Gender and the Language of Advertising

A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Women's Representation in British and Moroccan Magazine Advertisements

Acknowledgments

I would like to give special thanks to "my supervisor", Prof. Isabel Ermida, for her continuous guidance, for her meticulous corrections, pertinent commentaries and permanent encouragement in the accomplishment of this work.

I would also like to thank Prof. Ana Gabriela Macedo and Prof. Joseph Mullin for their attention and support.

I would like to thank Chakir Benkirane for his advice and suggestions before the beginning of this dissertation.

Many thanks are given to my Adil and Léa, to my parents, sister and the rest of the family, to my friends, especially Marieke, D.Isabel, Luis, Margarida, and Rita, and to my colleagues (ILCH) for their constant encouragement and back up.

For Mamaty, Adil & Léa

"With almost every word
we utter, we have a
choice"

(Jane Mills, 1989)

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Introduction

The cultural content of advertising, its language and its connection with gender issues are deeply rooted in our society. In the contemporary world, the universal presence of advertising is increasingly influencing people's daily life; it affects their worldviews, knowledge, motivations, experience, expectations and sense of identity. In particular, language and gender are significant issues that remain widely controversial in the domain of advertising.

The main purpose of this study is to explore women's portrayal in magazines´ advertisements from Britain and Morocco. Besides, it seeks to understand the role of advertising and how it affects the culturally gendered stereotypes, and how each society portrays the image of women compared to that of men. To achieve these objectives, it is necessary to have a preliminary discussion of a number of themes that will be of paramount significance to the comprehension of the corpus analysis.

The first chapter sets the background of the study by focusing on religious and cultural factors, in Britain and Morocco. It analyses how these elements may influence women's attitudes and choices in the social, cultural and economic life, which have a strong impact on the choice of marrying and building a family. Moreover, it will be interesting to mention that using the veil, in Muslim Arab countries, has an impact on the social and economic choices, because veiled women show more conservatism within the market and public sphere. Education will also be examined since it is the only way to open women's mentalities towards critical thinking, and to empower them by encouraging their participation in the labor force and facilitate their integration in the economic life. Additionally, women's equality with men under the law and gender role

stereotypes will be discussed to see to what extent women and men's identities and representations in society are influenced.

After discussing the situation of women in the British and Moroccan societies, it becomes necessary to analyse the language and discourse of advertising, which will be significant in understanding women's depiction in advertisements. Therefore, the second chapter will focus on the discourse of advertising by bringing some elements together, such as positive and negative factors of advertising, how advertising communicates its purposes, what is the relationship between the consumer, the content and meaning of advertisements as well as the social and cultural references needed to achieve the targeted audience. The function of verbal and visual language in advertising will also be explored to see to what extent these two components are primordial in understanding the meaning and the aim of advertisement. Other themes, such as whether advertising reflects or shapes the portrayal of women and men in society, and how advertising should treat audiences differently according to their culture and social habits, will also be discussed so as to understand the discourse of advertising in relation to the consumer and society.

The third chapter will focus on the language of gender. However, before examining this subject, it will be interesting to introduce some basic elements about the languages spoken in Britain and Morocco; English and Arabic. This section speaks about gender and society and how men and women are socialized and portrayed from birth to adulthood and how these relations differ across the two cultures. Moreover, the significance of language in defining the gendered stereotypes will be achieved through exploring the addressing terms for men and women in both societies, especially the female as a girl, as a woman and as an old woman. Importance will be given also to the

language used in the husband-wife relationship, with regard to menstruation and some popular sayings to see if language, in these cases, is demeaning to the image of women. In addition to how women and men are addressed and spoken about, the way in which men and women use language in society is also crucial to mention and discuss. And finally, sexism in language will be discussed so as to understand the role of language in influencing the social, cultural and economic position of women in society.

The last chapter will bring together the various resources and elements discussed in the first three chapters. The status and function of women in both cultures, the discourse used in advertising and the language of gender are key subjects that will inform the advertisement analysis. The chapter will begin with an overview about British and Moroccan women's magazines where we will compare the themes and contents of the magazines. In the corpus analysis, women's portrayal from both cultures will be presented and examined in relation to the females as mothers and wives. Then, women will be focused on in relation to their bodies and beauty; advertisements comparisons will be presented concerning sexuality and nudity, objectification, male-female portrayals, women as childish and as aged and finally women and menstruation. Additionally, women's depiction in relation to fashion will be examined and compared in the two societies. Moreover, some new advertisements in Moroccan women's magazines will be introduced to show new and modern portrayals of Moroccan women. And finally this chapter will end up with a discussion of the results of the study in relation to the situation of women in both cultures, and to the representation of women in advertisement in Britain and Morocco.

Chapter 1: Women in Islam as opposed to British culture

1. Religion and culture

> Dans toute les religions, la femme est adorée comme mère, aimée comme épouse et détestée comme individu, des lors qu'elle veut exister en dehors de ses fonctions d'épouse et de mère (Chafiq, Chahla, Famille Actuelle, Janvier 2004).

Religion is generally believed to be one of the foremost forces that preserve traditions, by maintaining men and women's interactions under control, and contributing as a powerful source to the subordination of women. Religion is, consequently, a form of social order influencing social attitudes and behaviours. In other words, religious beliefs are reflected in everyday life, through the clothing of both men and women, how life events such as birth, marriage or death are ritualized, and what is the suitable role expected from males and females in terms of home, work, childcare, politics and law (Andersen, 1997: 225). Here, religion dominates and influences cultures via providing a set of norms that affect the life style and opinions of the members of any given society. In this case, I am going to compare the impact of religion on culture and the role they both play in two different societies, Morocco and England.

The religion of Islam is identified as a "strong unifying force" in the Moroccan community[1]. It is a patriarchal religion in which women are not only socially controlled by men, but also economically and politically subordinated; as McDonough states "males and females have complementary natures and roles. The men are expected to be the political, religious and family authority, and to deal with all aspects of public life. The women have the major responsibility for the home and child rearing: they have no

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[1] Morocco (98.7% of Muslims) is an Arab-Berber country situated in the extreme Northwest of Africa; its languages are Arabic, Berber, French and Spanish. Its religion is Islam, the established state religion of Morocco, and whose Monarch is the supreme Muslim authority in the country.

economic responsibilities" (1995: 131). The proof is that women continue to be excluded from leadership positions, and are portrayed and associated in religious texts with stereotypical gender roles. Islam shapes both men and women's identities and social behaviour, and all Moroccan customs and habits originate in the religion of Islam because "Islam is not merely a religion. It is a holistic approach to the world" (Mernissi, 2003:17).

Religion is considered to be a cultural identity for Moroccan people as Adbesamad Dialmy argues, "que de Marocains sont Musulmans par simple hérédité sociale! Ce sont des Musulmans géographiques et culturels qui observent l'Islam dans l'unique but d'être socialement intègres, par peur"[2]. Accordingly, men and women's positions in society –the inequality between the sexes- are strongly defined via the social, religious and cultural Moroccan norms and values, because the issue of gender inequality is "not an ideology of female inferiority, but rather a set of laws and customs that ensure that women's status remains one of subjugation" (Mernissi, 2003:11). Hence, the socio-religious setting forms undoubtedly males and females' identities. In other words, in the Moroccan society, everything is interpreted and explained by the rules of religion and via being religious; one may be integrated easily in the social and the political life.

Christianity is the official religion of Britain[3] whose people are defined in relation to their religious life as "believing without belonging" (Davie, 1994:112). There is a widespread agreement that Britain's religious life has known a decline and undergoes many transformations, since economy, education, health care, and social control have mostly passed out of church control. Consequently, churches become unpopular and their

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[2] (www.lejournal-hebdo.com), July 16th, 2005.
[3] Britain is a multi-faith society in which everyone has the right to religious freedom unlike Morocco. Its unbelievers are now more numerous than a decade earlier; 15% of people in Britain have no religion, 72% identified themselves as Christians, and Muslims are the second largest religious group according to the 2001 census. (www.statistics.gov.uk/focuson/religion).

teachings are ignored by the majority of the population, whose "efforts to glorify god are barely noticed", and their beliefs "no longer inform the presuppositions of the wider culture" (Bruce, 1995: 125). Besides, most people in Britain do not approve nor support the core beliefs of the religion that shapes their culture (Bruce, 1995: 54), because they may think that religious thoughts do not cope or agree with the needs and activities of the modern life. Moreover, despite the decline in religious faith, religion may remain a component that may have a significant influence on gender roles in the British society.

From the above statements, one may come to the conclusion that Moroccan people, as strong believers, are greatly influenced by religion, which shapes their identities and immensely controls their cultural and social behaviour. Whereas, British people may be implicitly affected by their religion, but are definitely far away from considering religion as their strong social identity.

Being religious does remain strongly associated with the levels of education, income and social class. In the British context, professionals and senior management are less likely to identify themselves as religious, while unskilled manual workers do so (Bruce, 1995:52). Similarly, in the Moroccan case, educated people who occupy interesting jobs and belong to the middle or high class society are deemed to be less religious than illiterate people who may belong to the working class. However, this does not mean that middle or high class society people are educated and working class people are illiterate even if it is true in some cases.

2. Marriage and family

According to Ibn Murad al-Salah (apud Mernissi, 2003: 15) "the meaning of marriage is the husband's supremacy…Marriage is a religious act…which gives the man a leading power over the woman for the benefit of humanity". In the Moroccan culture, marriage, which is the legitimate device for a socially recognized union between a man and a woman, was and still is the most important preoccupation parents and girls are obsessed with during their life. "Women's marriage is perceived as a protection" (Bourqia, 2000:20) as it is clearly noticed from the popular saying **jwaj setra[4]**.

As a result, family is considered to be "a sacred social institution for motherhood, socialization, relationships, exchange, conflicts, rights, and obligations" (Bennouiss, 2001:22). On the one hand, a father seems to be the "boss of the family" who plays the role of the authority figure, and takes care of the financial side since according to the Islamic religion, women[5] are not expected to contribute to the family's revenues. According to the Qur'an, "men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means…"[6] On the other hand, a mother is required to be the housewife whose main function is to bear children, take care of the household and support the husband, since "women are the guardians of Moroccan tradition, and the family is the basic cell of Moroccan Muslim society" (Baker, apud Bennouiss, 2001:22).

However, nowadays both men and women work as the wife's income has become essential to the economy of the family. Moreover, one may agree that in the Moroccan

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[4] Marriage is a protection.
[5] There are 17% of female-headed households in Morocco.
[6] The Presidency of Islamic Researches, Ifta, Call and Guidance, Surat 4, Verse: 34. (Apud Bennouiss, 2001:61).

society "women have moved into employment, but husbands have not moved into childbearing and housework" (Hadlee, apud Bennouiss, 2001:61). In other words, wives and mothers end up having various tasks at home besides their work outside; while men kept their jobs without having any responsibility at home.

By the end of the 20th century, marriage in the British society ceased to be a crucial element in women's life. They are no longer supposed to marry to survive economically because "almost three-quarters of women were in the labour force and earned, on average, about four fifths of the male rate" (Bargielowska, 2001: 5). Consequently, marriage rates have fallen, and the traditional family based on a husband responsible for earning money outside, and a wife responsible for the home and children has known dramatic changes.

Nowadays, Britain has a great diversity of household patterns; nuclear family, lone parents where the vast majority is headed by women, cohabitation where pre-marital sex is common place and "condoned" in the British society, childbearing outside marriage, and homosexual couples (the rights of lesbian and gay couples are recognized under the British law) (MacRae, 1999: 1). Therefore, because of women's participation in education, work and public life, there are more independent women having fewer children, and living alone. However, it is not women's employment which is the cause behind their readiness to abandon marriage, but "the awareness it creates of tensions within the marriage" (Bargielowska, 2001: 78). As a result, all these modifications have a significant impact on the economic and social behaviour of women in the British society.

Ultimately, it becomes clear that the importance of marriage and family is differently seen and interpreted in the two societies, since they are influenced by different

systems at the religious, economic and political levels. While family is highly valued in the Moroccan society because of the primordial influence of both religion and traditions, it is not taken as the obligation or the norm that all citizens have to submit to in the British society. The reason is that the majority of British women are more powerful socially and more independent economically when compared with Moroccan women.

3. The veil

> If what men fear is that women might succumb to their masculine attraction, why did they not institute veils for themselves? (Qasim Amin[7], 1928 apud Mernissi, 2003: 31).

Hijab[8] or the veil is the choice made by Moroccan women to identify their belonging to a certain specific culture, tradition and religion. According to Rugh (apud Hessini, 2000: 96) , "clothing is a way to show one's belonging to a group and affirming one's difference in relation to a group"; there are women who wear the veil by tradition and others by conviction. The veil is believed to be a device to avoid attraction – particularly a sexual one- between men and women publicly.

An interpretation for the use of the veil stems from women's entrance into the job market. For decades, men took their place traditionally in the public sphere; while women used to exercise their duties at home in their private space. However, it became very difficult to survive only with one salary, and women had no choice but to work outside home to earn a living. Therefore, the only acceptable way for women to penetrate the

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[7] An Egyptian writer, linked with the movement for women's emancipation in Egypt in the opening year of the twentieth century.

[8] From hajaba: hide in the meaning of protect, a piece of clothing worn over the head and shoulders. The veil could not prevent prostitution and adultery as McDonough claims, the self respect of the women comes from their internal standards of morality and self-regard (1995: 131).

masculine world is to follow the norms by isolating themselves in their private protecting Hijab. Even if they are allowed to work outside under certain rules, women agree on not forgetting their responsibility at home; whereas men take care of their jobs only. As a result, in order not to threaten the society's equilibrium, women are required to wear the veil because "Muslim ideology, which views men and women as enemies, tries to separate the two, and empowers men with institutionalized means to oppress women" (Mernissi, 2003:20).

Through the interviews made by Leila Hessini[9], wearing the veil, guarantee that women are likely to receive more respect from the part of both males and females. It is a sort of an escape from a deceptive world that treats them as mere instruments and sexual objects. The veil, from their point of view, allows them to protect themselves from men and the negative consequences resulting from the confrontation between sexes. "Attraction is a natural link between the sexes. Whenever a man is faced with a woman, fitna might occur: when a man and a woman are isolated in the presence of each other, Satan is bound to be their third companion[10]" (Mernissi, 2003:42). Therefore, women who do not wear the veil are considered to be a potential threat to the social stability.

Traditionally, a man is related to strength and dignity while a woman is described as being weak and capricious. Therefore, according to the stereotypical beliefs about females, women should either stay at home in their own private space, or wear the veil to be able to go outside in the public context. This way, women fit themselves to the regulations of a society under both the Islamic norms and the obligations of the modern life.

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[9] Egyptian anthropologist led her interviews with educated women from middle and high class society.
[10] Hadith; a text containing things said by Mohamed and descriptions of his daily life, used by Muslims as a spiritual guide.

4. Education

Education, a significant factor in reducing fertility rates, is reckoned to be the most essential prerequisite (responsible) for empowering women in all spheres in society. Without education, women cannot catch up men in the public sphere by participating and gaining social, economic and political power and influence (Lopez-Claros & Zahidi, 2005: 5).

Gender gaps in education are common in Morocco. In poor families, boys are more allowed to go to school than girls due to the idea that education is worthless for girls and unless a female teacher will teach them, especially in rural areas. Educating girls is perceived to be a distraction from the work girls are expected to do for their families, since girls are supposed to prepare themselves for marriage, not jobs (World Bank, 2004: 28-39). Therefore, illiteracy in Morocco is 17% for girls compared to 9% for boys, and 55% for women compared to 31% for men, 2005[11].

Empirical studies from a diverse group of countries show that the education of mothers improves the education, nutrition and health of their children. For such a reason women's education is the principal means for the creation of better educated families, and consequently empowering women to obtain roles in the public sphere. However, Moroccan social norms such as early marriage and childbearing participate in interrupting women's schooling and work. Another problem regarding the discrimination of girls in education is that girls' education is still oriented toward domesticity. Besides, the curricula used in Moroccan schools are meant to instill gender roles stereotypes to its students (World Bank, 2004: 34-41). Therefore, closing the gender gap in education may

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[11] http://www.rdh50.ma/atlas/r.htm

require an educational curriculum that is content-free of gender injustices and stereotypes.

For the time being, 43% of the Moroccan population is illiterate, which is a dramatically high figure if compared with western averages. Fifty five percent of Moroccan women cannot read nor write, which means that educational attainment for females is still lagging behind. In Britain "girls outperformed boys at all levels in education", but it should be noted that such advances were not totally transmitted into equal performance in the labour force, where men remained "dominant and well-paid" (Bargielowska, 2001: 4). Likewise, although Moroccan women have known progress in education, fertility and life expectancy, these improvements are translated neither in the economic participation nor in the political empowerment, nor have they caused higher employment.

Illiteracy is widely prevalent in the Moroccan society. More than half of women are unable to read or write and this cannot but have a negative impact on their living socially and economically, which may have a strong influence on their choices and decisions in life.

5. Work and economy

Education in Morocco has known a significant improvement in spite of the large percentage of illiteracy. Such a change is likely to give more opportunities for women to participate in the labour force and contribute to the progress of the country. However, although men and women of this generation are raised in nuclear families where gender stereotypes are less pronounced, discrimination against women is greatly present in the

Moroccan society because of the pressure of religion and traditions. Social norms insist that the private space is meant for women to take care of the domestic chores and fulfill family needs, while the public sphere is the place of power traditionally preserved for men.

Nevertheless, the families´ economic reality encourages women to contribute to the development of the country through participating in the labour force, although it is difficult for women to reconcile work with family obligations. Unfortunately, women's economic participation faces wage discrimination and job segregation, which has increased in North-Africa and the Middle-East because of cultural norms (World Bank, 2004: 68). Men are better paid and occupy more top jobs than women. The reason seems to be that men have more qualifications than women, better education, experience and productivity. Moreover, men's incomes are believed to be more important to support families; this is why their wages must be higher than those of women even if some women have the same qualifications as men (World Bank, 2004: 79).

In spite of the low participation of women in the labor force[12], their working for low wages, and their limited work opportunities, (there is still the perception that teaching and nursing are appropriate professions for women), it is believed that the increase of women's participation at work may cause unemployment for men. For all the stated reasons, Moroccan women remain inferior under the authority and control of men. The majority of women, as a result, remains dependent socially and financially on the ability of men, since it is the correct and expected behaviour prescribed by the norms and

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[12] Female participation in the labour force in Morocco is 43.6%, 2000. And women's participation in top jobs in the public, political, economic and scientific spheres is not higher than 10% (Nesma Didi, Ousra Magazine, Mars 2003, p 114).

regulations of the community. Therefore, gender equality at work may be a violation to the social order, yet it continues to be an important factor for the economic growth.

One comes to the conclusion that women in general choose to work outside out of necessity, only for economic purposes, because husbands' incomes do not satisfy their needs. Thus, the concept that women could work for their own fulfillment and progress is never mentioned, in the sense that women imply unconsciously the idea that, in the idealistic Islamic society, women's place is at home. Other women make employed women responsible for men's joblessness, and there are other women who cannot wear the veil; otherwise, they are likely to lose their jobs.

On the contrary, women in Britain do not share the same destiny as Moroccan women. The proof is that more people are living alone like lone mothers who are independent and responsible for their own living. Lesthaeghe, (1995 apud Scott, 1999: 70) points to "the rising importance of individual autonomy, both in terms of individual freedom of choice and rejection of external authority". Therefore, individualism, and independency from the others' control is highly valued and present in the British society, unlike Moroccans who value the centrality of the family and the dependency of women upon men. Moreover, the emancipation of British women was due to the increased economic autonomy through the labour force participation.

Gender discrimination was prohibited in the British law 30 years ago. As Goldthorpe (1989: 144) points out "equal pay for equal or similar work has been enjoyed by law in Britain since 1970, and sex discrimination in selection for jobs and conditions of employment has been generally unlawful, with certain exceptions, since 1975". However, women, throughout the world, are still excluded from some areas of the public

life and are typically less paid than men because of the different levels of qualifications (World Bank, 2004:101). Be that as it may, disparities between men and women in term of their education, income and labour force participation are significantly greater in the Muslim Arab world.

6. Gender inequality in the Moroccan law

The creation of the new "Family Code"[13] promotes equality between men and women, and is reckoned to be an important step proposing a wide variety of legal and social reforms for women's benefit. These rules are made to free women from the injustice they used to endure under the "Code of Personal Status"[14].

A comparison of some provisions in the (2003-2004) "Family Code" and the (1957-1958) "Code of Personal Status" will be of paramount significance in order to assess the women's improved status in the Moroccan society.

6.1. The (1957-1958) "Code of Personal Status"[15]

Under the reign of Hassan II, the former king of Morocco, only husbands were responsible for the family, and wives had to obey them. A woman was required to obtain the permission of her tutor before marriage. Repudiation and divorce were reserved only for men, and mothers were supposed to lose custody when getting married another time.

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[13] New Moroccan law for the benefit of the family, for the justice and equality of women and children.
[14] Old Moroccan law, influenced by the school of Imam Malik and its conservative interpretation of Islam.
[15] On-line resources for information on the new family code (Moudawana) in Morocco, from http://friendsofmorocco.org/Family%20Code.htm

Therefore, whenever a religion is behind the law, there is no possible equality or justice for the benefit of women.

6.2. The (2003-2004) "Family Code"[16]

However, within the regime of Mohammed VI[17], Morocco has set out to reform its family law as a critical step toward promoting greater gender equality. Both spouses are responsible for the family. There is no requirement for wives to obey their husbands. Women no longer need a tutor in order to get married, and divorce is set by mutual consent. Polygamy is not outlawed (while Tunisian legal authorities assert that there is no koranic authority for polygamy), but it is made almost practically impossible because the husband needs his first wife agreement so as to marry a second one. The legal age of marriage is raised from 15 to 18 for both sexes. As a result, this new Code gives equal rights for women to make decisions about marriage, divorce, custody and alimony.

Despite the active support of the king: (Women should be truly honored and freed from all the injustices they are enduring; otherwise, democracy and human rights would be meaningless), cultural norms often prevent women from exercising those rights. Some claim that the new Family Code is for the benefit of women, whereas others think it is against the religion and traditions of the country. However, the new law is expected to be ineffective if the mentalities of Moroccan people are not changing by at least partially burying the stereotypes related to women in general.

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[16] Ibid.

[17] King of Morocco, son of late king Hassan II, and a descendent from the Alaouite offspring.

While the law has improved through supporting women's needs and interests, mentalities have proved slower to accept change, because Moroccan women still face practical social and economic discrimination in both public and private realms. Therefore, government legislation has not eradicated discrimination in the social and economic spheres, nor has it succeeded in transforming social values and norms.

7. Gender roles

> On ne naît pas femme on le devient
> (Simone de Beauvoir).

Parents expect different behaviours and attitudes from their children; girls are reared to become wives and mothers, and boys to occupy paid jobs. Therefore, gender is socially and culturally constructed and behaviour is identified and interpreted through traditions and culture. Attitudes, emotions, postures and body language are fundamental factors to identify males and females in a culture. Gender roles also extend to social behaviour, occupations, clothing and interaction with other people (Carroll, 1996: 163). Men and women are different and these differences seem to determine their social function.

We have seen in the previous sections how gender roles in the Moroccan society are clearly divided and controlled by men, religion, traditions, and authorities' legislations. They are shaped through traditional thoughts. Both men and women give great value to the centrality of the family and not the individual, as does the British culture. Husband and wife are expected to carry complementary responsibilities in which man is the only breadwinner of the family, and woman is assumed to take care of her

reputation via accomplishing her duties as a wife and a mother. This an equal balance of power in the private realm affects women's access to the public. However, due to the narrow-minded mentalities and to the culture of submission to the powerful man, Moroccan women's objective in life has always been to marry first, and to be dependent on the husband. There is the belief that since man supports his wife and family, this gives him the right to exercise control and authority over woman's interactions in the public place (World Bank, 2004:10).

On the contrary, gender stereotypes are not explicitly dictated and present in the British community. The proof is that British women in the 21st century exert an increasingly powerful impact "on the pace and direction of economic, social and cultural change". Women have participated in improving their social and economic status between 1960 and 2000, and have contributed to fundamental changes in the law in relation to the position of British women (Bargielowska, 2001:2-290). However, although they widened their opportunities and choices in many areas, "traditional gender stereotypes which assumed that women's primary role is in the domestic setting continued to be influential, men hold on to their dominant position in society" (Bargielowska, 2001: 1). Therefore, gender inequality remains sizeable and significant, and genuine equality between men and women remains elusive in Britain. The power and privilege of men over women are still deeply-seated in the British society because men are still holding most of the dominant positions of power and influence (Alcock, 1996: 225).

Ultimately, gender roles in Morocco are deemed to be stereotypical roles which are deeply present implicitly and explicitly through men and women's behaviour. These

roles are imposed under parental and social pressure. Many people yearn for the old days when males and females' roles were clearly and traditionally defined, others still see injustices in men and women's interaction and argue that women need to have more freedom and equality. However, British women have different roles in society other than wives and mothers. They are socially and economically stronger than Moroccan women because of the changes British society has known at the level of family transition.

In short, gender roles are learnt from the environment surrounding us; religious and cultural systems clearly define our behaviour though this behaviour differs widely throughout the world, and is determined primarily by the nation or local culture and society.

Now that we have examined the social, cultural, religious, economic and political factors that influence women's position and roles in the British and Moroccan societies, the following chapter will address the language and discourse of advertising. Who is communicating the advertising message, what is the content of the message, what is the communication medium, who is the receiver of the message, and what are the effects of the message on the targeted audience are significant questions that will be discussed.

Chapter 2: The discourse of advertising

1. What is advertising?

> Advertising is ubiquitous – it is the air we breathe as we live our daily lives (Jhally, 1995: 79).

Advertising is a prevalent phenomenon nowadays that has gained the attention and interest of a large number of individuals in different societies around the globe. People are exposed to the advertising process wherever they are. Advertising is not only an 'ideal tool' for reaching people economically, but it is a device of attaining and maintaining contact with persons socially, culturally, politically and even psychologically. Therefore, advertising is neither an innocent way of selling products nor the primary factor which changes society's attitudes and behaviour so as to fulfil its ends and economic purposes.

According to Harris and Seldon (1962: 40 apud Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 2), advertising is defined as a public notice "designed to spread information with a view to promoting the sales of marketable goods and services". From this perspective, advertising exists "to help to sell things" (White, 2000: 5), which is limited to giving utilitarian information about the product with the objective of informing the consumer about the necessity and the importance of the commodity advertised.

Besides, according to Nicosia (1974 apud Sheehan, 2004: 2-3), to advertise means "to give notice, to inform, to notify or to make known". He goes on and suggests that a successful advertisement should include 'information', 'reasoning' and 'emphasis'. He means that advertisers should not only inform their audiences about the product, but also stimulate ideas among them as well as developing their curiosity and interests through creating new meanings from the advertised commodity.

As a result, to advertise is to inform the consumer about the product as well as persuading him or her to buy this product, which will be achieved only through creating a meaning or value out of it. Through images, verbal language or symbols, consumers come to identify themselves with the merits and significance of the advertised product in their everyday life. In other words, advertising is about information, but it is also about 'appearances'; "advertising is not just about the objects´ appearance but about personal appearances: how we look at others, how we think of ourselves" (Barthel, 1988: 1). Hence, advertising according to Barthel is about creating a relationship between *subject* and *object*, which means between the product and the meaning or the value it brings to its buyer - the meaning the product carries, which the buyer wishes to appropriate.

2. Advertising: detractors and defenders

> The most serious offense many of depth manipulators commit, it seems to me, is that they try to invade the privacy of our minds (Packard, 1957:266 apud Fowles, 1996: 62).

Like any other institution, advertising has its critics and defenders. There are many opinions as to whether advertising is a profitable or a negative facet in society. It is suggested that it is not correct that "all ads are socially responsible and dedicated to the furtherance of humanity" (White, 2000: 163) since publicity encourages "wasteful and excessive" consumption.

Critics consider advertising to be "powerful, persuasive and manipulative", and judge consumers as being "unable to decide rationally what are their real needs and how to satisfy them" (Leiss, 1997: 34). In other words, the omnipresent discourse of

advertising has a negative impact on people's attitudes since it encourages them to "overvalue material things in life" (Leiss, 1997: 2-3). Besides, there is a kind of emotional connection created between the product and the consumer due to the need of an immediate satisfaction of a desire – the desire to possess something.

Similarly, Barthel (1988) accuses advertising of defining "not just new needs but new values", in the sense that "it makes people believe they can find happiness, even transcendence, through the purchase of products" (P: 20-21). She remarks that advertising encourages a certain passivity; "it offers a release from boredom not through drugs but through products that promise" (P: 5).

However, advertising is defended as being "a valuable contributor to the efficiency and freedom of a market economy" and is considered also as being "a form of artistic expression" (Leiss, 1997: 3). It is also deemed to be a positive form, according to Kellner (1995: 5), contributing to the education of the public "about how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear and desire – and what not to", and a source teaching audiences "how to be men and women; how to dress, look and consume; how to react to members of different social groups; how to be popular and successful and avoid failure; and how to conform to the dominant system of norms, values, practices and institutions" (Kellner, 1995: 5).

Ultimately, it is true that advertising has many negative points revealing gender role stereotypes and influencing consumers' lives socially, culturally and economically. For instance, advertising tries to emphasis the restricted role of women inside their families either single or married, working or as homemakers. Of course, these factors differ from a country to another according to the customs and culture adopted in each

country. However, advertising is sometimes considered as a way of educating people and stimulating them for new experiences and personal fulfillment. To sum up, advertising attempts to increase consumption in society, but it is up to consumers to accept or disagree with the activity of purchasing. Consumers are given information and are successfully persuaded in many ways to buy new commodities everyday; still they are not forced to do so; "advertising can have effects on consumers, but only if consumers choose to look at advertisements" (Sheehan, 2004: 32).

3. The advertising communicative situation

In magazine advertisements, communication requires the presence and interaction of a number of elements for the understanding and the successfulness of the message. The interaction takes place between the 'addresser' who is the advertiser, the 'addressee' who is the public or the reader, the 'meaning' which is given to the product and transmitted between the participants, the 'medium' which is language and image, the 'channel' which is in this case the written form, and finally the 'context' which refers to the social and cultural situation, as well as the shared knowledge between the advertiser and the consumer (Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 15).

It is assumed that advertisements rely on different relationships, and the three most important factors that must be involved and should be taken into consideration in the advertising context are: the 'individual' who is seeing the advertisement, the 'context' of the advertisement and the 'content' of its message because these are very crucial in creating people's own worldviews (Sheehan, 2004: 1). According to Kelly-Holmes (2005: 2-3), these relationships are "socially, economically, culturally, linguistically and

politically constructed", and for the advertisement to work successfully, the advertiser needs to assume "a common culture or communicative context" within the audience.

4. The purposes of advertising

> Advertising's central function is to create desires – to bring into being wants that previously did not exist (Galbraith, 1971: 149 apud Fowles, 1996: 61).

The advertising agencies and the media have a variety of objectives to accomplish so as to please and gratify the needs of the consumer, something that could be attained through manipulation for instance. They employ psychologists and sociologists to determine "which values and images are most likely to appeal to the audience" (Lund, 1947: 73 apud Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 49) so as to be able to understand the consumers´ state of mind.

Advertising is concerned with the 'fears and worries' of people. It has to satisfy their material needs (food, clothes, shelter and means of transport) and their social wants (love, friendship, and belonging to a group…) through the consumption of goods. Therefore, products become carriers of information about "what kind of people we are, or would like to be" (Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 5).

In the same way, White (2000) presents an influential theory in advertising, Maslow's theory, which shows how the human needs are structured. Maslow proposes that there is a hierarchy of individuals needs; 'food, drink, sex, shelter, sleep and air' which are necessities located at the base of the hierarchy, and need to be satisfied before

'health, safety, order', 'relationship, affection, sense of belonging', 'prestige, success, self-respect', and finally 'fulfillment of potentials' (P: 262-263).

Consequently, the advertiser has to relate the commodity to an exciting meaning that is made to gratify the consumer's needs, wishes and dreams. Advertising has to know the world of consumers, their sense of identity, their attitudes and expectations and then create associations between people's dreams and the commodity. According to Jerry Goodis (apud Leiss, 1997: 200), 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".

Finally, one may come to the conclusion that the purpose of advertising is to change people's views and make them buy the product. As a result, advertising develops its own "narratives of sex and romance, family and community, failure and success" (Barthel, 1988: 12-13). It confines itself largely to "basic human derives such as gain, emulation, protectiveness, and the physical appetites" (Leech, 1972: 26) in order to get closer to the consumer in all life fields and achieve its objectives.

5. Formats of advertisements

According to Leiss (1997), the relationship created between the product and the consumer has shaped new relations and meanings, which are divided into four basic communicative formats.

The first format is the 'product-information format', which describes and emphasizes the product and its utility, by means of a text which explains the benefits and the characteristics of the commodity (P: 240). The second format has to do with the

relationship between the product and picture: it is the so called 'product-image format', in which the name of the brand and package are important as well as the illustration usually used to valorize the product. Here, the use of art and photography encourage the placement of the product in a "symbolic rather than utilitarian setting", because the message implied in the visual representation gives the opportunity to explain the "potentialities of products and their meaning in the human world" (P: 244). The 'personalized format' is another association between the commodity and people, in which persons are "explicitly and directly interpreted in their relationship to the world of the product" (P: 246). In this case, the product is presented in relation to the mother-daughter or male-female relationships. The 'lifestyle format' is the last relation which is established between the consumer, the product, the setting and the consumption style by combining aspects of the 'product-image and personalized format' (P: 259). Here, images, event and experiences are taken from everyday life and from the dreaming world to present the advertisement in an attractive and exciting way.

6. The cultural dimension of advertising

> People's needs have never been natural, but always cultural, always social, always defined relatives to the standard of their societies (Schudson, 1984:145 apud Sheehan, 2004: 24).

Consumers derive meaning not only from the product alone, but also from the external world, from experiences, from societal and cultural elements, and from their beliefs and values, because the suggestive meaning or vitality of the product is taken from the events and adventures of everyday life. I agree with Sheehan (2004: 24) when

he says that "since we are viewing the world through this cultural lens, it is difficult to make decisions based on the rational attributes of a product. The cultural lens allows us to create meaning from the product and services that come into our view".

It is taken for granted that "material objects" always convey "meanings and messages" about people's social position; "rank, status, privilege, roles, caste, sex", and about how such "social subgroups were formed and about what rules groups devised to dictate their conduct to each other" (Leiss, 1997: 13). Products are related to people's personal happiness and social success; consequently, commodities are not only satisfiers of needs but are also communicators of meaning.

Additionally, products must be given a 'personality' since products are not sold simply "on the basis of what they are, but rather also on the basis of what image they project" (Barthel, 1988: 26), as if who we are were defined by what we have. In other words, it is clear that it is always better to introduce the product by identifying it with popular desires instead of convincing the public into liking it through giving its qualities and attributes (Leech, 1972: 27).

7. The role of language and visual images

> The word and the picture do not exist in pure contradistinctions; rather, there is a continuum whereby the word is a learned and arbitrary or conventional symbol and the image is a partially learned and partially naturalistic one (Ernst Gombrich, 1981: 24 apud Fowles, 1996: 84).

The function of language in advertising is to express feelings, offer advice, inform and persuade, describe or create. Advertising language can either follow "a prescribed path of advertising clichés" or have the freedom to "deviate from it and from the rules of

the language itself" (Leech, 1972: 4). Moreover, the fact of advertising different kinds of products "means making different choices of language and in particular different choices of vocabulary" (Leech, 1972: 57).

Concerning visual images, advertising images attempt to create a relation between the commodity and social or cultural characteristics and qualities. Images do not have only the role of reinforcing the idea of selling a product, but they have also a strong role in selling a "worldview, a lifestyle, and value system" (Kellner, 1995: 127). There are three major functions of visual images according to Messaris (1997: vii); "they can elicit emotions by stimulating the appearance of a real person or object; they can serve as photographic proof that something really did happen; and they can establish an implicit link between the thing that is being sold and some other image". In this case, the role of images in advertising is to display a 'human context' which derives meanings from the product, and it is for such a reason that the majority, if not all advertisements, contain images of persons, especially young people (Fowles, 1996: 149).

> The imagery depicts young people because youth is the stage most given over to the formation of self-identity. It shows leisure activities because those are the hours devoted to the self. It is gender-ridden because gender lies at the core of self-identity. Advertising imagery fixes on what individuals fix on, converting their needs into its forms in the hope that acceptance of these figurations will lead to acceptance of the commodities offered (Fowles, 1996: 157).

According to Fowles (1996: 84), it is important to distinguish between images and words. Illustrations are "one kind of symbol and words are distinctly another"; words are completely "arbitrary creations", while images are "naturalistic representations". Therefore, the heart of any advertisement is not only either the picture or the text, but it is "the visual imagery redolent with symbolic properties that the advertiser hopes the

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consumer will find significant" since the combination of text and image has become very important for successful communication. Similarly, according to Leiss (1997: 199), the prevalence of using images in the media is gradually growing, which improves 'the ambiguity of meaning' embedded in the advertising message. Visual representations become "more common and the relationship between text and visual image becomes more complementary".

According to Barthes (1964, apud Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 34-35), images are 'ambiguous or polysemic', while verbal messages are 'unambiguous or monosemic'. He mentions two main functions of text in relation to picture: *anchorage* in which "the text provides the link between the picture and the situation in space and time", and *relay* which denotes "a reciprocal relation between text and picture". It is true that sometimes pictures are vaguer than language, and need to be explained by it; however, both language and imagery are crucial in the communication process, and both of them are complementary in constituting the meaning expected from the advertisement.

8. Advertising and society: reflecting vs. shaping

> I, for one, see advertising not simply as the shaper of men and women, but as shaped by men and women, the advertiser and the public (Barthel, 1988: 191).

The question here is to discover whether advertising is creating social values and producing new needs and meanings, or simply mirroring attitudes and behaviours already existing in the social and cultural life.

Of course, this is a question that pervades through all forms of discourse analysis. Since advertising is trying to associate its products with people's emotions, ambitions,

perspectives, and lifestyles, "it is most unlikely that it creates any of these" (White, 2000: 260). Advertising, as White goes on to add, acts as a mirror of society, rather than acting to change it. The reason behind such an argument is that advertising reflects "social values and attitudes with respect to the means and ends of human activities" (Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 123).

Advertising mirrors the routine of everyday life, and attempts to create original meanings. Leiss (1997: 218) affirms that advertising first "raids the ceremonial practices in our daily existence for its material, and then returns them to us in exaggerated forms, accentuating many of their least attractive features". In his point of view, meanings are not produced out of nothing. This reinforces the idea that there is a strong relationship between advertising and reality, which Goffman (1979) has mentioned in his writings.

Van Bakel (2001) agrees that advertising "mirrors a culture, and thus, it should reflect the dominant tone of a culture". For example, nudity in advertising is normal in France, may be questionable in America, while it is forbidden in the Arab Muslim world (apud Sheehan, 2004: 85). Therefore, nudity in French advertisements is possible, but it is completely ruled out in the Muslim context.

On the contrary, although advertising draws materials from everyday life, this does not mean that advertisements merely reflect reality. Actually, they create new meanings, as White remarks (2000: 260) "it is difficult, through advertising, to change people's behaviour. But this is what much government advertising seeks to do". Bill Bernbach (apud Sheehan, 2004: 89) is another author who believes that publicity shapes society rather than reflects its values and norms; "all of us who professionally use the

mass media are the shapers of society. We can vulgarize society. We can brutalize it. Or we can help lift it onto a higher level".

As society changes, advertising becomes "the happy chameleon, always delighted to don spring's new colors" (Barthel, 1988: 13). This statement may make us believe that advertising does reflect society, at the same time as media images in general contribute to shape "our view of the world and our deepest values" (Kellner, 1995: 5). In other words, advertising does not work only by "creating values and attitudes out of nothing but by drawing upon and rechanneling concerns that the target audience (and the culture) already shares" (Jhally, 1995: 79-80).

9. Different audiences, different advertisements

> Advertisers may send symbols of magical power and control, but symbols lie dormant until a consumer lends meaning to them (Fowles, 1996: 99).

For successful communication to take place, the audiences must be taken into consideration in the advertising process because "what is appropriate for one audience may be unsuitable for another" (Sheehan, 2004: 85). Audiences belonging to different backgrounds, I mean people belonging to different societies and to different cultures, customs and religions, interpret the advertising messages differently and use culture differently as well.

Moreover, it is obvious that language may change when the audiences differ in the social or educational status (Leech, 1972: 63-64). In other words, when addressing different audiences, social factors such as, age, education, gender as well as other external components, should be taken into consideration. For example, in the Moroccan

context, TV and Magazines´ advertisements are addressed to different audiences and are using a different language and discourse. The reason is that the audience of magazines is expected to be more educated and seems to belong to a different social class than TV's audiences. Another example is that nudity in British advertisements is prohibited for a Moroccan audience. Therefore, advertising should be 'flexible' and 'adaptable' to the social and cultural life of a society.

As I stated above, it is true that advertising should adapt to the social and cultural norms of a specific audience. However, I would like to conclude by mentioning that in any given society we find two different audiences or identities. There are those who follow "the dictates of media culture" by "following the dominant fashion, values and behaviour", and there is another group who resists "dominant forms of culture and identity, creating their own style and identities" (Kellner, 1995: 2-6). The second group in my opinion is more resistant and cannot be easily influenced by the advertising manipulations. Stuart Ewen (apud Jhally, 1995: 85) suggests that there are two worlds corresponding to the previous two audiences; there is a world of "substance where real power rests and where people live their real lives", and there is "a world of style and surface" where audiences easily submit to consumerism because of their social and cultural education.

Finally, the language and discourse of advertising remain crucial to understanding the objective of advertising as well as the social and cultural dimensions used to achieve and influence audiences. However, the role of the language of gender is very important to clarify the language used in advertising and the impact it has on women and men. In the following chapter, I will examine how men and women are portrayed in society from an

early age and how this portrayal differs between the two cultures. Gender roles, how men and women are addressed, whether they use language differently and how sexism in language may influence the social behaviour and attitude of both males and females will be discussed in the British and Moroccan cultures.

Chapter 3: **The language of gender**

1. Introduction

> Language holds the key to challenging and changing male hegemony. For French feminists women's oppression has to be understood linguistically. Any and all representations, whether of women or men, are embedded first in language, and then in politics, culture, economics, history, etc. (Romaine, 2001: 157).

Language, gender and society are three complex and closely interwoven terms that I will attempt to explore in this chapter. The question of whether language reflects or shapes the social life and consequently gender relationships and expectations is a central one which I will also attempt to tackle. In other words, is it language which transmits gender thoughts, beliefs and actions? Or, conversely, does language determine men and women's relationships and behaviour? Is it possible to define language as a naïve mirror translating the social and cultural reality? Or it is the norms, traditions and values that introduce a basis for the creation of any language? Does society define women and men's language, choices and action? Or it is simply the interaction between language and society which gives birth to gender stereotypes and sexist language? The answer to these questions will help us understand how men and women's space, speech, perspectives and choices are both determined and reflected by language.

There are so many questions that I would like to answer and examine in this chapter, but will not be able to answer them all. Instead, I will try to highlight some important notions related to the subject. For example how do the socio-cultural factors interact with language in order to determine men and women's relationships in society? Why and how is gender deemed to be an important and powerful component in social interaction? How does its influence go beyond people's thoughts, attitudes and beliefs? How can society explain the learning and maintenance of gender? How is gender

negotiated in language and across cultures? How does the social construction of society shape women and men's personalities in terms of social roles, expectations, language choice, traditional beliefs and so on?

The aim of my work will basically be to explore the importance of both language and society in determining and reinforcing female and male differences in speech (form and content), beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. The emphasis will be on how gender is negotiated and represented in language and society, and how the linguistic form may reflect and shape the social and cultural conditions under which women and men live.

2. Britain vs. Morocco / English vs. Arabic

The objective of my analysis will be British English and Arabic, which calls for a brief introductory note on the two languages and corresponding countries.

Morocco, whose major languages are Arabic, Berber[18], French and Spanish, and whose religion[19] is Islam, is an Arab-Berber country situated in the extreme Northwest of Africa. "It is the juncture point where Europe meets Africa, where the Mediterranean Sea meets the Atlantic Ocean, where the East meets the West" (Lahlou, 1991:36 apud Bennouiss, 2001: 8). Morocco is a country with multi-ethnic groups and with a rich culture blended from Arab, Berber, European, and African influences. For this reason, Morocco is deemed to be "one of the most striking mixtures of modernity and Muslim tradition" (Mernissi, 2003:20).

The Arabic language is a Semitic language spoken by about 300 million people, from the Arabian Gulf in the East to the Atlantic Ocean in the West. Arabic in Morocco

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[18] Berbers constitute more than 60% of the Moroccan population.
[19] The Muslim religion, based on the belief in one God, Muslim 98.7%, Christian 1.1%, Jewish 0.2%.

is divided into three parts: the Classical Arabic, the official language and also the language of the holy Qur'an[20], is the vehicle to spiritual and literary heritage. The Modern Standard Arabic, codified and accepted by citizens as a symbol of national identity, is used in education - alongside French - , mass-media and administration. Finally, Moroccan Arabic and Berber are dialects which are neither codified nor standardized, and are used neither for written purposes nor in formal situations. Moreover, Moroccan people use a mixture of Moroccan dialect and French or Spanish - depending on the region - in their interaction of everyday life. According to Youssi (1995: 30) "more than 50% of the population use a more or less pidginized form of French to communicate" (apud Hachimi, 2001: 29). Besides, French is considered to be the language of prestige in the Moroccan society.

Britain,[21] whose official religion is Anglicanism, is situated in the Northwest of Europe. English, which is derived from the West Germanic branch, has become according to Hellinger (2001: 106), "the lingua franca of diplomacy, government, science, commerce, and scholarship" all over the world. Indeed, it is a global language with approximately "508 million speakers of English worldwide" (Hellinger, 2001: 105).

The striking differences between the two countries will be made clear in the analysis of our corpus of advertisements, but some similarities will also be highlighted.

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[20] Or Koran, the sacred book of Muslims, containing the words of Allah as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.
[21] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/united_kingdom

3. Gender in society

> Instead of gender being viewed as an essential characteristic of an individual's psyche, it is understood as a thoroughly social construct, one that is produced by language and discourse (Weatherall, 2002: 76).

Language, a product of society, is considered to play a significant role in human interaction; "the human being, language and society are an interwoven texture." (Bennouiss, 2001:20). Accordingly, society is conceived to be the mould which shapes people through determining not only their behaviour but also their identity.

Society controls individuals through gendered practices, which are defined as a social process "created and renegotiated in interpersonal relationships and encouraged and maintained through social interaction" (Weatherall, 2002: 85). Therefore, gender is considered to be social because it connotes "all the complex attributes ascribed by culture (s) to human females and males" (Lott & Maluso, 1993: 99). One may conclude from the two quotes that gender is used by society as a basis or a support to the socialization of both females and males, and is also maintained by social and cultural forces.

3. 1. Female and male socialization from birth to adulthood

> You may be born female, but you become the kind of social being your society defines as a woman (the same is of course true of males/men) (Simone de Beauvoir, apud Cameron, 1997: 22).

Society has an effective and strong role in socializing human beings. It is society which gives rise to the various beliefs and attitudes adopted by both males and females. When a baby is born, the first thing parents want to know is if it is a girl or a boy, and

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consequently according to his or her biological sex, parents adapt the norms of social gender. In other words, parents choose the appropriate clothes and toys for the baby, the suitable colours as well as the specific language or words that should be used when dealing with the baby, since the identification of the baby "as male or female is of crucial cultural importance to those around them" (Poynton, 1989: 24). And one should not forget the external influences parents are exposed to, like family, friends, neighbours, and the media in general, which also play a crucial role in "gendering" the baby.

The next step is the socialization of boys and girls at home and at school; how mothers and fathers behave in the process of upbringing their children in an early age, and what choices educators adopt in school during the educational process. These two processes are very important in children's learning, because these are basic determinants in defining their personality in the future. School, like the family, is "a social institution whose available roles, activities, and goals have been shaped by a social order in which the sexual division of labour is vital to its functioning and which legitimates the consequent inequality between women and men by means of ideology" (Poynton, 1989: 29). Therefore, it is believed that children learn the gendered stereotypical beliefs from an early age, and then it becomes difficult and sometimes too late to prove the contrary in adulthood, such as the fact that women and men should be treated equally.

The normal socialization at home is that girls should help the mother in domestic chores, and boys should be involved in masculine activities like helping the father in fixing domestic appliances or simply playing. Of course, this varies across cultures, but this is just a general overview. Things are changing nowadays all over the world, which is not the case in the Arab Muslim countries, where traditions and customs are strong

enough to maintain each sex, as a child, as an adolescent, and as an adult, in his or her own space and activities.

The school, then, continues and reinforces the ideas and activities learned at home. The programmes adopted by schools are laden with gender stereotypes. There are clear expressions and images that reflect how men and women should be portrayed and how they are expected to behave in society. These books chosen by any local government are another way of strengthening differences between boys and girls, as well as encouraging women's discrimination and inferiority in relation to men. Therefore, parents and teachers should be concerned with gender issues since they are responsible for children's socialization. The books children are exposed to in the Moroccan society from an early age, the teacher's behaviour and the choice of language in relation to each sex explains the deteriorated living conditions which women have to endure in Morocco.

The working place is another setting where gender stereotypes are strongly present. Since women's place in general and through history is home in their private space, men are expected to be present at work in the public sphere. However, nowadays the situation is changing and women, like men, are allowed to participate in the working force. Despite the alteration of women's status in many countries, even in under-developed ones, women are still facing discrimination and are not equally paid as men only because they are "women".

3. 2. Portrayal of women and men

> Everyone's knowledge about the world includes all of the old gender stereotypes as tacit or implicit beliefs. The stereotypes include personality traits, role behaviour, physical appearance and occupations (Beall & Sternberg, 1993: 11).

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According to the traditional gender stereotypes, women should have a feminine personality, they should be passive and look beautiful for men, they should embody a wife and mother role only, and be able to take care of their families, such as cooking and rearing children. Unfortunately, this woman model is still prevalent in the Moroccan reality but may be not applicable in the British context. Moreover, men should be masculine in behaviour and thoughts, they should be authoritative and responsible for the family economically, and they are the only sex expected to work outside since they are more "competent and independent". Furthermore, beauty is not a feature related to men's attributes, but is compulsory for women's physical appearance.

Gender is defined as "one of the primary categories that people use to understand and think about their social world" (Bruner, 1957 apud Cross & Markus, 1993: 58). In other words, whenever we meet a person, the first thing that comes to one's mind is whether the person is male or female, and accordingly, the person interprets everything in terms of gender and its related stereotypes. For instance, one may prefer men to occupy high and authoritative positions, and relate women to lower and subordinate roles or activities. Consequently, "social roles, status, and power are important situational determinants of behaviour" of both men and women (Geis, 1993: 21). People are socialized according to the gender knowledge which influences our thinking and perception about the other; "thinking of others in terms of gender is almost inescapable" (Cross & Markus, 1993: 60).

However, one may say that gender stereotypes begin to be less present among the new generations, which may again vary across societies and cultures. This could happen

among the educated people who are not easily influenced by the others´ beliefs. In order to diminish the stereotypical beliefs, traditions and customs should be broken in patriarchal societies where women are still suffering from males´ arrogance, dominance and authority. However, family relationships and roles, as well as the social conditions, are not quickly changing, even though women are participating in the working force.

4. Gender across cultures

> Every known culture has some gender role differentiation and that all languages have gender terms, anthropologists claim that this is currently the case throughout the world and that it has always been so (Cross & Markus, 1993: 58).

Gender issues and stereotypes seem to be universal. They are heavily rooted in history and through the social and cultural life, which has a strong influence in defining the individual's identity, behaviour, role and occupation. All societies consist of men and women who use language in the interaction of everyday life, and develop ideas and thoughts about how women and men should think and act in relation to social norms.

Therefore, it is believed that gender is socially constructed and is reinforced by cultural forces; however, gender contents may differ across cultures. Beall (1993: 131-132) argues that across cultures, "one's biological sex does not necessarily imply that one will engage in certain activities or that people will believe that one possesses certain attributes". She goes on to say that "some cultures perceive more than one gender, and cultures vary in their beliefs about the nature of males and females" (1993: 134). This means that cultures are rich and curiously different from each other. Women's beliefs and actions in Morocco are different from women's thoughts and behaviour in England, even

if sometimes it seems that British women are not so different from the Moroccan unveiled women in physical appearance. However, there are many variations concerning their ways of thinking and acting.

In the Moroccan society, boys are given more independence and freedom, and are expected to achieve or occupy different roles and positions. The difference between the two sexes in terms of appearance, behaviour, role, and occupation is very much strengthened and encouraged by the traditions, the customs and the habits of the Moroccan society, whereas in the British context, norms and traditions are transgressed, and modern ideologies present men and women as equals in all life spheres. Besides, the authority or dominance of one gender over another is not practiced openly anymore. Moroccan women belonging to a lower social class still suffer from men's control which is believed to be normal in Muslim Arab societies. In other words, "the strength and activity differences between the male and female stereotypes are greater in socioeconomically less developed countries than in more developed countries". It also tends to be greater in "countries where literacy is low and the percentage of women attending the university is low" (Best & Williams, 1993: 227) although in many cases, the education people receive in school and universities does not mean that they are not influenced by gender stereotypes.

In short, there is a lot to be said about the universality of gender prejudice. Class, education, religion and geography all play a part in determining subtle differences and peculiarities, some of which this work aims at revealing.

5. The importance of language

It is clearly not simply a mirror that reflects reality. Rather it functions to impose structure on our perceptions of the world (Lee, 1992:8 apud Mills, 1995: 1).

Whether language reflects or shapes ideas and thoughts in society is a complex issue to explore. Language seems to play both roles in society: mirrors and shapes people's beliefs, attitudes and actions according to the context and the needs or expectations of any society. In fact, it may help people to know and become aware of different gendered attitudes which are derived from the social life; at the same time as, it may reinforce these differences linguistically in a negative way.

Language is laden with socio-cultural senses and interpretations. It is far from having a passive function in society; such as just reflecting the social life as it is. Conversely, language is a powerful means that may determine the repressive, regressive or progressive behaviour of any given society. It works according to the values and customs of a specific culture, and it also depends on its religious, political and economic variables. As such, it is a very active and dynamic tool that functions differently across cultures.

Language is not "a transparent carrier of meanings", rather it is "a medium which imposes its own constraints on the meaning which is constructed" (Mills, 1995: 11). It is viewed as a social phenomenon, because according to Fowler and Kress (1979: 26) "the forms of language in use are a *part of*, as well as a *consequence of*, social process" (apud Mills, 1995: 11). Critically, it is considered to be used as "a form of social control", serving "to confirm and consolidate the organizations which shape it, being used to

manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statuses, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations and other constitutions" (Fowler et al. 1979: 190 apud Mills, 1995: 1).

On short, the theory of linguistic determinism suggests that "the language of a culture shapes the way its speakers see the world" (Mills, 1995: 84), which means that if language is sexist, speakers will see and conceive the world in a sexist way. Besides, since language has "an impact on how we view the world", it therefore "affects the material conditions of women's lives" (Mills, 1995: 85). Consequently, language "rather than simply reflecting society, actually brings about and shapes changes in the way we see and think" (Mills, 1995: 87).

Finally, it is common knowledge that language in general reflects and reinforces men's power and authority, and at the same time maintains negative images about women. As Weatherall says; "language not only reflects and perpetuates gender but language constitutes gender and produces sexism as a social reality" (2002: 5). Sexism, linguistically or socially, may be completely present or less prevalent across societies depending on their local circumstances, which is why "observing linguistic and gender practices in the context of a particular community's social practices" (Hachimi, 2001: 38) is required since the context and the social conditions may vary between cultures.

6. Gender in language

> Gender is not just reflected in language but the concept of gender is itself constituted by the language used to refer to it (Weatherall, 2002:80).

Many studies have focused on the differences existing between men and women in terms of social behaviour and language use. My purpose in this section is to examine gender and its relation to speech including the implications that this relation may have, explore how gender is reflected in language – Arabic and English –, analyse men and women representation in language in both societies taking into consideration cultural factors, and also see to what extent the use of sexist language increases the practice and the beliefs related to gender stereotypes. An important question to address is: do sexist terms, referring especially to women, reinforce gender stereotypes or it is more the social learning which is more responsible for this phenomenon? In other words, do they exclude women from many domains and consequently encourage women's marginalization and discrimination?

As stated above, the differences between the sexes can be noticed at the level of social, cultural, religious, economic and political spheres, and also at the level of language, which is used in everyday interaction in all the previously stated fields. Concerning language, women and men may adopt different characteristics when speaking to each other, and many factors such as power and social status play a significant role in defining the choice of language (in words, sentences, and discourse) as well as intensifying these differences.

Gender differences in speech are deeply rooted in naming practices and forms of address. These differences at the level of the linguistic form take place in the speech system of almost all societies, in developed and under-developed countries, alike, both in traditional and modern societies. However, the degree or the intended meaning behind language use may vary across cultures. Gender differences in language can be reflected

both in grammar, as in the case of personal nouns and pronouns as generics or sex specific, and in the lexis, as is the case of addressing terms.

6. 1. Address terms for women and men in the Moroccan[22] and British societies

> What is feared is **fitna**[23]: disorder or chaos
> (Mernissi, 2003:31)

In the Moroccan community, "it is women's socio-political and sexual status, that are at the heart of many of the asymmetries of addressing and talking about women and men" (Hachimi, 2001:41). Indeed, the social and sexual rank of females and males is reflected in the way society addresses each one of them, which proves that language translates one's social behaviour. Although men and women acquire different social identities throughout their lives, only women have these different identities strongly and unfairly marked in language use. According to Webster (1986), "the life of a Moroccan woman can be divided into three phases: pre-child bearing phase, child-bearing phase and post-child-bearing phase" (apud Hachimi, 2001: 41), as will be made clear in this section.

Poynton (1989: 19) criticizes the definition of the "good" woman in society as being "the wife and mother who supports and nurtures others, feels with and for them, and demands nothing for her". She goes on to say that "women who are articulate, intelligent, and eager to achieve in spheres outside the domestic are regarded as aberrant, and in some way suspect in their very status as women". From these statements, it is

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[22] This section was presented at The Second Annual Conference for Students in the College of Language, Linguistics and Literature: Language in the Age of Globalization, University of Hawaii, March 7th , 1998.
[23] Fitna means also a beautiful woman- the connotation of the *femme fatale* who makes men lose their self-control.

noticed that women in the Western cultures are also reckoned to be "good" citizens only when they are good mothers and wives, and when they are not selfish in their relationships with others.

6. 1. 1. The female as a girl

In Arab Muslim societies, in this case Morocco, there are two terms used to refer to a female in Moroccan Arabic. **Bnt** (girl) implies the meaning of virginity, and **mra** (woman) is the term she is addressed by after marriage. Consequently, **bnt** is the suitable word to call an unmarried female regardless of her age, while it is inappropriate to address an unmarried female by using the term **mra**, since it is considered to be a verbal aggression and dishonour to the female's family; "**mra** dubs a woman as being sexually active" (Hachimi, 2001:41).

Nevertheless, the reverse happens when addressing a male. Instead of using the term **weld or wliyid** (boy) to refer to a little boy, the word **razl** (man) is used to reinforce the boy's masculinity and virility. Therefore, Moroccan females are required or obliged under Islamic rules and traditions to maintain their virginity until marriage so as to preserve the honour of the family. In other words, "while sexual promiscuity is admired in men, chastity and virginity are strongly required of women" (Hachimi, 2001:42).

Bnt dar-hum (a good girl) or **bnt l- Arad** (a girl of honour) are expressions used to refer to a girl who never had sexual intercourse with other males before marriage. On the contrary, **wld dar-hum** (a good boy) or **wld mama ratini** (son of his mother), refer to the "inexperienced" man who is most of the time at home next to his mother, lacking any contact or familiarity with women. However, "a boy of honour" is an expression that

does not exist in Moroccan Arabic, since a man does not need to be afraid of maintaining or losing his "honour" in a society where men are the most powerful and authoritative creatures.

6. 1. 2. The female as a woman (wife and mother)

Both women and men, and more so for women, get more social status and importance when they marry, because marriage is a crucial event in Islamic tradition and the only legal way for a man and a woman to engage in sexual intercourse.

Traditionally and according to the above statements, a Moroccan woman has different addressing terms as a single female -whose status as being unmarried menaces the social and moral order through her sexual attraction- till getting prestige after marriage (Mernissi, 2003: 15). However, the same habit or behaviour is not applied to men, because "the desegregation of the sexes violates Islam's ideology on women's position in the social order" (Mernissi, 2003:19). In other words, the religion of Islam encourages the separation of the sexes, each one in his or her own space in order not to transgress the rules imposed by the social and religious order.

The wife gets more prestige when she succeeds in giving birth to children, especially sons, which means that females are promoted in rank as mothers in Muslim societies. They are given respectful terms, like *lhaza* (a woman who has gone to Mecca[24] for pilgrimage), *lala* (my mistress) and *shrifa* (lady with noble blood) (Hachimi,

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[24] A city in Saudi Arabia, the holiest city of Islam, being the place where the Prophet Muhammad was born.

2001:43). In the Qur'an and Hadith[25] as well as in the oral literature and proverbs, like "Paradise lies under mothers' feet" (Hadith), mothers are spoken about positively and have a prestigious position.

Therefore, what is the reason behind defining women frequently, unlike men, in relation to the other? I do not agree with a study by Josephs, Markus, and Tafarodi (1992), which finds that "while men have better memory for information encoded with respect to the self, women have better memory for information encoded with references to others"; and consequently, "women may spend more time thinking about relationships than do men" (apud Beall & Sternberg, 1993: 79). This was their answer to why women are, most of the time, defined or talked about in relation to other people.

In Western cultures, according to Lakoff (1973, 1975 apud Weatherall, 2002: 25), the term "woman" "has been developing negative connotations" and the terms "lady" and "girl" "are more commonly used than woman" because they seem to be more "polite". Lakoff argues that the connection of the term "girl" with immaturity eliminate "the sexual connotations" associated with women. In some speech communities, "girl" is used positively to show association with sisterhood, but when a man uses the term girl to refer to a woman, then the result can be "patronizing and demeaning".

The personal titles *Ms*, *Mrs*, and *Miss* have been widely discussed since they involve women's personal and social life as well as their status. Crucially, they are seen as a form of control by society, insofar as they hint at whether women are accessible sexually or not. *Mrs.* and *Miss* are personal titles that refer to women including their marital status, unlike men who have one addressing term (*Mr.*) regardless of their social

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[25] A text containing statements by Muhammad and descriptions of his life, used by Muslims as a spiritual guide.

status. This has stereotypical social implications, as Poynton (1989: 50) mentions: "the vocabulary, or lexis, of a language is the most obvious repository of the meanings of man and woman in English-speaking societies". This also proves the fact that women are generally identified in relation to men and are seen to be a deviation from the norm. Patriarchal societies, generally, need to identify whether women are married or not, because when they are still single, society needs to control their sexual ability and behaviour. Unfortunately, in the British as in the Moroccan society, masculinity is more valued than femininity, a fact which language cannot but give evidence of.

6. 1. 3. The female as an old woman (mother-in-law)

> When a woman grows old she becomes obsessed with intrigues. Whatever she sees, she wants to get involved in, may God curse her, alive or dead (Al-Majdoub[26], apud Mernissi, 2003: 124)

"Elderly women are viewed and talked about in a negative way" (Hachimi, 2001:44). Most of this stereotype about old women is related to their status as mothers-in-law, who are considered to be "one of the greatest obstacles to conjugal intimacy" (Mernissi, 2003:121). There are two terms in Moroccan Arabic to refer to the mother-in-law: first, *lahma*[27], which refers to the mother-in-law's significant role in the family. Second, *la'guza* (a very old woman), whose function inside the house comes to an end since she is considered to be physically weak and useless (Bennouiss, 2001:157).

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26 Sidi Abderahman al-Majdoub, Muslim, hermit and Moroccan poet in the XVI century
27 Derived from the classical Arabic word *alhima,* means the "protected zone".

"A man who reaches eighty becomes a saint and a woman who reaches sixty has her legs in hell"[28] is one of the proverbs that indicates the inequality between men and women in an advanced age, not withstanding the numerous "abusive" terms that define old women such as: *sharfa* (a negative word that describes women as very old), *neqma* (plague), *aqrusha* (ugly old witch), which have no counterparts for old men.

Traditional thoughts play a very strong role in the inequality between men and women. The proverbs about mothers-in-law in relation to their daughters-in-law are abundantly and blindly used in the Moroccan society, as is the case of "the mother-in-law is worse than the devil", or "the mother-in-law stings and leaves honey."[29] A woman here does not escape from being associated with the devil, and leaving a harmful mark on those who may try to hurt her. On the contrary, there are again no negative connotations with regard to fathers-in-law.

6. 1. 4. Husband and wife

> The narrow definition of women in language refers to the observation that women are more often discussed in terms of their appearance and their family relationships, whereas men are more often discussed in terms of what they do (Key, 1975 apud Weatherall, 2002: 19).

Generally when a woman is about to mention her husband in the family, among friends, neighbours or strangers, she is expected to call him *mul ddar* (literally meaning "the owner of the house", or "the boss of the family"), as a kind of respect to her husband or the father of her children. It is not suitable to call him by his proper name, because of

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[28] Translated from Moroccan *Popular Sayings* by Idriss Daoud (2002).
[29] Ibid.

the woman's shyness due to her upbringing and customs. Here, the husband is identified as being the man of the family.

Another situation is that when a person is speaking or referring to somebody's wife or mother, they are addressed as *malin ddar* (the owners of the house) or *drari* (children) including both the wife and children (Hachimi, 2001:43). Calling them by their names directly is considered to be an insult to the boss of the family. This may be explained also on the grounds that the wife or the mother should be protected and completely absent in a group of men's conversation. However, modern women prefer to be called *ssayda* (Mrs.) in standard Arabic or *madame* in French.

Also the exchanged words *arrazl* (man), *almra* (woman) between husband and wife are another device of hiding one's feelings of closeness. Therefore, such linguistic choices are mainly determined by "socio-historical and cultural dictates in which the husband is the substantial figure in the family and must be given such a due" (Bennouiss, 2001:153).

In the Western context, the expression "don't be such a woman" is considered to be an insult to a man. There are no equivalent male terms of "single mum, working mother, career woman, unmarried mother" (Mills, 1995: 114). On the other hand, expressions like "single mother" or "unmarried mother" are not recognized publicly in the Moroccan context and have very negative connotations since women are expected to be married so as to have children. Besides, no female equivalent of "family man" exists either in the British or the Moroccan setting.

6. 1. 5. Menstruation

> Menstruation in many cultures is a tabooed subject, surrounded with special rituals and language use (Mills, 1995:117).

Undoubtedly, menstruation in the Arab culture is a tabooed issue where some particular rituals must be practiced. Muslim women are, for instance, excused from practicing their religious duties such as praying, fasting and even touching the Qur'an when having the period. Moreover, according to the Muslims´ holy book, a husband should avoid sexual intercourse with his wife during menstruation since the latter induces a feeling of dirtiness.

Damu lhaid (blood of menstruation) in classical Arabic and *dem* (blood) in Moroccan Arabic are terms which are usually not uttered by Moroccan people inside the family circle, regardless of how old they are. However, the term *les règles*, that means menstruation in French, is mostly used by modern, educated middle and upper class society when referring to menstruation.

Since menstruation is generally described negatively, as the "unclean time", as being the "wrong period" of the month in which a woman's mood is bad, many terms in Moroccan Arabic are used to avoid mentioning the term directly, such as, *jat* (she came), *khaltha jat* (her aunt came) or *lmakhlia* (the harmful thing).

Other examples which show that menstruation is a taboo in the Moroccan culture is that a man may never buy tampons, if necessary, to his female relatives (I mean here mother, wife, sister or daughter), and when a woman goes to buy them from the little shop in the neighbourhood, she can only show the seller -who is a man- what she wants

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without uttering a word, and as a response the seller puts the product in an opaque bag and gives it discreetly to the woman.

Another example is that of the verbal aggression towards the females who advertise tampons like "Always" in the Moroccan TV advertisements. I heard numerous times negative comments about these girls on the part of both men and women. For example, "if these girls had a man in their family who controlled them and had an authority upon them, they would never attempt or repeat such a shameful behaviour in front of the whole world".

In the British context, menstruation also meets a great deal of tabooed codes and practices. According to Mills (1995: 117-118), "in Britain, there is a range of linguistic strategies which are employed to make menstruation safe although reference to it is still generally avoided altogether in mixed company". So, people use "a friend has come", "red flag is up" (Mills, 1995: 118) in order to avoid mentioning the term "period" or "menstruation". Even though these terms are expected to be used in a male presence since they are not referring to the term directly, a mother, a wife or a daughter may never speak about their menstruation next to a father, a husband or a brother as if it were shameful to bring the males' attention to such a normal and natural process, especially in the Moroccan context. I agree with Sara Mills when she says that "while it is not necessary to celebrate menstruation, it is not necessary either to portray it using such negative metaphorical structures" (1995:120).

6. 1. 6. Popular sayings

> Aucun peuple plaçant une femme à la tête de ses affaires ne pourra prospérer (apud Belarbi, 1998 : 53).

Women meet more discrimination in the Moroccan sayings than men, which is not abnormal in a society where women are regarded as the only source of immorality. In the Moroccan culture, women are portrayed as inferior to men and also as dangerous and harmful creatures sexually. As Mernissi puts it, "loving a woman is popularly described as a form of mental illness, a self-destructive state of mind" (2003:43). This is confirmed in a Moroccan proverb that goes: "love is a complicated matter, if it does not drive you crazy, it kills you."

In the rhymes of the poet Sidi Abderahman al-Majdoub, a negative attitude towards femininity is strongly conveyed, and these are significant examples of men's distrust of women.

> Women are fleeting wooden vessels
> Whose passengers are doomed to destruction
>
> Don't trust them [women], so you would not be betrayed
> Don't believe in their promises, so you would not be deceived
>
> Women are belted with serpents
> And bejewelled with scorpions[30]

I would like to mention that women are considered to be a menace to the social order where they are defined primarily in terms of their relation to men. Conversely, men are connected to the beauty of mind, authority, dignity and other values such as strength, reason and respect.

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[30] Quoted by Mernissi, Fatima (2003:43).

Here is a list of proverbs describing women negatively[31]:

- "When you see two neighbours quarrelling, be sure that women are the cause."
- "Women are like a boat, those who are inside it are lost."
- "What Satan does in one year, the old woman does it in one hour."
- "Submitting to women leads to hell."

And here is a list of proverbs portraying men positively[32]:

- "A man has a purse, he is perfect."
- "The beauty of a man is reflected in his mind, while a woman's mind is seen through her beauty."
- "It is the man who chooses the wife, not the contrary."
- "One can trust only a man's promise."

The last proverb shows that **kelma drzal** (men's promise) is taken seriously, while **kelma dlhyalat** (women's promise) has "the connotation of a promise never kept or a deed never accomplished" (Hachimi, 2001:40).

In the Moroccan family, ties are stronger in the sense that freedom is still not allowed in the family circle. The situation of women is also more complex in the Moroccan patriarchal context; Moroccan women are still suffering from being under the authority of men (father, uncle, brother, husband, son), which is obviously mirrored in the language use and choices of Moroccan people.

In the British culture, proverbs are also deprecating to women: "the way to a man's heart is through his stomach", "mutton dressed as lamb", or "a woman's tongue wags like a lamb's tail" (Weatherall, 2002: 56). These proverbs suggest that the only way to be loved by a husband is to cook nice food for him. If the female becomes old, she should dress according to her age and not behave or dress like an adolescent for example, not withstanding that women are considered to be talkative and that their speech is

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[31] Translated from *Moroccan Popular Sayings* by Idriss Daoud (2002).
[32] Ibid.

generally trivial. Moreover, women are expected to keep their voice "slow, soft and agreeable", which Cameron refers to as "verbal hygiene" (apud Weatherall, 2002: 56).

7. Men and women's speech

There is a lack of agreement about whether males and females use language differently. In many studies, one may achieve many conclusions about the differences that characterize women and men's identity, behaviour, role, speech and so on. Of course, men and women are different in so many aspects; however, this difference should not be used to discriminate and marginalize women. Men are different from other men whereas women can be different from other women, and obviously men are different from women, which is completely natural. Both sexes are different in their physical appearance, in their feelings and emotions, in their behaviour, and also in their language use.

According to Lakoff and Spender, women's speech is characterized "as more hesitant, less fluent, less logical, less assertive than men's speech. Women, in their view, are more silent, interrupt less frequently than men, use tag questions and modal verbs more than men, use cooperative strategies in conversations rather than competitive ones, and so on" (apud Mills, 1995: 45). Therefore, men and women's choices of conversation content, language use or speech style are not different only because of their different sexes, but also because of their socio-cultural background. Setting, social status, power and authority are other factors that determine the degree of differences.

It is believed that women and men use language differently; men are the norm and women are defined in relation to them, which is obviously reflected in their speech. It is

not easy to prove that both sexes have different speech styles, although many studies characterize women as talkative. According to Weatherall (2002: 56) "in the western world, for example, there are widely held stereotypes about how talkative women are, and how trivial their talk is". Besides, women are believed to be more polite and cooperative in conversation; nevertheless, this is not a general or universal rule. We can perfectly find more polite and talkative men also, depending on the person's personality, education, social status and expectations as well as other factors. Or maybe men and women speak differently because they are living in different dimensions. Indeed, we can say that they live in separate spheres; each sex has his or her own role and position in society. Even if the situation had changed and is still changing in modern or western societies, modification is also taking place in traditional and Muslim societies. However, men still have difficulties in accepting women in their so-called professional space, which has an impact on men's language use because there is a strong connection between one's life and choice of speech. As Weatherall says, (2002: 55-56), "women's speech style is oriented to values of connection and affiliation while men's style reflects their concern with status".

Women and men are deemed to have some differences at the level of discourse and conversation. Men interrupt women in a group where men and women are interlocutors. According to (Brooks, 1982; Zimmerman & West, 1975 apud Geis, 1993: 21), "men interrupt women more than women interrupt men. When women offer an idea, they are more likely to hesitate or apologize". Women frequently accept men's topics while men reject subjects raised by women. Women are more polite than men and try most of the time to initiate conversation but succeed less because of men's lack of

cooperation. The proof, according to Cross & Markus (1993: 81), is that "women's linguistic styles also reflect a sensitive and connection to the other. For women, the goal in social interaction is often cooperation and support". Grammatically, women use more tag questions, more hedges, direct quotations, more descriptive adjectives, more intensifiers, and incomplete sentences.

Simone de Beauvoir (1952/1988) argues that in male dominated cultures, the term *man* "represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas women represent only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity" (apud Weatherall, 2002: 12). Therefore, according to the results obtained by researchers in relation to women and men's different speech, "women talk as they do because of their position of relative powerlessness both in the society as a whole and in the context of particular relationships" (Poynton, 1989: 69).

However, according to Elizabeth Aries (1996), when exploring men and women's interaction, like the content of conversation, language use, conversational management and the use of interruptions, she finds out that "Women's and men's speech styles are more similar than they are different" and concludes that men and women do not speak different languages (apud Weatherall, 2002: 59).

> The embarrassing fact is that women and men do not speak separate languages, that they all use the same linguistic resources, though undoubtedly with different frequencies in many cases"(Poynton, 1989: 68).

Additionally, some examples about men and women's conversations in relation to the Moroccan society will be presented. The subjects that are talked about in men's

conversations are completely different from those of women's talk. Women together may speak about their husbands, children, mothers-in-law, religion, television programmes and series, and also trying to find solutions to life's problems if ever they have troubles with their husbands or relatives in general. The setting of these discussions is usually at home, in the **souk** (market) or **hammam** (public bath) and even at work. On the contrary, men's conversations are freely held in public places such as work, café, in the street, in mosques…and the topic of their talk could be women, though never, of course, their own wives, mothers, sisters or daughters. Rather, men criticize women's way of clothing or the position of those who work outside, or they speak about prostitutes. They also speak about religion and football. Both females and males feel free and more at ease when speaking within the same sex, not withstanding that these conversations may vary according to the age and education of the interlocutors as well as the context and social status.

8. Sexism in language

We have seen in this chapter various instances of sexism in language, which can be defined as using discriminatory language in relation to gender. According to Mills (1995: 83), a statement is sexist when "its use constitutes, promotes or exploits an unfair or irrelevant or impertinent distinction between the sexes". But, she also argues that language can be sexist when it presents male-oriented experience as the norm in society (Mills, 1995: 89). Another definition by Henley (1987) suggests that sexist language is "language that ignores women; language that defines women narrowly; and language that depreciates women" (apud Weatherall, 2002: 13). Consequently, this differentiation

between the sexes at the level of speech may have negative attitudes towards women and an effect on their expectations, because of the stereotypes which are widely and socially common between individuals, and which entail women's exclusion and inferiority.

We have also seen in this chapter that people are exposed to sexist language in everyday life, at home, at school, in the street, and through the media, such as cinema, television and magazines. Language use can be sexist because of the social and cultural circumstances of any society which are instilled in the mind and the beliefs of its individuals. There are some opinions such as Lakoff´s (1975 apud Mills, 1995: 86)) according to whom "sexism in language simply reflects sexism within society, and is a symptom rather than a cause". This suggests that sexism in language is not the cause of women's discrimination or trivialization since words alone are not strong enough to make women invisible. However, I have tried to argue that language is the first powerful tool which is most responsible for making much segregation between the sexes. It is a factor in women's oppression because it is through language that ideas and thoughts are communicated and maintained among citizens. And I agree with Weatherall when she says that "sexist language is not just about words used to describe women but also how they are used to and to what ends" (2002: 11).

Additionally, it is only with the change of society that sexism will become less evident. Lakoff (1973) argues that "language change followed social change and not the reverse" (apud Weatherall, 2002: 4). However, the change of language should go hand in hand with the progress of society in the cultural, economic and political spheres. Still, one should take into consideration Jane Mills (1989) statement, "with almost every word we utter, we have a choice" (apud Mills, 1995: 127).

The previous three chapters have presented basic information and arguments about women's status and role in the British and Moroccan societies, the language and the discourse of advertising used in the portrayal of British and Moroccan women and finally how the language of gender is used in influencing women and men's behaviour and function in society. All these themes will be of paramount significance for the textual analysis in the following chapter, in which a comparison of women's depiction in the British and Moroccan advertisements will be presented.

Chapter 4: **Textual analysis**

1. Introduction

The present section is designed to analyse verbal messages and the meaning of advertising images from women's magazine advertisements in two different societies. As said earlier, the purpose of the study is to examine women portrayals in print advertisements selected from women's magazines from Britain and Morocco. I will describe the way women are depicted in advertisements in the two cultures and examine gender role portrayals and stereotypes, by comparing the way western and Muslim women are represented in advertising. I will also explore male-female interrelations and see if the discourse of advertising reinforces the idea that women are dependent or sexual objects, and to what extent women's appearance is deemed to be important across the two cultures.

Advertisements are collected from eight British women magazines which are: *Woman's Weekly, Woman's Own, Woman, Cosmopolitan, She, Easy Living, Marie Claire,* and *Woman's day*. And six Moroccan women magazines: *Femmes du Maroc, Citadine, Parade, Ousra Magazine,* and *Famille Actuelle* written in French, and only one local women's magazine is in the Arabic language which is *Nissaa Min Al Maghrib* (Women from Morocco). The most predominant advertisements collected from the British and Moroccan magazines present women's traditional roles as wives and mothers, as well as their role in relation to beauty and fashion to maintain their physical appearance. The selected magazines are from 2005 and 2006.

2. Women's magazines

A few preliminary points should be made prior to analysing the corpus, especially in terms of issues and themes covered. The editorial content of women's magazines focuses in general on the shared interests of "young" women; their relationships, love and sexuality, fashion and beauty, fitness and food, travel and entertainment and all that is related to home life.

2. 1. British women's magazines

The most frequent issues presented in British magazines are rather similar across the eight magazines mentioned above. These magazines are directed to age brackets ranging from 17/20 to 40 years old more or less, and offer roughly the same content in terms of information, advice and advertisements. The largely common subjects in women's magazines are how a woman should take care of her physical appearance and entertain herself, and how she should take care of her husband, children and home. No advertisements are dedicated to women's participation in the working place or with important positions in the political or economic spheres.

British women are advised to take care of their looks and relationships through a variety of products and services. Women are expected to maintain their beauty by using cosmetics and products for the whole body, to enhance their appearance via fashion including accessories and clothes, and to keep their looks slim through diet and fitness. Concerning the home, women are given advice regarding decoration, cooking, gardening, and knitting. Other subjects are treated to improve women's relationships in everyday life, such as telling real stories, exposing celebrities' lives, speaking about love, sex and

success. Where to shop, cars and travel are other elements which are presented in women's magazines for the sake of women's entertainment. How to deal with children is a subject that is included in magazines which are addressed more to family life.

2. 2. Moroccan women's magazines

Moroccan magazines directed to women seem to be a "modern" source of information in terms of beauty maintenance and breaking taboos. The six magazines listed above are addressed to modern literate Moroccan women who have the ability to read French and classical Arabic and aged between 20 and 40 years or more. It is not easy to explain why the number of Moroccan magazines written in French outnumbers the ones written in Arabic. It may be that the targeted literate audience find French more prestigious to read than Arabic. Moreover, since more than 50 % of the population is illiterate, women who are expected to buy these magazines are a minority.

The subjects presented in the advertisements of Moroccan magazines are also similar across the six magazines, but family is more emphasised in the two magazines directed to family life. Women are depicted as housewives and mothers, and also as women who should maintain their beauty, appearance and elegance. Cosmetic products and fashion of traditional and modern clothes are vividly present across the magazine's pages. However, speaking about diet treatments and fitness, sexuality and superstitions, women's rights and psychological issues, women and sport, women in the military and so on are new issues added to the content of Moroccan magazines over the last few years. Nevertheless, these new and tabooed subjects reach a minority of Moroccan women who are literate and able to afford the price of the magazine each month. Besides, the culture

of reading newspapers, magazines or books is very poor in the Moroccan society, either in the rich or poor communities.

2. 3. Comparison

I will begin by comparing the themes and contents of the British and Moroccan Magazines before focusing on the advertisement analysis. At first sight, it maybe true that women, in print advertisements from the two societies, are portrayed more or less in a similar way. Both Moroccan and British women are depicted as housewives and mothers who should take care of the household. However, the wife role is more stressed in the Moroccan society than in the British one since English women are allowed to have children without being married. Moreover, because of the pressure of society, the traditional role of Moroccan women is much more emphasised through magazines. Women's beauty maintenance and body appearance are issues which are much more present and more obvious in the British culture. The reason is that Moroccan women are expected to be Muslim and dress modestly. Still there are some sexually marked advertising images of women in the Moroccan magazines. Additionally, mobiles, cars and computers are advertised similarly in both societies even if the economic power is higher among British women.

However, as I stated above, issues which are traditionally related only to men are now included and discussed in women's magazines such as women in politics, sport, military, and medicine, women and men's equality and so on. Actually, these subjects are more present in the Moroccan magazines than in the British ones. The reason could be that these issues are still new in the Moroccan society and are more tackled because of

the inferior and discriminated position Moroccan women suffer from. Another reason is that British women have already enough freedom, and are more active in the social, economic, cultural, and political life in comparison with Moroccan women. Therefore, women's participation in the working force and in scientific or political fields is considered to be normal in the British culture, and maybe that is why such issues are not given great importance in British women's magazines.

Yet, when observing women's magazines from both societies, we might at first sight conclude that the social and cultural life of Britain and Morocco are more or less the same, which is not true. Although women in both cultures are pictured as being "unveiled", beautiful and as having the freedom of showing their body without fear, advertisements in British magazines emphasise sex and independence more than home and family. Here, Moroccan advertisements seem not to reflect or shape the real life of the majority of the Moroccan population.

3. Corpus analysis

As I stated earlier, advertisements in relation to women and their surrounding may be divided into three areas: women advertised as wives and mothers, depicted as beautiful bodies deemed to maintain their physical appearance either through beauty products or fashion (clothes and accessories), and finally portrayed as busy creatures in dire need of entertainment. However, women's depiction as participating in the working place outside home is rarely mentioned in magazines directed to women. The most common role in which women are frequently presented is the role of maintaining their beauty for males´

gaze and satisfaction; beauty products advertisements in both British and Moroccan magazines outnumber the other functions women are expected to fulfil in everyday life.

3. 1. Women as mothers and wives

3. 1. 1. As mothers

The role of mother is less emphasised in British advertisements than in the Moroccan ones. On the one hand, advertisements in relation to the mother-baby or child relationship are numerous in the Moroccan magazines unlike the British ones where little space is given to the mother role. On the other hand, in the Moroccan context, mothers are all the time present in the advertisements with their children, and sometimes even the father and the grand-parents join them to reinforce the importance of family in the Moroccan society. As in figure 1, the PRAIRIE butter advertisement, verbal messages such as "j´aime faire plaisir aux miens en leur faisant du bien" strongly show mothers´ disposition to satisfy the needs of their children and families. Here, according to Kellner (1995) and Fowles (1996), the role of the image is to create a connection between product and social and cultural components, and norms of everyday life. However, children in British advertisements are most of the time shown alone, as independent beings, and are presented with the mother only when they are still babies. Moreover, there are also advertisements which are directed to children's needs and are introduced with the product and the brand only.

Figure 1

The advertisements of Johnsons´baby lotion in the British and Moroccan contexts, figures 2 & 3, represent a mother with her baby, the product and the verbal message. Both advertisements suggest that the product has a positive influence, that of having a soft skin; "baby soft skin you love" or "une peau aussi douce que celle de bébé". However, the mother in the Moroccan advertisement is looking at her baby while in the British advertisement the mother is looking at the camera and is less dressed. This is normal in the British culture, but it can be shocking in the Moroccan one. Moroccan people may accept a naked woman but not a less dressed mother. Here, advertising know the world of each audience and is aware of the willing needs and purposes that will appeal to consumers as Vestergaard and Schroder (1985) have mentioned in their work.

Figure 2

Figure 3

3. 1. 2. As wives

In the Moroccan and British cases, advertisements depicting women as wives, responsible for the maintenance of the household, are almost similar in both cultures. Man is never shown as a "decoration" to cleaning products for example, while women are more present (sometimes not) in advertising washing machines, cleaning products, and furniture or electro-menagerie machines. The positive point here is that the technological progress facilitates "wives´ lives" and makes them less busy so as to be able to do other activities. However, not everybody has the possibility to afford these machines in the Moroccan society.

The purpose behind these advertisements is to "make life easier", and "have enough time to live life" as stated in the washing machine advertisements. Therefore,

women in both societies are portrayed in a "modern" way; they are not expected anymore to do everything themselves because now they can rely on the "perfection" of products and machines to make the housework easier. The positive side of these advertisements is that they may offer less work inside the home so as for women to be able to work outside also. However, this suggests that men are not included in participating either in the housework or in children's rearing. Of course, these are magazines addressed to women, but there is no example of man having "mothers and wives roles" in men's magazines directed to the masculine audience.

As an example, I choose the washing machine advertisement which is similar in both societies. In the British ZANUSSI washing machine advertisement, figure 4, a woman is shown taking a shower. Before reading the verbal message, the advertisement may suggest that women, owing to the help of the washing machine, may have free time to do other things, such as taking a shower for example. But, the message explains the ability of the machine in combining "traditional washer with power shower technology". Therefore, the advertisement may offer two meanings; the perfect performance of the machine and the time that is saved for other activities. The same message can be understood from the Moroccan advertisement of SIERA washing machine, figure 5, where a woman, because of the exclusive technology of the machine, is having enough time to work at home or outside home, taking care of her children or practising sport.
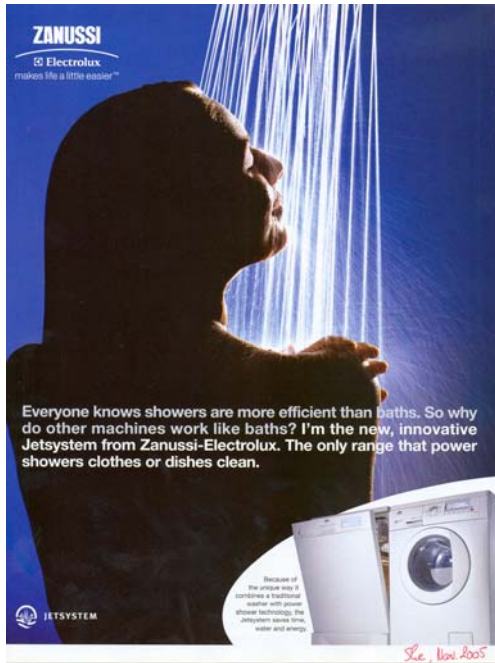
Figure 4

Figure 5

3. 2. Women, beauty and the body

3. 2. 1. Beauty products

Advertisements suggesting women's beauty maintenance take a large space in the British as well as the Moroccan magazines. This part is divided into different types of advertising beauty products. To begin with, there are the "normal" beauty products advertisements that have a classic way of advertising the product as well as encouraging women to buy it. Lotions, crèmes, shampoos, hairsprays and so on are products which are advertised with a verbal message, a brand name and a picture of a beautiful woman who seems to be satisfied with the product's positive effects.

In the OLAY advertisement, figure 6, the verbal messages, such as "you'll love the skin you're in," "love all the attention", "noticeable", "radiant"… are quite strong to attract the readers´ interests. These are the words a woman likes to hear from other people. Here, the message suggests that a woman may use the product to please the others: "prepare to get lots of lovely compliments". The same process, in figure 7, is used in advertising the NEUTROGENA crème "difficult to get ride of black heads"; the product offers a perfect and beautiful skin proved by the medical centre.

Figure 6   **Figure 7**

3. 2. 2. Sexuality and nudity

Two British advertisements present women as naked. The Calvin Klein perfume in figure 8, shows a naked male and female in water. The man looks at the woman while

the woman looks at the camera; no verbal messages are introduced except for the name of the perfume which is sufficient for reflecting the power of the product for couples to have "Obsession Nights". Here the nudity of the two bodies is enough to reach the expected audience by the intended message as Leech (1972) argues; it is easier to get closer to consumers through physical appetites. In the NIVEA body advertisement, figure 9, we notice the image of a "happy" model naked with her legs in the air, with a suggestive sexual pose and a message suggesting the gorgeousness one can feel when "you take care of your skin".
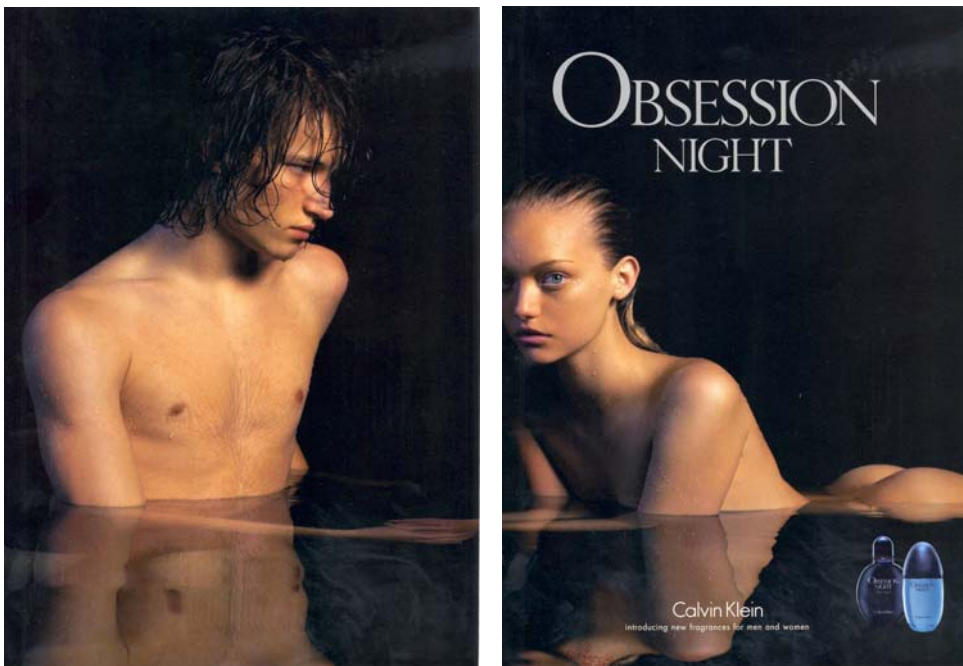

Figure 8

Figure 9

However, women's nudity in advertisements is forbidden in the Moroccan advertisements. Likewise the kissing scene in the British SUNSILK shampoo advertisement, figure 10, is completely prohibited in the Moroccan setting, either in the public space or through advertising images. In this advertisement, the groom left his bride to kiss the maid since she is using the product advertised. This proves that products which are expected to improve and maintain women's beauty may have "unexpected results" such as having a boy friend or a husband which may be demeaning and degrading to women's dignity. Consequently, as Schudson (1984) and Leiss (1997) have made it, people's needs are rather cultural and social needs; they are connected with desires and dreams. The same idea is mentioned by Barthel (1988) and Leech (1972) who find it better to convince audiences through popular desires than giving simply the qualities and

merits of the products. Therefore, women's appearance is deemed to be more important than the internal capacities and characteristics a woman may have.
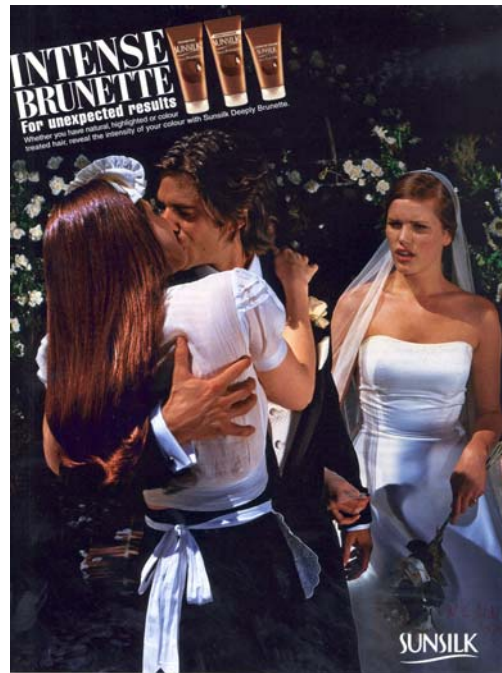

Figure 10

We notice that sexism and sexuality in the British advertisements are higher and that the motto "sex sells" is the process used to attract more audiences. However, since sexual imagery is based on cultural values and social norms, women sexual images are forbidden by the Moroccan guidelines of advertising. Still, articles speaking about sex and sexuality are published in Moroccan magazines, especially magazines written in French.

3. 2. 3. Objectification

The objectification of women's bodies is more frequent in the British advertisements than in the Moroccan ones, as its images are accepted in the two cultures. Objectification can be defined as focusing on body parts such as the eyes, the lips, the breast or the legs. For example, in figure 11, the MITCHUM product advertisement, we notice that the breasts are emphasised even if they are hidden by the arms. The verbal message plays on three words, "new", "naked" and "truth". Again the advertisement of lipstick "kiss Proof", figure 12, described as a "tattoo effect and ultra glossy", focuses on the lips of a woman and a man kissing each other. Another kind of advertisement suggesting objectification and sexuality is GHOST perfume, figure 13, where the model, being less dressed, is exposed in an attractive position with a seductive sexual look. Perfume advertisements are in general presented with the product, the model picture and the brand name with no verbal message. The model's suggestive sexual position is stronger than words themselves.

| **Figure 11** | **Figure 12** | **Figure 13** |

Surprisingly, a similar presentation to the GHOST perfume is found in the Moroccan magazines. In the DIOR perfume advertisement, figure 14, we notice the image of a beautiful "western" woman with a seductive eye contact and whose breasts are the centre of attention. We may propose that she is engaged in taking off her clothes and earrings. Therefore, this image, although exaggerated and provocative in the Moroccan context, is acceptable since the woman is not Moroccan, nor Arab or Muslim.
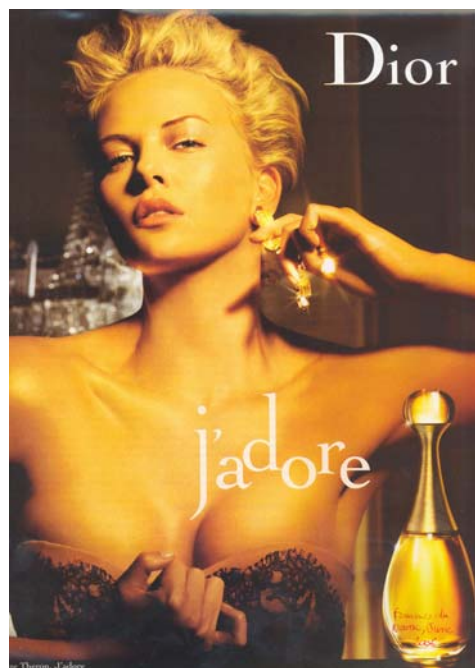

Figure 14

Finally, the advertisements which portray women as nude, less dressed, sexually posed, or focusing on some parts of their bodies depict women as attractive creatures and sexual objects ready to satisfy men's sexually. Generally speaking, British advertisements show and use more sex appeal than Moroccan advertisements.

3. 2. 4. Male-female portrayals

Women are also depicted in advertisements accompanied by men in both Moroccan and British magazines. In the Moroccan advertisements, generally, when a woman is presented with a man in the same advertisement, she is introduced as looking down or with closed eyes as if ashamed of something, which is obviously marked in the two advertisements of BMW car and PANTENE shampoo. Here, female models are more likely to be the object of another person's gaze. In the two advertisements, men are looking at women, which may suggest males' domination and authority over females.

| Figure 15 | Figure 16 |

In the BMW advertisement, figure 15, the car is compared to the woman in the image through the verbal message addressed to man; "séduisante", "irrésistible",

"elégante", "c´est votre partenaire idéale" and so on. And the PANTENE advertisement, figure 16, compares the ordinary woman to the fashionable woman, implying that the former becomes the latter due to the product. Therefore, to look like the magazine model is the dream of every woman, and it is all about the "strength and effect of the shampoo". In these Moroccan advertisements, men and women can only be and reflect a married couple, especially when one advertisement is included in a magazine directed at the family life and the other advertisement proves so through the sentence "ce n´est pas la première fois que votre fiancé vous prend en photos". Therefore, male-female relationships cannot be depicted out of engagement or marriage in the Moroccan society.

Concerning the same type of advertisements in British magazines, men and women's presentation is different from the Moroccan context. In the Jean Paul Gaultier perfume advertisement, figure 17, the image presents the naked bodies of a man and a woman, the woman in the front looking at the camera and the man behind taking her breasts in his hands, his eyes hidden by his hair. Here the woman may be placed in a dominating position. Besides, the male-female relationship is not necessarily limited to husband and wife since the British culture is more open and gives more freedom to human relationships regardless of their official commitments. Therefore, in these kind of advertisements, "the lifestyle format" (Leiss, 1997) is mostly used since it combines product image and personalized formats.

Figure 17

3. 2. 5. Women as childish

Other advertisements focus on innocence by portraying women as childish and dependent so as to diminish their standing in society. Indeed, portraying women as confident, independent and professional is more threatening to men. The "new" BOURGOIS product for skin protection, figure 18, depicts woman as naked, with her thumb in her mouth, and with a childish look. The woman's skin is compared to "what they call baby-smooth skin". However, no equal advertisements are found in the Moroccan magazines.

Figure 18

3. 2. 6. Women as aged

Another stereotypical portrayal of women is shown through products advertised for "aged" women. In the Moroccan ROC advertisement, figure 19, face crèmes suggest that 40-years-old is "le plus bel âge", and that the effect of the product helps women appear younger. The same is proposed by the British advertisement, figure 20, in the OLAY anti-ageing moisturiser; "fight the appearance of blemishes and the signs of ageing" in order to get a younger looking skin in a few weeks only. "Aged" women do not have space in magazines, and when they have it is for improving their appearance, either regarding the skin or the colour of the hair, so as to appear younger. Again, men are never portrayed as old in dire need of products that will make them feel younger.

Figure 19

Figure 20

Concerning cosmetic surgery, figure 21, it is frequently advertised in British magazines for lips´ enhancement, weight loss, facelifts and especially breast enlargement or reduction. Nevertheless, such advertisements are never presented in the Moroccan magazines, but rarely spoken about in some magazine articles. The reason behind not advertising this kind of surgery is that it is believed to be forbidden in Islam; women's bodies' modification is prohibited in religion because any change of "God's creatures" is considered to be "haram"; prohibited or sinful.

Figure 21

3. 2. 7. Women and menstruation

"New", "soft" "fresh" and "secure" are adjectives used for towel advertisements and for the same purpose in both British and Moroccan magazines. The difference noticed between the two advertisements is that in the British advertisement, figure 22, woman is presented next to man with a verbal message suggesting "feel secure no matter how close you get". While in the Moroccan advertisement, figure 23, a western woman with underwear appears to be relaxed because of the softness and the freshness of the product. We notice that the meaning of security is focused on in both cultures. Women are expected to be "insecure" and "dirty" and the towels´ aim is to make them feel better during their menstruation. Moreover, towel advertisements in the Moroccan context are

still considered to be a taboo subject where men are not allowed to be close to women either in advertisements or in the real life.

Figure 22

Figure 23

3. 3. Women and fashion

Women in both societies are depicted as brand consumers of accessories such as watches, jewellery, glasses, bags, and shoes. These products are in general advertised with the image of a model, the brand name, and the product, and very rarely with a verbal message as it is indicated in the figures 24 & 25. But in the watch British advertisement, the verbal message "Seksy" includes the brand name so as to attract the reader's attention. Here, in the ELINI and SEKSY (sexy) watches, women are depicted as decorative bodies for the product.

94

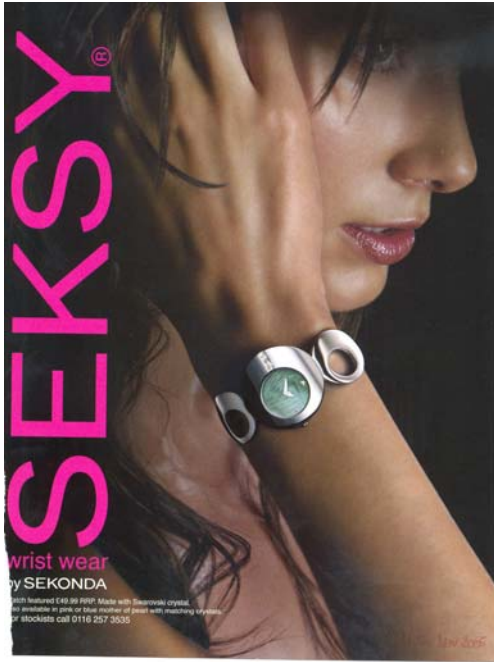Figure 24   Figure 25

Concerning fashion clothes advertisements, figure 26, it is the only case in Moroccan magazines where some Moroccan models are presented with the veil to advertise fashion traditional clothes that are in general used in very special ceremonies. However, lingerie advertisements are presented by western women in the Moroccan magazines. British and Moroccan women are depicted as similar in lingerie advertisements, less dressed and with sexual positions suggesting their readiness for men. As it is shown in JOHN LEWIS (British), figure 27, and ETAM (Moroccan) lingerie advertisements, figure 28, the model is wondering if she is loved (tu m´aimes), or putting it as a fact since it is not a question.
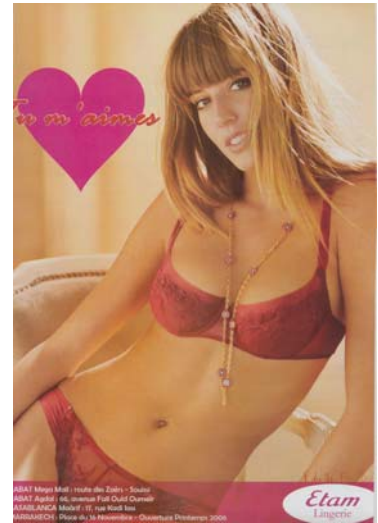
| Figure 26 | Figure 27 | Figure 28 |

To sum up, across advertisements, women seem to be desirable, attractive, exciting, and enjoying life. However, women are either depicted as wives and mothers ready to maintain home and please husband and children, or portrayed as beautiful and sexy objects through beauty products and fashion to keep their appearance attractive for men's satisfaction. Moreover, "the lifestyle format" (Leiss, 1997) is mostly used in advertising since it combines product image and personalized formats, which is the best way to achieve people's intentions, expectations and desires.

3. 4. Moroccan women and "new advertisements"

There are certain advertisements which have been recently introduced in Moroccan magazines while they are not mentioned in British magazines. Fitness clubs, figure 29, are a recent trend for women to get entertained and to achieve new shapes.

Such "health" centres are afforded by a small group of the population. Night parties (sophisticated night clubs), figure 30, are organized on the model of western parties where single or married women go with "modern" dresses as we notice in the picture of parade party. These events are again afforded and allowed by a certain social class.
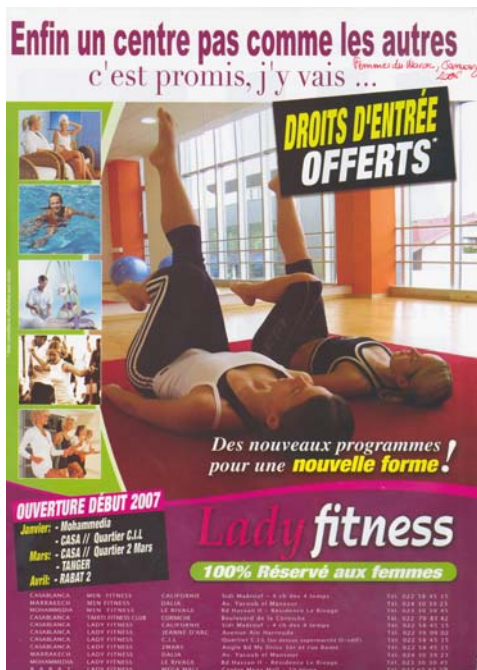

Figure 29

Figure 30

Additionally, in figure 31, the advertisement of Qatar Airways, at first sight one can believe that women are portrayed as travellers in the business class airways. However, the woman presented in the unclear image seems to be relaxing in front of her breakfast, which may suggest that the woman may accompany her husband (business man) for a work travel while she may entertain herself by shopping for example.
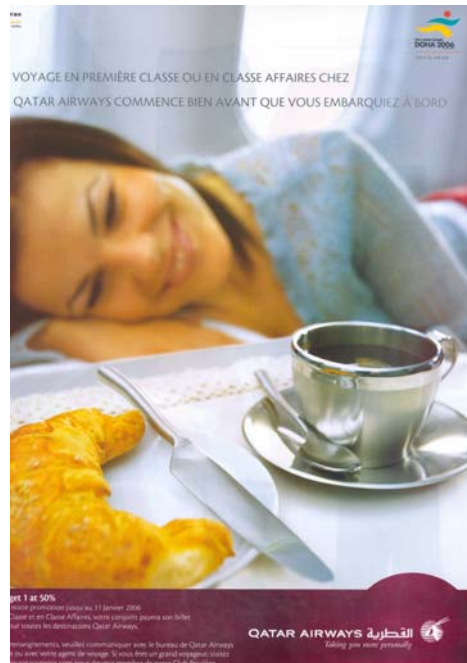
Figure 31

Finally, alcoholic drinks are also advertised in Moroccan magazines while Muslim Moroccans are not allowed to drink any kind of alcoholic drinks. We notice that this product is advertised alone in the Moroccan context in figure 33, while it is presented by a group of friends, men and women, in British magazines in figure 32. Therefore, according to Sheehan (2004), what is suitable for an audience can be inappropriate for another audience in the sense that alcoholic drinks cannot be advertised with the presence of people, men or women unless they are western. Still, Alcoholic drinks are advertised in the Moroccan magazines to be consumed only by foreigners, but in reality, many Moroccans drink alcohol.
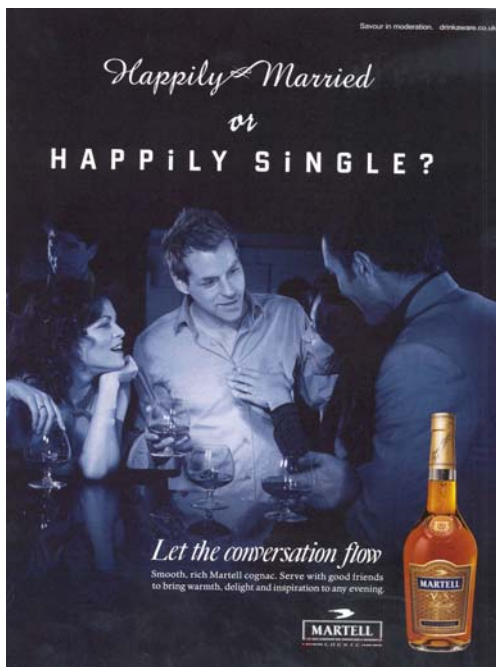
Figure 32

Figure 33

4. Results and discussion

Concerning advertisements which depict women as mothers, it is noticed that the importance of the family and the mother is more emphasised in the Moroccan society. Moroccan people are considered to be more connected to each other and more dependent on one another, unlike the British society where individuals are more independent, and women are given more freedom and more independence, for example, in bringing up their children without being married. Moreover, the mother-child relationship is more frequent in Moroccan advertisements where children seem to be more dependent on their mother´s care and help. However, in British advertisements, children are more often presented alone with the product, which involves a sense of independence from an early

age unlike Moroccan children. To sum up, I would like to mention that the importance of the family, which creates dependency between its members, is not a quality when individuals do not know how to deal with it. The Moroccan society wants to create dependent children so as to have in the future dependent girls and women, dependent mothers and wives.

In the Moroccan society, women's depiction as taking care of the husband and doing the housework is not completely described traditionally. For example, cleaning products are rarely advertised with the presence of women, still since the magazine is directed to women, it is obvious that the expected audience for cleaning products is women. Besides, technological inventions of certain machines are of great help to women who work at home or outside home. The negative message is that the man is not involved in these activities; however, it is believed that women, with the help of these machines, may have enough time to take care of children, to cook for their husbands, to do leisure activities such as shopping or fitness and if they are working outside, they may also have time to get work done. Nevertheless, these ideas and thoughts are more emphasised in the Moroccan society where women's roles are more limited to home and family.

As I stated before, beauty and fashion are abundantly advertised in women's magazines. Women are more and more portrayed in terms of their beauty and physical appearance. It seems that we are living in a world where women feel or are believed to be useless, incompetent, undesirable or unwanted unless they make efforts to maintain their appearance beautiful and attractive for men's satisfaction. This is true in both British and Moroccan cultures, but more emphasised and more explicit in the British society.

In the two societies, beauty products are advertised "normally", which means without depicting women as sexual objects. This kind of advertisement is more present in Moroccan magazines where women are not allowed to be less dressed as in western societies. However, as we find advertisements portraying women as sexually active in British magazines, we do also encounter some "shocking" images focusing on women's breasts, legs or lips in Moroccan magazines. But they are very rare or almost insignificant in number when compared to British advertisements. Moreover, women's nudity may be easily accepted by the British population where laws and rules governing women's rights are more open and completely different from the Moroccan customs and culture. This does not mean that the objectification of women's bodies, their nakedness and their sexual connotations are positive components in women's portrayal in any given society.

Concerning fashion advertisements, we notice that women are portrayed as decorative objects for accessories and clothes, especially underwear. What is curious here is that lingerie is similarly advertised in the Moroccan and British societies. It is generally known that women in Muslim societies should dress modestly, and that they are not allowed to show their body parts in public or even at home if there are strangers. Therefore, showing women wearing underwear in women's magazines could be weird or shocking for the Moroccan population; however, people enjoy looking at such images since the models advertising the underwear are non-domestic, or not Arab Muslim women. Additionally, the audience of these magazines is rather having a western culture; they are Moroccan people who have studied in French, Spanish or American schools and who may have continued their studies abroad, they are considered to be more open-minded and western culture is rather their adopted style of life.

As a result, advertisements portraying women through beauty products or lingerie in the Moroccan culture are neither reflecting the customs nor the habits of the Moroccan society, which is opposing to the idea that advertising reflects society and mirrors the dominant voice of a culture (Bakel, 2001; White, 2000; Leiss, 1997; and Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985). The depiction of women in such a way can be provocative to the majority of Moroccan people. However, TV advertisements are more popular and reflect the reality of women's lives and roles in society. Besides, the language used in these advertisements is the Moroccan dialect which is understood by the illiterate population. This would explain the huge differences that exist in Morocco between people as regards their level of education, culture and economy. These three key words play a significant role in dividing or separating the interests of the Moroccan population and consequently in creating different types of advertisements depending on the culture, the status and the social class of the targeted audience. Therefore, magazine advertisements target a more educated audience.

The veil is a very controversial issue in the Muslim world where women are expected to use it as a symbol of their religious beliefs. But, there are other thoughts or beliefs which suggest that women are not obliged to put the veil so as to be Muslim. Still the strongest idea is that women should dress modestly and use the veil in the public sphere. Nevertheless, this rule is not applied in Moroccan women's magazines where women are never portrayed with a veil. The only exception to using the veil or a scarf is when women advertise fashionable traditional clothes whose objective is pure ornament. Additionally, it is believed that the Moroccan government is not interested in having or developing the idea of veiled women, and in many jobs in the Moroccan society, women

are not accepted to apply for jobs when they are using the veil, given that employers prefer unveiled women instead. The fact that many women in the Moroccan society wear the veil is contradictory. One may feel they are traditional and conservative, but at the same time they are and desire to be modern. This has to do with a double identity. Ten years ago more or less, behaviour in society was different, but nowadays with the satellite TV; people watch frequently the Arabian channels where they are strongly influenced by the culture and the customs of the Middle East.

Concerning the new advertisements that have invaded women's magazines in the Moroccan society in the last years, we notice that they are frequently presented in the Moroccan case while they are not mentioned in the British magazines. Many pages are available to advertise fitness clubs, night clubs, and spas. Other advertisements depict women as travelling in business class airlines, others asking for job applications, and others are reserved to some companies to clean houses for busy women. These are new portrayals leading to women's progress and freedom. Still, these advertisements are directed to a limited social class of the Moroccan population.

It is well-known that Britain and Morocco are rather different countries that vary in terms of geography, culture, economy and socio-political system. They are two different societies with different religions, beliefs, styles of life and culture. The educational process and level as well as the economic life are higher and with much more quality in the British society. The status of women is also completely different across the two cultures in the sense that women in Britain enjoy more freedom and equal rights with men, unlike Morocco where women still suffer from being denied their rights and are still believed to have limited roles in the private and public space. Obviously, the sexual

behaviour and freedom, as well as gender roles and family values, are different in the two societies.

However, women's portrayal in advertisements from the two societies seems to be similar at certain levels. Both cultures depict women as having the role of wife and mother, but in a different degree. Beauty product advertisements are abundantly presented in the two societies (while we know that Moroccan women should look modest), and women in fashion and beauty advertisements are represented as decorating the product or depicted as sexual objects. In short, the image of women seems to be the same in both countries. However, in the Moroccan advertisements, showing naked or sexually posed models may be an exaggeration and an inappropriate step toward the provocation of Moroccan people. Therefore, focusing on woman breasts or presenting woman wearing lingerie is only acceptable if the models are non-domestic. Nevertheless, this remains an unacceptable behaviour deemed to be against Moroccans´ values and beliefs. Hence, the only different aspect across the two cultures is that British women are more often depicted as sexual objects, which suggests that beauty, appearance and sex are the most important elements in women's life.

While British advertisements, from my point of view, may mirror women's social, cultural and economic life, Moroccan advertisements do not reflect nor shape the reality of Moroccan women, either in the habits and the dressing codes, or in the social and cultural activities. The most amazing fact is that the products advertised cannot be afforded by the majority of the population. In other words, advertising does not even reflect the economic capacities and abilities of Moroccan women.

Additionally, Britain and Morocco are considered to be two different societies in terms of economic development and media regulations. It is the political and economic systems that determine society's cultural values. The rules of advertising and freedom of expression (criticising Islam or any Arab head of state is forbidden), especially the regulations of decency and sexuality are ruled out by the Moroccan government. Therefore, in the Moroccan context, advertising conforms to the rules that include the gender roles and the sociocultural behaviour expected from men and women, and obviously the rules are more restrictive in Morocco than in Britain. The Moroccan government, which has an authoritarian political system where people are expected to be highly religious, dictates the local restrictions for dealing with the concept of sexuality that is represented only among non-domestic models.

Moreover, it is clear that in the patriarchal Moroccan society, women are not expected to be sexually active before marriage and that is why sexuality continues to be a strong taboo, contrary to western societies. It is true that the Moroccan society is more conservative concerning nudity and sexuality; however, only western models are allowed to be placed in sexual poses. On the contrary, sexual freedom values in the British society exist and contribute to the sexual imagery in advertisements. Therefore what is sexy or indecent differs across the two cultures.

Finally, although British women have known development, improved their strength and acquired rights in relation to men, advertisements still portray women as sexual objects since British women have acquired rights in relation to their bodies. However, this is not universal since Moroccan Muslim women are expected to dress modestly, and although women's roles have dramatically changed in the Moroccan

society, traditional values are still alive and continue to have a strong impact on families

in everyday life.

Conclusion

This study has shown that language, gender and advertising are very complex and intermingled issues. We have seen how these elements affect and influence each other in connection with other social and cultural factors. The way women are addressed and spoken about in relation to men, and the way women and men use language in everyday life have proved very important to understanding the way women are depicted in British and Moroccan advertisements. However, we have also seen that women's portrayal in the Moroccan advertisements does not reflect Moroccan women's reality in relation to their roles, status and freedom. Moreover, the language and visual images used in Moroccan advertisements do not reflect the Moroccan woman in her relation with males' authority, with her obligations and duties towards her family, with her job outside home and so on. However, advertising manipulates audiences via emotions and irrationality by instilling false needs and values, and transmitting the idea that being attractive and desired can be achieved through purchase and consumption.

The media have been shown to play a crucial role in enhancing awareness and modifications of gender roles. Consequently, the Moroccan media have the power to present a fair image of Moroccan women by diminishing gender stereotypes. However, there are always cultural and religious beliefs and some patriarchal interpretations of Islam that are still used to justify the situation of Moroccan women and abuses committed against them.

As has been pointed out, cultural values are the core of advertising messages; therefore, advertisers display women in ways that are socially and culturally adequate with the local norms. Of course, they cannot be against these norms or ignore them. For

example, in the Moroccan context, western fashion models advertise risqué products such as lingerie, while Moroccan models advertise household or domestic products.

The present study has proved that Moroccan women are living in a contradictory or double-faced society where western values and traditional roles, freedom and obedience, individualism and collectivism, go hand in hand. Despite the profound differences between the Moroccan and British cultures, where women live under different circumstances, we have noticed that the depiction of women in advertisement was not so different if compared to the cultural gaps existing between the two societies. While women's portrayal in the British society may have some similarities with the position of women in the real life, Moroccan advertisements do not reflect the majority of Moroccan women.

Besides, we have seen that women are increasingly portrayed as objects of sexual desire, being shown as attractive, thin and young. These unrealistic images of women reinforce prevailing stereotypes and support unrealistic body ideals. And advertisers want people to understand that women's sense of life is believed to be derived from body attractiveness, something which is unrealistic and unattainable by the majority of women, and which is true in both cultures.

After analysing the advertisements of both societies, I would like to conclude that as much as there are similarities, there are also differences in the British and Moroccan advertising systems. Women's roles as wives and mothers are more explicit in the Moroccan advertisements but not very much emphasised in the magazines when compared to the different functions the majority of Moroccan women perform in everyday life. Concerning women's portrayal in relation to beauty and the body, we have

noticed that less dressed women are shown in both societies, the only difference being that in the Moroccan advertisements it is western women who advertise risqué products that present women as attractive and sexy, instead of Moroccan models, who are not allowed to embody this sexual imagery. Moreover, while British advertisements present less dressed or naked models, since women in this culture have freedom concerning their bodies, Moroccan advertisements do not show women either nude or with veils because of governmental regulations.

Be that as it may, British and Moroccan women are not portrayed as equal to men. Unlike their husbands, boyfriends, fathers, sons and brothers, women are still considered responsible for the home and family life, as well as responsible for keeping their beauty and physical appearance attractive and seductive, not for their own self-esteem but for men's pleasure and satisfaction. Hence, women's depiction remains stereotypical at many levels.

This dissertation has focused on women's representation in print advertisements, on how they are depicted in terms of language and images. However, it would be interesting to compare the results of the present study with larger corpora of analysis such as TV advertisements, and introduce 'men' as an analytic variable, comparing how men and women are represented in print and visual advertisements. Indeed, an interesting investigation path would be to focus on the way men are represented in advertising in linguistic and sociological terms as compared to women. Besides, a field study would allow us to assess people's opinions, reactions and responses in relation to women's portrayal in advertisements in particular and in the media in general because this study has focused on production and not on reception. Therefore, including the audiences'

points of view in future studies would be of vital interest to understanding the social and cultural world of both men and women as well as their ways of thinking. In future studies, I would like to describe women's use of language in society in everyday life, and analyse the extent to which women reproduce (or not) the social system and the discriminatory patterns of which they are victims, regarding education, work and family roles.

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She
Woman
Woman's Day
Woman's Own
Woman's Weekly

Moroccan magazines: (2005-2006)

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*Famille Actuelle (*January 2004)
Femmes du Maroc
Nissaa Min Al Maghrib (Women from Morocco)
Ousra Magazine (Family magazine)
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