ENGENDERING CONSUMPTION:
COMMODIFICATION OF WOMEN THROUGH PRINT MEDIA
WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE TURKISH CASE

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ABSTRACT

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Bağatur, Sine
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This thesis aims to investigate women's double-way relation to consumption, as both consumers and commodities. The major goal of the study is to examine the historical construction of women as primary consuming *class* and how this relationship of women to consumption has evolved through time. Moreover, it is claimed that display of women as visual objects of male gaze in visual iconography, ideologies of beauty and body politics on women's appearances resulted in commodification of women in the modern consumer culture. Additionally, a brief analysis of Turkish print advertisements for the period 1930-1970 is attempted with a view to demonstrating how Turkish middle-class women have been incorporated into newly emerging consumer culture and how this integration process has been perceived by advertisers.

Keywords: Production, Consumption, Advertisements, Consumer Culture, Commodification, "Beauty Myth".

ÖZ

TÜKETİMİ CİNSİYETLENDRMEK:
TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ ÜZERİNDEN BASILI MEDYA YOLU İLE
KADINLARIN METALASTIRILMASI ÜZERİNE BİR
DEĞERLENDİRME

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Bu çalışma kadınların hem tüketici hem tüketilen olarak tüketim edimi ile iki yönlü ilişkisini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tezin temel hedefi kadınların asıl tüketici sınıf olarak oluşturulmasının tarihsel kökenlerini araştırmak ve kadınların tüketim edimi ile ilişkisinin zaman içinde nasıl evrildiğini incelemektir. Bununla birlikte, kadınların kültürel imgelemde erkek bakışının nesnesi konumundaki sunumunun, güzellik ideolojisi ve beden politikaları ile beraber kadınların metalaşması sonucunu doğurduğu iddia edilmektedir. Ek olarak, orta sınıf Türk kadının gelişmekte olan tüketim kültürüne nasıl entegre olduğu ve bu sürecin reklamverenler tarafından nasıl algılandığı hakkında fikir sahibi olabilmek amacıyla 1930 ve 1970 yılları arasındaki basılı reklamlardaki kadın temsillerinin kısa bir değerlendirmesi sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Üretim, Tüketim, Reklamlar, Tüketim Kültürü, Metalaştırma, “Güzellik Miti”.

Kıvanç Ahrazoğlu'nun anısına,

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Wolfang Becker's film released in 2003, *Goodbye Lenin*, a young man (Alex) tries to prevent his sick mother from learning that her beloved nation (German Democratic Republic before the fall of the Berlin Wall) has unified with the Federal Republic of Germany. During the months she remains unconscious in coma, the wall crumbles, Germany is reunified and the world as she knew it disappears. Alex tries to hide the truth from her mother. We witness in the film the *small* changes in everyday life with the invasion of capitalist logic. The clothes of people have changed, domestic consumer products have been swept away by the competition of 'foreign' products. "Our grey market turned into rainbow overnight" tells Alex. The film draws attention to the way how big political and social transformations have changed *minor* details of everyday life. We also understand that these (e.g., ads of Coca-Cola or Burger King, satellite TV, etc.) are not in fact small details but can give clues to his mother that something is happening. Alex's efforts to hide new products and search for discarded cans of old brands from dustbins emphasize the changes in *details* of life that have been transformed, most probably not overnight but gradually. When I saw the film, I realized how big historical changes can be told by the way they change our everyday life. The products we consume are not simple things but they all tell a story. Consumption is not simple satisfaction of *needs* but it has political and cultural connotations.

This study is about *details* of life; about (gendered) consumption. It is our goal to analyze consumption both in its totality and variety. A *Nike* shirt can symbolize a sportive lifestyle. It tells us something about tastes, class and social identity of the person wearing it. It might serve as a key for approval by popular youth culture,

as signs of 'coolness' and (good) taste of fashion. The same shirt can tell a different story about the multinational companies and their exploitation of the Third World labour and resources. The racist and sexist politics of postcolonial period can be seen as weaved in the shirt.[1] The *journey* of the product in the first story is to our everyday lives, its journey after shop window, whereas in the second it is towards its origin, to workshop. These different stories refer to two seemingly different spheres; the sphere of consumption and that of production. But still, we live in *one* world and the commodity that makes these journeys has *one* bodily form.

We argue that production and consumption are (equally) inseparable. The distinction between consumption and production, as we define these terms today, is one that has been made by modern thought, especially by the meaning of *value* in classical political economy.[2] As Fuat Fırat points:

> When the community of definers saw the outcomes from a process of consumption as valuable, they named the process *production.* Otherwise, it was a rather profane (common and ordinary) act of consumption (proper); pure use, devouring, destruction. However, the definition of *value* itself is highly ideological and not so easy to decide on. Nor is it possible to have an absolute definition. Rather, it is quite relative, to be defined by the culture of the time and society –whether culture constructs this definition through the market, politics, social relations, or a complex combination of such.[3]

This division between production and consumption and their theorization in isolation by social sciences have close ties with the development of capitalist system. We believe that, isolating production from consumption has resulted in an incomplete picture of the development of the market and modern capitalist society. In the following chapter, we question this separation between consumption and production and its links with the development of capitalism.

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[1] This is inspired by Cynthia Enloe's words: "The sexist and racist politics of postcolonial British migration was weaved in the shirts that will go to Marks and Spencer". Cynthia Enloe. *Muzlar, Plajlar ve Askeri Üsler: Feminist Bakış Açısından Uluslararası* Siyaset, (trans. Berna Kurt and Ece Aydın), İstanbul: Çitlembik Yayınları, 2003, p. 203.

[2] Fuat A. Fırat, "Gender and Consumption: Transcending the Feminine", in Janeen A. Costa (ed.), *Gender Issues and Consumer Behaviour,* London and Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994, pp. 205-228, p. 206.

[3] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption: Transcending the Feminine", p. 206.

This chapter attempts to address the problems confronting the construction of *(a)* theory of consumption. Rather than giving an account of *what* social scientists told about consumption, it is about *how* they handled the issue of consumption. We are interested in the methodology of analyzing consumption. It is our contention that the incomplete comprehension of consumption has much to do with confinement of social disciplines to their own boundaries which result in *horizontal analysis* of consumption and successive *economic imperialism*: colonization of other social sciences by economics.[4] We propose an alternative multidisciplinary approach to consumption which acknowledges the importance of cultural determinants of consumption and symbolic significance of commodities.

In the third chapter, we are particularly interested in gender as a social sphere affecting consumer behaviour. We know that men and women behave differently and consumption is a context in which these differences are often apparent.[5] *We buy into a gender* such that we demonstrate *gendered* lifestyles through the things we buy and through the same process gender itself as a commodity is maintained.

The first goal of the third chapter is to show that *gender matters* and that the generic individual in mainstream economics was a *he* that engages in production. Women's work in domestic sphere is not recognized as production proper by mainstream economics. We carry the criticism of feminist economics onto mainstream economics claiming that neoclassical economics is deeply shaped by masculine biases in both its subject matter and its method. Both the definition of economics and its agent in mainstream tradition have an androcentric bias since women are denied as subjects and agents of economics. The field of home economics serves for the *scientific* justification of women's confinement to home and household duties. Moreover, the feminine sphere is defined as non-productive

[4] These terms of *horizontal understanding of consumption* and *economic imperialism* are borrowed from Ben Fine, *The World of Consumption: The Material and Cultural Revisited* (second edition), London and New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. ix-xi.

[5] Janeen Arnold Costa (ed.), *Gender Issues*, p. vii.

sphere and all housework is considered as consumption activity by the doctrine of separate spheres. This very doctrine that "refused to recognize women's work as production, served admirably to supply industrializing America [world] with cheap and essential female labor." It made such work appear *natural* and *unskilled* and legitimized the idea that women's place is in the home which meant that employers could lay off female workers at will.[6]

While a large part of women's work is rendered invisible, their role in consumption seems to be stressed. Therefore, *undertheorization* of women's role in production was accompanied by an *overtheorization* of women's role in consumption. The second aim of the third chapter is to question this overtheorization of women's role in consumption. We are concerned with historical construction of women as primary consuming *class* and how this relationship of women to consumption has evolved through time. It is also aimed to understand women's dialectical and double-way relation to consumption, as both consumers and commodities: they are commodified and at the same time obsessively *seduced* by commodities.

A related approach for analyzing women's articulation into modern consumption is to argue that there are dual systems of exploitation and oppression; class and patriarchy. Marxists feminists have argued that there are dual systems or *a capitalist patriarchy*. Modern society is characterized by capitalism as an economic and material force; it is also characterized by patriarchy; "system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women."[7] Dual systems approach argues that each of these is "dynamic forces at work in history, which must therefore be understood in terms of both class and

[6] Steven Lubar, "Men/ Women/ Production/ Consumption" in Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun (eds.), *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology*, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1998, pp. 7-37, p. 15.

[7] Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, p. 20.

gender struggle."[8] The capitalist system grows on a patriarchal order. We understand consumption through the approach of dual systems theory. To put differently, we argue that consumption is not an activity, contrary to what neoclassical economics tell, constructed on the grounds freed from gender and class hierarchy in the society. Rather, consumption is presumed to be constructed by and in a context that is shaped by unequal distribution of power between sexes and classes. We use arguments of Maria Mies (1998) who elaborates how patriarchy and capitalism are intertwined in the process by which Western women are housewifized while women in the Third World are proletarianized.

Therefore, we are particularly interested in the politics of consumption. We claim that the *naturalized* links between feminity and consumption contributed both to exclusion of women from politics and their containment in the household. Moreover, with their display as visual objects of male gaze in visual iconography, with ideologies of beauty and body politics on women's appearances, women are themselves being commodified in the modern consumer culture.

We claim that stereotypes of women as passive consumers and men as active producers have been historically and culturally formed. Fırat tells that the existence of close relationship between consumption and gender goes without saying, yet historical foundations of this relationship have not been systematically studied.[9] Gender matters but how it matters can vary historically and culturally. With this view, the last chapter is devoted to an analysis of the historical and cultural construction of female Turkish consumer. Turkish print advertisements between 1930 and 1970 are utilized to analyze how Turkish middle-class women have been incorporated into newly emerging consumer culture and how advertisers perceived this relation. We agree with Lori Anne Loeb that the potential of advertisements as historical document is unrealized such that;

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[8] Valerie Bryson, *Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction*, London: Macmillan, 1992, p. 243. For a key text of dual systems theory, see Lydia Sargent (ed.), *Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: A Debate of Class and Patriarchy*, London: Pluto Press, 1981.

[9] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption: Transcending the Feminine", p. 205.

> It is ready to be uncovered, to reveal the rise of consumerism, the emergence of a materially defined cultural ideal and the transformation of the society. Advertisements can serve as an iconography of the new emphasis for good life in cultural orientation. [10]

It is believed here that advertisements, especially print ones can serve as historical documents to understand how people's relation to objects and their perception of this relation changed historically. Print ads, those in newspapers and magazines, are good sources to discern the patterns both in advertising industry itself and the consumption practices. Newspapers and magazines are probably the oldest and ever-existent mediums of advertising. With the invention of other media, print advertising continually adjusted itself to and adopted the new techniques of advertising in these new mediums such as full-color printing, storytelling, testimonials of celebrities, etc. Therefore being the only medium that crosses-over all the time since the invention of advertising, print media should be considered as the most suitable channel of advertising for a historical analysis. With this view in mind, we try to utilize the advertisements in some of prominent Turkish newspapers and magazines beginning with the early years of the Republic up to the 1970s in order to have an understanding of changing consumption practices in Turkey in this period and how women were incorporated, or at least thought to be incorporated by advertisers, into this culture of consumption.

Besides the importance of advertisements as historical documents for analysis of consumption, advertisements are particularly crucial for our claim that women are articulated into modern consumer culture simultaneously as consumers and commodities. Because, advertising industry invites its viewers to consume continuously and it is at the same time an important cultural institution of late capitalism that serves for commodification of women by the way it *represents* women. Therefore, advertisements–as a gendered tool of market capitalism–by their portrayal of women demonstrate how capitalism and patriarchy rarely diverge but frequently intersect in oppressing women.

[10] Lori A. Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. vii.

CHAPTER 2

PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION AND NEEDS

"Good morning," said the little prince.
"Good morning," said the merchant.
This was a merchant who sold pills that
had been invented to quench thirst.
You need only swallow one pill a week,
and you would feel no need of anything to drink.
"Why are you selling those?" asked the little prince.
"Because they save a tremendous amount of time," said the merchant.
"Computations have been made by experts.
With these pills, you save fifty-three minutes in every week."
"And what do I do with those fifty-three minutes?"
"Anything you like..."
"As for me," said the little prince to himself,
"if I had fifty-three minutes to spend as I liked,
I should walk at my leisure toward a spring of fresh water."

From ***Little Prince*** by Antoine de Saint Exupéry.

2.1. Disarray in the Theories of Consumption

Although consumption is a social activity as old as human history, its study *per se* in social disciplines has been a rare phenomenon until quite recently. It has been production rather than consumption that has been privileged as a subject matter in academic disciplines.[11] More recently, consumption has begun to be a subject of interest in popular culture and academic studies. This relatively recent interest in consumption seems to have led to the overt consideration of consumption as separate and independent from other economic and social relations (especially

[11] Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, p. 3.

production), causing in turn to its confinement to the field of cultural studies.[12] It should also be mentioned that there is a recent proliferation of studies dealing with both general and specific topics of consumption such as consumer society, mass consumption, historical studies of consumption, role of consumption in identity formation, symbolic dimensions of consumption, etc[13]. The variety of these studies demonstrates that the factors which determine and transform consumption are multifarious and that there can be no *one* comprehensive theory to analyze consumption in all its aspects.

Moreover, social sciences compartmentalized into their own disciplinary boundaries have treated consumption from their own stand-point, preventing in turn maturation of an interdisciplinary approach to consumption. Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold refer to this practice of social sciences as "horizontal understanding of consumption" within which each discipline begins with a particular factor considered crucial to the determination of consumption and this factor is presumed to apply generally across the economy or society as a whole.[14] Consumption gives utility or satisfies needs in economics discipline; it is sign of social status or distinction in sociology; in anthropology it has symbolic role in rituals, etc. This horizontal understanding results in the "inability of social sciences to integrate their treatment of consumption."[15]

This chapter attempts to provide a brief review of theories of consumption and to address the problems confronting the construction of *(a)* theory of consumption. It is our contention that to start with economics' treatment of consumption will be

[12] Fine, *The World of Consumption*, p. 58.

[13] For historical studies of consumption and the consumer revolution; Neil McKendrik, Jon Brewer and J.H.Plumb (ed.), *The Birth of Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, for relation between economy and culture, Martyn J. Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn: The Cultural Politics of Consumption*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

[14] Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 4.

[15] Fine and Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, p. 39.

appropriate, since consumption is thought and to a large extent studied primarily as an economic phenomenon. Among the social sciences, consumption is considered to be a privileged domain of economics. Ironically however, within the economics discipline it is marginalized and relegated to secondary status relative to production. Consumption, say Fine and Leopold, is "an immediate economic category" since "commodities have to be designed, produced and marketed before they are sold, bought and, ultimately, consumed."[16] However economics' analysis of consumption has remained weak and innovation in the analysis of consumption in orthodox economics and political economy rather limited.[17] Moreover, economics provide the classic example and goes furthest in horizontal thinking such that, in Fine and Leopold's words:

> [I]t [Economics] is notorious for its presumption that preferences (which are left unexplained) remain fixed, even across generations of the population separated by profound economic and social change. The principle of utility maximization subject to price and income constraints is generalized across economy as a whole to all commodities.[18]

The studies in the era of postmodernism, on the other hand, increasingly deal with symbolic and cultural aspects of consumption, to the extent of ignoring the material factors that effect, if not determine, consumption. Contemporary studies are designed on a notion of consumer society or mass consumerism and there is usually an analytical shift from *culturally constructed consumption* towards *cultures constructed on consumption*. Consumption seems to have (re)gained its importance in postmodernist studies as observed in the shift of focus from production to consumption, from exchange value to symbolic value and from *consumption of objects* to *objects of consumption*. In addition, "the character of power and self-determination afforded to consumer by mass consumption" or in

[16] Fine and Ellen Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, p. 254.

[17] Ben Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption" in Daniel Miller (ed.), *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 127-163, p. 127.

[18] Fine and Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, p. 4.

opposite; *mass deception* as a result of mass consumption has been a central concern of theories of consumption.[19]

I argue that perception of consumption as a social phenomenon detached from production, and of commodities having a life freed from the social processes that produced them is a byproduct of the development of capitalist commodity production. Hence, consumption must be studied in its relation to production, to quote Marx, as the "final end" of production. Similarly, commodities should be analyzed in their whole life-span from factory production to marketing, distribution, final usage and valuation process by consumers.[20] Moreover, we should bear in mind that consumption is developed and shaped historically, such that there have been systematic shifts in the consumption practices due to historical changes in the production processes.[21] Starting from analysis of consumption by mainstream economics and continuing with heterodox approaches to consumption, this chapter aims to give a critical survey of how social sciences have studied consumption.

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[19] Peter K. Lunt and Sonia M. Livingstone, *Mass Consumption and Personal identity*: *Everyday Economic Experience*, Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1992, p. 8. The term *mass deception* is borrowed from Adorno and Horkheimer who use the it to define the current situation of culture industry which produces standardized cultural products turning people into passive objects of the culture industry, as well as "making him believe that the deception he practices is satisfaction." Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment in Mass Deception" in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, (trans. John Cumming), New York: Continuum, 1996. Modern studies of consumption, besides this concern for the power of the consumer, also deal with political implications of this power. For Simmel, for instance, in the modern condition, money provides an abstract potential standard for the comparison and exchange of goods. Thus, people are 'freed' from the traditional forms of valuation and exchange processes. For Gramsci, the underlying ideology in mass consumption is the ideology of the dominant class. The new state is not one of increasing freedoms but of projecting of capitalist's interests onto whole society. "Capitalism has constructed the individual first by undermining traditional cultural forms and then offering the diverse consumption of mass culture." In this view, the individual is considered as an artifact of the ideological processes which mystify the true economic processes of domination. Lunt and Livingstone, *Mass Consumption and Personal identity*, p. 10.

[20] This approach is akin to what Fine and Leopold in *The World of Consumption* (1993) call "systems of provision approach" to consumption which will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

[21] Historians like Peter Stearns analyzed historical antecedents of contemporary consumer practices, set out stages in the development of consumption or identified when a so-called consumer revolution could be dated. Peter N. Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization", *Journal of Modern History* 69 (March 1997), pp.102-107 and his *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

2.1.1 The Neoclassical Orthodoxy

The problem of the consumer in neoclassical economics is to attain the optimal bundle of goods in order to maximize utility subject to price and income constraints. Theorization of consumer behaviour in mainstream economics as the practice of *rational* consumer of an individual agent, who is endowed with needs and deals only with calculation of utilities derived from consumption of goods, motivated by utility maximization has been subjected to harsh criticisms. Do we have to consume? Do the goods exchanged in the market satisfy needs and if they do, how? Where do these needs originate from in the first instance? These and many other questions can be and are posed to the neoclassical theory of consumption.[22] In the following section we provide an overview of the theoretical limitations of consumer theory of neoclassical tradition.[23]

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[22] Ben Fine even argues that neoclassical economics does not have a distinct theory of consumption. The existing one is the mirror of neoclassical production theory such that utility-maximizing consumer behaviour is equivalent to the cost-minimizing behaviour of the firm: "essentially the consumer is treated as a self-employed firm that seeks to produce utility as cheaply as possible and makes demand for inputs according to their prices. Relative marginal utilities (products) or marginal rates of substitution between consumption goods (factor inputs) should equal relative prices." Fine, *The World of Consumption*, p. 128. Ironically, however, mainstream economics criticizes heterodox economics for not having an adequate analysis of consumer behaviour.

[23] Throughout this study the terms mainstream and neoclassical are used interchangeably. What is meant by these terms is probably easier to describe, following Hirschfield, in terms of those excluded; Austrians, Institutionalists, Marxists and Post-Keynesians. Mary L. Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory: A Lesson in Feminist Methodology" in John B. Davis (ed.) *New Economics and Its History*, Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1997, pp. 191-211, p.191 footnote no.1 Although we categorize the examples summarized in this section as practices of neoclassical tradition, we do not claim that this tradition is a homogenous and coherent entity. There are divergences within the tradition, especially recently, such that neoclassical economics marked by an explosion of models based on formerly ignored topics like endogenous preferences, game theory, imperfect information and bounded rationality. However, following Arnsperger and Varoufakis, it is held in this thesis that "neoclassical economics retains its roots firmly within liberal individualist social science" and three underpinning methodological axioms lie at the heart of neoclassical economics, old and new alike. These axioms are; methodological individualism, methodological instrumentalism and methodological equilibration. Christian Arnsperger and Yanis Varoufakis, "What Is Neoclassical Economics?", *Post-Autistic Economics Review*, No. 38, (July 2006), taken from ; http://www.paecon.net/PAEReview/issue38/ArnspergerVaroufakis38.htm.

Any economics textbook, especially which is written in mainstream tradition, starts at the outset with a motto of *unlimited desires, but limited resources*. We are repeatedly reminded that we have needs and desires that are insatiable. Yet, we are not told of where these needs originate from and why they are insatiable. Therefore, people are uncritically assumed to be ever-desiring creatures and the origins of this trait is implicitly attributed to the natural make-up of human beings. Preteceille and Terrail argue that:

> [F]rom Locke to the theoreticians of affluent society, it is always by reference to the obvious nature of needs, taken to be the very essence of human existence, that justifications of the individual's right to appropriate–to alienate through sale–his own person and goods, are explained; indeed the whole structure of economic liberalism is work out *from this premise.* The free expression of the needs of the free worker in the market place–in the sphere of consumption–this bourgeois vision of the highest degree of freedom depends on a close link between needs and consumption.[24]

In mainstream economics, hence, needs are taken for granted, thus denied as proper representation as subject matter in economics. Further, they are assumed to be represented by ahistorical and stable preferences.[25] Economics deals exclusively with the question of which products are satisfying these given needs, which is a problem of choice on the part of the consumer. Therefore, it is further assumed that there is a natural interaction between needs and objects; needs can be satisfied by acquisition of objects and objects in turn are endowed with properties that satisfy needs.

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[24] Edmond Preteceille and Jean-Pierre Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, (trans. Sarah Matthews), Oxford and New York, Blackwell, 1985, p. 6, emphasis original.

[25] "Duesenberry's relative income hypothesis was noted for a time since it provided a neat explanation for the empirical anomaly around short-run and long-run propensities to consume. However, it has fallen out of favor, essentially because it would have been associated with multiple equilibria and endogeneity of preferences and social processes." Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption", p. 130. Fine elsewhere states that the exceptions from exogenously given and stable preferences in mainstream economics are rare and that they never integrated into an alternative and sustained theoretical framework. Accordingly, if preferences were endogenised, the whole edifice of orthodoxy would collapse as then multiple equilibria will be allowed and the positive association of utility with welfare will be no longer sustainable. Fine and Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, p. 46.

According to Baudrillard the concept of *needs* is a (metaphysical) notion that amounts to a kind of *functionalist nominalism*. Since, subject and object have been posited as autonomous and separated entities, it then becomes necessary to establish their relation. The concept of needs can explain this subject-object relation only in term of adequation, that is the functional response of subject to objects, and vice versa.[26] In addition to its function as medium between object and subject, Baudrillard points to the ideological function of *needs*, arguing that it ideologically supports the processes of exchange and signification, and forces rationalization. "This is the reason that economic science does not dispense with the concept of need." In other words, "there are only needs because the system needs them."[27] Baudrillard tells:

> The *legitimacy* of production rests on a logical fallacy, *a petition principii*, such that people discover *a posteriori* and almost miraculously that they need what is produced and offered at the marketplace (and thus, in order that they should experience this or any particular need, the need must already exist inside people as a virtual postulation) . . . this begging of the question-this forced rationalization-simply masks the *internal finality* of the order of production . . . Through the meretricious legitimacy of needs and satisfactions, the entire question of the social and political finality of productivity is repressed.[28]

Thus, by displacing the genesis of need from the realm of economics, consumption is reduced to the theory of demand for goods. Accompanied by "the priority assigned to individual utility, both as a determining factor and as a desirable outcome", neoclassical economics paves the way for the idea of consumer sovereignty. Consumption thus bears a determining moment upon production as "production becomes the servant of needs and wishes of consumers."[29] For neoclassical economics, free play of market mechanism harmonizes the two sides of a bargain, that of sale and purchase, of use-value and

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[26] Jean Baudrillard, "The Ideological Genesis of Needs" excerpt from *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (Telos Press: 1981) in Juliet B. Schor and Douglas B. Holt (eds.), *The Consumer Society Reader*, New York: New Press, 2000, pp. 57-80, p. 63.

[27] Jean Baudrillard, "The Ideological Genesis of Needs", pp. 65, 73.

[28] Jean Baudrillard, "The Ideological Genesis of Needs", p. 64, emphasis original.

[29] Fine and Leopold , *The World of Consumption* , p. 20.

exchange value. Exchange value is mere representation of use-value through the mediation of market. "Capitalism is thus presented as a perfectly democratic society, where economic activity is entirely governed by the *sovereign consumer*."[30] This vision is monumentalized in Milton Friedman's motto of *free to choose* and his association of market and capitalism with freedom.[31]

As an extension of Marx's argument that capitalism separated the producer from the thing produced, Simmel in his *The Philosophy of Money* (1990) argued that money as a sole measure of value "moved people from a form of social relationships based on emotions and imaginative thinking to a set of relations based on calculation."[32] In Simmel's words:

> On the one hand, money makes possible the plurality of economic dependencies through its infinite flexibility and divisibility, while on the other it is conducive to the removal of the personal element from human relationships through its indifferent and objective nature. [33]

The consumer theory in orthodox economics does not only take many important determinants like preferences, prices and income distribution exogenously given, but also often stable. This is particularly true of "consumer preferences which are pegged to a given utility function, formally $U_1(x_1, x_2, \ldots, x_j, \ldots, x_n)$ where consumer, or often household i, derives utility U from consuming quantities x_j of the n available goods."[34] Consequently, information about how

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[30] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 7, emphasis original.

[31] In 1962, Friedman published "*Capitalism and Freedom*", a major defense of capitalism. In 1977, Friedman was approached by the Palmer R. Chitester Fund and asked to create a television program presenting his economic and social philosophy. The Friedmans (Milton and Rose Friedman worked on this project for the next three years, and in 1980, the ten-part series, entitled *Free to Choose*, aired on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). The companion book to the series (co-authored by Milton and Rose Friedman), also entitled *Free to Choose*, was the bestselling nonfiction book of 1980 and has since been translated into 14 foreign languages. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milton_Friedman.

[32] Lunt and Livingtone, *Mass Consumption and Personal identity*, p. 9.

[33] Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, (trans. Tom Bottomore and David Frisby), London and New York: Routledge, 1990, p. 297.

[34] Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption", p. 129.

these preferences of the individual i are formed and change through time remains unexplained. Moreover, the items of consumption are not specified. Instead, "they are treated abstractly in pure formalism by algebraic symbols" as in the utility function above. Thanks to this unspecific representation, "the nature of consumption goods and of consumption activity cannot be addressed."[35] The motivation for this abstract representation prevents the examination of the psychological or socio-historical basis of consumption goods.[36] Therefore, items of consumption are not specified, instead they are represented as *bundles* of consumption goods. And, the water-diamond paradox is solved by the equalization of marginal utilities to relative prices.[37] These preferences of individual i, being stable and unspecified also serve as representative of society. Society is reduced to the sum of individuals, total consumption to the sum of individual consumptions. Therefore, the axiom of methodological individualism of neoclassical economics is at work when the theory of consumption is considered. [38]

Fine and Leopold claim that neoclassical economics' treatment of consumption has not changed since the marginalist revolution of the 1870s "which displaced the labour theory of value of classical political economy." Simple understanding of consumption as one of the *rational* individual that is motivated by maximizing utility subject to previously given preferences, price and income constraints has been the undeviating focus, whereas its "mathematical representation increased

[35] Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption", p. 129.

[36] And that of subsistence for the case of "Geary-Stone utility function where account is taken of consumption needed to cover the requirements for subsistence". Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption", p. 129.

[37] David B. Hamilton, "Institutional Economics and Consumption", *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol.XXI, No.4, (December 1987), pp.1531-1554, p.1535.

[38] Arnsperger and Varoufakis, define methodological individualism as "the idea that socio-economic explanation must be sought at the level of the individual agent." They propose that, "despite the fact that mainstream economics have, during the last few decades, acknowledged that the agent is a creature of her social context, their models retain the distinction of individual agency and place the burden of explanation on the individual." Arnsperger and Varoufakis, "What Is Neoclassical Economics?" Therefore, all the new manifestations of neoclassicism still subscribe to methodological individualism.

significantly in sophistication."[39] This logic of individuals as *rational* utility-seekers is present at all microeconomics books; in the first-year textbooks as well as in advanced microeconomics textbooks. What changed is whether you equalize marginal utilities to marginal prices or deal with sophisticated Kuhn-Tucker or Lagrange solutions. Moreover, orthodox economics does not deal with social and cultural aspects of consumption such as consumption as sign of distinction, e.g.,Veblen's conspicuous consumption, historical construction of the categories of subsistence and luxurious goods, effect of consumption in social construction of identity, and even transformation in consumption as a notion itself. These aspects other than the rational and systemic part of the determinants of demand are denied as subject of economics and left to other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology or psychology. However, consumption is still seen as a subject matter of economics. Yet, fortunately, there are alternatives within political economy. Marx's analysis of capitalist commodity production, for instance, offers a fruitful analytical insight into the study of consumption. The next section deals with such an analysis of consumption inspired by Marxian political economy.

2.1.2 The Legacy of Marx

Marx is frequently criticized for being an economic determinist, even productionist, based on the assumption that he downplayed the role of use-value, hence consumption, since he favored and even attributed determinative power to exchange value and production. Not only those criticisms are refuted,[40] but also Marx's exhaustive analysis of capitalist commodity production and especially his concepts of commodity fetishism and alienation "leave us a rich legacy of ideas from which we may be able to begin to make intelligible the complex forces at play in today's consumer society."[41] Therefore it is our contention that, Marx's

[39] Fine and Leopold , *The World of Consumption* , p. 47.

[40] For elaborated rejection of the view that Marx ignored use value and consumption see Fine, *The World of Consumption*, Fine and Leopold, *The World of Consumption* and Sut Jhally, *Advertising: Fetishism and The Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society*, New York and London: Routledge, 1987.

[41] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p.15.

analysis of use-value, commodity fetishism and alienation deserves elaborate exploration in order to be able to analyze consumption. This section aims to serve as a preliminary investigation for such an analysis.

Marx dealt with consumption *per se*, in few pages of his introduction to *Grundrisse*, where he established a dialectical relation between production and consumption. Following a Hegelian methodology, Marx asserts a threefold identity between production and consumption; (1) an *immediate identity* such that, part of each process involves and thus is, to some extent, the other, "we take in food, for example, which is a form of consumption" [42] and we produce our bodies. Marx calls this *consumptive production*.[43] Also, in the act of production, raw materials are consumed such that they lose their "natural form and composition by being used up."[44] "The act of production is therefore in all its moments an act of consumption"–*productive consumption.*[45] Besides this immediate identity between production and consumption (2) there is an identity through mediation. Production mediates consumption since it creates the material, as an external object, for consumption. "But consumption also mediates production, in that it alone creates for the products the subject for whom they are products."[46] Consumption creates an end for production such that it gives the product its *last finish*. A product that is not consumed is a product only potentially, for its full realization as a product it must be consumed. "Without consumption there would be no production since production would be purposeless."[47] "Production creates the material, as external object, for consumption: consumption creates the need, as internal object, as aim

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[42] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (rough draft), (trans. Martin Nicolaus), London and New York : Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, 1973, p. 90.

[43] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 91.

[44] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 90.

[45] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 90.

[46] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 91.

[47] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 91.

for production."[48] In addition of production and consumption immediately being the other and mediating the other; (3) "each of them creates the other in completing itself, and creates itself as the other."[49] This last form of identity between consumption and production is the one most akin to Spinoza's *determination is negation* which Marx summarizes as; "given the undifferentiated self-identity of universal world-substance, to attempt to introduce particular determinations is to negate this self-identity."[50]Although production and consumption are different stages of one process they are seen in opposition to each other to understand their particular determinations. This last identity, "is frequently cited in economics in the relation of demand and supply, of objects and needs, of socially created and natural needs."[51] Therefore Marx asserts a Hegelian dialectical relation between production and consumption, and sees them as phases of one process; they are *different*, not independent, phases.

Moreover, Marx seems to have endowed production with a decisive character and to privilege production relative to consumption as remaining chapters of *Grundrisse* and bulk of his *Capital* deal with production. The following passage can serve as evidence of the claim of domination of production over consumption in Marx:

> The important thing to emphasize here is only that, whether production and consumption are viewed as the activity of one or of many individuals they appear in any case as moments of one process, in which production is the real *point of departure and hence also the predominant moment.* Consumption as urgency, as need, is itself an intrinsic moment of productive activity. But the latter is the point of departure for realization and hence also its predominant moment; it is the act through which the whole process again runs its course. The individual produces an object and, by consuming it, returns to himself, but returns as a productive self-reproducing individual. *Consumption thus appears as a moment of production*.[52]

[48] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 93.

[49] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 93.

[50] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 90 footnote no. 11.

[51] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 93.

[52] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 94, emphasis added.

Since consumption is a phase of production, one might argue, Marx's elaborate study of capitalist mode of production is also, at least in an indirect manner, a study of consumption. Moreover, Marx's emphasis on production does not invalidate his perception of a dialectical relation between consumption and production. He sees them as phases of one process and argues that their separation into two seemingly different spheres is a byproduct of capitalist production. "The structured isolation of consumption from production is not necessarily the characteristic of other modes of production" and "this can be illustrated by comparing consumption under slavery and under capitalism, an example explicitly used by Marx."[53] Preteceille and Terrail summarize the development of capitalist production process which detaches consumption from production: as what follows:

> By destroying the traditional unity between the worker and the instruments of his work, capital separated production and consumption: the production of the free worker, that is, of a market in labour-power, also entailed the creation of a market for means of production and a market for means of consumption . . . In precapitalist societies, production is essentially the production of use-values: it is limited by the extent of existing consumption . . . But the irruption of the logic of capital freed production from the predetermined limits of consumption. The process of capitalist production in which value is an end in itself, shatters the unity of production and consumption.[54]

The detachment of production from consumption also means the separation of producers from the goods which they produce. In *Capital* Marx analyzed how capitalism separated the producer from the thing s/he produced and how the relationship between producer and product which was once a direct one turned into a mediated one with the development of capitalist production. As mentioned in previous section Simmel argued that money is the instrument that renders this mediation; exchange process, and its standardization of commodity values. Money, according to Simmel becomes a single standard by which all things can be measured and compared.[55]

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[53] Fine, *The World of Consumption,* p. 63.

[54] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs,* p. 7.

[55] Lunt and Livingtone, *Mass Consumption and Personal identity,* p. 8.

2.1.2.1 Use -Value of Marx

All societies appropriate nature to create means for life. They create things and use these things for continuation of their life processes. To put differently, human beings create means (objects) to achieve their ends. People, beginning from their earliest existence, have appropriated nature for their survival and produced goods. "Man is not only *homo sapiens* or *homo ludens*, he is also *homo faber*, the maker and user of objects, his self to a large extent a reflection of things with which he interacts."[56] Sut Jhally puts forward that the relationship between people and things should not be considered as a superficial or optional feature of life.[57] He adds:

> This relation between people and objects has been described as one of 'objectification'–we objectify ourselves and our lives in the materiality of concrete world. We continually take what exists outside of us, and, by our activity make it a part of our daily existence . . . In fact, objectification lies at the basis of what we can call a distinctive human experience, the mediation of human need through objects.[58]

Perceived in this way, *people need things* and the things produced have some capacity to satisfy some human need since they are designed to achieve this end in view. Accordingly, *use-value* is the qualitative aspect of things; the concrete way in which a thing meets human needs. Under capitalism this productive activity materializes principally in the form of the commodity such that; "the commodity is straightforwardly the material form taken by the means to life that is common to capitalist societies."[59] Within capitalism the things are produced for market exchange, they have not only use-values but also due to their exchangeability they have exchange-value. This twofold character of a thing, its meeting some need and its production to be exchanged in the market, makes it a *commodity.* This is Marx's vision that what makes a thing a commodity is its having use and

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[56] Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981:1) cited in Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 2.

[57] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 1.

[58] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 2.

[59] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 8.

exchange values simultaneously. What makes a thing a commodity is not its being exchanged in the market besides domestic use but its production *for* exchange.

In the introduction to his masterpiece, *Civilization and Capitalism,* Fernand Braudel tells that if we make an imaginary trip to Voltaire's house at Ferney we will find out that "in the worlds of ideas, the men of eighteenth century are our contemporaries" such that we won't feel alien in terms of our habits of mind and feelings. However we will be shocked by the details of daily life of the time such as; "lighting at night, heating, transport, food, illness, medicine."[60] What is perceived as the main difference between Voltaire's life and ours would be the quality of material conditions of living and the quantity of the things that surround us. Baudrillard also tells that the distinctive aspect of the environment in which the humans in *the age of affluence* live is that, people are surrounded not so much by other human beings, as they were in all previous ages, but by *objects.*[61]

Similarly, Marx begins *Capital* with the analysis of commodity since "the wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities."[62] According to Jhally, Marx's beginning with commodities to his *Capital* is not a matter of coincidence, rather he tells:

> Marx started with the commodity because he thought that if one can understand how the commodity was produced, distributed, exchanged and consumed, then one can unravel the whole system, because objectified in the commodity are the social relations of its production. They are part of the information that the commodity contains within itself. . . If only we can penetrate down to this information, then we can understand and unravel the whole system of relations of capitalism. The materialist theory of history, then, is fundamentally a theory of the 'reading' of goods, and understanding that the social relations of production are *reflected* in goods.[63]

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[60] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th century,* Vol. I, (trans. Siân Reynolds), Berkeley : University of California Press, 1992, Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

[61] Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society*: *Myths and Structures*, London: Sage Publications, 1998, p. 25, emphasis original.

[62] Karl Marx**,** *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. I, New York: International Pub., 1967, Vol. I, p. 35.

[63] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 26, emphasis original.

Therefore, embedded in goods are the social relations of their production and Marx understood this *organic unity* between goods and social relations.[64] Moreover, Marx provides the most elaborated discussion of the use-value-exchange-value relation. Indeed, tells Jhally, Marx's writings "provide the most adequate starting point for a study of societies operating within a capitalist mode of production" and for an analysis of the modern consumption practices. Motivated by this view, the title of this section bears two meanings. The first one refers to Marx's analysis of use-value. It is aimed to show that the presumption that Marx subordinated use-value to exchange value is erroneous. Contrary, Marx's economic analysis "treats consumption as contingent upon, if not determined by the production, distribution and circulation of use-values."[65] The second meaning refers to a proposed utilization of Marx's investigation of capitalist mode of production for an analysis of consumption. Contrary to the view that a comprehensive examination of consumption is absent in Marx's writings,[66] his political economy has much to contribute to the issue of consumption "although this has to do with structural location than with concern over particular consumption goods."[67] Before using Marxian concepts to the study of consumption, a serious challenge to the applicability of these concepts has to be met since:

> [I]n recent years there has arisen a critique claiming there is something inherently flawed in the way Marx conceptualized the relationship between use-value and exchange-value that prevents any approach based on his work from fully understanding the symbolic element in general, even its capitalist form. This attack

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[64] Jhally, *Advertising*, pp. 25-26, emphasis original.

[65] Fine and Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, p. 256.

[66] The chief proponent of this view is Jean Baudrillard. Although he criticized Marx for failing to recognize the importance of consumption especially in his *Mirror of Production* (1975), Gottdiener claims that Baudrillard would not subscribe to the simplistic view discussed above that Marx had a "productionist bias". Mark Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives" in M. Gottdiener (ed.), *New Forms of Consumption: Consumers, Culture, and Commodification*, Lanham and MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000, pp. 3-31, p. 18.

[67] Fine and Leopold, *The World of Consumption*, p. 256.

> has found its most sophisticated expression in the writings of Marshall Sahlins and Jean Baudrillard.[68]

Marx asserts that, there are two attributes of a commodity, namely, use-value and exchange-value. Use-value refers to a qualitative relation between goods and needs whereas exchange value refers to a quantitative relation between objects. The utility of a thing; "the natural worth of anything that consists in its fitness to supply the necessities, or serve the conveniences of human life",[69] Marx argues makes it a use-value. Thus, use value of a commodity comes from its capacity to satisfy some human want or need. In Marx's words:

> A commodity is in the first place, an object outside us, *a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another* . . . The utility of a thing makes it a use-value. But this utility is not a thing of air. *Being limited by the physical properties of the commodity*, it has no existence apart from that commodity. A commodity, such as iron, corn, or a diamond, is therefore, so far as it is a material thing, a use-value, something useful. *This property of a commodity is independent of the amount of labour required to appropriate its useful qualities* . . . Use-values become a reality only by use or consumption . . . such properties [natural properties] claim our attention only in so far as they affect the utility of those commodities, make them use-values. *But the exchange of commodities is evidently an act characterized by a total abstraction from use-value.*[70]

In this passage from Marx, and in his construction of the idea of use-value, Marx assumes, at least implicitly, a natural relation between need and use-value. In his view, human beings are [naturally?] endowed by needs which wait to be satisfied by things. Baudrillard criticizes this attitude of Marx harshly. Marx, for Baudrillard, falls into affinity with bourgeois political economists in assigning ontological priority to needs. Marx's conceptualization of human beings as endowed with needs, is also the means for self-realization of man. Indeed, "it was through the activity of labour, through the utilization and adaptation of the resources of nature in the process of satisfying needs that human consciousness

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[68] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 34. We will present the criticism of Baudrillard, yet would not mention that of Marshall Sahlins in this study.

[69] Locke (1691) cited in Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 36 footnote no.1.

[70] Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 35-37, emphasis added.

came to be what is was."[71] To put differently, in producing objects for needs man produce himself: "the objectification of labour is therefore the *objectification of the species-life of men.*"[72] The anthropology of capitalism is *homo economicus*, the anthropology of Marxism is *man as self-producer*, Baudrillard criticizes:

> [I]s man's existence an end for which he must find the means? These innocent little phrases are already theoretical conclusions: the separation between the end from the means is the wildest and most naïve postulate about the human race. Man has needs. Does he have needs? Is he pledged to satisfy them? Is he labor power (by which he separates himself as means from himself as his own end)? [73]

Baudrillard claims that there is no such thing as pure subjects with essential needs for whom objects have essential uses.[74] The conceptualization of use-value by Marx as the *unmysterious* dimension of the commodity that refers to expression of a natural and ahistorical relationship between an object and a person is Marx's greatest theoretical error according to Baudrillard.[75] For Baudrillard, by seeing use-value only as an objective relation between objects and people, Marx ironically fetishised use-value:

> Use-value in this restrictive analysis of fetishism appears neither as a social relation nor hence as the locus of fetishization. Utility as such escapes the historical determination of class. It presents an objective, final relation of intrinsic purpose which does not mask itself and whose transparency, as form, defies history. [76]

He failed to identify the fact that use-value is constituted socially and culturally. For these critics of Marx, by using the same conceptual categories of bourgeois

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[71] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 5.

[72] Marx (1975: 329) cited in Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 5, emphasis original.

[73] Jean Baudrillard, "Mirror of Production (excerpt)" in Mark Poster (ed.) *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, Stanford and California: Stanford University Press, 1988, pp. 98-118, pp. 98-99.

[74] Douglas Kellner, *Jean Baudrillard: From Marxism to Postmodern and Beyond*, Stanford and California : Stanford University Press, 1989, p. 34.

[75] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 21.

[76] Baudrillard (1988:64) quoted in Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 22.

political economy, Marx serves as justification of the ideology of capitalism rather than its radical critique.[77]

Some writers assumed that these critiques of Marx have been grounded in the misrepresentation of Marx's original formulation of use-value. Fine and Leopold try to clear Marx's analysis of use-value from these accusations. They oppose the claim that Marx ignored use-value, for which they relied on Marx's elaborate analysis of specific use-value; that of money, money capital and labour power- "that has the use value not only of producing use values but also of producing (surplus) value."[78] The last of these, that is the availability of labour power that has the use value of both producing use value and surplus value, is a precondition for analysis of use-value and capitalist exploitation.

Moreover, as Jhally puts forward, Marx's analysis of the relation between use and exchange values and his theory of commodity fetishism might serve as the starting point for an analysis of modern consumption. To discard Marxist theory for an analysis of consumption based on the claim that Marx ignored socio-cultural determination of use-values and consumption would be to throw out the baby with bathwater. Critics of Marx have some legitimate points and can serve for a remedy for Marx's neglect of consumption as Marx did not experience the birth of consumer society neither did he address the topics of consumption and culture.[79] However, carrying these critics too far to attach consumption and sign-value a dynamics of its own–as Baudrillard does–would be to fall into the reductionist trap- this into time a *consumptionist* bias.

Baudrillard's works effectively "opens up the thorny question of the role that commodities play as the materials of lived, everyday culture." Moreover his ideas,

[77] Although Baudrillard beginning from his early writings formed a critical analysis of Marxian theory, he tried to look at consumption and life of commodities within the Marxist framework. According to Kellner, Baudrillard's radical departure from Marxist theory began in his *Mirror of Production*. Kellner, *Jean Baudrillard*, p. 40.

[78] Fine and Leopold , *The World of Consumption* , p. 257.

[79] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 15.

especially those on sign-value, drew our attention to the complex manner in which commodities function as signs and symbols in the sphere of consumption.[80] However, Baudrillard's special emphasis on sign-values, we think, detaches the commodities as representation from their material existence. Ironically, Baudrillard commits those sins he ascribed to Marx, he does not treat commodity simultaneously as use-value, exchange value and sign value but only sign-value, hence, he fetishised sign-value. If Marx fetishised use-value, since he examined it indirectly through its embodiment in exchange-value, Baudrillard fetishised sign-value by examining anything but sign-value.

Baudrillard successfully elaborates on our surrounding by *system of objects* accompanied by *system of needs* and how central place consumption occupies in our lives. He writes:

> Few objects today are offered *alone*, without a context of objects which 'speaks' for them. And this changes the consumer's relation to the object: he no longer relates to a particular object in its specific utility, but to a set of objects in its total signification. Washing machine, refrigerator and dishwasher taken together have a different meaning from the one each has individually as an appliance. The shop-window, the advertisement, the manufacturer and the *brand name*, which here plays a crucial role, impose a coherent, collective vision as though they were an almost indissociable totality, a series . . . We are at the point where consumption is laying hold of the whole of life, where all activities are sequenced in the same combinatorial mode . . .[81]

Although Baudrillard gives a detailed account of this proliferation of commodities and their increasing dominance in our lives, "there is little discussion in his works about the emergence of the system of objects in the course of the development of capitalism."[82] Objects are raining cats and dogs; they are falling from the sky. We do not know where they come from, why they come such heavily and in the *form they are*. As Kellner correctly argued Baudrillard is "theorizing needs and use-values strictly from the stand-point of how they are perceived by capital and how

[80] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, pp. 23-24.

[81] Baudrillard, *Consumer Society*, pp. 27-29, emphasis original.

[82] Kellner, *Jean Baudrillard*, p. 11.

capitalists fantasize how they are actually producing use-values and needs."[83] Marx, on the contrary, in his theory of commodity fetishism successfully analyses the *essence* of objects and how they *appeared* to us. He pointed to the fact that the actual process of exploitation is mystified in the commodity form. It cannot be denied in contemporary societies people are encircled by increasing range of commodities and their representations. But these commodities appear in a context of which power is an important element.[84] We must bear in mind that commodities, needs, desires are produced by some and for the interests of some. The discourse of the capitalists and advertising industry heavily depend on the display of commodity as freed from the production process. The predomination of goods and their representations over us is actualized by our insensibilization of or immunization to these representations' detachment from their production processes. It is true that advertisements signify more than the products themselves and their properties, but they still deliberately do not mention (rather deny) the exploitation of labor in the production of these products. We are not informed about the cheap or child-labor employed in production of many brand names, instead we are invariably being told how *cool* and *distinct* these products will make us.

2.2 Beyond Marx: Incorporating the 'Social' and 'Symbolic' to Consumption

In the modern era of consumption, the motive for consumption and the use of commodities got complicated. Ownership of a commodity can satisfy some needs, and at the same time, signify the status and identity of the owner. With mass production, brand names and product differentiation, it gets harder to discern the motives behind consuming and the value of a commodity to the owner. Also mass media and advertising industry promote consumption of images in such a way that, consumption detaches from the mere material ownership and use of goods, since images are also *consumed* to an increasing extent. The use of different brand

[83] Kellner, *Jean Baudrillard*, p. 37.

[84] This ingredient of power will be more crucial when we look at consumption practices from a gendered perspective which will be the task of the next chapters.

names, display techniques and other means of advertising aimed at selling the *image* of a product along with, or as part of, the thing itself. [85] As Bowlby tells:

> In the post-sliced era, a loaf may be marketing as being uniquely nutritious; as containing some special ingredient; as the natural choice of the decent housewife ("Mother's Pride"); or as particularly good for slimers (an interesting version of its original use, which can claim the reduction of calorific content, the amount of energy-producing food, as a positive quality).[86]

When a commodity achieves its primary purpose of exchange it passes over into another domain: the realm of everyday life.[87] The commodity transforms from an ideal use-value and imagined meaning into a material and symbolic object of lived experience in its passage from a commodity *for* consumption to an object *of* consumption.[88] Leiss and others point out that in the course of the preceding century the interpersonal relations have been characterized by mass media's *discourse through and about objects*. Consumption has been a form of social communication and commodities are turned into communicators. This means interpersonal relations and communication have been increasingly associated with "ownership, preference, display and use of things." "The material objects produced for consumption in the marketplace not only satisfy needs, but also serve as markers and communicators for interpersonal distinctions and self-expression."[89] Therefore, consumption becomes in most cases the (re)production of differences.

This does not mean that the symbolic meaning of the commodity and use-value derived from the appropriation of good are untouched by the process of production, design, advertising and marketing. The symbolic meaning attached to an object is not completely fluid that bears no marks of production. Rather there is

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[85] Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola*, New York and London: Methuen, 1985, p. 18, emphasis original.

[86] Bowlby, *Just Looking*, pp. 23-24.

[87] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 25.

[88] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 25, emphasis original.

[89] William Leiss (et al.), *Social Communication in Advertising: Consumption in the Mediated Marketplace*, New York: Routledge, 2005, pp. 4-5.

a dialectical relation between needs and symbolic meaning attached to objects; needs are constructed symbolically and symbolic meaning might be an element of the design of an object and even the creation of need for it.

The dominant view in economics that perceives consumption as end of production obscures this life of commodities after their leave of the shop window. Moreover, if we hold the classical view of consumption as satisfaction of needs, which are of biological origin in general, we neglect its serving for demonstration of class distinctions, identities, cultural and symbolic meanings of commodities.

Contrary to mainstream economics, the view held here is that, for a comprehensive analysis of consumption as a social activity, the whole life span of a commodity; its design, production, marketing, consumption, use and discarding, and people's relation with commodities in all its aspects should be analyzed. Commodity should be understood as a hybrid form of use, exchange and sign-values and consumption should be analyzed as an activity that has been economically, culturally and symbolically constructed. Motivated by this view, the following section will explore cultural and symbolic dimensions of consumption through a study of the theories outlined by Veblen and Bourdieu. It is our purpose to describe some of the ways in which goods are used symbolically as a means of reproducing the existing social order and established class relations in and through culture.[90]

2.2.1 The Art of Making Difference: Veblen and Bourdieu

As elaborated in the first part of this chapter neoclassical analysis of consumption builds on what Preteceille and Terrail call *substanstialism of needs* that the satisfaction of needs functions as a systematic explanatory principle.[91] This view sees the social in terms of a models of ends (satisfaction of needs) means (means

[90] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn,* p.25.

[91] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 10, emphasis original.

by which needs are satisfied) and "develops an *instrumental* concept of economic and social activity." The economic sphere is characterized as the sphere of instrumental rationality from which needs are excluded, yet "the first stages of a rational activity aim at specific satisfaction of these needs."[92] Needs are perceived as given and their relation with, if not determination by, production is denied.

The materialist approach, on the other hand, which does not start from humans and their needs but from "production at a definite stage of social development" opposed such an *idealism of needs.*[93] As Preteceille and Terrail assert:

> A materialist approach to the problem of needs thus not only requires that the order of determination between the production and consumption established by vulgar economics be reversed, but also demands the rejection of *any autonomisation of the spheres of consumption and need in relation to the universal development of capital.*[94]

From a different perspective, the movement which might be called "differentialist movement" in Terrail's terms, attempts to escape from the *sin* of the substanstialism of needs. "Here, the need to which all others can be referred is no longer that of reproduction in terms of nature or individual social structures, but need for a symbolic manifestation of the individual's position in society: social status, class membership and so on. Consumption thus becomes the production and, in most cases the reproduction of differences."[95] Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class (1899)*[96] can be considered as one of the major works which paved the way for the *differentialist* analysis of consumption that merits closer examination. According to Gottdiener, Veblen saw what Marx did not; the sign-value of objects. The sign-value of objects besides use-value and exchange-value

[92] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 10, emphasis original.

[93] Marx, *Grundrisse*, p. 85.

[94] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 18, emphasis original.

[95] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, pp. 20-21.

[96] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions [1899]*, New York: New America Library, 1953.

was perhaps implicit in the Marxian concept of fetishization as a form of alienation, but Veblen made this quality explicit.[97]

Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* is considered among one of the earliest studies on consumption. In fact, Veblen is said to have created the field of consumer cultural studies.[98] It can be considered among one of the first analysis of consumption and *wants*, not in individual terms but in social and cultural terms. Veblen used, similar to Marx, the concept of class as an organizing referent, this time in the analysis on consumption.[99] There is also "a common moral vision of Veblen and Marx in their moral assessment of capitalist system as a system that produced an extreme inequality."[100] Max sublimated this moral vision into his project of historical theory and the critique of the political economy, whereas Veblen, in contrast, remained closer to the facts, to everyday life.[101] As C. Wright Mills observed, Veblen sought to grasp the essentials of modern American society and "delineate the characters of the typical men within it."[102]

Veblen begins his analysis by searching the historical roots of the leisure class, the emergence of which coincided with the beginning of ownership. Thus, Veblen states:

> The present inquiry, therefore, is not concerned with the beginning of indolence, nor with the appropriation of useful articles to individual consumption. The point in question is the origin and nature of a conventional leisure class on the one hand and

[97] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption", pp. 9-10.

[98] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption", p. 6. David Hamilton also points to the fact that the first major work what is recognized to be institutional economics, Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* lends itself readily to a useful institutional analysis of consumption. Hamilton, "Institutional Economics and Consumption", p. 1531. Ritzer, on the contrary, claims that considering Veblen as a theorist of consumption will be misleading since he wrote in line with the tradition of his time such that he also gave a focal interest in issues relating to production. George Ritzer, *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast-Food, Credit Cards and Casinos*, London, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2001, p. 203.

[99] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption", p. 7.

[100] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption", p. 7.

[101] Gottdiener, "Approaches to Consumption", p. 7.

[102] C. Wright Mills, "Introduction to the Mentor Edition" in Veblen, *The Theory of The Leisure Class*, pp. vi-xix, p. x.

> the beginnings of individual ownership as a conventional right or equitable claim on the other hand.[103]

This leisure class has been defined not only in terms of its being *freed* from menial work (by its leisure), but also in terms of its demonstration of wealth. Leisure class demonstrated leisure and wealth through ownership. Veblen claimed that from the days of Greek philosophers to the present a degree of leisure and exemption from work are considered honorific and worthy. But it was not enough to be freed from work for the leisure class; also this leisure should be demonstrated as a proof of wealth. "In the evolutionary model that Veblen elaborates, conspicuous consumption eventually complements and replaces conspicuous leisure as means of demonstrating pecuniary strength."[104] In earlier stages of development, the leisure class demonstrated their wealth by hiring many servants, giving feasts and similar activities that demonstrated waste of time. In modern societies, characterized by a high degree of anonymity and mobility, it gets very difficult to display conspicuous waste of time, since contact between members of the society is weakened. It then becomes far easier to be conspicuous on the display of goods.[105] In Veblen's words:

> When the differentiation has gone farther and it becomes necessary to reach a wider human environment, consumption begins to hold over leisure as an ordinary means of decency. This is especially true during the latter, peaceable economic stage. The means of communication and mobility of the population now expose the individual to the observation of many persons who have no other means of judging of his

[103] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 33. Veblen's analysis of the genesis of leisure class and private property will not be detailed here. Rather his handling of *conspicuous consumption* of the leisure class as signifier of honor and wealth, thus as a means of social differentiation will be analyzed here. Yet, we prefer not to leave without mentioning that Veblen, interestingly enough, saw "the ownership of the women by the able-bodied men of the community" as the earliest form of ownership, residues of which lay the foundations of the contemporary property relations and the differentiations between leisure and working classes.

[104] Ritzer, *Explorations*, p. 210.

[105] Ritzer, *Explorations*, p. 210. Braudel also mentions such a shift in expenditures from exterior luxury to that of interior luxury. Once people had large dwellings, as space shortened they started to decorate interiors spaces with expensive articles. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism.* Sombart defines a similar change of character in luxurious spending characterized by i*ncreased frequency of luxury*; such that items had been changed more frequently. Interestingly, he associated this shortening of time with impatience of women for acquiring new goods, since women cannot wait. Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, (trans. W.R. Dittmar), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967, p. 97.

> reputability than the display of goods (and perhaps of breeding) which he is able to make while he is under direct observation…[106]
>
> In order to impress these transient observers and to retain one's self-complacency under their observation, the signature of one's pecuniary strength should be written in characters which he who runs may read.[107]

Hence, Veblen thus kills two birds with one stone; he understands (conspicuous) consumption as demonstrating both one's status and one's identity. This is why his analysis of consumption includes symbolic aspect of consumption in addition to its material aspects. All actions including consumption can be viewed as having two dimensions; one being ceremonial and one being technological or instrumental. We use goods as symbols of status and simultaneously as instruments to achieve some end-in-view such that consumption has two characters; ceremonial and technological or instrumental. Hamilton thinks automobiles are excellent examples of this dual purpose as he writes:

> We use our cars as symbols of status and simultaneously as instruments of transportation to get from one point to another. And when we state that we need a new car, elements of both are intertwined. The need may refer to a ceremonial need at the same time it refers to a technological need. The physical deterioration of the car, which makes it unreliable as an instrument to reach an end-in-view--work, for example–may simultaneously render it weak as a symbol of status or representative of the ability to pay.[108]

Although Veblen's analysis of consumption has been appreciated by many thinkers, there are also those that criticize it claiming that it has many deficiencies and hence cannot be considered as a comprehensive analysis of consumption. Trigg summarized the three main criticisms. First is the restriction of Veblen's trickle-down effect of consumption to explain the spill over effects of consumption from the bottom of the social hierarchy. Second is the claim that since Veblen's day consumers no longer demonstrate their wealth conspicuously. Third is the criticism of postmodern tradition that consumption practices no longer depend on social classes but on lifestyles that cut across the social

[106] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 35.

[107] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, pp. 71-72.

[108] Hamilton, "Institutional Economics and Consumption", p. 1547.

hierarchy.[109] Campbell argues that Veblen's definition of conspicuous consumption is not clear and has many ambiguities that he even calls it "*conspicuous confusion*".[110] What follows is an overview of these critiques and the ways of improving Veblen's theory by looking at the relations between theories of Veblen and Bourdieu.

Veblen analyses, in the beginning of his work, the relation of ownership to consumption. He criticizes the naïve economics definition of ownership and accumulation of wealth as a means to satisfy needs or increase comforts. "The end of acquisition and accumulation is conventionally held to be the consumption of goods accumulated" and as such consumption is perceived as the legitimate end of acquisition.[111] Such consumption may of course serve the consumer's physical wants or his higher wants (e.g., spiritual, aesthetic, intellectual, etc.); that consumption can serve the wants of first or higher degrees. However, once we observe the accumulation of wealth or *wasteful* consumption we can no longer claim that consumption merely serves satisfaction of needs. Neither, can it be said, in reverse order, that consumption of goods affords the incentive for accumulation. In another words, if consumption merely serves for satisfaction of needs and provide comfort[112], there must be a limit for accumulation and consumption (unless we presume that human beings are naturally acquisitive and have unlimited desires which Veblen would most probably not agree). He wrote:

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[109] Andrew Trigg, "Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption", *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. XXXV No.1, (March 2001), pp. 99-115, p. 99.

[110] Colin Campbell, "Conspicuous Confusion? A Critique of Veblen's Theory of Conspicuous Consumption", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 13 No.1, (March 1995), pp. 99-115.

[111] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 35.

[112] As Jhally points out the notion that goods are communicators and satisfiers is based upon a *relational* view of consumption not as private affair but a social activity. Because consumption is socially based and judged it describes relative than an absolute activity and the satisfaction derived is than also relative. Jhally, *Advertising*, pp. 12-13. A *consumption norm*; an average amount of consumption which exists in a given society in a given time might be pronounced. The amount and items of consumption defined as necessary might change from time to society. Now, for instance, television or cellular phones might be considered as a *need* in many social groups and societies. Also, one might talk about an analytical shift, due to increasing production, differentiation and availability of goods, from the notion of *need* to *comfort* in studies of consumption.

> [T]he desire of everyone is to excel everyone else in the accumulation of goods. If, as is sometimes assumed, the incentive to accumulation were the want of subsistence or of a physical comfort, then the aggregate economic wants of a community might conceivably be satisfied at some point in the advance of industrial efficiency: but since the struggle is substantially a race for *reputability on the basis of an invidious comparison*, no approach to a definitive attainment is possible.[113]

For Veblen, "ownership began and grew into a human institution on grounds unrelated to the subsistence minimum. The dominant incentive was from the outset the invidious distinction attaching to wealth."[114] "The motive that lies at the root of ownership is emulation."[115] The dominant incentive behind accumulation of wealth in general and (conspicuous) consumption in particular is; both emulation and distinction; emulation of the upper classes, distinction from the lower classes, conformity to own class. Consumption not only makes it possible to distinguish oneself from others, but also provides one with an identity. Conformity is thus an indispensable complement to distinction.[116]

Thus, Veblen substituted the man of distinction for *home economicus*.[117] However, Preteceille and Terrail claim that Veblen "treats the social in terms of ends and means and the crucial end here–systematic differentiation–does not depend on socio-historical determination"–it was dominant from the onset. Therefore, Veblen's analysis does not alter the neoclassical principle of analysis as; "production has no logic of its own except to fuel consumption."[118] They ask:

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[113] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 39 emphasis added.

[114] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 36.

[115] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 35.

[116] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 21. This conformity to consumption habits of one's own class is not so central to Veblen's analysis. He is rather concerned mainly with the motive of distinction from lower classes than conformity to own class. The people of the same class also compete with each other in reputability, according to Veblen. Goblot points the element of conformity in consumption telling that "any group that attributes social superiority to itself conceals any individual inequalities so as to emphasize its collective superiority". E. Goblot (1967) cited in Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 21.

[117] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 21.

[118] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 21.

> Veblen asserts that no social class "denies itself some kind of conspicuous consumption". He is nonetheless forced to admit that popular consumption is principally a function of the "spirit of conformity". But conformity to what? In the absence of any reference to production, the answer here is the satisfaction of organic needs. Now it is in relation to popular consumption that the consumption of the upper classes determines itself: could it be that underlying the differentialist approach there is yet again a substanstialism of needs?" [119]

Hamilton would most probably reject such blame on Veblen that he felt into the same trap of conventional economics since he suggests:

> To Veblen, human behaviour was social behaviour; one took its form from cultural conditioning. His *The Theory of the Leisure Class* was a theory of consumption in cultural, rather than individual terms. It rejects the basic premise of the conventional theory that wants are unique to each individual that wants must be taken as givens– things about the origin of which we can know nothing. [120]

Veblen, in his various works, rejected the hedonistic explanation of consumption behaviour of "both the classical school and its specialized variant, the marginal-utility economics, in particular" which took the traditional psychology of early nineteenth-century hedonists and consistently adhered to it. He criticizes the "central and well-defined tenet"; the hedonistic calculus.[121] In his frequently quoted words tells Veblen:

> The hedonistic conception of man is that of a lightning calculator of pleasures and pains who oscillates like a homogeneous globule of desire of happiness under the impulse of stimuli that shift him about the area, but leave him intact. He has neither antecedent nor consequent. He is an isolated definitive human datum, in stable equilibrium except for the buffets of the impinging forces that displace him in one direction or another. Self-poised in elemental space, he spins symmetrically about his own spiritual axis until the parallelogram of forces bears down upon him, whereupon he follows the line of the resultant. When the force of the impact is spent, he comes to rest, a self-contained globule of desire as before. Spiritually, the hedonistic man is not a prime mover. He is not the seat of a process of living, except in the sense that he is subject to a series of permutations enforce upon him by circumstances external and alien to him.[122]

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[119] Preteceille and Terrail, *Capitalism, Consumption and Needs*, p. 22.

[120] Hamilton, "Institutional Economics and Consumption", p. 1539

[121] Thorstein Veblen, "Limitations of Marginal Utility", *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 17, No. 9 (November 1909), pp. 620-636, p. 622.

[122] Thorstein Veblen "Why is Economics Not an Evolutionary Science", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 12 Issue 4, (July 1898), pp. 373-397, pp. 389-390.

Contrary to the conventional economics' individual's static maximization of utility according to exogenous preferences Veblen develops an evolutionary framework in which preferences are determined socially according the position of an individual in the social hierarchy.[123] According to Hamilton, Veblen's analysis of conspicuous consumption has not been interpreted as a positive alternative to the hedonist invasion of demand theory in conventional economics, although it had that capacity. One reason for this neglect, claims Hamilton, is the perception of conspicuous consumption as a form of exceptional practice peculiar to a small portion of the society –to that of the upper classes. "Rational consumption was guided by the old felicific calculus; conspicuous consumption represents a form of irrational behaviour, a kind of social aberration. This, of course, is not what Veblen was saying."[124]

Veblen views consumption practices as differentiating criterion for social classes such that commodities and consumption define social positioning. "The laboring and the upper classes are based definitionally on economic distinctions; but their *social differentiation* rests on the visible evidence of practices."[125] Veblen takes conspicuous consumption as a peculiarity of the leisure class. The leisure class is the class that in Veblen's America had the means to engage both in conspicuous leisure and consumption to waste time and money.[126] However, he also claimed that no class can refrain from conspicuous consumption; "no class of society, not even the most abjectly poor, forgoes all customary conspicuous consumption."[127] Yet, still Veblen's theory of consumption has been described as a *trickle down* model since it is the upper classes that set ups the standards of consumption as he tells; "the leisure class stands at the head of the social structure in point of

[123] Trigg, "Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption", p. 99.

[124] Hamilton, "Institutional Economics and Consumption", p. 1539.

[125] Gottdiener, *New Forms of Consumption*, pp.7-8, emphasis original.

[126] Ritzer, *Explorations*, p. 210.

[127] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class,70*

reputability; and its manner of life and its standards of worth therefore afford the norm of reputability for the community."[128]

This *trickle-down* model of Veblen is criticized based on two reasonings: one is that lower classes are assumed to copy uncritically the consumption habits of upper classes. Allerston points out that this focus on the assumption of social emulation, that the lower social orders would, if they were given the opportunity, copy the consumption patterns of privileged groups within the society rather than establish their own has proved to be an enduring concept in studies of early modern consumer behaviour.[129] Second, in the model *trickle-up* effect is ignored; but lower classes can also affect consumption practices of higher classes; for instance denim jeans were first designed for working-classes and then evolved into a casual wear of all classes. Recently, in Turkey, for instance, the baggy trousers (*şalvar*) worn by women working in the fields have been, after some modification, incorporated into the vogue dress articles of the upper class women.

Andrew Trigg asserts that, these criticisms directed to Veblen's theory can be overcome by a close reading of Veblen and he adds that "the work of Bourdieu provides a contemporary development of the theory of conspicuous consumption that builds upon some of the more subtle aspects of Veblen's framework."[130] Ritzer, similarly, argues that Bourdieu's concept such as *cultural capital* and *habitus* have roots in Veblen's ideas and that Veblen's class-based approach to consumption can be extended by reference to Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984).[131] He claims that while Veblen was merely suggestive Bourdieu develops Veblen's ideas of "cultivation of the aesthetic faculty" and "learning to consume in a

[128] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 70.

[129] Patricia Allerston, "Clothing and Early Modern Venetian society", *Community and Change*, Vol. 15 No.3, 2000, pp. 367-390, p. 369.

[130] Trigg, "Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption", p. 104.

[131] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, (trans. Richard Nice), Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984.

seemly manner" into an account of *taste* and its reproduction through consumption practices.[132]

Similar to Veblen, Bourdieu attaches, to some degree, agency to human beings. His concept of *habitus* transcends the line between the poles of objectivism and subjectivism. As he defines *habitus*:

> [T]he structure constitutive of a particular environment . . . produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, as structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of generation of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules . . . collectively orchestrated without being the orchestrating action of the conductor.[133]

Using the concept of *habitus*, Bourdieu is able to develop a model of social action in which culture and cultural relations are given relative autonomy from the relations of economic production.[134] Contrary to the one-sided materialism of Marxist class analysis, Bourdieu seeks to reveal the contribution that the consumption of the symbolic goods makes to reproducing class domination through legitimation and selection.[135]

The key point that can be derived from Bourdieu's work, at least in its relation to Veblen's work, is that it is not enough to say that the lower classes emulate the consumption patterns of the leisure class. Although this motive of emulation for the lower classes exists, to some degree, it is not the mere determinant of consumption patterns of lower classes. Also each class elaborates its own distinctive consumption.[136] In the same way as the upper classes try to

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[132] Ritzer, *Explorations*, p. 212.

[133] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, (trans. Richard Nice), Cambridge and New York : Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.72, emphasis original.

[134] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, pp. 32-33.

[135] David Gartman, "Culture as Class Symbolization or Mass Reification? A Critique of Bourdieu's Distinction", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 97 No. 2. (September 1991), pp. 421-447, p. 423.

[136] Ritzer, *Explorations*, p. 212.

differentiate themselves from those at the bottom, it also follows in Bourdieu that those that are at the bottom have their own values and tastes. The working-class meal, for instance, is characterized by plenty and freedom.[137] Working-class taste in food is generally characterized by the capacity of individual foodstuffs and meals to satisfy hunger and provide plentiful protein.[138] Therefore, what Bourdieu asserts is not a hierarchically ordered spill-over of tastes from top to down in the social ladder and but rather a stratification of tastes.

It is our contention that Veblen and Bourdieu, are quite instructive in showing that we cannot understand consumption only by notions of needs and their satisfaction, but that there are other factors like, social status, class and identity.

2.3 An Alternative Framework? Systems of Provision Approach

The approach of various disciplines to the issue of consumption has been characterized by scattering to opposite poles. Economists and sociologists, in the extreme versions of handling the issue of consumption, confined themselves to marginal utilities analysis and the cultural and symbolic determinants of consumption respectively. It is believed that consumption patterns and commodities cannot be separated to its elements; as those that are economically determined and those others that are symbolically and culturally determined. A commodity can tell many things simultaneously, the relations of its production, its symbolic meaning and the needs, class, identity and life-style of its user at the same time.

Braudel, demonstrates how the commodities considered as luxury changed historically. He tells that luxury is an "elusive, complex and contradictory" concept that changes constantly. It is hard to define, once and for all, the items of

[137] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 194.

[138] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, p. 35.

luxurious consumption since they shift over time and from one civilization to other:

> [S]ugar for example was a luxury before the sixteenth century, pepper was still a luxury in the closing of seventeenth century . . . chair is still a luxury, a *rarity* in Islam and India even today . . . L*uxury then can take on many guises, depending on the period, the country or civilization*.[139]

This historical construction and evolution of the items of luxury tells that the status of goods in the social organization differs from time to time, from place to place and with respect to demand and supply for those goods. Braudel also shows us that the deterministic views of economists that supply is the determinant or demand is the determinant are misleading because for some goods supply proves the rule while for some other it is the demand that determines the adventure of the good.[140] Therefore we can not talk about a consumption theory that prevails in all cultures and time period and applicable to all types of goods. However, this does not mean that consumption practices change from individual to individual and from one good to another and hence cannot be theorized. Rather we can talk about systems such as a food system, a fashion system and a housing system that from the production to marketing and distribution of these goods we can discern the systematic features. It is held in this thesis that the most applicable and all encompassing approach to consumption would be this *system of provision* approach.

To conclude this chapter with Crewe's comments:

> The importance of this [systems of provision] approach is that it points to the possibility of a more balanced treatment of the relationship between production and consumption, one which also acknowledges the symbolic significance of commodities.[141]

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[139] Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, Vol. I, pp. 183-184, emphasis added.

[140] Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, Vol. II, pp. 172-184.

[141] Crewe (2000:281) cited in Fine, *The World of Consumption*, p. 117.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN IN CONSUMER CULTURE

The proper study of mankind is man but
… the proper study of market is woman.
Ad in *Printers Ink*, 1929

In times of financial crisis both in the history of dynasties and individual families, women were almost always the first to blame for their addiction of excessive spending on material objects. Advertisements to a large extent speak to women; *Ms. Consumer*, they take the typical audience who is invited to the consumption of the good as one that is generally female. Shopping is perceived and practiced as a feminine leisure activity. In clinical psychology, the anomaly of kleptomania is usually defined as a disorder of women. Feminists, for a long time, criticized the commodification of women's bodies in advertisements and in pornography.[142] In brief, we can talk about an apparently gendered, usually and sometimes obsessively female, culture of consumption.

According to Rachel Bowlby, the issue of gender arises at every point in the analysis of modern consumption such that; "women's contradictory and crucial part in *the oldest trade in the world*-at once commodity, worker and (sometimes) entrepreneur-can be taken as emblematic of their significance in the modern commercial revolution."[143] This is inspired from Walter Benjamin's description:

[142] Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements* (1978) and Jean Kilbourne's book *Can't Buy My Love: How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel* (2000), and her documentaries *Killing Us Softly* (1979) and *Slim Hopes: Advertising & the Obsession with Thinness* (1995) are some examples of works on objectification of women in advertisements. For feminist responses to pornography one can read *Only Words* (1993) by Catharine A. MacKinnon and *Life and Death: Unapologetic Writings on the Continuing War Against Women* (1997) by Andrea Dworkin.

[143] Bowlby, *Just Looking*, p. 10, emphasis original. When the terms "gender", "masculinist", "androcentric" are used in this study, they are understood as cultural and social, not natural products. "'Gender', as the word is used by many feminists, means something quite different from

> Such an image are the arcades, which are both houses and stars. Such an image is the prostitute, who is the saleswoman and wares in one. [144]

The new commerce made its appeal to women above all and invited them to acquire its luxurious benefits and purchase sexually attractive images for themselves. Integrating consumer culture as such, women were to become in a sense like "prostitutes in their active, commodified self-display, and also to take on the role almost never theirs in actual prostitution: that of consumer."[145]

This chapter aims to situate women in consumer studies. It claims to go further, perhaps reject, the so-called *add women, and stir approach*. As Maria Mies tells "new wine must not be poured into old bottles."[146] Inspired by this logic; it is not aimed to search and include consumptive activities of women to an analysis of consumption. To put differently, it is our contention that consumption is not an activity constructed on the grounds freed from gender hierarchy in society and women have not participated on equal terms with men in this activity. Rather, consumption is presumed to be constructed by and in a context that is shaped by unequal distribution of power between sexes. We aim to comprehend the (gendered) politics of consumption and the sexual division of labor around the act of consumption. The motive behind this chapter has been the search for reasons behind the perception and practice of consumption as an activity exercised predominantly by women, and search the ways how women as a basic consumer class has been constructed. It is, also, aimed to understand women's dialectical

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biological sex. Gender is the social meaning given to biological differences between the sexes; it refers to cultural constructs rather than to biological givens" in Marienne A. Ferber and Julie A. Nelson (eds.) *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 9-10, emphasis original.

[144] Walter Benjamin (1978: 157) cited in Bowlby, *Just Looking*, p. 10, emphasis original.

[145] Bowlby, *Just Looking*, p. 11.

[146] Maria Mies, "Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research" in Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein (eds.), *Theories of Women's Studies*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, pp. 117-140, p. 117.

and double-way relation to consumption, as both consumers and commodities: they are commodified and at the same time obsessively *seduced* by commodities.

Firstly, the ways of employing gender as an analytical category in economics discipline in general and in studies of consumption in particular are searched. A female economist among the initial theoreticians of consumption; Hazel Kyrk and her analysis of consumption are detailed. Next is the inquiry of the construction of the dichotomized relationship between man; the producer and woman; the consumer; between Mr. Breadwinner and Mrs. Consumer. In the last part we look for women's relation with commodities, transformation of this relationship and symbolic reflections of this transformation especially in advertisements.

3.1 Feminist Critics of Consumption Theory of Neoclassical Economics

Feminist critics of science and (alternative) feminist science (e.g. feminist epistemology and philosophy of science) study the ways in which gender constructs our cognitive ability, conceptions of knowledge, and practices of scientific inquiry and justification. Practitioners of feminist epistemology and philosophy of science argue that, women and other subordinate groups are marginalized and degraded to an inferior position in dominant conceptions and practices of knowledge acquisition, attribution and justification. Many feminists have commented on the use of conceptual (Cartesian) dichotomies in writings about science, such as those between reason and emotion, objectivity and subjectivity, formal and informal, and they argued, that, the former ones are associated with men and celebrated and the latter ones are associated with women and denigrated.[147]

[147] As Donald McCloskey points; "regardless of what men and women actually do statistically speaking, the claims about what they do, exist as cultural objects. It may or may not be correct that women are irrational, emotional and individual women might have the traits associated with men. However, whether it is true or not, in any case there exists a myth- a myth of our culture- about women and men. The cultural stereotypes of men-rational, women-emotional, etc. exists and these stereotypes represent not only gender, but also race and class hierarchies." D. McCloskey, "Some Consequences of a Conjective Economics" in Julie A. Nelson and Marianne A. Ferber (eds.) *Beyond Economic Man*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 69-93, p. 69.

The model of knowledge that Descartes bequeathed to modern science is based on clarity, dispassion and detachment.[148] It relied on separations between observer and what is observed, between nature and human, between *men of science* and women of nature. According to Bordo:

> The notion that the project of modern science crystallizes "masculinist" modes of thinking has been a prominent theme in some recent writing: "[What] we encounter in Cartesian rationalism" says Karl Stern , is the pure masculinization of thought." The scientific model of knowing says, Sandra Harding, represents a "super-masculinization of rational knowledge." "The specific consciousness we call scientific, Western and modern," claims James Hillman, "is the long sharpened tool of the masculine mind that has discarded parts of its substance, calling it 'eve,' 'female' and' inferior.'" [149]

Feminist critiques of science aim to bring to light these masculinist biases in the current dominant scientific practices and to improve the current state of science by adding feminine values and feminist epistemological and methodological standpoints to dominant methodological stance. Harding summarizes the feminist critiques of modern science under three headings: feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theories and more recently, feminist postmodernism. Practitioners of the first two believe that the quality and objectivity of science will improve if women's experiences and values are added since science has been biased and credited masculine values, while the last totally rejects the objectivity and neutrality claims of modern science.[150]

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[148] Susan Bordo, "The Cartesian Masculinization of Thought," *Signs*, Vol. 11 No. 3 (Spring 1986), pp. 439-456, p. 440.

[149] Karl Stern (1965), Sandra Harding (1981) and James Hillman (1986) cited in Bordo, "The Cartesian Masculinization of Thought", p. 441.

[150] Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986. These feminist critiques of science would not be detailed here, for details see Harding (1986). Instead feminist critics of the discipline of economics; especially critics of decision theory and consumer theory, will be analyzed. However, it is better not to leave without mentioning that 'the science question in feminism' is not immune from, and largely effected by, the modern-postmodern debate. Postmodernist rejection of objectivity, universality, value-neutrality claims of modern science feed feminist critics of dominant, masculine-biased scientific thinking. Yet, feminist theory uses the analytical categories of modern scientific thinking like capitalism, patriarchy, gender and class to construct a universal theory of women's oppression. Therefore feminism is, in a way, in alliance with postmodernism in terms of its criticism of modernist and Enlightenment epistemologies, however at the same time feminism emerges and evolves historically, theoretically and methodologically as a modernist movement.

The discipline of economics is also subject to feminist scrutiny and criticism. The field of feminist economics has been taking shape just within last two decades. Though feminist economics is still in its infancy, its practitioners intend to move far beyond simply adding women and women's issues to mainstream economics.[151]

Many feminists have argued that neoclassical economics is deeply shaped by masculine biases in both its subject matter and its method.[152] They claimed that mainstream economics' definitions of economics and its agents have an androcentric bias since they exclude women and also justify this exclusion of women as subjects and agents of economics. The current dominant definition of economics, Julie Nelson claims, has been shaped by a shift of focus from study of provisioning; from political economy to a study of choice. Early political economists defined economics science as "the creation and distribution of necessaries and conveniences of life" as Adam Smith told in 1776, whereas by 1879, W. Stanley Jevons would describe economics as the "study of the mechanics of utility and self-interest". Currently, "'economic theory' is frequently made synonymous with 'choice theory' or 'decision theory'". Such a definition, Nelson argues, is not unrelated to the gendered Cartesian ideal and also underlies the prestige given to mathematical models of individual rational choice.[153] Instead, she presupposes alternative views in the study of economics:

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[151] Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory", p. 192.

[152] Nelson (1996), the essays in Nelson and Ferber (1993), Kuiper and Sap (1995), Barker and Kuiper (2003) are leading examples of these critiques of neoclassical economics from a feminist perspective. However, it is possible to criticize the major assumptions of neoclassical economics without reference to feminist scholarship. Within the first chapter of this study, such a criticism of neoclassical economics with respect to neoclassical consumer theory has been briefly summarized. This section draws upon many of the insights of these non-feminist criticisms, but, in addition, it emphasizes that "the way gender has been socially organized has much to do with which parts of human experience have been left out of neoclassical models" and it tries to illuminate the "androcentric bias" that underlies neoclassical assumptions. Paula England, "The Separative Self: Androcentric Bias in Neoclassical Assumptions" in Julie A. Nelson and Marianne A. Ferber (eds.) *Beyond Economic Man*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 37-53, p. 38.

[153] Julie A. Nelson, "The Study of Choice or the Study of Provisioning? Gender and the Definition of Economics" in Julie A. Nelson and Marianne A. Ferber (eds.) *Beyond Economic Man*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 23-36, pp. 26-33. Herbert Simon, on the contrary, calls

> Feminist theory suggests that the definition focusing on choice, which looks at human decisions as radically separated from physical and social constraints, and the definition stressing material well-being, which ignores non-physical sources of human satisfaction, are not the only alternatives. Such a dichotomy merely reinforces the separation of humans from the world . . . What is needed is a definition of economics that considers humans *in relation* to the world. [154]

Pujol, in her studies strongly demonstrates how women are marginalized both as agents and subjects of economics in early classical economists' writings.[155] By reference to the works of Smith, Marshall, Edgeworth and Pigou, she exemplifies how classical economists handled the *women question*. The so-called *women question* came to the agenda of early classical economists with regards to the issues of involvement of women in labour force and the debates of family wage. They criticized women's employment based on claims that, they had negative effects on women's *natural* household duties and increased infant mortality rates. Marshall, for instance, claims that rise of women's wages relatively to those of men is an injury as far as "it tempts them to neglect their duty of building up a true home, and off investing their efforts in the personal capital of their children's characters and abilities".[156] Jevons tells that he would "*go so far as to advocate the ultimate complete exclusion of mothers of children under the age of three years from the factories and workshops*".[157]

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political economy as 'heartland' and decision theory as 'territorial colony' within the economics discipline. Herbert A. Simon, "Rational Decision Making in Business Organizations," *The American Economic Review,* Vol.69, No.4 (Sep., 1979), pp.493-513, p. 493.

[154] Nelson, Julie A., "The Study of Choice or the Study of Provisioning?", p. 32, emphasis original.

[155] Michéle Pujol, *Feminism and Anti-Feminism in Early Economic Thought,* Aldershot; U.K: Elgar, 1992 and "Into the Margin!" in Duricilla K. Barker and Edith Kuiper (eds.) *Toward a Feminist Philosophy of Economics,* London and New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 21-37. Mill deserves a privilege, in Pujol's view, among classical economists with respect to his standing beside feminist debates or equal rights for women.

[156] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*: *An Introductory Volume,* London: Macmillan for the Royal Economic Society, 1920, p. 570.

[157] William Stanley Jevons, *Methods of Social Reform,* New York : A.M. Kelley, 1965[1883], p. 172, emphasis original.

"Marshall, Pigou and Edgeworth were all either against legislating minimum wages for women, or against minimum wages set at the same level as men's." While they opposed women's getting equal pay with men for equal work, they supported men's privileges in the labour market in terms of both their privileged access to employment and all men's, whether married or not, right to get family wage. [158]

Critical reading of works of these early classical economists demonstrates that two interlinked implicit assumptions about women's agency in the realm of economics get along with their writings. First, the individual agent –*homo economicus*–of neoclassical economics is one that is, at least implicitly, male; e.g. economic *man*, since its main characteristic of being rational is a behaviour attributed to men.[159] Women, Pujol claims, are assumed, by mainstream economics, to be irrational so that "they are unfit as economic agents that they cannot be trusted to make the right economic decisions."[160] Secondly, another reasoning that excludes women from the realm of public life, of market and as such from the realm of economics perceived, is definition of all women as wives and mothers and the belief that all women are (and ought to be) housewives since "their reproductive capacities specializes them for that function."[161] Jevons, for instance supported Factory Acts in his article "Married Women in Factories" and praised a well-designed act as it would assure that: "the wife, no longer a mere

[158] Pujol, "In to the Margin!", pp. 23-24.

[159] The frequent use of the figure of Robinson Crusoe (for instance by Jevons, Böhm-Bawerk, Wicksteed, Marshall, Edgeworth, Wicksell to count some economists) as an exemplar of rational economic man is also viewed, by many feminist economists, as significant in the creation of the meaning of the economic agent as generically male. For a study that argues that the story of Robinson Crusoe and its usage by economists are indicative of the way the discipline deals with issues of race and gender see Ulla Grapard, "Robinson Crusoe: The Quintessential Economic Man?" *Feminist Economics*, Vol.1 No.1 (March 1995), pp. 33-52. Hamilton also draws attention to the ethnocentric bias of Robinson Crusoe metaphor: "Those economists who are fond of alluding to Robinson Crusoe as an illustration of solitary economic behaviour seem to wholly overlook the fact that fictional hero was thoroughly acculturated Englishman." Hamilton, "Institutional Economics and Consumption", p. 1541.

[160] Pujol, "In to the Margin!", p. 22.

[161] Pujol, "In to the Margin!", p. 22.

slattern factory hand, would become *a true mother and a housekeeper*; and round many a Christmas table troops of happy, chubby children."[162] These assumptions reinforced orthodox economists' characterization of women as non-autonomous dependants. Women are always defined as members of family units; as wives, daughters and mothers. "Even in the single example Marshall uses where women exercise rational decision-making similar to men, it is not their own utility that is maximized but that of the household." [163]

Moreover, in addition to this generalization of motherhood and partnership in marriage to all women, this status is naturalized for women. Women, it is believed, due to their natural make-up were suitable for child rearing and housework and not suitable for hard working jobs. Pigou, for instance, claimed that the natural realm of women is consumption and a proper education for women should be household management to make *wise* decisions in matters of consumption for home.[164]

The turn of the 20th century witnessed legitimation of the study of household and consumption as new subject matters of the economics discipline, that of home economics. Consumption and household activities came to be seen as matters deserving scientific scrutiny. Catherine Beecher, writing long before the term home economics was actually established, provided "the first comprehensive work on managing a home" in form of *scientific* advice to American women. She also "spread her Victorian view on domesticity which held as ideal the woman who, educated in domestic economy, thus well prepared for her profession as wife and mother."[165] Later, Ellen Richards, who is now called as the *mother of*

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[162] Jevons, "Married Women in Factories" in *Methods of Social Reform*, New York : A.M. Kelley, 1965 [1883], pp. 156-179, pp. 178-179, emphasis added.

[163] Pujol, "In to the Margin!", p. 32.

[164] Pujol, *Feminism and Anti-Feminism*.

[165] Susan van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life: Hazel Kyrk's Ethical Approach to Consumer Theory", Chapter 2 from Susan van Velzen, *Supplements to the Economics of Household Behaviour*, Amsterdam: Thela Thesis, Tinbergen Institute Research Series, 2001, No. 242, pp.9-58, p. 45.

home economics, politicized Beecher's domesticity concept to expand women's political power and also emphasized women's new role as consumers and focused on economic and social issues instead of housekeeping and decoration.[166]

However, in the 1920s focus of home economics shifted from social and economics issues back to household that "Beecher had had in mind, i.e., the household as the very specific and concrete realm of women's moral authority."[167] This analytical shift of focus was also present in the lives of women in America. In the homeland of home economics, where, as Betty Friedan points, "women who had once wanted careers were now making careers out of having babies" in the 1940s and 1950s. In this period, "the new image of American women; *Occupation: housewife* had hardened into a mystique unquestioned and shaping the very reality it distorted." "Home economists suggested more realistic preparation for housewives, such as high-school workshops in home appliances."[168]

In their article "The New Home Economics: Retrospects and Prospects" Ferber and Birnbaum have provided useful critique of new home economics. They confess that the practitioners of the new home economics, "display not only great skill in using sophistication theory and econometric methods, but considerable originality in applying them to a new area"[169], as a result of which they have produced important new insights which is materialized in Gary Becker's winning the Nobel Prize for his leading role. Gary Becker in his pathbreaking articles on the theory of allocation of time and theory of marriage started the tradition of applying neoclassical tools to understand the long neglected areas of non-market activities in the household sector and to investigate the economics of family

[166] van Velzen,"The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 45.

[167] van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 45.

[168] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique***,** New York: Norton, 1963, pp. 17,23,50, emphasis original.

[169] Marienne A. Ferber and Bonnie G. Birnbaum, "The New Home Economics: Retrospects and Prospects", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 4 No. 1 (June 1977), p. 19.

formation, fertility and the division of tasks between husband and wife.[170] Becker assumes that the motive behind family formation and allocation of tasks between family members is maximization of income:

> Members who are relatively more efficient at market activities would use less of their time at consumption activities than would other members. Moreover, an increase in the relative market efficiency of any member would effect a *reallocation of the time of all other members towards consumption activities in order to permit the former to spend more time at market activities*. In short, the allocation of time of any member is greatly influenced by the opportunities open to other members.[171]

One (at least the writer of this study) feels that it is some kind of joke while reading the articles of Becker on theory of marriage and allocation of time within the family. He provides sophisticated mathematical representations of the *marriage market* [172] but eventually links them with familiar conclusions. He provides "a justification for assuming that each family acts if it maximizes a single utility function."[173] He implicitly concludes that those members (e.g., women) who are less efficient in market activities will work in home and consume for the family.

Briefly, the discipline which is called *new home economics* was new in applying the logic of market to a new area, that of household, yet it was not so much new in its perception of women's place in the economy. If the logic of household cannot be carried to the market then carry the logic of the market to the household; incorporate the social context into a neoclassical framework for which Becker is said to have gone furthest. The field of home economics serves for the

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[170] Gary S. Becker, "A Theory of the Allocation of Time", *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 75 No. 299. (Sep., 1965), pp. 493-517 and "A Theory of Marriage: Part I", *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 81 No. 4. (Jul. - Aug., 1973), pp. 813-846, "A Theory of Marriage: Part II: Marriage, Family Human Capital, and Fertility" *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 82 No. 2, (Mar. - Apr., 1974), pp. S11-S26.

[171] Becker, "A Theory of the Allocation of Time", p. 512, emphasis added.

[172] Becker himself repeatedly pronounces marriage market in his "Theory of Marriage" articles. He tells, for instance, that he "presented an analysis of the marriage market" or considered "the effect of love and caring between mates on the nature of the equilibrium in the marriage market". Becker, "A Theory of Marriage: Part II", pp. S11-S12.

[173] Becker, "A Theory of Marriage: Part II", p. S24.

scientific justification of women's confinement to home and household duties. Moreover, this feminine sphere of home is defined as the non-productive sphere and all housework is considered as consumption activity.

As Ferber and Birnbaum state:

> In reading through the work of these authors [new home economists] one finds constant references to woman's "household responsibilities" and "child-rearing duties", and frequent mentions of husbands "helping" their wives in the home. No mention is made of allocation according to productivity. In other words, housework is women's work . . . They go on however, to argue that lower investments in women's market skills are a major cause of lower earnings. Thus we come full circle: women specialize in housework because they earn less in the labor market, and they earn less in the labor market because they specialize in housework . . . Part of the explanation might be increasing tendency to *accept that women have a place in the market, even though their primary responsibility is still at home*.[174]

The androcentric bias of mainstream economics is also at work in its peculiar treatment of consumer behaviour. The rational consumer is motivated by self-interest that s/he acts, like living in a vacuum, with the motive of increasing one's own utility. Preferences (also called tastes) are taken as given and stable, therefore they are treated as exogenous. In addition to so-called non-economic factors like tradition, psychology, etc. in the determination of tastes, also the preferences of other individuals are not taken into accounting when making consumption decisions. It is assumed that utility is conceived as being radically subjective and interpersonal utility comparisons are denied as a possibility.

According to England, one problem of ignoring the endogeneity of tastes is that it obscures some of the processes through which gender inequality is perpetuated.[175] For example, children learn what same-sex adults do and form their own tastes and values accordingly during their childhood socialization. Thus, "gender roles and also sexual discrimination affect the tastes of the next generations."[176] In a culture where beauty is highly appreciated and so much determinative in the

[174] Ferber and Birnbaum, "The New Home Economics: Retrospects and Prospects", p. 20, emphasis added.

[175] England, "The Separative Self", p. 44.

[176] England, "The Separative Self", p. 44.

social identity and *value* of a woman, it is not surprising that she will derive greater *utility* from spending her extra money on buying those new trend trousers or on cosmetics than a philosophy textbook. Therefore existing gender norms and roles affect preferences of current and successive generations.

Neoclassical economics also treats consumption goods as an abstract bundle of goods. However, many items or products are associated with one or the other gender. As Costa tells: "In parts of Greece, virtually all the items of the household are associated with women, and tools for working outside the home are associated with men . . . This basic European gender association of objects is manifest in Euro-America as well".[177] Susan Willis, in her essay "Gender as Commodity" elaborates on the ways through which gendering has been a main ingredient of commodity consumption in the late twentieth-century capitalism. *We buy into a gender* such that we demonstrate *gendered* lifestyles through the things we buy and through the same process the gender itself as a commodity is maintained. Today's toy market clearly exemplifies how commodities are structured along and have influence upon specific gender lines. In Willis' words;

> Our culture is mass culture, where one of the strongest early influences on gender is the mass toy market . . . in today's toy market there is a much greater sexual division of toys defined by very particular gender traits than has ever existed before . . . Walk into any toy store and you will see, recapitulated in the store's aisle arrangement, the strict distinction and separation of the sexes along specific gender lines: Barbies, My Little Ponies, and She-Ras in one aisle; He-Man, the Transformers, and Thundercats in another .[178]

In addition to tastes and consumption articles being gendered, and as a cumulative outcome of these, behaviors associated with consumption are gendered as well. Women are, for instance, often responsible for consumption activities like shopping for household nutrition and hygiene, while consumption of sports is associated with men. Finally, "marketers perform their activities differently when

[177] Janeen A. Costa, "Introduction" to Janeen A. Costa (ed.), *Gender Issues and Consumer Behaviour*, London and Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994, pp.1-10, p. 3.

[178] Susan Willis, *A Primer for Daily Life*. London: Routledge, 1991, p. 24.

their targets are male than they do when the targets are female, and customer's responses to these activities often differ on the basis of gender."[179]

Ignoring the role of gender; in formation of preferences, in attachment of these preferences to available goods, in differentiation of marketing activities according to sex of possible buyers, neoclassical consumer theory is gender-blind. This blindness stems from the blindness of the economics discipline to experiences of women in general and to experiences of consumer in particular–an individual is generically a *he* that engages in production. This approach has its roots in early classical political economy's separating the consumption proper and productive consumption. Implicit in this division lies the assumption that consumption is an activity that takes place in the sphere of household–in the feminine and *unproductive* sphere. Women's reproduction and other services within household such as cooking, cleaning and childrearing are perceived as unproductive housework in nineteenth-century economics thought since they are unpaid and not subject to market exchange.[180]

Drawing on the methodological insights of feminist economists; Hirschfield makes a distinction between two methodological stances; control stance and conversational or democratic stance. Commonly used control stance embodies the economist's perception of herself, "analytically outside of the economy". This is the methodological attitude of mainstream economics which "embodies the masculine values of detachment and control or domination." "The control stance is analogous to the stereotypical role of the father in the Western nuclear family – he comes from work (is separate from the family) and as head of the household is in charge of making the decisions for the family."[181]

Opposed to control stance, Hirschfield proposes the conversational stance which;

[179] Costa, "Introduction", *Gender Issues*, p. 3.

[180] Nancy Folbre, "The Unproductive Housewife: Her Evolution in Nineteenth-Century Economic Thought"', *Signs* Vol. 16 No. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 463-484.

[181] Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory", pp. 194-196.

> [I]nvolves the more feminine qualities of connection and identification . . . In the conversational stance the individuals who constitute the economy are not passive objects of study . . . [Conversational stance] would provide much stronger motivation to inquire into how consumers actually behave . . . *[W]ere economists make use of the conversational stance, they would find studying consumer behaviour more fruitful as the work of Hazel Kyrk (1923) shows.* [182]

It is our contention that, Hirschfield's drawing attention to Hazel Kyrk's works, to her proximity to conversational stance gives important insights for a feminist analysis of consumption. Kyrk's approach to economics of the household combined with her theory of consumption differentiates her work apart from the works of both neoclassical economics and home economics. This is the reason why it stands at "the borderland between economics and home economics."[183] Therefore, Kyrk's works deserves closer examination. The following section tries to make a preliminary attempt at such an examination and it elaborates on Kyrk's conversational stance in her *Theory of Consumption (1923)* and *Economic Problems of the Family (1933).* [184]

3.2 The Borderland Between Economics and Home Economics: Consumption Theory of Hazel Kyrk

> She approached consumer theory as a theory of human behaviour. She argued that goods and services are not the end of production but merely instrumental in the production of welfare. She stressed the importance of what goes in the household as a field worthy of economists' attention. And she emphasized the importance of conceptualizing the consumer not in a timeless and spaceless world, but as a human being with past and a social context. Because of this some say that- writing in the first half of the twentieth century as she did- she 'was a pioneer in the field of consumer economics', 'broadened the economics curriculum to include consumer

[182] Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory", pp. 194-201, emphasis added.

[183] In a letter to Kyrk from Marshall , dated March , 1924 cited in van Velzen, "Hazel Kryk and the Ethics of Consumption" in Julie A. Nelson and Marianne A. Ferber (eds.) *Beyond Economic Man*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 38-55, p. 44.

[184] Unfortunately, it was not possible to reach original texts of both Kyrk's *Theory of Consumption* (1923) and *Economic Problems of the Family* (1933) This section draws on secondary literature that summarized Kyrk's theory of consumption and household behaviour; Susan Van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life: Hazel Kyrk's Ethical Approach to Consumer Theory", Van Velzen, "Hazel Kryk and the Ethics of Consumption," and Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory".

> topics' . . . did constructive work 'on the borderland between economics and home economics' and that her contribution to economics was 'great' and 'significant'.[185]

Van Velzen opens chapter on Kyrk's theory of consumption in her book with this praise of Kyrk's contribution to economics and states that the original motivation behind the study was one of curiosity and desire to understand why Kyrk's contribution has not been recognized, while those of the others working in the same field have.[186] According to van Velzen, this is because of the fact that Kyrk's theory of consumption does not integrate into the neoclassical tradition both in its content and method. Kyrk's approach to consumer behaviour is different from those of the time and perhaps, if one does not count Veblen, pioneer in the field of economics in terms of its preoccupation with the agency of consumer and non-economic factors affecting consumption.

Kyrk rejected classical economics' preoccupation with production and its perception of consumers as passive beings:

> Formally the consumers' existence was recognized; they were always there, a sort of bottomless pit into which a continuous and ever increasing stream of commodities must be kept flowing. [187]

Kyrk was not satisfied either with the kind of sovereignty attached to consumers by the subjective value theory of neoclassical economics since it rests on a false perception of human behaviour, "as if men were isolated, self-interested, pleasure-calculating machines."[188] Neither the preferences and values of people nor choices and attitudes towards them are results of merely individual processes as if individuals are living in timeless and spaceless vacuum. They are, to the

[185] Reid (1972), Hartmann (1974), E. Nelson (1980) , Hirschfield (1996), Beller and Kiss (1999) cited in van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 9.

[186] Van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 11. Van Velzen comes to this conclusion that Kyrk's work does not attain the attention it deserves, given the almost total lack of reference to her work in studies of consumption and frequent pronunciation of Gary Becker and/or Margaret Reid as the founders of home economics although it is indispensable that they owe much to Kyrk in development of their own theories.

[187] Kyrk (1923: 13) cited in van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 19.

[188] van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 20.

contrary, socially determined. Therefore, Kyrk starts exploration of the social basis of consumer behaviour from scratch. This starting from scratch differentiates Kyrk's analysis from the other critics of mainstream consumption theory. She explores the valuation process and argues that utilities derived from consumption cannot be compared since they cannot be represented simply in monetary terms. Therefore, the logic of guiding profits in production theory cannot be utilized for understanding consumption since the consumer "has no guide like profits to say that spending money on a dress, for example, would yield more utility than money spent on a lecture series."[189] In Kyrk's words:

> Self interest and calculation may be satisfactory clues to business man's conduct, but they cannot be carried over to the interpretation of consumers' choices . . . The consumer, of course, may deliberate and compare alternative courses of action, but the thing involved is not a difference in quantity, but a difference in resulting situations which may be quite different in kind… Further what he wants and how he comes to want it remain an unsolved problem.[190]

Kyrk acknowledges social nature of preferences and choices in a manner that neither ends nor means of consumption are relegated to predetermined necessaries and fulfillment of these necessities of passive consumers by objects. For Kyrk:

> A complete theory of consumption cannot take these [attitudes, preferences and purposes] for granted and ask how adequate is the mechanism through which they are carried out, but must undertake the analysis of the forces which called them into existence and which strengthen or change them.[191]

The second major publication of Kyrk ; *Economic Problems of the Family(1933),* is structured around the analysis of the current position of (American) families in terms of incomes, standards of living and "problems either incidental to direct production, to earning, or to spending of money." She discusses "the character, efficiency and future of the household production as well as the economic status

[189] Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory", p. 203.

[190] Kyrk (1923: 144) cited in Hirschfield, "Methodological Stance and Consumption Theory", p. 203.

[191] Kyrk (1923: 131) cited in van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 24.

of women engaged in it." In a chapter on 'Have home-keeping women a full-time job?' she addresses the factors that effect the women's choice between household work and market work like discrimination towards women in labour market, "difficulty of combining paid work with household work"–so-called double burden of women. "She lists numerous factors which may explain why Veblen's 'ladies of leisure' or Johnson's 'Blondies' are such not by choice but because they can not do much else."[192] Kyrk does not, contrary to most of early home economists and new home economists, perceive women's association with housework as natural or economically rational. Rather, she argues that even if women's preferences are shaped for engaging in housework because it gives higher satisfaction in *economic* sense of the term; preferences can change with time and *should* change. Moreover, she acknowledges the restrictions placed upon preferences and household activities by cultural norms, traditions, etc. For women who try to combine paid work with family life she points out possible (radical for the time) solutions, such as "an equal sharing of the household activities between husband and men and other members of the family in proportion to their ability" and "the abandonment of family life in independent households." [193]

Van Velzen compares Kyrk's work on home economics with those of early home economists namely of Catherine Beecher, Ellen Richards and Christine Frederic and also with those of new home economists; namely Gary Becker. Her work resembles to those of early home economists' in that they share a focus on household work and household management. Kyrk's work stands apart from these home economists' of her time as she tells:

> In no respect can the book be considered a manual of "whats" and "hows" for the home-maker. Nor should the title "Economic Problems of the Family" be constructed as "Home Economics" in the broad sense, covering the technical and practical questions of nutrition, child care, care of the house and selection of

[192] van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 35.

[193] Kyrk (1933: 106-7) cited in van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 35.

> clothing, furniture and household equipment. The problems dealt with are "economic" in the academic sense of that term.[194]

Although these early home economists and Kyrk applied 'scientific method' in analyzing household production, their understanding of by 'scientific method' is different. The formers mean to "carve out a niche for scientifically trained expert women who could serve as housewives" whereas the latter considers scientific method in a more democratic way[195] and "urges all consumers, women and men alike, to apply scientific spirit to life and scrutinize and if necessary remake their own valuations."[196] Kyrk helped to shift earlier focus of home economics from household management to consumption and household economics. Application of the logic of market to household and consumption is what Kyrk rejected, as she believed that there cannot be a common monetary denominator, unlike profits in production, in consumptive practices of people. Furthermore;

> Her focus on consumption and household issues as economically important activities helped to change the manner in which these issues were perceived in the discipline of economics. As an economist living in borderland between economics and home economists, Kyrk was among the first to put what was traditionally seen as women's work on the agenda of economics.[197]

3.3 Construction of *Mrs. Consumer*

Mary Louise Roberts in her work *Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture*, points out that the relation of women in nineteenth century to the new consumer culture had a twofold character. Woman was inscribed as consumer and

[194] Kyrk (1933: xix) cited in van Velzen, "Hazel Kryk and the Ethics of Consumption", p. 47.

[195] Van Velzen tells that John Dewey's ethical thought provided the main framework for Kyrk's ethics of consumption such that her analysis of consumption can be interpreted as a pragmatist Deweyian approach to the consumption process. Van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 56. The relation between Deweyian pragmatic philosophy and ethical aspects of Kyrk's theory of consumption would not be explored here since they are beyond the scope of this study. We confine ourselves by saying that 'democratic' refers here both the moral meaning of the word, a minimum of good life for all, and also the stance of non-hierarchical conversational stance.

[196] van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 47.

[197] van Velzen, "The Consumer and the Good Life", p. 47.

commodity, purchaser and purchase, buyer and bought.[198] Two opposite and extreme cultural representations of women; as the kleptomaniac and the prostitute served as the projections of this double way relation–and cultural perception of this relation–women women held towards consumer culture. "If the prostitute represented women-as-commodity, the kleptomaniac was both her antithesis and evil twin: woman-as-consumer."[199] Roberts claims that this notion of a dual, contradictory relation of women to consumer culture was perhaps first put forth by Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).[200]

The earliest form of property in ancient cultures Veblen believed was the "ownership of women by the able-bodied men of the community."[201] In archaic culture women served as 'trophies', the spoils of war that proved the prowess of young warriors. Although in modern society, women are no longer seen as straightforwardly as slaves of men, according to Veblen, their status in marriage still bears a trace of their former servitude. In a modern consumer society, the wife has become the ceremonial consumer of goods which *he* produces.[202] For unlike a slave, she is allowed to consume but this consumption is always *vicarious* in Veblen's term–for another not for her. She provides tangible proof of her husband's wealth through her self-ornamentation and vicarious leisure.[203]

Given the increasing participation of women in workforce and weakening ideology of breadwinner men, feasibility of Veblen's analysis to a theory of

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[198] Mary L. Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 103 No. 3, (June 1998), pp.817-844, p. 818.

[199] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", pp. 817-818.

[200] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", p. 819. Veblen's analysis of the cultural dimension of consumption is explored to some extent in the first chapter of this thesis. His theoretical implications for a culturally-constructed consumption would not be repeated in this chapter. Rather, the implications of Veblen's analysis of women's relation to consumption will be explored.

[201] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 33.

[202] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 69, emphasis added.

[203] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", p. 819.

modern women's consumption is debatable. Moreover, Veblen's framework does not totally overlap with the current consuming practices and is not applicable to all parts of society since his conspicuous consumption is applicable to middle-to high classes. However, as Roberts points out; "his analysis of woman; as marked culturally both as commodity and consumer, raises some fascinating questions for historians."[204] As she writes:

> Why for instance are the acts of consumption gendered female in the cultural imaginary? *Why are women identified as the primary consumers of Western society?* And how men are imagined in their relation to commodities? Why has woman -as eroticized objects of desire-come to represent consumer culture? Why is this metaphor (as well as the female act of consumption) so thoroughly eroticized? Finally, what is the relationship, if any, between a woman's social role as consumer and her symbolic role as commodity? [205]

As Roberts points out, women are constructed as the primary consumers in modern society. This construction of women as consuming *class* seems to have got unequal attention from feminist scholars relative to the issue of commodification of women. While feminists rightly accuse the ideologies of beauty, media and pornography industries of commodifying women's bodies they seems to have overlooked the fact that middle-class women were at the same time incorporated primarily as consumers to modern society. It is aimed, in the rest of this chapter to find some insights to answer those questions Roberts posed in the quotation above. Social origins of the female consumer and how the women's social and symbolic relation to consumption changed historically will be explored.

By claiming that women are constructed as a consuming class we do not mean, of course, that women do not engage in production process or that men do not consume. Neither, a static meaning of female consumer is proposed. Rather, the point is made to the construction of the social identity *consumer* as a constitutive element of feminity in opposition to the construction of the social identity *producer* as a constitutive element of masculinity and reflections of these differentiated identities in cultural perceptions. Women are perceived as the

[204] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", p. 819.

[205] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", p. 819-820, emphasis added.

predominant consumers of the products of the economy. Bulk of the advertisements talks to, and makes use of, women. Women are presumed to have, and some *do* have, an obsessive habit of shopping and buying. It is aimed to gain insight to how women *come to be* associated with consumption with its historical, material, ideological and symbolic roots and repercussions.

The argument that women as the dominant consuming class was historically constructed also bears the claim that the process of this construction was not natural and inevitable despite the fact that it is frequently accompanied by a naturalizing ideology.

By the term *women* in the context of their consumptive behaviour we refer mainly to middle class women and mainly to Western women here. Given the mass production more and more goods are available at lower prices and thus accessible to lower classes. Also, a Western model of consuming behaviour is being and has been to some degree constructed in the Third World countries.[206] However, it is not still possible to talk about one homogenous group *women* that is exploited by patriarchy that crosses all class and ethnic differences. As Maria Mies tells; "there is not only the hierarchal divisions between the sexes, there are also other social and international divisions intrinsically interwoven with the dominance relation between men and women."[207] Therefore it is not possible to situate women's relation to consumption culture in one form given the cultural and class differences among women. Yet, as Costa points:

> Still despite variation from one society to the next and individual departures from social norms, some generalizations about human gender dichotomization are possible. In all societies there is gender differentiation and inequality is almost always inherent in the distinction. What is more, the men are superordinate and the

[206] Peter Stearns talks about the spread of modern consumerism to societies in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. He makes the caution that "consumerism did not spread evenly and uniformly" and that "there was not a single pattern." Nevertheless, he considers global extensions of consumerism as "the most successful Western influence in world history, more eagerly sought, for example than political democracy." Stearns, *Consumerism in World History*, pp. 73-74.

[207] Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, London: Zed Books, 1998, p. 1.

> women are subordinate within the unequal social order . . . Consumer behavior is one area in which the differences between men and women, and often hierarchical implications of those differences, are evident . . . [T]o be specific, *consumption is often gendered*.[208]

As Maria Mies suggests and successfully elaborates on, we must take international division of labor, and how it came to be what it is, into account and find out the relations between the progress of capitalist world economy and integration of women and other people as subordinates to this system. It then might "become possible to overcome the limited view of cultural relativism which claims that women are divided by culture worldwide… In fact we are both divided and connected by commodity relations" and "world market does indeed connect the remotest corners of the world."[209]

The rise of modern capitalism was not a *peaceful* progress; its rise as a world system, was based on large-scale conquest and colonial plunder and the emergence of the world-market.[210] The rise of the West was based on the exploitation and subordination of its women and conquest and colonization of other lands and people. For Mies, the primitive accumulation of Western capital and the rise of modern science and technology were connected to the persecution of witches, colonization, *housewifization* of European (and colonial) women and subordination of nature.[211]

During the craze for witch hunting which raged Europe from the twelfth century to seventeenth, continental Europeans executed between two hundred thousand and half a million presumed witches, virtually all of whom were women. It was one of the mechanisms to control and subordinate women. It was also a business "that fed the original process of capital accumulation, perhaps not to the extent as

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[208] Costa, "Introduction", *Gender Issues*, pp. 2-6.

[209] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, pp. 2-3.

[210] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York, San Francisco and London: Academic Press, 1974, pp. 66-132.

[211] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 77.

the plunder and robbery of the colonies, but certainly to a large extent than is known today".[212] It was a source of income for many; priests, lawyers, judges, councils, etc. and the property of witches were confiscated by the state and helped for recovering financial crises of the economy like financing wars, building infrastructure, etc.

The process of creating ritualistic imaginary enemies for the social and national order is not, contrary to common belief, a unique feature of totalitarian regimes but "nations as corporate entities are all searching for the same thing: the mythical enemy which stand in symbolic opposition to the collectivity as a whole". "Modern men also mingle and find them in moral combat with the mythical forces of the nature".[213] Such was the interest in accusation of women as witches and enemies against social order and fight for their *elimination.* It was systematic and against women, men executed as being witches are virtually absent. Jean Bodin and Francis Bacon, who were staunch defenders of rationality, were at the same time proponents of state-ordered massacres of witches. The interrogation of witches also provided the mode of new scientific method of extracting secrets from the Mother Nature.[214]

Hence, seen in terms of larger context;

> [T]he church, the state, the new capitalist class and modern scientists collaborated in the violent subjugation of women and nature. The weak Victorian women of nineteenth century were the products of the terror methods by which this class has moulded and shaped "female nature" according to its interests.[215]

[212] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation,* p. 87.

[213] Albert James Bergesen, "Political Witch Hunts: The Sacred and the Subversive in Cross-National Perspective", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 42 No. 2. (April 1977), pp. 220-233, p. 230.

[214] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation,* pp. 82-87.

[215] Ehrenreich (1979) cited in Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation,* p. 88.

The witch-hunting process in its systematic violence against *rebellious* women; "economically and sexually independent women", accompanied by the "tendency towards domestication and privatization certainly had a great impact on the creation of the new image of the *good woman*–a proper *housewife and mother*– in the centers of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[216] This *housewifization* of women in Europe, later also in America; "the creation of ideal of domesticated privatized woman concerned with *love* and consumption and dependent on a male *breadwinner*" was not a process unrelated to the colonization of the other parts of the world.[217] It is the thesis of Maria Mies that these two processes of colonization and housewifization are closely and causally interlinked such that;

> Without the ongoing exploitation of external colonies–formerly as direct colonies, today within the new international division of labour–the establishment of the 'internal' colony, that is, a nuclear family and a woman maintained by a male 'breadwinner', would not have been possible.[218]

Throughout history of the capitalist world-economy the search for new zones, new people and new resources has been the basic motive of capitalists since the beginning. This motive took different forms; colonization, imperialism and globalization, etc. The main concern of the colonizers was to manipulate the traditional systems in the colonies in order to make indigenous people work for themselves. This manipulation took different forms due to changing interests of the colonizers and conditions of the colonized regions. Mostly they rearranged ancient agricultural systems, destroyed the old irrigation systems and imposed taxes on people (e.g., in India) or introduced money usage and private property (in Africa). This manipulation also included speculating on differences between men and women. In the writings of colonizers one can find many passages that show how they were shocked by the different relation between men and women, and independence of women relative to their own culture.

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[216] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 81.

[217] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 103, emphasis original.

[218] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 110.

Burgese told:

> The Montagnais woman is far from being a drudge. Instead she is a respected member of the tribe whose worth is well appreciated and whose advice and counsel is listened to and, more often, accepted and acted upon by her husband.[219]

The equality of men and women had been considered as a sign of backwardness by the colonizers and "to destroy independence of colonized women, and to teach colonized men the *virtues* of sexism and militarism were parts of their *civilization process.*"[220] Mr. Hall on Cuban planters, for instance, told:

> With her power of independence will disappear her free will and her influence. When she is dependent on her husband she can no longer dictate to him. When he feeds her, she is not longer able to make her voice as loud as his is . . . The nations who succeed are not feminine nations but the masculine . . . It has never been good for women to be too independent, it has robbed them of many virtues. It improves a man to have to work for his wife and family, it makes a man of him. [221]

The colonizers brought with them a set of notions about the proper place for women, enforcement of which deteriorated women's positions considerably. They, to a large extent, destroyed local industries which were mostly in the hands of women, took women's economic independence and later changed marriage and inheritance laws. They tried to enforce European middle-class model of monogamous marriage and nuclear family to the native people of colonized regions.

Of course, these policies of colonizers were not homogenous; it changed from colony to colony and from time to time. However they were basically motivated by capitalist cost-profit calculations. Nor were these policies enforced without resistance of the natives. Therefore the changes in the relations between the sexes,

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[219] Burgesse (1944) quoted by Eleanor Leacock, "Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program for Colonization" in Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (eds.), *Women and Colonization*, New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1980, pp.25- 42, p. 39.

[220] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 93, emphasis original.

[221] G. M. Hall's (*A Nation at School*; 266) quoted by Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 94.

marriage and family patterns in the colonies did not take place straightforwardly. Colonizers tried to create gender division of labour in Africa while they widened and transformed the existing one in India.[222] Wives of colonizers were shown as a model of civilized women to native women in colonies. They modeled how to dress, how to obey their husbands and how to consume European goods. [223] Europeans trained only men for working with tools of mechanized agriculture whereas women were educated only for being housewives. This caused increase in the agricultural productivity of men producing cash crops. Since men produced cash crops and earned wage they could enlarge their farms or look for other jobs while the status of women relegated to unpaid laborers on their husband's lands and they are alienated from their products.

The policies applied by colonizers in order to change sexual division of labour, marriage and inheritance patterns can be diversified with examples from other colonies.[224] Given the cultural and regional differences, one might still make the generalization that the European intervention in the colonies that is motivated by material gains deteriorated the lives of natives in general; and made women's lives in colonies even worse; subordinating women to men of their culture and to other men, creating gender inequality if it did not exist or widening and manipulating the existing ones.

As, Mies argues, there was an *other side of the story* of European colonization; the creation of women first in Europe, and later in the USA, as consumers and demonstrators of luxury and wealth and at a later stage as housewives. The violent subordination of European women during the witch persecution and of African, American and South American women during the colonizing process, *the putting*

[222] This is an unpublished claim of Sheila Pelizzon from her lecture notes of "Women in the World- Economy" course.

[223] Jean and John L. Comaroff, "The Colonization of Consciousness in South Africa" *Economy and Society*, Vol. 18 No.3 (August 1989), pp. 267-295.

[224] The book *Women and Colonization* edited by Etienne and Leacock gives a valuable collection of women's experiences from various colonies. Irene Silverblatt (1980), for instance, looks at the situation of Andean women under Spanish rule and Christine Ward Gailey (1980) explores the deteriorating position of Tongan women under British rule.

down to nature of women of the colonies and *rising* to the status of ladies of European women were facets of a intrinsically and causally linked process within the patriarchal-capitalist mode of production.[225] This other side, the construction of the feminine sphere of consumption in European context and later widening of this to an international context is explored in the following sections.

3.3.1 Construction of Household as a Feminine Sphere of Consumption

While the Big White Men appropriated land, natural resources and people of the colonies, while they disrupted all social relations created by the local people, they began to build up in the fatherlands the patriarchal nuclear family, that is, the monogamous nuclear family as we know it today.[226] The aristocratic model of family based on the cohabitation of spouses and reservation of the household for consumptive (leisure) purposes gradually diffused to rising bourgeoisie.

The acts of consumption and relation of consumption to gender acquired entirely new meanings during the transition from aristocratic to bourgeois society. Whether these qualitative and quantitative changes in material life of Europe and the speed of this change deserve the label of *consumer revolution* is a debate among historians of consumption that has not yet been resolved. What is agreed upon is the fact that the conditions of material life, how the goods are produced, distributed and finally consumed has changed. As it is elaborated in the first chapter, separation between production and consumption took place and this separation has close ties with the development of capitalist mode of production. Production and consumption changed character; the former was, now, being done for market exchange in a capitalist system where it had been being generally for subsistence needs in the old regime. Whereas people produced goods of consumption by household production in the old system they began to acquire these goods from the market. The separation of production from consumption also meant the separation of the place where things are produced, that is workshop,

[225] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, pp. 95-101.

[226] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, pp. 103-104.

from the space where things are consumed which is household, a separation that also has connation with the *productive* public versus *consumptive* private domain dichotomization.

Moreover, modern household was no longer a place of production but one of consumption associated with the female member of the family–*Mrs. Consumer.* However, it is claimed here that these changes in consumption and its relation to gender were not rapid and straightforward. Neither were there anything about modern family attitudes towards consumption, least of all the gender-based division of labour between Mr. Breadwinner and Mrs. Consumer, that have come naturally to what they are.[227] Fırat tells that, the existence of a close relationship between consumption and gender goes without saying yet; historical foundations of this relationship have not been systematically studied.[228] This study tries to make a preliminary attempt to study historical foundations of this relationship between consumption and gender and how it evolved through time.

3.3.1.1 Housewifization in the West: From Luxurious Ladies to Mrs. Consumer

Under the *ancién regime*, society was organized by orders as well as by classes; "princely rule apportioned goods according to age-old hierarchies, and religious symbolism offered a central axis of meaning."[229] Rigid nineteenth-century notions of the suitability and naturalness of *separate spheres* had not yet taken hold, and new models of domestic womanhood were just beginning to form the values of the upper and middle classes.[230]

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[227] Victoria de Grazia, "Introduction to Part II : Establishing the Modern Consumer Household", in Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, Berkeley, L.A. and London: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 151-161, p. 152.

[228] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption: Transcending the Feminine", p. 205.

[229] Victoria de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I: Changing Consumer Regimes" in *Sex of Things*, pp. 11-24, p. 11.

[230] Jennifer Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*: Women Buying and Selling in Ancien Régime Paris," in *Sex of Things*, pp. 25-53, p. 26.

In the Old Regime, "fluctuations in the meaning, style, and quantity of material culture were discussed in terms of luxury, a term usually associated with effeminate men or lustful women."[231] De Grazia points to the fact that; when consumption is the central axis of analysis, the conspicuousness of the female figure, in contrast to her real powerlessness, has resulted in a kind of overtheorization, whereas when matters of public space are analyzed, like in political theory, the role of women is generally undertheorized.[232]

Luxury is generally associated with women in cultural imaginary when it is criticized. For instance in terms of economic and cultural disorder it was generally women, especially court ladies who were blamed for their excessive spending in luxurious items. Moreover, it was always women that were characterized as being seduced by commodities. Although writers on luxury always "remarked that there were many vain and frivolous men, they rarely portrayed men as irrational consumers, seduced by trinkets and gloss, as they did women."[233]

In *Luxury and Capitalism*, Werner Sombart has advanced the thesis that the courtesans and cocottes who were the illegitimate lovers of princes and kings created the demand, the *need*, for luxury goods, the trade of which gave impetus to capitalism. Women, although in reality excluded from the realm of power, their power in decisions related to luxurious spending, due to their love relations with princes and kings, had an important role in the historical formation of capitalism.

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[231] de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I", p. 13.
[232] de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I", p. 19.

[233] Jennifer Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*, p. 35. Besides this *irrelevance* of men to consumption, sometimes their disdain for luxury and their *inconspicuous consumption* are praised. For instance, David Kutcha shows that Englishmen's clothing in eighteenth and nineteenth century was driven increasingly by inconspicuous form of consumption, characterized by modesty and simplicity, such that the era was labeled as "great masculine renunciation" by clothing historians. David Kutcha, "The Making of the Self-Made Man: Class, Clothing and English Masculinity, 1688-1832" in *Sex of Things*, pp. 54-78.

To quote Sombart, "luxury, itself a legitimate child of illicit love . . . gave birth to capitalism".[234]

Sombart gives us a detailed account of the development and items of luxury consumption at the Italian, French and English courts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, he is particularly interested in the role of courtesans in the rise and development of luxury what he calls "the triumph of women."[235] In his words:

> Having thus established beyond any doubt that excessive luxury was the characteristic of the period we are concerned with here, we shall proceed to determine how the demand for luxuries is related to the social factors considered in the preceding chapters. *More particularly-and this is the fundamental thesis of the present inquiry-we must ascertain the extent to which women, especially women as objects of illicit love, have influenced the life pattern of our age* . . . But I should like to show even more clearly *the intimate relation between the development of luxury during that period and the supremacy of the courtesan* . . . [236]

Sombart denies a Veblenesque understanding of the motive behind luxurious consumption. According to him, to say luxurious spending is based on one's motive of distinction from lower classes and reputation among own class, there must be a prior condition; existence of luxury in the first instance which serves as a means to satisfy this motive of distinction.[237] For Sombart, the motive of distinction cannot be sufficient to understand the reason why there is luxury; it can be only one aim among others that is empowered by the rise of luxury. He, instead, attaches the birth of luxury (the legitimate child of illicit love) to *secularization of love*. Behind the development of luxury according to Sombart, there was a sexual economy powered by the secularization of love, which starting in the Middle Ages, eventually freed the cosmic love instinct from the rule of church and marriage. [238]

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[234] Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, p. 171.

[235] Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, p. 94.

[236] Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, pp. 63, 94.

[237] Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, p. 61, emphasis added.

[238] de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I", p. 20.

"The emancipation of flesh, gradually gave way to an epoch of natural sensuality, followed by a certain refinement, then debauchery, finally perversion."[239] The development of luxury is based on this new meaning attached to bodily appetites.

Coming back to the relation of women to luxury; according to Sombart it was the domain of women who dominated the changes in style, fashion and spending of luxury items. Bourgeois women tried to emulate these aristocratic women. Sombart seems to hold the view that women's interest in luxury stems from their innate *gifts* of taste and style and their addiction to luxury. Moreover, he attaches the new trends in luxury (developments of domestication, objectification, sensualization, refinement and increased frequency) to peculiar characteristics of women. He therefore takes luxury as a gendered act, yet, the gendered attitudes towards luxury stems from the natural make-up of women, not from historical and cultural processes that construct women's attitude towards luxury and the category of luxury itself as such. For Sombart, women stayed the same; always interested in luxury, but luxury changed with time to comply with women's interests. He tells:

> *Domestication* . . . After the seventeenth century luxury became an affair of the home; women began to draw it within the confines of the domestic sphere… *Objectification* . . . It was again women who were the guiding spirit in the movement toward objectification as I wish to term this process. She could derive only scant satisfaction from the display of a resplendent retinue. Rich dresses, comfortable houses, precious jewels were more tangible. *Sensualization and Refinement*… This tendency went hand in hand with the tendency toward objectification and was advanced with remarkable energy by women . . . Every work of art and every object of the artcrafts of that period reflected and glorified the triumphant female . . . *Increased Frequency of Luxury* . . . Finally, when woman seized the reins of the world, the rate of producing the means for satisfying luxury demands was still further accelerated. Woman has little patience; a man in love has none. [240]

Women seized the reins of the world? It is hard to agree with Sombart. For Sombart, it was the *power* of the female that stimulated luxury. But Sombart accords this power to women ignoring that it was a power not to buy for herself; instead but power to manipulate men to buy for her. Women's (courtesan's)

[239] Sombart (1967: 48, 50,171) cited in de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I", p. 20.

[240] Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, pp. 94-97.

access to luxury was indirect; through the channel of men. They had to attract rich men and make him love her in order to make him spend for her. We can talk about *influence* rather than *power* in this case.[241] Maria Mies tells that feminists will not agree with Sombart:

> [W]ho attributes this development of luxury . . . to the great courtesans with their great vanity, their addiction for luxurious clothes, houses, furniture, food, cosmetics. Even if men of these classes preferred to demonstrate their wealth by spending on their women and turning them into showpieces of their accumulated wealth, it would again mean to make women the villains of the piece. Would it not amount to saying that it was not the men-who wielded economic and political power- who were the historical 'subjects' (in the Marxist sense), but the women, as the real power behind the scenes who pulled the strings and set the tune according to which the mighty men danced?[242]

Veblen, contrary to Sombart, sees women's association with luxury as a sign of their real powerlessness. For Veblen, the luxurious consumption of middle and upper-class women is reminiscent and a new form of their earlier servitude. In other words, Sombart seems to speak about a female agency, whereas Veblen seems to argue for a female complicity.[243] Women, as one of the ornaments of the house, demonstrated the wealth of the male master. This consumption of women is vicarious since they consume not for themselves but for the respect and honor of her husband (master). According to Veblen;

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[241] "Women's sphere was influence not power". Jennifer Scanlon believed that this was the vision of Joseph Hale, the editor of *Ladies Home Journal* in 1928, who believed that women were moral beings who could influence men around them to improve society. Jennifer Scanlon, Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender and the Promises of Consumer Culture*, New York and London: Routledge, 1995, p. 2. This belief that women's sphere is influence rather than power is very much supported in our culture. Women are told that they are better to kindly convince men around them in order to do what they want rather than making explicit claims for "rights to choose" on their own behalf. Women are told not to appear too powerful to men but rather do what they wished secretly and indirectly.

[242] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 101.

[243] de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I", p. 20. For de Grazia, in reality, Veblen was a "deeply committed feminist who regarded female conspicuous consumption as an unfree activity." Veblen's seeing women relation to conspicuous consumption as relation of complicity, is a reading of the modern situation of women from a perspective that considers power relations and unequal sexual division of labor in the society. For this reason Veblen's analysis is a valuable source for a feminist analysis of consumption, yet Brown claims that Veblen's reflections have attracted very little attention from woman's movement. Stephen Brown, "The Laugh of the Marketing Medusa: Men are from Marx, Women are from Veblen" in Miriam Catterall et al. (ed.), *Marketing and Feminism: Current Issues and Research*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 129-142, p. 137.

> The wife who was at the outset the drudge and chattel of the man, both in fact and in theory- the producer of goods for him to consume- has become the ceremonial consumer of the goods he produces. But still quite unmistakably remains his chattel in theory; for the habitual rendering of the vicarious leisure and consumption is the abiding mark of the unfree servant.[244]

Women in modern societies are like slaves in *golden* cages and the magnificence of their cages obscures and legitimatizes their deprivation from political and economic power. The fact that women are not permitted menial tasks and confirmation of their status as objects of display by female fashions (bodices, bustles), patterns of behaviour (needlepoint, good works) and physical appearance (petite, pretty) are evidences of the barbarian status of women according to Veblen.[245] For a better understanding of women's relation with luxury and consumption one should look at the link between women's association with consumption and their simultaneous alienation from the realm of political and economic power.

Jeniffer Jones provides such an analysis of the link between French women's relation to consumption and their alienation from power. In her study of Old Regime Paris on the eve of the French Revolution, she explores the cultural connections between women and consumerism. She studies the underpinnings of the cultural anxiety towards female *marchande de modes* (top retailers in the fashion industry) exemplified in the censure towards the dressmaker of Marie Antoinette, Rose Bertin. This assault on Bertin, according to Jones, represents anxiety on the "rising commercial preeminence of women both as retailers and consumers". The act of retail buying traditionally meant a male consumer and a female merchant, whereas towards the end of the eighteenth century, contemporaries began to observe an increasing volume of female shoppers in the streets of Paris. This was a disturbing phenomenon for them. The critics of this new shopping culture were troubled by this culture of shopping developing in the

[244] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 69.

[245] Brown, "The Laugh of the Marketing Medusa", p. 137.

luxury districts of Paris, "a culture in which women played prominent roles as both merchants and shoppers." [246]

These critics were worrying about the fact that "women of all ages and conditions"[247] rushing to the shops especially those shops run by women, the *marchandes de modes*. These were the times when "women who flocked to the fashionable boutiques of Paris were being seduced not by male advertisers, male merchants or male-dominated corporations, but by women". It was believed that; "in the realm of commerce, as in the realm of politics, when women ruled women disorder, chaos, and folly inevitably reigned."[248] This cultural anxiety towards women's rule in determining fashion and preferences of other women of all classes had caused an attack on women fashion makers and women became linked to consumption in a new way, not as rulers but ruled. Certain suppositions about women's relationship to commodities and luxury were rearranged. Because of the "liveliness, yet passivity of women's sense of sight and imagination" women were considered as naturally vulnerable to be seduced by beautiful yet frivolous commodities.[249] "In this way, women's so-called new interest in luxury good was *naturalized,* that is seen an inevitable part of their psychology."[250] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for instance, wrote in 1762 that "from childhood onward, little girls love everything visual, mirrors, jewels, cloth."[251]

When luxury began to be considered productive and associated with women, the relation of women with luxury and commodities also changed. As long as women's natural propensity to consume luxuriously can be channeled into domesticity it can be beneficial to the economy rather than being harmful. Jones

[246] Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*", pp. 26-27.

[247] Dessertas (1785:87) cited in Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*", p. 27.

[248] Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*", p. 28.

[249] Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*", p. 36.

[250] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture", p. 822.

[251] Jean- Jacques Rousseau, *Émile (*1961) cited in Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*", p. 36.

tells these changing attitudes towards women's consumption very eloquently that it deserves quoting at length:

> Alongside the traditional model, which held that the temptation to consume luxury goods derived from human sin and lax morality, arose a new model, which attributed the attraction of women to luxury goods to their specifically female psychology and attributed a new importance to the role of commodities themselves in the process of seduction and the creation of desire . . . In the second half of the eighteenth century fears that ostentatious and luxurious dress would cause social confusion were still rampant, but they were aggravated by new fears that excessive consumption would threaten women's natural feminity and ordering of relations between the sexes . . . In the course of the eighteenth century a range of commentators, from Physiocrats and preachers to fashion magazine editors, helped *shape new attitudes toward fashion and consumption in the process of redefining women's relationship to commercial culture* . . . By the eighteenth century, this new conception of the connection between women and fashion naturalized women's interest in clothing: the frenzy for fashions was no longer considered a pathological condition harmful to the general health of the society, but rather a natural aspect of feminity, necessary for marital harmony. The only remaining concern, given the female consumer's attraction to novelty and natural frivolity, was to insure that *women's consumer desires be channeled into sweet pleasures of domesticity* rather than the dangerous pastime of coquetry.[252]

This anxiety towards women's controlling the preferences of the other women resulted in denigration of women's role in late eighteenth century, from fashion makers and shop owners to those of sewers and workers in textile industry.

The end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of what is today labeled as consumerism. With mechanism of mass production and improvements in transportation, items that were considered luxurious due to their scarcity were produced in greater amounts and in less expensive ways, thus became affordable by lower classes. Also, more and more goods than necessary and more types than before were offered for sale. Therefore a need for greater markets and changes in tastes to desire these new products became necessary. A larger amount of potential and stable consumers should be guaranteed and new desires should be invented for the interests of capitalists. As Ewen argues:

[252] Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*", pp. 36-38, emphasis added.

> As capitalism became characterized by mass production and the subsequent need for mass distribution, traditional expedients for the real or attempted manipulation of labor were transformed. While the nineteenth-century industrialist coerced labor (both on and off the job) serve as the "wheelhorse" of the industry, modernizing capitalism sought to change "wheelhorse" of the industry to "worker" and "worker" to consumer. [253]

Therefore there was a need to manufacture consumers as well as products. The worker can fulfill (made to fulfill) this need; s/he can run the machines of capitalists by both hands: both as producing commodities with a surplus and consuming them. For Lasch:

> In the early days of industrial capitalism, employers saw the working man as no more than a beast of burden… Only a handful of employers at this time understood that the worker might be useful to the capitalist as consumer; that he needed to be imbued with a taste for higher things; that an economy based on mass production required not only the capitalistic organization of production but the organization of consumption and leisure as well… In a simpler time, advertising merely called attention to the product and extolled its advantages. Now it manufactures a product of its own: the consumer, perpetually unsatisfied, restless, anxious and bored. Advertising serves not so much to advertise products as to promote consumption as a way of life.[254]

Similarly Galbraith observes: "as a society becomes increasingly affluent, wants are increasingly created by the process by which they are satisfied".[255]

This society, also witnessed the sexual division of labour around acts of consumption and production. Many commentators of feminization of consumption have attached the creation of Ms. Consumer and Mr. Breadwinner to the notion of separate spheres; private versus public spheres. Public sphere is associated with production and men whereas private sphere was associated with women and consumption.

De Grazia points to the fact that the propensity to feminize the realm of consumption arising in the early stages of capitalist accumulation was reinforced

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[253] Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976, p. 26.

[254] Lasch (1979:135-7) cited in Fine, *The World of Consumption*, pp. 168-169.

[255] John K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958, p. 158.

by two other structural changes that became visible in the course of the nineteenth century:

> The first was the division of labour in the work process, and the simultaneous identification of wage labor with male labor . . . The second change was the advent of liberal politics and public space. This change was premised on a reconceptualization of needs. In particular, it involved distinguishing those needs that were defined as irrational, superfluous or so impassioned that they overloaded the political system from those that were rationally articulated and cast in terms appropriate to being represented and acted on through normal political processes. The former, not unexpectedly, tended to be identified by the female population, who by and large were excluded from electoral representation, whereas the latter were identified with enfranchised males.[256]

Fırat argues that without these separations of home and workplace, public and private, work and recreation, masculine and feminine, market is only a location where trade or barter takes place. "The market, conceptualized as the population of actual and potential customers, consumer units (individuals, households, organizations, and so on) can make sense only given these separations."[257]

Many of the products produced in the public domain were originally, products that are associated with household activities, such that the consumer in the private domain no longer has to create them but buy them in the market. Now the activity at home has become not largely one of creating consumables, but one of *consuming* them. Yet, this "transfer of labor power from home to the public domain did not mean that people (women who occupied the private domain) were always transferred from the private to public domain."[258] The creative labor of women at home was substituted by the productive labor of men in the public domain. Therefore, as they used more and more products produced for the market in the public domain, women and children who initially served as cheap labor in the Industrial Revolution returned home as *pure* consumers.[259] The actual history

[256] de Grazia, "Introduction to Part I", p. 15.

[257] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption", p. 211.

[258] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption", p. 212.

[259] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption", p. 212, emphasis original.

of this transformation is of course much more complex with class, ethnic differences and regional variations that deserve further exploration.

In the shift to consumer capitalism, the modern commerce engages a double enterprise: on the one hand, a process of rationalization: the transformation of selling into industry and on the other hand, the transformation of the industry into shopwindow.[260] Department stores appeared as one of the outstanding institutions in the economic and social life of the late nineteenth century, and "together with advertising which was also expanding rapidly, they marked the beginning of present-day consumer society."[261]

The new department store was marked by increasing variety of items, new techniques of *fixed-price* labeling and commodity displays. This change in the institution of sale was motivated by the shift in the concerns of the industry from production to selling in late nineteenth century. The department stores are organized like factories, with large number of workers, shareholding companies and accompanying standardization. Also, the transformation of the merchandise into spectacle made *just looking* an industry. "People can now come and go, to look and dream, perchance to buy, and shopping became a new bourgeois activity-a way of pleasantly passing the time, like going to a play or visiting a museum."[262]

However, this activity of shopping in its new form has been constructed and shaped as an activity predominantly exercised by middle-class women. Bowlby observes:

> As the proportion and volume of goods sold in stores than produced in the home increased, *it was women, rather than men, who tended to have the job of purchasing*

[260] Bowlby, *Just Looking*, p. 6.

[261] Bowlby, *Just Looking*, p. 3. Bowlby dates the emergence of department store in London virtually to the same moment as the First Exhibition in London in 1852, "when Aristide Boucicaut took over the Bon Marché".

[262] Bowlby, *Just Looking*, p. 4.

> *them*. Even though, particularly in the United States, large numbers of women themselves beginning to enter the industrial wage-earning force, they also performed the services of housework and shopping for the home. More significantly still, middle- and upper-class ladies were occupied with the beautification of both their homes and their own persons. The superfluous, frivolous association of some of the new commodities and the establishment of convenient stores that were both enticing and respectable made, *shopping itself a new feminine leisure activity.* [263]

The studies of rising department stores frequently mentioned that, the owners and advertising agencies of these stores perceived that their potential customers were predominantly women.[264] Department stores were presented as a new opportunity for female pleasure and *freedom.* Shopping has long been associated with women, but the meaning of this activity was by no means stable. For much of the Victorian area, shopping had been often denigrated as wasteful, immoral and possibly disorderly female pleasure.[265] Department stores in accordance with advertising agencies and magazines tried to turn these previous disorder and immorality implications of excessive shopping into pleasures. As Rappaport tells:

> Department stores were not the only place where women shopped, nor were they the only institution that encouraged women to participate in [West End] commercial culture. Since the 1860s, restaurants, hotels, the theater, museums, exhibitions, women's clubs, guidebooks, and magazines has fostered an image of the West End of London as a place of commercial enjoyment and female exploration. The expansion of public transport, the advent of cheap press, increasing economic opportunities for middle-class and working-class women, and shifting notions about class, gender, and the economy had produced a "new era of shopping."[266]

These influential institutions of new consumer culture; department stores, women's magazines and advertisements invited women to "look, dream and

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[263] Bowlby, Just Looking, p. 19, emphasis added.

[264] For a broader discussion of this relation between women and department stores, see Erika Rappaport, "The West England and Women's Pleasure: Gender and Commercial Culture in London, 1860-1914" (Ph.D Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1993), William Reach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890- 1914," *Journal of American History 71* (September 1984), pp. 319-342, Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores,1890-1940*, Urbana: University of Illinois Pres, 1986.

[265] Erika D. Rappaport, "A New Era of Shopping: The Promotion of Women's Pleasure in London's West End, 1909-1914" in Jennifer Scanlon (ed.), *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader,* New York and London: New York University Press, pp.30-47, pp.30-31.

[266] Rappaport, "A New Era of Shopping", p. 31.

purchase", and educated people, particularly women, to spend their money and leisure in a "thrifty and modern manner."[267] These institutions encouraged women to incorporate themselves into the new social landscape as consumers and helped naturalizing women's link to marketplace through consumption.[268] The female was the ideal consumer in Western culture; she went shopping while her husband worked.[269]

Popular women magazines of the early twentieth century like *Ladies Home Journal* mainly addressed white, middle-class women. These magazines considered home as natural consumer unit, and housewife as the natural consumer.[270] The ideology that true place for a woman was her home was dominant in fiction, advice and advertising pages of the magazines. Household activities like cooking, cleaning and child-rearing and products consumed during these activities virtually always associated with women. These are perceived as *duties* of women and products are said to decrease women's burden and marketed in a manner as if they *freed* women from household duties. Instead of a more realistic freedom appeal like collectivizing these household activities, they promoted entries of new goods and appliances in each household in accordance with interest of ad-giving firms. The really important role that women served as housewives, for these women's magazines, was to *buy more things for the house*, although it is never pronounced explicitly.[271]

Moreover, looking at the ads of the 1920s in America one can see how the feminist demand for equality and freedom for women was appropriated into the jargon of consumerism.[272] Classic examples of "commercialized feminism" were

[267] Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 12.

[268] Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 13.

[269] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption", p. 210.

[270] Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 13.

[271] Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, p. 206 emphasis original.

[272] Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness*, p. 160.

marketing of cigarettes and automobiles to women as symbols of freedom.[273] The notion of freedom was associated with freedom of choice in the ideology of the larger consumer culture. However, this notion of choice was often illusory as the magazines "promoted fairly limited roles for women and often ignored and dismissed many of the choices real women faced."[274] The choice of the ideal women was between one brand of soap or other.[275] Therefore, a subtler process was developing and perpetuating in the association of women with consumption. They were being kept out of the political space and deprived of personal autonomy.[276]

3.3.1.2 Housewifization International[277]

Maria Mies tells that the creation of housework and housewife as an agent of consumption became a very important strategy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[278] The bourgeois housewife created new needs and became an important agent of consumption, fueling new demand and capitalist development. The ideology of housewifization also spread to proletarian women. The proletarian women had to be housewifed too by the development of capitalism under conditions of patriarchy.[279]

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[273] Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness*, p. 160.

[274] Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 4.

[275] Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 4.

[276] Backlash

[277] This heading is taken from Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 112.

[278] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 106.

[279] For the effects of industrial and commercial revolution on the European working women from sixteenth through the early twentieth century, see Katrina Honeyman and Jordan Goodman, "Women's Work, Gender Conflict, and Labour Markets in Europe, 1500-1900", *Economic History Review*, Vol. XLIV No.4 (1991), pp. 608-628 and Merry E. Wiesner, "Women's Work in the Changing City Economy, 1500-1600", in Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert (eds.) *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, pp. 64-74. Both studies demonstrated that both economic and ideological factors combined to confine women to low-paid, low-status jobs and put emphasis on women's domestic role. These studies also show that conflicts in the workplace created by industrial capitalism also had another dimension that it also caused a conflict between working women and men that is partly determined

The course of post-Second World War saw the rise of a new international division of labor (IDL). Under old IDL raw materials were produced in the colonies or ex-colonies and than transported to industrialized countries where they were transformed into industrial products. New IDL is based on the relocation of production units from developed countries to developing or underdeveloped regions where labor costs are cheaper.[280] One of the consequences of this new IDL is the division of production and consumption by the world market to an unprecedented degree such that; "developing countries increasingly become areas of production of consumer goods for rich countries, whereas rich countries increasingly become areas of consumption only."[281] This strategy of new IDL goes alongside with a sexual international division of labor in which women are defined as housewives and men as wage-laborers. Western women are constructed mainly as consumers and women in Third World countries mainly as producers. Women and children formed the greater part of workers in multinational companies since they are unorganized, easily exploited and thus accept working at low wages. This international sexual division of labor was based on the universalization of the ideology of housewife and nuclear family as signs of process and legitimate policies of modernization. As Mies claims, by universalization of housewifization it is possible to define all the work women do as *supplementary* work, her income as *supplementary* income to that of the so-called 'breadwinner', the husband.[282] This definition of Third World women not as workers but as housewives earning supplementary income serves for reducing labor costs, isolating women workers and preventing their unionization. International capital also gains from the unpaid domestic work of women since

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by patriarchal forces. Therefore the effects of changes in the organization of production changed working men's and women's lives in different ways.

[280] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, pp. 114-115.

[281] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 114.

[282] Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*, p. 118 emphasis original.

the costs of growing future labor force and preserving existing ones through their nutricience and care are burdened by housework done *voluntarily* by women. [283]

Mies' analysis of new IDL and universalization of housewifization emphasizes on construction of Western women mainly as consumers and women in developing and underdeveloped regions mainly as producers. But, it is our contention that women in underdeveloped regions are increasingly constructed also as consumers. Globalization of advertising industry, new product chains and universal organization of 'private' sphere of home along the Western patriarchal model defined women in developing and underdeveloped countries not only as workers but increasingly as consumers.[284] Ideology of modern household management accompanied by marketing and advertising strategies of multinational food, pharmaceutical, cosmetics and garment industries with their new definitions on cleanliness, beauty and fashion construct Third World women as consumers along the Western consumption norms. Moreover, the patterns of working and consuming situations of all women can not be wholly understood only by the comparison of Western and non-Western women. Other than this grand separation, there are internal racial, ethnic and class differences among Western women, and sub-peripheral consumer cultures within the peripheries.

[283] Wallerstein and Smith also point to functioning of household-as an institution of world-economy- for socializing workforce and as an income-pooling unit. Immanuel Wallerstein and Joan Smith, "Household as an Institution of the World-Economy" in Immanuel Wallerstein (ed.), *The Essential Wallerstein*, New York: New Press, 2000, pp. 234-252.

[284] Wright and Kelemen explore the influence of advertising in creating Westernized female consumer in Malaysia and Romania whereas Venkatesh explores how print ads in India displayed female consumer having a combination of traditional and modern values. Len Tui Wright and Mihaela Kelemen, "The Cultural Context of Advertising to Women Consumers: The Examples of Malaysia and Romania" in Catterall et al. (ed.), *Marketing and Feminism*,2000, pp. 143-159 and Alladi Venkatesh, "Gender Identity in the Indian Context: A Sociocultural Construction of the Female Consumer, in Costa (ed.), *Gender Issues*, pp. 42-62. India. We will be concerned with the Turkish case in the next chapter.

3.4 Woman's Social Role as Consumer and Her Symbolic role as Commodity

The late nineteenth-century European history did not witness only the rise of mass consumerism and integration of women as primary consuming class into this rising commercial world, but also the marketing of women as a commodity itself.[285] Solomon-Godeau in her article *The Other Side of the Venus* historicizes the image of woman-as-commodity and the relationship it posits between consumption and female-centered erotic desire.[286] For her, "the nineteenth-century women-as-commodity is the repressed, fantasy version of the eighteenth-century woman-as-consumer."[287]

Guy Debord in *The Society of the Spectacle* has characterized the present-day experience of the consumer society and commodified culture in terms of spectacle. He argues that; "the whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail, presents itself as an *immense accumulation of spectacles*."[288] Marx wrote a century ago, that the society was characterized by an *immense accumulation of commodities* where the social relations of production appeared as objective relations between commodities. Debord traces the development of a modern society in which "all that was once directly lived has

[285] Luce Irigaray presents a powerful critique of this market place economy in an article entitled "Women on the Market" in *This Sex Which is Not One*, (trans., Catherine Porter and Caroline Burke), Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985, pp. 170-191. In such an economy, Irigaray tells, women function as objects of exchange between men for the purposes of sex and reproduction. Their status and subjectivity are defined through their relationship with men. She tells: "the society we know, our own culture is based on the exchange of women . . . The economy- in both the narrow and the broad sense- that is in place in our societies thus requires that women lend themselves to alienation in consumption, and to exchanges in which they do not participate, and that men exempt from being used and circulated like commodities... The circulation of women among men is what establishes the operation of society, at least of patriarchal society, pp. 170-184.

[286] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display" in *Sex of Things*, pp. 113-150.

[287] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture", p. 827.

[288] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, (trans., Donald Nicholson-Smith), New York: Zone Books, 1995, p. 12.

become mere representation."[289] This condition in which authentic social life has been replaced with its image is, according to Debord, the historical moment at which the commodity completes its colonization of social life.[290] Commodity's colonization of social life which Marx analyzed in his theory of commodity fetishism has been completed by transformation of social relations into mere representations. "The spectacle is not a collection of images", Debord writes, "rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images."[291]

For Richards, this establishment of commodity as a spectacle began with the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. What was striking about the Great Exhibition was the use of the commodity as a semiotic medium, as a spectacle.[292] Most probably what was peculiar to this evolving commodity culture was not commodity's bearing symbolic meaning. As anthropological studies of *primitive* societies demonstrate; goods in these societies were used as social markers and that in all societies it is the relation between use and symbol that provides the concrete context for the playing out of the universal person-object relation.[293] What was new about this new commodity form was its *display*: the reconstitution of the commodity as spectacle –the *visual consumption* of goods. Display does not mean that commodities were simply shown. Rather, as Williams points, the purpose of all exhibition was to teach a lesson of all things.[294] Exhibitions, department stores with their transparent windows, and "subsequently the spectacularizing impact of advertising reconstituted the commodity as spectacle."[295]

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[289] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, p. 12.

[290] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, p. 29.

[291] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, p. 12.

[292] Thomas Richards (1990: 66) cited in Jon Stratton, *The Desirable Body: Cultural Fetishism and the Erotics of Consumption*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996, p. 29.

[293] Shally, *Advertising*, p. 4.

[294] Rosalind Williams (1982: 59) cited in Stratton, *The Desirable Body*, p. 28.

[295] Stratton, *The Desirable Body*, p. 29.

However, in other circumstances, spectacularization was capable of commodifying things which, previously, had not been commodities.[296] Commodities like, erotic female nudes, were made to be looked at, desired and consumed.[297] This very spectacularity is the common denominator of commodity and women-as-image (the fetishised form of feminity). They are mutually fetishised and specularised such that their *-to be looked-at-ness* is marketed.[298] In other words, while women were invited to consume more, specific guidance of this consumption towards articles related to women's appearance made women themselves commodities. Women were simultaneously constructed as consumers and commodities. This does not necessarily have to be actualized in a single women's practice such that she both consumes and herself becomes commodified. The construction of women as consumers is predominantly applicable for middle and upper classes women. But the transformation of women's appearance into commodity is about cultural construction of feminity and thus involves all women.

3.4.1 The 'Male Gaze' and 'Beauty Myth' [299]

Capitalism is as much a semiotic as an economic system. Therefore, the cultural forms of commodities and how the growing emphasis on consumer activity in European society found visual representation in areas of cultural life need to be

[296] Stratton, *The Desirable Body*, p. 29.

[297] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture", p. 829. This correspondence between the commodity and the woman-as-image- their mutually fetishised, specularized natures, Solomon-Godeau thinks, resulted in "heightened visibility of women" under the guise of erotic display in nineteenth-century France. Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus", p. 144.

[298] To be looked-at-ness is a term Mulvey used for the representation of women in Hollywood cinema; Hollywood female characters of the 1950s and 60s were, according to Mulvey, coded with "to-be-looked-at-ness." Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", *Screen*, Vol. 16 No. 3, 1975, pp. 6-18.

[299] The concept of gaze as a symptom of power asymmetry between the sexes is another term hypothesized by Laura Mulvey what she called "male gaze" in her essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". The theory of the male gaze has been very influential in feminist film theory and in media studies. The term; "beauty myth" is the name of the book written by Naomi Wolf (1991).

explored.[300] Yet, visual representations are not freed from patriarchal relations. Representations we see in the mass media-advertisements, magazines, television and cinema- and in the other aspects of culture such as myths, fairy-tales, literature, fine art and religion are parts of the processes of gender and identity construction. Images of women and men dictate what women and men should look like and how they should behave.[301] Yet, these representations are not freed from power relations in the societies. As Debord says: "at the root of the spectacle lies the oldest of all social divisions of power." [302]

The film and art studies demonstrate that subordinate groups (e.g., women, gays and lesbians, minorities, blacks, working classes) are under- and misrepresented in cultural institutions. Therefore symbolism and representation are linked to the way power operates in any society. Image and gaze are always tied with the broader power structure with who holds the power of creating images. It is the male gaze that is looking and women as image that is looked at. In *Ways of Seeing* John Berger observed:

> To be born a woman has been to be born, within an allotted and confined space, into the keeping of men. The social presence of women has developed as a result of their ingenuity in living under such tutelage within such a limited space. But this has been at the cost of a woman's self being split into two. A woman must continually watch herself. She is almost continually accompanied by her own image of herself…From earliest childhood she has been taught and persuaded to survey herself continually. And so she comes to consider the *surveyor* and the *surveyed* within her as the two constituent yet always distinct elements of her identity as a woman . . . One might simplify this by saying *men act* and *women appear*. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at.[303]

Berger successfully demonstrates how a woman from early childhood gets into a schizophrenic situation, her being split into two; surveyor and surveyed. By

[300] Roberts, "Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture", p. 827.

[301] Lucinda Joy Peach, "Introduction to Part 3: Cultural Representations of Women" in Lucinda Joy Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture: A Women's Studies Anthology*, Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998, pp. 91-96, p. 91.

[302] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, p. 18.

[303] John Berger, "Ways of Seeing (Excerpt)" in Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, pp. 97-105, p. 97-98, emphasis original.

continuous control of how she appeared to a dominant male gaze, she is turned into an object of male gaze. According to Wolf what mattered in reality is not how women appeared but their being (kept) *busy* with how they appeared:

> Continual surveillance, an enforced lack of privacy, is used against political prisoners to strip dignity and break resistance... This ritual use of Constant surveillance is a vivid example of the real motivation behind the myth: Female thinness and youth are not in themselves next to godliness in this culture. Society really doesn't care about women's appearance per se. What genuinely matters is that women remain willing to let others tell them what they can and cannot have. Women are watched, in other words, not to make sure that they will "be good", but to make sure that they will know they are being watched.[304]

A woman is continuously reminded that her *appearance* (to male gaze) matters. Her appearance matters, it must confirm the standards of beauty; the *beauty myth*. The beauty myth prompted by fashion, advertising and film industry in particular and the mass media in general, contribute to the view that women *are* their bodies.[305] The beauty myth tells the real-life women that they are overweight, over-aged, in short not *perfect*. Moreover, consumer capitalism through its agents of advertisements and mass media tell women that if they try hard–an effort which is virtually always meant more consumption–they will come *close* to the appreciated standards of beauty.

Naomi Wolf in her book *Beauty Myth (1991)* shows that despite the story that beauty myth tells us that the quality called beauty objectively and universally exists, beauty is historically and politically determined. She tells that the myth in its modern form has been established after the Industrial Revolution to keep women in their place to "counteract the new freedoms, literacy and leisure time that the industrial revolution afforded to women."[306] As she writes:

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[304] This quotation from Naomi Wolf's *Beauty Myth* is taken from Sut Jhally's online course handout available at http://www.comm287.com/handouts/15.BeautyMyth.pdf.

[305] Lucinda Joy Peach, "Introduction to Part 6: Fashion, Beauty and Women's Health" in Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, 171-179, p. 171.

[306] Peach, "Introduction to Part 6: Fashion, Beauty and Women's Health", p. 171.

> The beauty myth in its modern form gained ground after the upheavals of industrialization, as the work unit of the family was destroyed, and urbanization and the emerging factory system demanded what social engineers of the time termed the "separate sphere" of domesticity, which supported the new labor category of the "breadwinner" who left home for the workplace during the day. The middle class expanded, the standards of living and of literacy rose, the size of families shrank; a new class of literate, idle women developed, on whose submission to enforced domesticity the evolving system of industrial capitalism depended. Most of our assumptions about the way women have always thought about "beauty" date from no earlier than the 1830s, when the cult of domesticity was first consolidated and the beauty index invented.[307]

Wolf tells that beauty myth is a recent phenomenon; a backlash against feminism. In 1960s, when women were increasing their voices, when the second wave of feminism was getting powerful, beauty myth arose again. Wolf tells:

> Until 75 years ago in the male artistic tradition of the West, women's natural amplitude was their beauty: representations of the female nude revealed in women's lush fertility...Dieting and thinness began to be female preoccupations when Western women received the vote around 1920; between 1918 and 1925, "the rapidity with which the new, linear form replaced the more curvaceous one is startling…When (in the 1970s) women came en masse into male spheres, that pleasure had to be overridden by an urgent social expedient that would make women's bodies into the prisons that their homes no longer were….The contemporary backlash is so violent because the ideology of beauty is the last remaining of the old feminine ideologies that still has the power to control those women whom second-wave feminism would have otherwise made relatively uncontrollable.[308]

Susan Faludi also points to how beauty industry promoted a return to feminity during the 1980s, as if it were a revival of natural womanhood; "flowering of all those innate female qualities supposedly suppressed in the feminist 1970s."[309] These studies show how capitalism and patriarchy make alliance against women through the myth of beauty in prisoning them to their bodies with successive *spending* on their bodies.

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[307] Naomi Wolf, "Beauty Myth (Excerpt)" in Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, 179-187, p. 183.

[308] This quotation from Naomi Wolf's *Beauty Myth* is also taken from Sut Jhally's online course handout available at http://www.comm287.com/handouts/15.BeautyMyth.pdf.

[309] Susan Faludi, *Backlash: Undeclared War Against Women*, New York: Crown Publishers, 1991, p. 200.

3.4.2 Advertising Gender/ Gendering Advertising : Sexual Sell

Many commentators of modern consumer culture point to the increasing influence and power of advertisements and mass media in marketing commodities and its effects beyond mere promotion of goods. Advertising has become a very powerful form of social communication that it can be considered as "the most influential institution of socialization in modern society."[310] It is generally believed that in the postmodern period, symbolic meanings of commodities and the promotion and distribution phases of production have gained much importance. Moreover, capitalism evolved into a new phase where it is now concerned much more with supply of an 'imaginary' demand rather than supply towards a 'real' demand; in other words; capitalism has evolved into production of consumption and accordingly of consumer.[311] Although the relevance of such a shift of center of gravity for capitalist system can be debated, we can without hesitation accept that today we are much more surrounded by an increasing amount of commodities and their symbols.

Advertisements do not tell us just about products but how these products are related to us. They also tell about our perception and experience of ourselves and the world around us, as well as about our desires and fantasies. Advertisements tell us more than products; it is a *discourse through and about objects.*[312] Advertisements also imply how advertisers perceive and reflect the world around them.

From the advertiser's point of view the main aim of an advertisement (its *reality* for the advertiser) is to increase the sales of the product. Advertising agencies use all codes of meaning and ingredients of desire, imagination and fantasy to make the products attractive. "At the material, concrete and historical level advertising is

[310] Leiss (et al.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, p. 1.

[311] Şükrü Argın, "Tüketicinin Üretimi ve Benlik Promosyonu", *Birikim*, Vol. 110, (Haziran 1998), pp. 87-95, p. 88.

[312] Leiss (et al.), *Social Communication in Advertising*, p. 4.

part of a specific concern with the marketing of goods."[313] Thus advertising draws its materials upon the experiences of the audience but it does not simply reflect meaning but rather *constitutes* it.[314] As Goffman puts:

> If anything, advertisers, conventionalize our conventions, stylize what is already a stylization, make frivolous use of what is already something considerably cut off from contextual controls. Their hype is hyper-ritualisation. [315]

In short, we can say advertisements do not create their meaning and codes of these meanings out of nothing. Rather, they use the codes we use in or lives–but usually in an abstract and condensed form. That is why Goffman tells they conventionalize what is already a convention. Advertisements gain meaning in the social context of giving meaning to objects and relations between people and object. However, we should also bear in mind that there is always an element of fantasy and fancy. As an adman, Jerry Goodis says:

> Advertising does not always mirror how people are acting, but how they are dreaming… In a sense, what we're doing is wrapping up your emotions and selling them back to you. [316]

Despite advertising taking its material from human life, Shally points to dominance of gender in advertisements in modern culture. Gender is only one aspect of human individuality among other aspects such as political, educational, artistic, religious, spiritual, etc, but gender has a privilege in representation in advertisements. Jhally writes:

> In modern advertising, gender is probably the social source that is used most by advertisers. Thousands of images surround as every day of our lives that address us along gender lines. Advertising seems to be obsessed with gender and sexuality.[317]

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[313]Jhally , *Advertising*, p.1.

[314] Nelson(1983) cited in Sut Jhally " Advertising, Gender and Sex: What is Wrong with a Little Objectification?" *Working Papers and Proceedings of the Center for Psychosocial Studies* (edited by Richard Parmentier and Greg Urban) No. 29, 1989. Taken from http://www.sutjhally.com/articles/whatswrongwithalit/

[315] Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, New York: Harper and Row, 1979, p. 84.

[316] Nelson (1983) cited in Jhally, "Advertising, Gender and Sex: What is Wrong with a Little Objectification?"

Jhally asserts two reasons for this obsession of advertising with gender: first gender is one of the deepest and most important traits of human behaviour. Our understanding of ourselves as either male or female is the most important aspect of our definition of ourselves as individuals. Second, gender can be communicated instantly at a glance. Thus gender provides a good source for advertisers and it is used so much in ads. As Goffman tells:

> [O]ne of the most deeply straits of man, it is felt is gender: feminity and masculinity are in a sense the prototypes of essential expression-something that can be conveyed fleetingly in any social situation and yet something that strikes at the most basic characteristic of the individual.[318]

Therefore, what is a better source than the use of gender in an institution that wants to affect its audience at a first glance and affect them in their deepest sense of themselves? Gender is one aspect of human life that is overtly emphasized in advertisements. Accompanied by the prominence of advertising in daily lives of modern people, this emphasis on gender in advertisements gives a privileged position to advertising in the discourse on gender in consumer societies.[319] Because of this power of advertising in re-defining gender roles in society, what advertising says about gender is a serious issue to be explored.

Taking advertisements seriously does not have to do with individual advertisements and messages given about gender in those advertisements. The *falsity* of advertisements arises not from individual images, but "from the *systems of images*, from the advertisements as a totality and their cumulative effect. It arises from the institutional system within which advertisements are produced."[320] Similar to gender codes that are defined as socially normal, representation of them also has to do with the notion of *power*. What is defined as *normally* feminine and

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[317] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 135.

[318] Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, p. 7.

[319] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 138.

[320] Jhally, *Advertising*, p. 139.

masculine are in accordance with the interests of those who hold the power of defining them. Representation, gaze and look are related to power. Definition of beauty, sexuality and other conventionalized norms of feminity and masculinity and representations of these norms in advertisements are not free from the articulation of power in the context where these representations take place.

Feminist media studies have explored the sexist bias of media industries ranging from male-dominated ownership and control of the media to sexist representations of women.[321] These studies have revealed certain similarities in how women are represented in different forms of media. Juxtaposing Goffman's findings with feminist media studies we can summarize the following results:[322]

1. *Relative invisibility*. Studies in the early 1980s found that men outnumbered women by two to one in television commercials. Black women were especially invisible.
2. *Relative silence*. The voice of authority, especially on the radio and in television commercials is typically a male voice, not a female one.
3. *Unrepresentative occupation*. The percentage of women actually in the workforce is under-represented in media representations. In addition, women are more frequently portrayed in professional roles rather than the low-wage, low-skilled jobs that the majority of women perform.
4. *Housework*. Women are portrayed much more frequently than men as responsible for doing housework.
5. *Families*. Women are depicted in relation to their families much more than men are.
6. *Negative portrayals*. Women are frequently represented as ignorant or stupid, passive and dependent on men. Goffman also points to women's head and body cants and child-like guises in fashion advertisements as notes of unseriousness. He also tells that "the use of the entire body as a

[321] Lucinda Joy Peach, "Introduction to Part 4: Advertising, Print Media and Pornography" in in Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, 119-127.

[322] In the following summary of research findings, other than the references given to Goffman are taken from Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, p. 1119-120.

playful gesticulative device", a sort of body clowning has been perhaps entirely restricted to advertisements.[323]

7. *Body portrayals*. Women are more frequently portrayed in terms of their bodies, especially in advertisements, than are men. Women are shown as serving decorative function as an attractive backdrop rather than the central focus of attention. Whereas men's faces are more prominent in magazines and advertisements, women's bodies are more prominent. Male bodies are more often positioned above those of women, suggesting men's higher status.
8. *The Feminine Touch.* Women, more than men, are pictured using their fingers and hands to trace the outlines of an object or to cradle it or to caress its surface (the latter sometimes under the guise of guiding it), or to effect a "just barely touching" . . . This ritualistic touching is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind that grasps, manipulates or holds . . . Self-touching can also be involved, readable as conveying a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing.[324]
9. *The Ritualization of Subordination.* It appears that children and women are pictured on floors and beds more than are men. Beds and floors provide places in social situations where incumbent persons will be lower than anyone sitting on a chair or standing. Floors also are associated with the less clean, less pure, less exalted parts of a room - for example, the place to keep dogs, baskets of soiled clothes, street footwear and the like. Of course, lying on the floor or on a sofa or bed seems also to be a conventionalized expression of sexual availability.[325]

Despite these generalizations about women's representations, the image of women in ads did not stay stable over years; there have been some changes. They have

[323] Goffman, *Gender Advertisements,* p. 50.

[324] Goffman, *Gender Advertisements,* p. 36.

[325] Goffman, *Gender Advertisements,* p. 41.

got thinner and younger. "Indeed, *a new woman* has emerged in commercials in recent years" tells Kilbourne;

> She is generally presented as superwoman, who manages to do all work at home and on the job (with help of a product of course, not of her husband, children or friend), or as the liberated woman, who owes her independence and self-esteem to the products she uses. These new images do not represent any real progress but rather create a myth of progress, an illusion that reduces complex sociological problems to mundane ones.[326]

At best new images of women do not represent any real progress, at worst it dampens the claims for progress. As Faludi, Freidan and Wolf tell every collective struggle of women for economic power, control over their own bodies, making their own decisions was reconciled by male backlash against feminism–to use Faludi's words by "the undeclared war against women". This backlash has virtually always mediated through market capitalism and the jargon of feminism has been marketed. As exemplified in the ads that tell; "Get the power: the power to clean anything" (Figure 1) or "it is a woman's right to choose, after all she is the one carrying it" (Figure 2) language and demands of women's movement are deflated and turned into commodities.

As Fırat tells:

> Currently the displacement of metanarratives from public consciousness and the disillusionment with universal form have rendered the market as the only locus of legitimation in the society. That is, any idea, movement, or even culture can maintain itself only by translating its images, expressions, or messages into marketable commodities . . . [W]hen an idea system, a countercultural movement resists the marketization/ commodification of its expressions, it seems bound to lose to the marketized versions of its expressions . . . This has largely happened to movements such as feminism. Expressions of equality have been appropriated and resignified by companies that make cosmetics and personal care products.[327]

[326] Jean Kilbourne, "Beauty and the Beast of Advertising", in Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, pp. 127-131, p. 130.

[327] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption, p. 218.

Figure 1 [328]

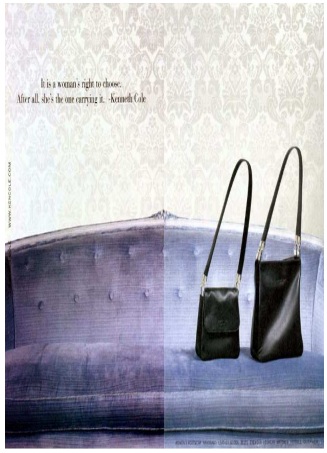

Figure 2

The ad reads: It is a woman's right to choose, after all she is the one carrying it.– Kenneth Cole.

Capitalism has told to commodify everything as the mills of mass production can keep running as long as a mass market for consumption is guaranteed. It is claimed that in this (postmodern) state of market capitalism men as well as women are increasingly being associated with appearance and consumption. Fırat argues that we can talk about a situation transcending feminine in consumption due to postmodern developments such that; the idea of necessity to represent oneself as an image, to present oneself as an attractive consumable, seems to be increasing also among men.[329]

Haug claims, in the age of mass production, production exceeds needs and capitalists need to make these commodities seem enormously useful or attractive to ensure their sale. Commodity aesthetics of advertising fills the discrepancy

[328] Figure 1 and 2 are taken from http://www.ltcconline.net/lukas/gender/pages/political.htm. Source is not specified.

[329] Fırat, "Gender and Consumption", p. 217.

between needs and goods by making commodity more attractive, not due to its intrinsic properties, but by association of commodities with desire and sexuality.[330] Based on Haug's argument, it is usually claimed that modern advertising industry uses sexuality for selling all goods, to men and women. However, we claim that the association of commodities with desire and marketing strategies of capitalism are still strongly shaped by the patriarchal structure and male power in society. *Male gaze* and ideology of *feminine beauty* are still the most powerful ideologies used in advertising industry. We cannot simply say that sexuality can be used to sell anything. We must ask *whose fantasy* and *whose desires* are used in order to sell goods. Advertisements' use of sexuality is still defined according to the norms of heterosexual male sexuality in which women are depicted as passive sexual objects and men as active surveyors who take pleasure in viewing.

[330] Wolfgang Fritz Haug, *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics: Appearance, Sexuality and Advertising in Capitalist Society*, (trans., Robert Bock), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, pp. 45-56.

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN IN TURKISH PRINT ADS: 1930-1970

4.1 Construction of Modern Consumption in Turkey and Advertisements: An Overview

Turkish economic history since the beginning of the Republic up to now has evolved along different phases due to economic policies implemented, industrialization and capital movements. Korkut Boratav has offered a valuable periodization of 20th century Turkish economic history in bird's eye-view and named these periods as; the reconstruction under open economy conditions (1923-1929), protectionist-statist industrialization (1930-1939), an interruption; II. World War (1940-1945), a different attempt for integration to world economy (1946-1953), bottle-neck and readjustment (1954- 1979), interior oriented-exterior dependent expansion (1962-1976), new depression (1977-1979) and the counter-attack of capital (1980-1985).[331] His periodization is built primarily with respect to changes in economic policies, processes of capital accumulation, transformation in agricultural and industrial production and the issue of income distribution. The post-Republic Turkish economic history can also be theorized with respect to political and labor struggles and thereby results in a slightly different periodization. These studies are primarily interested in changes in relations and techniques of production and its effect on social order in society.

In addition, this is a history of what is named Turkish Westernization or modernization.[332] Deniz Kandiyoti points to the fact that studies on Turkish

[331] Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-1985*, İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988, p. 7.

[332] Westernization and Modernization do not necessarily have the same meaning. However, since the model and motivation of Turkish modernization was the Western example for the early period that we use the words interchangeably for the early Republican.

modernization almost always emphasized legal, political and institutional factors. They are shaped around the dichotomies of supporting (official ideology of Kemalism) and resisting modernization.[333] However, modern cultural scene is much more complex and modernization has deep-rooted effects in our daily lives and identities. The construction and re-structuring of consumption patterns, and structuring of gender roles in Turkish society have close parallels and relations with the modernization process. Here we are particularly interested as to how a Western consumer culture has been introduced into Turkish society and how this process has been gendered. In what follows, we confine ourselves to the sphere of consumption with a view tracing the modernization adventure of Turkish society as reflected in media advertisements.

Advertisements can be utilized as reflections of transformations in everyday life in societies. By looking at them, we can have clues about goods and services produced (and used), the level of technology, popular items and fashions of the time, and the images and messages of the period by looking at the advertisements. They also tell us about which classes of society are related to which products and how this relation is perceived in cultural imaginary and reality. In other words, advertisements can be seen as diaries of consumption.[334]

The advert of a wallpaper brand in *Ceride-i Havadis* in 1840 which promotes a wallpaper that is produced in France and sold in a store in Galata is considered as the first commercial advertisement in Turkish advertising history.[335]This

[333] Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 202.

[334] Mustafa Orçan, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde Türk Tüketim Kültüründe Değişme*, Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2002, p. 66.

[335] Hamdi Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam* (1828-1864), Ankara: Elit Reklamcılık, 1997, p. 22. This ad is the first print advertisement in a newspaper printed in Turkish. Eldem refers to a undated document that tells about a medicine (*tiryak*) imported from Venice as the first advertisement seen on Ottoman lands. E.Eldem, "Venedik'ten İthal Altınbaş Tiryaki", *Toplumsal Tarih*, No.2 February, 1994.

advertisement is followed by advertisements of various items like medicine, apparel, furniture, cleaning items, foodstuffs, cultural items, etc.[336]

Advertisements created a new medium other than market and store for interaction between the producer and consumer. These early advertisements targeted upper and middle-upper classes; people who are viewed as engines of modern consumption. This segment of society usually lived in Pera (Beyoğlu), the place seen as 'ghetto' of modern life and consumption styles. The address of the first department store (bon marché) was also the district of Beyoğlu, namely İstiklal Street or *Cadde-i Kebir* as it was then called. Stores such as Louvre, Au Lion, Bon Marché Au Camelia, Bazar Allemand, Carlman et Blumerg, Baker were opened in the second half of 19th century in Beyoğlu as branches of big European stores in İstanbul that reflect tastes of the middle-class.[337]

The department stores, hotels and banks were among the first institutions of Ottoman period that promoted themselves through advertisements. Other than these, *Singer*, *Ethem Pertev*, *Longines* watches, *Çitli* mineral water, *Nestlé* chocolate, *Faraggi* dentistry material store, *Bomonti-Nektar* beer factory and *Farukî* cosmetics may be counted as first firms that drew attention by their advertisements.[338] Orçan claims that the power of these early advertisements (of the Ottoman period) on influencing consumption directly was very limited, since they addressed and reached a very small portion of the society. However, they signify an apparent transformation in the traditional consumption styles and adoption of European manners of consumption; a process named as *alafrangalaşma*.[339] Toprak also points out that the importance of advertising in Ottoman society increased with the dissolution of traditional production systems and that advertising itself on a large scale was a product of industrialization.[340]

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[336] Hamdi Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam* (1828-1864), pp. 135-181.

[337] Zafer Toprak, "Tüketim Örüntüleri ve Osmanlı Mağazaları", *Cogito 5* (Spring 1995), pp. 25-28, p. 27.

[338] Gökhan Akçura, *Ivır Zıvır Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden misiniz?*, İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2002, p. 26-28.

[339] Orçan, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde*, p. 69.

[340] Toprak, "Tüketim Örüntüleri ve Osmanlı Mağazaları", pp. 25-26.

In the early years of the Republic, national institutions and national brands came to prominence. As an indispensable outcome of state policy, the greatest part of advertisements was given by state-owned or state-subsidized institutions. *Ziraat Bank, Eti Bank, Sümer Bank, İş Bank* and sub-firms of *İş Bank(e.g., İpekiş, Yüniş, Camiş, Türkiş)* and *Tekel* were selling goods and services, that were not competitive since their production was under the monopoly of state. But still, these institutions advertised frequently since their goal was to create new consumption habits and increase the size of the market for their goods.[341] The advertisements of banks frequently used the notion of 'saving for bad times' and image of money-box. (Figures: 3,4, 5 and 6).[342]

Figure 3, *Yücel*, 1938

Figure 4, *Milliyet*, 1929

[341] Akçura, *Uzun Metin*, p. 29.

[342] Figures 1 and 3 and 4 are taken from Akçura, *Uzun Metin*, pp. 29, 90.

Figure 5, *Ar, 1938*

Figure 6, *Yedigün. 1937*

The 1930s witnessed the introduction of the notion of modern comfort and the commodities associated with this notion to Turkish consumers. The French electric company *Satie* with its journal *Ameli [Practical] Elektirik* promoted various electrical appliances like vacuum cleaner, iron, oven, electric razor, water heater, electric fan, hair curling device, etc.[343] *Bourla Biraderler*, another prominent company which was active in many sectors, which introduced various imported goods to the domestic market, was another firm that drew attention with large advertising campaigns. *Frigidaire*, *Telefunken* (radio), *AEG, Johnson* (motorboat), *RCA* (radio), *Tungsram* (bulb), *Signal* (fan) and *Parker* (pen and ink) were among the items *Bourla Biraderler* promoted. According to Akçura, advertisements of *Bourla Biraderler* were so effective that one brand of fridge they advertised, *Frigidaire,* was added to Turkish language. The dictionary of Turkish Language Institution (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) has an entry of *frijider* meaning fridge.[344] *Faal Ajans* was also conscious of this advantage that they used the heading; 'The Brand that enters the Dictionary' (*Lûgata giren bir marka*) in ads of Frigidaire in 1950s.[345] Although this word entered the dictionary, entrance of

[343] Akçura, *Uzun Metin,* p. 31.

[344] Gökhan Akçura, *Ivır Zıvır Tarihi I:Unutma Beni,* İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2001, p. 47.

[345] Akçura, *Unutma Beni,* p. 47.

comfort and the new lifestyle associated with comfort into the lives of Turkish people did not actualize without debates. Refik Halit Karay in his article '*Konforn Modern'* tells that he is fed up with this superficial and illusory new lifestyle and advices people not to forget yesterday by submerging into this new lifestyle.[346] Especially during the years of Second World War in which the economy had hard times, the debates about what is comfort and what is luxury became more pronounced.

The 1940s witnessed progress in advertising in Turkey but conscious utilization of advertisements and its functions were enhanced in the 1950s.[347] Advertising agencies with domestic and foreign shareholders were established; like *Mecra Ajans* in 1936 and *Faal Ajans* in 1944. *Faal Ajans* grew in time and transformed into *Manajans*, one of the largest advertising agencies of present Turkish advertising sector.[348] In the 1950s, the size of private sector in Turkish economy increased and advertisements of private sector increased subsequently. In addition to foreign goods, their domestic substitutes were increasingly advertised in newspapers and magazines. *Pertev Cosmetics* and *Hasan Colognes* were among many domestic brands that emphasized their better qualities in comparison with foreign brands.[349] The first three decades of Turkish advertising history were characterized by the growth of new brands with the introduction of new commodities. *Fiat, Ford, Renault* and *Chevrolet* among automobile brands, *Pertev*, *Nivea* and *Tokalon* among cosmetics and *Odol*, *Kolynos*, *Dentol* and

[346] Refik Halit Karay, *İlk Adım*, 1941 quoted in Akçura, *Unutma Beni*, p. 40.

[347] Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam*, p. 24.

[348] Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam*, p. 23.

[349] There was a harsh competition between foreign goods and domestic ones since the early years of the Republic. Due to current account deficit and depreciation of Turkish currency National Economy and Saving Association (*Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*) was established in 1929 and the association published various brochures and a journal- *İktisat ve Tasarruf Dergisi*- to encourage people to consume domestic goods. For details of the association and its publishing, one can look at Gökhan Akçura "Efeyi Efe Yapan İncirdir" in *Ivır Zıvır Tarihi III: Uzun Metin Sevenlerden misiniz?*, İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2002, pp. 67-81.

Radyolin among toothpaste brands were some brands that drew attention with their advertisements.[350]

In the 1950s new brands and products entered the market. A foreign firm *Unilever* entered the domestic market with two new products; *Sana* and *Vita*. they offered an alternative to traditional olive oil and butter. Ads of Vita emphasized the lightness of the foods while *Sana* used the notion of healthy fed children. Another new food item was biscuits with two prominent brands, *Ülker* and *Arı*. The slogan of Ülker, was "A tea time without *Ülker* is unthinkable". Other products of 1950s that gave advertisements were *Hoover*, *Fay*, *Shell*, *Tursil*, *Piyale* and *Nuhun Ankara Makarnası*.[351]

In terms of advertising techniques, the early advertisements contained long texts and illustrations. The texts gave detailed information about the products and their usages. This usage of long texts in advertisements in the early years of advertising is a universal strategy of advertising agencies. The reason behind this was most probably the low photographing and color technologies and the aim to educate viewers to symbolic meaning. The links between product and pictures were supplied with texts. As such, advertisers trained people to getting familiar with symbols. In early advertisements, focus was less about style and people using the product, but more on the qualities and uses of the product. Advertisements were more informative than being symbolic. As time passes texts in advertisements got shorter and pictures dominated. The focus shifted from goods and its qualities to lifestyles associated with those goods. (See Figure 7,8 and 9).

What follows is an analysis of women's representations in Turkish print advertisements to have an idea about the forms of women's articulation into emerging consumer culture in Turkey up to the 1970s. These advertisements are selected randomly from popular newspapers and magazines.

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[350] Akçura, *Uzun Metin*, p. 31.

[351] Akçura, *Uzun Metin*, p. 35-38.

Figure 7, *Milliyet, 1931*

Figure 8, *Elele, 1977*

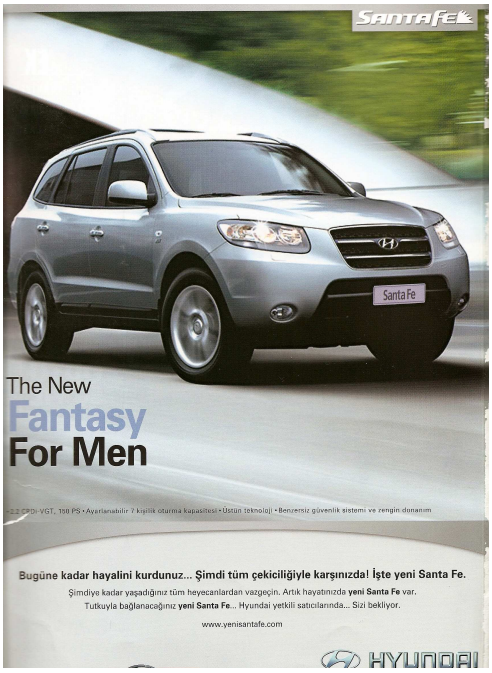

Figure 9, *Atlas, 2006*

Early ads of automobiles until the 1970s emphasized the qualities and gave detailed information about the parts like engine, wheel and tires. Today's automobile advertisements, on the other hand, mention the life-styles and fantasies associated with products. The Hyundai ad makes promise of "The New Fantasy for Men".

4.2 Representation of Female Consumer in Turkish Print Advertisements, 1930-1970

The position of women in a society has been usually considered as a proxy for the degree of development in that society. It also played a portentous role in the political and ideological rhetoric of many disputes throughout history. As we saw in the previous chapter, the claim of liberating women has occupied a great part in the rhetoric of colonial and imperialist processes. More recently, discrimination against women in Afghanistan and *burka* of Afghani women were used as signs of women's oppression under the Taliban regime and for the justification of US military intervention in Afghanistan.

Within the modernization perspective and also in nationalist movements the 'low' status of women is used to legitimize the necessity of implementation of modernist and westernized reforms. The elite of the Westernization movement claimed that the only way to attain Western universality was through the liberation of women and their emancipation from Islamic tradition.[352] To give some examples, Kasım Amin in India, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Shah in Iran, for instance, all claim that the veiling of women was a sign of uncivilization and should be abandoned.[353] The defenders of modernization in Turkey, both the reformists of the nineteenth century and the Kemalists of the Republican Period, have taken a holistic approach to civilization and sought to change traditions in an attempt to catch up with contemporary modern values. For them, education and the 'liberation' of women have been the preconditions for attaining this goal.[354] The conservatives, and the Islamicists, on the other hand, saw these reforms as manipulation by western thought and a threat to the prevailing cultural identity, and they stressed the need to preserve current identity including the current status of women. In a way, the effects of Turkish

[352] Pınar İlkkaracan, *A Brief Overview of Women's Movement(s) in Turkey*. Women for Women's Human Rights Reports no. 2 .A , September, 1997, p. 1.

[353] Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. London: Yale University Press, 1992, p.165.

[354] Göle (1992) cited in İlkkaracan, *Brief Overview.*

modernization on women have been shaped by the struggle between two movements: the Westernization movement and the Islamic movement. Nevertheless, policies and rhetoric of both movements about the position of women in society have remained focused to "outlook".[355]

Woman of the nation was an emblem of new and modern society in the early Republic period. Her new rights, new opportunities and her increasing entrance into public life were celebrated in the magazine and newspaper pages of the day. In these early years one could see many news about first women members of the parliament, women artists, doctors, women in the 'world of ideas' and young girls in vocational education like medicine, pharmacy and teaching. They were appraised as pioneers of modern Turkey. Newspapers and magazines also printed news about women in the Western countries in order to provide a model for Turkish women. However, there was always a limit to freedom of these new women. She was supposed not to forget her basic duty; to be a good housewife and mother. Her morality, her freedom in terms of sexuality could not even be an issue of debate. She is assumed to be asexual. To put differently, this new women assumed to embody and imply both virtues and evils of modernity. As Yeğenoğlu tells;

> This "new" woman was supposed to be educated, Westernized and unveiled but still retain the essential "feminine" virtues. That is, she should not have been over-Westernized . . . [T]he "spirit of nation" must not be neglected while "new" women are fulfilling the requirements of modern life they should continue to be good mothers and wives. After all is it not in women that the essential identity and spirit of the nation is embodied? [356]

In his speech in 1923 Mustafa Kemal expressed this in the following manner:

> History shows the great virtues shown by our mothers and grandmothers. One of these has been to raise sons of whom the race can be proud. Those whose glory spread across Asia and as far as limits of the world have been trained by highly virtuous mothers who taught them courage and truthfulness. I will not cease to

[355] The clothing of women and the practice of veiling have taken a remarkable part in debates about women's position in society. For the place of veil in Orientalist and nationalist discourses one can look at, Meyda Yeğeneoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, especially the part "The Battle of Veil: Woman between Orientalism and Nationalism", pp. 121-144.

[356] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 134.

> repeat it, woman's most important duty, apart from her social responsibilities, is to be a good mother. As one progresses in time, as civilization advances with giants, it is imperative that mothers be enabled to raise their children according to needs of the country.[357]

Therefore, it was women who are called upon to achieve a 'healthy' balance between the Western and authentic culture.[358] The articles of a prominent feature in the early republican period who was a poet and writer and a member of the parliament, İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, demonstrate this double role attached to women in Turkish society. In his article "Young Girl in Education" published in *Yedigün* magazine in 1934, he harshly criticized those people who oppose women's education. He admits that many people still think that educated women lose female virtues. He also points out that this opposition to women's education is not peculiar to Turkish society and cites Moliere's *Femmes Savantes* and Rousseau's *Emile* to show that Western thinkers also adopt a critical stance towards further education for women. More surprisingly, he claims that this caution towards women's place in the world of ideas originates from men. He says: "a man always wants to see women around him as passive, obedient and dependent on him. Their acquisition of skills to think is a threat to his dominance". He claims that in modern times a girl must get education since the times have changed.[359] Moreover, he attaches a nationalist mission to these educated women. He tells, new nation would grow on the shoulders of new female (and also male teachers); "Turkish teacher would make us win the great battle we are in, the battle of modernization".[360] However, one can not find these progressive ideas of Gövsa in his thoughts about motherhood. He thinks every woman *should* experience being a mother and even dares to call women who do not want to be mothers as "empty headed lounge dolls".[361]

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[357] Mustafa Kemal quoted in Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, London and New Jersey : Zed Books, 1986, p. 36.

[358] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 134.

[359] İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, "Okuyan Genç Kız", *Yedigün*, no.186, 1934, pp. 7-8.

[360] İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, "Türk Muallimine Selam",*Yedigün*, no.190, 1934, p. 6.

[361] İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, "Çocuksuz Kadınlar", *Yedigün*, no.187, pp. 7-8, 1934.

The representation of women in advertisements was also stuck in this dilemma of being simultaneously modern and traditional. While they were invited to beautify themselves in accordance with the Western norms with new cosmetics and fashion products, they were also continuously associated with traditional roles of housewife and mother. In what follows, we will analyze the representation of women in Turkish print ads between 1930-1970 under two headings: commercial interpretations of domestic ideology and commercial interpretations of female beauty. However, it should be stated that these strategies were not mutually exclusive. As we would recognize in the following advertisements, the housewife was pictured as beautiful and self-caring. The notion of beauty was also constructed as being beautiful for a husband.

4.2.1 Commercial Interpretations of Domestic Ideology

In advertisements that market nutrition goods like butter, pasta and cleaning items, we witness representation of women as main targets of advertisers. Women are perceived as naturally responsible for cooking and cleaning for the family. The margarine firm *Vita* bases its ads on this notion of happy housewife that cooks delicious meals for the family. One reads, “he misses his house while at work, because he knows he would find delicious meals at home”, “his satisfaction is readable from his face”, “you certainly want that your husband likes your meals: then use *Vita*”. (Figures 10 and 11). The message was clear; use this product and make your husband happy. In other advertisements of foodstuffs even if this message of pleasing the husband was not given directly, it was virtually always women pictured while cooking. When ads of food items pictured men related to cooking, they were frequently pictured as professional cooks. (Figures 15, 16 and 17). This depiction of men in costumes of cooks (with white bonnets and uniform) served two purposes; first to emphasize that he makes meals because it is his profession and since it is his profession his thoughts about the product can be taken seriously. The ad of *Sana* with a male cook tells “seriously, a delicious meal”.

Figure 10, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Figure 11, *Milliyet, 1960.*

It is always women who do the cooking and serving for the family. She does this work with great pleasure and love. The husband in the *Vita* (Figure 10,11) ads is also pleased to find delicious meals at home. There is no struggle about the division of labor. Cooking is women's duty. Usually it is daughters who help women with cooking and serving. (Figure 13)

Figure 12, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Figure 13, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Figure 14, *Hayat,, 1962.*

We can tell that there is some modification of this representation of the division of labor within the house in present advertisements. Men are increasingly represented in kitchen, doing cooking in today's advertisements. But the view that cooking is naturally women's work is maintained by representing men as 'helping' their partners or in funny situations of messing the kitchen while trying to cook. Women usually come with a *life-saving* product in such ads and put things in order. Cooking for the house members is still presented primarily as a 'female task' and the kitchen as the traditional 'domain' of women.

Figure 15, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Figure 16, *Milliyet, 1960*

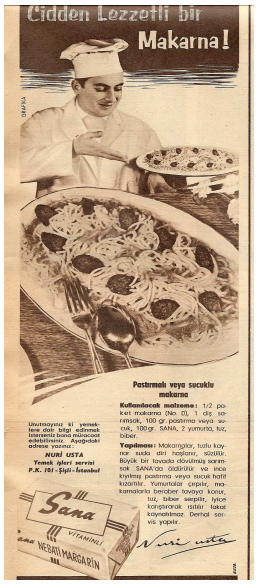

Figure 17, *Hayat,, 1962.*

In early ads up to the 1970s, when men are pictured in ads cooking it is their profession. They are both as husbands and professional cooks the authority that evaluated the "success" of the meal.

The mother image was also frequently used in ads of food items. The message of *Sana* ads was healthy nourishment of children. These ads used what is called threatening strategy in ads. It reads “if your children (sometimes husband) are always weak give him this brand of margarine”. If we read this ad reversely, if you do not give your children this margarine they will be weak, this is the threatening strategy of the ad. It does not link child’s getting weak due to illness but to not eating *Sana*. Such ads offer a set of criteria for being a ‘good’ mother associated with the condition of some goods. “Good mothers give their children *Kadburi* chocolates” says one ad. (Figures 18 , 19, 20 and 21).

Figure 18, *Milliyet, 1929*

Figure 19, *Hayat, 1962.*

Figure 20, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Figure 21, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Loeb analyzed how advertisers used the threat of child injury and malnutrition creating anxiety to convince mothers to buy products.

> Failure to decide for consumption may jeopardize innocent children . . . Yet advertisers believe that parents would willingly make great sacrifices to see the infant grow to maturity . . . They encourage parents to "protect" their children through consumption. Any number of remedies–the right soap, the right food, the right medicine–can be restorative; through their use parents may be assured that their children will always be bright, intelligent and good-tempered.[362]

For the Turkish case, the anxiety towards child injury was not created out of nothing. It was a matter of reality for many; especially for poor segments of society as the average infant mortality rate was very high and undernourishment was among one of the major factors causing child mortality. Therefore the new food items were in a way serving as cheap substitutes of medicines for the poorer people.[363] Advertisers were most probably aware of this phenomenon as they

[362] Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, p. 114.

[363] I thank Eyüp Özveren for drawing my attention to this aspect.

frequently marketed their products (e.g, Sana, Ufa, Nestle) emphasizing their properties of being cheap, nutritious and good for (child) health.

The ads of cleaning items also virtually always pictured women as potential buyers of the product. The ads of food and cleaning items frequently used the notion of easing "women's work". The ad of *Nuhun Ankara Makarnası*, a pasta brand, for instance tells women not to be chained in the kitchen. (Figure 23). These advertisements usually used the notion of simplifying women's work. But the implicit assumption is that housework is women's work. This is never questioned. In the world of housewife, women are figured as responsible for cooking, cleaning and caring for children while men are depicted as sitting and waiting for the food or coming home from work happy to find good meals at home. Moreover, the relation of women with housework is both strengthened and obscured by the ads of new products and commodities. They are told it is not them but the items that do the job on their behalf. *Vita* ad for instance tells: "*Vita* is the greatest cook" (Figure 11) and *Tursil* ad tells "only *Tursil* can provide this whiteness". (Figure 24). In advertisements where women are depicted as *freed* from housework, they are usually pictured in relief looking gladly at the work the item did for them. Some ads continue to depict women while doing the work (usually with a smile on their face). (Figures 24,25 and 26).

Figure 22, *Milliyet, 1960.*

Figure 23, *Hayat , 1962.*

Figure 24, *Hayat, 1962*

Figure 25, *Hayat, 1962*

Figure 26, *Elele, 1978*

We can talk about a stage in symbolic meaning and narration in advertisements. Women are primarily depicted while using the product, the use-value of the product is explained to the potential buyer. In later advertisements (of the same product usually) we see the final work of the product, and a women looking in admiration to this work like it was not herself who did the work or in scenes in complete isolation from the work done. (Figures 30, 31, 32,33)

Figure 27, *Milliyet, 1960*

Figure 28, *Milliyet, 1960*

Figure 29, *Kadın, 1970*

Figure 30, *Hayat 1962*

Figure 31, *Hayat, 1962*

In the first *Ufa* ad (Figure 30) we see a woman dressed in casual clothes and with a kitchen apron tasting the cookies taken from the oven. In another ad of *Ufa* we see a woman similar to the one in the previous ad this time well dressed and with hair make-up. She is standing in front of a table prepared–for dinner most probably and looking at her watch. We perceive from this ad that women and dish are equally ready and well-prepared for the husband who would come from work.

In an ad of *Omo* we see a woman happily looking at the success of the product in washing the laundry and tells happily: “finally, here is the whiteness I have been looking for.” (Figure 32). In another *Omo* ad we see a woman walking proudly in the street and passers-by look at her with admiration. (Figure 33). The ad reads: “the cleanliness of *Omo* shines out”. The indirect message given in this ad is that women are under constant surveillance of the other people. Their clothes and appearance are critically examined and evaluated by the people around. Such ads strengthen the perception that women’s position and reputability in the society are defined with respect to their appearances and housewifery (e.g., cleanliness of her husband and children’s clothes). The women in the ad is dismembered and

dehumanized as she is turned into mere appearance and depicted as being obsessed with how she appeared to others and the whiteness of her shirt.

Figure 32, *Elele*, *1978*

Figure 33, *Elele*, *1978*

The notion of 'women's solidarity' is also a common notion used in advertisements of food and cleaning items. Women give advice to each other in terms of right products which guarantee success and pleasure of their husbands. (Figures 34,35,36)

Figure 34, *Elele*, *1978*

Figure 35, *Elele*, *1978*

Figure 36, *Milliyet*, *1960*

The introduction of electrical appliances for domestic use in 1930s, witnessed a marketing strategy of selling women goods that *free* them from housework. The

journal of *Ameli Elektrik* we mentioned before used the definition 'servant princess (*hizmetçi prenses*) for marketing electrical appliances. They told, "Why be slave of housework if you have the chance of getting service of electricity" or "how powerful a servant electricity is, it does every work".[364] Companies that sell electrical appliances frequently displayed images of women using these new appliances and getting rid of housework. "*Tolon* makes you forget what washing the dishes was." (Figure 40). With Hoover washing machines your hands are dry and you are free.(Figure 39) Again the address of these ads, especially of washing machines, fridges and appliances for kitchen were women. Cooking and cleaning were perceived as women's works.

Figure 37 ,M*illiyet, 1960*

Figure 38, *Yedigün, 1939*

[364] Akçura, *Uzun Metin*, p.139.

Figure 39, *Elele, 1978*

Figure, 40.

4.2.2. Commercialization of female beauty

In the early Republic period the advertisements addressed to women usually used notions of beauty, healthy skin, youth, freshness and attractiveness.[365] In the early years of the Republic we see that the beauty of women is mostly associated with facial beauty. The entrance of foreign products to the Turkish market has changed the definition of, and the ways through which, this can be achieved. The traditional activity of beautifying one's face (*yüz yazmak*) transformed to Western make-up. The aim of both has remained unchanged, beautifying oneself, but tools have changed; *duzgun, allık, aklık, kına, rastık* and *surme* have been substituted by mascara, lipstick and nail polish.

Gökhan Akçura tells that the theme of 'to be attractive for men' in Turkish advertisements started in the 1930s. Rather than an explicit sex appeal, the early advertisements advised to be beautiful for the husband or potential husband. Romantic love rather than sexuality was the main focus. Marriage, gaining and preserving love of a man, husband, was the main focus of the advertisements. These ads frequently conveyed the messages; a beautiful skin guarantees the

[365] Akçura, Uzun Metin, s.116.

'finding' of a husband, a beautiful skin means a happy marriage and an adoring husband.

Tokalon series of 1932 and 1936 exemplify this strategy of advertisements at best that we will follow with three examples. All of them tell a different story, but the message of all is the same: If you use Tokalon you can 'find' a husband, or 'keep' your husband. One of them (Figure 41) tells a story about a woman whose "dear husband and father of her two children" has been 'hunted' by another woman. (The ad reads for this other women, as other wife). One of her friends tells her: "motherhood and housework has made your face ugly. No husband would love to see an ugly woman who has a skin with wrinkles". Another ad reads: "Women should care for their skin as they get older, in order to keep attraction of their husbands". (Figure 42). One ad tells that a woman of age 35 'kidnaps' the fiancé of a girl at the age of 19. We learn from the text and pictures that the older woman seems much younger than the girl because she uses *Tokalon* and therefore she succeeds in the battle to gain the love of the man in question. (Figure 43).


Sayfa 26 YEDİGÜN

TERK EDİLMİŞ BİR KADIN İDİM...

Sevgili zevcim ve iki çocuğumun babası Nihat, bir müddettenberi benden soğumıya ve geceleri dışarıda geçirmiye başladı. Evde kaldığı geceler bile, bana karşı bigâne ve âdeta dargın gibi duruyor. Nihayet, bir akşam, diğer bir zevcesi olduğundan bahsedince kalbim büsbütün kırılacak sandım. Ertesi sabah hemşirem bana ziyarete geldi ve ona bütün olanı, çektiğim ıstırapları anlattım. O, bana pek muhik bir nasihatte bulundu: «Annelik hayatı ve ev işleri, yüzünü çirkinleştirdi. Hiç bir erkek, evde yorgun ve buruşuk yüzlü bir kadın görmek sevmez. Sakın cesaretini kırmayasın, çünkü ben, yüzündeki buruşukları seri ve emin bi rsurette izale ve taze, yumuşak ve gençleçmiş bir cilt temin edecek bir usul bilirim, dedi ve her akşam yatmazdan evvel pembe rengindeki Tokalon kremini kullanmamı tavsiye etti». Hemen tecrübe ettim. Derhal cildimin üzerindeki müsmir tesire şaştım. Birkaç hafta zarfında bütün buruşukluklarım zail oldu. Ve bir genç kız yüzünün manzarasını aldım. Şimdi, zevcim, beni evvelkinden daha

Şimdi cildin unsuru pembe rengindeki Tokalon kreminde Biocel tabir edilen cildi besliyen ve gençleştiren kıymettar bir cevher vardır. Her beşerede bulunan bu Biocel cevheri kaybolduğu vakit ciltte buruşukluklar zuhur eder. Fakat tekrar verilince buruşukluklar zail olur. Genç hayvanlardan istihsal edilen bu Biocel cevheri Viyana Üniversitesi profesörü Doktor K. Stejskal usulü dairesinde pembe rengindeki Tokalon kreminin terkibinde mevcuttur. Her akşam yatmazdan evvel kullanıldıkta az zaman zarfında bütün buruşukluklardan kurtulur. bir cildi gençleştirir. Solmuş, ihtiyarlaşmış ve lâakal 10, 20 yaş

Figure 41, *Yedigün 1935*


ZEVCİNİN AŞKINI MUHAFAZA İÇİN MÜCADELE EDİYOR

Meşhur bir sinema ldızı: «hiçbir erkeği muhafaza için mücadeleye girişmek zahmete değmez» diyor. Halbuki, birçok kadınlar bu fikirde değildirler. Onlar, zevcelerinin başka kadınlar üzerindeki dikkat nazarlarını kemali haşyetle tekib ederler. Fakat bunlar aynaya bakarak biraz da kendi kabahatleri olduğunu biliyorlar mı?

Bir erkeğin, beyaz ve yumuşak bir cildi, taze ve genç bir teni takdir nazarlarile seyretmesi pek tabiidir. Bir kadın, yüzünün buruştuğunu, güzelliğinin solduğunu görünce evvelâ zevcinin nazarı dikkatini celbedecek bir genç kız tazeliğini iktisap etmek çaresine tevessül etmelidir ki, bu, hali hazırda her kadın için kolay ve mümkündür. Her akşam yatmazdan evvel yalnız pembe rengindeki TOKALON kremini kullanınız.

leyin yüzünüzde husule gelen şayanı hayret tebeddülü nazarı takdirle seyrediniz. Gündüz için beyaz rengindeki (yağsız) TOKALON kremini kullanınız.

Bu krem münbesit mesamatı sıklaş-

Figure 42, *Yedigün 1937*

35 yaşında bir kadın
19 yaşında bir sarışın kızın
Nişanlısını kaçırıyor
Mahirane hilesi

35 yaşlarında bulunan Bayan Sacide, 19 yaşlarında bir sarışın kızın zengin, bir tüccar olan nişanlısını ayartmayı ve aşkına rakip olmayı kurmuştu. Bayan Sacide zeki ve dessas idi. Maksadına nail oldu. Çünkü, o da rakibesi kadar genç ve şayanı arzu görünmiye muvaffak olmuştu. O, Biocel tabir edilen ve her beşereye gençlik ve güzellik veren kıymettar bir cevherin Viyanada keşfedildiği hakkında yazılan makaleleri okumuştu. Cilt için elzem bir unsur olan işbu cevherin Tokalon kremi terkibinde bulunduğunu öğrenince hemen her gün muntazaman Tokalon kremini kullanmıya başladı. Bir ay zarfında buruşuklukları tamamen zail oldu ve cildi her genç kızın cildi kadar taze ve açık bir hal aldı.

Cilt, Biocel cevherini kaybedince yüzün adaleleri zayıflar ve buruşukluklarla çizgiler meydana çıkar ve cilde bu cevherleri iade edince bunlar tamamen zail olur.

Viyana Üniversitesi profesörü doktor K. Stejskal, bu kıymettar cevheri dikkatle seçilmiş genç hayvanların cildinden istihsale muvaffak olmuştur. Her akşam yatmazdan evvel cild için elzem bir unsur olan Biocel Tokalon kremi kullanıldıkta her kadın, bu çizgi ve buruşukluklardan kolayca kurtulabilir. Solmuş cildini gençleştirebilir ve 10-20 yaş daha genç görünebilir

Yedigün, 1935

Figure 43, *Yedigün 1935*

Erkekler nezdinde nasıl muvaffak oldum?
Güzelliğim asri zamanın bir mucizesile yüzde elli nisbetinde artmıştır.

Yedigün, 3 Kasım 1937

Figure 44, *Yedigün 1937*

We witness threatening strategy here again. While single women are promised to find a prospective husband candidate (Figure, 44, 45), married women are threatened to lose their husbands if they do not use the right product. They are under constant threat from other women, if they do not care for their beauty, a more beautiful woman can get their husband. They have to combine their traits of being a good mother and housewife with both a good mother and housewife with that of a beautiful woman.

These and similar ads tell women that they have to find someone to marry; their social reputability will thereby increase; moreover this is a competition amongst women. Marriage is a theme frequently emphasized in the early advertisements. There is this unchanging constant need to find romantic love which lay at the root of all women's desire for being beautiful. These ads insist that every woman *naturally wants* to be beautiful and also tell they *should* work hard to keep their beauty.

Bir kurum ilanında evlilik teması

Figure 45, Notion of marriage in an advertisement.[366]

4.3 Concluding Remarks

Kilbourne states that scientific studies and depictions of women in advertisements lead to the same conclusion: women are shown almost exclusively as housewives or sex objects.[367] For the early print ads in Turkey up to the 1970s we can talk about over-representation of women in the domestic spheres as housewives and mothers. The new products and appliances were marketed on a notion that they would simplify women's work and create leisure. They are told that they would spent less time on cooking and cleaning with this new products and they would

[366] Taken from Akçura, *Unutma Beni*, p. 132. Source and date are unspecified.

[367] Kilbourne, "Beauty and the Beast of Advertising", p. 128.

achieve greater success in terms of taste, 'whiteness' and hygiene of their work. It cannot be denied that much of these goods eased women's work in reality. I remember my grandmother telling how a hard work laundry was before the 'discovery' of the washing machine. Exhausting seasonal food preparation got easier due to usage of fridges and emergence of ready-made canned food.

What women could to with their increasing leisure time? This leisure time created by new products was not associated with women's entering the labour force, rather with better caring for family members; for better relations with (or better service to the) members of the household and children. The well-known slogan of advertisements was "reservation of women for better treatment of children" (*annem bana kalır*). Representation of working women was virtually absent. It would not be wrong to say that a notion of the modern ideal woman, both a mother and a career woman has not developed up to the 1970s.

This absence of working women in advertisements deserves analyzing more given the fact that women were increasingly entering the labour force and women addressed by these advertisements were working women in the real life. That advertising industry was male-dominated can be an explanation. As, Friedan told for the American case in the 1960s, as more women struggled for entering labour force and transcending traditional definition of *natural* womanhood, that is the state of being a wife and mother, they were increasingly represented as housewives in journal advisements run by male executives. Moreover, these advertisements in conjunction with articles in the journals promoted scientific home management. The message given was that housework is a serious and complicated work and advertisers tried to prevent women from feeling useless because the new appliances did the housework. Friedan tells:

> By the mid-fifties the surveys reported with pleasure that the Career Woman ("the woman who clamored for equality–almost for identity in every sphere of life, the woman who reacted to 'domestic slavery' with indignation and vehemence") was gone, replaced by "less worldly, less sophisticated" woman . . . who "finds in housework a medium of expression for her feminity and individuality". She's not like the old-fashioned self-sacrificing housewife; she considers herself the equal of man. But she feels lazy, neglectful, haunted by quilt feelings" because she doesn't

> have enough work to do. The advertiser must manipulate her need for "feeling of creativeness" into buying of this product.[368]

Women's demands for equality were manipulated and re-channeled into domesticity by advertising. We can tell that identification of women with house loomed as a universal-like strategy for advertisers guaranteeing their sales of their products. As Freidan, tells it was not a collective and consciousness act of advertising agencies and capitalists around the world that aimed to keep women at home. "It was not an economic conspiracy directed at women". She tells that the heads of General Motors, General Foods, Macy's and directors of all companies that make detergents, ovens, carpentry, etc. never sat down around a conference table and voted on a motion against women to keep them as housewives and nor did they ever say: "Too many women getting educated . . . But how can we keep them at home? We've got to keep them housewives and let's not forget it." [369] It was not as simple and rational as that: obviously the commercial interests allied themselves with patriarchal interests with the purpose of subverting women and making material gains from this subversion. The male-headed advertising agencies used the norms of the patriarchal order and traditional definition of womanhood as mother and housewife in their ads. As we mentioned in the beginning of the third chapter, the identification of women with household and their denial as autonomous agents have close connections with the notion of power in society and also with the dominant form of scientific thinking.

However this traditional view that the natural place of a woman is her home may waver sometimes. The ad of *Nuhun Ankara Makarnası* (Figure 23), for instance, utilizes the jargon of women's movement, the view against "domestic slavery" by its representation of a woman who breaks the chains around her body and throws herself out of the kitchen. The ad reads: "do not be a *slave* in the kitchen for hours." Nevertheless, what saves women in this ad is the product (the pasta) that can be cooked without too much effort. Comparing this product with homemade

[368] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, p. 209.

[369] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, p. 207.

noodle *(erişte)* which women used to make at home, this new product might really serve to alleviate women's work as it is an easily-prepared dish. However, the woman in this ad is not a woman who comes from work and has to prepare dinner. Considering her clothes and kitchen apron she is most probably a housewife. As we mentioned before, the alleviation of housework was not associated with women's working outside the home in these early advertisements. We see a kind of progress in present advertisements as they display women more in working environments and outside the house. Nevertheless, the view that housework is women's work is still strongly held by current advertisements. It is still women who are primarily addressed in present detergent and food item advertisements. A notion of superwomen, a career woman and mother is formed today (e.g., Orkid ad which tells I can make both baby and career) but it is women not men who are faced with this dilemma of making a career or a baby and have to try hard to balance both roles.

For the Turkish print ads up to the 1970s, we cannot also talk about the same degree of sexualization and objectification of women as we see in today's advertisements. The common strategy used by advertisers, that is perceived to result in objectification of women in ads; fragmentation of women's bodies and emphasizing some body parts, especially breasts, hips and legs, was not used up to the 1970s in print advertisements in Turkish newspapers and magazines. We do not claim that the emphasis on body parts was totally absent in early ads, but at least they were infrequent relative to the present situation. Fashion advertisements, especially ads of socks, frequently emphasized legs of women. Another concept which may be useful in investigating *the gaze* and objectification in advertisements is 'face-ism'. The term face-ism was coined to describe a tendency for photographs and drawings to emphasize the faces of men and the bodies of women. In early Turkish advertisements we observe an emphasis on faces of women. This might have been due to the types of the products. The bulk of the early cosmetics products were for face skin; like creams or products for

make-up. Also, this was a period in which women's faces were recently unveiled and this might also cause predominance of women's faces in advertisements.[370]

Figure 46, *Hayat 1960*

Figure 47, *Elele, 1978*

By the 1970s, we witness sexualization of women's appearances in advertisements.

The brief account given here with respect to women's representations in Turkish print ads has been limited given the absence of a literature on the historical studies of advertising and its gender implications for the Turkish case. Firdevs Gümüşoğlu has supplied a valuable survey of representation of women in primary and secondary school textbooks in Turkey from early Republic years up to present and she came to a similar conclusion that women are overrepresented within the sphere of household in textbooks.[371] Navora-Yaşın's study demonstrates that there

[370] I thank Prof. Dr. Y. Eyüp Özveren for drawing my attention to this point.

[371] Firdevs Helvacıoğlu- Gümüşoğlu, *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik*, İstanbul: KaynakYayınları, 1996.

was a peculiar proliferation in rationalized and ordered management of the home in the 1920s and 1930s.[372] There is a growing literature for modern studies of advertising and representation of women in present advertisements in media. We believe that how these representations of women in advertisements evolved through time and how they are interlinked with the emerging consumerism in Turkey need to be further explored.

[372] Navaro-Yaşin, Yael "'Evde Taylorizm': Türkiye Cumhuriyet'nin İlk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi (1928-1940)", *Toplum ve Bilim*, 84, 2000, pp.. 51-73.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study has been motivated by an attempt to challenge mainstream economics' analysis of consumption. It is based on a claim that the ignorance of cultural and historical determinants of consumption by the economics discipline, as well as its blindness to gendered aspects of consumption resulted in an incomplete and biased analysis of consumption. An alternative approach that borrows from Dual Sytems Theory is proposed. It is claimed that both class and patriarchal hierarchies affect consumption practices. Moreover, we believe that middle-class women have been articulated to modern consumption culture both as consumers and commodities; as commodified consumers. Historical origins of this articulation have been explored in order to provide evidence that this specific articulation of women into consumption was not natural and inevitable, but rather ideological. We tried to develop an understanding of masculinity, feminity, production and consumption as socially constructed and historically contingent entities that reflect (and reinforce) power relations in society. As such, due to constant interaction and connection between them, the separate spheres of masculine and feminine, production and consumption, turns out not to be so separate after all.[373]

In the first chapter, we presented how mainstream economics with its premises on a theoretical and ideological separation of consumption from production has prevented maturation of a comprehensive analysis of consumption. We proposed

[373] Lubar, "Men/Women/ Production/Consumption", pp. 9, 31, emphasis added.

that the separations of consumption from production and use-value from exchange-value were by-products of the capitalist commodity production and that neoclassical economics provided the ideological support for this detachment. Building on what is called *substanstialism of needs* neoclassical economics serves as a defense of capitalism claiming that people are 'free to choose' in the *heaven* of market. Theories of Marx, Veblen and Bourdieu with their emphasis on determination of consumption by the social organization of production and class relations in society are utilized to show that consumption is historically and culturally constructed.

The third chapter deals with the issue of gender in consumption, especially how patriarchy and capitalism have entered in partnership to oppress women through ideology of *Mrs. Consumer: Happy Housewife*, body and beauty politics. Mies' concept of housewifization and her analysis of new international division of labor have been utilized to show that the creation of a Western ideal of domesticated privatized woman concerned with *love* and consumption and dependent on a male *breadwinner* was not a process unrelated to the colonization of the other parts of the world.

The third chapter has been framed to how this construction of women as commodities as well as consumers found its symbolic expression in cultural iconography especially in advertisements. Cultural institutions like media, advertising and film industry by their predominance with representations of young, beautiful and slim women continuously remind women of the fact that how they appear matters and is subject to evaluation by *male gaze*. The *beauty myth* in accordance with the fashion system, the advertising and cosmetics industry also tell women that their appearance is important and they are not *perfect*. They should not get weight, not lag behind the fashion and even not get older. Moreover, they are given the impression that if they try hard–an effort which virtually always means more consumption–they will come *close* to the appreciated standards of beauty.

The final chapter is devoted to the analysis of Turkish print advertisements and their representations of women. Randomly selected advertisements from Turkish newspapers and journals ranging from early Republic years up to the 1970s are examined for their display of women. We summarized the findings regarding the display of women in Turkish print ads under two headings: commercialization of domestic ideology and commercialization of female beauty. It is our contention that, these two strategies dominated the representations of women up to the 1970s such that women are overrepresented within the sphere of house and while doing housework and the items related to beauty always addressed the woman consumer. The notion of romantic love in marriage–a key to find and keep a husband–was the main underlying theme in ads for beauty items. This channeling of the 'natural desire' for beauty into domesticity, in connection with the image of women as mother and housewife resulted in prominence of the image of a good mother and housewife who also cares for her appearance. The extra time created with the uses of new products was not connected with an image of working women. Rather, women are perceived to use this extra time for *working on their appearance*. Similar to Naomi Wolf's analysis of the myth of beauty, we can tell that the obsession of women and their cultural representations with beauty and later with sexuality can be considered as new prisons for Turkish women.

Emphasizing the symbolic dimension of women's commodification in visual iconography and by beauty myth does not mean that these are cultural fables. They have material consequences in the lives of women. Women measure their value and self-worth in terms of their appearance. They take risks of cosmetic surgery to achieve beauty standards and they even try to prevent natural transformations in their appearance caused by aging. The violence against women (e.g., sexual harassment, rape, physical and psychological mistreatment) also has much to do with dismembering of women by emphasizing their bodies and turning them into sex objects in cultural representations. Also, both the causes of the myth and its effect are economic. As Wolf points out, diet industry is making

$33 billions a year, the cosmetics industry $ 20 billion, the cosmetic surgery industry $300 million and pornography industry $ 7 billion.[374]

The power relations and the politics of consumption have to be taken into account while analyzing the articulation of women into the realm of consumption. We claim that patriarchal capitalism has integrated women to consumption in a subordinate position. Moreover, we claim that this subordination as well as the real economic and political powerlessness of women have been mystified by the ideology of *freedom in the market* and reconciliation of women's movement to capitalist interests through *marketing of freedom*. As Veblen told, women were once trophies and holdings of men, and this servitude has taken a new form in modern societies in which women turned into decorative ornaments of the house. In contemporary world, women are increasingly confined to their bodies. As in the past, at present the oppression of women by patriarchal capitalism goes on and consumption is an important site of this oppression. What is more tragic, women have deeply internalized these ideologies of housewife and beauty that they do not perceive them as sources of their oppression.

[374] Wolf (1991) cited in Peach (ed.), *Women in Culture*, p. 172, it is told that these are 1991 figures but no information is given about the scale; whether the figures are world or American figures is not specified.

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