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FAMILY VALUE PORTRAYALS IN JOURNAL ADVERTISING A COMPARISON  
OF NORTH AMERICAN AND TAMIL MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

by

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to the required standard

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## ABSTRACT

The term 'culture' is generally used by anthropologists to describe traditions in a live social milieu. However, the concept is equally applicable to other domains such as advertising, art, children's storybooks and the like. Therefore, they too are eligible for being qualitatively analysed and interpreted for their cultural and symbolic content. The intention of this study is to demonstrate that such an application to advertising is appropriate, and that it can yield interesting, insightful results. For this purpose, a comparative analysis of family value portrayals in North American and Tamil magazine advertisements has been undertaken.

The data for this study was drawn from the main database of the Advertising Archives at the University of British Columbia. The original sample however was not used as it stood. Based on operational definitions of family and individual advertisements, two sub-samples were formed. Operationally, a family advertisement was that which textually, visually or in total depicted a family scene or a family relationship based on objective indices like the presence of wedding ring, children, family rituals and/or explicit statements in the text. An individual advertisement, on the other hand, was any advertisement that textually, or visually, or in total depicted an individual,

other than in the capacity of a family member. The persons could be concerned about their own self, wishing or trying to groom themselves, or making any other explicit or symbolic portrayal of their individuality. From this list, one product was chosen for selective study from each of the following product categories; Domestic Durables, Domestic Consumables, Personal Consumables, Personal Care and Services. A product example was drawn from each of the decades 1905-1975 for the North American sample, and in the case of the Tamil advertisements, from the nineteen seventies only. The earlier decades were used only for the purposes of background inquiry. The in depth analysis was based only on the Personal Care and Services class advertisements of the seventies.

Three expectations, gathered from written sources were set out at the beginning of the study. They were that:

1. The North American sample would contain more individual oriented advertisements whereas the Tamil sample would have a higher proportion of family oriented ones;
2. Extended family portrayals would be minimal in both samples, but that they would be especially rare in the North American one; and

3. Role portrayals in both samples would be similar. Man would be the economic provider and woman, a homemaker, shown as engaged in domestic work and child care.

The observations gathered were very supportive of expectation (1). This was later strengthened by the use of Chi-square testing. As regards expectation (2), the extended family portrayals were so few in both samples that they could not be compared statistically. Expectation (3), was also confirmed, although certain subtle differences in the emphases accorded sex roles were detected between the two cultures concerned.

Therefore, this study illustrates how advertisements do, in fact, provide a rich source of cultural information. However, it is cautioned that cultural behaviour depicted seems to be the expected behaviour; it need not be actual or empirically normative. Also, the data used was drawn from a limited category of journals, namely, family and women's type magazines.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Anthropological interest in family values dates back a very long time and there has been no paucity of cross-cultural, comparative family studies. These have been based on primary and on secondary data - field work, and content analyses of plays, novels, movies and art to mention a few. Anthropologists, however, have neglected the domain of advertisements while studying family and other cultural values, although values form a very important dimension of advertising. This thesis treats the journal advertisement as a carrier of socio-cultural values to its viewing audience. It will look at value profiles in advertising from an anthropological perspective.

#### Advertising - A Value Communication

In this study, advertising is seen as a form of communication. The products of advertising are attributed with symbolic meanings the advertiser believes will be meaningful to persons in the socio-cultural setting he wishes to address. These values are then transferred to the advertised item. This transfer of values to a product is the crux of the techniques the advertiser uses to sell a specific set of merchandise. He literally defines the



significance of the product and tries to imbue it with popular values.

The term "value" could be defined in Kluckhohn's terms as "a selective orientation towards experience, implying deep commitment or repudiation, which influences the ordering of 'choices' between possible alternatives in action" (Kluckhohn; 1961: 18). Thus, the desire to purchase as well as the act of purchasing are motivated by or derived from socio-cultural values. Therefore, a successful advertiser transfers those values to the advertised product.

Of course, the advertising communication is not the "ditto" of a face-to-face dialogue between two or more persons. The communication is often symbolic rather than explicit. The product advertised often becomes a symbol of the socio-cultural values which would appeal to potential consumers. These symbols become part of the messages sent through advertisements to potential consumers or "target receivers". The term target receiver could create the mistaken notion of being a particular individual chosen by the advertiser to receive the communication and hence needs defining. Here, by the term "target receiver" is meant not a real person but an ideal typical image of an individual who is thought to value culturally expected norms and behaviour. In other words, a target receiver will, it is hoped, think and act in a culturally approved manner.

Granted the above, this study proposes that advertisements aimed at two different target receivers belonging to two distinct cultures will be different in their frame and content. This happens because advertisements reflect the valuations of the culture at which they are aimed. Of special interest to this study is a comparative analysis of profiles related to family values in the advertisements of two distinct cultures: North American and Tamil.

### Expectations Underlying the Exploration

As early as the 1930s, perhaps even earlier, there has been a concern over disintegrating family and broken homes in North America. In a study on the North American family published in 1931, the author remarks about education which has become the dominant force in modern American life.

"....In education, the family and the school exist for the individual... The presence, therefore, of education, as the most potent of social forces, has resulted in the appreciation of individualism and in the depreciation of the family...."

(Thwing, 1931: 47)

In addition to education, he mentions other factors that brought individualism to prominence at the cost of, at least indirectly, the family (Thwing, 1931: 47-52).

Anthropological studies on the American family express more or less similar views. Nimkoff remarks:

"If we ask what it is that gives distinction or uniqueness to the American family, a significant part of the answer can be given in terms of one of the dominant cultural values of American society namely, freedom... The accent on happiness in marriage is an expression of the emphasis on individualism in American society. Individualism is an expression of the American creed of freedom, freedom of the individual to develop his own tastes, and to live according to his own plan. The happiness of the individual, more than the welfare of the group, is the controlling consideration. The family is said to exist for the individual, not the individual for the family. What matters most is the development of the individual, sometimes at the expense of group and general interest."

(Nimkoff, 1965: 330)

In contrast, studies of the Indian family emphasize collective identity, roles and a person's place vis-a-vis the larger Indian society. The individual members of the Indian family feel a sense of belonging to their family as an institution and entertain a concern for its perpetuation; they prefer to satisfy their personal interests within the confines of the family; they adhere to family norms and conventions, and they attempt to co-operate in family functions (Gore, 1965; Roy 1975, and many others). These general characteristics of the Indian family are equally applicable in the North and the South. Here the Tamil case has been taken up as a South Indian regional example. Studies by Gore (1968), Ross (1967), Goody (1970), Kapadia (1966), among many others show that the nuclear family system is replacing the extended type of family as a

result of socio-economic change, nonetheless the family and not the individual is still the essential focus of values in Indian life. Socio-economic changes have affected the structure of the family system but not the social value of the family.

Rooted in such literary information and observations, it is expected that the Tamil advertisements sampled will be more family oriented whereas the North American ones will contain a larger proportion of individually oriented advertisements. Depictions of the extended family in Indian advertisements will also be minimal, it is assumed, because of the transformation of the traditional extended family system now occurring. Where such portrayals are present, one would expect them to link to certain specific social roles, such as that of being a grandmother. In contrast, North American advertisements will certainly not contain many portrayals of the extended family. When, if at all, extended family relationships do appear, it is expected that these will be impersonal presentations rather than related to specific functional roles. For instance, a grandmother may be presented as offering her culinary expertise to a housewife in North America, or a husband may be shown to remember his mother's cooking. Similarly, old parents might be depicted as visiting their son's nuclear family on a special occasion, perhaps even having dinner with them. But a portrayal of day-to-day child care by

grandparents, a more central role, is expected to be absent.

Although the North American family emphasizes egalitarianism within the family , it is not expected that there will be many portrayals of men in household chores. As Gore (1965) and Nimkoff (1965) have written, the North American male role as the economic provider is emphasized most often. Also, although a gradual individualization in American life has provided women with greater freedom, authority patterns within the family have not undergone many changes. As Nimkoff writes:

"When we consider how the money income is managed, we note that the male head is usually the fiscal agent in the American family... In the middle class, the husband is the chief manager of the family income, the wife is the chief purchasing agent. She does the every day buying of food and clothing. She does most of the housework."

(1965: 334)

This is the same pattern of division of labour and responsibility as in India. Therefore, in the portrayal of economic roles, the Tamil and the North American family in advertising are expected to be similar. The next section will discuss the data samples on which this study rests, and the general technique of analysis. The following chapters will examine role portrayals in these two bodies of material to determine if the three expectations summarised below are true or false:

- (i) The North American sample will have more individual oriented advertisements than family oriented ones, whereas the Tamil sample will contain more family oriented advertisements than individual ones;
- (ii) Extended family portrayals will be minimal in both samples, but most so in the North American one; and
- (iii) Role portrayals and male-female authority patterns within the family will be very similar in both samples: the man will be portrayed as the economic provider and woman as a homemaker engaged in household chores and child care.

#### Data and Methodology

Both the North American and Tamil advertisement samples for this comparative study have been drawn from the main data base of the History of Advertising Archives (U.B.C.: 1981). The sampling plan used on this main data base has been described in Appendix 1. From this main sample, two new sub-samples for the North American and the Tamil advertisements were formed. These were structured so as to contain: 'family advertisements', 'individual advertisements', and 'other advertisements'. Such an ordering was based on the operational definitions of these three categories.

Operationally, a 'family advertisement' is that advertisement which textually, visually, or in total depicts a family scene, or a family relationship based on objective indices like the presence of a wedding ring, children, family rituals and chores, or explicit statements in the texts. An 'individual advertisement', on the other hand, is any advertisement that textually or visually or in total, portrays an individual other than in their capacity as a family member. Such advertisements will show persons as concerned about their own self, wishing or trying to groom or beautify themselves, or any explicit or symbolic portrayal of individuality. All advertisements that do not qualify for either group are to be lumped together under the label 'other'.

All the two thousand North American advertisements available, and all the two hundred and fifty Tamil advertisements, were sorted on the basis of the above three advertisement categories. This general sample then was statistically analysed to obtain an impression of the degree to which these advertisement categories appeared in the two samples. This statistical survey supports our main expectation: the Tamil sample indeed has more family oriented advertisements than individual advertisements and the North American sample has more individual oriented ones than family oriented ones. As a preliminary step, a sub-

sample was drawn from the North American sample. This involved taking one product each from each product class in the main data base to illustrate Domestic Durables, Domestic Consumables, Personal Consumables, Personal Care and Services.

A similar set of products for 1970 alone were taken from the Tamil sample (Appendix 1.2 provides the basis of these classifications). The specific advertisements selected were for automobiles, baby food, cigarettes, detergent, insurance and shampoo. Of these, automobiles and cigarettes were not present at all in the Tamil sample and hence, they were not analysed. All other products formed the base for this background inquiry.

In contrast, only the sub-set of all advertisements from 1970s with this larger grouping was used for in depth study. From this sub-sample, the product classes Personal Care and Services were taken up for especially detailed study. (A listing of products belonging to these various sub-groupings is provided in Appendix 3).

Statistical inquiry alone does not lend much meaning to a study that looks at value profiles. So a qualitative analysis of each individual advertisement was in order. In this qualitative analysis, the visual material as well as the text of an advertisement merited equal and separate attention. Sometimes the visual presentation was aimed at a particular aspect of potential consumer interest and the



text aimed at another. For instance, in one insurance advertisement from the North American sample, the visual image was that of a family and hence, this advertisement qualified as a family advertisement. But consider the text! A look at the caption itself reveals an equal emphasis placed on family "independence". From the Tamil sample too, there are cases where more than one value appears in the text and in the visuals, sometimes opposing ones. Hence, the visuals and the text merit separate and detailed treatment. Therefore, the data analysis which follows is organised into three different sections:

1. An analysis of the visual presentations in the two samples.
2. A discussion of the textual messages in both samples.
3. An inquiry into the role and age portrayals in the visuals as well as in the text.

These analyses will explore the value messages, the particular frame of reference used, for instance the extended family versus nuclear - sub-nuclear frames of reference, individual frames of reference, the content of these advertisements, and various role depictions.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, the major findings of the study and the queries arising out of this exploration are summarized. Here again, it is emphasized

that advertisements are not merely informative; they also serve as communicators of basic value frames. These advertisements for particular products reflect the general assumptions of the particular culture and the particular world views. The main intention of this study is to demonstrate that the term "culture" is equally applicable to domains other than the live social milieu, like advertising, art, story books etc. and that such a study can bring about interesting and insightful results.

## CHAPTER II

THE VISUALS

"Successful persuasion through advertising consists of far more than doing clever tricks with words. The consumer has developed a protective husk against mere word claims... But other kinds of symbols such as those in illustration communicate images so much faster with far less resistance, with much greater persuasiveness. The visual symbols are not just a support for word claims. They can contribute meanings and associations entirely apart and of much greater significance."

(Pierre Martineau 1957: 13)

Since the above comment was made two decades ago, there have been significant changes in advertising theory, and consequently, in the techniques used. The artwork of advertisements, normally the first dimension of an advertisement to catch the eyes of prospective consumers, is much emphasized now, so much so that in 1964 McLuhan was led to comment:

"Since the advent of pictures, the job of body copy is as incidental and latent as the meaning of a poem is to a poem, or the words of a song is to a song."

(1964: 205)

Having thus attained such significance in the task of conveying messages to potential consumers, the visual symbols contained in advertisements merit special and

elaborate examination. This chapter will examine the visual content of North American and Tamil advertisements as words need not necessarily be employed to provide culturally meaningful attributes to a product that is being advertised. Very often, powerful visual images are capable of creating an aura around a product of its want-satiating capacity. For instance, see the life insurance advertisement which bears the visual of a happy family - a man with a woman holding on to him from one side and carrying a boy on his shoulder; the woman, clearly his wife, is holding a teddy bear, and the boy, identifiably his son, is wearing a T-shirt that reads: 'I am in good hands'. The couple appears to be walking on beach water (Illustration 1.1.1).

From this visual image, the reader gets the impression that both the teddy bear and the child are totally devoid of any worldly anxieties as they trust that they are safe "in good hands" and the woman holding on to the man appears to feel that she would not be swept off in any rising, unexpected tide. Together, the family appears to feel confident that they are in the good hands of the particular insurance company being advertised. The man 'shoulders' his responsibility without anxiety or fear and is cheerful. All this is, implicitly, thanks to the insurance company. This advertisement without any explicit textual message to accompany it, definitely conveys a sense

21000TV6 00 0076  
75-017

# If you're smart, you may never have to worry about life insurance again.



*Here's why Allstate's Family Plan Package makes sense.*

You're just starting out—and all you know about your life insurance needs is that they'll change. So, if you're smart, you'll start a life insurance program that can change, too.

The Family Plan Package starts the way you do: on a budget. Yet big enough to cover you, your spouse, and your children until age 22. And future children—15 days' after arrival—at no extra cost.

Don't stop there. Buy a Future Purchase Privilege that periodically entitles you to buy other kinds of permanent life insurance without another physical. Or add an Additional Accidental Death Benefit to the one in the basic plan. Or buy a Family Income Insurance Benefit that provides a guaranteed monthly income for your family to a specified date.

Start now. See your Allstate agent. You may never have to worry about life insurance again.

## Allstate

You're in good hands.

Allstate Life Insurance Company, Northbrook, IL

The Family Plan Package described is Allstate's New Future Family Plan policy with optional secondary Future Purchase Privilege. Additional Accidental Death Benefit and Family Income Insurance Benefit. A One Person Family Plan policy is also available.

Illustration 1.1.1

'I am in good hands'

of association between trustworthiness and security in insurance and the cultural ideals of a parent's responsibility in ensuring child's future happiness or security and a husband's duty to protect his wife. Clues provided in the captions and the accompanying text are of additional help in creating the impression the advertiser wants the potential consumer to receive: that the product enables a consumer to rise up to cultural expectations and that it fulfills culturally sanctioned wants and desires of a consumer. We are not confining ourselves strictly to the visual presentations alone in analysing these advertisements, then. Instead, a distinction is being made between the visual presentations and the larger set of visual impressions. The former refers to the visual content alone, while the latter includes clues from the captions and the body copy of the advertisement, as to how the visuals are to be understood. The latter approach allows for greater accuracy in interpretation.

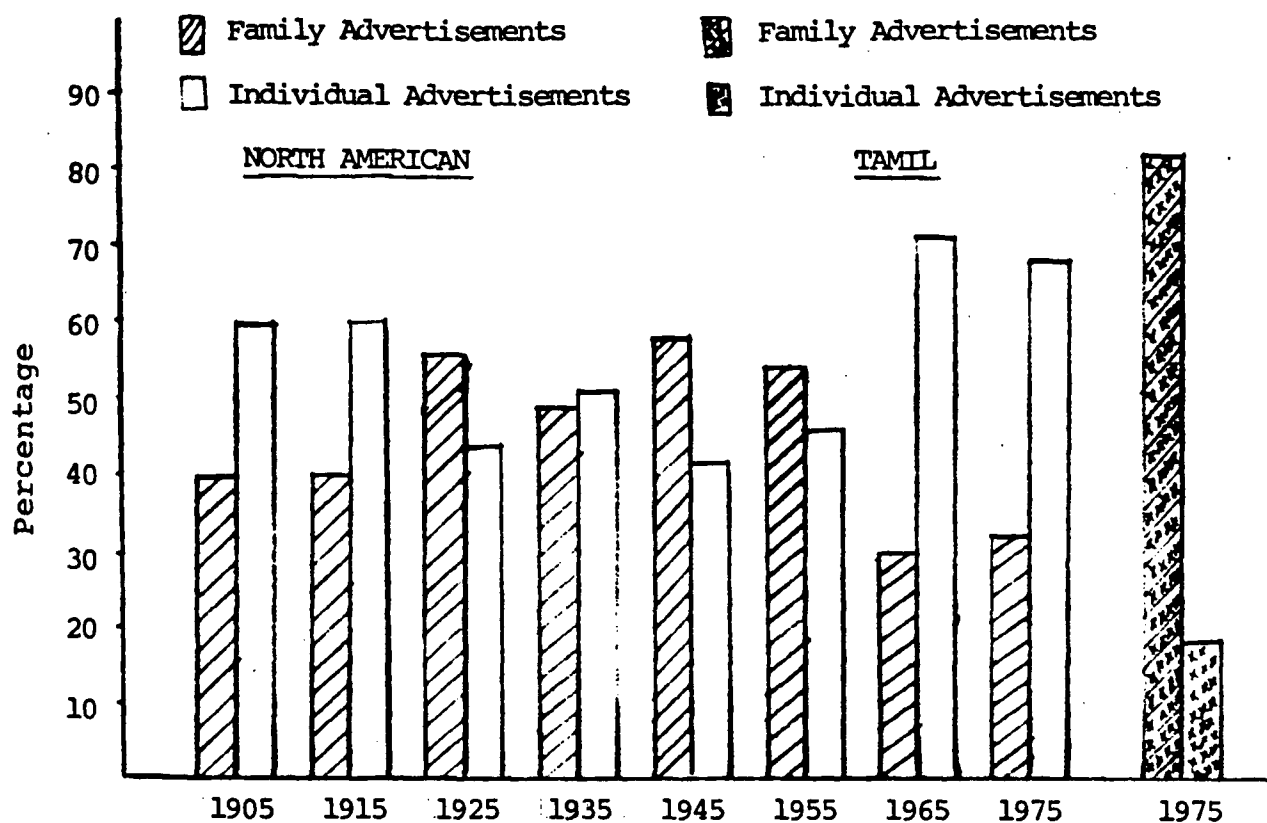
#### A General Inquiry

A general inquiry into the North American and Tamil samples of advertisements was first undertaken in order to develop a feel for the proportion of family advertisements and of individual advertisements in the North American and the Tamil samples. This overview covers the period 1905 to the present for the North American material and 1975 alone for the Tamil sample.

As is evident from Graph 1 and Table 1 the North American sample contains more individual advertisements than family advertisements in each decade except for 1925, 1945 and 1955; the decade 1975 proves to have the highest percentage of individual advertisements of all and 1925, by contrast, has the greatest percentage of family advertisements. In the Tamil sample for which we have advertisements from 1975 alone, there are far more family advertisements than individual advertisements. Also, the family advertisements in this sample are far more in number than for 1925 in the North American sample, the peak decade for family advertisements in that material.

This general survey thus, supports our expectation laid forth at the outset of this study - that the Tamil sample would contain more family oriented advertisements whereas the North American sample would contain a higher proportion of individual ones.

Statistically, when the characters of both samples of the seventies are compared, Chi-square values suggest that there is a significant difference between the rate of occurrence of family scenes in the Tamil set of advertisements and in the American one. When the peak decade for family advertisements in the North American sample - the decade 1925 - was compared with the Tamil sample of the seventies, similar results were obtained, thus providing added confirmation to Expectation (1).



Graph 1 Histograms showing percentages of Family and Individual advertisements in the North American and Tamil samples

TABLE 1: Family and Individual advertisements in the North American and Tamil samples

Decade	Number of Advertisements			
	North American Sample		Tamil Sample	
	Family Advertisement	Individual Advertisement	Family Advertisement	Individual Advertisement
1905	14	21	-	-
1915	28	41	-	-
1925	63	50	-	-
1935	43	44	-	-
1945	61	44	-	-
1955	43	37	-	-
1965	24	58	-	-
1975	29	61	70	15
Total	305	356	70	15



However, in order to obtain a better grasp of the characteristics of the two samples before going into an in-depth analysis of the 1975 materials, we shall now take a further look at the whole. One product randomly chosen from each of the product classes (Domestic Durables, Domestic Consumables, Personal Consumables A and B, Personal Care and Services) will now be used to analyse the visual impressions conveyed in these advertisements. Advertisements for automobiles, baby food, detergent, cigarettes, shampoo, and insurance from the two samples were selected to represent the various product classes. Since automobiles and cigarettes do not enjoy even a single advertisement in our Tamil sample, however, these two were later excluded from discussion.

This analysis of the selected products once again strengthens our expectation regarding the nature of the two samples, that is, the North American sample definitely reveals a greater orientation towards the individual and his needs whereas the Tamil sample reveals greater affinity towards family and the needs of individuals in their capacity as family members.

### Baby Food

Advertisements for baby foods provide a very good example of the above observation. It is an uncontestable fact that babies everywhere, whether in North America or in Tamil Nadu, need to be taken care of. Still, interest-

TABLE 2: Number of advertisements in various product classes from the North American and Tamil samples of the seventies

Product category	Number of Advertisements	
	North American	Tamil
Domestic Durables	43	29
Domestic Consumables	21	23
Personal Consumables A	59	46
Personal Consumables B	26	03
Personal Care	38	58
Services	17	24
Personal Apparel	15	48
Miscellaneous	31	19
Total	250	250

TABLE 3: Distribution of advertisements of selected products for preliminary analysis - decade wise

Product class	Chosen product	Number of Advertisements									Tamil 1975
		North American									
		1905	1915	1925	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	Total	
Domestic Durables	Automobile	3	2	12	7	7	11	11	8	61	0
Domestic Consumables	Detergent	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	1	10	10
Personal Consumables - A -	Baby Food	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	7	3
Personal Consumables -B -	Cigarette	0	0	2	6	1	9	8	21	47	0
Personal Care	Shampoo	0	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	11	3
Services	Insurance	2	0	2	1	1	5	7	4	22	3
Total		6	3	18	17	15	34	29	35	158	19

ingly enough, even in a baby food advertisement, the North American individuality of the baby is portrayed.

Here is a "most particular baby" from the North American sample of baby food advertisements. The visual of the advertisement involves different poses of the baby - he is shown sitting alone as if he were a separate personality; and he is depicted as in an aloof mood, almost as if he is brooding. This is clarified in the statement beneath the photo as his refusal of another brand of baby food; he is eating his favourite one with enjoyment; and finally, he, the healthy, happy baby, is well-nourished on his favourite brand (Illustration 2.1.1). This advertisement, of course, involves the mother of the baby too; it is she who has to purchase the product for the baby. However, the advertisement does not directly try to invoke mother's culturally sanctioned need for nurturance but asks, instead, that the mother recognises her baby's culturally preferred need for independence. There is not even a visual image of the mother in this advertisement. In fact, in all the baby food advertisements of our North American sample, there is not even a single advertisement of a mother or a father feeding the baby; baby always feeds alone. In one or two isolated instances where a parent or both parents appear visually, it is as playing with the baby and not as taking care of him.

6w1065, LIDA, C150845  
45-164

## The most particular baby in Fairfield, Conn.



Underneath these pictures you will read the exact words of an unsolicited letter written by Mrs. Glynn C. Parker, of Fairfield, Conn., to the makers of Clapp's Baby Foods.



"My son, Roger Carey Parker, is just one year old. He has been brought up entirely on Clapp's Baby Foods. I can truthfully say that he is very particular about his food.



"Once I got another brand of spinach, and he absolutely refused it. Believing he disliked spinach, as I'd heard so many babies did, I wasn't worried. But since he always enjoyed all other vegetables, I tried an experiment.



"I obtained a jar of Clapp's Spinach, and he ate it with great enjoyment. The same thing happened with prunes. I tasted different brands myself, and even I could see the difference in flavor. So it's readily understandable how a baby's keen taste will pick out what he likes.



"These pictures of our Clapp's baby were taken a few weeks ago on his first birthday. Doesn't he look healthy and strong? He weighs 30 lbs. and is 32 inches tall. We feel it's all due to good, nourishing foods, a lot of variety, and flavors so delicious a baby loves them all."

### Why your baby will thrive on Clapp's:

- We make all our baby foods to fit doctors' requirements.
- We discard many fruits and vegetables that would be perfectly acceptable for adults, but not, in our judgment, for Clapp-fed babies.
- We believe our business is the most important business in the world. For 21 years it has been our sole business, not a part of it.
- Finally, this is why so many thousands of doctors prescribe Clapp's Baby Foods regularly.



Millions of babies  
have been raised on

## CLAPP'S BABY FOODS

Illustration 2.1.1 'Most particular baby'

In the Tamil sample, in contrast, baby food advertisements are essentially family advertisements. See a visual of a Tamil advertisement for a baby food (Illustration 2.2.1). Here, the mother lovingly feeds her baby while the father holds the bowl for them. This advertisement, no doubt, reflects the emotional need for nurturance - a need that is highlighted in the Tamil culture.

### Shampoo

In a very personal product such as shampoo, one would expect to find no basic difference in the two samples. One would naturally expect advertisements in both samples to be centred around an individual, normally a female. There is a general trend in advertising to show shampoo as a beauty product; women are seen as the pursuers of beauty and men as the admirers of beauty. But the Tamil sample belies such expectations. In a shampoo advertisement too, very powerful visual images of the family appear. There is no portrayal of a woman pampering her own hair or beaming with happiness over its shine or bounce. Instead, a mother is portrayed as shampooing her daughter's hair with a great sense of satisfaction while the father looks on with a smile of admiration or affection. Again, a reflection of local cultural values, in this case, familial love, care and appreciation (Illustration 3.2.1).







In the North American shampoo advertisement, not surprisingly, the visuals tend to depict an after-shampooing shine or attractiveness, if not an actual demonstration of an individual washing his own hair. Importance attached to one's individuality is clearly visible in these advertisements. There is no portrayal of family love or care or appreciation extended within the family. What is reflected, instead, is the culturally defined preference for individuality (Illustration 3.1.1).

### Insurance

Now consider insurance advertisements. In the North American sample, it is the insurance advertisements that contain the most family themes. Yet, even then, the visual image of a complete nuclear family rarely appears in these advertisements. Mostly, one finds visuals of a child or children whose future needs to be safeguarded. Otherwise, the advertisement is aimed at a man. We do not have even a single insurance advertisement that asks a woman to take a policy; it is the man who has to ensure her future.

One North American insurance advertisement depicts a money tree with branches bearing money and rooted in a sack of dollars. This visual is supposed to symbolise a family safely rooted in the financial stability of the insurance policy. The advertiser successfully conveys that the family's financial situation would be stable if this

ON JAN. 19, 1955  
55-807

Yes, Elizabeth Taylor was using  
Groom Shampoo. It's the favorite  
of a lot of Hollywood  
stars.

It never dries your hair! Lustrous  
Groom Shampoo is blended with  
lanolin... keeps your hair soft  
even on humid days... keeps  
hair so easy to manage.

It beautifies! For soft, lustrous  
hair, it's the answer without  
any special after-shampooing. The  
champion of beauty's most  
glamorous secret. It's the favorite  
of Hollywood movie stars.  
Lustre-Creme Shampoo.

*Hollywood's favorite. Lustre-Creme Shampoo*  
**Never Dries—  
it Beautifies!**



*Elizabeth Taylor* — THE LAST TIME I SAW PARIS  
An MGM Production. Color by Technicolor.

Illustration 3.1.1 'Shampoo makes you glamorous'

particular company policy is bought (Illustration 1.1.2). Another insurance advertisement depicts a safety lock. The handle that opens this lock to enter into safety is the insurance company (Illustration 1.1.3). In yet another insurance advertisement from the same sample, we get the visual depiction of a man holding the ropes of a bullock: an image which could be interpreted as the man controlling a potential danger, symbolised in the bull. By taking the policy, he gains domination over the bull (Illustration 1.1.4). In all these advertisements, the cultural ideal of financial security or stability is portrayed. In all of them, the expectations of a man in the North American culture, are reflected. So also are the culturally sanctioned desires of a man for domination and acquisition. Not surprisingly, in all the insurance advertisements of both samples, the advertiser's target is man. He is the economic provider of the family in both our samples. This portrayal also conforms to the respective cultural realities. Furthermore, in both the samples, when family is pictured, it is generally a nuclear family scene containing parents and one child at least. In the North American sample, however, there is no visual portrayal of extended family at all whereas the Tamil sample contains a few such cases.

In the Tamil sample, however, the woman is clearly portrayed as depending on her husband's support. The

000,TV6,09,16,67  
65-073

# House keeper.

(A State Farm money tree makes sure your family won't be uprooted.)

Your home needs it. The shelter of a money tree. What's a money tree? Insurance from State Farm Life... the kind that covers your mortgage and gives your home deep-rooted protection.

A money tree blooms with big green dollars to pay off the mortgage should it outlive you. And a money tree can be your assurance that your family will always have a home. Phone your State Farm agent. See how little it costs to add a money tree to your landscaping.

 State Farm Life Insurance Company  
Home Office: Bloomington, Illinois

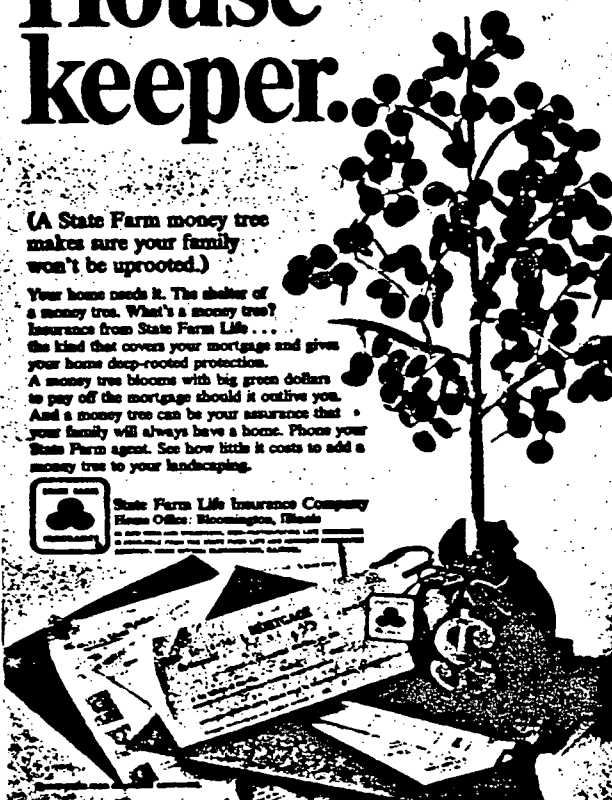
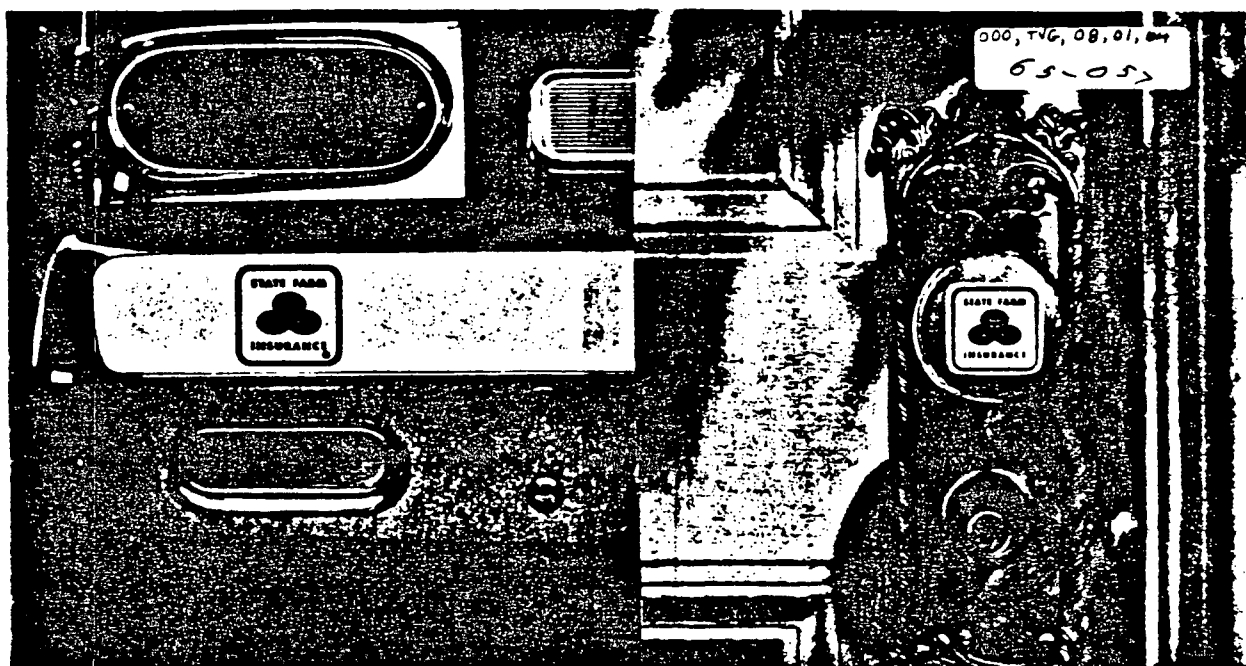


Illustration 1.1.2 State Farm 'Money Tree'



Get the same good deal...

...on homeowners insurance!

Like our car insurance, our State Farm Homeowners Policy offers you top-notch protection at rock-bottom rates. For instance, you may now have good old "fire and extended coverage" protection. Nothing wrong with it. We sell it, too. But our Homeowners Policy provides broader coverage for your home and belongings and for you, in case of lawsuits...at less cost. And, our Homeowners Policy also costs less than a lot of other similar policies on the market.\* It is the same good deal and it's available from your same good State Farm family insurance man.

STATE FARM FIRE AND CASUALTY COMPANY • Home Office: Bloomington, Illinois  
\*Let's face it. Some folks won't save with us. But, they're here and for better. On you...in Mississippi we offer a Comprehensive Dwelling Policy similar to our Homeowners. A note by my other name, etc.

Illustration 1.1.3 'Safety Lock'



## "Life insurance? I'd rather buy bulls!"

"Then a MONY man showed me it can have real cash value...like a good piece of grazing land."



*Tommy Martin*

*Tommy Martin*

*Tommy Martin*

"Hed," I told MONY man Tommy Martin. "I'm ever going to drop an G.I. insurance. I'd do better buying cattle and good Rutherford County grazing land."

"But Tommy, you've made a change that idea, real quick! I'd do better buying cattle and good Rutherford County grazing land."

"Like, how'd my wife pay off the paper if something happened to me? What did we have to live on?"

"Like, how'd my wife pay off the paper if something happened to me? What did we have to live on?"

"Tommy always stays in touch, to keep this program right up to date. In fact, we're real good friends. We go fishing for bluegills together, things like that."

"Yes sir, I've changed my idea about insurance since Tommy started me on MONY."

MONY MEN CARE FOR PEOPLE. They'll be glad to discuss both life and health insurance, and are well trained to work out a plan to help you. For more information about MONY insurance, mail coupon at right.

**MONY**  
MUTUAL OF NEW YORK

MONY Dep. E. B. Brooklyn at 5th Street New York 11, N.Y.	
Please send me your free booklet entitled "The ABC of Life Insurance."	
NAME	_____
ADDRESS	_____
CITY	_____
STATE	_____
ZIP CODE	_____
MONY HAS OFFICES THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. *Complete and mailing to: MONY, 110 N. York St., New York 11, N.Y.	

Illustration 1.1.4 'Man controlling the bull'

advertisements in the North American sample do not make her dependent status explicit. In one insurance advertisement of this sample, we even find a female portrayed as working for a livelihood, though it is as a nurse and in the same advertisement, a man appears as doctor. This conforms to a typical theme found in advertisements: that the man is superior and the woman, if she is depicted at all, is seen to be in a nursing, secretarial or teaching position.

### Detergent

Detergent advertisements also illustrate the fact that there is no basic difference in the role portrayals for women between the samples: women are mostly seen to carry out household responsibilities in both, they do almost everything to gain recognition from man. Furthermore, they need the satisfaction of a well-kept home, well-nourished husband and children and a happy home.

This general survey has provided great support for our expectations regarding the general characteristics of these two samples. It also reinforces our prediction regarding the nature of the frame of family references. Having thus transformed our initial expectations into actual observations, we are now ready to embark upon a more in depth analysis of the visuals for 1975 in the two samples.

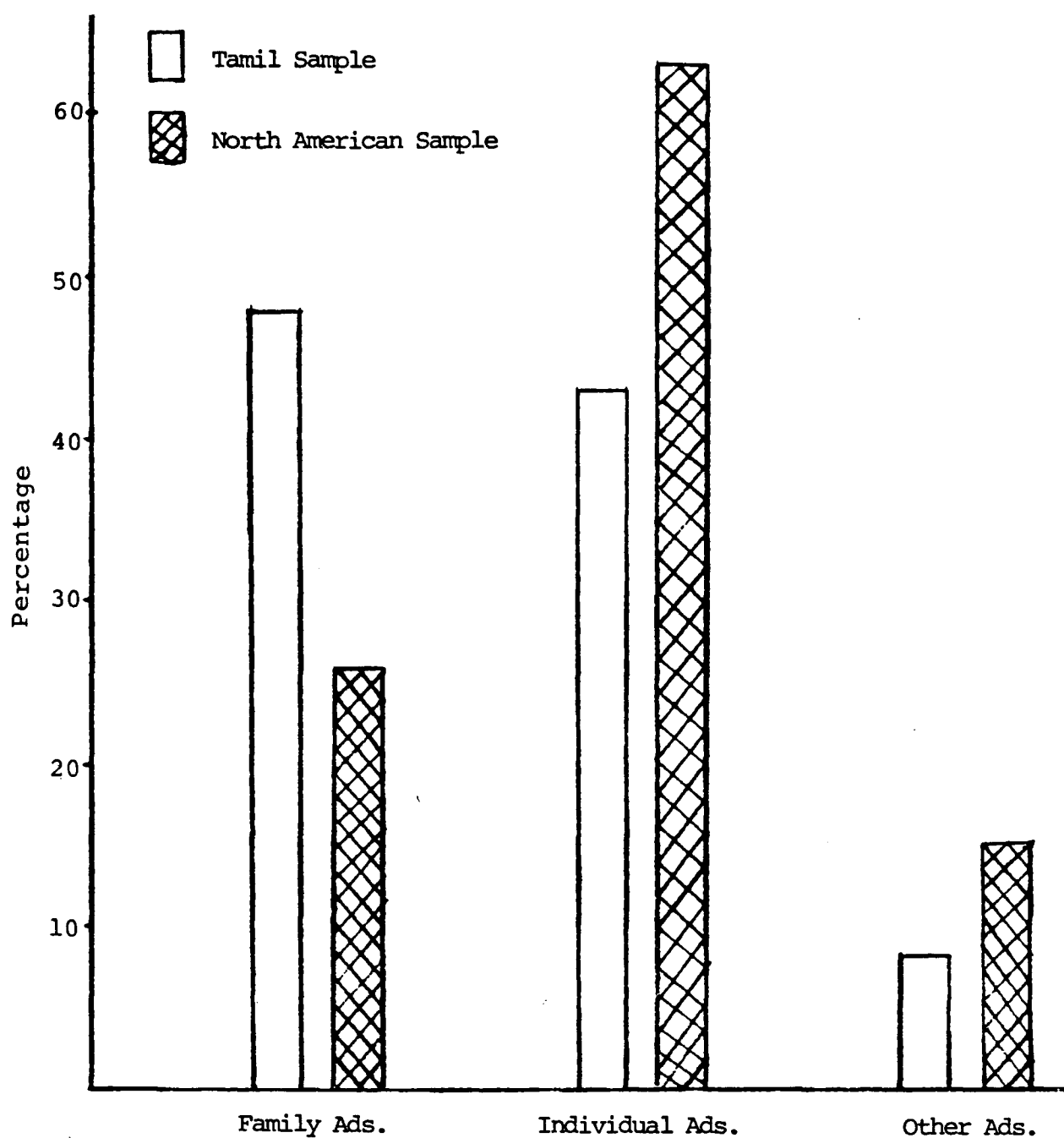
### An In Depth Inquiry

From the two hundred and fifty advertisements of each sample, advertisements were classified into different product classes. Then the classes "Personal Care" and "Services" were separated out to form the sub-sample for detailed study. Even in this Tamil sub-sample, advertisements for Personal Care products as well as for Services are proportionally more family oriented than individual advertisements. The North American sample, on the other hand, has more individual oriented advertisements in Personal Care products but not in Services.

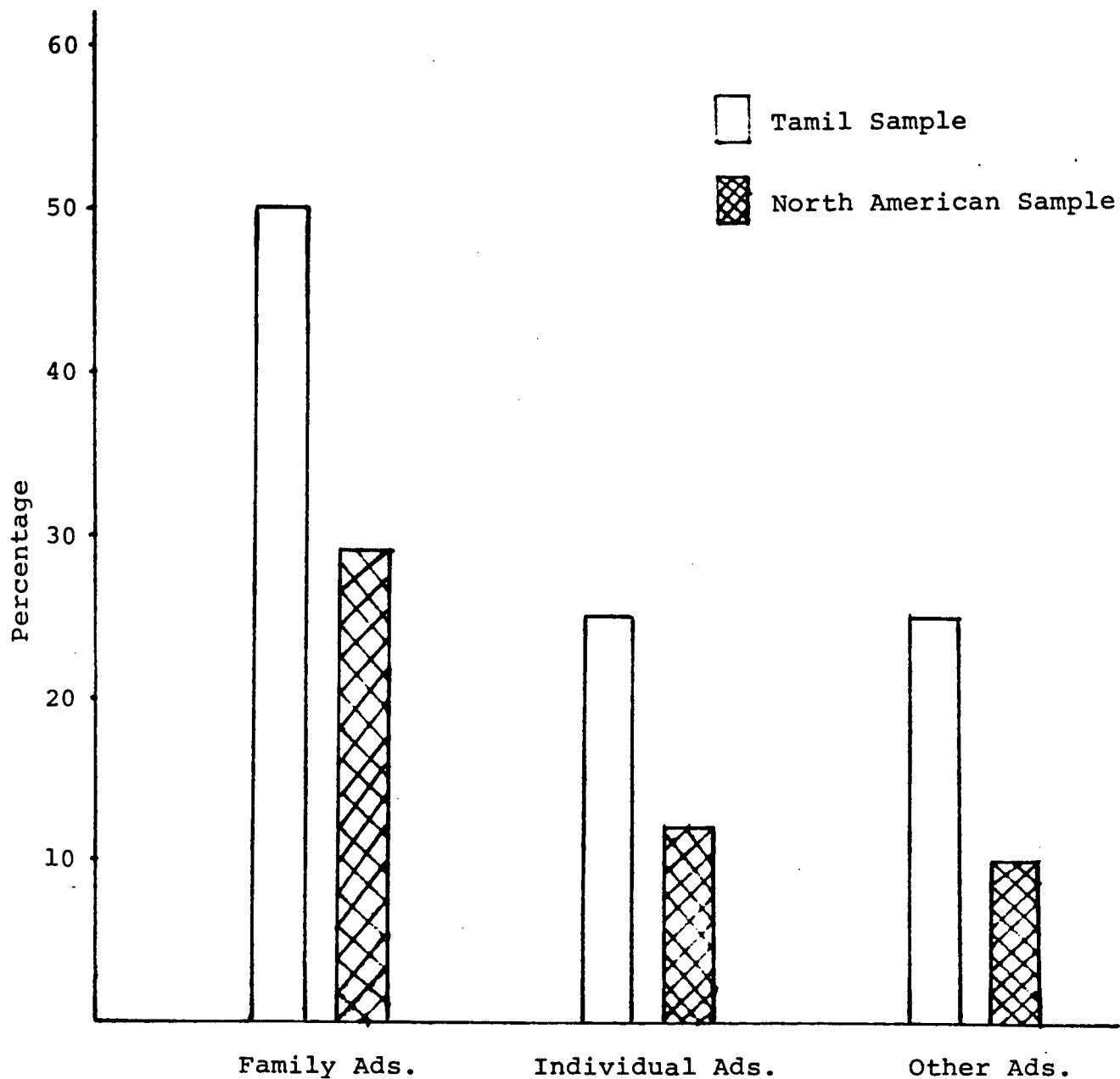
### Family Advertisements - Both Samples

In the Tamil sample, good visual images of the family unit appear in the advertisements of shampoos, hair lotions, toothpastes, vitamin tonics, medicines, vaccines etc. Attractive family images appear only in the artwork of insurance advertisements and in one of a cosmetic company for the North American sample. The North American cosmetic company's advertisement visualises the physical proximity among the family members and their happiness at being together (Illustration 4.1.1). This is the only example found in this sample portraying family togetherness for its own sake. It is certainly an exception in the North American materials. This trend will be made even clearer when the textual themes are discussed. For the present, it





Graph 2.1 Histograms showing percentages of different categories of Personal Care product class in the North American and Tamil samples



Graph 2.2 Histograms showing percentages of different categories of Services in the North American and Tamil samples

TABLE 4: Advertisement categorizations in the North American and Tamil samples  
of the Seventies: The sample for indepth analysis  
(in absolute numbers)

Product class	1		2		3		Total	
	Family advertisement		Individual advertisement		Other advertisement			
	N. American	Tamil	N. American	Tamil	N. American	Tamil	N. American	Tamil
1. Personal Care	8	28	24	25	6	5	38	58
2. Services	5	12	2	6	10	6	17	24
Total	13	30	26	31	16	11	55	82



"With two small children, a 9-5 job is out of the question. That's why I love being an Avon Representative. I'm earning good money and I'm there when the children need me."

*Vicki Slider*

Greensboro, North Carolina

Call me old fashioned. I want my boys to be raised by me - not a baby sitter. And Avon fits into my way of thinking.

As an Avon Representative, I make my own hours. So I have plenty of time to spend with my family. Being my own boss and managing my own business suits me just fine. And I just love having money of my own.

Thanks to Avon, I've made some real good friends. As I make my rounds as a Representative, I meet dozens of nice people. And Avon products are so well liked, I feel welcome when I call.

Best of all, my work doesn't interfere with my job as a mother. As I see it, that's the most important advantage of being an Avon Representative.

**AVON**

© 1976 Avon Products, Inc. New York, N.Y.

Find out how you can become an Avon Representative.

Call: 800-325-6400\* toll free or fill in the coupon below. Avon will call you as soon as possible to answer your questions. Of course, there is no obligation. \*In Missouri call: 800-342-6600

Vicki Slider's story interested me in filling out this coupon.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_  
MY TELEPHONE NO. \_\_\_\_\_  
BEST TIME TO CALL \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Avon Products, Inc.  
P.O. Box 1325, Great Neck, New York 11023

Illustration 4.1.1 'I am a mother of two' - cosmetic company advertisement

will be considered simply as a very good visual image of a family for the North American sample.

### North American Insurance Advertisements

The best family picture in the insurance advertisements for the North American materials is the one discussed earlier: the visual of a couple walking over beach water (Illustration 1.1.1). A theme of trustworthiness is very clear here, as mentioned earlier. Another insurance advertisement depicts a man outside a maternity ward making a phone call, apparently to his insurance company. Behind him, a nurse is holding out three fingers as though she is announcing the birth of triplets, a special responsibility that makes the man, the economic provider as per the cultural expectation, run for insurance. He is being prudent in seeking protection for his wife and newborns from this particular company. The culturally upheld sense of rationality or practicality is the highlight of this advertisement. The emphasis appears to be a briefing as to how to cope with now, unexpected responsibilities and not familial love (Illustration 1.1.5). Another advertisement with a nice family picture shows the insurance agent on one side and on the other, a couple and two children, a boy and a girl. This image seems to symbolise closeness, happiness,

satisfaction etc. It could be closeness with the insurance agent or closeness within the family itself; the image certainly implies affection, taking clues from the text (Illustration 1.1.6).

### Tamil Insurance Advertisements

Not many Tamil insurance advertisements provide visual images of family life. Mainly these provide company symbols, like a traditional Indian lamp burning with its aura spreading light all around. This could mean the brightening up of the lives of people associated with it or that the company provides light for previously dark life and so on. In certain other advertisements, we have the image of a child looking into the future. By depicting the burning lamp, these insurance advertisements highlight traditional Hindu culture. According to the Hindu cultural beliefs, burning lamp is very auspicious. It carries with it, the religious connotation of expressing faith in God, worship etc. and the festive connotations of joy, or prosperity. The portrayal of a child also is a reflection of expectations in Tamil culture; ideally, parents protect their children's future and a child is expected to be free from worries or financial responsibilities.

One other insurance advertisement from the Tamil sample is significant. It is a life insurance example which visually depicts a haggard looking female, an older woman, a girl and a postman who is delivering a letter from

JCA 4-22-77  
75-100

**When it comes to family insurance, Steve Johnson is one of a kind.**



James and Bob Beale of Chesapeake, Virginia, are genuinely happy with their life insurance agent. They're very pleased with their health insurance agent. They're completely satisfied with their homeowners agent.

"And we know our car insurance man is the best around," Bob says. "We feel fortunate to have him so close by."

Of course, whenever the Beales think about one agent, they're bound to think about the others.

Because all of them are State Farm agents, Steve Johnson. As a family insurance specialist, Steve can provide knowledgeable advice and person-to-person service on all the policies they're ever likely to need.

"If we have any questions about our coverages, or a claim, we don't have to wonder who to call," says Jeanne. "We just call Steve. It's a real advantage having one agent nearby who can help out with everything."

Having a State Farm family insurance man can be a real advantage for you. He's the one agent who's backed by America's largest homeowners and auto insurer, and one of the largest life insurance companies, too.

And there's probably one like Steve Johnson in your neighborhood. Check your Yellow Pages.

 Like a good neighbor, State Farm is there.  
State Farm Insurance Companies, Bloomington, Illinois

Illustration 1.1.6 Closeness symbolised

the life insurance corporation. The haggard looking female, apparently widowed and with a daughter, is depending on the older lady who is perhaps her late husband's mother. The postman is delivering the insurance benefits the former is entitled to (Illustration 1.2.1). This example depicts the dependent state of the woman. Here, we also have a hint of the extended family providing help in times of need or distress.

### Role Portrayals of Women

In both the North American and Tamil samples, the role portrayals of women are more or less similar. However, there is perhaps a little more economic independence allowed for in the case of North American women. A portrayal of absolute dependence on her husband for the Tamil woman differs slightly from the portrayal of the North American woman who is sometimes depicted as gainfully employed. Even so, however, her employment always supplements her husband's income and is subordinate to his maleness. Thus, in North American advertisements, the female is neither completely dependent nor completely independent. In the advertisement for Prudential Insurance, for example, the earning woman is a nurse (Illustration 1.1.5). A similar advertisement, furthermore, shows a couple of women among many men.





45, RDG, 66, 00, 77  
75-074

MATERNITY

HELLO, PRUDENTIAL!

You've received a very special gift. After you've got one of the Rock to get one for your growing family and your home. To help set up your new home, let a Prudential agent know you. That's how you'll get exactly the protection you need for everything you own. To protect your home, you'll have to do it. Let a Prudential agent know you. That's how you'll get exactly the protection you need for everything you own. To protect your home, you'll have to do it. Let a Prudential agent know you. That's how you'll get exactly the protection you need for everything you own.

Rock of the Rock... for your family.

**Prudential**  
Life Health Auto More

Prudential Insurance Company of America, Prudential Property and Casualty Insurance Company

Illustration 1.1.5 Prudential Insurance

### Shampoo

The only shampoo advertisement in the North American sample is a family advertisement. Yet, the visual images present the product covered in a wreath. The layout follows the format of a birth announcement and thus it becomes a family advertisement only because the product is a "baby" of the company (Illustration 3.1.2). The Tamil sample, by contrast, provides a very glaring family visual - the same advertisement that was discussed earlier (Illustration 3.2.1). Here the label "family shampoo" placed on the bottle is also visible.

### Personal Care Products

Most of the North American Personal Care products emphasize the "look" of woman. It is a particular product look or pampering of the self that is desired. In the advertisement of skin lotion, the woman pampers her body parts (Illustration 4.1.2). In the advertisement of a skin and hair protection agent, she conveys an air of confidence, knowing she is protected (Illustration 4.1.3). In the advertisement of a facial moisturizer, she is with her beloved and is enjoying the sense experience of the moisturizer (Illustration 4.1.4). All these advertisements focus on a need for recognition or affiliation, both of them being culturally defined desires. In the Personal Care products of the Tamil sample, by contrast, a great many advertisements depict the care of family members. For

009, WDA, 01, 00, 74  
75-156



*Announcing our new baby.*

*Clairol herbal essence shampoo for delicate hair.*  
*It was born to baby your hair. To pamper your hair.*  
*To clean as softly as a lullaby. As delicately as spring rain.*  
*To leave your hair rich with conditioners. Fragrant as the*  
*first buds of spring. Let our new baby, baby your hair...*  
*one of the tenderest moments you'll ever experience.*

Now there are three Clairol herbal essence shampoos. They're all non-alkaline pH formulas.  
 For normal to dry hair, oily hair, and the newest member of our family, for delicate hair.

©1974 Clairol Inc.

Illustration 3.1.2 'Shampoo that babies your hair'



Illustration 4.1.2 'Woman who pampers her body'  
- skin lotion

020, LMS, R, 05, 75

75-240

## a new cosmetic science:



You're surrounded by harsh light. Chapping wind. Abrasive dirt and pollution. Heat and air-conditioning. A total environment that damages your delicate skin and hair. But now, in an extraordinary breakthrough, Helena Rubinstein has created The Protectors. Now you have the broadest protection available against the environment.

**New Skin Dew Face Protector** works in a completely different way to shield your skin from environmental hazards. Its ingredients form a unique protection system which, with continued use, actually keeps your skin looking younger.

Use it daily under makeup, or simply alone, and your skin will respond beautifully. You'll notice a fresher look, a smoother surface, a softer feel.

**New Skin Dew Hair Protector**, unlike conditioners and cream rinses, protects your hair from the environment that fades it. Leaves hair less vulnerable to splitting, breakage, and moisture loss.

Use it regularly after shampooing, and you can expect reduced color fading. Added manageability, body and bounce. Another feature: Hair Protector, like Face Protector, contains ferments lactiques, a pure milk protein, to make it pH-stabilized.

The Protectors. New. Necessary. And so different it took a new science to make them: the science of beauty protection.

**Satisfaction guaranteed.**

Use The Protectors for 21 days. If you're not completely satisfied that they're working for you, send unused portion to Helena Rubinstein, 300 Park Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10022 and we'll refund your money.

**Skin Dew Protectors**  
**Helena Rubinstein**

Illustration 4.1.3 'Protection against environmental hazards' - Advertisement of a skin and hair protection agent

C, LMS, 00, 00, 73  
75-230

*Discover  
softness of  
the peach  
experience.*

**New! Ponds  
Creamy Peach  
Facial  
Moisturizer**

Feel it.  
Touch it.  
Discover it.  
This new, lightweight,  
moistening  
formula from Ponds.  
With just a hint of  
peach fragrance.  
Your skin feels so soft.  
So deliciously alive!

(Only Ponds has it!) 

**PONDS**  
Creamy Peach  
Facial Moisturizer

Illustration 4.1.4 'Sharing of sensual experiences'  
- Advertisement of a moisturizer

example, in the advertisement of hair lotion, the mother applies it to her daughter's hair and not to her own (Illustration 4.2.1).

In a toothpaste advertisement, furthermore, a child is shown as crying about a toothache. Then the mother makes him use a particular toothpaste. Both of them are happy. The toothpaste here, takes away the pain and brings relief. The mother, by contrast to the North American theme, is not brushing her teeth for a 'sparkling and bright' look, but making her son use the paste instead (Illustration 4.2.2). The North American sample from 1975 does not contain toothpaste advertisements but one can find examples of denture cleansers. These advertisements again reflect the North American cultural need for affiliation or recognition. For instance, the advertisement for Polident tablets portrays this product as having the capacity to remove denture odour. The visual here depicts a man and a woman coming closer and closer until an ultimate point of near merger is reached. This visual conveys the idea that their coming together is the result of using a particular cleanser. It is as though the personalities, emotions and other factors unrelated to the product have no role in this closeness (Illustration 4.1.5).

An advertisement for a pain balm in the Tamil sample provides a strong contrast. Here, the mother applies the balm to her son's throat (Illustration 4.2.3). In this



பேன் தொல்லை  
கனி கல்லவே கல்லை!  
கதோ  
செட்ரிமைட் கலந்த  
**லோரக்ஸேன்**  
லோஷன்



பேன்களை அறவே  
ஒழிக்க இதோ ஒரு தனிச்  
சிறப்புக்கொண்ட பேன்  
கொல்லி. செட்ரிமைட்  
கலந்த லோரக்ஸேன்  
லோஷன். ICI-யின்  
தயாரிப்பான இது. பேன்-  
களை அறவே ஒழிப்-  
பதோடு எந்தவித முடித்-  
தொல்லைபயம் வராமல்  
பாதுகாக்கிறது.

லோரக்ஸேன் லோஷனை  
தலைமுடிக்குப் பயன்  
படுத்தும்போது ஒரு மணி  
நேரம் கழித்து ஊம்புவினால்  
தலை முடியை அலசினால்  
போதும். தவிர; இதை  
ஒருமுறை பயன் படுத்திய  
பிறகு ஒருவாரம் இடை-

வெளி விட்டு மீண்டும்  
தலைமுடிக்குப் பயன்  
படுத்தலாம். பேன்கள்  
முற்றிலும் ஒழிந்துவிடும்.

பேன் ஒழிக்க, முடி செழிக்க  
லோரக்ஸேன் லோஷன்.



தி அல்கனி  
அண்ட் கெமிக்கல்  
கார்ப்பொரேஷன் ஆஃப்  
இந்தியா லிமிடெட்

என்.ஐ.டி. எக்ஸ்சேஞ் ரெகூலேஷன்  
என்பது, சென்னை 600 037

பெருமளவு ஆர்டர்ஸ்  
16, சென்னை 600 037.  
தொலைபேசி-788 0371.

Illustration 4.2.1 'Mother's love through a hair lotion'

**கிப்போது குழியறி நோவுகளைத் தடுத்துக்  
காப்பாற்ற முடியும் அவனுடைய பற்களை.**



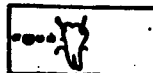
## பெறுவீர் ஸிக்னல் 2

**நெடுமலை உயர்நீதிமன்றம்**

**சிப்து ஸாரதி பார்ப்புணா.**

சினதவுருதபடி பற்களைக் கெட்டிப்படுத்துகிறது.

சென்னை சந்திர வேதியியல் பட்டாலம், பத்திரிகைத் துறை, பாஸ்கர், சென்னை கிட்டார் கார்வாடி அகிலம், சென்னை வேளாண்மைப் பாலம்.



தான் ஸார்ஜன் ஸ்டூட்  
 தான் ஸார்ஜன் ஸ்டூட், பத்திரம்  
 ஸ்டூட், ஸ்டூட், ஸ்டூட்  
 ஸ்டூட் ஸ்டூட் ஸ்டூட், ஸ்டூட்  
 ஸ்டூட் ஸ்டூட் ஸ்டூட்  
 ஸ்டூட் ஸ்டூட் ஸ்டூட்

[illegible]

## எயிக்னஸ் 2

ஒருபுறம் தனது குடும்ப வாழ்வை



**தேவதாசர் எவ்வளவு தீவிரமானவராக இருந்தார்**

Illustration 4.2.2 'Cavity fighting family guard'  
- Toothpaste advertisement



Illustration 4.1.5 'Closeness from a denture cleanser'  
- Polident tablets

# ரபெக்ஸ் சூட்டுடனோ



உங்கள் முகத்தில்  
தோஷத்தினை  
விடக்கூடிய அடர்ந்த  
கருத்துக்களை  
கழித்து,  
மேகத்தினை  
காக்கித் தர வேண்டும்.  
மென்மையான  
வெள்ளை நிற  
முகம் வேண்டும்.  
இந்த ஒரு வேளை  
முகம் உட்கார்  
வதற்கு உத்த  
மமான ரபெக்ஸ்.

**இதுவே  
தோஷத்தை  
விடும்**



## ரபெக்ஸ்

**உட்கார்**

உங்கள் முகத்தில்  
தோஷத்தினை  
கழித்து  
மேகத்தினை  
காக்கித் தர வேண்டும்.

**உட்கார் முகம்  
தோஷத்தை  
கழித்து**

உட்கார் முகம்

Illustration 4.2.3 'Warmth of mother's love'  
- A pain balm advertisement

sample, furthermore, there is vitamin tonic advertisement providing an image of a complete family in the bottle; the tonic is for each and every member (Illustration 4.2.4). In the advertisement for vaccine, the visual depicts a child inside a palm. He is happy and secure (Illustration 4.2.5). The family orientation in the Tamil culture is visible in these advertisements.

In the North American sample, however, a parallel advertisement type shows three separate images in a single display: first, a woman alone taking out the tablet; second, a man sleeping alone, and finally, a mother feeling the child's forehead for fever but not actually giving him a tablet, (Illustration 4.1.6).

Thus, we have observed, in our consideration of the visual images alone, a wide variety of family and individual themes in the Tamil and the North American samples respectively.

While in the latter, "grooming" is directed at one's own "self", in the former, it is directed towards other family members. If in the Tamil sample, baby feeding and shampooing are moments of intimate family affairs, in the North American one, the highlight is on individuality and self reliance even in a baby. Man being in control of the family finances is the important target in the insurance advertisements of both samples alike but the Tamil one portrays woman's dependent status in a more outspoken

ANV 21-7-79-36

உங்கள் குடும்பத்திற்கு உற்சாகம்  
வாங்கும் ஆரோக்கியமும்,  
அதிகப்படி சக்தியும் இதோ!

வாட்டர்பர்ஸ் விட்டமின் டானிக், இந்த-  
பலமுள்ள ரோக்கைப் பொருள்கள் சம-  
சீராக அடங்கப்பெற்ற டானிக்  
ஆகும். ஊட்டத்திலும், சக்தியிலும்  
விட்டமின்கள், இரத்த ஆரோக்-  
கியத்திற்கு இரும்புச் சத்து,  
பரிசுரத்த நுகர்வதற்கான  
ஊட்டப் பொருள்கள்,  
குயிர், சாத அருமைவான  
உணவுமுண்டுகள்.

உங்கள் குடும்பத்-  
திற்கு வாட்டர்பர்ஸ்  
விட்டமின் டானிக்  
வாங்குங்கள்.  
இப்பொழுதே.



வாட்டர்பர்ஸ்

**விட்டமின் டானிக்**

குடும்பம் முழுவதற்கும் பரிபூரணமான டானிக்

Illustration 4.2.4 'For the entire family  
- A vitamin tonic'

Dmk 0609-79-43



கொஞ்சம் மழலையின் குகையற்று வாழ்விற்கு  
போலியோ சொட்டு மருந்து அளித்து  
இளம்பிள்ளை வாத நோயிலிருந்து பாதுகாப்பு  
அளித்தீடுங்கள்

கீழ்க்கண்ட இடங்களில் மருத்துவரின் உதவியுடன்  
போலியோ சொட்டு மருந்து அளிக்கப்படுகிறது.

**தமிழ்நாடு தாதா  
பார்மசூடிகல்ஸ் லிமிடெட்**

19, ஜெம்ஸ் ஸ்ட்.  
(சத்திபம் திபெட்டர் அருகில்).  
சென்னை-86. (போன்: 810648)

சூழி: காலை 8.30 முதல்  
பகல் 12.30 வரை  
புதன் : காலை 8.00 முதல்  
பகல் 10.00 வரை  
சனி : காலை 3.00 முதல்  
6.00 வரை.

**தாதா & கம்பெனி**

108, கன்னியம் லாங்க்கர் தெரு.  
சென்னை-3. (போன்: 34716)

வெள்ளிக்கிழமை தனி  
மற்ற எல்லா நாட்களிலும்  
காலை : 9.00 மணி முதல்  
பகல் 12.00 வரை.

போலியோ சொட்டு மருந்து  
அளிக்கப்படுகிறது.

Illustration 4.2.5 'Child's safety in your hands'  
- A vaccine advertisement



Colds and flu. To relieve the aches and reduce the fever of a cold or flu, doctors recommend aspirin. Bayer tested its aspirin against every leading brand. For quality, Bayer was shown superior. You can count on better quality Bayer® Aspirin.



Relieve painful discomforts of a cold while you sleep. Bayer® Timed-Release Aspirin is made to work overtime. You take it only once in 8 hours. Two tablets taken at bedtime relieve aches due to colds or flu so you can sleep during the night.



Reduces fever of a cold. To relieve the aches and reduce the fever of a child's cold or flu, get Orange Flavored Bayer® Children's Aspirin. It's in the exact tablet size doctors recommend and is made with extra care.

Each Bayer product includes directions for use. Bayer reminds you to follow label directions carefully.

**To relieve aches and pains of colds & flu,  
count on Bayer...or Bayer...or Bayer.**

Illustration 4.1.6 Aspirin advertisement



manner. The latter also depicts extended family care which is a missing theme in the former. Woman's domestic role is portrayed subtly yet strongly in the visuals of both samples. So also is their part in child care. Only, the North American mother is portrayed in a more passive caring role while the Tamil mother is shown involved in a more active and intimate caring for her children. However, in general, the role portrayals are very similar in both. On the whole, the observations made from an analysis of the visual impressions have thus, reinforced all the three expectations raised at the beginning of this study.

## CHAPTER III

THE TEXT

A poet cannot let a yellow primrose remain merely a yellow primrose; his function is to invest it with meanings. In the poet's eye the primrose comes to symbolise many things.....

Similarly, an advertising writer cannot permit a cake of soap to remain a cake of soap and 'nothing more'. Whatever the object for sale is, the copywriter, like the poet, must invest it with significance so that it becomes symbolic of something beyond itself.

(Hayakawa 1964: 262-77)

Advertisements do not merely provide information regarding the intrinsic properties of a product but also bestow on it meanings that would make a product something "beyond itself". Hence, when a consumer buys a product, he often purchases the enhanced image an advertiser has attached to a product as well.

In print advertisements, the enhancement of a product's significance can be achieved through images or through the use of words, or through an approach that uses both visual and verbal modes to communicate the entire idea but then strengthens this with textual messages. Also, there are instances where all the image enhancement is done in the text itself.

This chapter will analyse the value presentations made in the texts of the two sample groups of advertisements, one, Tamil and the other, North American. This would include an analysis both of captions and body copy. The first will be considered to contain the dominant message and the second, the subordinate message of each advertisement studied. Like in the preceding analysis of visual presentations, captions and body copies of selected products will be surveyed across all decades before an in depth analysis of the 1975 samples alone is undertaken. For this purpose, our attention will be focussed on the advertisements for baby food, detergent, shampoo and insurance. North American advertisements for automobiles and cigarettes have been left out because the parallel products are not present in the Tamil sample.

### Baby Food

Like in the visuals, textual messages found in baby food advertisements in the North American sample all focus on the individual either openly or in some subtle fashion. For example, in an advertisement describing a "most particular baby", the advertiser reproduces an "unsolicited letter" written by the baby's mother. This letter states that her son who is "just one year old" is very particular about his food. Once she "got another brand of spinach and he absolutely refused it....it is readily understandable

how a baby's keen taste will pick out what he likes". Thus, in the text, the advertiser asserts that only this brand of baby food would appeal to a baby who has a keen sense of taste and who is very particular about his likes and dislikes. There are also assertions as to how the product fulfills doctors recommendations and how babies have been the company's "sole business" (Illustration 2.1.1).

In another North American baby food advertisement, the baby "never forgets the goodness and flavour" of the particular brand of product. In yet another advertisement, the baby food is not given prominence at all. Here, it is the cheapness and attractiveness of diapers designed specially for the advertising baby food company that receives the attention. The caption reads:

"....first time ever! This is new "at home" fashion for baby! Cunning! Colorfast! Hi-Diddle Diapers."

This diaper is advertised as available at a discount rate when one buys a can of this baby food (Illustration 2.1.2). Similarly, in another advertisement, the text asserts that the baby food is "designed with the baby's eating pleasure in mind." The advertisement also states that "Babies are our business...our only business" (Illustration 2.1.3).

In the Tamil advertisement, baby foods become the symbol of mother's love for her infant; they are the answer

first time ever! This new "at-home" fashion for baby!

C73, WIK, 09, 00, 54

Bunning!

Color-fast!



Hi-Diddle  
Diapers!



Designed especially for Swift & Company—a smart new wrap-around for your own Hi-Diddle dumpling! It's a famous Curly diaper with an exclusive animal print. A wonderfully soft, absorbent gauze diaper—full 21 x 40" laboratory tested, color-fast, with exclusive, patented fold-lines.



Use the handy order form below. Hurry, though, offer is limited. Note to Grandma... Auntie: Ever hear of a baby with too many diapers? Get several for the cutest baby you know!

**Swift's**

MEATS FOR BABIES  
AND JUNIORS...  
EGG YOLKS FOR BABIES

YOUR BABY must have plenty of protein every day—and Swift's Meats for Babies are a concentrated source of protein in a form as digestible as milk! All 7 varieties are pre-cooked, ready to serve, strained so fine babies can eat them when they're only 6 weeks old. Try Swift's Strained Egg Yolks for Babies, too. Sterilized for purity... rich in blood-building iron. Already cooked, ready to serve right from the can.

For Hi-Diddle, Box 9929, Chicago 77, Illinois.  
Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ Curly Hi-Diddle Diapers.  
For each diaper ordered I enclose 25¢ in coin and a label from one can of Swift's Meats for Babies or Junior's or one can of Swift's Egg Yolks for Babies.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

Do not send stamps. Offer expires January 31, 1956, or when supply is exhausted. Void where prohibited, taxed or otherwise restricted. Allow 8 weeks for delivery. In Canada, send label plus 50¢ to Box 1568, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Illustration 2.1.2 'Hi-Diddle Diapers'



PICTURE A



PICTURE B

001 PCD 04 8067  
65-247

**Send in your photographs and help take advantage of our special Baby Week Offer.**

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

Everybody loves babies, every week in the year. But during Gerber Baby Week, you can win a \$100 gift certificate for your favorite baby item.

Just send in 10 photos of your baby, taken during the week of September 15-21, 1980. Your selection of your favorite photo will help us in selecting the winner. Send in your photos to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, One World Center, New York, NY 10101. Send in your photos by September 21, 1980.

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**IT'S BABY WEEK.**

**Pick your Gerber favorite.**

Have fun... read the details on the right



PICTURE C

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.



PICTURE D



PICTURE E

**Special Baby Week Offer**

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

**Win a \$100 Gift Certificate**

For a complete list of prizes, visit your local Gerber store or write to: Gerber Baby Week, P.O. Box 1000, New York, NY 10101.

Illustration 2.1.3 'Babies are our business'

to "mother's prayers". They also enable full and fast growth of babies. It is as though the baby food helps the mother to convey her love towards her infant. Such a depiction is not surprising in a culture where mothers are expected to nurse their babies till they are considered old enough to be fed on homemade solid foods. Nursing a baby is equated with mother's love for the baby, in that particular world view. Therefore, buying a commercial baby food would need more than mere product information or discount rates. Certainly, if the product with its special capacity to enable baby's fast and full growth, is seen as a sign of her love for her baby, it might provide an adequate incentive for the Tamil mother. North American culture enforces no such inhibitions on a mother's choice of a commercial baby food. In fact, this culture with its emphasis on convenience and an easy life style for individuals is more than favourable to a product that will restrict the freedom and individuality of the mother. Hence, North American baby food advertisements need not provide added incentives to its potential buyers.

### Shampoo

The shampoo advertisements in the North American material will reflect the culturally approved needs of an individual for recognition or affiliation. In this culture, social recognition and companionship are seen to

enhance a person's individuality and hence, these are of great importance to the "self". In compliance with this cultural outlook, the shampoo advertisements here address the individual. The product advertised silken an individual's hair, "leaves it bright as silk, soft as silk, smooth as silk - and so obedient" (Illustration 3.1.3). Shampoo is said to change the appearance of a person's hair. It keeps the hair and scalp healthy; besides, it "brings out the real life and lustre, giving the hair that rich, fresh looking, well-groomed appearance" (Illustration 3.1.4). The advertiser's assumption seems to be that every consumer in this culture consciously or unconsciously desires to have a well groomed appearance to rise up to the cultural expectation of having social recognition as well as affiliation. There is even a North American shampoo advertisement that promises its user the glamour of film stars like Elizabeth Taylor. The advertisement which visually depicts this movie star proclaims that she uses the advertised shampoo. "It is the favourite of four out of five Hollywood movie stars". It is the "shampoo of America's most glamorous women". The incentive provided here is the "glamour" which could be associated with the cultural value of social recognition (Illustration 3.1.1).

The Tamil shampoo advertisements in contrast, are advertised with the entire family in mind. In these examples, a shampoo acts tenderly in children's hair,



**New!** a shampoo that  
**Silken**  
 your hair!

NEW LIT 65054  
 55-135

You'll be laid out in low with the way your hair  
 shines and shimmers... slippery soft, slippery bright, slippery  
smooth—after you've used new Drene. So planning, so  
glorious... your silken hair!

New Magic Formula... Milder than Castile!

Silkening magic! That's what you'll find in Drene's new  
 formula! It lathers like lightning, rinses out like  
 lightning—it's milder than castile! Magic, sheer magic,  
 the way this new Drene silken your hair. Leaves it bright  
 as silk, soft as silk, smooth as silk—and so placid!



**Lathers like lightning—**

*no other lather is so thick, yet so quick.*

**Milder than castile—**

*so mild you could use this new formula every day.*



**This is a  
 New  
 Drene!**

A PRODUCT OF FORTY & DAVID

Illustration 3.1.3 'Shampoo that silken and softens hair'



6-1, 7-1, 8-1, 9-1, 10-1, 11-1  
25-054

## What proper shampooing will do for your hair

**T**HE appearance and healthy condition of your hair depend very largely upon the care you give it. When your scalp is allowed to become hard and dry, dandruff is sure to accumulate. Thus falling hair and baldness are very apt to result.

In caring for your hair, proper shampooing is by far the most important thing. It is the shampooing which keeps the hair and scalp healthy; besides, it brings out the real life and luster, giving the hair that rich, fresh-looking, well-groomed appearance.

While your hair must have frequent and regular washing to keep it in good condition, it cannot stand the harsh effect of free alkali which is common in ordinary soaps. The free alkali soon dries the scalp, makes the hair brittle, and ruins it.

Realizing this, most men now use Mulsified Coconut Oil Shampoo. This clear, pure and entirely greaseless product cannot possibly injure, and it does not dry the scalp or make the hair brittle, no matter how often you use it.

### The simple, easy way

Simply wet the hair and scalp with good warm water;

then apply a little Mulsified Coconut Oil Shampoo, and rub it in.

Two or three teaspoonfuls will make an abundance of rich, creamy lather. This should be rubbed in thoroughly and briskly with the finger tips, so as to loosen the dandruff and small particles of dirt and dirt that stick to the scalp.

When you have done this, rinse the hair and scalp thoroughly, using clear warm water. Then use another application of Mulsified, applying it again as before.

### Quick as shaving

The whole thing takes no longer than shaving. After a Mulsified shampoo you will find the hair will dry quickly and have the appearance of being much thicker and heavier than it really is.

Protect your hair by making it a rule to get a certain dry each week for a Mulsified Coconut Oil Shampoo. This regular weekly shampooing will keep the scalp soft and the hair fine and silky, bright and fresh-looking, and it will be noticed and admired by everyone. You can get Mulsified at every drug store or better grade counter anywhere in the world. A 4-ounce bottle should last for months.

# Mulsified

## Cocoanut Oil Shampoo



Illustration 3.1.4 'A well-groomed appearance from shampooing'

leaves the hair of the lady of the house soft and shining, and is suitable for the head of the family as well. The message conveyed is that the shampoo is suitable for the 'entire family', yet it costs less than similar shampoos (Illustration 3.2.1). These advertisements reveal the cultural valuation of family love although the individual's desire to have shining hair is not altogether ignored. The emphasis, however, is on family love and pride in one's family members. These advertisements reinforce the general cultural preference in South Asia for individual's desires to be met within the bounds of the family.

### Insurance

Like for the visual presentations, no extended family bonds are referred to in the textual messages taken from the North American sample, reinforcing the conclusions drawn earlier. North American insurance advertisements do contain some family themes, particularly in the advertisement texts but this material does not refute our general expectation that individual themes will be given prominence here. For instance, the advertisement of an insurance company from this sample depicts a boy who 'hoards' empty match boxes, used golf balls and buttons. Apparently, he is ready to buy a special boy's life insurance policy (Illustration 1.1.7).

098,948,07, 10, 45  
45-115

1945 - ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF LIBERAL SERVICE

## The Story of the "Problem Child"



"Empty match boxes, used golf balls, old buttons," exclaimed his despairing mother. "How he hoards!"

"How nice!" said his aunt calmly. "Then he's ready."

"For what?" "To treasure real things." "WHEN?" His exasperated mother picked up a stamp album.

"Now," said his aunt, "with this special boy's life insurance policy. For 'hoarding' like this can both help build a more manly character and begin a worthwhile estate!"

"But isn't he really too young?"

"Who, Mom?" the boy burst into the room.

"You, dear. To care about a boy's life insurance policy."

"That pays a guy's college? Or puts him in business? If you get it before you are 16 it even covers flyin' and fightin'!"

"Who told you?" his astonished aunt exclaimed.

"Tim Morrissey ... he's almost 15, and he saves regular

Illustration 1.1.7 Small boy's insurance policy

See an excerpt from this long advertisement:

"Who told you" (about the policy)?, his astonished aunt exclaimed.

"Tim Morrissey...he is almost 15, and he saves regularly for his college or to put it in business. Heck, who wouldn't? Isn't it for a guy's own self?"

The word 'own' is in italics, providing to it additional emphasis. In another insurance advertisement from the same sample, the textual emphasis is on family independence. The insurance policy advertised is said to secure a family's independence and the peace of mind of the individual who purchases this policy (Illustration 1.1.8). The North American cultural valuation placed on man's dominance, for him to naturally desire acquisition and above all, for him to be independent, are enforced in the texts of these advertisements. Even the insurance advertisements from this sample do not emphasize the consumer's concern with family maintenance and solidarity per se. Instead, the focus here is directed towards a consumer's 'self'. It is his abilities to cope with responsibilities, as well as to satisfy his self's desire, to dominate, to acquire, and to be independent that are portrayed in these textual messages. Similar conclusions were made pertaining to the visuals. Note the following advertisement which has the captivating caption:

64, 64, 56, 64, 21, 56

55-166

## and his family achieve **INDEPENDENCE**

**Y**ou and your family have more leisure time today than ever before. More time to do things together and have fun. You travel more, have more possessions to bring enjoyment to your leisure hours.

You and your wife wisely talk about ways of safeguarding the family life values you enjoy and look forward to the day when you can retire.

As a thoughtful man you take the time to work out these personal problems—and you don't raise your mind to the things that could happen in case of sickness, accident, fire or the possibility of your family having to carry on without you.

Of all the people in your town, we can think of no one better qualified to counsel you on these problems than your Travelers representative. For he is the company that offers all kinds of insurance—all the safeguards for cherished family values.

For example... he can pattern a Travelers Life insurance program for you that will secure your family's future if you should die. Such a program automatically provides cash for emergencies. And, when the time comes to retire, the plan he works out for you helps make retirement possible.

Your Travelers agent helps protect you in other ways, too. He can insure your home against fire and windstorm and burglary... your car against personal liability and property damage... and shield you from heavy expenses that can sometimes be devastating when illness occurs.

There is a Travelers representative near you who will gladly counsel you on how to secure your family's independence and give peace of mind... with a program that is in line with your present income. Why don't you get in touch with him—before another day goes by?

THE TRAVELERS TRAVELERS AGENT CAN SHOW YOU THE WAY TO AMERICAN FAMILY INDEPENDENCE

## THE TRAVELERS

INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD, CT, U.S.A.

All forms of personal and  
business insurance including  
Life • Accident • Group • Fire  
Automobile • Casualty • Bonds



Some people are content to leave their Travelers agent the work and a complete and balanced insurance plan for them that can include practically every form of protection: sickness, accident, children's education, life, burglary, fire, personal liability, personal possessions and so on.



Lots of men used to think they couldn't retire until after 65. But you can get your own retirement age with a Travelers plan for American Family Independence. A short talk with your Travelers man will show you how early retirement can be achieved more easily than you thought possible.

Illustration 1.1.8 'Family's independence'

"Some time soon, Carol Hansen's fiance will ask himself if he has enough life insurance. (And how much is enough anyway?)"

Any husband-to-be would take this advertisement as directed at himself. When his fiance asks him about life insurance as she will sometimes do, he cannot let himself down. The advertisement gets this message across to the reader. Men are here subtly defined as interested in domination, protection and self-pride. Such a valuation of man's needs has this culture's approval too.

In certain insurance advertisements, the messages conveyed visually are repeated by the accompanying texts. For instance, the advertisement that visually portrays protection behind a safety lock, also spells it out in its text (Illustration 1.1.3). Similarly, in the Prudential Insurance Company advertisement, the visual depiction of coping with new responsibilities and protecting a growing family receive emphasis in the text (Illustration 1.1.5). And the advertisement that has the visual image of a man controlling a bull clarifies it:

"...there were problems farm land couldn't solve. Like, how'd my wife pay off the mortgage if something happened to me. What would she have to live on? Right then and there, we work out a program of MONY insurance. First, to protect the farm for my wife. Then when the kids come along, to help with their education..."

(Illustration 1.1.4)

Sometime soon,  
 Carol Hansen's  
 fiancé will  
 ask himself if he  
 has enough life  
 insurance.

(And  
 how much is  
 enough,  
 anyway?)

A

Many questions. Not only for a husband  
 but for anyone with new dependents.  
 How much coverage is a guarantee of your  
 family's annual income?  
 Is there any life left beyond the next  
 morning, as well as bedtime. On the horizon  
 are challenges still ahead. On how to deal with  
 the future towards meeting them.  
 When you've already decided that your  
 family can't do the job alone. Especially if you have a  
 family to support. Kids to put through college. A mortgage to pay.  
 The greatest ideas that call for more income than today's

security of your company pension will provide.  
 That's why you own life insurance. You realize it  
 gives you an important advantage over all other types  
 of death: the full amount is guaranteed right from the  
 start. No waiting that way.  
 But remember that family circumstances change.  
 Through life insurance today may be too much  
 or too little - tomorrow. To keep your protection up-  
 to-date, review your policies regularly with your life  
 insurance agent. He's trained to help you.

of Life Insurance, 177 Park Avenue, New York 10017  
 Source of Information About Life Insurance

Illustration 1.1.9 'How much insurance is enough?'



Or, in another advertisement:

"The State Farm money tree makes sure that your life won't be uprooted.... It gives your home deeprooted protection".

(Illustration 1.1.2)

Again, this is a verbal reiteration of a visual portrayal that reinforces the cultural valuation of financial stability and the notion that one should ensure his family's financial security.

### Portrayal of Woman

Visually, the North American insurance sample has not even a single advertisement that explicitly describes a woman's dependent status. In the parallel Tamil material, however, there is one textual portrayal of a dependent woman (Illustration 1.2.1). The man who has control over a bullock is openly worried about his wife. She is totally dependent on him to pay off the mortgage. It is he who can help her improve her financial status by taking the policy (Illustration 1.1.4).

Detergent advertisements show no difference in the role portrayal of women in North American versus Tamil materials. This is the case both for texts as well as for visuals. No man does the family laundry, and the woman who does it is hoping for her husband's appreciation. If she does not get the wash white, she will have to face an angry husband. See the example of a North American detergent advertisement (Illustration 5.1.1). The caption of this

# Happy husband! New **all** with whitening discovery washes his "yellowed" shirt back to fresh white again...without bleaching!

After using **all** "Yellowed" shirts made  
yellow again. Then wife heard how  
of **all** "yellowed" shirts, yellow,  
even fresh white without bleaching!

After using **all** shirts white again. Husband happy again! Super-R...  
**all** with whitening discovery did it after only a few washings in a...  
white wash. Famous **all** with "controlled color" actually helps maintain  
washers wash and rinse more effectively.



**all** is produced by automatic washers by  
water nature and structure. That's why  
discovery made billions of hard-to-wash  
clothes. **all** with "controlled color" keeps  
clothes as white as when first.



To ensure cleanest clothes of dry-cleaning  
brand like **all**, use a household bleach  
to help the whitening **all** of **all**. Now **all**  
is white for any wash!

**all** is made by MONSIEUR

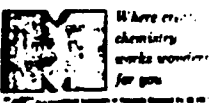


Illustration 5.1.1 'Clean wash to please husbands?'

one is alone sufficient to exemplify the theme. It reads:

"Happy husband? New 'all' with whitening discovery washes his "yellowed" shirt back to fresh white again...".

We shall now examine the texts in the advertisements of the 1975 samples alone.

#### The 1975 Material: Cosmetics

Not many cosmetic company advertisements drawn from the North American sample were concerned with family issues. The caption of one such advertisement reads:

"With two small children, a nine-five job is out of the question. That's why I love being an Avon Representative. I'm earning good money and I'm there when the children need me".

However, in the body copy, this sentiment is further justified thus:

"Call me old fashioned. I want my boys to be raised by me - not a babysitter".

(Illustration 4.1.1)

This does value the "family bond", yet expresses some recognition of possible ambivalence when a woman's earning power is at stake. Hence the term old fashioned. It can be good or bad, though the advertisement suggests a judgement in its favour.

Another advertisement that qualified as a family advertisement in the North American sample is for an after shave lotion. Here the advertiser suggests that this product would make a perfect Father's Day gift if the child's heart "belongs to daddy". Yet the visual image does not show a father and child together; there is no sharing between them as persons. The idea portrayed is merely one of gift giving and receiving. Apparently, daddy's heart belongs to the product as the visual shows and not to his child (Illustration 4.1.7).

Yet another advertisement that portrays family relationships in the North American sample shows a woman who takes pride in herself. She is "...a grandmother who gained a girlish figure..." (Illustration 4.1.8). Gaining a girlish figure will win social recognition for a grandmother. This, as pointed out before, is of cultural significance as North American culture approves self-grooming that would enhance one's individuality as well as confidence of one's own self.

Another woman in a similar advertisement for a fat reduction plan openly says:

"...my teenage nieces and nephews are now proud to introduce me as their aunt. In fact everybody is a lot happier with me..."

(Illustration 4.1.9)

In this advertisement a family recognizes a person for her appearance. When she says that now her relations are proud



Illustration 4.1.7 'Product belongs to the father's heart'  
- advertisement of an after shave

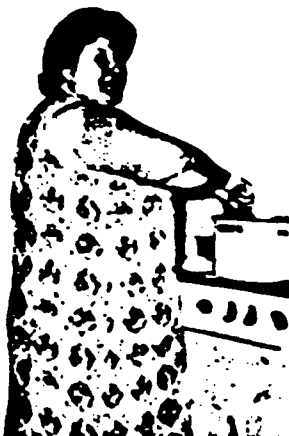
ADVERTISEMENT

No. 143, PCL, 27, 00, 73

75-127

# I never stopped eating yet I lost 107 pounds.

By Catherine Gutches — as told to Ruth L. McCarthy



At 235 pounds, I looked as wide as my stove. But it didn't stop me from stirring up another batch of calzones.

One thing's for sure. I didn't get up to 235 pounds by eating TV dinners. It was meals like cucumbers dipped in egg and breadcrumbs and fried in butter, served with macaroni smothered in cheese, and sweetened with a dessert like Bundt cake or my own date and nut roll that did it. Believe me, when you eat like that, it's easy to get fat, especially when you start young.

I was raised on a produce farm in Paramus, N.J. And I grew up working side by side with the farm hands, so I learned to eat hearty as soon as I could lift and lick a cake spoon.

When I was in my teens, I'd get up at five, have breakfast of fried potatoes, ham, bread, jam and coffee. Then I'd work in the fields until seven. That would give me just enough time to take a bath, eat another snack and go off to school. When I'd get home, I'd be hungry enough to eat the icebox bare.

It's no wonder I weighed 165 pounds by the time I was 21, the year I married Ted — a six-footer who weighed three pounds less than I did. It didn't seem to bother him, though. He's Dutch and, with my German parentage, we

both took to eating like there was no other reason for living.

Our friends were all 200-pounds-plus, too. Why, once, when I complained about the shape I was in, one of them said: "Don't worry, Catherine, your skin is stretched to the limit. Now you can eat all you want." And I did. Then my back began to ache, my feet started to hurt from carrying all that weight, and my stomach continually got in the way. What a mess!

Finally, a friend of mine said to me: "Catherine, let's try those reducing-plan candies, Ayds®." And she bought me a box of the vanilla caramel kind. First, I read the label on the box to check out the ingredients. When I found that Ayds contains vitamins and minerals, but no drugs — nothing harmful — I started right in on the plan with her.

Then I remembered hearing once during a physical exam that to burn up fat, you need to eat the right foods, like meat and salads and vegetables. To me it was like comparing the body to a furnace that needs proper stoking to get it to burn like it should. Well, on the Ayds plan, I began to stoke mine good. Instead of stuffing myself with starches, sweets and junk, I ate like I should. Only I ate less, because I wanted less.

I took one or two Ayds like the directions say, with a hot drink, and those candies really helped curb my appetite. Why, in six weeks, I'd lost 13 pounds on the Ayds plan. And I'll tell you, when I saw the scales going down, there was no more eating just to fill up that big cavity in front.

People really didn't take much

notice, though, until I'd lost 80 pounds. That's when my clothes looked like they were designed by Omar, the Tailor Maker, and everybody began remarking about my losing weight.

Sometimes, it's hard even for me to believe what's happened. Me, a grandmother who gained a girlish figure at age 55. But the best thing is how it happened. Thanks to the Ayds plan, I lost 107 pounds, yet I never stopped eating. And I've never felt better.



Now that I'm down to 128 pounds, I still like to cook and bake, but I've given up eating what's on the pot and licking what's on the spoon.



## BEFORE AND AFTER MEASUREMENTS

	Before	After
Height	5' 7"	5' 7"
Weight	235 lbs.	128 lbs.
Bust	45"	36"
Waist	45"	33 1/2"
Hips	45"	37"
Dress	45"	13"

FAMILY CIRCLE 1/79 129

Illustration 4.1.8 'A grandmother who gained a girlish figure' — Advertisement of diet plan

ADVERTISEMENT

Bul 107, 406, 01, 00, 75

75-164

# I lost half of myself without taking diet pills.

By Donna Walker — as told to Ruth L. McCarthy

When I was 66 inches around, and 65 inches tall, even my favorite fat lady's store had a problem. I knew, because at 378 pounds I wore the largest bloomers they had. And that's the only word for them — bloomers — even though I'm of the generation that usually refers to ladies' panties as bloomers.

Fact is, the thought of having nothing to wear made me so panicky, I said to myself: "This is it! You've got to lose weight, Donna." Not that I was unaware of my size before. There were too many embarrassing reminders in my life for me to ignore my weight. For instance, at my fullest figure, I fit so snugly into a tub that the water was dammed up behind me when I pulled the plug out in front of me. And when I stood up in a shower stall, I couldn't even bend over to pick up a bar of soap. I was trapped by my appetite.

As for dresses, I had one — to go to work in. I washed it every night and every day for one whole year because it was the only dress that fit.

I think I ought to mention that chocolate and sweets were my undoing. But ironically, candy is what really helped me lose weight. Ayds' Reducing Plan Candy. I'd read ads about it in magazines and when I learned that Ayds contains vitamins and minerals, but no drugs, I thought maybe, at last, I'd found what I needed. I knew from past experience that diet pills, weekly reducing sessions and even a psychiatrist were not the answer for me. I needed something to help curb my appetite and my eternal craving for sweets.

So, I bought a box of chocolate fudge Ayds at the drug store and started on the plan in the fall. I took one or two Ayds about 15 minutes before each meal with a hot drink and it really helped me cut down on what I ate. And I ate regular meals, nothing special.

Right from the start, I had such a positive feeling about the Ayds plan. I took on a \$50 bet from my friend's husband. He'd heard me talk about



When I weighed 378 pounds, my friends called me a Floating Island. See why?



Now I'm 136 pounds, my friends in West Hartford, Conn., hardly recognize me.

losing weight for 10 years, but never saw me do anything about it. So he figured it was going to be an easy win. Was he wrong? In the end, he had to pay up, because the weight came off.

Nobody really noticed it until I'd lost more than 50 pounds. You see, I hadn't bought any new clothes, so I was hidden under a lot of baggy pants and sacky tops. Then at Easter, when I'd taken off 78 pounds on the Ayds plan, I turned out in a new lavender pantsuit and everybody was amazed. I was thrilled, and more determined than ever to stick to the Ayds plan.

I guess, though, we never see ourselves as others do. Let me tell you about a remark my nephew made while I was still losing weight. He'd seen me at his sister's wedding, wearing a size 52 beige tent. Months after I'd been on the Ayds plan, I appeared at his wedding in a size 18 dress. He was so shocked, he said: "What were you wearing the last time I saw you — your beige Volkswagen?" Funny, I knew I was fat, but not that fat.

How long did it take me to lose 142 pounds on the Ayds plan? Just about a year, and now I can do things I never could before. For the first time, believe it or not, I can cross my legs — like a lady. I can also see all of me in a mirror. And I can even climb up a pool ladder without fear of breaking it.

On the serious side, my teenage nieces and nephews are now proud to introduce me as their aunt. In fact, everybody is a lot happier with me, now that I'm only 37½ inches around. Which makes me forever grateful for the Ayds plan.

## BEFORE AND AFTER MEASUREMENTS

	Before	After
Height	5'8"	5'8"
Weight	378 lbs.	136 lbs.
Bust	69"	36½"
Waist	65"	37"
Hips	68"	37½"
Dress	52	12

Illustration 4.1.9

'Everyone is a lot happier with me' - Advertisement of diet plan

to introduce her, the impression conveyed is that previously they were ashamed to acknowledge any relationship with her.

These are just some of the family advertisements in the North American sample. Now we shall examine in depth some advertisements pertaining to personal care products and to services for 1975.

The best family advertisement in the North American insurance sample is the one that declares 'you are in good hands' (Illustration 1.1.1). This advertisement calls for wisdom on the part of the reader: 'if you are smart you will start a life insurance program that can change you'. It also carries a foot note that the Family Plan Package described in the advertisement is a two parent plan but that a one parent policy is also available. This footnote gives a clue as to the prevalence in the wider society of single parent families at which the advertisement is aimed.

The insurance advertisement which depicts an insurance agent on one side and a family on the other has already been interpreted by us as closeness. This closeness is further described in the text (Illustration 1.1.6). The caption mentions that the agent is "one of a kind", thus giving the family which is taking the policy a sense of belonging to the insurance agent and the company. The company is 'like a good neighbour', always there when you need it. The agent, like a good neighbour again, can



provide 'knowledgeable advice and person to person service'. Thus the textual message explains the nature of the closeness that is visually depicted. It is both a physical proximity and an emotional intimacy.

In the Tamil sample family themes appear in the insurance advertisements more in the text than in the visuals. The Life Insurance Corporation advertisement that visually depicts extended family care elaborates the woman's life story in the text: 'New Lakshmi has the confidence and financial stability to manage alone in life' because her husband Vijay who died in an accident had taken a policy (Illustration 1.2.1). Note that the policy not only enables Lakshmi to manage alone in life but also provides her the confidence to live alone - a transformation in the personality itself. But this transformation is possible only if a woman's husband plans earlier to help her to cope with a situation without him.

In the Tamil sample there are some bank advertisements too, whereas the North American does not have any. These advertisements manifest the cultural expectation that a man will assume responsibility for the maintenance of his family. One bank advertisement reminds the reader of his responsibility as a parent to 'transform a child's dream to reality. His protection is within your embrace'. The caption of this advertisement poses the question 'Innocent mind - should it worry in future?' (Illustration 1.2.2).

# கள்ளமற்ற உள்ளம்... நாளை கவலைப்படலாமா?



199 நவம்பர் 15-11-79. 39  
பொருளில் யந்திரம்  
வெற்றிபெற வேண்டுமென  
தான் தந்த. போய்  
விட்டது. ஒரு காலம்  
அந்த காலம்—தான்  
பாதி ஆகியே—

அதன். அந்த அந்த  
அந்த காலம், காலம்  
தான் போய் போய்  
போய் போய். அந்த  
காலம் போய் போய்  
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காலம் போய் போய்



CONCEPT-801-4396 TAM

Illustration 1.2.2 'Innocent mind. Should it worry in future?'

Another bank advertisement in the Tamil sample draws out in words a thoughtful father who proudly says:

"From now on, I am paying his college fees but he has not yet reached kindergarden... Here is my loving Rahul... I need not worry about his college fees and other expenses."

(Illustration 1.2.3)

Yet another bank advertisement describes its scheme which 'gives you money when you desperately need it'. Three such desperate needs envisaged by the advertiser are son's higher education, daughter's wedding and building a house to live in (Illustration 1.2.4). In the Tamil cultural reality too, these are considered major expenses for a family. The cultural expectation of a father meeting the expenses towards his sons' education and daughters' weddings is well-reflected and well-reinforced in these advertisements. Is there any father who would not want to fulfill his duties towards his children? And, is there any man who would not want to have his own home? If he is a family oriented person, it is all the more reasonable for him to desire a home of his own to be bequeathed to his wife and children. Fulfilling one's duties towards children, having one's own home, bequeathing personally acquired properties to one's own wife and children etc. are culturally defined needs and wants.

ANV 9-12-74 - 08

**இப்பொழுதே இவனுக்கு நான் கல்லூரிச்  
சம்பளம் கட்டுகிறேன். ஆனால் இவனோ  
இன்னும் ஆரம்பப்பள்ளியையே எட்டவில்லை.**

இதோ என் அருமை சாணை.  
முத்த வயதாய் இருக்க இப்பொழுதான் மருமகனின் பேர-  
ஆரம்பப்பள்ளிக்குச் செல்லும் நான். கருவரவந்தின் அருமை  
சம்பளப்படிக்கான சேபரேஷன் செய்துவிட்டேன்.  
கல்லூரிக்குப் படிக்குமாறு அங்கு சேர்ந்துகொள்வது எல்லாம்  
மென்மையாக.  
அதற்குப் பூரணமாக 120 பாதகளுக்கு "சேர்த்துக் கொடுக்க" செய்து  
கொடுத்தேன். இவருக்கு என் மனம் கெட்டுப்  
செய்திருந்தால் அதை எந்த தீவிர செயல்களையும்  
கொடுத்தேன்.  
சாணைக்கு என்னைக் கொடுத்தேன்  
சேர்த்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.  
இந்த சேர்த்துக் கொடுத்தேன் அதை  
அப்படியே என்னைக் கொடுத்தேன்.  
திட்டமிட்டுக் கொடுத்தேன்.  
கருவரவந்தின் பேர-  
ஆரம்பப்பள்ளிக்குச் செல்லும் நான்.  
படிப்பது போல் அதை என்னை.  
மேலும் விவரங்களுக்கு அருமை.  
கனம் உன் சேர்த்துக் கொடுத்தேன்.  
இப்பொழுதே விவரம் கொடுத்தேன்.



**யுனைட்ட  
கமர்ஷியல் பாங்க்**  
உங்கள் அருமைகளை  
உங்கள் வசதிகளை பாங்க்

Illustration 1.2.3 'I am paying his fees from now on'

யால் வாடியும் முகம்...  
நாளை கண்ணீரில் நனைவலாமா?



அவ்வாறு வாடி உடைந்த போட்டிகள்  
பித்தை. அவனுக்கு அதற்கு நேரம்  
அதாவது, உங்கள் கை. அவற்றை நீங்கள்  
அவனுக்கு தின்றே கைத்தான் அடையுங்கள்.

அறிவுமிகப் பெற்றோர் அங்கத்தான்  
செய்தவர். குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு தொகையை  
சாத்தினோம் அவனுக்குமேல்  
செய்யுங்கள். அவ்வாறு செய்தவரை  
ஒரு தொகையை அவன் பெயரில்  
குத்திடு செய்யுங்கள்.

உங்கள் குழந்தைகள் 'வாடி'  
தின்றே துவங்கட்டும்—திந்தியானின்  
மிகப்பெரிய தேசிய வங்கியின்,  
பாதுகாப்போடு.



CONCEPT-801-4430 TAM

Illustration 1.2.4 Bank advertisement

### Shampoo

There is only one shampoo advertisement in the North American sample. This advertisement promises the user of this shampoo one of the tenderest moments she/he will ever experience. It appeals: "Let our new baby baby your hair". Unlike the family themes in the Tamil shampoo advertisements, this North American shampoo example is not directed at the consumer's family, It merely uses family symbols to emphasize the unique and special experience the consumer will enjoy as a result of using this brand of shampoo (Illustration 3.1.2). The Tamil shampoo advertisement, on the other hand, says the product is for "your child, you yourself and also for the head of the family". Men are the heads of the family and women, the homemakers and purchaser of products (Illustration 3.2.1).

### Detergent

A liquid detergent advertisement from the North American sample provides a good example of a woman's role portrayal in specific cases in this group. The woman in one textual message says:

"I have the same responsibilities most married women have. I make a home for a husband and three children. And that means housework and lots of dishes..."

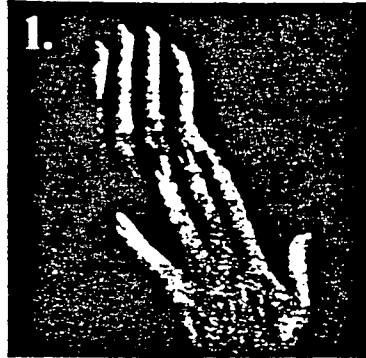
(Illustration 5.1.2)

This portrayal of women's work is true of the Tamil sample as well.

D&amp;G, M&amp;A, O&amp;C, 90,

75-210

# Can you match their hands with their ages?



It's not easy, is it? They both have young looking hands. Nancy MacIntosh, age 20, is a teacher and hardly ever washes a dish. But Mrs. Sherron Sandrini, age 31, does lots of them every day. She says, "I have the same responsibilities most married women have. I make a home for a husband and three children. And that means housework and lots of dishes! That's why I take care of my hands and use mild Ivory Liquid. I just know Ivory Liquid helps me keep my hands young looking."

**Mild Ivory Liquid helps keep hands young looking.**



Illustration 5.1.2

Woman's role portrayal in a detergent advertisement

## Personal Care

Most of the North American advertisements for Personal Care products emphasize the "look" of the woman who uses them as though 'looks' are very important to a woman. Most of these products claim to provide younger looks and protection against some harm. The advertisement of a skin lotion claims to provide "softer, smoother and younger looking skin" and 'saves every precious inch of your skin'. A cosmetic company advertisement promises protection from environmental hazards on your skin and hair and "actually keeps your skin younger looking" and gives you "a fresher look, a smoother surface, a softer feel" (Illustration 4.1.3). The advertisement of a beauty oil is to any woman who might think mirror is her enemy:

"You confront a certain truth in your mirror.  
You have grown older looking without realising  
it... And you almost hate your mirror for  
being so honest..."

(Illustration 4.1.10)

The advertisement illuminates the American women's sense of horror in aging and offers the product that would "help women look their youngest no matter what their age". The advertisement of a facial moisturizer makes its use an experience of the senses.

"You can feel it, touch it, and discover it..."

(Illustration 4.1.4)



010, 846, 07, 00, 76

75-194



## Is Your Mirror Your Enemy?

It can happen so unexpectedly. You go along for years not being the least bit concerned about how old you look. You feel young and alive. Life is going well. And then one morning you catch a certain truth in your mirror. You've grown older looking without realizing it. And you almost hate your mirror for being so honest.

If your mirror is reflecting the truth you don't want to recognize, don't let time hurry you for you to discover the secret of knowledge. **Ledgeable** younger-looking women from many parts of the world who have seen the highly-visible benefits of so famous Oil of Olay beauty fluid that helps women look their youngest, no matter what their age. This fluid is known in the United States as Oil of Olay beauty lotion.

Oil of Olay disappears into your skin almost before your eyes, to work with nature to combat dryness... the very dryness that causes little lines and wrinkles that make you look older than you should. Or would. Beauty connoisseurs discovered this skin-loving liquid and its remarkable ability to penetrate your skin's all-time-vulnerable surface, deeply and unobtrusively quickly. (You'll find Oil of Olay soothing every dryness practically from the very moment you notice it on.) A wealth of pure moisture, along with tropical oils and other emollients, soon brings to your skin a softness and suppleness that will be clearly noticeable when you look in the mirror.

Oil of Olay is a paradox with nature in helping to maintain the all-mysterious balance of your skin... essential if you're to look your youngest. The beauty fluid is compatible with the skin itself and acts like natural moisture in alleviating dryness. And Oil of Olay helps keep your own natural moisture in the skin, a beauty bonus as the years slip by.

Smile as Oil of Olay helps going to bed. Let the beauty fluid do its good work through quiet hours of sleep. Then again faithfully every morning, as a quick-penetrating, non-greasy makeup base. Or, if you like to let your skin take a vacation from cosmetics, Oil of Olay gives your face a dewy, lustrous glow. Oil of Olay in the middle of the day, too, is a refreshing, soothing pleasure that again combats dryness as it importantly increases the moisture content of your skin.

You will discover Oil of Olay and its beautiful secret at drugstores everywhere. See for yourself how quickly your mirror can again become your friend.

### Beauty Secrets

Wearing glasses can draw attention to the skin around your eyes where little aging creases first appear. More frequent use of Oil of Olay on these special areas can be helpful.

Each time you apply Oil of Olay to your face and throat, smooth the beauty fluid right up to your hairline. (Don't worry. It's so non-penetrating and non-greasy, it won't "slip" into your clean hair.) It's a real miracle to frame your younger-looking face with an area of dry older-looking skin.

Illustration 4.1.10 'Is mirror your enemy?'  
- Beauty oil advertisement

This is an experience of softness as well as life  
(Illustration 4.1.4).

In North American cultural reality, women experience a sense of frustration and fear at losing their youth and beauty perhaps due to the widespread trend towards broken families and the highly prevalent syndrome of "single women". The advertisers of the North American cosmetic companies of our sample have utilized this cultural theme in their advertisements. In these advertisements if woman's personality arises from her beauty, man's individuality has a lot to do with "greatness". The advertisement of a cologne for men bestows greatness on the man who uses the product. Its text is just a parody:

"Some men are born to greatness,  
Some achieve greatness and  
Some have it given to them.  
Old Spice. A classic fragrance, a great gift".

(Illustration 4.1.11)

It is a cultural reality that man is the superior of the sexes and it is a cultural preference that the superior men should possess individuality and greatness.

The textual analysis of the Personal Care product advertisements in the Tamil sample is in conformity with their visuals. They are not all strictly personal. Toothpaste is a "cavity-fighting family guard" in this sample. It protects teeth from bacteria as well as strengthens

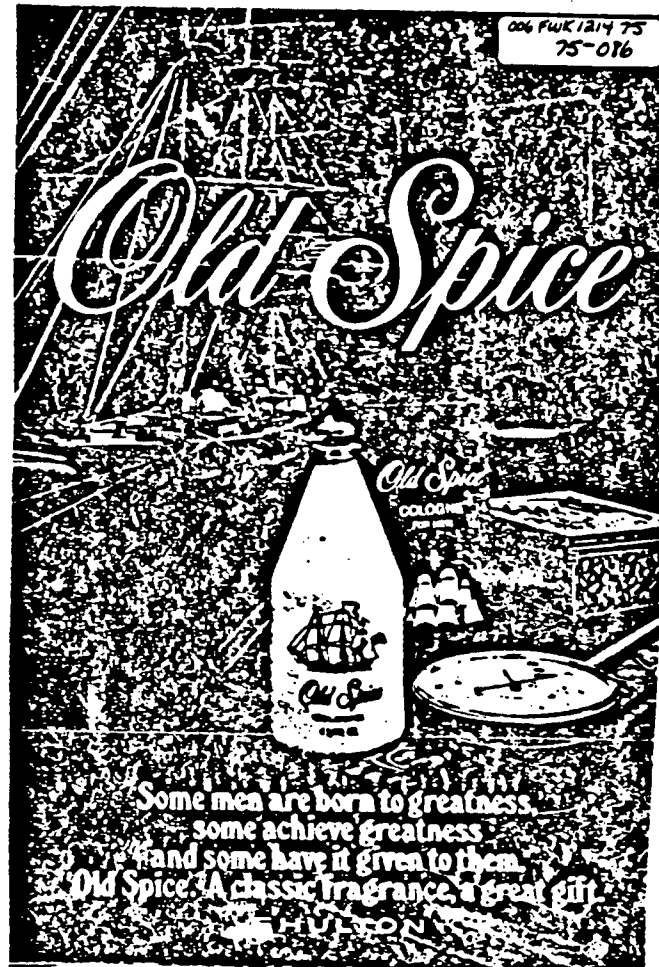


Illustration 4.1.11 'Greatness to men through a cologne'  
- A cologne advertisement

them. Therefore, one should buy it for her family.

Although the North American sample has no toothpaste advertisements, it has some advertisements for denture cleansers. One cleanser offers to 'save your smile' (Illustration 4.1.12) whereas another promises to remove 'denture odour' so that "you can get as close as you want" (Illustration 4.1.5). Again, these advertisements reflect the culturally defined desire of individuals to be pleasing to others and to gain social appreciation. A smile has the cultural connotation of friendliness; without it, one cannot gain social recognition.

One pain balm advertisement in the Tamil sample claims that it is the trusted medicine used by families for over eighty years (Illustration 4.2.6) and asserts that it is a good medicine "which must be there in every family" (Illustration 4.2.7). Yet another balm is advertised for its 'warmth' which symbolises warmth of mother's love, warmth of her hands etc. The text reads:

'Rub it in the nose of your precious. Nose blockage would be removed. Rub it on his chest, it would provide relief from cold...'

(Illustration 4.2.3).

The vitamin tonic advertisement which has the visual of a happy family in a bottle asserts in the text to purchase it for 'your family'; it could provide growth and energizing well-being for your family (Illustration 4.2.4).

225, R26, 12,00,77  
75-056

**If you lose your smile  
you've lost your dentures.**

It's pretty tough to smile when you're worried that your  
dentures don't have the natural look they were made with.  
Denture-Creme® can help fix that.  
Denture-Creme, the toothpaste for dentures,  
helps to get rid of the dingy  
film that can make  
dentures look unnatural.  
Brush every day and the  
film doesn't come back.  
Your chances are  
your smile will.

**Denture-Creme**  
SPECIALLY MADE FOR FALSE TEETH  
**Denture-Creme**

**It gives you back your smile.**

Illustration 4.1.12 'Save your smile' - A denture cleanser advertisement

ANV 21-1-79-46

**அமிர்தாஞ்சன்**

தலைவலி, துள்தோஷம், உடம்பவலி  
இவை அனைத்தையும் போக்க இதைத்தான்  
இருக்கவேண்டிய தக்க மருந்து


தலைவலி, துள்தோஷம், உடம்பவலி  
ஆகியவற்றுக்கு சிறிதளவு அமிர்தாஞ்சன்  
தடவுங்கள். அந்நேரம் அருமையான பந்த  
மருந்துப் பொருள்களின் வலமை, விவக்கத்  
தக் வலமையிட விரைவில் விரைவாக  
அளிக்ரும். சிக்கனமான ஜாடி, சிறியபாட்டில்  
மற்றும் கைக்கு அடக்கமான  
சிறிய டப்பா - மூன்று  
அளவுகளில் கிடைக்கிறது  
அமிர்தாஞ்சன்.

அமிர்தாஞ்சன் -  
80 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு  
மேலான குடும்பங்களில்  
பயன்பட்டு வரும்  
கம்பளமான மருந்து.

அமிர்தாஞ்சன் கிடைக்க - 1979

Illustration 4.2.6 'Traditionally used medicine'  
- A pain balm advertisement

ANV 4-11-79-20



தலைமுறை தலைமுறையாக  
மக்கள் பயன்படுத்திவரும்  
இந்திய மருந்துகளின்  
சத்தியே தனி...  
அவற்றுள்  
தனிச்சிறப்பு வாய்ந்தது  
அமிர்தாஞ்சன்.

தலைமுறை தலைமுறையாக மக்கள்  
பயன்படுத்திவரும் இந்திய மருந்துகளின்  
சத்தியே தனி... அவற்றுள்  
தனிச்சிறப்பு வாய்ந்தது அமிர்தாஞ்சன்.

தலைமுறை தலைமுறையாக மக்கள்  
பயன்படுத்திவரும் இந்திய மருந்துகளின்  
சத்தியே தனி... அவற்றுள்  
தனிச்சிறப்பு வாய்ந்தது அமிர்தாஞ்சன்.

தலைமுறை தலைமுறையாக மக்கள்  
பயன்படுத்திவரும் இந்திய மருந்துகளின்  
சத்தியே தனி... அவற்றுள்  
தனிச்சிறப்பு வாய்ந்தது அமிர்தாஞ்சன்.

**அமிர்தாஞ்சன்**  
தலைவலி, தலைவலி, தலைவலி,  
உடல்வலி, கழுத்து -  
இவைத்தையும் போக்க  
இருமையான மருந்து.




Illustration 4.2.7 'It should be there in every family'  
- A pain balm advertisement

**அமிர்தாஞ்சன்**

நவவி. துரதாடி, உடல்வலி  
இவை அனைத்தையும் போக்க இவ்வாறே  
இருக்கின்றன. பதன் பதன்

நவவி, துரதாடி, உடல்வலி  
ஆகியவற்றை அமிர்தாஞ்சன்  
தடவ்வது. அதிலுள்ள அருமையான பதன்  
மருந்துப் பொருள்களின் கைவை, விபக்கத்  
தக்க வகையில் மிக விரைவில் விரைவில்  
அளிக்கப்படும். சிக்னயான ஜாடி, சிறியபட்டை  
மற்றும் கைக்கு அடக்கமான  
சிறிய பட்டை — மூன்று  
அளவுகளில் கிடைக்கிறது  
அமிர்தாஞ்சன்.

அமிர்தாஞ்சன் —  
80 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு  
கொண்டிருப்பதில்  
பயன்பட்டு வரும்  
சிக்னயான மருந்து.

அமிர்தாஞ்சன் மிதிபெட் 1913

Illustration 4.2.8 'For the family? - Pain balm advertisement



The vaccine advertisement from the same sample is a "pharmaceutical safeguard along with love" (Illustration 4.2.9). It is for 'your child to grow up sweet talking and healthy'. In the vaccine advertisement with the visual of a child inside palms, protection of the child receives more emphasis in the text. Care within the family, very much a cultural notion and reality, is the focus in all these advertisements.

Thus, like in the visuals, the texts of the advertisements in the Tamil sample are more family oriented whereas those in the North American sample are more individual oriented. In some advertisements, the ideas symbolised in the visual presentations are strengthened in the text whereas in some other advertisements, text alone is used to make assertions or is used to make an altogether different assertion than that in the visuals. However, whether in dominant visual images or in bold captions, in subordinate textual messages or in a strong textual heading, the overpowering themes in the two samples are very distinct and different. The North American sample reveals a marked orientation toward individual themes and the Tamil sample favours clearly familial one. Within these differing orientations, however, both samples envelop certain subtle but strong similarities: both samples view women as the pursuers of beauty, and especially youth, and men as

## பாசத்தின் துணையோடு பாதுகாப்பு!

உங்களுடைய பிள்ளைக்கனி  
அழுது பேசும் பொற்சித்திரமாக  
வளரத் தேவையானது  
நோயிலிருந்து  
பாதுகாப்பு!  
போலியோ வாக்ஸின்  
உங்கள் குழந்தைக்கு  
இளம்பிள்ளை வாத  
நோயிலிருந்து  
பாதுகாப்பை  
அளிக்கிறது.



கீழ்க்கண்ட இடங்களில் மருத்துவரின் உதவியுடன்  
போலியோ செண்டு மருந்து அளிக்கப்படுகிறது.  
தமிழ்நாடு தாதா பார்மசூடிகல்ஸ் லிமிடெட்  
10. ஜெய்பூர் ரோட், (சத்திபம் திபேட்டர் அருகில்), சென்னை-86.  
(போன்: 810646)

ஞாயிறு: காலை 9.30 முதல் பகல் 12.30 வரை  
புதன்: காலை 8.00 முதல் பகல் 10.00 வரை  
சனி: காலை 3.00 முதல் 6.00 வரை

தாதா & கம்பெனி

108, கைனிப்பா ராய்க்கன் தெரு

சென்னை-3. (போன்: 34716)

வெள்ளிக்கிழமை தனி மத்த காலை நாட்களிலும்  
காலை: 9.00 மணி முதல் பகல் 12.00 வரை.

KMM 15-11-79. 13

Illustration 4.2.9 'Pharmaceutical safeguard with love' - A vaccine advertisement

the admirers of that beauty. With reference to the portrayal of man's dominance too, both samples are alike. However, these similarities are not very strong or striking. In the Tamil sample, the 'individual' in the woman who pursues beauty and youth is overshadowed by the powerful portrayal of her roles as wife and mother. Tamil culture does not consider a married woman's pursuit of beauty as honourable as this might lead to a neglect of her family. The strong cultural significance of woman's marriage also should be kept in mind. Married women beautify themselves for their husbands' honour and pride but not for their own personal satisfaction. This culture considers it almost sinful for a married woman to try to gain popular approval of her beauty or attractiveness.

"A mother is not only not supposed to sleep with her husband, she is also expected to dress and behave rather conservatively when her son is grown. She should not wear any colour other than white, and she must not pay too much attention to her physical adornment. It does not become her to adorn herself because she is beyond the desire and lust of men...." (Roy, 1936: 131-32).

Younger girls of marriageable age, however, are encouraged to look attractive as this would enable them to secure a suitable match for a wedding.

The North American woman, on the other hand, does not face any such cultural inhibitions in the pursuit of beauty.

She beautifies herself for her own pride and self satisfaction. She even gains confidence by doing this.

The Tamil male's dominance too, differs from the North American male's dominance in advertisements. The former portrayal is tied into the cultural concept of family love. It enables man to protect his family and ensure its stability. The latter portrayal, on the other hand, is woven into the cultural concept of individuality.

## CHAPTER IV

ROLE AND AGE PORTRAYALS

In the modern middle class American family, the ideal type is the equalitarian relationship between husband and wife. This follows logically from the postulate of freedom, for if the wife is to be free, she must be equal of her husband in power. Technically and legally, the husband is the head of the household and his work determines the legal place of residence.

(Nimkoff 1965: 332)

The traditionally set male-female role patterns in a particular socio-cultural setting exert a determining influence on the expected behaviour of individuals in their capacity as family members. It is these social roles that also define the authority patterns in a family unit. Therefore, the expectations a culture has about its males and females are easily understandable if we examine these role patterns. North American culture values an equalitarian relationship between the male and the female as an ideal. However, both in the family and in the society, this principle of equality between the sexes remains merely an ideal. For, in reality, man has been assigned a superior role in the culture. The division of responsibility between male and female as members in the society and as husband and wife within the family reveals the differing expectations the culture has of its sexes. The expectations

regarding a son and daughter and the parents' differing duties towards them also point to the same reality of sexual inequality. The following excerpt will further reveal this reality of sexual inequality within the family:

As in almost all societies, American husbands are invariably bread winners unless they are handicapped persons.... Husbands and wives seldom compete vocationally. The wife's work is usually more episodic, more poorly paid... If in the middle class, the husband is the chief manager of family income, the wife is the chief purchasing agent. She does the everyday buying of food and clothing. She does most of the housework. Essentially, the division of labour in the middle class American family is quite traditional, like that in most cultures.

(Nimkoff 1965: 333-34)

Tamil culture is not unlike most cultures in this matter of the sexual division of responsibilities within the family. In the Tamil family too, man is the head and woman's place is at home, caring for her husband and children, making a home and doing housework.

In an earlier chapter, we stated our expectation that the role portrayal of husband and wife in the division of responsibilities would be the same in both North American and Tamil samples of advertisements irrespective of whatever distinguishing features these two family types might exhibit. Elsewhere, we have observed the portrayal of man as responsible for making economic provisions for his family and of woman as being responsible for making a home

and caring for the children. Such portrayals of division of responsibility within the family which give man more authority and confine woman to home are found throughout both samples.

### Child Care

In our preliminary discussion of the North American sample of baby food advertisements, it was shown that mothers were portrayed as being more involved with child care than were fathers. Although the advertisements did not directly address mothers, from the various suggestive wordings or visuals, we easily get the impression that they are nonetheless aimed at mother. After all, it is normally the mother who makes the decision as to which baby food is best for the baby. Although the mother is not shown as feeding her baby in the North American advertisements, readers are made to feel her obvious presence during feeding - although it may not be an active one. This is done by the visual depiction of two slender, apparently feminine, hands tying a bib round the baby's neck or by producing the testimony of a satisfied mother - not father - about the health and happiness of the baby concerned. In one advertisement, the advertiser mentions a mother of five who has collected hints about 'bringing up baby' (Illustration 2.1.4). The father of the baby does not have to bother



**BROWNS UP BABY  
HINTS COLLECTED  
BY MRS. DAN GERBER,  
MOTHER OF FIVE**

2W 009 RL 04 0065 -  
65-137

## when finger-play gets under way

Wonderful day when baby discovers that fingers were made for fun. They're great for pinching noses, pulling mommy's hair...even fun to watch and twiddle when there's nary a toy around. E.J. fingers are also great educational tools. They help your baby learn to grab, grasp, push, pull and pat. Your baby also comes to learn the difference between warm and cold, hard and soft, rough and smooth. Yes, better teachers than fingers are hard to find.

### Smooth going

Speaking of smoothness, that's the kind of texture babies like in food. Gerber Strained Meats are exceptionally smooth, marvelously moist. (An exclusive processing method makes this possible.) Made from cuts carefully selected by Armour, they're high in protein, low in fat and filled to the hilt with true-meat flavors. There are 10 of the nicest varieties to help promote your baby's growth and strength.

### Dept. of encouragement

You can increase the nimbleness of those nice little fingers with these simple strategies:

- Place safe objects of various sizes and shapes within his reach to improve pick-up judgment, graspability and holdability.
- Offer an older tot or toddler finger foods like Gerber Animal-Shaped Cookies or Gerber Meat Sticks, to improve pinch-holding and hand-to-mouth co-ordination.

**New Menu Menu**  
(In the good-tasting Gerber Tradition)  
Strained Turkey\*  
Strained Creamed Asparagus\*  
Cherry-Vanilla Pudding\*  
Formula or milk

\*The starred products are brand new and bound to star on any baby's menu. Like all Gerber Baby Foods, they're designed with your baby's eating pleasure in mind.

### Nutrition notation

Know why baby needs a daily ration of vitamin C? Because this important nutrient is a "fugitive" vitamin and cannot be stored in the body.

All nine Gerber Fruit Juices are rich in vitamin C, needed for sound gums and other body tissues. One can of any one will supply baby with over 100% of the recommended daily dietary allowance for infants.



### Important:

Gerber prepares over 100 baby foods—infant formulas, cereals, strained and junior foods—to meet your baby's nutritional needs. We're proud to say:

**"Babies are our business...our only business!"**

GERBER'S BABY FOODS, DIV. OF FORTUNE, CHICAGO

Illustration 2.1.4 'Mother collects hints about baby care'



about all these matters; he can be happy with a well-nourished, well-cared for baby. In fact, more than the father, the advertisements for baby care products focus on the concern of the baby's 'grandma' and 'aunty'. These relatives are shown to be interested in the use of a diaper designed specially by the baby food company "for the cutest baby they know" (Illustration 2.1.2). This reference to extended family members (the only one in the North American sample) is not suggesting a very intimate bond. The theme is one of gift giving which is more formal than is the active participation in child care found in the Tamil sample. In another North American advertisement, the idea communicated is that if the baby is fed on that particular baby food, both mother and baby will look forward to the feeding time. There is no mention of father anywhere in this advertisement (Illustration 2.1.5). In yet another baby food advertisement, a mother talks about her baby's special tastes (Illustration 2.1.1).

### Domestic Service

Not only child care, but also domestic service is woman's specialty. In domestic service is included cooking as well as cleaning. In this sample, we have a few images of a woman cooking, but there is no portrayal of the actual serving of other family members, or mention of cooking for them.

# ENJOYMENT



norman  
rockwell

DEI, DHC, 05, 00, 53

55-215

*...baby never forgets the goodness  
and flavor of a Swift meat meal*



**Swift's**  
*most precious*  
*product*



...baby has enjoyed the taste  
of Swift's strained meats, you  
can forward to feeding time.  
...on, baby's enthusiasm  
grows. This is good. For  
babies get more of what  
they want! growth.  
...want your baby  
to get the benefits of meat early.  
...it's a start when to start.

And, remember, meats for babies are  
Swift's most precious product.

Eight varieties including chicken  
—pre-cooked, strained creamy  
smooth. Meats for Juniors, too. All  
100% meat.

And when baby needs iron—Swift's  
meat-babies... with sup-  
ply it. Swift's... for there  
are no more wasted words!

Illustration 2.1.5 'Mother and baby look forward to feeding time'

In the detergent advertisements, woman's special responsibility in keeping the family linen clean and sparkling receives great emphasis. As one advertisement states, it is a "joy" for the woman to have her husband's work clothes and children's play clothes clean. The mother feels very proud of her children's clean clothes. The advertisement states: "You too will be proud everytime you hang out a wash" (Illustration 5.1.3). If the wife does not clean the family wash well, she will have to face an angry and complaining husband. So the housewife in the North American advertisements is shown to be very much on the look out for avoiding her husband's wrath. A woman's desire to please her husband is very much a traditional cultural notion in North America. The actual cleaning is portrayed as of secondary importance to her. When her family wear clean clothes, she receives social recognition as a good housewife, a good wife and mother. Being a good housewife, wife and mother is the cultural expectation of an honourable woman and advertisements reinforce this.

### Caring for the "Self"

A woman's responsibility does not end with being a good wife and a good mother. She also has a duty to herself to look beautiful in order to satisfy her own innate desires - a feminine predilection for better appearance. In the North American advertisements, a woman is portrayed

C19 GMR 64 0047  
45-224



**"RINSO'S TRIPLE-ACTION" SUDS  
GETS OUT STUBBORN DIRT—FAST!"**

*says Mrs. Albert E. Heyd of Chicago, Illinois*

**RINSO'S FORMULA  
GIVES YOU ALL 3**

1. **SOAPY-RICH BASE**—makes suds that drive deep—get out stubborn dirt without hard rubbing or scrubbing.
2. **SUDS-BOOSTER**—even in hard water you get heaps of hard-working suds—**FAST!**
3. **GREASE-CHASER**—you offer grease and grime—but it's easy on the hands—helps prevent yellowing of clothes, too!

**A PRODUCT OF LEVER  
BROTHERS COMPANY**

**WHAT A JOY TO HAVE  
RINSO'S TRIPLE-ACTION  
SUDS FOR REALLY  
GETTING STUBBORN DIRT  
OUT OF GRIMY WORK  
AND PLAY CLOTHES**



**RINSO'S THE ONLY SOAP  
FOR THE THREE ACTION  
LINE GETTING A RINSO  
WHITE WASH—WITH  
EASY-A RINSO BRIGHT  
WASH—WITH SAFETY**





**Big family washes! Extra dirty washes!**  
Depend on Rinso's famous washing power to get them sparkling clean. Work and play clothes, linens, washable colors—all give up their dirt fast to soap-rich Rinso suds.

You, too, will be proud every time you hang out a wash that's Rinso White—Rinso Bright. Since there's no need for hard scrubbing, clothes stay new looking longer when they're washed the safe, easy Rinso way.

RINSO IS THE ONLY SOAP RECOMMENDED BY THE MASTERS OF 22 LEADING WASHERS.

Illustration 5.1.3 'You will be proud everytime you hang out a wash' - detergent advertisement

as not being satisfied with her domestic roles alone, a portrayal which corresponds with the cultural reality. The woman here is portrayed as taking care to keep herself beautiful and to protect herself from anything that will harm her good looks and youth. While doing laundry, therefore, she needs to take care to protect the softness of her hands; the use of the detergent that is being advertised would help her fulfill her presumed desire to retain her attractiveness; it is said to be gentle on her hands, at the same time being effective on her wash.

Man: The Fiscal Head

If the North American man complains about his wife's laundry (Illustration 5.1.1) it is as though he has a right to do so. He is, after all, the 'fiscal head' of the family. The insurance advertisements provide ample testimony to this role of man. If one insurance advertisement addresses itself 'to every man, who has ever wondered how much insurance is enough' (Illustration 1.1.9), another portrays a husband who is worried about his wife: "If something happens to me, what would she have to live on?" It is an accepted practice in insurance advertisements to view husbands as having the responsibility to look after the family finances and also to plan about the future financial security of the family. As though to comply with the ideal of equality within the family, North American

wives are allowed some amount of discussion in these matters. One advertisement advises man: "You and your wife wisely talk about ways of safe guarding the family life values you enjoy..." However, the wife's participation does not go beyond the wise talk; it is up to the 'thoughtful man' "to work out" these personal problems (Illustration 1.1.8). Not even a single advertisement portrays woman as being responsible towards her husband's maintenance. She is also not portrayed as having the final decision-making authority. Man's financial responsibility towards his wife without any corresponding economic responsibility towards him on her part is not an imaginary situation in the advertising world. This theme is so much embedded in the North American socio-cultural network that it has the approval of the legal system too. Legally, a North American woman is eligible to seek compensation from her husband if he deserts her but a husband is not entitled to the same right to demand compensation from his wife if she leaves him.

#### Man: Occupant of Important Positions

Men are shown to be important not only in enjoying financial control but also by occupying important positions. They hardly ever encounter any competition from women either in their occupations or their authority. Very often women are portrayed as occupying inferior positions

to men. In the same advertisement where man is depicted as a doctor, woman appears as a nurse. Or if the man is portrayed as the 'boss', the woman is his secretary.

Not surprisingly, our sample does not contain many portrayals of men, perhaps because women are seen as the typical purchasers of most of the products concerned. When men are portrayed, it is mainly in the insurance advertisements, a point also noted before. In the baby food advertisements, a father plays with his child; in the shampoo advertisements, a man demonstrates the use of a shampoo on his hair; in the detergent advertisements, very few husbands appear, as either complaining about their wives' inefficiency in cleaning clothes or as beaming with happiness over her efficiency in washing them white and sparkling clean. However, to compensate for these sparse portrayals of males in the advertisements for physical products, the more abstract insurance advertisements focus all their attention on them.

### Portrayals of Children

In the portrayal of children too, a subtle sexual differentiation can be sensed even though there are not many examples to study, specially ones portraying girls. In the few portrayals available, boys are shown to be more education-oriented. The insurance advertisements warn

fathers to plan for their sons' schooling but not for their daughters' education. In one advertisement, fathers are forewarned:

"The high cost of education should not jeopardise your son's education".

(Illustration 1.1.10)

According to the advertisement, a boy (not a girl) is labelled "the greatest student of them all".

Girls, on the other hand, are always shown to look beautiful and presentable, as for example, in the advertisement for detergent where two daughters appear smartly dressed, their mother is said to be proud of their white and bright dresses (Illustration 5.1.3).

### Personal Care versus Family Care

In the 1975 North American sample, too, the sexual division of responsibilities within the family continues to portray man as more important and to show woman confined to her home. Let us recall the advertisement for a liquid detergent discussed in a previous chapter, where a woman says that she has the same responsibilities most married women have. These responsibilities are, according to this advertisement, to make a home for a husband and children, or in other words, "housework and lot of dishes" (Illustration 5.1.2). However, in this same North American sample, the overwhelming issue is not the woman's concern for her efficient housekeeping or cooking or child care, but rather, the adverse effect all this housework may cause





**The greatest student of them all deserves Mass Mutual protection**

...of knowledge may take a great deal of time. But in the end, the student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful. The student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful. The student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful.

...of knowledge may take a great deal of time. But in the end, the student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful. The student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful. The student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful.

...of knowledge may take a great deal of time. But in the end, the student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful. The student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful. The student who has learned to save for the future will be the one who is truly successful.

MASSACHUSETTS MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

Illustration 1.1.10 Save for the 'greatest student of them all'

her beauty. She is shown to be cleverly taking precautions to avoid these harms by using the advertised product. For instance, in the liquid detergent advertisement just mentioned, the woman possesses soft and younger looking hands inspite of doing all the housework and lots of dishes. Looking a little deeper, the detergent is actually shown to help her cover up her age.

In the advertisement where woman is portrayed as actually cooking, it is not to serve anyone else but herself. She is trapped by her own appetite and is successfully on a fat reducing plan (Illustration 4.1.8). There are sometimes, references to her husband, friends, nieces and nephews but never anything about the pleasure of cooking for them or serving them. Instead, these references are made to emphasize how important it is for her to diet in order to win their approval.

The Tamil sample does not have any advertisement about fat reduction plans or physical fitness programmes for women. Apart from cosmetics, no very personal product is advertised in this sample. Most of the personal care products advertised in this material are vaccines, vitamin tonics, medicines, pain balms etc. which could be utilized for the entire family. In an advertisement for a vitamin tonic, a woman is shown as engaged in cooking. She is coughing while cooking. The implication is that she cannot expect any help from her husband even when she is unwell.

This is because the culture discourages men from doing household chores: they are the sole responsibility of women. Therefore, women have to take care of their health by using the vitamin tonic advertised (Illustration 4.2.10).

In another Tamil advertisement, the woman is portrayed as using a hot pack so that she can serve food hot to her family members (Illustration 4.2.11). Looking at the smile on her face, one can imagine the pleasure she derives from cooking for her family. It could also be said that she is happy to be relieved of the additional task of warming up food. She does not have to keep a hungry husband and children waiting now that she has a hot pack: she can serve them warm food without any delay.

### Emotions versus Sense Experiences

Although in the Tamil sample, there is no portrayal of couples sharing housework, there are portrayals of them happily sharing emotions. See the baby food advertisement (Illustration 2.2.1). Here, the husband is holding the bowl which in no way reduces his wife's work but, definitely, makes the already pleasant job of feeding her baby all the more enjoyable for her. This is because of her husband's sharing of these intimate feelings.

While the Tamil couple share their feelings, the North American couple share their sensual experiences. In one North American advertisement, husband and wife together

ANU 25-2-79 - 18

கீங்கள் பலஹீனமாக  
இருக்கும்போது இருமலும்  
ஜலதோஷமும் விடாப்  
பிடியாகப் பிடித்துக்  
கொள்கின்றன.



தவறுது உட்கொண்டால்,  
வாடர்பரீஸ் காம்பவுண்ட்  
ரெட் லேபிள் நோய் எதிர்ப்புச்  
சக்தியை வளர்த்து. அத்துடன்  
நிவாரணமும் அளிக்கிறது.

- கர்ப்பவாயோடும் மற்றும் உய்கால் உண்டாகி  
விடுபதால் சேத்த விவரணம்  
அளிக்கிறது.
- தவிர் கண்ட காலத்திற்கு நோய்  
எதிர்ப்புச் சக்தி அளக்கும் சிறந்த  
டாக்டர் பதார்த்தங்கள் பல அடங்கியது.
- விடாப்பிடியான இருமலையும்  
நிலம்பத்திரும்பத் தாக்கும்.  
ஜலதோஷத்தையும் தடுக்கிறது.
- ஆரோக்கியத்தையும், பலத்தையும்  
பெருக்கி உருவாக்குகிறது.

வாடர்பரீஸ்  
காம்பவுண்ட்  
ரெட் லேபிள்




இருமலுக்கும்  
ஜல-  
தோஷத்திற்கும்  
பல-  
பலமான  
பெருக்கி

மார்ச்  
வித்தியாசம்  
தரண தாக்கம்.

Illustration 4.2.10 'Woman, take care yourself'  
- A vitamin tonic advertisement

**சமைத்து 4 மணி நேரங்கழித்துக்கூட  
மணம் கமழும் சூட்டான உணவை  
பரிமாற இக் கூடு ஹாட் பேக்  
இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு உதவிற்று**

65-66-11-54 6477



**ஹாட் பேக் உடனடி உணவு**  
உணவுகளை சமைத்து 4 மணி நேரங்கழித்துக்கூட மணம் கமழும் சூட்டான உணவை பரிமாற இக் கூடு ஹாட் பேக் இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு உதவிற்று

**ஹாட் பேக் உடனடி உணவு**  
உணவுகளை சமைத்து 4 மணி நேரங்கழித்துக்கூட மணம் கமழும் சூட்டான உணவை பரிமாற இக் கூடு ஹாட் பேக் இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு உதவிற்று

ஹாட் பேக் உடனடி உணவு  
உணவுகளை சமைத்து 4 மணி நேரங்கழித்துக்கூட மணம் கமழும் சூட்டான உணவை பரிமாற இக் கூடு ஹாட் பேக் இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு உதவிற்று

**IGLOO hot pack**

ஹாட் பேக் உடனடி உணவு  
உணவுகளை சமைத்து 4 மணி நேரங்கழித்துக்கூட மணம் கமழும் சூட்டான உணவை பரிமாற இக் கூடு ஹாட் பேக் இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு உதவிற்று

**ஹாட் பேக் உடனடி உணவு**  
உணவுகளை சமைத்து 4 மணி நேரங்கழித்துக்கூட மணம் கமழும் சூட்டான உணவை பரிமாற இக் கூடு ஹாட் பேக் இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு உதவிற்று

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Illustration 4.2.11 Hot pack advertisement

discover the sense experiences of a facial moisturizer (Illustration 4.1.4). Perhaps, some inference can be made here of the North American woman's better financial position. In many cases, a Tamil woman can give her husband only selfless love and affectionate care, while most North American women are in a position to give gifts to the men they love. In an advertisement suggesting that a woman buy a not so inexpensive gift of a travel kit of colognes for the man she loves, the capability of most North American women to buy something for their men, is being acknowledged (Illustration 4.1.13). In this advertisement, the woman who gives the man a gift of cologne, is providing him not merely a cologne but a "moving experience". Here the subtle difference between emotion and experience can be seen.

### Woman's Employment

There are a few advertisements in the North American sample which explicitly state a woman's gainful employment. But as pointed out elsewhere, all depict them as nurses or teachers. These roles carry forward the image of the female as helpmate, not dominator. However, there is not even a single advertisement where Tamil woman is portrayed as a working woman who earns. There is not one advertise-

048, PCL, 12, 10, 78  
75-146

# Ho, ho, Hai!



Duck his heels with Hai Karate. Irresistible  
After Shave and Cologne, or luscious Lame After Shave.



Give him a Hai Karate Travel Kit this Christmas.  
It's a moving experience.



Hai Karate Super Mistletoe or Stocking Stuffer.  
For the man you love to chuck.

Illustration 4.1.13 'Give him a moving experience'  
- A cologne advertisement

ment that shows a female as supplementing her husband's income, or as even earning some money by doing some job which does not take her outside of home, like sewing or knitting.

### The 1975 Samples

Although in the preliminary analysis, woman's portrayal in domestic roles is seen to receive equal emphasis with her concern with appearing beautiful. But in the 1975 North American sample of advertisements, her domestic roles do not receive much explication at all. Instead, a woman is in love with her "self". She is pampering her body and is anxious about her "looks". Men are portrayed more in their role as economic providers, not as engaged in personal care or as exploring his capabilities. In an advertisement for a diet plan, for example, the woman admits that her husband is also overweight. But, "it didn't seem to bother him", while she faithfully follows the diet plan. Her friend who suggests that they follow this plan is also a female. No advertisement openly portrays men as worrying about their looks but one advertisement for a cologne does suggest that "greatness" is a concern for them. Whether it is "looks" or "greatness" the concern of the North American individuals, men and women alike is with one's "self" and the improvement of self-image.



In the Tamil sample, however, there are a couple of advertisements where a man appears to be concerned about enhancing his strength and height. In these advertisements, strength is equated with health. A person of ill-health is a nation's curse and therefore, men have to be healthy. What about the health of women? The advertisements do not talk about this. Apparently, nation building, as the culture believes, is in the hands of men and not women (Illustration 4.2.12).

In both samples, women are worried about their looks. However, in the Tamil samples, this does not appear so glaring as there are many advertisements where mothers try to make their daughters look beautiful; then do not appear to be concerned about their own beauty. In the North American sample, Personal Care products are all strictly personal.

In the North American sample, the woman's figure should look its absolute feminine best as an advertisement for bust developer proclaims (Illustration 4.1.14), her eyes should be big and glamorous, by the use of a particular eye shadow, her skin should be soft and smooth and younger-looking. By the use of a particular beauty cream/lotion or soap or cosmetic, her hair should be full of body and bounce. By the use of a particular shampoo, she should appear confident. Women seem to know that a particular product gives them great looks and protection. In these North American advertisements for Personal Care products

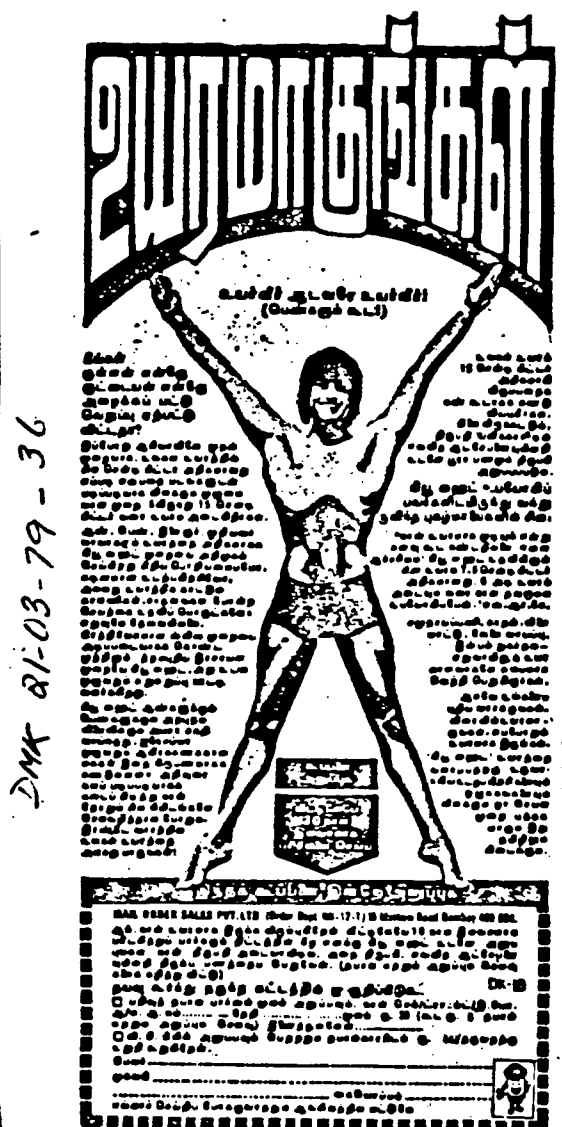
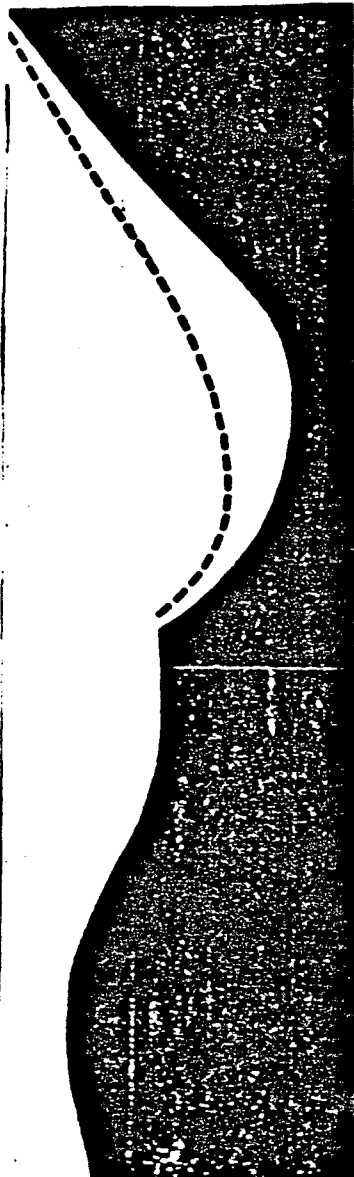


Illustration 4.2.12 'Man as nation builder'



# The Truth About Bust Developers.

2/ 187, 113, 6, 4, 73 8  
75-227

## Is there a method that works?

Over one-and-a-half-million Mark Eden bust developers have been sold to women who want larger, fuller, shapelier bustlines. And women throughout America have reported remarkable results in bustline development. For some, Mark Eden has transformed flat bustlines and created full, shapely firmness. For others, it has reshaped the drooping look to a tauter, smarter, younger silhouette. Many, many women report bustline gains of 2, 3, 4, 5 inches or more in just a few short weeks.

## Who needs it?

Every woman who wants to enjoy the supreme confidence of knowing, wherever she goes, whatever she does, whatever she is wearing, her figure always looks its absolute feminine best. And if this feminine look requires a fuller, firmer, shapelier bustline, then she needs Mark Eden. So many women have so completely transformed their figures with the Mark Eden Developer that today no woman should settle for anything less than her own feminine bustline development.

## The Mark Eden Developer.

After years of helping thousands of women to attain fuller, firmer, shapelier bustlines, we believe that women should feel as comfortable about attaining their full bustline development as they do about finding the right lip color or make-up shade and it should be just as simple and as safe. The Mark Eden Developer is not an artificial contrivance nor a cream. It is an exclusive treatment that employs special techniques safely and effectively.

## Amazing results.

The breast is composed of fatty tissue, glands and ligaments which are attached to various parts of the breasts and to the muscles underlying the breasts. It is possible with the proper exercise to improve the tone of and promote substantial growth in this underlying muscular tissue, thereby modifying—often to a surprising degree—the size and shape of the bustline.

With this explanation, it is possible to see how the Mark Eden Developer, with its exclusive and absolutely unique method of affecting this underlying tissue, has added so many inches to so many women's bustlines in such an amazingly short period of time.

• Non-Surgical • P.O. Box 7045  
San Francisco, CA 94115

## How can you be sure you are

buying the finest  
Bustline Developer available?

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development within 100 days, I can  
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Bustline Developer I enclose \$9.95  
Plus \$2 for postage and handling.  
☐ Cash ☐ Check ☐ Money Order  
No C.O.D.'s accepted.  
Shipped in plain wrapper.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Illustration 4.1.14 Advertisement of a bust developer

the highlight is an individual's concern for personal appearance. These portrayals often show women as being on their guard. Many products are purchased, it is implied, to avoid harm. Especially when the portrayal is of women who are middle aged or nearing middle age, this seems to be the theme. Consider the cosmetic advertisement where the mirror is the woman's enemy. It reads thus:

"...you go along for years not being the least bit concerned about how you would look. You feel young and alive. Life is going well. Then one morning, you confront a certain truth in your mirror. You've grown older looking without realising it and you almost hate your mirror for being so honest."

(Illustration 4.1.10)

This portrayal of the insecurity of the North American women when they are aging is perhaps, a result of the increasing number of broken homes in the wider society. When families are thus faced with such a trend towards their breaking up, leading to their feared near-extinction, women who are culturally expected to need the protection of family life, are to feel unstable. It is implied that, they overcome this anxiety by trying to enhance their self-image. Most cosmetic advertisements in the North American sample portray a middle aged woman who is no more young and who "needs" to be "younger looking". One advertisement for a skin lotion, for example, conveys the message that you should start saving your skin because it

is your skin. By applying the lotion to "chapped, dry, cracked skin", you could make it "softer, smoother, younger looking" (Illustration 4.1.2). Another mentions the idea of an environmental hazard which can damage delicate skin and hair. The product in this, is "the broadest protection available against the environment." With continued use, this product "actually keeps your skin younger" (Illustration 4.1.3).

An older woman, for example, is depicted in an advertisement for a false teeth cleanser. This asks: "Did you loose your smile after you got your dentures?" This question is also suggestive of all the harms of loosing a smile. It is almost as though one may lose all one's friends because of having lost a smile. The message is that a smile is symbolic of friendliness. And therefore, one is taking the chance of becoming an unfriendly person in the eyes of others. Again, a value concept is being advanced through the advertisement (Illustration 4.1.12).

### The Tamil Cosmetics

In the Tamil material, in contrast, the cosmetic advertisements are aimed at younger girls. One advertisement proclaims: "We have discovered the secret of nature."

The secret in the cream would make the user's skin "fair and lovely" (Illustration 4.2.13). Another one too is revealing a secret: "The secret of Gokul is that it makes

DMK 13-09-79-42

இப்பக்கின் ரகசியம் கண்டு கொள்ளுங்கள்



கண்களிலும் சிகர்ப்பதற்கும்

உமதாக்கும்

வியாக்கிரக உரிய கிதம் கனிந்த முறையாக

ஃபேர் அண்ட் லவ்லி க்ரீமிலுள்ள சிறப்புச் சத்து, உங்கள்  
சருமத்திலும் இதயத்தில் செயல்படுகிறது—இப்பக்கமாக,  
இதழ் படிக்கப்படுகிறது.  
ஃபேர் அண்ட் லவ்லி, சருமத்தில் வெளிப்படுத்தியிருக்கும்  
கவல் புரிகிறது. அதில் உங்கள் தலைய ஓயித்தடைப்போகும்  
கவலை ஒன்று, மேனி கருத்துவிடாமல் தடுக்கிறது.  
மேனி கருக்காமலேயே நீங்கள் பகலொளியின்  
தலையின் உடலாடிப் பருகலாம்.  
ஆறுவாரங்கள் நாள் தவறாமல் உபயோகித்துப்  
பாருங்கள், ஃபேர் அண்ட் லவ்லி கருமேனியை சிகர்ப்பதற்கும்.



சிகர்ப்பு முறையாக சுகருமேனியை வழி- ஃபேர் அண்ட் லவ்லி

இந்தக் கட்டுரை தயாரிப்பு

© 1979-79-79-79-79

Illustration 4.2.13 'For fair and lovely skin'

you look young" (Illustration 4.2.14). Looking young, thus, is a major concern of the North American woman and the Tamil woman alike in these advertisements. But, the concept applies to a somewhat different age group. This difference of the Tamil sample is in accordance with the strong cultural conviction that it is unbecoming of women past a particular age group to show interest in beautifying themselves and worst of all, to desire for youth. Younger girls, at the same time, are expected to try and look their best so as to be more desirable for a suitable match in marriage. Women are allowed to appear beautiful for the pride of their husbands, but not for their own personal satisfaction. Even then, because of the cultural highlights on woman's domestic duties like cooking and the care of family members, this beautification is not very open.

Unlike the North American sample, the Tamil cosmetic products advertised are not seen to be exclusively for women. For instance, shampoo advertisements in the Tamil sample suggest their use for each family member. A shampoo is said to be suitable for her and for the head of the family. These advertisements are aimed at the woman who should purchase the product for her family (Illustration 3.2.1).

In the 1975 North American sample, we do not have enough portrayals of children to make any observation



இந்தியாவிலேயே  
முதல் முறையாக...

Dmk 21-01-79 -04



**கோகுல்**  
ஸான்டால் மற்றும்  
ஸான்டல்வுட்  
பவுடர்கள்

**ISI முத்திரை பெறுகின்றன.**

வாஷிங் திரவியத் தொழிலில் மற்றொரு சாதனை!

இசைமப் பொலிவுடன் இனிமையான தவழும் இரகசியம் - கோகுல்.

கோகுல் ஸான்டால் மற்றும் ஸான்டல்வுட் பவுடர்கள் இசைமப் பொலிவுடன் தவழும் இரகசியம் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளும் மருந்துகள். இவைகள் தவழும் இரகசியம் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளும் மருந்துகள். இவைகள் தவழும் இரகசியம் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளும் மருந்துகள்.

**டி.என்.ஆர். & கம்ப்ளிபளி  
மதுராஸ்.**

ADN 1979 1224 1224

Illustration 4.2.14 Secret that makes you look young



regarding their sexual roles. But in the Tamil sample, there are a few advertisements which point towards the sexual differentiation already discussed for adults. In the Tamil insurance advertisements, a father is shown as saving money for his son's education or portrayed as taking pride in himself about saving up for his son's future. There is no mention at all of educating a daughter. Sons are expected not only to be educated but also to grow up strong and healthy. Girls, on the other hand, are shown to be beautiful. Mothers apply lotion on their daughters' hair or are seen to use shampoo on their hair but not on their sons. It is daughters who are dictated by the culture to look beautiful. Sons, on the other hand, should be intelligent and strong and not necessarily, very attractive.

Thus, the role portrayals in the North American and -Tamil samples are not contradictory although there may be differing emphasis regarding the roles. The North American sample has a greater orientation towards the individual but makes concessions to a woman's traditional domestic roles. The Tamil sample, on the contrary, has a greater orientation towards the family, highlighting her family love and her involvement in domestic duties and at the same time, underplaying her pursuit of beauty.

## CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study treated advertisements as manifestations of socio-cultural values. It follows therefore, that advertisements of similar products, but aimed at different cultural settings, vary according to the variations in the values of these cultures. Granted this, here it was proposed that advertisements are rich sources of cultural information. To explicate this further, the value portrayals, especially the family value portrayals, in the magazine advertisements of two different cultural settings, North America and India (Tamil Nadu) were examined.

Based on literary information about the family in North America and India three expectations arose regarding the two cultures. These expectations formed the loci of this research. They were:

1. Tamil advertisements will be more family oriented than individual oriented where as North American ones will be more individual oriented than family oriented;
2. Extended family depictions will be minimal in both samples and more so in the North American advertisements; and

3. The role portrayals, especially the male-female authority patterns within the family will be very similar in both samples: man will be the economic provider and woman, the homemaker who will be engaged in household chores and child care.

From the main data base of the History of Advertising Archives, two sub-samples were chosen 1) for a preliminary inquiry, and 2) for in depth analysis. The former included certain selected products from all the eight decades 1905 to 1975. These were baby food, detergent, insurance and shampoo. The latter which included all the advertisements from the two product classes "Personal Care" and "Services" was drawn from the 1970's decade only.

On the basis of operational definitions, 'family advertisements', 'individual advertisements' and 'other' advertisements were distinguished first. This classification provided definite support for the major prediction (1). Tamil sample had more family advertisements whereas the North American sample had more individual ones. However, in the preliminary sample, where advertisements from more than one decade were analysed, three particular decades were shown to have the most family advertisements. Therefore a statistical test was in order. A Chi-square calculation was undertaken which indicated that, inspite of these three exceptional decades, the North American sample did show a definite tilt towards individual advertisements

whereas the Tamil sample on the other hand, was in definite favour of family advertisements.

In the study of value profiles, a statistical inquiry alone is not meaningful. So a qualitative analysis of each individual advertisement was also made. In doing this, both visuals and the text of an advertisement were carefully analysed. Such an analysis provided support for all the three expectations that initially guided this inquiry.

#### Expectation (1)

##### (a) Baby Food

Even babies are portrayed in the North American sample as having great individuality. In the baby food advertisements of this sample, as the purchaser of the product, the mother of the baby is not altogether ignored. Yet her presence is not very glaring either. She never feeds her baby: baby always feeds alone, in conformity with the cultural values of individuality and independence. Babies are also described as being most particular, having a keen sense of taste, refusing brands they do not favour and also as not forgetting the goodness and flavour of their favourite brand of product. Sometimes the product is even tangential in the advertisement, more importance being assigned to various concessions or benefits of buying the product. The baby food advertisements in this sample are very open about the commercial aspect of the product.

Most of them declare: "Babies are our sole business".

The Tamil sample of baby food advertisements, in contrast, considerably underplays the fact that baby food is a commercial product. Here, baby food becomes a symbol of mother's love for her infant and an answer to her prayers. It is for the full and fast growth of babies. In this sample, baby food advertisements assure mothers that the use of the product for the baby in fact, would be an expression of their love for their infants rather than being a lack of it. Portrayal of mothers actually feeding baby food to their infants also appear in this sample.

Whereas North American advertisements urge mothers to recognise their babies' individuality and their culturally defined need for independence, Tamil ones reflect and reinforce parents' love for their offspring. Baby food as a commercial product receives easy welcome in the North American culture perhaps because this enables mothers to have more freedom. Hence this product is seen to be equally good for both mothers' and babies' individuality. In Tamil culture, however, this is not the case. Here, use of baby food needs more coaxing than mere product information or the comparative commercial benefits of the brand of baby food being advertised. This is not surprising considering that Tamil culture expects mothers to nurse their babies until they are ready to be introduced to home-made solid foods. In such a cultural setting, it is but natural that

the product is introduced wrapped in the dominant cultural symbol of family love and portrayals of strong mother-child bonds.

(b) Shampoo

North American shampoo advertisements also reveal an individual's concern with the "self". The cultural valuations of social recognition, affiliation and popularity also are advanced in these shampoo advertisements. There, shampoo is a very personal product which silken hair, softens it, makes it obedient and gives it a well-groomed appearance. It even turns its user glamorous. The value concepts of individuality, concern with the self, one's own beauty, glamour and the like, become very evident in these North American advertisements.

In the Tamil sample, on the other hand, shampoo becomes a family product. It is advertised as being gentle on children's hair, good for the woman and also for the head of the family. The label family shampoo also appears on the bottle in an advertisement. A mother is shown in the act of shampooing her daughter's hair while the father watches them, thereby making shampooing a family affair, rather than a personal one. These advertisements definitely portray a cultural concern with family love whereas in the North American shampoo advertisements, family love does not appear even as a subtle theme. In the former culture

where traditional herbal methods of cleansing hair are popular, for instance, using crushed hibiscus leaves, the dominant cultural value - family love - is seen to be most important in the shampoo advertisements.

(c) Insurance

It is in the insurance advertisements that the North American sample enjoys the most family oriented material. But even then, many individual themes appear. In conformity with North American cultural norms, a man's dominance and his desire for acquisition receive more importance here than does his family love or care for his family members. Even in an advertisement of a special boy's life insurance, concern about "self" is the predominant theme. The boy is shown as asking: "Isn't it (the policy) for a guy's own self?" These advertisements reveal a belief in the North American male's concern with rationality or practicality by showing a man how to protect his wife and children, or to cope with new responsibilities. The visuals in these symbolise man's domination, financial security, dependability of the insurance company and so on.

The visuals in the Tamil insurance advertisements mostly provide company symbols alone. One such symbol is a burning lamp. A burning lamp is very auspicious according to traditional Hindu beliefs. It carries with it the religious connotations of belief in God, worship etc. as

well as the festive connotations of joy, prosperity, life etc. The textual messages, however, are in conformity with the cultural expectations of man's role. They portray man as acquisitive, husbands as desiring dominance and fathers as being loving or dutiful towards their offspring. One insurance advertisement here equates man's buying a policy with his fulfilling of his child's dreams, another portrays him as caring for his son's future, yet another one shows a father saving up for his son's college education even before he is old enough to start schooling. Even in the few bank advertisements that appear in this sample, parents' love for offspring and their feelings of responsibility towards the latter are the main value concepts used.

(d) Personal Care Items

Advertisements of Personal Care items in the North American sample clearly emphasize "self". Here, the concern is the "look" of the individual, mostly of the woman using the advertised product. Most of these advertisements show women as pampering themselves. In the cosmetic advertisements, the woman is shown as pampering her body parts, as having an air of confidence, or as with her beloved, enjoying the sensual experience derived from using a product. All these equally reflect the woman's involvement with her "self". All of them depict the cultural value placed on social recognition, affiliation, and harm avoidance.



Tamil Personal Care advertisements however, do not portray these products as strictly personal. They are to be used in the care of family members. In the example of a hair lotion, the visual shows a mother who applies the lotion on her daughter's hair, rather than on her own. This is the pattern that was found in the shampoo advertisements of the same sample.

Toothpaste advertisements also portray the Tamil mother's unselfish caring for her child. In one example, a mother is portrayed as making her son use a toothpaste so that he does not get cavities. She does not use it herself to improve the beautiful look of her own teeth, or for any other personal benefit such as social recognition or affiliation. Toothpaste becomes a "cavity-fighting family guard" in this sample.

North American denture cleanser advertisements, like most other personal care advertisements in this sample, portray an individual's culturally sanctioned desire for social recognition and affiliation. The closeness of individuals is portrayed as being achieved by the use of the advertised product. The valuation of friendship and popularity are also depicted in some of them.

In the Tamil pain balm advertisements, too, a mother is shown as involved in the intimate care of her child. Most of the medicine advertisements here are also rich in

family imagery. In these, product information is of secondary importance. The stress is laid on caring and loving within the family. Perhaps this trend is because of the cultural preference for using traditional, home remedies to treat all relatively minor ailments and physical discomforts like a cough, cold or headache, for which most of these advertised items are meant. Family imagery is popular in the vaccine and vitamin tonic advertisements of this sample too. One vaccine is described as a "pharmaceutical safeguard with love". One could safely infer that in this culture, the use of western medicines needs encouragement. Mere product information is not enough. Family love, being a dominant cultural value, is used in medicine advertisements to effect this persuasion.

Unlike the Tamil advertisements, North American pain balm or medicine descriptions do not depict any intimate caring between family members. Most North American medicine advertisements provide product information alone. In the majority of them even the visual depiction of people is absent. Considering the popularity of western medicine in the American culture, it is not surprising that no value concepts are used to popularise them.

Most family advertisements in the North American Personal Care category do not contain intimate family themes. They are qualified as family advertisements only

because of some reference to a family role. However, these are mere passing references only. The main concern in these is also the individual self.

### Expectation (2)

In conformity with expectation (2), extended family portrayals in both samples are very limited. In the Tamil sample, a life insurance company advertisement contains a visual of an extended family relationship. This visual portrays a widowed woman and her child apparently dependent on her late husband's mother. This is in accordance with the Tamil custom that a woman's place after marriage is in her husband's home. There, his mother has dominance over her even when he is alive. But this domination is even greater if he has passed away.

In the North American sample where extended family relationships enter into the advertisements, they are nothing more than mere references to the extended relationship itself. No visual depiction of extended family membership is available in these advertisements. The textual references make no mention of family love or integrity or even of care between extended family members. The Tamil advertisement concerns extended family care during exigencies.

Expectation (3)

Expectation (3), regarding role portrayals in the two samples, also received support in the qualitative analyses made of both samples. Man's role as the economic provider and woman's economic dependence get exemplified in the insurance advertisements in both cases. Woman's dependence is not so explicit in the North American advertisements; neither does the Tamil depict this in any subtle manner. The Life Insurance Corporation advertisement discussed earlier is an example of the Tamil case. In the North American material women are shown as similarly dependent. In one advertisement, a husband worries: "What will my wife do if something happened to me?" These women are not totally dependent, but they are not totally independent either.

Women in North American advertisements are allowed a little more independence than are Tamil women; the former are sometimes shown as nurses, teachers or secretaries - whereas the latter do not enjoy even a single such portrayal of woman's roles outside the home. In the former case women are allowed some amount of discussion regarding their

responsible for the maintenance of their husbands. This reflects the culture where legally, a man is held responsible for maintaining his wife and children but not a woman for maintaining her husband.

Woman's place in both samples is at home. She has to care for her husband and children, make a home and do housework. She takes pleasure in these activities. As in the North American detergent advertisements, she is happy and proud to have her family wash clean; if she fails to do so she has to face her husband's anger; she does every little thing for his approval. She is solely responsible for child care too. In the baby food advertisements in the North American material mothers are not prominent, through various suggestions advertisers make their presence felt. In the Tamil sample, however, the mother always decides what is best for baby; she uses pain balm on her child, makes her son brush her teeth, shampoos her daughter's hair, applies lotion on it, etc. Fathers are mere on-lookers in these advertisements.

Not only child care, but also domestic service are a woman's duties. In our samples one can find a few visuals of women cooking, but there is no portrayal of a woman actually serving other family members. In the North American case, a woman is shown as cooking, but the main theme is her concern over her weight gain; she is trapped by her own appetite. In the Tamil sample the woman cooks

even when she is coughing. The man does not share these household responsibilities in either sample.

In the Tamil case we find portrayals of a happy sharing of emotions between man and woman. The baby food advertisement, where man holds the bowl and woman feeds the baby, is a good example of this. He is not reducing her workload by holding the bowl, but he is definitely making it a pleasant task. In the North American sample, on the other hand, they share this sensual experience, as the advertisement of a facial moisturizer reveals.

The Tamil sample has more portrayals of women engaged in domestic duties than in personal care. In contrast, in the North American case, a woman's personal care is more important than her domestic duties. In these examples, she is shown to be in love with her self, she pampers her body, and she is anxious about her looks and youth. In the Tamil examples too, a woman often engages in personal care. But these examples do not seem so glaring, because these women also are shown to be dedicated mothers engaged in the beautification of their daughters. A daughter's marriage is a major concern for a Tamil family and the beauty of a bride is a cherished attribute. A happily married woman worries no more about her own beauty, but only about that of her daughter, if she has one.

Youth is a major concern in both samples, but particularly so in the North American one. North American

cosmetic advertisements portray older women who are worried about their aging. The product is described as one that has the capacity to create younger looks. Tamil cosmetic advertisements, by contrast, portray girls of marriageable age who beautify themselves.

Men are so rarely depicted in the advertisements of personal care products that one would think they are not concerned about their looks at all. In the North American material a woman who diets says that her husband is also overweight but that he is not worried about it. In the Tamil case, by contrast, we have a couple of advertisements of medicines aimed at increasing the height and weight of men. Here an increase in height and weight are equated with an increase in health. In these advertisements, health is linked to men, furthermore, only the men are nation builders.

There are not many portrayals of children in our samples, but in the few cases we do have, male/female role differences are carried over to the portrayal of sons and daughters. Insurance advertisements ask fathers in the Tamil sample to save for their daughters' marriage and, in both samples, for their son's education. Tamil calcium tablet advertisements claim that this medicine will make boys grow "strong and healthy" and a Tamil cosmetic advertisement promises to make girls "fair and lovely". The best student in a North American insurance advertisement is a boy, and detergent advertisements in the same sample

enhance the appearance of girls by whitening and brightening their dresses.

Thus, all the three cultural expectations that guided this study have been fulfilled.

1. The North American sample contains more individual advertisements than family advertisements and the Tamil sample more family advertisements than individual ones;
2. extended family portrayals are minimal in both samples, and
3. role portrayals within the family frame are basically the same in both samples: man is the economic provider and woman is the homemaker.

It needs to be emphasized that these cultural behaviours seen reflected in these two cultural sets of advertisements do not lead to a belief that they are the actual behaviours current in these respective cultures. The only claim that is being made here is that these are expected behaviours in the cultures studied. For instance, it would be contrary to fact if one assumed that most American women are mere housewives and that all who in fact work, have men as their superiors. In reality, women do occupy many important positions and it is not uncommon to see women who are professionally superior to men. Similarly, one cannot say that all Tamil women are completely



dependent on their husbands. Many of them are professionals, too, and many do in fact combine family roles with being a professional. Likewise, in both cultures, and especially in the North America, more and more men share in household duties and child care. This is certainly the case in most families where housewives are working women. In the treatment of children, too, cultural preferences are not always fulfilled entirely. In both cultures, the education of daughters is also given importance. Thus advertisements reveal expected cultural behaviours and ideal values, not actual behavioural norms.

There is yet another important factor that needs to be remembered in a study like this: the limitations of the sample. The observations made here have been advertisements contained in certain types of magazines only. In this study, for instance, some of the North American magazines represented are Ladies Home Journal, McCalls, Better Homes and Gardens, Woman's Day and the like. These could be termed family type reading or women's magazines. The Tamil magazines represented here are similar, and could be termed as general or family type journals. These magazines, however, are not limited to a particular class of readers. Also, the observations regarding male-female roles, family-individual themes, etc. are especially significant since they appear in family type magazines.

In conclusion, it deserves to be emphasized that although the term "culture" is used by anthropologists to describe traditions in a live social milieu, the concept is equally applicable to other domains such as advertising, art, children's story books etc. The intention of this study has been to demonstrate that such an application is appropriate and that it can yield interesting, insightful results. It is hoped that this study illustrates this original intent and that the results will lead to further research in this direction. One possibility would be to examine the changes in the value portrayals over the decades in both North American and Tamil advertisements against a backdrop of changes that have occurred in the wider social structure.

## APPENDIX 1.1

SAMPLING PLAN OF THE MAIN DATA BASE  
(From Pollay R.W.: Content Analysis of Print Advertising)SAMPLING PLAN

- Instructions: Randomly draw five (5) advertisements, from a randomly selected issue, for each of the 10 periodicals with the largest circulation, for each of the year 19x3, 19x4, . . . ., 19x7, for each of the eight decades of the twentieth century.
- Sample Size: 2,000 advertisements; 5/issue x 5 years/decade x 8 decades x 10 periodicals
- Subsamples: 250 per decade
- 400 Sunday Supplements (over all 8 decades)
- 1600 Magazines
- Notes: Draw five ads by use of random number tables, drawing until "hitting" a page with advertisements. If multiple ads appear, assign each a sequential number and draw again to select ad for sample. These sample advertisements with probabilities of inclusion roughly proportional to ad size.
- One issue per year drawn for each periodical to insure equal sample sizes for each of the five years per decade. Use of a single issue greatly facilitates accession and retrieval.
- The 10 largest circulation periodicals for each decade were determined by consulting Ayer's Directory of Publications for the year 19x5. Only the top ten also listed in the Union List of Serials, and/or in the holdings of the New York Public Library and/or Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. were included. This constraint lead to six media deletions and corresponding substitutions over five different decades. (See Table of Media Represented).

## MEDIA REPRESENTED

Title	1900's	1910's	1920's	1930's	1940's	1950's	1960's	1970's
American Magazine			4					
*American Weekly			1	1	1	3		
American Woman	NA(6)							
Better Homes and Gardens					10	10		8
Colliers	10			6	6			
Comfort	2	5						
Cosmopolitan		7	10					
*Delineator	4	10		8				
Family Circle							6	6
*Family Weekly								4
Farm Journal					8			
Gentlewoman		NA(3)	NA(9)					
Good Housekeeping				10	9			
Home Life		9						
Household			8					
Ladies' Home Journal	3	3	2	4	2	6	9	10
Ladies World		6						
Liberty				7				
Life						5	7	
Look							5	
McCalls		4	7	5	4	8	4	9
Munsey's	7							
National Geographic								5
*Parade						4	10?	2
Peoples Home Journal	9							
*Pictorial Review		8	5	9	NA(2)	NA(6)		
Reader's Digest <sup>A</sup>						2	1	3
Saturday Evening Post	6	2	3	2	5	7	8	
*This Week						1	2	
True Story			9					
TV Guide							3	1
Woman's Day					7			7
Woman's Farm Journal	NA(9)							
Woman's Home Companion			6	3	3	9		
Woman's Magazine	1							
Woman's World	5	1						
Youth Companion	8							

Notes: \* = Sunday Supplement; A = Reader's Digest excluded by Ayer and this study prior to 1955 as not a carrier of advertising; NZ(x) indicates periodicals not available in DLC or NYPL or Union List of Serials, where x indicates rank that would have been appropriate to Ayer's if available.

## APPENDIX 1.2

BASIS OF PRODUCT CLASSIFICATION  
(From Pollay's Coding, The History of Advertising  
Archives, U.B.C.)

PRODUCT (PRD2)

- 1 - Domestic Durables: products for household maintenance and/or operation whose consumption period is typically greater than a year.

Examples: automobiles, bicycles, appliances, furniture, paint and wallpaper, rugs, cameras, dishes, silverware, linens, towels, car parts, tools, typewriters.

- 2 - Domestic Consumables: products for household maintenance and/or operation whose consumption period is typically expired within a year.

Examples: laundry products, household cleaning and maintenance (window cleaners, waxes, and polishes), room deodorizers, kitchen convenience goods (was paper, plastic wrap), paper products (excluding Kleenex and toilet paper), light bulbs, batteries.

- 3 - Personal Consumables A: products for ingestion by household members, including pets, except for items in (5).

Examples: packaged food products, beverages (non-alcoholic), gum, candy, coffee, cooking oils (or substitutes), condiments, pet foods.

- 4 - Personal Consumables B: alcohol and tobacco products.

- 5 - Personal Care: products for grooming and/or health maintenance of family members, excludes apparel other than back braces, hearing aids, eyeglasses.

Examples: cosmetics, patent medicines, hair and skin care, deodorants, feminine hygiene products, toothpaste, shampoo, hand and bath soaps, toilet paper, Kleenex, weight gain/loss products ingested or not.

- 6 - Services: services and intangibles.

Examples: hotel rooms, credit and credit cards, insurance, travellers cheques, entertainments.

- 7 - Personal Apparel: items worn, except for therapeutic effect, or their components.

Examples: clothing, jewellery, umbrellas, shoes, accessories, fabrics, yarn.

- 8 - Miscellaneous: consumer goods not otherwise categorized.

Examples: employment, records, books, toys, writing paper, pens, office supplies.

NOTE: Rate the principle product class for a family of products, e.g. Heinz 57 Varieties as 03. Advertisements for catalogues should be rated according to principle merchandise included in the catalogue. If this is a highly varied assortment, code as Miscellaneous.

NOTE: In the case of multi-use products, the use that is advertised will indicate into which category the product should be classified, e.g. Lysol disinfectant: household cleaner - "2"; personal hygiene - "5".

## APPENDIX 2.1

PRODUCT LISTINGS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN AND TAMIL  
SAMPLES OF THE SEVENTIES

I		II	
Personal Care		Services	
North American	Tamil	North American	Tamil
After shave	Baby cream	Accommodation	Airlines
Aspirin	Beauty make-up	Blood donation	Bank
Beauty oil	Beauty spot	Communication	Chit fund
Bust developer	Condon	Credit card	Education
Cologne	Cosmetic	Education	Hotel
Conditioner	Doctorin	Insurance	Insurance
Contraceptive	Eye make-up	Penny Bank	Lottery
Cosmetic	Face cream	T.V. Show	Travellers'
Dentricle	Face powder	Vacation	cheque
Deodorant	Hair remover	Air travel	
Deodorizer	Heightening		
Dish soap	Hot pack		
Drugs	Lotion		
Dye	Medicine		
Face cream	Ointment		
Fat reduction	Powder		
plan	Shampoo		
Foot dedorization	Soap		
Hair remover	Tablet		
Hard soap	Tonic		
Itch powder	Toothpaste		
Laxative	Tooth powder		
Lipstick	Vaccine		
Medicine	Vitamin tonic		
Ointment			
Pain reliever			
Shampoo			
Shaver			
Skin cream			
Tissues			
Vagina cream			

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