Rolling back the years: A comparative analysis of anti-ageing advertisements in women's magazines between the 1970s and 2000s.

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Attestation of authorship

I thereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to be best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no materials previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined as acknowledgements), nor material, which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma or a university or other institution of higher learning.

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List of abbreviations

CDA   Critical discourse analysis

CE   Celebrity endorsement

CS   Case study

NZWW New Zealand Women's Weekly

SFL   Systemic functional linguistics

SNI   Susceptibility to normative influence

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Abstract

Over the last fifty or so years, advertising has become a pervasive part of many people's lives. To persuade their customers to buy a product or service in now overcrowded markets, advertisers discursively construct a problem that their product is purported to solve. One phenomenon that is discursively constructed as a problem in contemporary advertising is ageing, which is stigmatised by the discourse used in advertising texts (Bazin & White, 2006, p. 171; DeRenzo & Malley, 1992). The majority of anti-ageing advertisements target women. In their techniques that persuade women to buy anti-ageing cosmetics, advertisers have become increasingly sophisticated. This study aims to investigate how persuasive strategies have changed over time in anti-ageing advertising for women since the 1970s, which were marked by the rise of the feminist movements. It also examines how representation of women has evolved in these advertisements. In doing this, the study has analysed the techniques used by advertisers. It has also looked into the construction of ageist discourse in anti-ageing advertising texts and examined how femininity and sexuality have been discursively constructed to induce the desire to purchase anti-ageing products. The study examined four advertisements in women's popular magazines, two from the 1970s and two from the 2000s as four in-depth case studies. Due to the increasing importance of images in advertising, a multimodal approach to analysis that involved social semiotics and critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been employed. This has provided the opportunity to study the historical context in which the advertisements were embedded and to explicate the semiotic and linguistic strategies employed by advertisers.

Findings revealed that both eras exploited scientific discourse and reference to France to add credibility and authority to advertising claims. In the 2000s, scientific discourse developed significantly and became more dominant. Thus, beauty received the status of a science. Even though science and technology was prominent in 1970s anti-ageing advertising, in the 2000s, advertising has become progressively technologised and scientised as it utilised computer programmes to design pictures and made the layout of the advertisement appear technological. The new genre that the 2000s advertisement used was religious discourse. It seemed an important constituent of the 2000s advertisements and positioned beauty as a new religion.

The study found that there was a change in the construction of femininity and sexuality over time from explicitly ladylike and hyperfeminised towards more a chiselled sci-fi, perhaps even unisex 'look'. However, the study discovered more similarities in the construction of anti-ageing advertisements in the 1970s and 2000s than differences in respect of the portrayal of women attesting to the conservatism of advertising discourse over time. The advertisements from both eras presented the models as white, presumably heterosexual, sexualised and submissive. The discourse in the 1970s and the 2000s was constructed in a way that disempowered the reader.

This in-depth multimodal study has highlighted the range and sophistication of strategies employed in the advertising of anti-ageing products. It has also contributed to research in the field of advertising discourse and ageist discourse. Important areas for further investigation in the areas of scientised and religious discourse have also been identified.

1 Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Background

The cult of body and youth in the mass culture of the latter half of the twentieth century and the early 2000s has made the youthful and healthy body a criteria by which many people may gauge each other's personality and success (Featherstone, 1991). Having become a marker of prestige, the body today according to advertising and popular magazines needs daily maintenance (Featherstone, 1991). Consequently, the pursuit of physical beauty is now often perceived as natural (J. Coupland, 2002). "For women, beauty has become an absolute, religious imperative" (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 279) thus pressuring them to do their best to hold on to their beauty and youthfulness.

When promoting beauty and youthfulness, mass media often downplay ageing, which has changed the attitudes towards an ageing body in a negative way (Bazin & White, 2006; J. Coupland, 2002; DeRenzo & Malley, 1992; Featherstone, 1991). Consequently, youthfulness has become a fetish, whereas an ageing body is now perceived as unattractive, and something that has to be avoided (Bazin & White, 2006).

Three key aspects underlie the discourse of anti-ageing advertising. First, anti-ageing advertising rests primarily upon ageist discourse and this has received the attention of many researchers, for example DeRenzo & Malley (1992), N. Coupland & J. Coupland (1993), J. Coupland (2002), Bazin & White (2006), Calasanti (2008), Paulson (2008) to name just a few. DeRenzo & Malley (1992) have argued that the amount of ageist vocabulary such as 'age', 'young', 'old', 'wrinkle' and 'line' in *Vogue* from 1969 through 1988 was growing.

Second, anti-ageing advertising is interdiscursive. Coupland (2002) has maintained that ageist discourse relies heavily on other genres, such as science, which may intensify the persuasive impact of the advertising message.

Third, anti-ageing discourse often exploits supposed normative ideals of sexuality and femininity. The use of sexuality in mass media has been discussed in a number of studies, for example, Brooks (2001), Caldas-Coulthard (1996), Elliot, Jones, Benfield

and Barlow (1995), Kehily and Nayak (2008). Magazines often promote images of sexually attractive women who have been successful in attaining a heterosexual relationship, which may increase preoccupation with age and ageing (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Kehily & Nayak, 2008). When constructing the images of sexually attractive models, contemporary mass media often use the ideas of femininity, which may vary in different societies and cultures (Hollows, 2000; Pawelczyk, 2008).

1.2 The aims of the research

The purpose of this research is to examine the discursive techniques employed by advertisers to induce the desire in women to purchase anti-ageing cosmetics. The study also aims to explicate the construction of women between the two periods, the 1970s and 2000s. The 1970s was the time when the activists of the women's liberation movements started openly questioning the place that the Western society allocated for women. In the 2000s, women are allegedly more liberated and ostensibly, there are fewer societal expectations attached to women's gender. Consequently, the overarching research question was formulated: How has anti-ageing advertising changed in its persuasive strategies and the representation of women since the 1970s?

In order to answer the overarching question, three more research questions were raised:

1. How much have the discursive techniques used by advertisers changed since the1970s and what are the new strategies used to increase consumer attraction?

2. How is ageism mobilised to increase the persuasiveness of anti-ageing advertisements?

3. How are the ideas of femininity and sexuality expressed and constructed in anti-ageing advertisements?

In order to closely examine the advertising strategies, the research is organised in four in-depth case studies of four advertisements representing different periods (two in the1970s and two in the 2000s) and different magazines (*Vogue* and *New Zealand Women's Weekly*). This study engages a multimodal approach to analysis that combines critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1993, 2003; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak,

2001a, 2001b) and social semiotics (Kress, Leite-Garcia, & van Leeuwen, 1997; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen, 1995, 2005). The design of the study as multimodal in-depth case studies makes it different from other research on anti-ageing advertising, which have not examined the images that accompany anti-ageing discourse, for example, DeRenzo & Malley (1992), N. Coupland & Coupland (1993), J. Coupland (2002), Bazin & White (2006), Calasanti (2008), Paulson (2008). The in-depth analysis of the image and the text of the advertisement ensures a comprehensive investigation of the research questions.

This study contributes to the understanding of how visual, linguistic and extralinguistic strategies identified by Cook (2001) and Goddard (1998) work in the anti-ageing advertisements. In addition, the design of the study allows identifying new strategies, if any, in contemporary advertising.

This research also adds to the study of ageist discourse, in particular J. Coupland's (2002), who has made a claim about the intertextuality of ageist discourse. In this research, I identify the genres that ageist discourse in anti-ageing advertisements rely on. Furthermore, there remains a need for a multimodal analysis that will help to understand how the two modes, visual and textual, work together to deliver a powerful message.

As the ideas of femininity and sexuality are frequently utilised in contemporary advertising, I investigate the construction of femininity and sexuality between the 1970s and the 2000s on the visual and textual levels, because according to Hollows (2000) and Pawelczyk (2008) these ideas have changed over time.

An important aspect of the analysis is Bell's (1997, 1999) idea of audience design. Audience design gives an understanding of the image of the addressee by looking closely at the model promoting the product and the text.

1.3   The structure of the research

The thesis is organised in nine chapters including the Introduction and the Conclusion. Following the Introduction, chapter two presents the context in which the advertisements occur. It also examines the literature relevant for the research questions

addressed in the thesis. Finally, it identifies the gaps in previous research and justifies the choice of the two eras for analysis.

Chapter three discusses the methodological approach used in the research and justifies the research design. It describes data selection methods and accounts for their choice. The chapter also explains the methods used for analysis.

Chapter four presents the case study of the first advertisement that comes from the 1970s *Vogue*. Chapter five presents a case study of another advertisement from the 1970s, this time from *New Zealand Women's Weekly*. Chapter six analyses a contemporary advertisement from *Vogue*. Finally, chapter seven examines an advertisement from the 2000s *New Zealand Women's Weekly*.

Chapter eight discusses the findings from chapters four – seven and provides deeper insights into the conclusions of the case studies. It also discusses the significance of the findings in comparison with other research. Furthermore, it contains recommendations for further research.

Chapter nine summarises the study of findings, expands on their theoretical significance, and justifies the need for further investigation of the questions raised in the course of the analysis.

2   Chapter two: Literature review

2.1   Introduction

The overarching research question is: How has advertising changed in its persuasive strategies and the representation of women since the 1970s? In order to answer it, the review of literature first presents an overview of the periods being examined, that is the 1970s and 2000s with a focus on the events that are relevant for the research questions. Second, it discusses the specifics of the two magazines from which the advertisements have been extracted.

Section Three examines the aspects of advertising as a contemporary phenomenon, discusses a range of advertisements in relation to their effect on the viewer, and the person promoting the product/service. In addition, it considers the impact of the product type on the advertisement design.

Section Four examines the construct of ageism and, relatedly, ageist discourse. It also discusses the construction of ageist discourse in mass media in general and advertising in particular. This section also examines other discourses that undergird and support ageist discourse. Finally, Section Four discusses the role of mass media in the promotion of beauty and perfectionism. It pays special attention to the construction of femininity and sexuality in women's magazines.

2.2   The background of the context

To begin the investigation of the advertisements, the wider context in which they occur has to be presented. This section gives the overview of the two eras, the 1970s and 2000s. Then, the magazines in which the advertisements were published are described.

2.2.1   The 1970s and the 2000s

The 1970s and 2000s were marked by events that are crucial for the understanding of the anti-ageing advertisements in women's magazines. In the 1970s women's liberation movements emerged and women were encouraged to remove the shackles of their

gender, go to universities and pursue career opportunities, in other words, 'get a life' of their own, outside the habitual domestic environment (DeRenzo & Malley, 1992; Herd, 2005). The number of women getting part time and full-time jobs was steadily increasing (DeRenzo & Malley, 1992). Public sentiments in the USA were changing: in 1970 in San Francisco, 500 women removed their bras as a sign of protest against gender stereotypes (Vogue, 1970b, p. 74, April 1). Ironically, some advertisements directly referenced the protest and used women's insecurity over the shape and tone of their breasts as a marketing tool. Published in the wake of the event, they suggested to women that they were higher authorities that could and would tell women when they could or should go braless. For example, Peter Pan (a lingerie manufacturer) published an advertorial that stated the following:

> …if your body is super firm, if you've got well-toned muscles and the somewhat flat shape that drove designers to their drawing boards…, if what you have are the kind of breasts that are usually found only on a healthy young girl, and if you really think you look terrific… (Vogue, 1970b, p. 74, April 1).

After that, readers were given advice on who could not afford to remove the shackle, which, according to the authors of the article, were the majority of females:

> But if you're like most girls, with a bustline that you think is too big or too little, or if you are OK but your breasts and your muscles aren't tight enough, and if you really don't think you look so hot, then you probably couldn't go braless (Vogue, 1970b, p. 74, April 1).

New Zealand was affected by feminist movements, too. They were keenly embraced by some people but resisted by others. Feminism challenged traditional values and was regarded as subversive and dangerous (Herd, 2005). In a New Zealand context, Herd (2005) gives several reasons for the rise of women's movements in the 1970s. In the beginning of the 1970s in New Zealand and other Western countries, the mainstream expectations for a woman were fulfilling the role of a mother and a wife. The attempts to act as a forward thinker were met with hostility (Herd, 2005). The use of contraceptive pills was regarded a sign of sexual promiscuity and traditional family values with a man being the breadwinner and woman standing by him were promoted (Herd, 2005). However, more women went to universities and were gradually becoming more educated than their mothers were. Consequently, they started thinking

about the place that traditional society had allocated them. Many realised that they could do more than simply stay at home looking after their husbands and children. Those who worked wondered why they received lower salaries doing the same job as men and were not promoted to top positions in the companies that they worked for. Second, the launch of the contraceptive pill into the market reduced family size and therefore the period of child rearing. Third, the economic prosperity of the 1960s created additional workplaces that had to be filled.

Drastic changes in society did not take place until 1975, which was marked by the passing of the Equal Pay and Opportunities Act (Herd, 2005). Therefore, the period that I am looking into is the very birth of the second-wave feminism (following the suffragette movement of the 1890s) that changed the lives of women in the following years. In the 2000s, women are allegedly more liberalised than in the 1970s. The number of women at work increased dramatically with more women occupying executive positions (Herd, 2005). Moreover, there are less societal expectations on when or even whether to have family and children (Herd, 2005).

In the 2000s, advanced technology has made it possible to radically change appearances through plastic surgery on the one hand and computer technologies for digitally altering photographs on the other (Bazin & White, 2006; Calasanti, 2008). The ideas of what people should look like for their age have become blurred, and mass media that publish photos of the perfect bodies of Hollywood celebrities contribute to the shift in the perception of appearance (Featherstone, 1991). However, the images of ideal people constructed in mass media add to the emotional vulnerability of those who see these photos and take their content seriously (Featherstone, 1991).

On the one hand, the construction of the ideal woman has considerably changed compared to the 1970s. On the other hand, 'liberalised' women in the 2000s are still the target audience in mass culture that promotes values, which are far from being progressive (Bazin & White, 2006).

2.2.2 Women's magazines: *Vogue* and *NZWW*

The two magazines from which I selected my advertisements are *Vogue* and *NZWW*. These two magazines are different from each other in terms of target audience and consequently content.

Vogue positions itself as a magazine for sophisticated women with a wide range of interests (DeRenzo & Malley, 1992). Indeed, in the 1970s American issues of *Vogue* published articles about and excerpts from the books of world-acknowledged writers and poets such as Voznesenky, Balanchin, De Kooning, Brodsky and Tennessee Williams. *Vogue* also carried articles about social problems, such as starving children in developing countries. It placed advertisements of cigarettes for women, which claimed that smoking made you free. In the 1970s, *Vogue* recorded the shift from old traditional values with male domination towards the increasing independence of women. The rhythm and style of life was also changing and a woman's role was becoming more and more complicated (Vogue, 1970a, 1 October).

However, despite acknowledging that the world in the 1970s was changing, the magazine's focus remained on fashion, glamour and luxurious lifestyles. Examples included trips to exotic locations such as Hawaii, retro cars, designer clothes and expensive accessories. Thus, articles and advertisements published in the 1970s *Vogue* constructed it as an upmarket and glamorous magazine.

Contemporary *Vogue* (UK) still reflects and possibly even constructs a normative world of luxury, glamour, exclusivity and happiness where there is apparently no place for poverty, sadness, problems and wrinkles. It promotes upper class lifestyle products such as expensive cosmetics, home décor, designer clothes and luxurious property. It also constructs the world as one filled by energetic and ambitious people who have obtained the elixir of imperishable youthfulness gained through the various means that modern cosmetology has to offer.

NZWW in the 1970s was a conservative magazine. A scan through the contents of the time show women in the advertisements as multiskilled DIYers who could do any job about the house from changing furniture covers to laying tiles. By dinnertime, women appeared with their faces and hair perfectly fixed, and clothes dressy enough to go to a function. However, all this makeover took place for serving dinner to the family, pouring tea into cups, or putting Tegel chicken on the table. Most of the articles published in *NZWW* were written for a housewife, for example, *Their [the family's] wellbeing is in your hands* (Maltexo)*, How to keep your man happy* (recipes), *100 Female Volunteers in Wellington Public Hospital, Knit and Crochet more than ever*.

There were also articles on hobbies, such as collecting old irons. Thus, the focus of *NZWW* in the 1970s was housework and targeted women full of common sense, someone who thought that her sole responsibility was to care for the health and wellbeing of her husband and children without spending too much of the breadwinner's money.

Contemporary *NZWW* is full of advertisements, most of which still target middle/lower-middle class pockets as they focus on good bargains and affordability of the goods and services advertised in the magazine. Most articles are written for either wives with children (e.g. choosing the right secondary school) or at least women in relationships (e.g. advice on relationship with a boyfriend). They publish recipes, conduct contests for the best wedding picture, and give advice on housework and gardening. Thus, the world of a woman in *NZWW* in the 2000s is constructed as being relatively similar to that of the 1970s in spite of the time gap.

2.3 Advertising as a social discourse type

In order to answer the overarching research question: How has anti-ageing advertising changed in its persuasive strategies and the representation of women since the 1970s?, I first need to understand the specificity of advertising as a contemporary discourse type and the factors that can affect the perception of the advertisement by its viewers. This will help me to answer the subsequent research question, which is: How much have the discursive techniques used by advertisers changed since the1970s and what are the new strategies used to increase consumer attraction?

Discourse is viewed as a social and cultural practice, spoken and written interaction between people and organisations that purports to achieve certain goals and results (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1997). Discourse is an intentional and controlled social activity, which reveals trends, feelings, and state of affairs as well as "… makes … contribution to reproducing and\or transforming society and culture, including power relations" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 273).

Advertising is a contemporary discourse type that has become pervasive in Western societies. An important feature of advertising is its persuasive qualities, as being a promotional discourse type, advertising aims to convince the reader of the message

expressed in its text (Cook, 2001; Goddard, 1998). The type of advertising that I am going to focus on is commercial advertising, which attempts to persuade the reader to buy the advertised product.

Another characteristic of advertising is its evolution. According to Cook (2001), advertising has altered considerably compared to what it was like in the 1950s and 1960s and has become more implicit and sophisticated than before. Advertisers have become more creative with their production often now perceived as art. In their research, Beverland, Lindgreen and Vink (2008) show that a product can be regarded as authentic or non-authentic depending on the quality of the advertisers' job. Interestingly, Elliott et al. (1995) assert that even overt sexuality in advertisements is not perceived as offensive provided the advertisements are arty and creative.

An important aspect of advertising is branding, which makes contemporary advertising more sophisticated than in the past as it is not aimed at simply promoting commodities anymore (Flowerdew, 2004; van Leeuwen, 2005). Together with selling products and services, advertising today tries to sell ideas (Flowerdew, 2004; van Leeuwen, 2005). Lury (1996) states that our life nowadays gets stylised and aestheticised when unremarkable everyday objects can even construct one's identity (Lury, 1996 as cited in Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). For example, Nike's advertisements are famous for promoting a 'cool' and rebellious image of those who wear their products. One has to ask, however, can sneakers make you 'cool'? Hence, purchasing at present is more about brands, the name on the box.

When marketing a product, advertisers try to fill it with symbolic qualities that it will later be associated with, qualities that can attract customers' desire for identity construction (Hansen & Machin, 2008). Thus, when choosing between several products some people tend to go for a particular brand because in their view it has positive connotations, be it reliability, or authenticity. In order to create these positive connotations, companies develop core values and the whole advertising campaign generally revolves around them (Flowerdew, 2004). A good example here will be Kiwibank, which asserts its 'kiwiness' by contrasting itself with the foreign banks operating in New Zealand: 'Kiwibank. It's ours.'

Advertising discourse is also intertextual. Engaging a viewer by appealing to their memories and prior knowledge of well known songs and images is popular with advertisers, that is why they often incorporate features of other discourses (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), such as words borrowed from science when advertising cosmetics (J. Coupland, 2002) or fashion discourse in the promotion of a laptop (Gannon, 2007). For example, the artwork in a recent Nokia advertising campaign (see Figure 2) repeats the easily recognised image by Michelangelo (see Figure 1). In the Ralston Purina advertising slogan promoting cat food 'All you add is love', the lyrics of the well-known Beatles song are played.

Figure 2. Nokia logo (*Nokia-logo*, n.d.).

Figure 1. Hands of God and Adam,
Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel (1509)
(Seminary, 2009).

2.3.1 Factors affecting the choice of the advertising strategy

For the analysis of an advertisement, it is important to understand what underlies its construction, the choice of advertising strategies. The strategies that the advertisers use depend significantly on the effect that the advertisement is intended to produce on the viewer[1], who they are, the product that is being advertised, and who is engaged in the advertisement. All these elements are interrelated.

2.3.1.1. Effect on the viewer

The effect that the advertisers would like to create partially determines the choice of the strategy. When using what Goddard (1998) calls 'attention seeking devices' advertisers

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[1] Audience design is a part of the methodology, so it is explained in chapter three.

may choose to outrage, upset, irritate, or provoke their audience. This can be achieved by utilising taboo words and shocking images, for example a recent advertisement of Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals advertisement showing a puppy being euthanized raised a heterogeneous reaction: on the one hand, it seemed cruel. On the other hand, it was trying to deliver the idea of responsibility for household pets. Disturbing images are used a lot in non-commercial advertising, such as anti-smoking campaign, or text/drink-and-drive advertisements. Commercial advertising can also be provoking. For example, Toyota created an advertisement (iMOTORTV, 2008), where the actors use the mildly offensive exclamation 'Bugger!' all through the video clip.

In the course of the analysis, I will attempt to clarify what effect the advertisers tried to produce on the target audience. It is important to add here that this is my normative reading based on the tools of analysis at my disposal and I am aware that there can be alternative readings.

2.3.1.2. *Product type: Luxuries and necessities*

The type of product advertised determines the manner of address. Two different strategies, which have been identified by Cook (2001), are 'tickle', inducing the desire to obtain the product, and 'reason', that is explaining to the viewer why the product is worth buying (Cook, 2001, p. 15). The approach or the manner of address is determined by whether the types of products are luxuries or necessities (Cook, 2001). As luxuries are not essential in people's lives, their advertising often attempts to induce a desire to obtain the product or service. Necessities are must-have products so the viewer has to be given an explanation as to why they should choose this particular brand.

However, nowadays the distinction between luxuries and necessities is not very clear because there are products, which cannot be called absolute necessities and yet they are consumed on a regular basis. When promoting these products, advertisers employ a 'tickle' strategy. An example of such product could be chocolate. On the one hand, it cannot be called an essential. On the other hand, people eat chocolate as often as they wish. For example, in Bounty advertising campaign advertisers displayed the images of an island surrounded by clear blue waters, white sand and coconut palms on the beach, and a beautiful girl eating a slab of chocolate. The consumption of chocolate cannot teleport its eater to a different location or create the feeling of being there. However,

this advertisement appeared frequently on TV and probably had the power of generating the idea of exoticism, hedonism and a desired holiday thus presumably boosting the sales of the product the intake of which may actually lead to thirst in the short run and weight gain in the long run. By contrast, the advertising of necessities, for example washing powder, does not have to take the viewer to an exotic location or evoke any other associations. The advertisements of products such as washing powder show images of 'before' and 'after', tell the audience how easily the result can be achieved, how budget the product is, etc.

In the case of anti-ageing creams, it would be interesting to see what category the advertisers put them in, as on the one hand, it is not a bare necessity, and on the other hand, the product is one that some women use regularly.

2.3.1.3.   Celebrity endorsement (CE)

Nowadays, celebrity endorsement (the engagement of famous people in an advertisement) is an important part of the advertising industry. For anti-ageing advertising, it sometimes seems to be the cornerstone of the advertising campaign. Companies like L'Oreal, Nivea and Garnier feature world-famous women like Jane Fonda, Claudia Schiffer, Sarah Jessica Parker and many others. Because companies spend millions on CE (Walker, Langmeyer, & Langmeyer, 1993), it seems that advertisers view endorsement as an effective way of promotion. One of the reasons that can account for the popularity of CE is its ability to increase the recollection of the advertisement (Bower & Mateer, 2008) and to bring symbolic meanings to a product through the symbols that the celebrity represents (Walker, et al., 1993).

However, contemporary research shows that CE is not a marketing panacea. When designing an advertisement, advertisers consider four factors that influence its perception. These factors are the company credibility, the product itself, the audience who are expected to buy the product and the image of the celebrity (Goldsmith, Lafferty, & Newell, 2000; Kamins, 1990; B. A. S. Martin, Wentzel, & Tomczak, 2008; Walker, et al., 1993).

Product type plays a crucial role in the perception of CE. Kamins (1990) elicits two main types of products: attractiveness unrelated, where the image of the celebrity is more significant than their appearance and attractiveness-related, such as cosmetics,

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where the endorser's physical attractiveness is essential. The choice of the celebrity is critical for the advertisement because the endorser's credibility affects both male and female consumers' attitudes to product and purchase intentions, and it plays a more important role than the company credibility (Goldsmith, et al., 2000; Kamins, 1990). Furthermore, the product endorsed is likely to take on some of the endorser's qualities so the endorser should possess the qualities with which the advertisers want the product to be associated (Walker, et al., 1993).

CE may affect different consumers in a different way. B.A.S. Martin et al. (2008) elicits two types of consumers: buyers with a high susceptibility to normative influence (SNI), i.e. people who seek to be approved by the members of their social group and buyers with low SNI, who are independent of other people's opinions. The advertisement perception of these two types of consumers is dissimilar, because the buyers with high SNI prefer more imposing advertisements, e.g. words expressing a high emotive / affectual attitude with 'great' as opposed to 'good'. B.A.S. Martin et al. (2008) conclude that style is more important for high-SNI buyers than celebrity endorsement. Low-SNI buyers focus on attribute quality and are not interested in testimonials. All in all, people who are willing to conform to the expectations of their in-group members are more affected by a model who is perceived as a member of this in-group as opposed to customers who are not influenced by the idea of social approval.

The clarification of CE and its possible effect on different types of customers is crucial for my research as first, it is a popular way to promote anti-ageing products and second, it may explain what audience the advertisers address. Anti-ageing cosmetics are an attractiveness-related product so the choice of the 'right' celebrity endorser can be the cornerstone of the advertising campaign. Using the findings discussed above I will attempt to understand why, if at all, the celebrity was used to endorse the product.

2.4 Ageism: A contemporary issue

The construction of ageist discourse in mass media is one of the aspects that underlie the answer to the overarching research question. This generates research question two: How is ageism mobilised to increase the persuasiveness of anti-ageing advertisements? The answer to it can be given through the understanding of the key constructs of the

issue of ageism and ageist discourse. Thus, this section gives definitions of the key terms, closely examines the existing literature on ageist discourse and examines the construction of ageism in contemporary mass media. Finally, it discusses the importance of femininity and sexuality in advertising.

2.4.1 Ageist discourse

Ageism is prejudice or discrimination based on age (Butler, 1969 as cited in DeRenzo & Malley, 1992). According to N. Coupland & Coupland (1993), "… [a]geism is a force, which denies older people access to levels of respect and opportunity, which are the right of all individuals." (p. 281) Moreover, ageism is based on cultural values and social value orientations, which exclude the old and label them as handicapped and disadvantaged (Calasanti, 2008).

Ageist discourse is "…the forms of talk and ways of meaning to which the ascription 'ageist' is locally applied…" (N. Coupland & Coupland, 1993, p. 280). It became an area of research only relatively recently as ageism was not formally seriously considered discriminatory and still seems a more acceptable form of discrimination than racism or classism (N. Coupland & Coupland, 1993).

The change of people's attitudes towards ageing and the elderly is another noteworthy aspect of ageism. DeRenzo & Malley (1992) claim that recently, in some cultures, there has been a major shift from respect and piety towards older people to prejudice and disdain. They are no longer looked up to or regarded as wise but are often ignored, sometimes laughed at or even scorned. The use of ageist discourse, which reinforces stereotypes about older people, marginalises them in the society; thus, old age is perceived negatively, very often as a disease (Calasanti, 2008). That is why ageism and ageist discourse appear a recent but an essential issue that needs to be studied.

Nowadays, the problem of ageist discourse has received attention from many researchers, e.g. DeRenzo & Malley (1992), N. Coupland & Coupland (1993), J. Coupland (2002), Bazin & White (2006), Calasanti (2008) and Paulson (2008). They all focus on different aspects of ageism and investigate the issue from different perspectives. N. Coupland & J. Coupland (1993) and Calasanti (2008) have made significant contribution to the theory of ageist discourse theory. In their research, they

give definitions of ageism, ageist discourse and the discourse of ageism, their origins and implications.

The study of the representation of women and ageing in advertising discourse and promotional literature was conducted by J. Coupland (2002). She concludes that mass media construct a negative image of ageing by directly using words connected with ageing, for example, 'wrinkle', 'young', 'old', etc. In addition, mass media use vocabulary borrowed from other genres, which is intended to reinforce the persuasive power of the statement. Science is one of the most popular sources of borrowing. However, J. Coupland (2002) herself claims that her study is small-scale the findings of which call for further research. Drawing on her conclusions, I would like to further investigate the linguistic strategies of advertisers that she has identified.

In their mainly diachronical research, DeRenzo & Malley (1992) investigate the increase of ageist discourse in advertisements between 1969 and 1988 and the change of people's attitude towards the problem. Although the research of DeRenzo & Malley (1992) covers a lot of ground in the field of ageist discourse, it does not expand on the evolution of advertising techniques that are the focus of this study. Their content analysis elicited a set of ageist lexemes that are connected with age directly: 'age', 'young', 'old', 'wrinkle', and 'line' but did not focus on discourse borrowed from other genres.

In my view, and corresponding with that of Coupland (2002), ageist discourse in mass media is more complicated and comprises many genres. The downside of being old is constructed through specific discourse, which galvanises stereotypes (J. Coupland, 2002). This can be expressed by the vocabulary with negative meanings, e.g. 'repair', which in general English is applied to something broken; 'correction' is normally referred to blunders. In addition, 'scientific' words are employed in this discourse to add authority, but the problem is that half of the terms that advertisers use are not clear to most, e.g. 'retinol' or 'pro-retinol' (J. Coupland, 2002). With scientific discourse, another problem is the ambiguity of authorship, as it is not clear who stands behind all these 'expert' opinions (J. Coupland, 2002). Along with 'scientific' terms, anti-ageing advertisements often contain military vocabulary: 'fight against', 'intervention',

'tackle', 'combat', or vocabulary associated with treating serious illnesses such as cancer.

In the course of this research, I examine what other discourse types constitute anti-ageing advertisements on the visual and textual levels. A major addition to the existing research from my side is multimodal analysis that comprises social semiotics and CDA.

2.4.2 Ageism and mass-media

The significance of the human body as a marker of ageing is propagated by mass media (J. Coupland, 2002; Featherstone, 1991). A beautiful and healthy body became a marker of prestige, thus an investment and an obsession (Baudrillard, 2005). Interestingly, up to the beginning of the 20th century, the church had tried to dissuade its laity of the importance of the corporeal (Baudrillard, 2005; Foucault, 2005), whereas mass culture of the 20th century started to convince the audience of the opposite. Featherstone (1991), Featherstone & Hepworth (1991), Baudrillard (2005) and Foucault (2005), argue that today's society is enslaved by their bodies. Since the 1920s, Hollywood has been promoting and formulating what an ideal body is (Foucault, 2005). As a result, physical beauty, which is no longer something that a person is born with but something that can be achieved through care and grooming, is perceived as desirable. Contemporary consumer culture dictates the content of mass media promoting youth and femininity because youth is becoming a fetish, especially through images that belittle ageing people (Bazin & White, 2006).

The undesirability of an ageing body creates a demand for and an abundance of age treatments of various sorts (Bazin & White, 2006; Calasanti, 2008). The proliferation and variety of technology that deals with ageing makes the issue even more complicated, for the cutting-edge technologies available now have changed the whole perception of age (Bazin & White, 2006). Anybody can look much younger than they really are. At the same time, plastic surgery and expensive anti-ageing skin care products and treatment are targeted at middle or upper-middle class white men and their wives, which makes the problem of the perception of ageing even more discriminatory (Calasanti, 2008). Interestingly, anti-ageing cosmetics nowadays are often positioned as an alternative to the invasive and expensive anti-ageing technology (Calasanti, 2008;

Dyer, 1988 as cited in K. Smith, 2004). In my analysis, I observe whether the advertisements exploit the issue of invasive contemporary anti-ageing technology.

2.4.3 Construction and exploitation of femininity and sexuality in anti-ageing advertisements

The discussion in the previous section explained how important body is in contemporary culture. In this section, I connect the significance of body with the ideas of femininity and sexuality that are used in advertising because "… sexuality everywhere orientates the 'rediscovery' and consumption of the body today" (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 280). This aspect of contemporary consumer culture formed research question three: How are the ideas of femininity and sexuality expressed and constructed in anti-ageing advertisements? The answer to this question requires first, the clarification of the concepts of femininity and sexuality and second, a review of what is already known about the construction of these two concepts in mass culture.

Femininity is hard to define as in comparison with femaleness, which is innate, femininity is socially produced and reproduced (Hollows, 2000). The first aspect that makes the definition of femininity difficult is the fact that it changes through time and between cultures (Hollows, 2000; Pawelczyk, 2008). Then, even within the same time framework, there are different types of femininity, such as upper/middle/working class, etc. (Hollows, 2000). For example, Kehily & Nayak (2008) maintain that working class young women with exuberant femininity and consequently sexuality are often regarded as promiscuous, frivolous and provocative.

In mass culture, traditionally feminine women are presented as homemakers, dependent on men, submissive, passive, petite and more delicate (Pawelczyk, 2008). In this study, I am going to refer to femininity as an image of explicit womanliness constructed by advertisers, the depiction of a woman as passive, submissive, delicate, stylised and accessorised in a feminine way through their clothes, hairdo, makeup, etc.

Pawelczyk (2008) claims that in Polish mass culture, especially in advertising a new femininity has emerged. Women in Poland used to be engaged in advertising of traditionally feminine products such as skin care and home appliances. Nowadays, they are depicted in advertising of commodities and services, which were previously attributed to the male area of expertise (e.g., cars, telephones and banking). However,

Pawelczyk (2008) concludes that these 'male' advertisements portray female models in a traditional way. In the advertisements promoting cars, telephones and banking, men are still presented as active professionals with women being in a more passive observing position. Men are generally referred to as 'real drivers' and experts, whereas women are called '<u>fashionable</u> businesswomen'. Women are also shown as relying on intuition when choosing a car and juggling the roles of a fashionable businesswoman and a mother.

In her study of technology advertisements for women, Gannon (2007) concludes that in Samsung advertisements targeting women, the constructed concern with style and fashion undermines the applicability of technology. This preoccupation with appearance rather than function can be taken to an extreme that Gannon (2007) calls 'hyperfemininity', when it becomes a parody.

In anti-ageing advertising for women, the construction of femininity and sexuality is essential due to a number of reasons. First, it is always obvious that the person gets older; it is as evident as sex and ethnicity (Bazin & White, 2006). Second, being an ageing female is more complicated because it is believed that women age, lose attractiveness and "…intellectual abilities…" much earlier than men (DeRenzo & Malley, 1992, p. 107) and older men are generally viewed as simply more sophisticated and experienced (Calasanti, 2008; DeRenzo & Malley, 1992). Accordingly, it is harder to be an ageing woman than a man, for society is more intolerant to women (Bazin & White, 2006; J. Coupland, 2002). Thus, advertising stigmatises ageing and pressures women to take measures that allegedly prevent it by starting the application of anti-ageing creams as early as possible. The late twenties nowadays is considered to be the time when the first signs of ageing appear (J. Coupland, 2002). If it is too late to fight the signs of ageing, advertising persuades women to hide them or slow them down (J. Coupland, 2002; DeRenzo & Malley, 1992).

With the shift from the spiritual towards the corporeal in some societies, physical attractiveness for women has turned into a "… religious imperative" (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 279). Mass media promote images of ideal and sexually attractive women who have achieved in securing themselves a heterosexual relationship (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Kehily & Nayak, 2008). According to Caldas-Coulthard (1996), "… the sexually

attractive woman is the beautiful one who, to please men, is persuaded to buy products being advertised in the magazine" (p. 253). At the same time, perfect femininity and sexuality is unattainable, so women can be in an eternal pursuit of it (Ballaster, Beetham, Fraser, & Hebron, 1991), that is probably why sexuality is exploited by advertisers so heavily.

2.5 Conclusion

This review of literature has presented the wider context in which the advertisements under study occurred. The major events relevant to this study were pinpointed. In the 1970s, they were the emergence of the second wave feminist movements and resistance to change in the mass media of that time. In the 2000s, for women there are more opportunities outside the domestic environment. Nevertheless, women are more pressured to pursue beauty and youthfulness due to the availability of diverse technology that enhances appearance. At the same time, computer programmes for image altering construct ideal bodies the perfection of which is unattainable for a real person.

The chapter examined advertising as contemporary discourse and considered the factors that determine its design such as the effect on the viewer, product type and endorser. It identified the two types of products, luxuries and necessities that determine the form of address, which are 'tickle' or 'reason', respectively. It also discussed the implications of choosing the endorser in advertising.

The chapter also presented an overview of the theoretical perspectives in the three areas relevant for this research. First, the chapter dealt with ageism and ageist discourse. A growing number of studies attest to the significance of this topic today. Being a relatively new area of study, ageist discourse in advertising leaves some gaps in the literature, such as the explication of linguistic and extra-linguistic strategies that are used by anti-ageing advertisement designers, which justifies the need for a multimodal analysis of the advertisements. The analysis of the text of the advertisement has to focus on the vocabulary borrowed from other discourses.

Second, the chapter discussed the change in the perception of body and its growing significance in contemporary mass culture, which idolises external beauty and sets

unattainable standards of appearance. In mass media, these standards are often created through digital technology, thus making their achievement impossible. Third, the chapter established the connection between the contemporary importance of the corporeal and the construction of femininity and sexuality by advertisers. Hence, the examination of the construction of femininity and sexuality in the advertisements of the two periods appeared significant.

3   Chapter three: Methodology

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach and research design in relation to the research questions formulated in chapter two. First, it presents the approach to data analysis, which is a multimodal analysis comprising critical discourse analysis (CDA) and social semiotics. It gives the definitions of the main terms that are used in the analysis. Within the discussion on CDA, the definition of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is given. In addition, other tools of textual analysis relevant for advertising are presented. The discussion on social semiotics also includes some aspects, such as the use of colour and light in images that are important for the analysis and interpretation of the advertising texts under study. Second, the concept of audience design is explained. Then the chapter discusses the use of a case study as a research method and justifies its choice in relation with the aims of the study. Finally, it explains the method of data selection in the research.

3.2   Multimodal analysis as a contemporary approach to data analysis

Contemporary discourse tends to be multimodal, and by 'multimodality' I mean "… the use of several semiotic modes in design of a semiotic product or event…" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 20). These modes are multifunctional as they can assist each other, dominate, or serve as the background. The multimodality of contemporary discourse and the importance of the visual component require a multimodal analysis that deals with the interaction of different components within one text. In addition, Fairclough (2003) maintains that the objectivity and holisticity of the analysis can be reached by engaging SFL, which offers explanation of how language is used (Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1994) and semiotic analysis, which studies the semiotic resources of texts (van Leeuwen, 2005).

3.2.1   CDA and its aims

The focus of CDA is the social constituent role of language. In CDA, language and social life are inextricably linked because language as a social phenomenon is embedded in socio-historical contexts (Fairclough, 1993; Wodak, 2001b). The

connection between language and society is complex, as language both constructs and reflects societal values. Nowadays, the social role of language is becoming more and more prominent in a number of social practices, which can be constituted by the language use in mass media, advertising, policy texts, etc., where language is often used not only for conveying information but also for promoting ideas, introducing and causing changes through certain public discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

CDA is an approach to research that is concerned with all the aspects of language and its use. For example, van Leeuwen (1991) notes that CDA is preoccupied with the discourses of power and ideology, and the ways these are implicitly represented in texts. Fairclough (1993) claims that CDA "…aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" (p. 137). Another purpose of CDA is to study how these relationships and practices are constructed in discourse. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) say that CDA is "...firstly a feature of contemporary social life, and only second an area of academic work" (p. 260). In their view, it identifies and protests against any form of discrimination. Tupper (2008) maintains that "CDA is a means by which latent power structures of institutions and society can be rendered more visible, providing opportunities for questioning and challenging taken-for-granted beliefs of the status quo" (p. 224).

3.2.1.1.   Power and its manifestation in discourse

All the problems that CDA purports to tackle are often constituted in institutional, political and media discourses, as this is where discrimination, ideology, power and dominance can most often be exhibited (Wodak, 2001a). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), van Dijk (1997), people in power are the ones who have access and resources to and are in charge of contemporary discourse construction. The persuasive power of a text can be exerted through mass media, for example, women's magazines that advise women on how to behave in particular situations, what to wear and how to look (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Kehily & Nayak, 2008).

Power can be exercised overtly through commands that can be expressed by the imperative mood or modal constructions (Goatly, 2000). For example, posters in Figure 3 and Figure 4 present strong instructions (probably read as demands) to their reader.

However, in commercial advertising the aim is achieved by persuasion. Persuasive power is less imposing, and more subtle and implicit. The addressee is often given an alternative but the option that the addressor wants to promote is positioned as more tempting, desirable and appropriate (van Dijk, 1997).

Figure 4 "Soldier, respond to your motherland with Victory!"
Wartime Soviet poster (Shmarinov, 1942).

Figure 3. "Your motherland is calling!"
Wartime Soviet poster (Toidze, 1941).

3.2.1.2.   Empowering and disempowering discourse

Many texts are written to instruct readers and thus to exert the writers' power upon their readership. Some texts are prescriptive in an explicit way, for example, immigration policy texts or the road code, whereas others are presented as simply giving information to their reader. By sharing knowledge with their readership, writers often exert power in a less overt way because knowledge is one of the sources of power (Poynton, 1985 as cited in Goatly, 2000). Consequently, the text that is presented as empowering the reader due to its educational purpose may be considered disempowering the reader (Poynton, 1985 as cited in Goatly, 2000). Advertising texts often let their audience into the secret. They operate with scientific terms providing pseudo explanations to the buyers (See Figure 5). By raising people's awareness, advertisers purportedly empower them. Fairclough (1993) claims that in promotional texts, the consumer is given power, he\she has the right to make a decision. I would argue here that in advertisements

although the consumer is positioned as having power, the so-called power is illusory, as substantive information on which people might make decisions is not given.
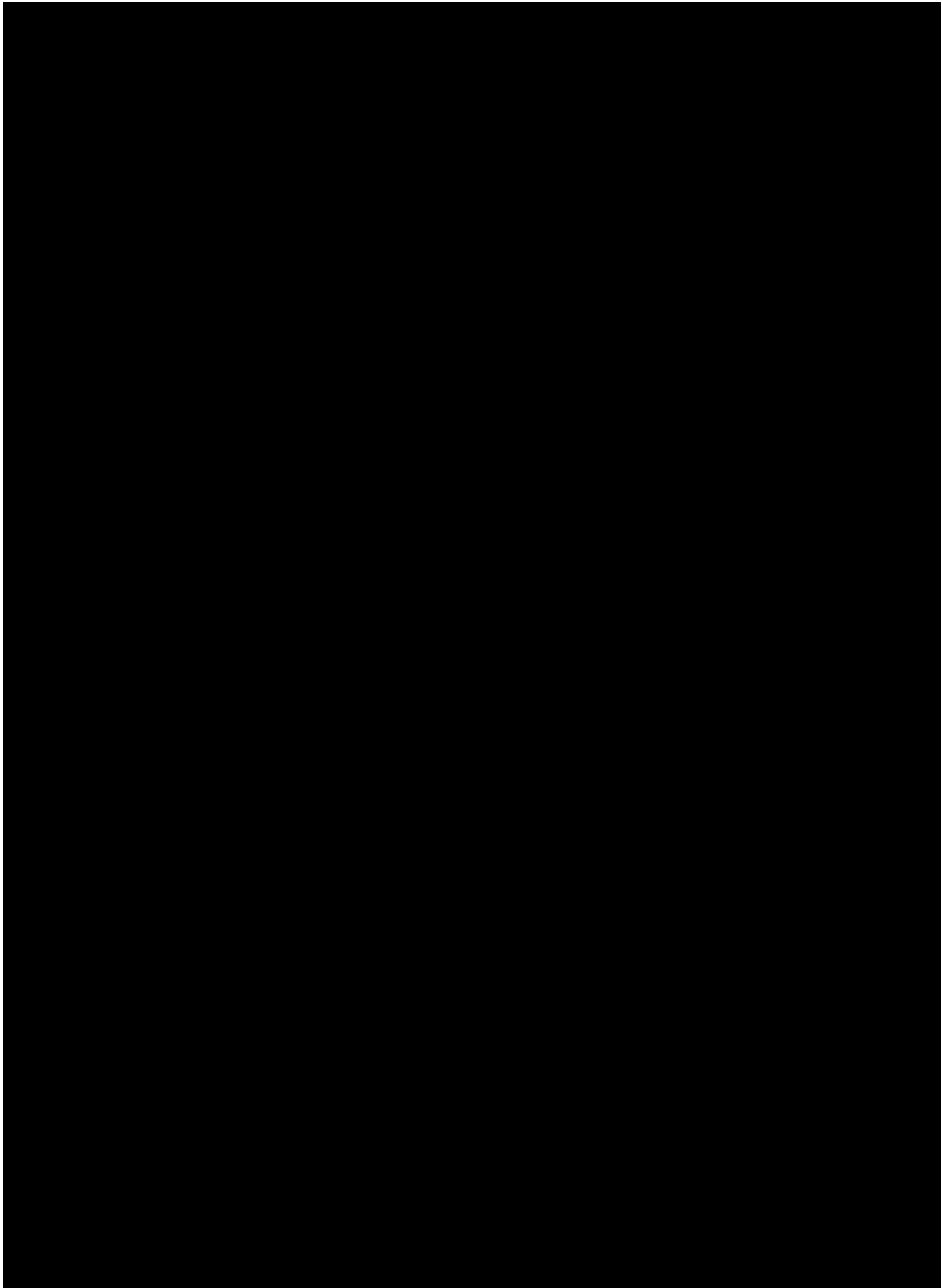
Figure 5. Garnier UltraLiftPro-X ("Garnier UltraLiftPro-X," 2008, p. 15).

Presenting the text as empowering is a major issue in advertisements for women. By telling women about ageing, being overweight and so on, companies inform them about the existence of the problem and its possible solution and exhibit concern about their potential customers, see for example, '*take care*', '*plants taking care*', '*for me, the best anti-wrinkle cream*' in Figure 5. For many women, these constant reminders construct a problem that may not have existed previous to its being raised by advertisers.

3.2.1.3.   Principles of CDA

The complexity of issues investigated by CDA and the multitude of aims that it has to reach determine the variety of methods of conducting it. Any analysis should strive for objectivity, which, in Fairclough's (2003) opinion, is hard to achieve. At the same time, he argues that an unbiased study can be performed through critical questioning of statements, messages and semiotic resources. This analysis does not claim absolute objectivity and the delivery of an ultimate truth. It is rather a privileged reading by a discourse analyst who has covered a considerable body of literature and is able to analyse the meanings that are not so obvious for a general viewer glancing at the text. It is also an in-depth study of the four texts that analyses the context that these texts are embedded in and operates with categories of analysis that have been widely used by numerous researchers over several decades. However, even when applying this well-acknowledged theoretical and methodological knowledge, I realise that this is my personal application of this theory and other viewers/readers could make different inferences.

The Faircloughian approach to CDA has been employed by researchers in different areas of knowledge, for example, Janks (1997) in her analysis of advertisements in South African magazines, who claims that CDA provides the ground for multi-faceted analysis and assists the understanding of how a text has been constructed. Luke (1997) and Resende (2009) point to its efficacy in the analysis of public discourse. Ramsay (1997) and Thomas (2004, 2005) emphasise its importance in the analysis of the discourse of educational policy.

CDA is performed at three different levels, which Fairclough (1995) calls 'dimensions' (p. 2). The first level is a descriptive linguistic analysis of a text, written or spoken,

which engages SFL[2] as its tool. According to Threadgold (in Kamler, 1997), the scrupulousness of linguistic analysis depends on the purpose of the analysis and the readership. Then, the analysis should move onto the next level of interpretation, where "... the processes of text production, distribution and consumption..." are investigated (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2). The third level of analysis is the explanation of a text's discursive goals by examining socio-cultural and historical context, in which the text is embedded (Fairclough, 1995; Threadgold in Kamler, 1997; Pennycook, 2001; Wodak, 2001b). According to Wodak (2001b), this higher level of analysis should involve three stages. The first one is the criticism and analysis of inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes, unanswered questions in the text or discourse itself. The second aspect deals with unpacking latent and criticising overt manipulation and persuasion in discourse. The last but not least stage is the suggestion for improvement and change. These three aspects are intrinsically linked in CDA.

3.2.2   SFL, text analysis and advertising discourse

Section 3.2.1.3 explained that linguistic analysis engaging SFL is the basis of CDA. This section presents the definition of SFL, the aspects of the language that the analysis employing SFL should focus on, and, most importantly, the possible applications of SFL to the analysis of advertising discourse. Apart from the aspects of language that have been discussed in SFL, this section presents the overview of strategies, such as sound patterning, lexical repetition, etc. that are used in advertising due to their importance in the analysis.

The slogans and examples from contemporary advertisements discussed below that illustrate how language is used by the advertisement designers are not referenced due to their popularity and frequency in today's mass media. Some of them are so entrenched in mass culture that they have almost received the status of well-known nursery rhymes, for example, Nike's famous slogan "Just Do It".

3.2.2.1.   Definition of SFL

Systemic functional linguistics was developed by M.A.K. Halliday who regards language as subservient to people, society and its needs (Halliday as cited in Wodak,

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[2] SFL is discussed in a separate section below.

2001a). In his understanding, language has three functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. According to Halliday (1994), the ideational function of the language is based on people's experiences and the conclusions that are drawn from these experiences. We communicate with each other, using language, constructing and inferring meanings, which form our relationships, and that is the interpersonal function of the language. The textual function manifests itself at the level of texts, written or spoken, creating coherence and cohesion in them. All the three functions of the language provide the basis of CDA.

The analysis of the linguistic part of a text can focus on any or all the following aspects of the language: 1. lexicalisation; 2. patterns of transitivity; 3. the use of active and passive voice; 4. the use of nominalisation; 5. the choices of mood; 6. the choices of modality or polarity; 7. the thematic structure of the text; 8. the information focus; 9. cohesion devices (Halliday, 1985; Fairclough, 1989 as cited in Janks, 1997).

3.2.2.2.   The analysis on the lexical level

The choice of vocabulary in a text, especially pre-structured, is never accidental. They can present the author's evaluation of the statement in the clause through specific words, or vocabulary with a high level of intensity, for example, "He is a <u>coward</u>" or "He <u>chickened out</u>"[3] (Fairclough, 2003, p. 172; White, 2001). In advertising[4], the lexis expressing emotional/affectual attitude (White, 2001), such as 'great' and 'amazing' is frequently used. These words may be used to impress the reader making the message of the text more effective (White, 2001). However, its impact on the reader is not universal because some readers find the vocabulary high on intensity appealing, whereas others may be put off by it[5] (B. A. S. Martin, et al., 2008).

The creation of new words as well as play on the meaning of existing words is another popular strategy (van Leeuwen, 2005), e.g.: "Get N or get out" (Nintendo 64), which uses one letter instead of the word 'Nintendo'.

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[3] My emphasis.

[4] The discussion is presented in section 2.3.1.3.

[5] See more discussion in section 2.3.1.3.

Lexical items, especially technical terms, can be transferred from one genre to other genres (Paltridge, 2006; Wodak, 2001a), for example, scientific discourse in anti-ageing advertising can be a way to convey the idea of expertise[6], which in its turn is the source of power (Poynton, 1985 as cited in Goatly, 2000). In the advertisement (Figure 5), there are lexical elements of scientific discourse: *substance, research, collagen, molecule,* etc. The mixture of genres here is deliberate and serves the primary function of this discourse type – persuasion.

The viewer's attention in advertising can be captured stylistically. Different registers and elements of other discourse can be widely employed by advertisers. For example, to appeal to young people, advertisers may try to speak 'their language', for example slogans "Finger lickin' good" (Kentucky Fried Chicken), "A little dab'll do ya" (Brylcream) and "Betcha can't eat just one" (Lay's Potato Chips) use elements of informal English, probably trying to sound 'cool' in their appeal to younger audiences.

The repetition of lexical items is an important aspect in understanding the message of the speaker. In conversation, repetition can be used for a number of reasons, for example, to 'backchannel' (Johnstone, 2008, p. 173), when the listener signals understanding, attention and/or agreement with the speaker's statement, point to problems and attempt to repair them, create rapport, a humorous effect or cohesion (Johnstone, 2008). However, these functions may vary from culture to culture. In written speech, repetition is employed in the books for emergent learners and this facilitates cognitive processes (Darnton, 2001). In texts for adult readers, repetition fulfils two functions. First, it is used as an effective cohesive device and second, it marks 'matching relations' (Hoey, 2001, p. 31), which explicate the connection between different elements of the sentence.

3.2.2.3. *Grammatical analysis*

Grammar is an essential aspect of text analysis. Violation of grammar rules is an attention-getting strategy that seems relatively popular in today's advertising (van Leeuwen, 2005), for example: "Do you... Yahoo!?" (Yahoo!), where the exclamation

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[6] See more discussion on ageist discourse in advertisements in chapter two.

'Yahoo!' is used as a verb. As a form of transgression, it helps the advertisers stand out and be remembered by the audience (van Leeuwen, 2005).

As was stated in section 3.2.1.1 of this chapter, power in a text can be expressed grammatically, most commonly through the imperative mood and modal constructions. The imperative mood is the mood for exchanging or demanding goods and services (e.g. 'Pass me the salt') as opposed to declarative sentences that are used for exchanging information (e.g. 'The weather is nice today') (Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1994). Fairclough (2003) and Goatly (2000) agree that the imperative mood is the strongest form of demand.

Modality in a clause performs the identification function as it identifies the author's position on what is said because it is "[t]he sort of commitment an author makes, and therefore how an author identifies himself or herself" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 171). In a clause, modality is expressed through modal verbs and other modality markers, e.g. 'probably', 'likely' (Halliday, 1994; Hodge & Kress, 1988). Fairclough (2003) extends the list of conventional modality markers and asserts that there are other language resources, which express the speaker's commitment towards the predicated action.

Fairclough (2003) connects modality with two speech functions, which are 'knowledge exchange' and 'activity exchange'. Knowledge exchange is expressed by statements or questions and is referred to as 'epistemic modality', whereas activity exchange implies demand or offer from the speaker and is called 'deontic modality' (Fairclough, 2003). Modality clarifies the speaker's commitment to statements, questions, demands and offers. Thus, a statement can be regarded as an 'assertion' if it is expressed by an affirmative sentence (*It is raining*), a modalisation (*It may be raining*) or denial (*It is not raining*). The sentence with a traditional modality marker, according to Fairclough (2003), is intermediate between assertion and denial and implies a lesser degree of the commitment to the truth of the statement. Figure 6 below shows the interconnection between exchange types, speech functions and types of modality.

Knowledge exchange (epistemic modality)
Statements: 'author's' commitment to truth'
      Assert: The window is open
      Modalize: The window may be open

Deny: The window is not open

Questions: author elicits other's commitment to truth

Non-modalized positive: Is the window open?

Modalized: Could the window be open?

Non-modalized negative: Isn't the window open?

Activity exchange (deontic modality):

Demand: 'author's' commitment to obligation / necessity

Prescribe: Open the window!

Modalize: You should open the window

Proscribe: Don't open the window!

Offer: author's commitment to act

Undertaking: I'll open the window

Modalized: I may open the window

Refusal: I won't open the window

Figure 6. Exchange types, speech functions and types of modality (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 167-168).

Deontic modality with traditional modality markers can also be regarded as an author's imposition on the reader and can be high ('must'), median ('should') and low ('might'), Halliday (1994).

Nominal structures are another effective source of manipulating a text's meaning (Halliday, 1994). *'Nominalisation'* is a group of lexical units functioning as a single element in a clause (Halliday, 1994). It is a grammatical metaphor because in a nominal structure, processes traditionally expressed by verbs and properties expressed by adjectives are metaphorically presented by nouns (Halliday, 1994). In addition, nominal structures background processes and foreground their effect; "…in backgrounding the processes themselves, nominalisation also backgrounds questions of agency and causality..." because nominal groups have no tenses, modality or agency (Fairclough, 2000, p. 26). Along with the elimination of human agency, nominalisation also discharges responsibility and abstracts from concrete situations (Fairclough, 2003).

Fairclough (2003) distinguishes three types of effects that nominalisation creates in a sentence. First, it separates the elements in a sentence so that they look independent of each other. Second, the elements in the nominal group look as taken for granted and that may be used by the writers wishing to exert power and authority; this effect is called 'pervasive presupposition' (p. 27). Lastly, the elements of the group are presented as an

'irreversible fact of life' (p. 28) that should be accepted. Initially, this metaphor appeared in scientific and technical registers and later penetrated other adult discourses being a "… mark of prestige and power" (Halliday, 1994, p. 353).

Transitivity presents another aspect of analysis because transitivity is less transparent for the reader and the creator of a text. Its complexity can be explained by the fact that it lies at the level of syntax and implies an in-depth deconstructive analysis (Janks, 1997). Transitivity identifies the role that the grammatical subject/object performs in a sentence (Fairclough, 2003; Janks, 1997). It is also responsible for "…reflection, …imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events" because transitivity "…construes the world of experience into manageable set of PROCESS TYPES[7]" (Halliday, 1994, p. 106).

According to Halliday (1994) process types can be material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential. In her research, Janks (1997) shows how process types can construct the participant of the text. Thus having done the analysis of the advertisements of the banking services for domestic workers in South African magazines, she concludes that domestic workers are portrayed as infantilised and endowed with no power compared to their employers. The processes that the domestic worker performs in the text are mostly mental (*'stare', 'wonder', 'know'*) as opposed to her employer's who takes an active verbal (*'said', 'told'*) and material (*'showed', 'taken care of'*) action.

When analysing transitivity, it is important to clarify the role of participants in sentences. Halliday (1994) and Eggins (1994) calls the doer of the action the 'agent'; the 'object'/'goal' is the grammatical object of a sentence, as in the sentence "She cooked dinner" 'she' is the agent and 'dinner' is the 'goal' (Eggins, 1994, p. 235). The grammatical position does not always reflect who the actual doer of the action is. In passive structures, for example, the subject performing a material process as in "The TV was switched off" is still the 'goal' / 'object'.

Ample positioning of non-animated words as clause subjects creates the effect of 'personification' (Fairclough, 2003). Non-animated words performing material

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[7] Halliday's capitalisation

processes as subjects of sentences lead to 'instrumentalisation' of things, which has the ability to diminish animated participants (van Leeuwen, 1995). It is generally found in texts that are to some degree bureaucratised.

3.2.2.4.   The analysis on morphological level

Morphologically, there are several basic ways in which advertisers talk to their audience. The use of personal pronouns plays a crucial part in communication as it establishes a certain type of relationship between the producer and the customer (K. Smith, 2004).

Use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' engages the reader and can be trusted as it is the speaker's personal experience (Goddard, 1998), e.g., "I'm lovin' it" (MacDonald's), "I don't want to look good for my age. I want to look good" (Neutrogena). The first person plural pronoun 'we' can be used in two ways: inclusive, being an ingratiating or solidarity marker, and exclusive, which is generally regarded as authoritative and/or educating.

Addressing the reader by the second person pronoun 'you' is a double exophora[8], which refers both to the person in the picture / video and the viewer (Cook, 2001). With 'you' there is a feeling of being addressed directly thus the level of personal engagement is also quite high because the viewer is being addressed and not excluded (Goddard, 1998), for example, "Because you're worth it" in L'Oreal's slogan. The third person singular pronoun 'she' implies that the woman who the advertisement refers to is either known to the viewer or is a generic person and is used quite often in English language advertisements, especially the ones engaging celebrities (K. Smith, 2004).

Another popular advertising technique using morphology is the use of comparative structures (Goddard, 1998). In order to show how different a product is from the competition, companies may choose to use comparative structures: "Everything is easier on a Mac" (Apple Computer), "Go further with Shell" (Shell Oil). This implicit reference to competition helps the advertisers bypass Unfair Competition law that forbids the direct comparison of their products with the competition.

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[8] See more discussion in section 3.3.

3.2.2.5. The analysis of the text organisation

In addition to the analysis of vocabulary, grammar and morphology, the linguistic analysis of a text should focus on its organisation (Fairclough, 1989). Thus, the thematic structure of the text, information focus, and cohesion devices have to be examined.

'Cohesion' is a major part of the framing of a text because it indicates the semantic relationships in and between the clauses of a text (Halliday, 1994). One way in which cohesion can be achieved is the use of parallel structures. Parallel structures balance a sentence or an utterance through similar syntactical structure of words that are repeated as phrases, clauses or sentences (*Parallelism*, n.d.). Hoey (2001) notes that qualities, which the writer describes, can be outweighed and reinforced in parallel structures.

The framing of the text is a part of its organisation. According to Paltridge (2006), an analyst needs to consider how the narrative is framed, what perspective the author is taking and what he/she foregrounds and backgrounds in the message. It can be achieved visually as well as textually, but the combination of the two modes can strengthen the foregrounding. For example, the picture in Figure 5 shows that the main topic of the advertisement is fighting wrinkles with the power of nature, whereas expressions like '*plants taking care*' reinforce the main theme.

Another important tool of the text organisation is rhythm. Rhythm is "… indispensable in fusing together the meanings expressed in and through the different semiotic modes that enter in the multimodal composition…" (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 181). It is also capable of putting forward the key information as "[t]he essence of rhythm is alteration" (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 182), the contrast between stressed and unstressed, significant and insignificant. The viewer's attention can be captured by prosody, which involves sound patterning and inserting poetry and is an effective attention getter due to its catchiness (Cook, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005), e.g.: "Nicorette, Nicorette, you can beat the cigarette" (Nicorette). Metre and rhyme is easy to remember, funny verses stand out and create a positive spin around the advertising campaign (Cook, 2001), e.g., "Plop, plop; fizz, fizz; oh, what a relief it is" (Alka Seltzer).

To summarise, SFL is a powerful tool of CDA as it gives the idea of how and possibly why the words and structures are used in a clause. The application of this method in other studies mentioned in this section attests to its validity.

3.2.3 Social semiotics and advertising

This section discusses the use of social semiotics as an approach to the analysis of a text. It also investigates the implications of a social semiotic approach for the analysis of advertising discourse. In addition, it examines the categories important for advertising, such as the use of colour and light that have not been covered in detail in the existing literature on semiotics.

3.2.3.1.   The definition of social semiotics

Social semiotics is defined as "… a form of enquiry…" that does not answer but asks questions and provides methods of looking for answers (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 1). This approach combines theory as well as practice because social semiotics "… is applied to specific instances and specific problems" (van Leeuwen, 2005). It is also interdisciplinary, necessitating the involvement of the analyst "… not just in semiotic concepts and methods as such but also in some other field" (van Leeuwen, 2005). Semiotics reflects changes in the society as new semiotic resources are required to express new phenomena (van Leeuwen, 2005), the example of which can be electronic communication where the visual is the key method of expressing oneself.

In the last century, there was a major shift from monomodality to multimodality in all types of social activities with images becoming prevalent and more sophisticated (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Paltridge, 2006). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) claim that consequently, language is diminished and downplayed by images. In Figure 7, the image dominates the text with the image illustrating the statement. In this case, we can say that the picture is worth a thousand words, as without it the meaning of the phrase would remain unclear. Kress and van Leeuwen also maintain that writing is semiotic as it operates with signs. In Figure 7, we can see the use of different fonts, colours and punctuation that emphasise the text's message. By contrast, in Figure 5 visual and textual modes are presented in roughly equal proportions with one aiding the other and the words being as important as the picture.
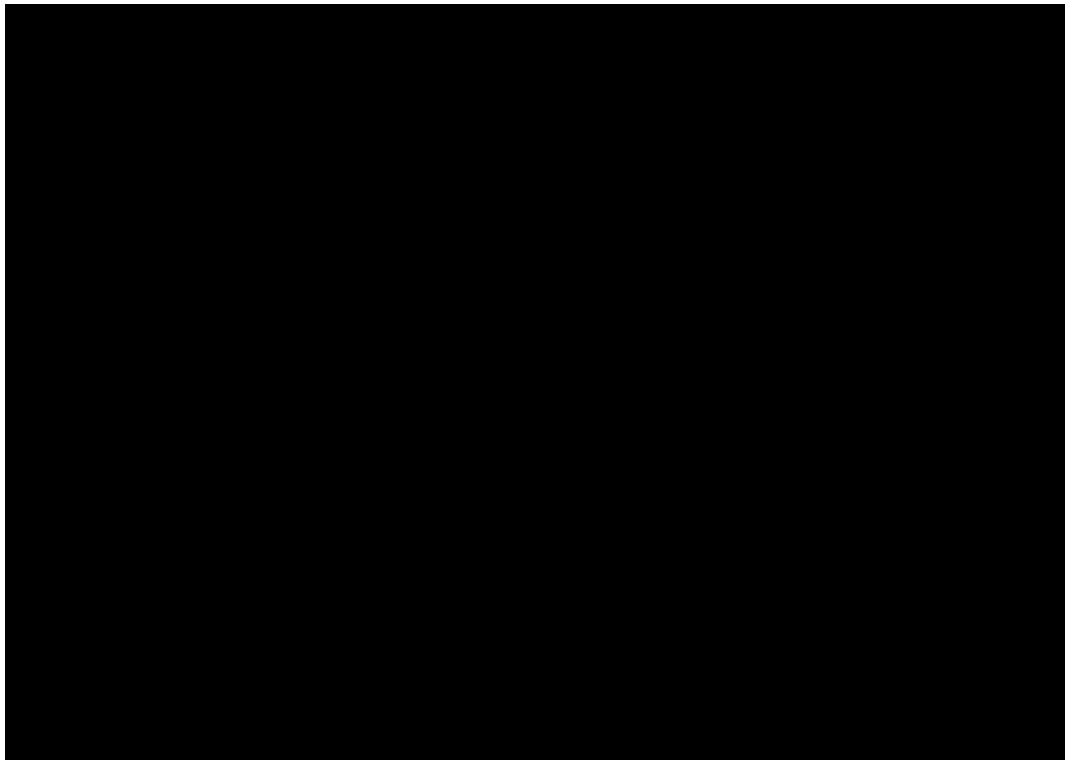
Figure 7. To talk means to help the enemy. Soviet propaganda poster (Koretskiy, 1954).

Another characteristic that makes images so effective and consequently popular is their interdiscursivity as they are often borrowed from earlier texts and can evoke certain associations in the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Visually, interdiscursivity can be expressed by 'props' (van Dijk, 1997, p. 13), or markers[9] (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 144), for example military or cultural realia, such as uniforms, flags, etc. These elements of the semiotic landscape are meaningful, as they are generally inserted deliberately. Props can have connotations; for example in Figure 5, the woman is holding something that resembles a tomato or an apple although she is not promoting a fruit and vegetable shop or a computer company. On the other hand, a mature woman holding a ripe red apple/tomato that is also firm, plump, just like the skin should be, fit perfectly together. In addition, the apple leads us to the first beauty contest and the apple of discord. It also has a biblical allusion, the story of Adam and Eve. The prop in Figure 7 is more monosemous as it is the uniform of a Third Reich soldier and is a good example of a skilful employment of allusion. Nevertheless, the allusion can be very clear to people who belong to similar cultures and by culture here, I do not mean those

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[9] See more discussion on semiotic markers in Section 3.3.

within the same geographical border but rather a societal group. In the case of Figure 7, some younger people of European descent may not be able to read the image so easily, whereas the person who has seen similar images since they were born (for example, the author of this thesis) is able to recognise the props and read the image without any difficulty.

3.2.3.2.   *Semiotic landscape*

The term 'semiotic landscape' describes the organisation of the visual part of a text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). An important element here is the pattern of reading in Western cultures discussed by Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen (1997). According to them, reading in Western cultures determines the processing of information in the text and often drives the advertisement layout. The given, old and familiar information is often placed on the left, whereas the new and unfamiliar on the right. The top part of the printed text is the domain of ideal and desired, the promise and the factual information is often placed at the bottom, the domain of real and instructive (see Figure 8 below). The advertisement in Figure 5 demonstrates how this pattern works: the model and the phrase "*Fewer wrinkles in just 2 weeks*" are placed in the domain of the 'ideal', which is the promise. The description of the cream's action and the actual product are in the real part. Another example of this pattern is apparent in Figure 7, which becomes a narrative about a man passing on information against somebody to the man on the right who turns out to be a German spy[10]. A reader from a culture with right-to-left writing would read the image in a completely different way and the message would probably be lost on them.
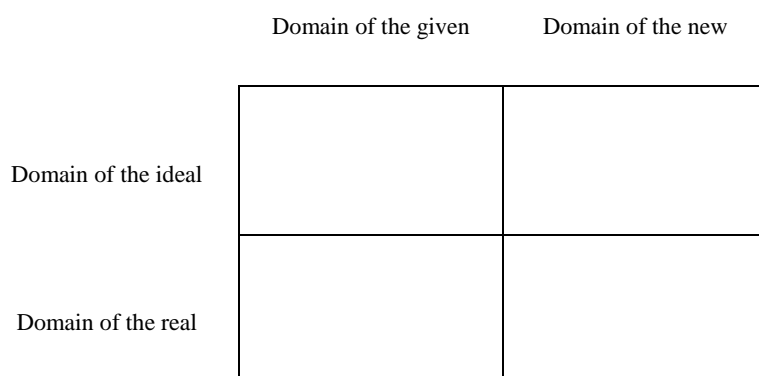
Figure 8. Visual space in Western semiotics (Kress, et al., 1997, p. 274)

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[10] See more discussion on props used in this poster earlier in the section.

Being a functional approach, social semiotics is interested in the work of the elements in a text. Traditional grammatical relations such as agent/object relations can be expressed visually. In Figure 9, the cream resembles a vector and points to the solution of the problem: the brand name AVON. The informer in Figure 7 is holding his finger out which makes him the agent in the picture with another person who remains out of sight being the patient talked about.
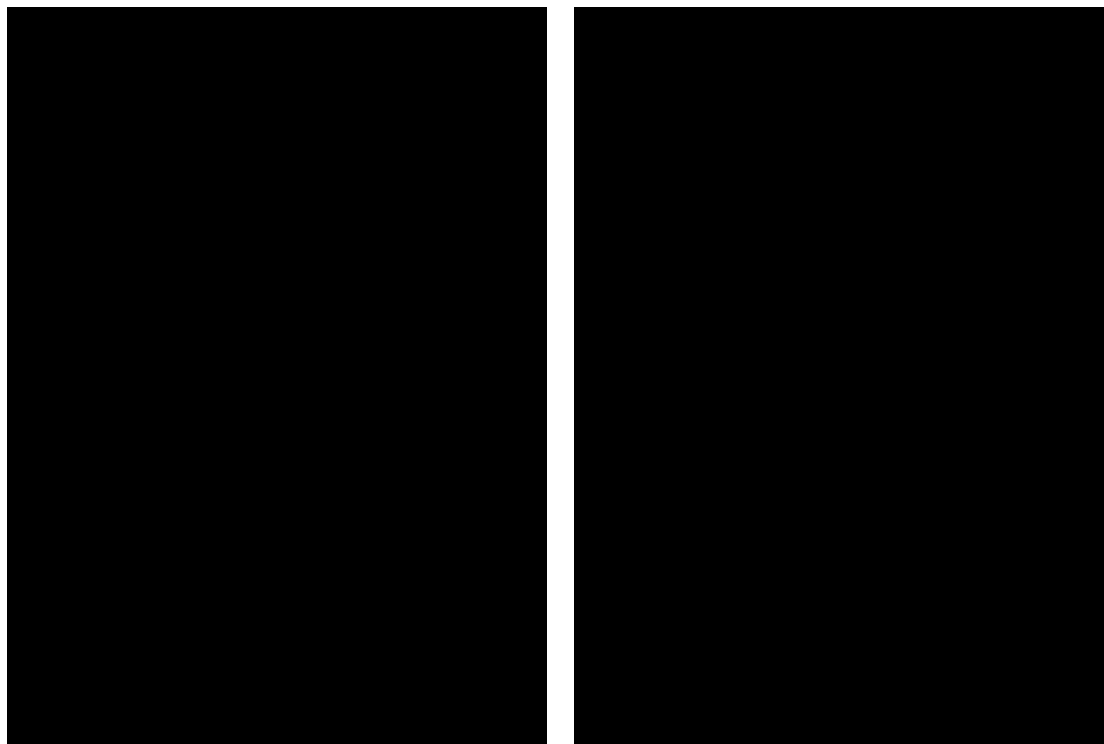
Figure 9. Avon advertisement in *NZWW* ("Avon," 2008, pp. 2-3).

The position of the model in the text presents another dimension for analysis. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) maintain that social distance and the size of frame influence our perception of the image. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), the image, especially a photo shot, can be a 'close-up', with the person's head and shoulders depicted. A 'medium shot' depicts the person from head to approximately knees. A 'long shot' is the picture with a model placed quite far away from the viewer. These three shots have sub-types such as an extreme close-up and extreme long shot either with participants being too close (Figure 9) or too far away from the viewer. The closer the person in the picture is, the more they are engaging the viewer. An extreme close-up, however, may be perceived as too imposing and confrontational as the person

depicted invades the viewers' personal space. The left-hand side in Figure 9 is an extreme close-up.

The degree of contact between the participants in the picture and the viewer is clarified through the analysis of the model's facial expression, eye contact and position of the body (profile or face forward), which van Leeuwen (2005) calls the 'communicative' act. In other words, what is generally said by people in a text is also rendered by the image of the model. When the model is looking directly from the picture, it is normally more engaging than when they are not, making a distinction between 'demand' and 'offer' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). An example of demanding images are Figure 3 and Figure 4, where the full-face close up is blended with imposing gestures. In Figure 5 and Figure 9 by contrast, the demand is softened by the model's tender gaze, a smile and the absence of pointing gestures. The model is presented as trying to seduce the viewer. In addition, 'demand images' put the model in an active position, whereas in 'offer' images the role of the agent is given to the viewer. Figure 7 is a combination of the two strategies, with the informer being half-faced and in a passive position, and the listener pictured face forward, being active. The reader is watching the informer committing a state crime and is judging him and his actions. The whole image forms a triptych with the first panel unseen but yet understood.

The angle from which the participants are observed detaches or involves the viewer in what is being communicated in the picture (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). When the picture is taken from a frontal angle, the photographer aligns and consequently the viewer him/herself and the observer with the object in the picture (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). An oblique angle makes the person in the picture an object of observation. For example, in Figure 10, the drunken man is being studied as an example of inappropriate behaviour. A long shot taken from an oblique angle estranges participants, conveying no affiliation or attachment (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

Power and powerlessness can be expressed semiotically by high and low angles. A low angle gives power to the participant (see Figure 11). A high angle belittles the person putting them in an inferior position. In Figure 10, the pigs are placed much higher than the drunkard and are watching him in bewilderment. This is an extreme form of

humiliation of a human being that is meant to arise a feeling of repulsion in the viewer and consequently, help fight the issue of alcohol abuse.
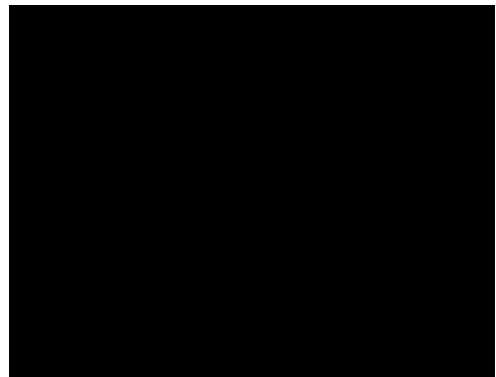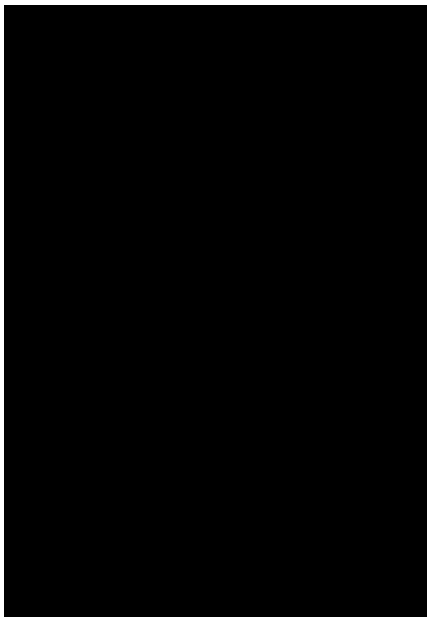
Figure 11. Barack Obama (Mclauchlan, 2008).

Figure 10. And they say that we are pigs… Soviet propaganda poster (*A esche govoryat, chto my svin'i...* 2006).

Another important concept in analysing images is framing, or the separation of objects in the picture by semiotic devices such as lines, trees, walls of buildings, etc. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). In Figure 10, there are two distinct areas, which are disconnected from each other with the assistance of the line and colours. The duplicity of the man on the left in Figure 7 is also enhanced by line and colours as if attesting to the duplicity of his personality.

The discussion above attests to the complex nature of multimodal analysis. I have covered various techniques and strategies, which help interpret discourse. At the same time, what the reader may infer from the image, advertisement or text, depends considerably on the knowledge, imagination and experience they bring to the text. However, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) claim that the composition of images limit our perception and keeps the reader on the 'right' track.

3.2.3.3. The use of colour and light in images

The use of colour is another way to interpret a text. Painters have always paid attention to colour as a means of expressing themselves; colour, and especially experiments with it became crucial for the Impressionists (Kemp, 2008). These experiments were continued by avant-garde artists who realised the potential that colour has in terms of intensifying the viewers' experience (Rowley, 2002). The prevalent colour scheme in Figure 5 is green and red. They are very intense colours that can be associated with nature and plants. They support the text conveying the idea of naturalness. In Figure 7, the text is red and black with red having a different connotation from ripeness. It is Communism vs. black, symbol of darkness, in this case Fascism. The transition of colours from red to black here stands for the change in political beliefs, political membership, and consequently treason.

In advertising, the choice of colour is critical, as it has the power to create brand image (Zinkhan, 1995). Colour in general and eye colour in particular influence the perception of the advertisement and the brand and the desire to purchase the item advertised (Simpson, Sturges, & Tanguma, 2008).

Colour can be judged by its three constituents. The first one is hue, "… the pigment of the colour, what we normally understand as blue, red, yellow, etc." (Gorn, Chattopadhyay, Yi, & Dahl, 1997, p. 1387). The second element that influences the viewers' perception is chroma, a colour's saturation because "… highly saturated [colours] have a greater proportion of the pigment in them. Low chroma colours are dull and high chroma colours are rich and deep" (Gorn, et al., 1997). Finally, every colour has value, "the degree of darkness or lightness of the colour relative to a neutral scale that extends from pure black to pure white" (Gorn, et al., 1997).

Some researchers say that the advertisers' choice of colour is often intuitional, without any reliance on academic books nor a deep understanding of psychology (Gorn, et al., 1997). However, their research shows that there are certain culturally ingrained patterns of 'reading' and interpretation that advertisers are aware of and they use this knowledge to their advantage. For example, high chroma colours like scarlet, saturated, rich and deep, create excitement, and this normally leads to a positive attitude towards the brand, that is the reason why they are chosen by advertisers so frequently (Gorn, et al., 1997).

In the course of this research, I will attempt to examine the importance and possible connotations of colours used in the advertisements.

Light is another aspect that seems prominent in the analysis of the visual part of the advertisement. The depiction of light became crucial for the Renaissance artists who experimented with the 'chiaroscuro' effect, the contrast between absolute lightness and absolute darkness (Albright, 1996). Chiaroscuro helps to portray the soul of the person depicted and expresses the incorporeal, the invisible and the ideal (Zielonka, 2008). During the Enlightenment, the word 'light' was used very often in relation to knowledge and science as opposed to mediaeval ignorance and religious dogmas (C. Martin, 2001). In the analysis of the advertisements, I will observe the use of light by the advertisement designers.

3.3   The concept of audience design

Audience design is an essential aspect of an advertisement's analysis. In commercial advertising, the relationship between the sender of the message and their addressee is interactive because advertisements are produced to encourage the consumer to buy products and services (Bell, 1999). In advertising, the 'sender', the 'addressor' of the message is the company that promotes a service or product, which in its turn engages the 'advertiser' or 'advertisement designer'(Cook, 2001). The message in mass media is often communicated by the 'speaker' (Bell, 1997) or 'intermediary' (K. Smith, 2004) who can be a celebrity or an unknown actor/model.

The question of audience in advertising is slightly more complicated as in mass media the audience that can potentially hear or see a text is wide. However, not all the hearers of the message make its 'target audience', as there is the direct 'addressee' for whom the message is designed (Bell, 1997). In advertising, the potential consumer is the one for whom the advertisement is designed and on whom the manner of address depends (Bell, 1999). When advertisers address the audience in their text by using pronoun 'you', they refer to both, the reader and the person endorsing the product/service[11] (Cook, 2001).

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[11] This discussion was presented earlier in section 3.2.2.4.

The image of the addressee that is constructed in the advertisement can be deduced from the model endorsing the product/service (Bell, 1999). According to Simpson et al. (2008), the model's appearance is critical when deciding about the credibility of an advertisement, as people tend to trust the advertisement that depicts a model that comes from the same ethnic background. The model's eye colour influences the perception of the advertisement and the brand and the desire to purchase the item advertised (Simpson, et al., 2008). In discussing skin colour, Lury (2005) claims that even nowadays, "…advertising continues to be remarkably white" (p. 289).

Therefore, the concept of audience design can help in the understanding of the target customer that is addressed in the text in the way they are talked to. The image of the model is important because they are the visual connector between the company, the sender of the message, and its recipient, the target audience.

Audience design in advertising plays a crucial role in understanding not only the advertisement itself, but the societal values that construct it, as advertisers "…model the identities and values of consumer society" (van Leeuwen, 2005). An important part of constructing identity is style (van Leeuwen, 2005).

'*Style*' has got a number of definitions because it is studied by different disciplines (Hodge & Kress, 1988). Sociolinguists, for example Hodge and Kress (1988) and Bell (1999) focus their research on speech styles. In his turn, Van Leeuwen (2005) identifies three types of style: individual, social and lifestyle. '*Individual style*' is constructed by people's physical appearance and unconscious behaviour. '*Social style*' is performative. It is used as a way to convey people's status through specific 'markers' and points to a person's age, gender, marital status and so on. '*Lifestyle*' is a fusion of social and individual styles and is characterized by "…shared consumer behaviours (shared taste) shared patterns of leisure time activities… and shared attitudes to key social issues…" values and beliefs. On other words, it serves as an expression of a 'lifestyle identity' (van Leeuwen, 2005, pp. 144-146).

In this research, I follow van Leeuwen's (2005) broad definition of style, which facilitates the analysis of advertisements and the unpacking of the meanings and values that advertisements convey. In addition, it helps to interpret how the audience, in case of this analysis, an ageing woman is constructed by the advertisers.

3.4 Case study as a research method

My research was organised into four case studies. This method was chosen due to several reasons. First of all, a case study is a well-established qualitative research method with "… its intense focus on a single phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin, 1999, p. 1211). The focus of the case study on the context is crucial for my research that uses CDA. The importance of the context in CDA was highlighted in section 3.2.1 of this chapter. What is more, a case study clarifies the connection between a phenomenon and the context (Yin, 1999). A case study can also successfully incorporate different research methods (Yin, 1999), which will work for the multimodal approach that I use in the analysis. Another aspect that determined the choice of this research method in my study was the ability to answer the 'why' and 'how' questions (Yin, 2003), for example "How have the advertising strategies changed over the years?" and "Why was this particular strategy chosen in the advertisement?"

An important issue in conducting case study is the clarity of a researcher's understanding of the conceptual framework that they are working within (Yin, 1981). This involves the alignment of the problem definition, theoretical background, methodological approach, methods of data collection and analysis with the purpose of the research. Chapter two has presented the detailed discussion on the context and theoretical perspectives, explained the key constructs that are used in the analysis chapters. The earlier sections of this chapter have discussed the approach to data analysis, which is a multimodal analysis combining CDA and social semiotics.

A clear presentation of arguments does not depend on an understanding of the conceptual framework solely. If the topic under study is broad, it is a good idea to narrow it down to ensure a deeper investigation of the issue (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Chapter two has presented the overarching research question, which generated three related questions. These three questions are discussed in chapter eight separately, which ensures the holisticity of the analysis and the clarity of its presentation.

A case study could be considered a controversial research method because apart from causing numerous difficulties, especially for novice researchers, its results may be disputed. The first anticipated argument is the problem of generalisation from the results of a case study. However, Yin (1997) draws the difference between analytical

generalisation and statistical where the results of the case study are analytical generalisation and thus can be accepted (Yin, 1994 as cited in Tellis, 1997).

Smith (1990) points to one more criticism of a case study made by some academics. Being a qualitative research method, it cannot be objective, hence not regarded as valid. In this case, it is harder for the investigator to prove the validity of a case study. Baxter and Jack (Baxter & Jack, 2008), in their turn, assert that a qualitative case study can be trustworthy and offer a number of guidelines that increase research validity. The researcher should clearly formulate their research question, design the study in response to the research question, conduct a purposeful sampling and analyse data accurately. My research question is formulated and discussed in chapter two, the organisation of the study and methods of data collection are explained in chapter three. In addition, chapter three focuses on the tools employed in the analysis, which ensures its accuracy. If conducted appropriately, a qualitative case study gives the researcher an opportunity to present an in-depth holistic study of a case and look at it from different perspectives (Baxter & Jack, 2008; N. C. Smith, 1990).

The results of this research can also be questioned as invalid as they are an inference of the texts by a single researcher. Nevertheless, this interpretative analysis is based on the knowledge and theory that has been tested by many researchers and has successfully been taught in universities in English speaking countries (e.g., SFL, CDA, social semiotics).

In conclusion, a case study is the method acceptable for this particular study. There are aspects that I have to bear in mind both before and when conducting it, they are not rigorous rules that are not subject to change but rather guidelines that I should follow.

3.5 Data selection

In order to answer the research questions explained in chapter two with the implementation of multimodal CDA, in-depth case studies were conducted. I decided to closely investigate four anti-ageing advertisements, two representing the 1970s and two representing the 2000s. If the data received from the four had been insufficient for the analysis, I would have analysed more advertisements.

As I decided to compare the two eras[12], the 1970s marked by the rise of the second wave feminism and the 2000s, the time when in some cultures the views on a woman's place in the society are different from the 1970s. Consequently, the advertisements had to be elicited from the magazines[13] representing the eras. Another important aspect of comparison was choice of the two different magazines. The first magazine is *Vogue* that claims progressiveness and sophistication. The second one is *NZWW*, a magazine that does not aspire to the qualities of *Vogue* and remains targeted at low-middle class women, interested in cooking, gardening, bringing up children and the latest news about lives of celebrities.

The 1970s copies of magazines (*US Vogue* and *NZWW*) were studied in the National Library in Wellington. Many anti-ageing advertisements of different brands were copied. After that, the advertisements from the contemporary *UK Vogue* and *NZWW* were copied. The first criterion for the selection was the presence of text, not just a slogan, so that I had enough text to work with. The second criterion was the use of colour, as I intended to compare the visual as well as textual components. The third criterion was the brand advertised. I decided to pay attention to the brands that seemed to advertise heavily during the period under study. Magazines in the 1970s contained a plethora of Helena Rubenstein advertisements, which may attest to the popularity of the brand at that time. L'Oreal's anti-ageing advertisements nowadays can be seen on television and magazines a lot. Estée Lauder's advertisements are also frequent in upmarket magazines such as Vogue, Marie Claire and the like. Thus, the potential popularity and prevalence of these brands in the mass media determined their selection for the analysis.

Case study one is an advertisement of Helena Rubinstein's new anti-ageing product Skin Life placed in *US Vogue*, November 1974. The same brand was advertised in *NZWW*, so I decided to compare the advertisements of the same brand in different types of magazines. Case study one was also a colour advertisement, so it fitted all the selection criteria. Case study two is an advertisement from *NZWW*, May 25, 1970,

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[12] The discussion on the periods was presented in chapter two.

[13] The discussion on the specifics of *Vogue* and *NZWW* was presented in chapter two.

which advertised Ultra Feminine Biogenic Night Cream by Helena Rubinstein. It was selected due to being the same brand as case study one and the use of colour.

Estée Lauder's Perfectionist advertisement from *Vogue*, February 2003 constitutes case study three. Similar to the other advertisements, it contains a text and uses colour. Case study four features an advertisement of L'Oreal's anti-ageing programme from *NZWW*, 4 December 2006, which also fitted the criteria described above.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the approach to data analysis, which is a multimodal analysis involving CDA and social semiotics. The chapter presented the criticisms of CDA in research literature. At the same time, it presented the position of researchers who have been conducting CDA over the last thirty years or so. The importance of context for the analysis was highlighted.

The chapter examined the tools that were employed in the analysis, such as SFL. It was argued that modality and transitivity are the key aspects of the grammatical analysis. Other methods of textual analysis were presented. Lexical choice, the repetition of lexical items and register were identified as important in the analysis of lexicality. On the morphological level, the choice of the pronoun and comparative structures appeared significant factors of the analysis. Finally, the aspect of the analysis of metadiscourse, such as framing, parallel structures and rhythm were discussed. In the discussion of the key aspects of the text analysis, the examples from contemporary texts were given. The suitability of SFL for the research project was argued.

The second tool of the analysis is social semiotics. The definitions of social semiotics and the terms that it uses were given. The key strategies that social semiotics employs were presented. They included the analysis of the semiotic landscape, the position of the model in the picture in relation to other objects and the viewer, the communicative act performed by the model, the angle at which the model is observed, the distance between the viewer and the model, the props and the concept of framing. The examples illustrating these strategies were given. The validity of this tool for the analysis of advertisements was argued. In addition, the tools of the analysis of colour and light were discussed because colour and light are important aspects of advertisement design.

The chapter presented the concept of audience design in advertising. The importance of this component of the analysis was explained by the fact that audience design clarifies the image of the target audience constructed by advertisement designers. In its turn, the construction of the target audience points to the values that are embedded in society.

This chapter presented a discussion of the methodological approach used in the thesis. The chapter discussed the application of case study as research methodology, highlighted its importance and validity; its criticisms were discussed and argued. Data selection procedures were described with the criteria for the selection of the advertisements pinpointed.

4 Chapter four: Case study one

4.1 Introduction

Case study one analyses an advertisement[14] that appeared in *Vogue* (SkinLife, 1974), November, (US version). The model portrayed in this advertisement was a well known top–model in the 1970s, Karen Graham. She was one of Vogue's favourites along with some other fair-haired and blue-eyed girls, like Lauren Hutton and Marisa Berenson. She was one of the few models that Vogue photographed on a regular basis, so I assume that at that time she was a familiar face to readers.

This case study presents a multimodal analysis of the advertisement design. The analysis of the image examines how the model and consequently the reader were constructed in the advertisement. It also looks into the themes that were foregrounded visually. In doing this, I use a social semiotic approach to the analysis of the advertisement.

The linguistic part of the analysis examines the roles that the writer allocated to the participants of the sentences, where I use Fairclough's (2003) and van Leeuwen's (2005) approach to the analysis of social actions and Fairclough's idea of grammatical 'passivation'[15] (Fairclough, 2003). This analysis also unpacks the writer's idea of their target audience because the reader determines the form of address (Bell, 1997, 1999).

This chapter also examines the way ageist discourse is constructed in the advertisement and the discourses that underlie it. Another aspect that the analysis looks into is parallel structures and the effect that they may have on the reading of the advertisement.

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[14] See Figure 12 below.

[15] More discussion on Fairclough's idea of passivation is presented in chapter three.
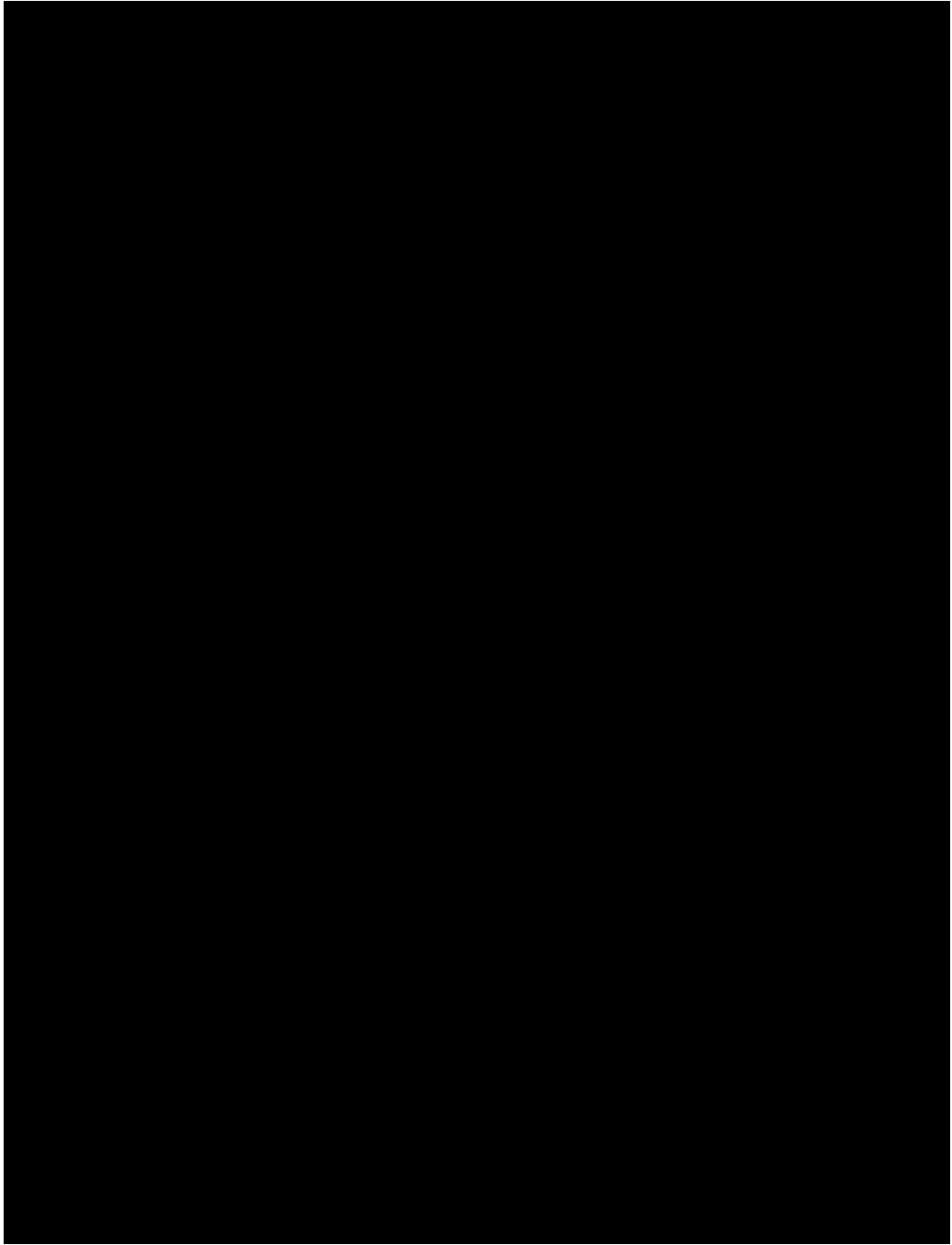
Figure 12. Helena Rubinstein advertisement in Vogue. (SkinLife, 1974, p. 84)

4.2 An analysis of semiotic cues

This section begins with the discussion of the semiotic landscape of the advertisement. Then it discusses the style of the image of the advertisement. Finally, it examines the

model's position in relation to the viewer and the communicative act[16] performed by the model.

4.2.1 Semiotic landscape

To facilitate understanding of the discussion, Figure 13 shows the domains of the advertisement in accordance with the pattern of reading in Western cultures (Kress, et al., 1997).

The semiotic landscape of the advertisement places the model in the domain that Kress et al. (1997) and van Leeuwen (2005) call ideal and desired[17], the part of the text where the effect of using the product is displayed. The textual part is placed in the domain of real (with the cream jar right in the middle of it), the area where the information on how this effect can be achieved is generally found (Kress, et al., 1997; van Leeuwen, 2005). Being designed this way, the written text in the advertisement can be perceived as the instruction on how to achieve the appearance displayed in the domain of the desired.

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[16] See more discussion in chapter three.

[17] See Figure 8 in page 38.
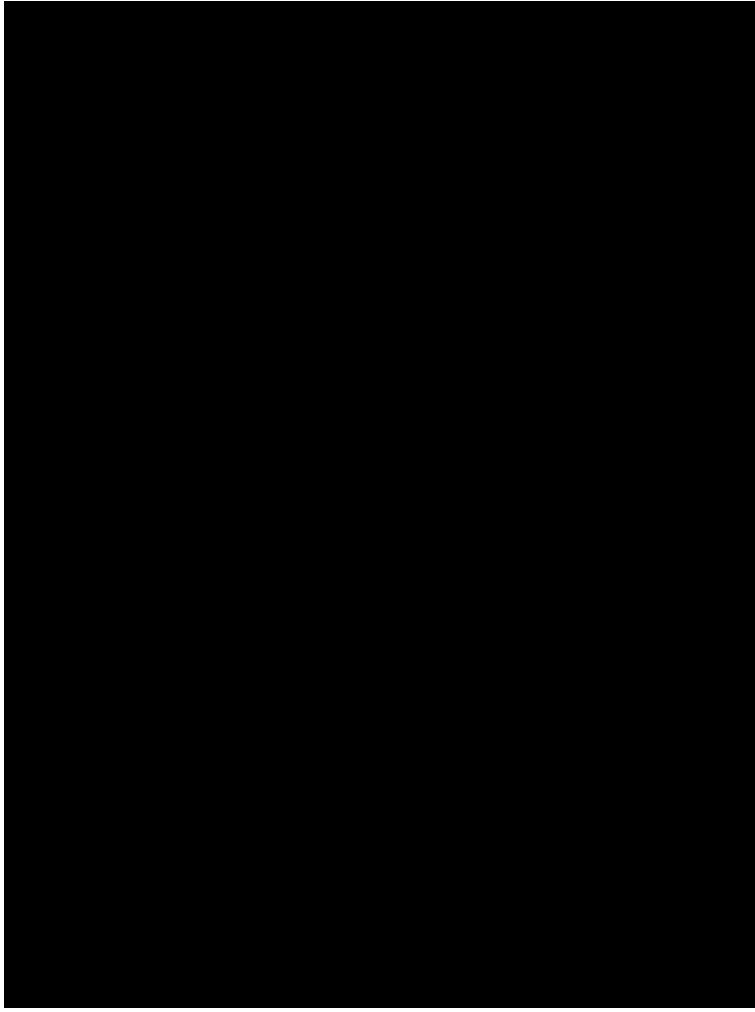
Figure 13. The semiotic landscape of Helena Rubinstein advertisement (SkinLife, 1974)

4.2.2 Semiotic analysis of style

Style is an important part of the analysis because it gives the understanding of the reader that the writer addresses. The analysis of style[18] involves the examination of the model advertising the product, their appearance, social and ethnic group affiliation (Bell, 1999; Simpson, et al., 2008).

The model in the picture is white and blue-eyed, which fits the American idea about a beautiful woman (Simpson, et al., 2008). She is presented as upper-middle class, as she is dressed in a discreet but expensive outfit by Calvin Klein[19]. Her jewellery, which

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[18] More discussion on audience design is presented in chapter three.

[19] There is a tag with the Calvin Klein label in the top right-hand side of the advertisement in fine print.

resembles a string of pearls, appears understated, at the same time as probably being rather high-priced. In the advertisement, the model is presented as an example of good taste. The depiction of the model is also sexualised, as she is invitingly positioned on the sofa. In addition, her lips are plump and sensual making her look sexually attractive.

The location and occupation of the model remain unclear. She may be at home, half-sitting on the sofa after finishing housework, although her hair seems too well groomed and her clothes seem too dressy to be at home. A feature of the 1950s – 1970s advertisements was their depiction of housewives wearing chic clothes, high heels and sophisticated hair-dos. Possibly, however, the model could be in an office having a short break or waiting for somebody to come to an arranged meeting. If she is in the office, where are all the office realia? The absence of an indication as to the location of the model is not accidental because this way the advertisement can be appealing to both working and non-working female audiences. Moreover, the advertisement can be perceived as rather progressive because it does not obviously place the woman at home thereby labelling her as a housewife.

As it was noted in chapter three, the colour, which is used in a text, is an important conveyor of meaning. The prevalent hue of the advertisement is many shades of white. It is the colour of higher value[20], which relaxes the viewer (Gorn, et al., 1997). The model's dress is white. It echoes the colour of her jewellery, the tablecloth, the flowers, the curtain, the cream and its jar. The sofa, the thread on the tablecloth, the vase, the lid and the letters of the cream jar are depicted in beige, sometimes with a matching golden shade. All the objects depicted are equalised. At some stage, the model's body and the sofa grow almost indistinct due to the lighting of the room.

The only colour that stands out is the model's complexion/face and hair, which thus become the centre of attention. The emphasis on the model's head achieved by colour is intensified by the sharp focus of the photograph. Being the advertisement of a beauty product, the emphasis on the model's head seems logical.

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[20] More discussion in section 3.2.3.3

4.2.3 Semiotic analysis of the model's position

The position of the model in the advertisement is ambiguous. At first sight, she is given visual importance as she is in sharp focus and she is looking demandingly and engagingly at the viewer. There is a question in her look and the position of her head: I AM ideal, and how about you? However, she is not overly imposing, as the photo is a medium-shot making the distance between her and the viewer social so that we are not close enough to invade her personal space or she ours (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Moreover, the angle at which she was photographed is oblique, which also makes her a passive object of observation for the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Being photographed in sharp focus, the model is placed, however, in the background. The foreground is occupied by the vase of flowers in soft focus and an embroidered tablecloth in sharp focus. They visually hide half of her body from the viewer. Thus, the model's face and hair have more visual weight than the rest of her body, which, as it was said in the previous section, could be intentional.

In conclusion, the semiotic analysis revealed that the writer's construction of the model and thus their reader, who is presumably an ageing woman, can be interpreted as somewhat stereotypical because it constructs her as looking passive and soft, in an environment that resembles a domestic situation (Hollows, 2000; Pawelczyk, 2008). Visually, the stereotypical portrayal of the audience can be achieved by the semiotic landscape, the absence of a reference to any occupation and the position of the model. The choice of colour and light and the play on sharp and soft focus help to put the visual weight on a specific object, which in this case is the model's head.

The fact that the model in the picture is sexualised[21] may attest to the importance of sexuality for advertisers, at least in this advertisement. It may be perceived that the construction of sexuality as desirable, because the sexualised model is in the domain of the ideal and desired (see Figure 13).

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[21] See discussion in the section above.

4.3 Linguistic analysis of the advertisement

The linguistic analysis of the advertisement examines the writer's construction of the participants in the sentences and thus their reader because authors design their texts in response to their audience[22] (Bell, 1997; Cook, 2001; K. Smith, 2004). It also discusses the way ageism is constructed in the advertisements. Finally, it investigates the use of parallel structures. The text of the advertisement is presented in Figure 14 below.

> Skin Life smooths away the years. Makes your skin feel renewed, revitalised.
>
> We have used the science of biogenics to develop a unique beauty treatment. It's based on an exclusive bio-complex, imported from France, called GAM and made to match as closely as possible the fluid of your own skin cells. It's this natural fluid that helps maintain moisture, prevent wrinkles and generally keep skin in good tone.
>
> Skin Life. Just a little every day will soon get your skin looking fresher, brighter, younger.
>
> And that's a promise.
>
> Helena Rubinstein/the science of beauty

Figure 14. The text of Helena Rubinstein Skin Life (SkinLife, 1974).

4.3.1 Identification and representation: Unpacking the writer's position

The writer's position and consequently the position that they allocate for their reader can be clarified in the analysis of the processes in sentences (Fairclough, 2003; van Leeuwen, 1995). Table 1 below compares the types of processes performed by the agents of the sentences or processes done to the objects. It shows what the role distribution in the sentences is: the agents are the cream and the company. They are the psychological (the important part of the message), grammatical (the one that predicated action relates to) and the logical (the one who performs the action) subjects of the sentence (Halliday, 1994). They are foregrounded and given the greatest weight in all the sentences, backgrounding the objects: skin, wrinkles, years and moisture, for example, *"Skin life smooths away the years… We have used the science of biogenics…"*

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[22] More discussion on audience design is presented in chapter three.

Table 1. Social processes in the written part of the advertisement.

Agent	Process	Object	Type of process
1. Skin Life	smooths away	the years	material
2. Skin Life (omitted)	makes feel	your skin	material
3. we	have used	the science of biogenics	material
	develop	a unique beauty treatment	material
4.	is based	it (a unique beauty treatment)	material
	is imported	---\\---	material
	is called	---\\---	relational (verbal)
	is made	---\\---	material
5. this natural fluid	helps maintain	moisture	material
---\\---	prevent	wrinkles	material
---\\---	keep (in good tone)	skin	relational
6. Skin Life (omitted)	will get looking fresher, brighter, younger	your skin	relational

According to Fairclough (2003) the suppression, exclusion or backgrounding of social actors, which can be achieved by assigning the actor the role of the 'object', may lead to the passivation[23] of social actors. In his turn, Van Leeuwen (2005) states that the empowerment of non-animate participants of a sentence can be regarded as an 'instrumentalisation' of social actors, which diminishes human participants of the sentences and is common "… in texts which are to some degree bureaucratised" (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 90). Having the power to background human participants, this form of address might position the company as authoritative, endowed with the power to change things.

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[23] More discussion in chapter three.

The power in the text is reinforced by the exclusive '*we*' (the company, the sender) separating themselves from the reader and the woman addressed. The text has constructed two different groups, the empowered experts and the reader who apparently needs to be educated. The company's expert position is augmented by the allusion to France (*"...imported from France"*), the country that is associated with style and beauty, thus presumably impressing the reader. Interestingly, the reader is not addressed by the second person pronoun 'you' and is not named. She is mentioned indirectly by possessive pronouns '*your skin*'[24], which does not make the woman the subject of the sentences but the attribute of the object of the sentence '*skin*'. The absence of the direct address and the indirect reference through possessive pronouns creates the feeling of the omission of the target audience, an ageing woman.

The analysis above shows that the reader (an ageing woman) is assigned a passive role in the text. First, the agent of the sentences is either the cream or its manufacturer, and second, the reader is not named or addressed directly in the text.

4.3.2   Ageist discourse as a means of appeal

In this section, I focus on the lexical items that are a part of ageist discourse. I also demonstrate how terms borrowed from different genres, such as the military, science and medicine are used to construct the image of ageing.

The body nowadays has become a marker of ageing (Calasanti, 2008). Its maintenance is constructed as a necessity, an obligation, among the maintenance of other things that we use regularly (Featherstone, 1991). The collocation 'body maintenance' is used frequently in mass media implying that people have to maintain their bodies like machines that need to be serviced (Featherstone, 1991). The advertisement in case study two claims that the cream "*... helps maintain moisture…*", the moisture that leaves the skin as people (and particularly postmenopausal women) age, consequently it has to be maintained like the temperature in a room.

Other words that are employed in the advertisement are predictable including *'wrinkles', 'younger', 'years', 'revitalise', 'renew'. 'Revitalise'* has become a buzzword

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[24] For the convenience of the reader, the actual sentences from the texts of the advertisements in the analysis will be italicised.

and can be found in abundance in the texts that promote anti-ageing products (Bazin & White, 2006). *'Revitalise'* according to Webster dictionary means 'to give new life or vigour to'(revitalize, 2010). Another word that can often be seen in ageist discourse is *'renew'* meaning 'make like new'. People renew their membership, passport or driver's licence when they cannot be used due to the expiry. Advertisers claim that the same can be done to our skin: buying a cream will make the skin look like new if the years have made it unsuitable for use.

A negative image of ageing in this advertisement is constructed by the vocabulary that presents a positive evaluation of the skin's improved qualities (*'fresher', 'brighter'* and *'younger'*) after the application of the cream. The comparative structures used in these sentences give an indirect negative evaluation of the skin that lacks these characteristics.

Anti-ageing advertising discourse borrows vocabulary from other discourses, some of which are used so regularly that they can be regarded as a part of ageist discourse. Words associated with the military portray ageing as something that should be prevented or fought back (J. Coupland, 2002). Thus, the word '*prevent*'[25] in the collocation '*prevent wrinkles*' in the text of the advertisement has the power to position wrinkles as undesirable, even as an enemy.

Medical words are also exploited quite successfully presenting ageing as an illness that has to be '*prevented*' or treated (J. Coupland, 2002). The words '*treatment*' and '*prevent*' that is used in this text is frequent in advertisements of anti-ageing cosmetics, thereby naturalising the construction of wrinkles as being a disease.

Along with medical terms, scientised discourse is also known as giving credibility to advertising claims (J. Coupland, 2002). The problem with scientised discourse is that some of the terms are not understood by most readers; nevertheless, it is very frequently utilised in promotional texts[26] (J. Coupland, 2002; Strange, 2008). The examples in this advertisement include '*science of biogenics', 'bio-complex', ' GAM', 'fluid', 'skin cells', 'science of beauty'*. Indeed, the word *'biogenics'* needs clarification, not to

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[25] The second meaning of 'prevent' is discussed below.

[26] More discussion is presented in chapter two.

mention *'GAM'*, which is obviously an abbreviation and calls for deciphering. The fact that no further explanation is given implies that the reader is expected to take these terms for granted and probably believe them. Thus, the stereotypical construction of women is extended to the level of the vocabulary common for the promotion of anti-ageing creams. The educating tone of the expert is achieved by the use of terms that are a priori not clear to the reader.

The discourse borrowed from genres like science and medicine appeared in the text of this advertisement with grammatical structures, which are regarded as features of scientific and academic discourse. Noun groups *'a unique beauty treatment'* and *'the fluid of your skin'* are examples of nominalisation[27], which initially appeared in scientific and technical texts and was later introduced into other discourses (Halliday, 1994). The use of the grammatical structure alongside scientific vocabulary could indicate that linguistic resources other than vocabulary are needed to make the text sound 'scientific' and thus perhaps more credible.

4.3.3 Parallel structures

Parallel structures[28] are another interesting aspect of this advertisement. First, they are used to balance a sentence through similar syntactical structures (*Parallelism*, n.d.). Second, the rhythmic nature of parallel structures makes them a cohesive device (van Leeuwen, 2005). In addition, rhythm helps to emphasise the elements of the phrase close to the pause, which is generally signalled by commas and full stops.

In the text of the advertisement, parallel structures[29] are frequent. The structures that repeated in the sentences are simple present (3rd singular), past participle, past participle + prepositional phrase, verb + infinitive and comparative form of adjectives:

1) Skin Life (a) smooths away the YEARS. (b)Makes your skin feel (c)RENEWED, (d) REVITALISED.

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[27] See more discussion in chapter three.

[28] See more discussion on parallel structures in chapter three.

[29] The parallel structures in the text have been underlined; the words that in my opinion are close to the pause have been capitalised.

4) It's (a)<u>based on an exclusive BIO-COMPLEX</u>, (b)<u>imported from FRANCE</u>, (c)<u>called GAM</u>[30] and (d)<u>made to match as closely as possible the fluid of your SKIN CELLS</u>.

5) It's this natural fluid that helps (e)<u>maintain MOISTURE</u>, (f)<u>prevent WRINKLES</u> and generally (g)<u>keep skin in GOOD TONE</u>.

7) Just a little every day will soon get your skin looking (h)FRESHER, (i)BRIGHTER, (j)YOUNGER.

From the point of view of the meaning, the parallel structures here expand on the advantages and usefulness of this particular product. As a result, the qualities of the product get reinforced, which might increase its saleability. Moreover, they give an opportunity to insert several ideas in one utterance making it concise and compact.

The words that are emphasised through the rhythm of the sentence include *'years', 'renewed', 'revitalised', 'bio-complex', 'France', 'GAM', 'skin cells', 'moisture', 'wrinkles', 'good tone', 'fresher', 'brighter',* and *'younger'*. Thus, they can be regarded as the key words of the advertisement, which might indicate the advertisers' areas of focus: ageist discourse (*'moisture', 'wrinkles'*), 'scientised' discourse, which I consider a part of ageist discourse (*'GAM', 'skin cells'*), the skin's qualities after the application of the cream (*'fresher', 'brighter', 'younger'*) and reference to the origin (*'France'*).

The themes that are foregrounded in the parallel structures could indicate that the writer speculates on the following aspects. First, it looks like they use the reader's wariness of ageing and the problems associated with it: *'wrinkles'* and the skin that cannot be characterised as *'in good tone', 'bright'* and *'fresh'*. It could also be interpreted as the writer's attempt to impress the reader by the scientific terms the meaning of which has not been clarified: *'bio-genics', 'GAM'*. Perhaps, the writer did not intend to make their meaning clear. Finally, the focus on the word *'France'* could be interpreted as an appeal to the audiences who aspire to glamour, which is normally associated with this country.

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[30] The original capitalisation in this sentence coincides with the end of the phrase.

4.4 Conclusion

This case study examined the visual and the textual components of the text. It discussed what themes were foregrounded in the advertisement visually and textually. It analysed the way the participants of the sentences were constructed. Finally, it investigated how ageism was presented in the text of the advertisement.

The model in the picture was sexualised due to her appearance and position on the sofa. She was placed in the desired and the ideal part of this advertisement, which may attest to the promotion of the need to be sexually attractive.

Both, visually and linguistically the reader was constructed in a conservative manner because first, the model who might represent the reader was white, upper-middle class, probably at home. Second, the model was depicted as passively lying on the sofa without any sign of activity that could be assigned to her, which reproduces the conservative depiction of women in advertising as passive observers rather than doers (Pawelczyk, 2008).

Linguistically, the passivation of the reader was achieved by giving the non-animated participants such as cream or the company the power to change things through material processes. In addition, the reader was excluded from the text because they were not named or addressed directly by the pronoun 'you'.

Ageing was constructed negatively due to the use of vocabulary borrowed from the military and medicine, e.g. *'prevent'*, *'treatment',* which compared ageing with an enemy, a disease. Another major facet of ageist discourse in the advertisement was 'scientised' discourse. The scientific words were introduced without any clarification of the words: *'GAM', 'science of biogenics'*. Perhaps, their relevance and veracity was expected to be taken for granted. Nominalisation used alongside 'scientised' vocabulary complemented the scientisation of the text and probably its persuasiveness.

The analysis of parallel structures helped to identify the key themes of the text, which were ageing, 'scientised' vocabulary and the cream's origin. The writer's focus on these aspects could be interpreted as first, an address to an aspirationally glamorous reader. Second, the focus on 'scientised' vocabulary resembled an attempt to impress the reader with the scientific terms, the meaning of which apparently did not need to be

understood. Finally, the foregrounding of the vocabulary associated with ageing could indicate that the writer speculated on the negative impacts of ageing on the appearance, such as *'wrinkles'* and losing the qualities of being *'in good tone', 'bright'* and *'fresh'*.

5 Chapter five: Case study two

5.1 Introduction

Case study two analyses an advertisement[31] that comes from the *New Zealand Women's Weekly* ("Ultra Feminine Night Cream," 1970), a magazine that appears rather conservative in its position on women's place in society in spite of the rise of women's liberation movements in the Western world, including New Zealand in the 1970s[32].

This case study presents a multimodal analysis of the advertisement. It is based on the analysis of inconsistencies (Wodak, 2001b) and patterns (Janks, 1997) that emerge in the picture and the text of the advertisement. First, the case study examines the semiotic cues of the advertisement layout. In this section, the analysis focuses on the semiotic landscape of the advertisement. It also analyses the portrayal of the model, which may clarify the image of the reader that the writer addresses (Bell, 1999; van Leeuwen, 2005).

The linguistic analysis of the advertisement focuses on the position that the writer takes on the statements made in the text. It also examines the roles allocated to the participants of the sentences through modality and process types. In doing this, it uses social semiotics and SFL as tools of analysis.

The linguistic analysis also discusses lexicality in the advertisement. First, it examines the construction of ageing. Then, it analyses the vocabulary that is not related to ageing but at the same time seems prominent. It focuses on the effect that this vocabulary may have on the reading of the text.

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[31] See Figure 15 below.

[32] See more discussion in chapter two.
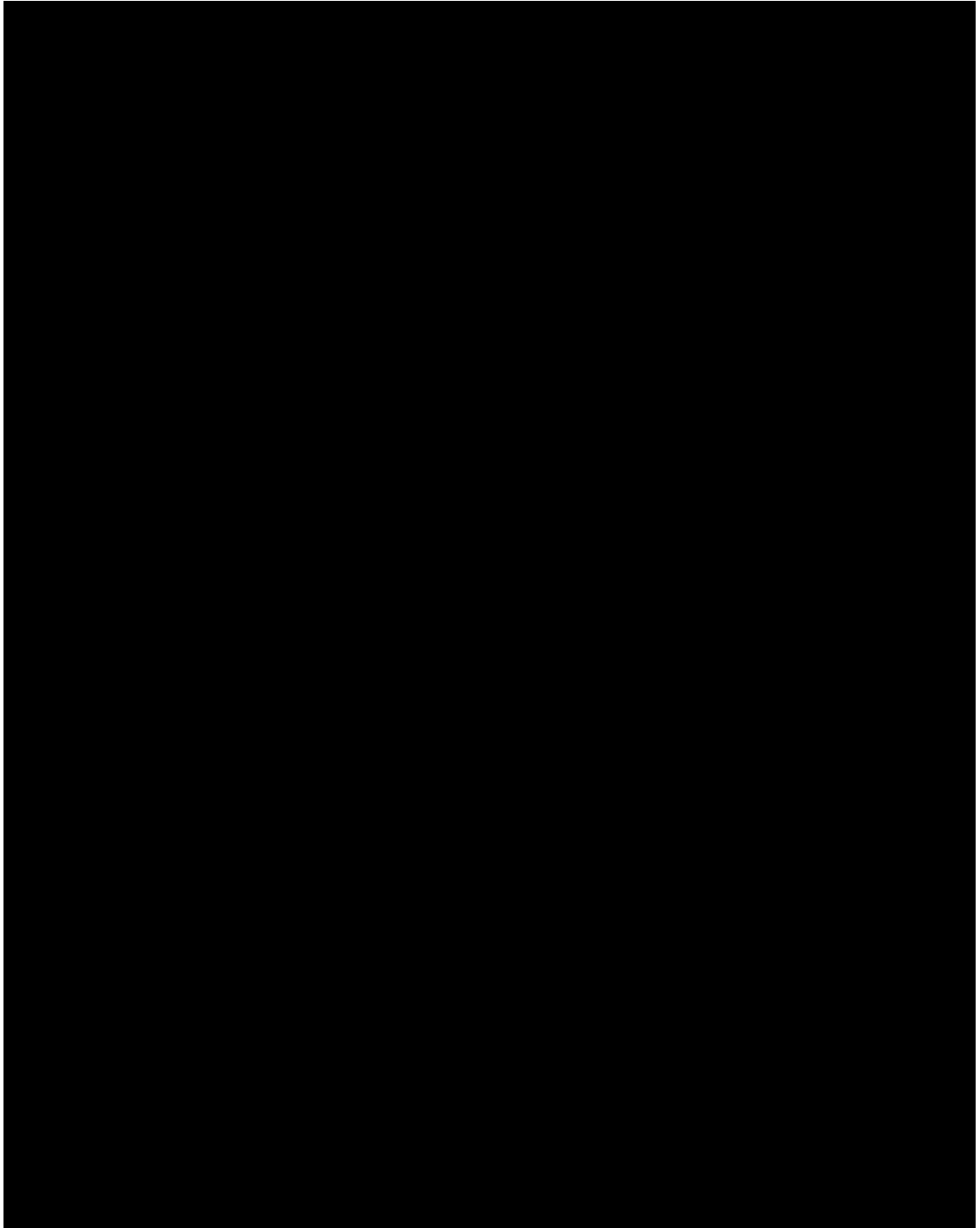
Figure 15. Ultra Feminine Night Cream by Helena Rubinstein ("Ultra Feminine Night Cream," 1970, p. 15).

5.2 An analysis of semiotic cues

This section focuses on the visual part of the advertisement. It analyses its layout from a social semiotic point of view (Kress, et al., 1997; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van

Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen, 2005), then looks into the style constructed by the advertisers (van Leeuwen, 2005). Finally, it discusses the position of the model in the picture and the communicative act[33] that she performs.

5.2.1 Semiotic landscape

In the top part of the advertisement, which is the domain of the ideal and desired, there is the first advertising claim: *"Ultra Feminine Cream: use it every day. In thirty days it will help you look younger or we'll give you your money back."* Under this claim, right in the centre of the advertisement, there is the image of the model advertising the cream and probably illustrating its effect. Under the picture in the real domain, there is the description of the cream's action, which could be interpreted as the instruction on how to achieve the effect claimed in the domain of the ideal. In the very centre of the real domain, there is the picture of the cream, which probably indicates that what is claimed and displayed in the domain of the ideal and desired is attainable with the product advertised.

5.2.2 Semiotic analysis of style

One of the aspects of the analysis of image is style. Style is designed to reflect as well as mould the values and identities of consumer society (van Leeuwen, 2005). Style can be identified by 'markers' or 'props' (van Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen, 2005) that have connotations and generate meanings (van Leeuwen, 2005).

In the advertisement, the model is depicted as probably married and at home. The ring on the model's left finger may indicate her marital status. The realia in the picture indicate that the advertisement may be set at home: there is an armchair, a chest of drawers, a pot plant, a lamp etc. The name of the cream (Ultra Feminine Night Cream) and the instructions in the textual part of the advertisement also say, *"...all you have to do is simply spend a few minutes each night treating your skin with [it]"* suggests that it should be applied before going to bed.

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[33] See more discussion on femininity in section 2.4.3.

The model in the picture is stylised as explicitly feminine[34], through her doe eyes, the fluffy skirt, the hairdo and somewhat feline posture. The idea of femininity is bolstered in the name of the cream – Ultra Feminine, which is reiterated throughout the advertisement. Neither the name, nor the picture reflects the idea of the product's real function, which is an anti-wrinkle cream. Actually, the image of the advertisement could be promoting a wide range of products: clothes, home interiors, makeup or hair care. The ultra-femininity of the product here seems to be more important than the cream's function. Feminisation of discourse in this advertisement reaches the extent of a hyperbole, which Gannon (2007) calls 'hyperfeminisation'.

The advertisement also sexualises the model. She is likely to be depicted before going to bed, she is married and she is at home, but she is not presented as she is ready to get a goodnight's sleep. By contrast, she is wearing provocative bright clothes. In addition, her feline posture is seductive. Her exposed crossed legs and her shoulder moved forward construct the posture as suggestive. The advertisement says that if the cream is applied every night, the skin *"…[will] begin to look softer, more supple, younger…"* without saying what the customer actually needs it for. It looks like the cream is needed for the reader to become more seductive, feminine and sexually attractive like the model.

If the advertisement is set at home before bedtime, the model's style is not quite appropriate for the setting, at least from the perspective of a person living in the 2000s. The colour of the model's clothes is bright red, which visually distinguishes her from the other objects in the advertisement. From the point of view of the composition, visual weight is put on the object that has to be more prominent (van Leeuwen, 2005), which is effectively done here, as there are no other elements in the text that match in colour. Being bright and intense, this colour is not generally worn on a daily basis at home, to the office or shop (at least in 2000s). Although it might well be worn to a party, it could be chosen by a person who does not fear, or may aspire to be the centre of attention. In addition, the model's hairdo is perfect and complexly styled it is not something that can be attained in a matter of minutes. In addition, the model's makeup is quite heavy. The

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[34] The notion of femininity is underpinned in section 2.4.3.

question arises as to why this woman is stylised this way if she is at home and is promoting a night cream.

The importance of women's magazines in endorsing values and stereotypes is noted by Caldas-Coulthard (1996) who maintains that they have for many years played a crucial role in the lifestyles of women who read them. If we assume that the advertisers were aware of the impact of the images placed in women's magazines, this advertisement might be interpreted as a directive of how a married woman should possibly look: be well prepared to meet her husband in their boudoir, be feline and suggestive.

Another implicit directive could be elicited from the ring on the model's finger: if it is time for you to use anti-ageing cream, you might be expected to be married or at least engaged. Considering the mainstream opposition to the shift in family values and the increasing number of women thinking about their career opportunities, it could have well been read as an attempt to construct the image of what was a norm, what was required and acceptable.

5.2.3 Semiotic analysis of the model's position

The posture of the model establishes contact with the viewer, as she is bent forward as if trying to get a better understanding of what is being said to her. At the same time, her posture looks staged because she is too tense for somebody who is relaxed and perhaps at home because she is sitting on the edge of the armchair as though ready to stand up any second.

The attempt to establish contact with the viewer is also done through the gaze of the model who is looking at us with intensity. Such gaze is generally regarded as an appeal to the viewer to take action (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). The sender's imposition is minimised here by the distance of the model, as it is a medium shot implying that the distance between the viewer and the model is social, perhaps at the level of acquaintances. In other words, we know her well enough to talk to her, but not well enough to penetrate into her innermost feelings as a closer shot gives a better understanding of the participant's personality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

Another way to engage the viewer is the angle from which the participant is observed either involving the viewer or detaching them[35]. At first sight, the angle that we see the model at is frontal, which means that the person in the viewing of the picture is positioned as involved in what is going on. However, the model's body is turned away, which detaches her from the observer. Her knees and toes create a vector that is pointing away from the camera and only her upper body is rotated making the angle from which she is looking at us frontal. Consequently, we can see a contrast between the involvement and detachment of the viewer in what is happening in the picture, which could be intentional.

More contrasts can be found in the picture of the advertisement. To illustrate my point, I decided to separate the two parts of the advertisement, which shows the contrast in the use of light (see Figure 16). Due to the lighting of the room, the darkness appears to descend from the top right-hand corner of the page to the bottom left-hand corner thus revealing differentiation between the two sides: dark and light (see Figure 16). The contrast between lightness and darkness suggests a particular viewing of the model. Her left side is illuminated and moved backwards, which makes it look protected. Her advanced and exposed right side becomes her darker side. The interplay between light and dark (the 'chiaroscuro' effect[36]) is known for depicting the soul of the person in the picture (Zielonka, 2008), which here might mean the antithesis between the model's dark outer exposed side and her inner and secured, or even submitted side.

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[35] The discussion on oblique/frontal angles is presented in chapter three.

[36] More discussion on the use of light is presented in chapter three.
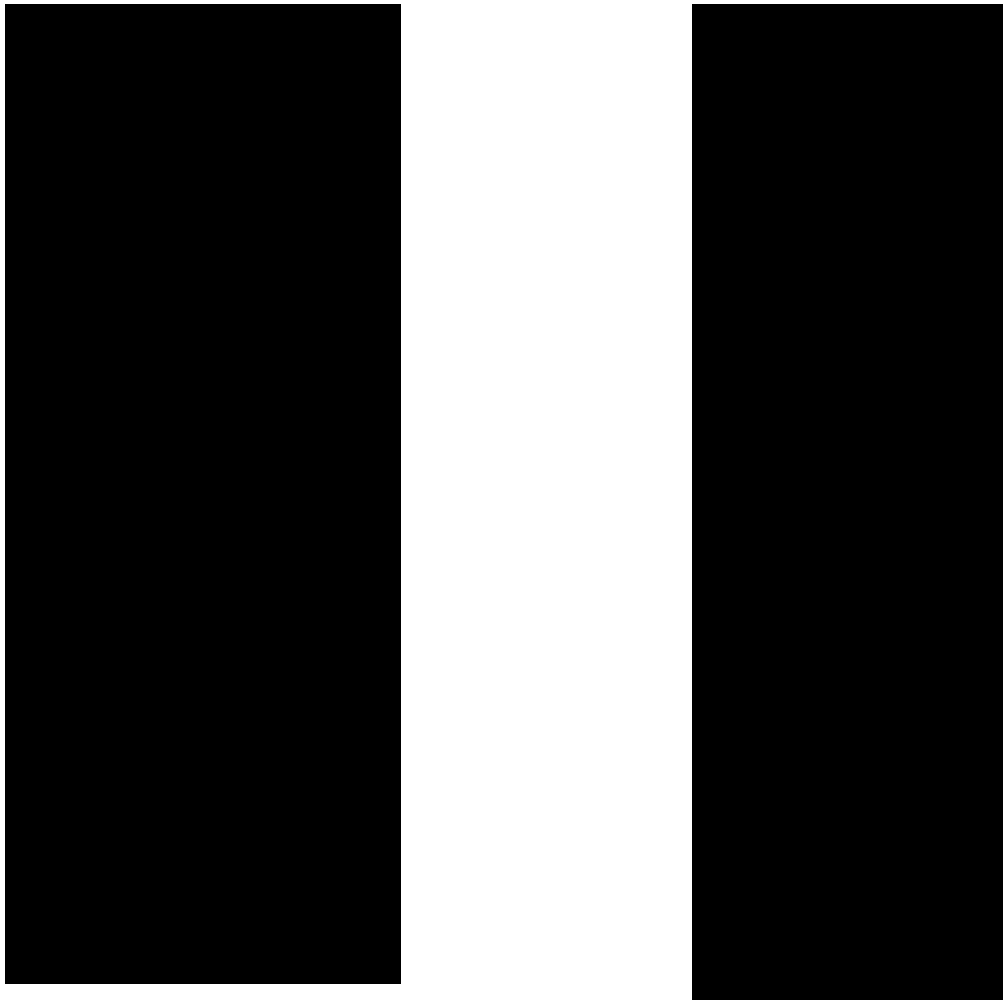
Figure 16. The semiotic landscape of Rubinstein *NZWW*.

5.3 Linguistic analysis of the advertisement

This section presents a linguistic analysis of the advertisement. The text of the advertisement is provided in Figure 14 below. First, it analyses modality[37], which assists in the understanding of how the writer positions him/herself and the participants of the sentence (Fairclough, 2003). The second aspect of grammatical analysis is transitivity that draws on Halliday's (1994) SFL and van Leeuwen's analysis of social actions (van Leeuwen, 1995).

Finally, I examine the lexical items used in the advertisement. I begin the analysis with the vocabulary that constructs the image of ageing. Then, I discuss the words that may

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[37] More discussion on modality is presented in chapter three.

evoke for the reader the French sense of fashion and good taste. Finally, I look into the construction of the reasoning strategy by the advertisement designers and what it might convey.

Ultra Feminine Cream: use it every day.

In thirty days it will help you look younger or we'll give you your money back.

Illusion and make believe wrapped up in a jar are what some people think about face creams. But Madame Rubinstein was concerned with facts and reality. So when she set out to find a way to 'postpone skin's rendezvous with time' she found her own uniquely real way to do it.

Ultra Feminine Cream.

The full name is Ultra Feminine Biogenic Night Cream. But, all you have to know about it is that it works.

It is a remarkable cream that feeds your skin with vital and rare bio-energisers. They penetrate the cellular layer of the skin and increase the flow of natural oil and moisture.

They keep skin firm and lineless and wonderful.

All you have to do is simply spend a few minutes each night treating your skin with Ultra Feminine Cream. On your cheeks, under the eyes and chin, on the forehead and all along your jawline.

That's the entire regimen.

And the results are well worth your time. For, in just a few weeks, skin cells can hold maximum moisture.

Oil glands can be activated to produce natural oils from within. And your skin begins to look softer, more supple, younger.

Helena Rubinstein.

(N.Z.) Ltd., Auckland

Figure 17. The text of Helena Rubinstein Ultra Feminine Cream ("Ultra Feminine Night Cream," 1970, p. 15).

5.3.1 Identification and representation: Unpacking the writer's position

The text of the advertisement presents two groups of participants that can be identified in the analysis of modality and transitivity. The first one is the company, which is personalised (Madame Rubinstein) and the cream and the second is the audience for whom the advertisement was written. Table 2 demonstrates what exchange types, speech functions and modality types have been used in the text of the advertisement. It also shows what type of modality is used for actions performed by the company/cream on the one hand and the audience on the other. This table is based on Fairclough's (2003) understanding of modality in a clause, which was discussed in chapter three of the thesis. Table 3 gives an overview of the process types in the sentences of the advertisement. Similar to the previous case study, I labelled every verb in the sentence as a certain process type to demonstrate the choice of grammatical forms that are used to refer to the two groups of participants.

The first group, the company, Madame Rubinstein and the cream are predominantly constructed by positive statements expressing assertion, which generally denotes a high level of commitment to the proposition (Halliday, 1994), e.g. *"It is[38] a remarkable cream…";* or *"Illusion and make believe wrapped up in jar are what some people think about face creams,"* which makes the company sound authoritative. The only thing that is hedged is their knowledge about the work of the cream in the future: *"For, in just a few weeks, skin cells can hold maximum moisture. Oil glands can be activated to produce natural oils from within."* Interestingly, the level of the authors' certainty expressed by epistemic modality decreases to the end of the advertisement, its most important part, which contains the promise that the cream will actually work and help.

This group is also referred to by the verbs denoting material process types, which describe the actions of the company (*'we' or 'Madame Rubinstein'*), and the actions of the cream, making them the main actors of the clauses. The actions that they perform are mostly expressed by transitive verbs that require a direct object after them: *"They (bio-energisers) penetrate the cellular layer of the skin and increase the flow of natural oil and moisture."* In this sentence, the cream's elements are again endowed with the power to act and change things. The cream and its effectiveness are foregrounded in the

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[38] The examples illustrating the points made in the analysis will be underlined.

advertisement, giving it prominence, which is probably common for an advertising text trying to promote a certain commercial product. However, the predominant positioning of non-animated words as agents of clauses (both the cream and the company) create the effect of personification (Fairclough, 2003) and instrumentalisation (van Leeuwen, 2005), which bureaucratises discourse.

By contrast, the audience is presented by mental, relational and a combination of modal + mental and modal + material verbs, e.g. *"The full name is Ultra Feminine Night Cream, but all you <u>have to know</u> about is that it works."* The deontic modality in this sentence is of high value (*'have to'*), which is generally perceived as a command (Halliday, 1994). In the sentences expressing assertion the company claims expertise in what women think about face creams ("*…some people think about face creams…*"), which, according to Fairclough (2003), is a very strong claim involving a high level of commitment. Thus, the company sets limits on how much a woman has to know to decide whether to buy and use the cream or not. The audience addressed is constructed as unable to act independently as if they can only think or do as they are told.

Janks (1997) claims that discourse derives from its availability, habitualness and acceptability in society. It reflects the way people find it appropriate to communicate. The addressee, who in this case is probably a married ageing New Zealand woman[39], is constructed as a listener who believes that a face cream is *"[i]llusion and make believe wrapped up in a jar…"* and who can be told how much they have to know.

In conclusion, the choice of grammatical forms in the advertisement sets a distinction between illusion and reality, maturity and childishness, knowing and not knowing, audience and Madame Rubinstein, with audience being immature and ignorant and Madame Rubinstein knowledgeable and helpful: *"…Madame Rubinstein was concerned with <u>facts and reality</u>."*

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[39] See more discussion on the readership of NZWW in section 2.2.2.

Table 2. The overview of modality in the text of the advertisement (NZWW Helena Rubinstein).

Epistemic modality (company and cream)	Deontic modality(company and cream)
Assertion	*Offer*
are; is; is; works; is; feeds;	will help; will give back
penetrate and increase; keep; is	
is; are worth; begins	
Modalisation	

Epistemic modality (audience)	Deontic modality (audience)
Statements	*Demand*
	use it
people think	you have to
	you have to
	spend
	all you have to know
	all you have to do

Table 3. The analysis of process types in the advertisement (NZWW Helena Rubinstein).

Agent	Action	Action type	Object
1. you (omitted, imperative)	use	material	it (the cream)
2a. it (the cream)	will help	material	you
2b. we (the company)	will give back	material	you your money
3a.	wrapped up	material	illusion and make believe
3b. some people	think	mental	
4. Madame Rubenstein	was concerned	mental	
5a. she (Madame Rubenstein)	set out	material	
5b. she (Madame Rubenstein)	found	material	her own uniquely own way
6. the full name	is	relational	Ultra Feminine Biogenic Night

			Cream
7a. you	have to know	modal + mental	
7b. it (cream)	works	material	
8a. it (cream)	is	relational	a remarkable cream
8b.	feeds	material	you skin
9a. they (bio-energisers)	penetrate	material	the cellular layer of your skin
9b.	increase	material	the flow of natural oil
10. they (bio-energisers)	keep	material	skin
11a. you	have to do	modal + material	
11b.	spend	relational	time
11c.	treating	material	your skin
12. that (application of the cream)	is	relational	the entire regimen
13. the results	are worth	relational	your time
14. skin cells	can hold	modal + material	maximum moisture
15a.	can be activated	modal + material	oil glands
15b. oil glands (omitted)	to produce	material	natural oils
16. your skin	begins to look	relational	

5.3.2 Lexicality

This part of the analysis consists of three sections that focus on the different aspects of the vocabulary used in the text: ageing, language of sophistication and reasoning strategy.

5.3.2.1. The construction of ageing

In the advertisement, there are a lot of words related to age and ageing directly: *'younger'* (2 instances)*, 'time', 'moisture'* (2 instances*), 'firm', 'lineless', 'more supple'*. At first sight, they can be perceived as relatively harmless, probably because we have got used to this discourse. On the other hand, I can argue that the advertisement, which uses the language related to ageing can be potentially damaging as it constructs the image of what is acceptable through evaluative structures: *"They keep*

skin firm and lineless and wonderful." In this context, *'firm'* and *'lineless'* become the synonyms of wonderful. Thus, what is explicitly desirable in advertising makes the opposite implicitly undesirable, e.g. in *"… your skin begins to look softer, more supple, younger…"* the qualities with the opposite meanings (rough, inflexible and old) are not positively evaluated, consequently unwanted. The undesirability of the antonyms of *'softer', 'more supple'* and *'younger'* is intensified by comparative structures that imply another object of comparison, because if one says 'younger' it is natural to ask younger than what or whom.

One of the features of ageist discourse is scientised vocabulary, which in this text includes words *'Biogenic', 'bio-energisers', 'the cellular layer of skin', 'the flow of natural oil', 'oil glands'.* Strangely enough, the occurrence of scientised vocabulary increases after the following two sentences: *"The full name is Ultra Feminine Biogenic Night Cream. But, all you have to know about it is that it works."* The next paragraph presents an extended discussion on how exactly the cream works: *"It is a remarkable cream that feeds your skin with vital and rare <u>bio-energisers</u>. They penetrate <u>the cellular layer of the skin</u> and increase <u>the flow of natural oil</u> and moisture."* It is quite a technical description for someone who does not need to be informed on all the details (*"... all you <u>have to know</u> about is that [the cream] works"*). Some parts require some knowledge of biology to be able to fully understand the process, for example, *'the cellular layer of the skin', 'the flow of natural oil'.* This raises the question of why the advertisers chose to present this technical description for somebody who according to the text has to know only that the cream is effective and nothing else. Perhaps, it was designed to impress the reader with the amount of words, to dissuade them of the idea that face creams are *"...[i]llusion and make believe…"*

In this advertisement, like in the previous case study, 'scientised' vocabulary is used with another feature of the scientific register, which is nominalisation: *'the cellular layer of skin'* and *'the flow of natural oil'.* This could be interpreted as the writer's attempt to reinforce the 'scientisation' of the text thus increasing its authoritativeness.

Another word that can be regarded as scientised or even 'medicalised' is *'treat'.* Medicine is another domain popular with advertisers. The collocation 'treat something with' would normally be associated with a disease that is treated with a medicine. From

the context that the word appears in, it is not clear what the consumer has to treat the skin from '*...simply spend a few minutes each night treating your skin with Ultra Feminine Cream*'. At the same time, medicalised words could be used to scare the audience portraying ageing as a disease.

A negative portrayal of ageing in this text is also achieved through the insertion of words *'penetrate'* and *'regimen'*, which were borrowed from the military and thus have the power to refer to the appearance of lines and wrinkles as to an enemy that has to be fought against. The use of the words '*activated*' and '*produce*' in the sentence: *"Oil glands can be activated to produce natural oils from within"* portray skin as a machine that can be started once the cream has been applied. At the same time, it describes the cream as a technological device, which may have been designed to increase the persuasive quality of the message.

5.3.2.2. Language of sophistication

In the text, there are a few words that raise a question of why they were used: *'Madame Rubinstein'* and *'rendezvous'*. The form of address *'Madame'* can be explained by the fact that Helena Rubinstein, even though having little to do with France (she only spent several years in Paris), was called Madame by her employees (Kanfer, 2004; Thorndike, 1976). Consequently, its use here can be regarded as justified and logical. However, considering the position that the writers give her in the copy (authoritative, knowledgeable, and helpful), the word *'Madame'* like the word *'rendezvous'* might have been used to foster the image of authority in the field of beauty by giving the advertisement a French flavour.

5.3.2.3. Reasoning strategy

A strategy that is effectively utilised here is the reasoning strategy, which is generally used in promoting necessities[40] and involves the explanation of all the gains from the purchase (Cook, 2001). The advertisers in this text promise to *"...give... [the] money back..."* if the effect is not achieved. They also say that *"...the results are well worth your time."* This strategy positions the product as a necessity, which may be targeting the audience that is middle/lower-middle class and price-conscious.

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[40] See more discussion in section 2.3.1.2.

All in all, the linguistic analysis attests to the company's high commitment to what is predicated in the sentences, which includes not only advertising claims but also the propositions to what the reader may think and how much they have to know.

5.4 Conclusion

The advertisement that I have just analysed is one of many that appeared in the 1970s. It was designed to promote a face cream and persuade women to buy it. Interestingly, the application of the Ultra Feminine Cream was strengthened by the style that the advertisement was promoting, thus highlighting the importance of style, at least in this advertisement.

On the visual level, the model was stylised in a conservative way. She was depicted as married and in a setting that looked domestic, which may reflect the expectations of the advertisement designers to see an ageing woman married and at home. At the same time, it could be interpreted as the recommendation to follow these expectations. The model was also presented as ultra feminine due to her clothes, hairstyle and makeup, which was reflected in the name of the cream: *'Ultra Feminine Night Cream'*. Finally, the model was presented as sexualised, which was achieved by the props, style and the model's posture. The position of the model in the domain of the ideal and desired could be interpreted as the advertisers' attempt to present her as a role model for their readers.

The linguistic analysis indicated that the company's position in the sentences was authoritative, which was achieved by giving the power to change things to non-animate objects and addressing the audience only by verbs denoting mental activity. The writers' expertise and authority were also expressed by clauses denoting assertion and high value modality verbs, which made the text sound prescriptive.

The advertisement constructed a negative image of ageing. The evaluative vocabulary such as *'softer'*, *'more supple'* and *'younger'* in combination with comparative structures could present the ageing skin lacking these characteristics as undesirable. The use of medical words like *'treat'* constructed ageing as a disease, whereas military vocabulary *'penetrate'* and *'regimen'* portrayed ageing as an enemy. Technical words *'activated'* and *'produce'* compared the skin with a machine that could be restarted after the application if the cream. The use of the scientised vocabulary and grammatical structures such as nominalisation could be interpreted as an attempt to impress the

reader thus probably increasing the persuasive power of the text. However, the meaning of 'scientised' words was not clarified, which could be intentional as according to the text, *"...all you have to know about it is that it works."*

Another theme that appeared in the advertisement were references to France, possibly because of its expertise in style and beauty. The allusions to France inserted in the text may have been intended to impress the reader, capture their attention and make the advertising claims more effective because France is generally associated with style and beauty.

The reasoning strategy that was employed in the text may have been addressing a price-conscious readership, which reflects the concept of *NZWW* as a magazine targeted at a lower end of the market. The use of the reasoning strategy in this advertisement also indicated that this strategy could be used when advertising a non-necessity product.

6 Chapter six: Case study three

6.1 Introduction

The third case study is an advertisement[41] from *Vogue* (UK), February 2003 ("Perfectionist," 2003). It is a side-by-side advertisement for Perfectionist, a correcting serum for lines and wrinkles by Estée Lauder, a multinational well-recognised brand owned by American Estée Lauder companies (*Estee Lauder*, n.d.). This company was established by a New Yorker, a daughter of Hungarian immigrants, Estée Lauder (born Esther Mentzer) who managed to create an aristocratic ambiance around her French-looking name (Severo, 2004). She led people to believe that she was a member of the aristocracy, born in Europe, which helped her to establish herself in a position of a beauty expert (Severo, 2004).

In this case study, I examine the emergence, if any, of the new strategies employed by advertisers and the change in the existing strategies. Using the social semiotic approach, I analyse the layout and style of the advertisement and the connection between its image and text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen, 2005). This demonstrates what themes are interwoven and thus foregrounded in the advertisement.

Drawing on Bell's (1997, 1999) idea of audience design, I perform an analysis of modality and process types (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday, 1994; Hodge & Kress, 1988) in order to investigate the writers' commitment to the statements. After that, I look into how ageing is constructed and what constitutes ageist discourse in this advertisement. Finally, I examine a new theme that emerges in this advertisement, which is religion.

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[41] See Figure 18 below.
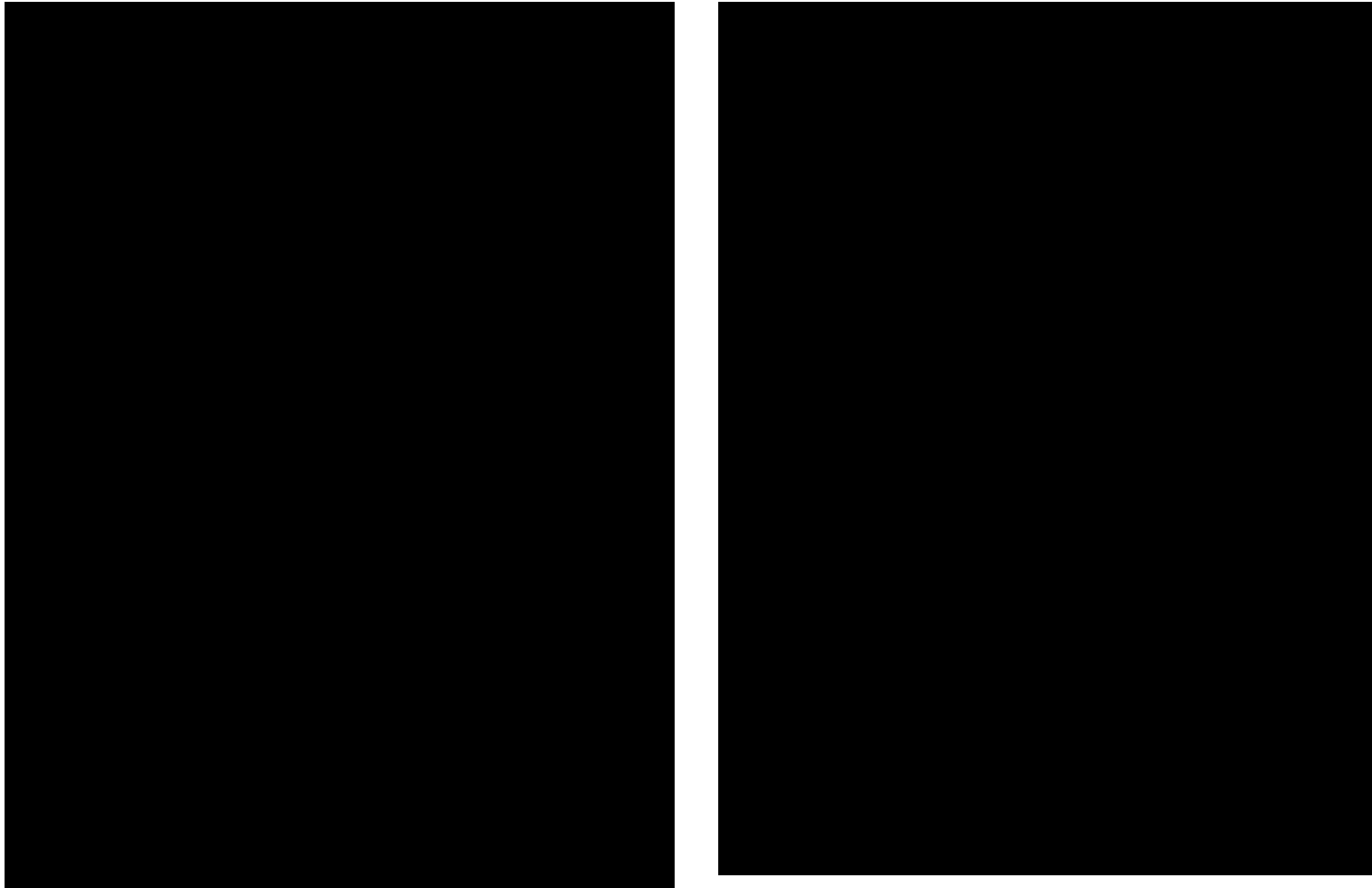
Figure 18. Perfectionist by Estée Lauder ("Perfectionist," 2003, pp. 12-13).

6.2 Analysis of semiotic cues

The first section discusses the design of the advertisement from the social semiotic point of view with a focus on the semiotic landscape of the advertisement and its style as well as the position of the model in the picture and the communicative act that the model performs.

6.2.1 Semiotic landscape

The interpretation of the advertisement layout from the social semiotic point[42] of view (Kress, et al., 1997; van Leeuwen, 2005) indicates the following. On the left-hand, the familiar and given side, there is the model advertising the product. Thus, her perfection, beauty and youthfulness are positioned as something that should be aspired to, which could indicate that the pursuit of these qualities is presented as acceptable or perhaps even required. The importance of beauty is emphasised in the company slogan *'Defining Beauty'* at the end of the advertisement.

Then, our eyes move to the right-hand side of the advertisement with the passage between the two sides indicating some sort of transition. The passage resembles a tunnel, and the three-dimensional image takes us to its end, a block wall, which could also be a door or some other kind of entrance, without any clue to what can be behind it. Then, on the opposite page in the domain of the ideal/desired, there is the product advertised, which is quite unusual, as generally this area of an advertisement is occupied by what a consumer may want to achieve, the desired (Kress, et al., 1997). In this position, the cream seems to cease to be the tool, becoming the target itself. At the same time, this position of Perfectionist could be read as the company's appeal to aspire to perfectionism.

From the top part of the page, our eyes descend to the bottom, the advertising text, followed by the link to the website, company logo and slogan. The positioning of the text in the domain of new follows the 'gap in knowledge-filling' pattern (Hoey, 2001), which is also expressed lexically: *"Before you think about lasers, peels and shots, consider this gentle retinol – free alternative."* In other words, the company informs the

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[42] The discussion on the pattern of reading in Western cultures is given in chapter three.

reader on what they presumably do not know. It shares its expertise and knowledge with the potential customer. The slogan *'Defining Beauty'*, which concludes the real and instructive part, can be interpreted as the summary of the text.

6.2.2 Semiotic analysis of style

The style of the advertisement is futuristic and technological, and by technology, I mean the soft/hardware used to design the advertisement and its look: the woman is standing in front of glass panels supported by painted steel beams with a concrete block wall behind. All the elements have perfectly correct geometric forms, which cannot be found in nature. The room where the model is standing could be a laboratory, which may convey the idea of science and expertise.

The room also resembles a hall of mirrors as the reflections are visible everywhere. The idea of the hall of mirrors is reiterated in the picture of the cream jar on the right. Mirrors are generally associated with beauty. They are used by people who care about their appearance. On the other hand, mirrors in the hall can be deceptive and distorting, perhaps *'correcting'*, like the cream.

Visually, there are religious allusions, for example the door, a metaphor of which appears in the Bible quite frequently: e.g. "Listen! I am standing at the door, knocking; if you hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to you and eat with you…" (Revelation, 3:20). The idea of the door here can be interpreted as communication, possibly with God or a spiritual world (Thompson, 2002). These Biblical allusions may have been used to establish connection with religion. However, they can be understood by the readers familiar with the Bible quite well. They can also be connected to the idea that the pursuit of beauty has or should have the status of a religion.

Light[43] is another visual theme of the advertisement. In the picture, the passage behind the model is lit up and as a result, the reflections from the glass panels make an interesting pattern on the walls, floor and ceiling. The cream on the right can be perceived as a source of light radiating beams. Being positioned to the right of the door at the end of the tunnel for a right-to-left reading person, it can seem the light at the end of this tunnel, the salvation hidden behind the door.

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[43] More discussion on the use of light is presented in chapter three.

Light also illuminates the model's skin, which looks *'luminous'*, probably illustrating the effect described in the text: *"Skin looks luminous."* The model's lips and hair are radiant, which makes her look translucent and surreal and this effect intensifies her apparent perfection. Due to her unusual apparel, the woman resembles a character of the sci-fi film The Fifth Element dressed in a Jean Paul Gaultier outfit (See Figure 19), a film where the idea of a perfect woman is presented, where the ideas of religion and future are tightly interwoven.

All the model's clothes are white, which may attest to her purity. She is wearing something that could be interpreted to be a white collar-tab of a Catholic priest or a nun. Her hair is slicked back so that you cannot see it, as you cannot see a nun's hair. Her left hand is folded on the chest, a posture that is very often used in religious rituals with different variations, generally symbolising submission before the face of the almighty. The question arises to why the model whose posture can be regarded submissive is placed in the domain of given and familiar, where the information on what is expected can generally be found. This position of the model can be interpreted as presenting submissiveness as an expected quality. The collar-tab and the bracelets could also signify submission and bonding. White clothes are meaningful as in the Bible, those who are worth God's mercy wear them:

> Yet you have still a few people in Sardis who have not soiled their clothes; they will walk with me, <u>dressed in white, for they are worthy</u>[44]. If you conquer, you will be clothed like them in white robes… (Revelation, 3:4/5).

Being beautiful, the model is, however, not feminised in the customary sense: the only attribute normally associated with women is her makeup, whereas a singlet, a collar-tab and bracelets (for example, in tennis) could as easily be worn by a male. Her hair is slicked back and is practically invisible. She does not appear to have feminine curves. In other words, she is constructed as being unisex. Interestingly, being presented as unisex and not explicitly feminised she looks sexualised due to the use of cues denoting submission, such as her posture, bracelets and the tab (or a harness?), which even has a

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[44] My emphasis

hole where a chain could be attached. Being white, they still resemble the attributes of sadomasochism, an array of practices that revolve around power and submission.

Figure 19. Perfectionist ("Perfectionist," 2003) and The Fifth Element (Barefoot, 2009).

6.2.3 Semiotic analysis of the model's position

The cues that are used to stylise the model attest to her possible submission, whereas her gaze, posture and position in the picture in relation to the frame reveal a different idea because she is presented as if she is endowed with power. The model is looking at us directly establishing contact, because "… vectors, formed by the participants' eye lines, connect the participants with the viewer" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). Her look is defiant and piercing, and this has the power to form a superior /inferior pattern of relationship with the model being in a superior position and the viewer in an inferior position (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). The intensity of her gaze is appealing and can be regarded as a 'visual summons' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 123).

In relation to the spatial distance between the viewer and the model, the photo is a close shot. From this distance, the viewer can invade her (or she invades the viewer's) close personal space, which is regarded as intimate only among people who are close in reality; if a non-intimate intrudes this space, it may be considered aggressive (Hall, 1964 as cited in Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The model's posture with her arm protecting her chest looks defensive and reserved and questions the intimacy established by her closeness.

Consequently, the communicative act performed by the model reveals a high level of imposition expressed by her gaze and distance. It puts the model in a superior position from which she is shining with her beauty and perfection, presumably achieved by the computer technology, thus unattainable for a real person. The facial expression and withdrawn posture may say that she is not one of us, which is intensified by her stylised futuristic looks and the surroundings. With this communicative act, she may be challenging and defying the viewer to approximate the perfection. If the slogan is *'Defining Beauty'*, the model is a *'Defying beauty'*.

Nevertheless, the defiance is in conflict with her submissive appearance, which could be deliberate. On the one hand, it seems an appeal to both pursue beauty and perfection. On the other hand, it could be the construction of submissiveness as desired.

6.3 Linguistic analysis of the advertisement

This section focuses on the writers' position, which is expressed grammatically and lexically. This section also investigates the construction of ageist discourse. 'Scientised' discourse in this analysis is presented under a separate rubric due to the amount of 'scientised' vocabulary and structures in this advertisement. Within the discussion on 'scientised' vocabulary, the section presents a separate analysis of nominalisation because the examples of nominal structures are more frequent here than in the previous case studies. Finally, it looks into religious discourse, which seems prominent in this advertisement. The text of the advertisement is in Figure 20 below.

Enter the ageless future.

New. Perfectionist

Correcting Serum for Lines/Wrinkles

Before you think about lasers, peels or shots, consider this gentle retinol-free alternative. Fast, effective and continuing, this is how Perfectionist works:

DAY1 Fine, dry lines are reduced – instantly. Skin is luminous.

WEEK1 Deep lines look lifted away as our exclusive BioSync Complex™ supplements skin's natural collagen.

MONTH1 and BEYOND Improved visible effect equal to 24 weeks of a retinol-based formula*.

Welcome to the ageless future.

www.esteelauder.co.uk

ESTÉE LAUDER

Defining Beauty

*Test results compared to Estée Lauder's Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment

Figure 20. The Text of Estée Lauder Perfectionist ("Perfectionist," 2003).

6.3.1 Identification and representation: Unpacking the writer's position

The writer's position in the text of this advertisement may be perceived as not imposing: *"...consider this gentle retinol-free alternative."* The word 'consider' implies a relatively soft demand. In addition, the reader is only presented as alternative to what they might want to do in the future: *"Before you think about lasers, peels and shots,"* thus the reader is given a choice.

However, demand in this advertisement may be regarded as strong. Demand in its traditional sense is expressed grammatically by the imperative mood (Halliday, 1994), which in this advertisement is achieved multimodally, through the communicative act (gaze, facial expression and distance of the model), and through the textual address: *"Enter the ageless future"* and *"Before you think about lasers, peels and shots, consider this gentle retinol-free alternative."* The two main clauses are in the imperative mood, which may be regarded as prescription (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, the

demand conveyed visually is reinforced textually, which may increase the degree of imposition on the viewer to *'enter the ageless future'* and *'consider this …alternative'*, in other words to start using the product. The company's strong position can probably be justified if they present themselves as an authority who can define beauty. This position can also be bolstered by the company's self-constructed connection with France, a theme that is similar to the previous case studies.

Interestingly, the sentences describing the product's action contain no modal verbs like 'can' or 'may', which would hedge the claims. Conversely, all the sentences are in simple present affirmative, which presents an action as true and asserts the information given in a clause (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday, 1994). Thus, the use of affirmative statements gives weight to the statements in the advertisement presenting them as facts: *"… this is how Perfectionist works", "… dry lines are reduced – instantly…",* and *"… our exclusive BioSync Complex™ supplements skin's natural collagen."*

Table 4 below shows that the audience is referred to by mental processes on two out of three occasions. For the convenience of the reader, the processes that are performed by different participants were put in different categories and labelled as mental, material and relational. The analysis of the process types indicates that the company positions itself as knowing what the customer may think in the future: *"Before you think about lasers…"* followed by advice on what the buyer should think: *"Consider this …alternative."*

Table 4. Process types (Perfectionist, Vogue)

You	**Process type**	**Perfectionist**	**Process type**	**Skin**	**Process type**	**Lines**	**Process Type**
think	mental	*works*	material	*is luminous*	relational	*look lifted*	mental
consider	mental	*supplements*	material				
enter	material						

At the same time, some of the statements in the sentences are hedged by 'markers of modalisation' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 170). In the text, the writers hedge their claims by

less explicit (compared to traditional modals like 'may') markers *'look'* and *'visible'*. Thus, the lines *'look'* lifted not *are* lifted and *'wrinkle-reducing effect'* is *'visible',* and not factual. The company does not claim the serum to be absolutely equal to the effects of *"… lasers, peels and shots…",* which are only visible, and beauty is in the eye of the beholder. However, the vocabulary used in the text makes it sound tempting: "*Skin is luminous… Deep lines look lifted away…*", possibly serving as an explanation of the model's youthfulness and perfection, which increases the persuasive power of the statements.

In addition, the writer's position can be expressed by evaluative vocabulary (Fairclough, 2003). The examples in the text include *'fast', 'effective', 'instantly', 'luminous', 'improved', 'effect', 'ageless'*, which may attest to the high level of commitment towards the claim (Fairclough, 2003). The evaluation of skin as *'luminous'* is achieved first, by the simple present affirmative[45] and second, by an adjective of high intensity (White, 2001) that is, *'luminous'* which means something that shines, like the stars, the sun and in this case, the model's skin.

6.3.2 Ageist discourse

Ageist discourse in this advertisement is constituted by vocabulary that is generally associated with ageing such as 'age', lines', 'wrinkles' and the like, as well as scientised discourse, which I regard as an important part of ageist discourse in anti-ageing advertising. At the same time, scientised discourse in this advertisement indicates the writer's position as an expert, which is discussed in section 6.3.2.2.

6.3.2.1. Ageist vocabulary

This advertisement focuses on the line/wrinkle-reducing effect as the words *'line'* and *'wrinkle'* are reiterated[46] three times each, which can be regarded as topic foregrounding as well as an expression of the undesirability of the lines/wrinkles.

Another idea that is emphasised in the text is the *'ageless future'*, which might allow more than one reading. It could be the ageless future with Perfectionist or the future

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[45] See the discussion above.

[46] More discussion on repetition is presented in chapter three.

where ageing is not acceptable, which leaves the reader no choice but to start doing something about signs of ageing as there is no place in the *'ageless future'* for lines and wrinkles. Again, the second interpretation positions the company as an authority that can not only define beauty and say what women are likely to think but also predict the future.

A negative stance to ageing can be expressed through certain lexical items (J. Coupland, 2002), for example, *'treatment'* and *'correcting'*. The first word positions ageing as sickness that can be cured, thus medicalising the advertisement. The word 'correcting' present ageing as a mistake that can be or should be fixed.

6.3.2.2.   Scientised discourse as the discourse of expertise

The presentation of the text as scientised seems significant in this advertisement. The effect is achieved through specific lexical items that are borrowed from different branches of science and sentence structures that were previously regarded as a part of academic genres, for example, nominalisation (Halliday, 1994).

6.3.2.2.1.   Scientised vocabulary

Scientised vocabulary that is popular in contemporary anti-ageing advertising (Bazin & White, 2006; Calasanti, 2008) is also evident in this advertisement:*, 'serum', 'retinol-free', 'ByoSync Complex™', 'skin's natural collagen',* and *'retinol-based formula'*.

Words borrowed from a science lexicon[47] add weight and credibility to a statement. At the same time, their meaning or usefulness sometimes remains unclear to the general public (J. Coupland, 2002). For example, the company advertises its serum as *'retinol-free'* as opposed to their older *'Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment*[48] and claims that the effect of *"MONTH 1 and BEYOND…"* application should be *"…equal to 24 weeks of a retinol-based formula."* It does not say first, why their new *'retinol-free'* formula is better than *'Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment'* and second, what this mysterious formula is or what its components are. Strange (2008) asserts that the details in such

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[47] More discussion is presented in chapter two.

[48] See the last line of the text of the advertisement in Figure 20.

advertisements are not provided deliberately as the mystique behind the formula can evoke interest in the consumer.

An interesting aspect of this advertisement is the cross-reference between the two statements: *"MONTH 1 AND BEYOND Improved visible wrinkle-reducing effect equal to 24 weeks of a retinol based formula*"* and *"*Test results compared to Estée Lauder's Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment."* The company claims that their current product is almost 24 times more effective than their previous retinol treatment, although the details on how the tests were conducted are not provided. Moreover, the ambiguity of the word *'BEYOND'* raises even more questions about the actual effectiveness of the serum and the time framework needed to achieve the effect.

The text of the advertisement speculates on the contemporary anti-ageing technology: *'lifted away'*, *'lasers'* *'peels'* and *'shots'*. The company seems to be aware of people's reticence to try physically invasive treatments: *"Before you think about lasers, peels and shots…"* and contrasts its product with these invasive methods offering a *'gentle retinol-free alternative'*. The emergence of anti-ageing technology has changed attitudes to ageing skin and the perception of age (Bazin & White, 2006; Calasanti, 2008). However, it still remains either too costly or too frightening for many, which could make a *'gentle alternative'* tempting. The topic of the *'gentle alternative'* is extended in the collocation *'skin's natural[49] collagen'* so it looks like the reader is persuaded that the serum does not invade the skin, it only *'supplements'* its innate characteristics.

6.3.2.2.2. Nominalisation: A means of discourse scientisation

Nominalisation[50] has the power to hide agents of sentences and causes of events (Fairclough, 2000, p. 26) and presents a statement as taken for granted and thus authoritative (Fairclough, 2000). The examples in the text of this advertisement include *'skin's natural collagen'*, *'improved visible wrinkle-reducing effect'*, *'retinol-based formula'*, *'test results'*, *'Estée Lauder's Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment'*. They focus on the effect, rather than on the agent of the action or the action itself (Fairclough, 2000). The reader is given no information on who and what improves the effect, neither how

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[49] My emphasis

[50] For more discussion on nominalisation go to chapter three.

and at what expense wrinkles get reduced. In addition, there is no information on who is responsible for the invention of *'retinol-based formula'*, who conducted the tests and most importantly how the tests were conducted. Finally, it is very difficult to comprehend the phrase *'Estée Lauder's Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment'*. It looks like the 'scientific' information is presented by nominal structures on purpose because these sentences do not give many details about the agents or processes of the sentences. Thus, the information presented this way may be expected to be taken as it is.

6.3.3 Intertextuality: Religious discourse

The text of the advertisement begins with the imperative: *"Enter the ageless future,"* short, simple and straightforward. It is a promise of a better future without wrinkles that women worry about. The idea is appealing, but vague because there is no clarification on what an ageless future is. In real life, many people find that religion promises a future where their problems and worries might be taken care of by a higher being. Similarly, in this advertisement, the reader is promised a future without age.

The slogan of the advertisement rhythmically[51] coincides with the phrase used in the Bible (*Matthew*, 5:20; 7:21; 18:3; 19:23) (See Figure 21). The figure[52] below demonstrates the resemblance of the two phrases, one from the Bible, another one from the advertisement.

En-ter| the| king-dom| of| hea-ven|

\ - | - | \ - | - | - \ - |

En-ter| the| age-less| fu-ture|

\ - | - | \ - | \ - |

Figure 21. The rhythmic structures of the advertisement and the Bible

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[51] More discussion on rhythm is presented in chapter three.

[52] The stressed syllables are marked as backward slash (\), whereas the unstressed ones are marked as hyphen (-). The end of each word is expressed by (|).

Being rhythmical, the phrase *"Enter the ageless future"* is catchy on its own (Cook, 2001). Its rhythmical echoing with the phrase from the Bible can subconsciously allude the viewer (especially one familiar with the Bible) to the religious reading of the phrase, which combined with multimodal imperative may intensify the persuasive effect. The phrase *"Enter the ageless future"* sounds like a promise of life without wrinkles and resembles the promise of eternal life in Christianity that one can obtain through sinless life. In the Middle Ages, sinners were able to guarantee themselves a better dwelling after death by buying an indulgence, which, according to this advertisement, you can buy nowadays (the perfectionist cream) and guarantee yourself a ticket to the ageless future.

Another biblical allusion is in the description of the cream's action: *"DAY 1, WEEK 1, MONTH 1 and BEYOND"*, which sounds similar to the description of God's action in the book of Genesis: day one, day two, day three, etc. These words are not only capitalised, but also underlined to make them stand out, which seems the focus of the advertiser.

The repetition of the company slogan is at the end of the copy, this time it is not an imperative but an invitation: *"Welcome to the ageless future,"* which is placed at the very end of the real domain. 'Welcome' is normally said by the host to the guest entering something that the host belongs to (the house or the country). It sounds like the company is welcoming the reader to the ageless future where it is already located but the reader is just entering thus indicating the feasibility of the promise provided the instructions are followed.

Often, advertisers claim the exclusivity of their products; and this advertisement is not an exception underscored by its claim that *"... our exclusive BioSync Complex™ supplements skin's natural collagen."* The positioning of the product as exclusive may be used due to its appeal to the consumer who regards exclusivity as the opportunity of self-identification through consumption (Goatly, 2000). The paradox is that the advertised exclusivity is mass produced, promoted in mass media with one purpose – to increase sales turnover (Goatly, 2000). The idea of exclusivity is not new; actually, it is one of the oldest ideas: God distinguished and saved only Noah and his family during the Great Flood. Jesus emphasised its importance in his sermons, for example:

> Enter through the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the road is easy that leads to
> destruction, and there are many who take it. For the gate is narrow and the road is hard
> that leads to life, and there are few who find it (*Matthew*, 7:13-14).

As only the righteous can enter the kingdom of heaven, it looks like only those with perfect skin can enter the ageless future and also be welcomed there "[f]or many are called but a few are chosen" (*Matthew*, 22:14). Thus, the future awaiting behind the door could be the future of perfection without the signs of ageing.

The abundance of religious allusions in this advertisement could be interpreted as the advertisers' attempt to obtain a moral licence from religion for themselves as well as for their consumers who aspire to exclusivity and perfection. At the same time, it can be regarded as an attempt to position the pursuit of beauty and youthfulness as a religion.

6.4   Conclusion

All the elements of the advertisement including the details of the image and text work together as a whole to convey the idea of perfection that can be achieved with the help of advanced beauty technology. The advertisement is future-oriented; and future here has two meanings. The first one relates to the technology of the future, state-of-the art, tomorrow's technology, which being *'a gentle alternative'* to *'lasers, peels and shots'* can help to achieve the perfection of the model. The second meaning is the life in the future with Perfectionist without lines and wrinkles, which are constructed in the text as deviant and undesirable.

The advertisement is also an appeal to the audience to aspire to perfection through trying to replicate the model's beauty by rising to the challenge she sets for the reader through her defiant gaze. The challenge for the reader to aspire to perfection is also achieved by the text, which presents a high imposition on the reader with the use of imperatives, evaluative vocabulary, such as *'fast', 'effective', 'instantly', 'luminous', 'improved', 'effect'* and *'ageless'*, and biblical allusions. The appeal is bolstered by the company's positioning itself as knowledgeable and authoritative, being able to guess the consumer's thoughts and apparently predict the future. The company's form of address may seem as though it is empowering its audience, offering them an '*exclusive*' salvation in the ageless future. At the same time, the form of address, however,

disempowers the reader who is addressed in an authoritative manner and is educated by the expert, the company. The company's confidence may stem from its status and reputation that it has established in the advertisement: a beauty expert of European, presumably French origin.

The model's appearance is futuristic and connected with religion. It is also controversial as she looks defiant and empowered but at the same time submissive. She is not stylised as explicitly feminine, she looks quite sporty and unisex. The visual cues of submission can sexualise her, again, in a new, less traditionally feminine way. She is perfect but also constructed as being a slave of her own perfection.

The new themes that appeared in this advertisement (compared to what was analysed in the 1970s advertisements) are technology, the future and religion. The text of the advertisement is 'scientised' not only due to the vocabulary but also due to the discourse of authority and expertise where nominalisation plays one of the major roles. Religious discourse seems a novelty. It may reinforce the advertisers' appeal to pursue beauty, this time with religious vigour. In the advertisement, beauty is also presented as science. Consequently, beauty is not an exclusively innate quality anymore. It can be achieved by *"…considering …[an] alternative…"* offered by the company and using their products.

7   Chapter seven: Case study four

7.1   Introduction

This case study analyses an advertisement from *NZWW* 2006[53]. It is a double-sided colour advertisement promoting L'Oreal's anti-ageing product called Revitalift. As with many other brands advertised in *NZWW*, L'Oreal is medium priced and is targeted at a middle/low-middle class customer. It is a supermarket brand that does not convey the idea of glamour and exclusivity compared to brands like Estée Lauder.

L'Oreal is a multinational company that finances the programme 'For women in science' (L'Oreal, n.d.) whose research projects are in the area of biotech/genetics, a very controversial field, which religion is strongly opposed to (Evans, 2002). It is also involved in the project 'Women of worth', rewarding particular women for their contribution to society (L'Oreal, 2009c), for example, building a foster care residence Bridge of Faith by one of its honourees[54].

First, I analyse the visual component of the advertisement using a social semiotic approach with the analysis of style being its important constituent (Kress, et al., 1997; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van Leeuwen, 2005). This analysis clarifies the themes that are visually expressed in the advertisement. The fact that the advertisement is a celebrity endorsement has to be examined also.

When conducting language analysis, I examine the modality and process types (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday, 1994; Hodge & Kress, 1988), which clarify the writers' commitment to the statements and their idea of the readership that they address.

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[53] See Figure 22 below.

[54] This information is important due to the strong scientific and religious motives that appeared in the ad. In addition, these details are available on the company website so it could be the information that the company wishes to publicise. No other company in this research has revealed their participation in similar projects.

Finally, the case study looks into the construction of ageist discourse. It examines scientised discourse in a separate section. The reliance on science in this advertisement is significant, as apart from the words borrowed from academic genres, this text contains statistical data and nominal structures.
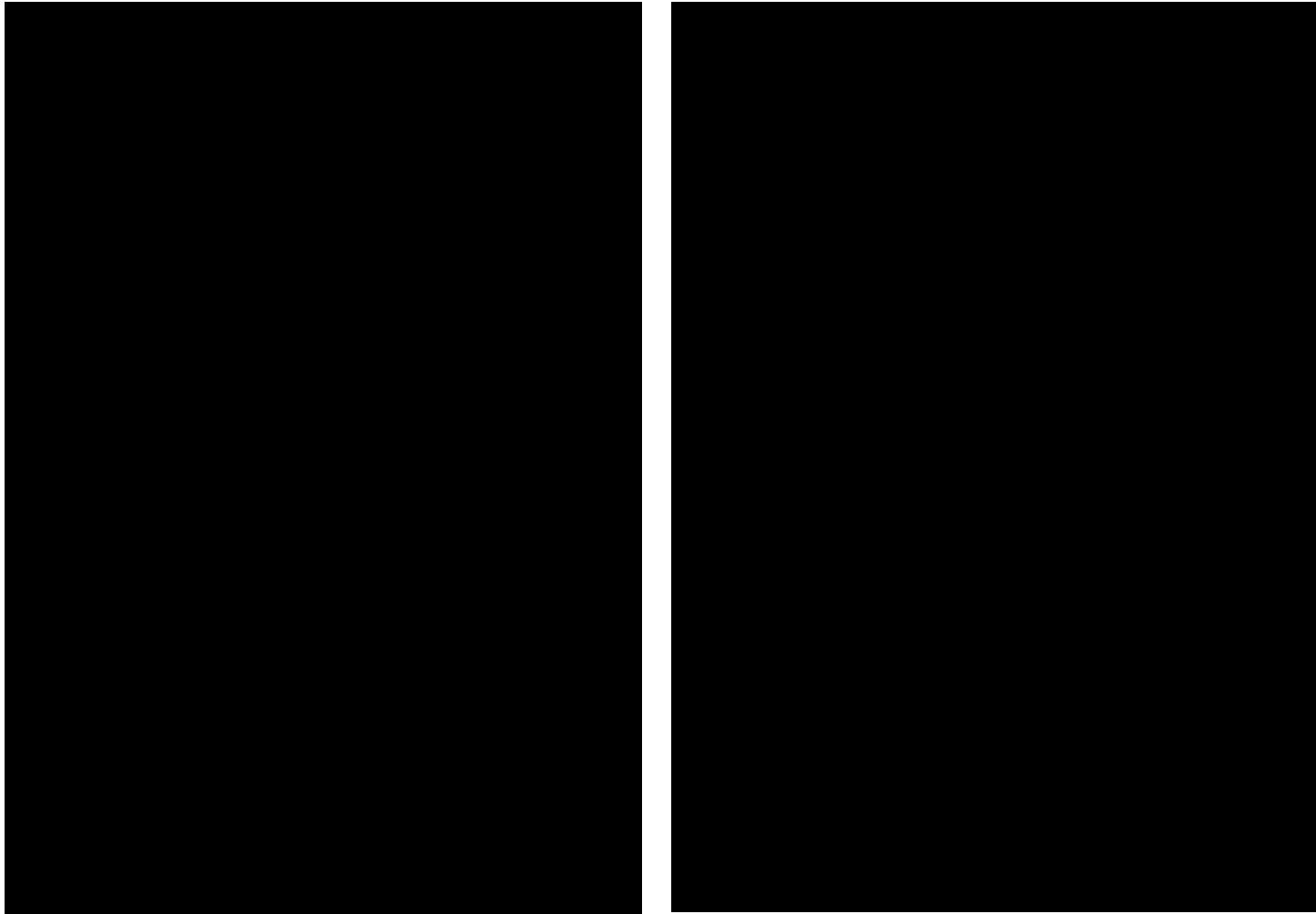
Figure 22. Revitalift by L'Oreal ("Revitalift," 2006, pp. 4-5)

7.2 Semiotic analysis

Semiotic analysis of the elements of the text sheds light on its organisation, the positioning of elements in it as given or new and ideal or real thus revealing the attitude towards certain parts of information that the text contains. Semiotic analysis of style helps in the understanding of the text's intertextuality, its explicit and implicit motives. An important part of the style of this advertisement is the use of colour and light, that is why the analysis of colour and light constitutes a separate section. The fact that the product is endorsed by a celebrity, Andie MacDowell[55]is addressed separately as well.

7.2.1 An analysis of semiotic landscape

In this advertisement[56], the face of the actress is in the ideal, the desired given part of the image, which may convey the idea that beauty is expected and should be aspired to. The appeal to the audience in the imperative form *"Get firm with your wrinkles!"* is in the 'given' 'real' and generally instructive domain followed by the phrase *"Andie MacDowell – 47 years old"*. The position of these sentences in the domain of given and real increases the persuasive power of the statement, which could be interpreted the following way: anyone who uses this product and is 47 can look like the model.

The top part of the right-hand page, which is the domain of 'new' and 'ideal'/'desired', presents the new product[57], *'new intensified Revitalift'* that guarantees *"fewer wrinkles, firmer looking skin"* because it contains the company's *"...most advanced formula ever."* This part of the advertisement also contains the details on how the cream works and why we should believe the claim made in the opposite page. The pictures of the cream jars are in the domain of new and real. Under the creams, there is a phrase *"From Age 40, Intensive Anti-Ageing Action,"* which may refer the reader to the age of the model stated on the opposite page: *"Get firm with your wrinkles! Andy MacDowell - 47 years old."* At the very bottom of the page, there is a reference to the company's website and on its left-hand side, there is a phrase *"World No1 in anti-wrinkle creams L'OREAL PARIS,"* which could be the synonym for *'Dermo-Expertise'* claimed at the

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[55] Andie MacDowell is a famous American actress, former model.

[56] Figure 23 is the copy of the advertisement under study, with each part labelled as a certain domain.

[57] Figure 24 is the actual text of the advertisement with inserted sentence numbering.

very top of the page. The company logo *'L'Oreal Paris'* stretches across the two pages like a heading.
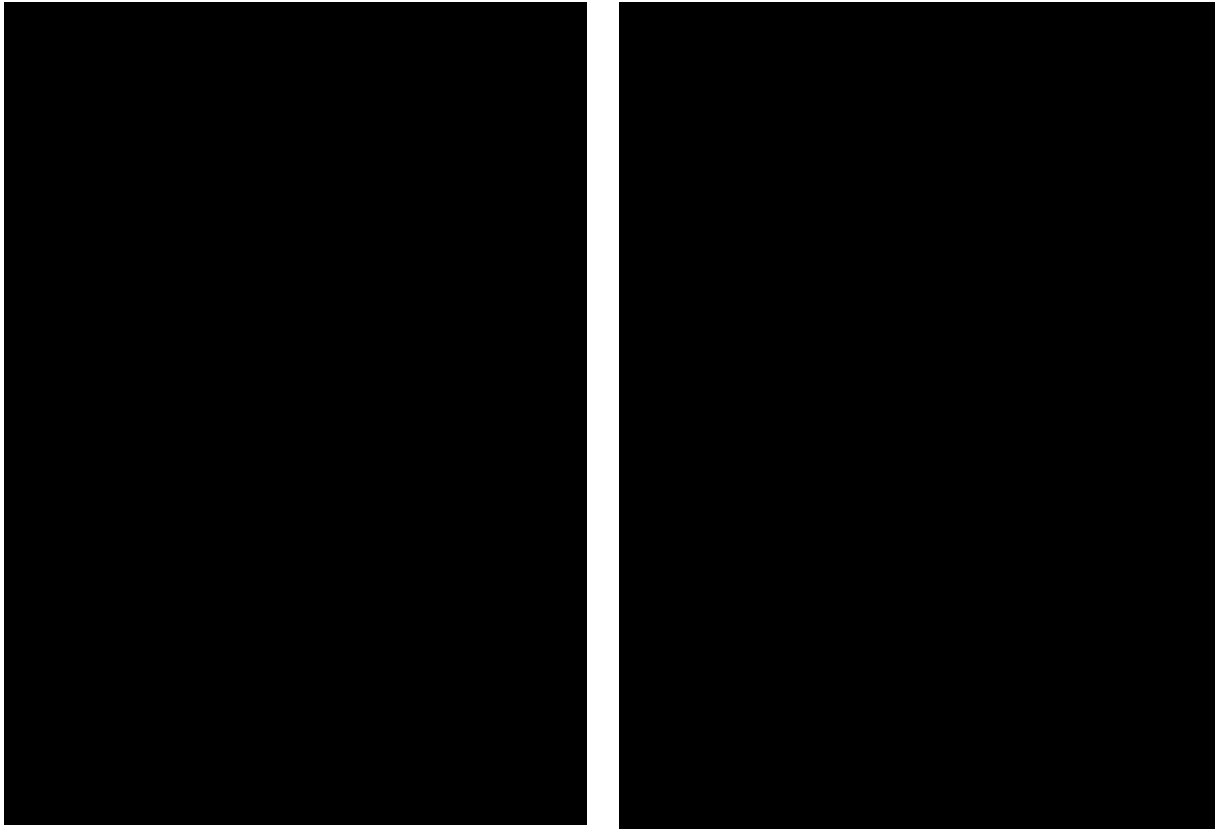
Figure 23. The semiotic landscape of L'Oreal ("Revitalift," 2006).

(1) "Get firm with your wrinkles!"

(2) Andie MacDowell – 47 years old.

(3) Dermo-Expertise

(4) New intensified Revitalift.

(5) Fewer wrinkles, firmer looking skin.

(6) Our most advanced formula ever!

(7) REVITALIFT[58]

(8) ANTI-WRINKLE + FIRMING INTENSIVE ACTION

(9) 1. Anti-wrinkle effectiveness with Pro-Retinol A Forte.

(10) Visibly fewer wrinkles noticed by 87% of women.

(11) Dermo clinically tested by 39 women on forehead wrinkles after 28 days.

(12) 2. Firming action with Fibre-Elastyl.

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[58] The capitalisation in the text is original.

(13) Firmer looking skin noticed by 78% of women.

(14) Self-evaluation test by 97 women after 3 weeks.

(15) Protection against daily UV rays.

(16) New pump with SPF 15.

(17) Because You're Worth It.

(18) New SPF Pump

(19) New Formula

(20) From Age 40, Intensive Anti-Ageing Action

(21) Discover your ideal anti-wrinkle programme at www.lorealparis.com

(22) WORLD No1 IN ANTI-WRINKLE CREAMS

(23) L'OREAL PARIS

Figure 24. The text of L'Oreal RevitaLift advertisement ("Revitalift," 2006).

The advertisement is organised in a way that helps the reader retain the information that it contains. The picture of the famous actress and her appeal to the reader may evoke interest for the viewer, and then the advertisement unfolds a short multimodal narrative, presenting statements in a way that are easy to comprehend and remember. The interplay between textual and written intensifies the persuasive effect.

7.2.2   The semiotic analysis of style

Style[59] is an essential part of images today (van Leeuwen, 2005). In this section, through the semiotic analysis of style of the advertisement, I investigate how the audience are addressed and what this might indicate. In this case study, I focus on the use of colour and light, the major visual constituents of the advertisement. I then look into the possible impact of celebrity endorsement on the perception of the advertisement.

7.2.2.1.   Colour and light: Essential constituents of the visual component

According to Simpson et al. (2008), the colour of eyes and hair of the model endorsing the product is crucial for the advertising campaign because people may relate to a model whose appearance is similar to theirs and people they know. This potentially increases the impact of the advertisement. L'Oreal promotes itself as an international brand, and if the statement about the importance of eye/hair colour is correct, L'Oreal's international appeal can be reflected in the choice of the models that embody women of different countries and ethnicities. Being a brown-

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[59] A detailed discussion on style and audience design is presented in chapter two.

eyed brunette, Andy MacDowell can appeal to audiences of the same appearance type. At the same time, the choice of such a model moves away from the stereotypes of the American beauty, a blue-eyed blonde, that is still promoted by some companies, for example Estée Lauder. What is more, the engagement of models of different nationalities and ethnicities may serve as a message that any woman can be beautiful regardless of her eye, hair or skin colour.

Another colour that is prominent in the advertisement is red. It is one of the two main colours in the advertising of Revitalift (see Figure 25). Red is a bright colour with a high level of chroma[60] (pigment saturation), which can create the feeling of excitement (Gorn, et al., 1997). Red is an effective highlighter, because it captures the viewer's attention, which is probably why it is used by some teachers to mark students' homework or point out spelling mistakes in Microsoft Word. Red is often associated with passion, probably due to its brightness. In this advertisement, certain elements are executed in red, which may attest to the advertisers' intention to accentuate them. These emphases seem logical: the arrows on the left illustrate the claims about the firming action on the left, and also the word 'lift' in the product name, as the arrow on the cheek moves upwards and the one on the forehead moves sideward, both in the direction of the temple where the wrinkles are probably expected to vanish. Being the colour of summer and ripeness, the sign that fruit and vegetables are ready for picking and consumption, it could be interpreted as fitting the idea of a product for mature skin.
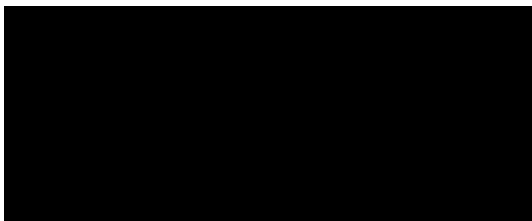
Figure 25. L'Oreal Revitalift on-line advertisement (L'Oreal, 2009a).

The only element that seems out of place here is the red bracelet on the model's right hand[61]. A bracelet, especially with a lock on it can be interpreted as a sign of the bonding of the model, possibly with the company or the product to which she owes her beauty and youthfulness. This connection between the model and the product is possibly intentional because the only item that

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[60] See more discussion on chroma, hue and value in chapter three.

[61] See Figure 23.

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corresponds with the bracelet is the top part of the cream jar on the right, which also forms a red circle[62]. Red bracelets are known as important in Kabbalah[63] (W. Martin, Rische, & Gorden, 2008) denoting the submission before the almighty, the attempt to fight selfishness, in other words, it is a way to God (Judaism, n.d.). In the previous case study, I concluded that a bracelet could be interpreted as a symbol of sexual bonding and submission of the person who wears it. Thus, both interpretations of the significance of this red bracelet may indicate the submission of the model, be it religious or sexual, to another person or institution, who can be God or alternatively, the company and its imperatives.

The next, and probably the most prevalent colour in the advertisement is white, which is the second of the two major colours in the Revitalift advertising campaign (see Figure 26). White is the background, but the model's clothes and the cream jars are even whiter. Traditionally, white is associated with innocence, freshness and cleanliness (Rowley, 2002). Interestingly, the transfiguration of the person of Jesus Christ (see Figure 26 below), which demonstrated his worthiness and divinity, was noted by the blinding sharp flash with his garment becoming dazzling white (Gage, 1999). White clothes are mentioned in the Bible on a number of occasions. In the Book of Revelation, God distinguishes people who wear white clothes and this makes them <u>worthy</u> [64] of God's mercy[65]. The word 'worth' is also used in the company's famous slogan *'Because I'm <u>worth</u> it'*, which may remind the reader of the text of the Bible, establishing a certain connection between the company (or at least its slogan) and the authority of the Bible.

The joint use of the three colours, red, black and white also comes from the Book of Revelation when describing the opening of the seven seals: "I looked, and there was a white horse…" (Revelation, 6:2), the rider of which has the right to conquer; "[a]nd out came another horse, bright red…", which allows taking peace from earth and killing each other (Revelation, 6:4); "[w]hen he opened the third seal … there was a black horse," related to food and drink (Revelation, 6:5). In the advertisement, black/brown plays an important role because the combination of black/brown and white makes the use of both colours more effective. White

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[62] See Figure 23.

[63] Kaballah is a school of thought based on ancient Judaic books (*What is Kabbalah?*, 2009).

[64] My emphasis in the paragraph.

[65] See the exact citation in section 6.2.

would not have been used so effectively if Andie MacDowell had had blonde hair. The whiteness of her clothes and the advertisement's background punctuates her hair, eyes and complexion.

Another colour that is used in the advertisement is gold. The words *'Dermo-Expertise'* in the top right-hand corner are written in gold with a yellowish shade, whereas the words on the cream jar *"L'OREAL PARIS Dermo-Expertise"* are shining like the original metal. Generally, gold is associated with costliness, durability and quality. It has always been highly valued and sought after. In Ancient Egypt, for example, gold was one of the most precious metals and "… was used to obtain immortality because of its sun-like brilliance and its resistance to corrosion… Gold was related to afterlife, and intended as a means of acquiring the flesh of the gods" (El-Shahawy & Atiya, 2005, p. 212). The choice of this particular colour in writing the brand's name may unconsciously lead the reader to the interpretation that the company has expertise in skin care and their production is similar to gold, valuable, high quality, helping the consumer preserve their youthfulness. Gold is also meaningful in Christianity. The reception of the 'jewel of gold' in the Book of Genesis (*Genesis*, 24:21-22), signifies Divine good (Thompson, 2002). In the book of Revelation, seven golden lamp stands are the seven churches in Asia, the seven spirits (Revelation, 1:2-12). In the text, there are seven lines in gold, which again could be deliberate and establishing a connection with the Bible.

Another connection between the Bible and L'Oreal advertising campaign is suggested through the use of light, which seems prominent in L'Oreal's advertisements. A sharp flash of light lit Jesus Christ during Transfiguration. In this advertisement, light makes the gold letters on the cream jars shine. In the L'Oreal on-line advertisement (Figure 26), light illuminates both, the model and the background. The second on-line advertisement (Figure 28) resembles Rafael's depiction of Christ's Transfiguration (Figure 27).
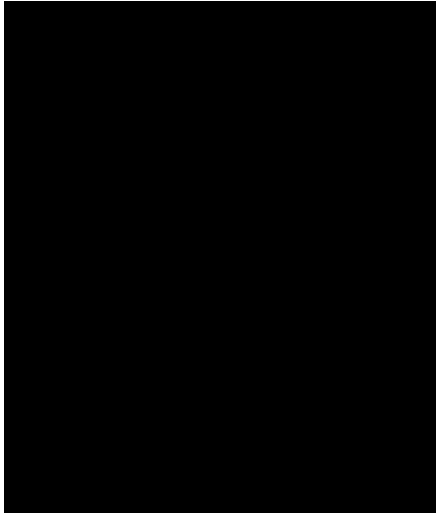
Figure 26. L'Oreal REVITALIFT on-line advertisement (L'Oreal, 2009b).
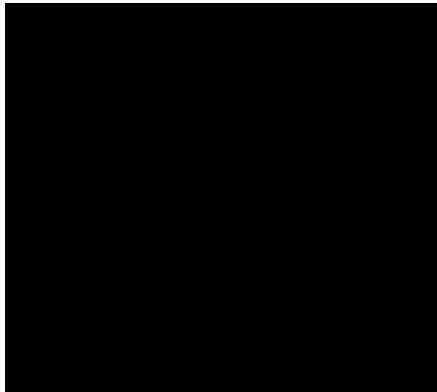
Figure 27. The upper part of Transfiguration (1520) by Rafael (Alamo, 2009) .

Figure 28. L'Oreal's on-line advertising campaign (L'Oreal, 2009a).

Generally, colour in an advertisement serves as a means of visual cohesion (van Leeuwen, 2005). Here, it could be interpreted as a tool to draw parallels between the advertisement and the Bible, and to be more specific, the Book of Revelation. It can also be regarded as a conveyor of an idea because the three colours represent different aspects of the cream and company characteristics. Light in this advertisement may also serve as a connector with the Bible. The link between the Bible and the advertisement may position beauty as religion.

7.2.2.2.   Celebrity endorsement: Andie MacDowell

Case study four examines an advertisement of an attractiveness-related product[66] featuring Andie MacDowell, a famous American actress. She openly states how old she is thus engaging readers of the same age group[67]. The advertisers presumably assume that the reader knows who the endorser is. It is easy to check on her actual age and biography. She is someone that the reader is expected to relate herself to, because first, she looks quite natural and does not have the perfection of top models (although she used to be one), which is reinforced by the fact that she is photographed at a very short distance, making the contact with her almost intimate (van Leeuwen, 2005). Second, she is looking directly at the viewer. Her gaze is soft and she is smiling with a warm smile. She is constructed as being feminine, tranquil and confident. Her skin is luminous and young looking in spite of a few wrinkles surrounding her brown eyes.

As it was said above, the model is wearing white clothes, which may signify her worthiness, the red bracelets possibly point to the submission before the face of God. Another signifier of her spirituality is the letter 'O' on her forehead, which could be interpreted as a mark distinguishing her as a servant of God: "Do not damage the earth or the sea or the trees, until we have marked the servants of our God with a seal on their foreheads" (*Revelation*, 7:3). This mark because of its circular shape also references a halo. The meaning of the company's name can also be interpreted as 'halo', as their first product, the hair dye, was called Aureole (*L'Oreal hair colour*, n.d.), which has similar letters to the word '*L'Oreal*'.

Religiosity is one of Andie MacDowell's virtues, as in an interview (Ellis, 2002), she states that she is religious: she was born in the Bible Belt[68], at the moment she reads spiritual books and takes her children to church every Sunday. Thus, the religious theme that is constructed through religious cues on the image level can be bolstered by the religiosity of the model in real life. In the advertising of cosmetics, this could be regarded as the construction of beauty as something as serious as religion.

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[66] More discussion on the topic is presented in chapter three.

[67] See discussion on the audience design in chapter three.

[68] Bible Belt is the area in the USA where fundamental Protestantism is a major part of culture (*Bible Belt*, n.d.).

7.3 Linguistic analysis: Unpacking the writer's position

In this section, I investigate the writers' position by analysing the vocabulary and grammatical structures used in the text. First, I look into the structures that can clarify the writers' level of imposition on the reader. Then, I examine the construction of ageist discourse in the advertisement with 'scientised' discourse being its major constituent. In the discussion on 'scientised' discourse, the analysis of nominalisation makes a separate section due to the importance of nominal structures in this advertisement.

7.3.1 The analysis of the writer's position

The writers' position and their attitude towards the statement in the clause can traditionally be expressed by modal verbs; at the same time, language provides its speakers with more methods of commitment to the claim (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday, 1994; Hodge & Kress, 1988; Hyland, 2005). In this section, I will analyse the use of evaluative lexis and grammar structures in order to understand whether and when the advertisers assert their statements.

7.3.1.1. Lexicality

Words high on an intensity scale[69] (White, 2001) can be interpreted as the writers' imposition on the reader. In the advertisement, there is an abundance of high intensity words and expressions: *'intensified Revitalift'*, *'most advanced formula ever'*, *'intensive action'*, *'anti-wrinkle effectiveness'*, *'intensive anti-ageing action'*, *'your ideal anti-wrinkle programme'*, *'world No1 in anti-wrinkle creams', 'Dermo-Expertise'.* The use of this type of lexis could be perceived as a strong endorsement of the advertising claims that are meant to persuade the reader that the product is the best in the market (*'World No1'*) and is best for the customer ('*your ideal anti-wrinkle programme*'). They construct themselves as being in a position to make such a claim due to their *'expertise'* and origin, *'Paris'.*

The attempt to persuade the reader of the worthiness of the product can also be regarded as what Cook (2001) calls a 'reasoning' strategy[70], as the written text of the advertisement appeals to common sense rather than induces desire. This technique is generally employed in the advertising of necessities, something indispensable, such as washing powder (Cook, 2001).

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[69] More discussion is presented in chapter three.

[70] See more discussion in chapter three.

Necessity discourse might be related to the readership of *NZWW* who are regarded as price-conscious consumers.

Another example of a reasoning strategy is the mention of the extras that come free with the cream: *"Protection against daily UV rays. New pump with SPF15,"* which appear at the end of the advertisement, after all the cream's key characteristics have been described. These sentences may be designed to explain to the reader why this purchase can be considered a bargain or at least a worthwhile buy.

At the same time, the text contains words that can question the advertisers' desire to commit themselves to the statements:

(10) Visibly fewer wrinkles noticed by 87% of women.

(13) Firmer looking skin noticed by 78% of women.

(14) Self-evaluation test by 97 women after 3 weeks.

These examples indicate that the advertisers leave the observation of the effect to the user's subjective perception rather than to the objective knowledge of scientific research. Instead of saying that the number of wrinkles will reduce or the skin will become firmer and the results can be confirmed by dermatologists, they shift the responsibility for it to the consumer who can notice or cannot notice the promised results.

Sentence *(14) "Self-evaluation test by 97 women after 3 weeks"* is the most obscure of the three. The only idea that it is possible to make out of it is that self-evaluation involving 97 women took place. It is not stated how the women assessed themselves, or what they based their judgements on when reporting the firmer looking skin effects. The lexis that attests to the subjective judgement of participants may be perceived as the company's reluctance to take responsibility for the outcome of the cream's application.

7.3.1.2. *Grammatical structures*

The imperative mood, the mood for exchanging or demanding goods and services (Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1994) can be regarded as the writers' imposition and, according to Fairclough (2003), is the highest form of demand. Imperatives appeal to the audience directly in an attempt to persuade them to buy the advertised product, for example, *'Get firm with your wrinkles!'* This is

also an important element in the audience design, as from this sentence, we can see that advertisers assume that they have the power to talk to their readers in the form of a command. The demand is intensified here by the exclamation mark and the fact that it is Andy MacDowell's personal appeal to the customer to *"...[g]et firm..."* The idea of firmness can be applied not only to skin, but also a person, and in this case another Biblical parallel can be drawn: "But Moses said to people: Do not be afraid, stand firm, and see the deliverance that the Lord will accomplish for you today…" (*Exodus*, 14:13). The 'firmness' theme is important in the advertisement as the lexeme is reiterated through the entire text[71].

7.3.2 Ageist discourse

This advertisement focuses on a few lexemes that are reiterated[72] : *'Revitalift'*, *'wrinkles'* and *'firming'/'firm'*. The word *'wrinkle'(s)* is reiterated 8 times, the words *'firming' / 'firm'* 5 times and *'Revitalift'* 4 times. The repetition of the lexical items[73] can be used to foreground an idea (Johnstone, 2008) or, as in texts for emergent readers, helps readers to take in and remember the presented information (Darnton, 2001). Being a promotional text, an advertisement is expected to focus on products and their qualities, some of which are the name of the product with the *'lift'* constituent, its firming and anti-wrinkle action. In a text of this size (approximately 110 words), such tautology may serve as a persuasive device.

At the same time, the advertisement seems to be speculating on the idea of plastic surgery. It appears to be giving the reader the promise that the results of the cream's application can be similar to a face lift, an expensive and intrusive anti-ageing method.

The advertisement also presents the product as a *'protection against daily UVA rays'*, which reproduces a military discourse and thus portrays UVA rays and their effect, ageing as an enemy that the cream can protect against. This idea is also intensified by the phrase that introduces the advertisement: *"Get firm with your wrinkles!"* On the one hand, this word can create a negative image of ageing and on the other hand, present the company as caring for their consumer.

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[71] More discussion on the reiteration of lexical items is presented in the forthcoming section.

[72] There are more lexical items that are reiterated in the advertisement; however, the rest of them will be discussed under a different rubric.

[73] See more discussion of repetition in chapter three.

7.3.2.1. *'Scientised' discourse as discourse of expertise*

Ageist discourse in this advertisement is also constructed by scientised discourse, which comprises scientised vocabulary, statistical data and nominal structures. In this case study, nominal structures form a separate section due to their prominence in the sentences.

7.3.2.1.1. *Scientised vocabulary*

Scientised words in this text include *'dermo-exprertise'*, *'formula'*, *'Pro-Retinol A Forte'*, *'dermo clinically tested'*, *'Fibre-Elastyl'*, *'self-evaluation test'*, *'UV rays'*, *'anti-wrinkle programme'*. Compared with the three ageist lexemes, such variety makes a considerable difference, which may be regarded as the designers' attempt to foreground the 'scientific' part of the product development. The use and variety of scientised vocabulary may also attest to the importance of the reference to science, at least in this advertisement. At the same time, the repetitiveness of lexemes makes them more memorable, whereas such variety may confuse the reader. Perhaps, the amount of scientific words was introduced in the text deliberately, as on the one hand, they have the power to impress the reader, but on the other hand, are difficult to remember. Perhaps, the scientific words here do not need to be remembered.

The company's authority and confidence is expressed in the sentence *"Our most advanced formula ever!"* It does not simply mention science, but claims to be the most advanced formula ever developed by the company. However, there is an idea of finiteness in the words 'most advanced' and 'ever'. It is unclear how the advertisers are going to position a more recent product. Another problem with words like *'formula'* or *'Pro-Retinol A Forte'* is that the advertisers do not explain what ingredients constitute them. According to Strange (2008), advertisers use the word 'formula' without giving much detail deliberately because the mystery behind secret ingredients may increase the persuasiveness of the advertising claim.

Another interesting aspect of this advertisement that can attest to the advertisers' authority along with the phrase *"WORLD No1 IN ANTI-WRINKLE CREAMS"* is their formation of new words: <u>Dermo</u>-Expertise, <u>dermo</u> clinically tested. The word 'dermo' according to Webster's on-line dictionary, is not used on its own because it is a combining word ("dermo," 2010). However, in the text, the word stands as a separate lexeme regardless of the rule.

There are two more lexemes that are not related to science explicitly, such as *'intensive'/'intensified'* and *'new'*. In this case study, I regard them a part of 'scientised' discourse because they help ostensibly promote the cream's characteristics achieved by so-called

innovation in science. They also seem essential for the text of the advertisement because they are reiterated. The word *'new'* is repeated 4 times. The idea of 'newness' introduces the cream at the beginning of the textual right-hand side, which, according to Kress et al. (1997) and van Leeuwen (2005), is the domain of new and unfamiliar information. Then, it is reiterated in the sentence *"New pump with SPF15"* and in the label of the cream. The last reminder of 'newness' is in the expression *'new formula'* above the second cream jar. Thus, 'newness' is foregrounded in the text through repetition.

7.3.2.1.2. Use of statistics

In this advertisement, the results of the tests are reported with the help of statistical data, which are found in four sentences:

(10) Visibly fewer wrinkles noticed by 87% of women.

(11) Dermo clinically tested by 39 women on forehead wrinkles after 28 days.

(13) Firmer looking skin noticed by 78% of women.

(14) Self-evaluation test by 97 women after 3 weeks.

Numbers and percentages alongside the words such as *'tested', 'self-evaluation test'* can present text as scientific. At the same time, they can be regarded as the company's reluctance to commit themselves to the claims. They are not saying that 100% of women had considerable improvements, so any buyer can easily find themselves within 13% of the minority who did not notice fewer wrinkles or 22(!)% who did not notice firmer looking skin. Another question that can be asked after reading these statements is why the decrease of wrinkles was tested by 39 women (sentence 11) and the firming of the skin by 97 women (sentence 14). Thus, the use of statistics in this advertisement, like other aspects of discourse poses more questions than gives answers.

7.3.2.1.3. Nominalisation

Initially, nominalisation[74] appeared in scientific and technical registers and later penetrated other adult discourses being a "… mark of prestige and power" (Halliday, 1994, p. 353). The advertisements under study show that it is also used by advertisers. In the text of the

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[74] Nominalisation has been discussed in chapter three.

advertisement (which you can find in Figure 24), there are only three sentences without nominalisation: 1, 17 and 21 with 21 being detached visually from the advertisement copy and 17 being the slogan of the brand.

Strictly speaking, there are no complete sentences (by which I mean a sentence with a grammatical subject and predicate) in the text, as Halliday (1994) calls imperatives (sentences 1 and 21) elliptic forms with the actor of the action absent from the utterance. Sentence 17 (*"Because You're Worth It"*) does not make a complete sentence either, as it is a subordinate clause with the main one missing. Usually, the clause introduced by 'because' accounts for the statement predicated in the main clause. Consequently, the utterance *'Because You're Worth It'* is incomplete on its own.

The cream and its action are presented in the text in the following way. The sentence *(5) "Fewer wrinkles, firmer looking skin"* is abstract because it is not clear who is involved and when to expect the results, instead of saying, for example "Your skin will become firmer in 3 days/weeks" or "The cream will reduce the wrinkles". Moreover, the use of comparatives reinforces the vagueness of the statement, as the comparative implies contrast with a second object, which is absent here. Thus, the reader does not know whether her skin is going to be firmer than before or firmer than if she used a different brand. Similar to sentence (5), sentence *(8) "ANTI-WRINKLE + FIRMING INTENSIVE ACTION"* is abstract, without many details as to what is behind this action. At the same time, its capitalisation puts a visual emphasis on the sentence, which is probably one of the key statements in the text.

Sentences *(9) "Anti-wrinkle effectiveness with Pro-Retinol A Forte"* and *(22) "WORLD No1 IN ANTI-WRINKLE CREAMS"* are assertive. They sound as if they should be accepted by the reader as a universal truth that the author is delivering. However, there is no evidence to why we should believe that what is being said is valid. No time reference or modality is given so the reader does not have the idea of how exactly the cream is effective, how the results are achieved.

Sentence *(20) "From Age 40, Intensive Anti-Ageing Action"* contains no modal verbs indicating advice, e.g. 'should' and does not say who should apply it. The speaker does not express their attitude towards the action as either desirable or obligatory. This leaves the question of modality open and thus, the endorsement can be regarded as weak on the outside, as it does not impose any sort of obligation on the reader through modals. In sentences *(4) "New intensified Revitalift"*

and *(6) "Our most advanced formula ever!"* it is not clear who or what advanced and intensified the cream, when and how it was done.

Sentences 10, 11, 13 and 14 refer to various 'tests' and statistics[75], the results of which should probably be taken for granted, as they are straightforward and allow no questioning of the claims' validity: *(10) "Visibly fewer wrinkles noticed by 87% of women." (11) "Dermo clinically tested by 39 women on forehead wrinkles after 28 days." (13) "Firmer looking skin noticed by 78% of women." (14) "Self-evaluation test by 97 women after 3 weeks."* Here, no details as to how these tests were conducted are given. The absence of the details can be interpreted as the only way to measure the effectiveness of the cream[76] is the feedback from the users who *'notice' 'visibly fewer wrinkles'*.

The structures used in these sentences are passive. Thus, the participants of the tests (women), the logical subjects of the sentences, are presented here as grammatical objects. The passive structures background the actor (women) and foreground the goal (wrinkles and the cream). We can compare the two passive sentences with their active transformations: (1) *'...fewer wrinkles noticed by 87% of women'* and '*87% of women noticed fewer wrinkles*'; (2) *'...dermo clinically tested by 39 women'* and '*39 women dermo clinically tested* (what?)'. The active structure makes the statement incomplete, as first, the transitive verb 'test' is not followed by the object and second, in both cases, the active structure raises the question about the participants: are they the ones who tried the cream or are they only observers? By contrast, passives do not explicitly demand clarification because the agent is subdued.

The text also nominalises properties (*effectiveness*) and processes (*action*, *self-evaluation*, *protection*). In the sentence '*Anti-wrinkle effectiveness with Pro-Retinol A Forte*', the property is expressed metaphorically as a noun. It could have been said "Pro-Retinol A Forte makes the [cream] effective". However, the copywriters opted for the nominal, which is more compact than the complete sentence, gives the opportunity to omit the object of the description (the cream), foregrounds the idea of 'effectiveness' and finally presents Pro-Retinol as an object instead of making it the subject of the complete sentence.

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[75] More discussion on the use of statistics in the advertisement was presented in section 7.3.2.1.2.

[76] I have expanded on the vocabulary used to report test results earlier in the chapter.

Overall, the text of the advertisement reveals that discourse scientisation in anti-ageing advertising is one of the key strategies. The amount of 'scientised' words help to shift the text from the explanation of the claims to the products qualities.

7.4 Conclusion

The advertisement is cohesive both visually and textually, due to the use of colour and lexical repetition. Matching colours help connect different visual elements of the advertisement, whereas lexical repetition connects the ideas expressed in the text, for example, *'firm', wrinkles', 'expertise'*, etc.

The advertisement is also intertextual and this is expressed multimodally. The religious themes are foregrounded visually and textually. It is hard to say why the company expresses these themes so explicitly and whether it is intentional or not. It is an observation that raises more questions and calls for further investigation, which is the purpose of social semiotics (van Leeuwen, 2005). As in the other case studies, the religious symbolism may suggest that the goals of beauty and youthfulness should be pursued with the vigour of religious practice.

Ageist discourse in the advertisement constructed ageing as undesirable: *"Get firm with your wrinkles!"* and as something that the consumer has to be protected against: *'protection against daily UVA rays'*. It is probably effective as a persuasive strategy because it creates a positive image of a caring company.

Scientised discourse presented an important aspect of analysis, especially considering L'Oreal's support of bioengineering. The scientisation of discourse is achieved by the inclusion of statistical data, nominal structures and numerous references to tests and research. Discourse scientisation also makes the advertisement sound authoritative because power can be received from the knowledge (Poynton, 1985 as cited in Goatly, 2000) that the company allegedly possesses: *'Dermo-Expertise'*. With the amount of scientised lexis, beauty itself becomes science, not the gift of nature. The authoritative position of the company is also constructed by using imperatives, vocabulary high on intensity scale and their reference to its location – France, which is normally associated with style and beauty.

The use of statistics, scientised discourse and vocabulary high on the intensity scale present the advertisement as a strong endorsement, which according to Martin et al. (2008), is effective with

the high-SNI buyers[77], people who seek their in-group's approval, which in this case are women in their late forties. It is hard to say whether advertisers are familiar with research on customer advertisement perception, they may follow what seems more logical and effective.

The femininity in the advertisement is constructed in a new way, which is not a fluffy soft style of the 1970s. The model's clothes and accessories look unisex and simple. Her makeup and hairstyle are also discreet. On the one hand, that may draw the viewers' attention to the condition of her skin, not makeup, on the other hand that may reflect the advertiser's idea of their target audience.

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[77] See more discussion on SNI in chapter two.

8 Chapter eight: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This research aimed to examine and compare the discursive strategies employed by advertisers in the 1970s and 2000s[78] and their persuasive impact on the consumers. It focused on the evolution of strategies that address women in their attempt to sell anti-ageing creams. It also looked into the change, if any in the representation of women in the 1970s and 2000s.

Advertisements are designed to induce the desire to purchase the advertised product that allegedly solves a problem that is almost always discursively constructed. With body, not the soul perceived as a marker of ageing, contemporary advertising often portray ageing as pathological, undesirable and unattractive (Bazin & White, 2006; Calasanti, 2008; Featherstone, 1991). The negative stance towards ageing in contemporary mass media may generate a fear or at least wariness of ageing that leads to an interest in anti-ageing products.

A great number of advertisements nowadays feature women, famous or not, telling their stories about fighting signs of ageing. Women seem the target audience of the anti-ageing industry (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996) as women's ageing is generally perceived in a more negative way than that of men's (J. Coupland, 2002; DeRenzo & Malley, 1992). The problem of women's ageing is aggravated by articles in women's magazines that promote the need to be in a heterosexual relationship (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996). Alongside the articles on relationships, women's magazines construct images of an ideal woman who is sexually attractive and thus can get herself a man, which can account for the fact that sexuality has become an effective way to appeal to the target audience (Brooks, 2001). In their construction of the target audience through image and text, advertisers also may also exploit and foreground the idea of femininity, which sometimes takes the form of 'hyperfeminisation' (Gannon, 2007).

The overarching research question that was asked at the beginning of research was 'How has anti-ageing advertising changed in its persuasive strategies and the representation of women

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[78] The reasons for the choice of the two eras have been given in chapter two.

since 1970s?' As ageism, the ideas of sexuality and femininity seem essential aspects of anti-ageing advertising products three other research questions were formulated:

1. How much have the discursive techniques used by advertisers changed since the1970s and what are the new strategies used to increase consumer attraction?

2. How is ageism mobilised to increase the persuasiveness of anti-ageing advertisements?

3. How are the ideas of femininity and sexuality expressed and constructed in anti-ageing advertisements?

In order to answer the overarching research question, all the three research questions are discussed in separate sections of the chapter. The first section analyses the evolution of advertising techniques in the four advertisements. The second section looks into the construction of ageist discourse. The third section discusses the construction of femininity and sexuality.

8.2   Differences and similarities between the 1970s and 2000s advertisements

The case studies indicated that the discursive techniques used by advertisers have changed considerably. Some of the techniques have possibly been introduced quite recently, whereas others have significantly evolved with time. At this stage, it is hard to say when exactly the new techniques were introduced. An analysis of advertisements representing different years of the past three decades should be conducted to answer this question. Contemporary advertisements are more sophisticated in terms of design. They appear more intertextual as they rely heavily on other genres like science, technology and religion. Although science was present in the 1970s, in the 2000s, it seemed one of the key genres that the advertisements relied on. Finally, in its persuasive strategies, contemporary anti-ageing advertising has become more implicit.

What seems quite permanent is the general layout that has not changed significantly and still fits into the model of reading[79] in Western cultures discussed by Kress et al. (1997). In the case of double-sided advertisements, the model is generally in the left (the past and familiar) part and the text with the picture of the product is in the right (the new and unfamiliar) part. Single-sided

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[79] A detailed discussion of the model was presented in chapter two.

advertisements normally place the model in the upper (the desired and ideal) part with the text and sometimes the product at the bottom, the domain of real. Thus, these examples may serve as the proof of the model's validity. In spite of the similarities in the layout, the advertisements are different in terms of design.

8.2.1 Technologisation of contemporary advertising

The contemporary advertisements are more technologically advanced. This can be explained by computer programmes that give graphic designers an opportunity to realise the ideas, which was unfeasible before their introduction. The comparison of the background against which the models were depicted showed a shift towards a more technological look compared to the home and home-like cosy atmosphere of the 1970s. Inviting sofas, armchairs, tables and vases of the 1970s have been replaced by geometrical forms, that look cold and futuristic (CS3)[80].

The 1970s advertisements in case study one and case study two used words that made the cream sound similar to a technological device (*'maintain', 'activated', 'produced')*. In case study three and case study four, however, the advertisements appeared more highly technologised because they used scientific terms and the ideas of science, *'tests', 'formulae'* etc. attested to high technologies presumably utilised in the cream's manufacturing. However, as scientific discourse is considered a part of ageist discourse, it will also be discussed in the forthcoming section.

8.2.2 The intertextuality of contemporary advertising

Intertextuality was a feature of the 1970s advertisements that constructed a discourse of necessity as a part of reasoning strategies (CS2). Along with the necessity discourse (CS4), the 2000s used religious discourse (CS3 and CS4), which is another aspect that adds to the complexity of contemporary advertising. All the case studies referenced France, which could convey the idea of good taste and expertise in the area of beauty. Another genre that all the case studies borrowed from was science; however, in my view, scientised discourse constructs ageist discourse, especially in contemporary advertisements, so it will be discussed under the rubric of ageist discourse.

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[80] In this chapter, I am going to use abbreviations for the names of the case studies as CS1 (case study one), CS2 (case study two), CS3 (case study three) and CS4 (case study four).

8.2.2.1.   Religious discourse as a persuasive strategy

The religious symbolism of contemporary advertising was an unexpected discovery, especially with the absence of religious themes in the two 1970s advertisements that I analysed. The relationship between science and religion has always been ambiguous, because science can offer theoretically and very often empirically proven explanations for phenomena that had been previously considered divine. The church has never been in favour of human attempts to interfere into the natural process of ageing and dying, which the Bible simply calls the act of God.

Exclusivity is the aspect that I relate in CS3 to religious discourse due to its promotion in the Bible[81]. It was used in CS1 and CS2 and is still used CS3, for example: *"...a unique beauty treatment"* and *"...an exclusive bio-complex…"* (CS1), *"She [Madame Rubinstein] found her own uniquely real way to do it"* (CS2) and *"...our exclusive BioSync Complex™..."* (CS3). The phrases like "This is an exclusive offer" have become a part of today's advertising. This claim may generate (or speculate on) the desire to be among the few. On the other hand, the use of the idea that is advocated by religion may construct the pursuit of exclusivity as desirable.

However, the idea of exclusivity can be utilised in advertising without evoking religious associations. In CS3, the idea of religious exclusivity was expressed by the phrase *"Enter the ageless future,"* which corresponded with the biblical phrase about the idea of narrow gate "Enter through the narrow gate…"[82] (*Matthew*, 7:13-14).

The constructed spirituality of the models in the contemporary advertisements is also a notable feature. The visual cues, such as the model's white clothes signifying worthiness, the bracelets having religious connotation, letter 'O' on Andie MacDowell's forehead in CS4 that could be interpreted as God's mark point to the importance of religion in the two texts. From the two contemporary advertisements, I would say that the advertisers attempted to foreground the religious line. It can be considered an attempt to present beauty as the new religion as in contemporary mass culture the body has become the object of worship (Baudrillard, 2005). As the discovery of this aspect was quite unexpected, I would suggest a further investigation of religious discourse in contemporary advertising.

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[81] See chapters six and seven.

[82] The exact quotation is in 6.3.3.

8.2.2.2. Reasoning strategies

Another interesting finding was the fact that CS2 and CS4 appeal to the customers' common sense positioning the cream as a necessity, not a luxury[83] due to the detailed description of the product development: *"Dermo clinically tested by 39 women on forehead wrinkles after 28 days"* and *"Self-evaluation test by 97 women after 3 weeks."* High value vocabulary *'most advanced', 'intensified',* and *'world No1'* and the mention of the extras (*'protection against daily UV rays'* and *'new pump'*) that come with the product make the advertisement a strong endorsement. The promise to give back the money and the justification of the purchase through the results that *"...are well worth your time"* in CS2 employ a reasoning strategy, which was absent in the advertisement promoting the same brand in CS1 in *Vogue*.

This finding highlights the importance of the audience profile in the choice of the writer's form of address highlighted by Bell (Bell, 1997, 1999), as *NZWW* (the magazine where the advertisements for CS2 and CS4 were placed) targets the audience with an average spending capacity, women for whom a bargain is important.

8.2.2.3. French allusions

The theme that was present in all the case studies was France. In CS1, the cream was *"...imported from France."* In CS2, the advertisers used the words of French origin, e.g. *'rendezvous'* and *'Madame Rubinstein'.* In CS3, the name of the founder and the company itself was Estée Lauder. In CS4, the brand name is *'L'Oreal Paris'.* In all the case studies, it was concluded that the reference to France increases the persuasive power of the statement because of the country's perceived expertise in style and beauty.

8.2.2.4. Lexical repetition as a persuasive strategy

One of the strategies that seemed to be developed by the designers of the advertisements in CS2 and CS4 is lexical repetition. It is one of the strategies in CS2 and is more prominent in CS4. According to Hoey (2001), lexical repetition has the power to foreground an idea in the text, so it can be used as a marker of the most important part of the message.

In CS2, the reiterated item was *'Ultra Feminine'* and in CS4 *'wrinkle', 'firm'* and *'new'.* In these two advertisements, repetition does not simply foreground these ideas, but also serves as a

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[83] More discussion is presented in chapter two.

connector between the image and the text of CS2 where the model is presented as ultra feminine, and as a cohesive marker in the text of CS4 that weaves the ideas of wrinkles, newness and firmness all through the text.

Thus, I may conclude that in advertising the repetition of lexical items can help identify the main part of the message. It may also be a connector between the textual and visual modes of the text, and between elements within one mode of the text. Most importantly, it may point to the change of the advertisement designers' focus – style in CS2 and function in CS4. I would suggest more research on the functions of repetition in advertisements, possibly with an accent on the connection between the visual and textual modes of the advertisement.

8.3   Ageist discourse in advertising: The construction and reproduction of social values

The case studies revealed a considerable amount of ageist discourse, which correlates with the study by DeRenzo and Malley in 1992 conducting a content analysis of the texts of advertisements for skin-care products in Vogue between 1969 and 1988. They state that ageist discourse was a part of the US Vogue discourse in 1969 (nearly 26% occurrences). It has been steadily increasing, especially since 1978 (in spite of the introduction of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) in 1967 and its further amendments in 1974, 1978 and 1986 in the USA), and reached a disturbing 67% by 1988.

Another finding from the case studies was the complex nature of ageist discourse, which relies on a number of other discourses. One of them is medical discourse, which has been identified by J. Coupland (2002). Vocabulary like *'treat'* and *'treatment'* (CS1, CS2 and CS3) portray ageing as "…a potentially curable *disease…*" (Feathestone & Hepworth, 1991, p. 379 their italics). On the other hand, this *'treatment'* is not meant to improve the buyers' health but only make them <u>look</u>[84] younger (Calasanti, 2008).

Technologisation is another feature of anti-ageing advertising. *'Maintain'* (CS1) and its derivatives are quite popular in anti-ageing discourse (Featherstone, 1991). However, these lexical items normally have associations with a machine, rather than a human's body.

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[84] My emphasis

Vocabulary like *'prevent'* (CS1) and *'activated'* (CS2) contribute to the technologisation of anti-ageing advertising as it is generally associated with failures of programmes, machines, and so on. The words *'prevent'* (CS1), *'regimen'* (CS2) and *'protection against daily UVA rays'* (CS4) can also be associated with the military terminology and ageing thus can be portrayed as an enemy that we have to *'get firm'* (CS4) with.

A negative stance towards ageing has been galvanised through the evaluative vocabulary that describes the product's action: *correcting* (CS3), the one that makes the skin *"...firm, lineless and wonderful..."* (CS2), *"...fresher, brighter, younger..."* (CS1). Here, an attempt to define what wonderful skin is (bright, young, lineless and firm) makes the opposite undesirable and something that has to be corrected.

All the four advertisements relied on the discourse of science. The amount and even the very existence of this discourse type in the 1970s advertisements was unexpected as I considered it a contemporary feature. However, its use was quite different from the 2000s. First, it did not seem dominant because the amount of 'scientised' discourse was smaller compared to CS3 and CS4 with their references to tests, use of statistical data and a plethora of nominal structures. Second, the context that 'scientised' vocabulary was found in was contradictory because the writer first expressed scepticism towards the need of any explanation: *"The full name is Ultra Feminine Biogenic Night Cream. But, all you have to know about is that it works"* (CS2). Then, the writer gave a detailed description of the cream's action: *"It is a remarkable cream that feeds your skin with vital and rare <u>bio-energisers</u>. They penetrate <u>the cellular layer of the skin</u> and increase <u>the flow of natural oil</u> and moisture."* In addition, advertisers in CS1 presumed that the clarification of the terms were not necessary, for example, the word *'biogenics'* and the abbreviation *'GAM'* were not expanded on. Therefore, the advertisers in CS1 and CS2 seemed reluctant to share their knowledge and expertise with the reader, compared to CS3 and CS4, where the discourse was presented as giving a lot of information.

A feature that has developed significantly since the 1970s is the use of nominalisation in advertisements. According to Halliday (1994), nominals were initially used in scientific texts and were later integrated into other adult discourses. The 1970s advertisements used noun groups, although their number was relatively insignificant: *'the science of biogenics'*, *'a unique beauty treatment'* and *'the fluid of your skin cells'* (CS1), and *'the cellular layer of the skin'* and *'the flow of natural oil'* (CS2). The constructions in the 1970s advertisements were shorter and had

less 'scientised' vocabulary than CS3: *'improved visible wrinkle-reducing effect', 'Estée Lauder's Anti-Wrinkle Retinol Treatment'* and CS4: *'Anti-wrinkle effectiveness with Pro-Retinol A Forte', 'Protection against daily UV rays'.* More research is required on the development of nominal structures in anti-ageing advertising.

Another aspect that seems to be a part of scientised discourse is the use of statistics (CS4). Similar to nominalisation, this strategy contributes to the ersatz veracity of scientised discourse in contemporary advertising. Again, from the two advertisements, it was hard to say when statistical data began their existence in advertising, so more research is needed to answer this question.

As an integral part of the scientised discourse, contemporary anti-ageing advertising seems to be engaged in a dialogue with a connected issue: the radical and expensive anti-ageing technology[85], which is available nowadays. On the one hand, mass media show images of celebrities and models (the perfection of which is often achieved by computer software) looking much younger than their ordinary contemporaries (Bazin & White, 2006). However, the costliness and invasiveness of the procedures makes them accessible to the few and thus an effective point to speculate on (Bazin & White, 2006). However, even if the cream is positioned as an alternative to *"...lasers, peels and shots..."* its retail price (over NZD100) still does not fit in the family budget of an average family.

Fear is another important aspect of the speculation on plastic surgery. The idea of a surgical knife or a needle can be frightening so the product that is positioned as *'a gentle alternative'* (CS3) to *"...lasers, peels and shots..."* presents the opportunity to rejuvenate in a simpler and probably safer way.

The scientisation of the anti-ageing discourse used in the four advertisements confirms the claims by Featherstone and Hepworth (1991) about the appearance of "… a new language of ageing with a much greater expressive range…" that was generated by the need "…for a new public language to challenge and destabilise traditional cultural images of middle age for both women and men…" (p. 383). Its expressiveness in the advertisements stems from the intertextuality of ageist discourse, presenting ageing as a disease that has to be avoided thus

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[85] More discussion is presented in chapter two.

constructing a world where ageing is no longer associated with wisdom and experience (DeRenzo & Malley, 1992).

At the same time, a reliance on science in anti-ageing advertising closely links beauty and science, thus beauty ceases to be innate and becomes something that can be achieved with the help of research. Consequently, anti-ageing advertisements seem to be constructing beauty as attainable by the application of their products.

The use of scientised discourse in advertising has two sides. On the one hand, through it the company shares its knowledge with the customer by telling them about their new products, e.g. *'retinol-free alternative'* (CS3) and *'Pro-retinol A Forte'* (CS4). On the other hand, scientised discourse can be disempowering for a number of reasons. First, the company may be exerting its power through knowledge that it expresses in the text by giving advice, e.g.: *"Before you think about lasers, peels and shots, consider this ... alternative"* (CS3) and the use of scientised vocabulary. Second, the use of the complex terms, nominalisation and statistical data can perplex the reader rather than enlighten them: the scientific relevance of the majority of words is questionable. In addition, the validity of the statistical data is not expanded on.

In spite of the attempt to apparently inform the reader by using pseudo scientific terms, which was aimed at giving the impression of sharing important knowledge, the contemporary advertisements may be called conservative because advertisers expressed an authoritative position in the texts of the advertisements. In this way, they are not so much different from the 1970s advertisement (CS2), which tells the reader, *"...all you have to know is that it works."*

8.4 Femininity and sexuality: A popular way to advertise

The multimodal analyses of the four case studies indicated that the advertisers construct discourse around the ideas of femininity and sexuality. In all the advertisements, these two ideas are communicated multimodally, through text and image. In the 1970s case studies, the ideas of femininity are expressed very explicitly. In CS1, the cream is advertised as a *'unique beauty[86] treatment'* and in CS2, the product is presented as an *' Ultra Feminine Cream'*, which is repeated several times in the text. Visually, the 1970s advertisements construct the images of the

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[86] My emphasis

feminine, ladylike female. The models in CS1 and CS2 are photographed in home or home-like environments. The model in CS2 is wearing a wedding or an engagement ring, which attests to her heterosexuality and possibly the societal expectations to be married when it is time to use an anti-ageing cream. Both models are invitingly positioned on sofas looking seductive, which is bolstered in CS1 by the model's sensual plump lips and in CS2 by the model's posture with exposed crossed legs and her shoulder suggestively moved forward.

However, there are considerable differences in the image of the two women. In the *US Vogue* (CS1), the model is constructed as being more refined and sophisticated in her taste. Her clothes and accessories are expensive and discreet. Her makeup seems to enhance her natural beauty. The *NZWW*'s model (CS2) is dressed and stylised in a more flamboyant way. She is wearing a fluffy skirt, her hair is elaborately styled and her face is made up to emphasise her doe eyes.

The textual construction of women in CS1 and CS2 is conservative because they are portrayed as passive and submissive. The discourse by which the audience is addressed in CS1 passivates[87] them since the audience is not addressed directly and is excluded from the sentences, whereas non-animate participants are foregrounded. The discourse that the audience is talked to in CS2 is patronising because the author decides on how much they have to know. In both case studies, the discourse is authoritative due to the position that the writer allocates to the company (expert) and the cream (has the power to change things). Thus, the writers in both CSs reproduced a traditional image of a female, submissive and passive (Pawelczyk, 2008).

The contemporary models are constructed differently from their 1970s counterparts. In CS3, the model is presented as more liberated and aggressive or rather assertive. She lacks the traditional markers of femininity, as there are no items except her make-up that are normally attributed to females. Her hair is slicked back and is thus unseen. She is wearing a simple vest and has no feminine curves, which makes her look unisex. However, the liberation and empowerment of the model appears superficial. Her image is constructed as being submissive due to religious allusions, such as her posture with her hand on her chest, white collar-tab and white clothes, which may at the same time point to her submission. In addition, there are other visual cues of submission, bracelets and a harness, the attributes of sadomasochism, which is underlain by power and submission. This reference sexualises the model, this time in a different way to CS1

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[87] See discussion on passivation in chapter four.

and CS2. Her gaze is piercing and challenging. Her smile does not appear genuine or happy but rather scornful and a bit arrogant, which also sexualises her.

In CS4, the model is constructed as being more feminine in a traditional sense due to her long wavy hair, friendly smile and warm gaze. On the other hand, she is wearing a button-down shirt and is not over-accessorised, as the only adornment that she has on is a plain red bracelet or a wristwatch strap, which is also a unisex item. As in CS3, her white clothes suggest that she is worthy of God's mercy and a red bracelet has religious allusions.

Thus, in the simple clothes and accessories of the two contemporary models there are religious connotations that are developed in CS3 textually (see page 118), for example, *"Enter the ageless future"* sounds similar to *"Enter the kingdom of heaven"* (*Matthew*, 5:20; 7:21; 18:3; 19:23). The religious discourse in CS3 resembles the discourse of sermon that suggests and expects obedience from its laity. At the same time, the reliance on the religious cues could suggest that the pursuit of beauty and youthfulness is constructed as an imperative with beauty being equivalent to a religion[88].

Despite the differences, there is a lot in common in the construction of women in the 1970s and the 2000s. Conservatism exhibits itself in the choice of the models, who in the four advertisements are white[89]. In CS4, the model is upper class and heterosexual (or at least positions herself as one), which reflects the stance towards the need to be in a heterosexual relationship promoted in contemporary mass media (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996). Although in CS3 the model is presented as less feminine, almost unisex, she is still white, blue-eyed, fair-haired, perfectly beautiful and still sexualised. As in CS1 and CS2, the audience are addressed in an authoritative manner. The construction of the audience as obedient visually and textually shows that anti-ageing advertising has not moved far from the conventions of the 1970s.

Another similarity between the case studies is fear that is used by advertisers. Overt and covert discourses of sexuality position sexual attractiveness as desirable, as something that a woman should hold on to in spite of ageing, something that can be lost because ageing skin is not *'firm'*

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[88] See more discussion on religious discourse earlier in the chapter.

[89] The model in CS4 a famous actress, so she is presumably upper-middle class.

(CS4), *'young'* (CS1 and CS2) or *'wonderful'* (CS2). Thus, ageist discourse in anti-ageing advertisements may play on and generate fear of becoming sexually unattractive and rejected.

The discourse in the contemporary advertisements is still traditionalist in a way that it constructs the audience as people that can be talked to in a patronising manner. In CS3, the audience are given advice on what they should think: *"Before you think about lasers, peels and shots, consider this gentle…alternative."* Scientised discourse[90] employed in CS 3 and CS4 can be regarded as a discourse of expertise seeking to make the text authoritative.

To sum up, this study confirmed the importance of femininity and sexuality in advertising pointed out by Ballaster et al., (1991) and Caldas-Coulthard's (1996). It also showed that the construction of femininity and sexuality nowadays could be more implicit and intertextual than in the 1970s. The discovery of religious allusions that is interlaced with the discourses of femininity and sexuality in the contemporary advertisements was unpredicted. Their persuasive effect on the viewer has to be further investigated.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented and summarised the findings from the four case studies with reference to the overarching research question asked at the beginning of the research. The findings have been discussed in relation to the existing literature on the subject.

The research demonstrated that the strategies used by advertisers have evolved significantly. The discourse of anti-ageing advertisements has become more technological and intertextual. The prominent themes of the contemporary advertisements are science and religion. It appears that beauty has become the new religion. In addition, beauty is constructed as a science.

Ageist discourse positions ageing as a problem or a disease, employs the ideas femininity and sexuality, uses religious allusions and reminds the reader about plastic surgery. This may generate a feeling of fear.

Although the advertisements have become more technologically advanced, they do not seem to have made a step forward in their construction of the target audience. This supports the claim

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[90] See the discussion in the previous section.

that women's magazines are anti-feminist in spite of their aspiration to progressiveness (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996).

Another similarity between all the advertisements was their reference to France, which may have been utilised as a tool to impress their audience and increase the persuasive power of the message.

The claims that were made in the course of the analyses have to be further investigated due to the size of the sample. They can also be further validated in a different study that would involve the same advertisements, but this time the researcher's interpretation would be compared with the readings of others. Thus, the claims could be verified both qualitatively and quantitatively.

9 Chapter nine: Conclusion

The main goal of this study was to critically examine the development of the strategies and techniques used by the advertisers of anti-ageing cosmetics. In particular, this study investigated whether and/or how the representation of women by advertisers has moved in their attempts to sell anti-ageing creams. This question could be answered by the examination of three aspects. First, the emergence of the new advertising strategies had to be studied. Second, I had to understand how ageist discourse was constructed in the advertisements. Lastly, this study aimed to explicate the exploitation of femininity and sexuality in the 1970s and 2000s and its change, if any in the 30-year period.

The research was organised in four case studies of the two advertisements placed in 1970s and 2000s *Vogue* and two advertisements from 1970s and 2000s *NZWW*. The material for the analysis was chosen randomly. The texts however had to comply with the criteria given in chapter three.

The analysis employed a multimodal approach, which combined CDA (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001a, 2001b) and social semiotics (Kress, et al., 1997; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; van Leeuwen, 1995, 2005). This provided ground for an in-depth analysis including the consideration of the wider context in which the texts occurred and the employment of the different modes of expression and the interaction between them.

The first key finding from this research was that in the 2000s, there was a major shift towards intertextuality in anti-ageing advertising texts with scientisation being its major theme. In the 1970s, scientised discourse was used, however with a few significant differences from the 2000s. No explanation of the 'scientific' lexical items was offered in the 1970s, as if the words had to be taken for granted. By contrast, a detailed explanation was given in contemporary advertisements, which could be interpreted as an attempt to empower the reader. Nevertheless, lexical items used in the explanation, reference to research and tests, with the agents and processes buried in nominal structures, and the names of mysterious ingredients and formulae in the 2000s did not give a clear picture of the cream's development and testing process. Conversely, this discourse appeared confusing and sometimes contradictory.

The design of the study as a multimodal in-depth analysis allowed for strong religious and spiritual interpretations of the contemporary advertisements, which did not appear in the earlier 1970s advertisements. Biblical parallels could be regarded as the companies' attempt to establish the links between themselves and religion and possibly justify some of their customers' aspirations, for example, exclusivity.

Religious themes in contemporary advertising appear an important discovery in the field of the analysis of advertising discourse and calls for further research engaging more advertisements. This research should apply multimodal analysis. In case of eliciting the connotations, the investigation of the company's projects that may account for the need to bring religiosity forward (for example, L'Oreal's biotech sponsorship) could be conducted. Interviews with readers engaging their perception of the same advertisements may explain the effect of this discourse type on the viewer.

The second key finding is the new positioning of beauty. Due to the prominence of science in anti-ageing advertising, beauty itself becomes science. At the same time, religious allusions may position beauty as the new religion. Thus, beauty is something that has to be achieved, because it is religion. It is also something that can be achieved, because it is science.

The third major finding was the change in the expression of femininity and sexuality. The construction of a homelike background lost out to technologically looking surroundings. Overtly feminine or even hyperfeminised models of the 1970s were replaced by the relatively underaccessorised models of the 2000s, with their clothes looking casual and unisex. Their appearance was less feminised as well, for example, Estée Lauder's sporty model with her hair slicked back. At the same time, the few accessories and simple clothing had religious connotations, which were hard to read to those unfamiliar with the Bible however transparent to religious people.

The final key finding from the research was that in spite of all the major changes in advertising, the portrayal of women in the contemporary advertisements remains relatively conservative. The models were white and heterosexual. Visually, they were still depicted as submissive and sexualised. The discourse of expertise that they were addressed was authoritarian. Medicalised discourse has moved on since the 1970s now taking advantage of the issue of contemporary invasive technology, which is very expensive on the one hand and too frightening on the other hand. In both periods, medicalised discourse could be interpreted as the exploitation of fear,

because it first presented ageing as a disease and second promoted their product as an alternative to the intrusive anti-ageing technology in the 2000s. Thus, in its depiction of women, anti-ageing advertisements under study did not exhibit progressiveness. Conversely, the discourse was constructed in a disempowering way for women. The company's position of an expert that could tell women that they should pursue beauty was based on the knowledge that they allegedly possessed and their very often constructed relation to France.

The in-depth multimodal analysis of the advertisements representing the two eras enabled the examination of new strategies in contemporary anti-ageing advertising and the development of ones, which were relatively stable over time. However, the size of the sample called for further larger scale research of the aspects that have been discussed above.

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