal and passive maid who is dependent on her husband. It can roughly be inferred that the woman is only meaningful to her husband only when she is useful. There is an

invisible relation based on benefits of men among family members. The society dominated by men increases the value of the woman when she is useful, beautiful and young.

It is clear that our hypotheses are largely confirmed by this study which illustrates that gender stereotyping has been still significant in the sample of Turkish advertisements more than three decades after Goffman's analysis was first published.

Advertising evidently plays a critical role in shaping and reflecting culture since it has the power to reach the individuals without their conscious awareness. One of the most predominant themes in advertisements is the representations of gender displays. Expectations about genders are subtly implied by Turkish media including magazine advertisements, which function as socialization agents on a number of levels. First of all, they affect all members of the society since they are publicly broadcasted. Secondly, the images portrayed in the advertisements serve to validate their roles ideally described, which leads to the audience's acceptance of them as reality. Finally, because advertisements depict the behaviours of genders in a culture, they define sociocultural identities and expectations and contribute to the creation of acceptable versus unacceptable attitudes within social limits. It is evident that the advertisements in media impact and reproduce gender roles by diffusing the images throughout the society. In this study, the print advertisements are proved to represent and reinforce the mainstream ideology of Turkish culture: patriarchy.

While the representations of women in advertisements appear to have changed in the last thirty years, the ideology behind more modern images has not changed much. The women in the advertisements are shown as the figures that do not have a separate life. They are presented as sexual objects to promote the consumption of the product, which contributes to the continuity of the consumer culture. The life based on consumption

mostly stands on the women who always have to be well-kept and young. Neither being aged nor being a self-sacrificing mother is an excuse for a woman for not being attractive. She is the one who does not have the right to live her own life the way she wants and she does not have the right to get old either. Her freedom, her life and her physical existence including her body are restricted by the men's appreciation and control. As a possession of the man, the woman is imprisoned by male dominance. She is the subject of male idealization and desire.

Advertising brings us ideas for acceptable behavior, specific to men and women. It's not that advertising makes up ideas for images; it's that advertising reflects culture. Standards, social norms and values are reinforced by advertisements. Using ads as a mirror for society, we can see how men and women's roles and ideals have changed over time. This study has proposed that female images in advertising are depicted in different ways: stereotyped and idealized. Our results have revealed that some specific images have changed; however, they still continue to be stereotyped and idealized. Also, advertising sets double standards for the male gender that is portrayed in vastly different ways. Ads that target men still portray men as powerful and dominating creatures and point to traditional aspects of masculinity. On the other hand, some other advertisements which target men obsess with self image and lifestyle. Findings reveal that gender images that support the secondary positions of women mirror ideologies of the period. The study reveals that the prevailing attitude to genders is still conditioned by the traditional Turkish thought systems dominated by male discourse. Advertisements in Turkish print media tend to present women in sexist and negative images, often directly contradicting the idea of modern equality. By exploring cultural meanings for communicating gender identity, this

study shows how advertisements can be used as cultural artifacts to raise awareness of gender inferiority.

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