

Women in television food advertising in Chile: a feminist argumentative discourse analysis approach*

*La mujer en la publicidad televisiva de alimentos en Chile: una aproximación feminista desde el análisis argumental del discurso**

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Abstract

The objective of the present study is to analyse the way in which a category of women is constructed discursively from advertisements linked to food. Argumentative discourse analysis is used to inquire under a discursive and feminist approach the role assigned to women in food advertising. Analysis was conducted to 15 advertisements broadcasted on Chile's main free-to-air media. Results revealed the discursive articulation of three major dimensions of colonialism's logic and forms of social classification associated with women in the context of capitalism: control of social relations, bourgeois family, and denial of the productive role of women.

Key words: discourse analysis, colonialism, women, food advertising

Resumen

El objetivo del estudio es analizar el modo en que discursivamente se construye la categoría mujer a partir de anuncios publicitarios ligados a la alimentación. Se recurre al análisis argumental para indagar desde un enfoque discursivo y feminista el rol que aparece ligado a la mujer en la publicidad de alimentos. Se realizó el análisis de 15 anuncios difundidos en los principales medios de televisión abierta de Chile. Los resultados develaron la articulación discursiva de tres dimensiones propias del colonialismo y de las formas de clasificación social asociadas a la mujer en la televisión de la era digital: control de las relaciones sociales, familia burguesa y negación del rol productivo de la mujer.

Palabras Claves: Análisis de discurso, colonialismo, mujer, publicidad de alimentos

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1. Introduction

Television is transforming and adapting to the new parameters of digital environments and the challenges of a multi-screen society (Jódar, 2010; Pérez, 2008). The medium is undergoing a *metamorphosis* in which “new media do not arise spontaneously and independently; they emerge gradually from the metamorphosis of legacy media. Then, when newer forms of communication media emerge, the older ones usually do not die: they continue evolving and adapting” (Fidler, 1998, p. 57). Therefore legacy media still is a relevant socio-cultural player, incarnating historic significance that becomes increasingly multi-faceted and predisposed to change. Its action is framed in a “complex network of interaction and socio-cultural and political mediation in which the building up of collective ideals and discursive productions take place, feeding a common sense” (Santa Cruz, 2017, p.9).

According to Pedraza (2009), television contributes to consolidating an aesthetic and political regime installed as a byproduct of the notions of subjectivity and corporality as expressions of the contemporary human norm. In its political and economic aspects the process seems to be sustained by a capitalistic/modern dyad. Colonialism in the digital era operates within a new technological structure which weaves together power relations and communication media normalizing and socializing an whole policy disciplining the human body.

The latter triggers the question: might technological and digital development have generated changes regarding the representation of the female body as it is socialized on television? Or rather, as Cáceres, Ruiz & Brändle (2011) point out: might it be the raising of new screens to sustain old practices?. Answering this question implies puzzling out how the construction of the female category on television in the digital era is actually built. To that end, this study analyzes the arguments in advertisements linked to food products in Chile as published between June and August 2018.

The study's assumption is that under such ads' discourses patriarchal and colonial frames when addressing women are still operating. Even more, radical perspectives state that cyberculture has not only not changed gender stereotypes, but ac-

centuated discrimination and oppression of women (Arias & Sánchez, 2017).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Colonialism, Discourse, and Women

The production of women of the third world as monolithic subjects originates and persists throughout a hegemonic colonial discourse (Mohanthy, 2008). Colonization is understood as a concept that allows to address economic and political hierarchies embedded within the production of discourse that puts forward a system of control for intersubjective relationships (Quintero, 2013).

Therefore, within a colonial discourse, capitalist corporations control work resources and products. The bourgeois family controls sex; the Nation State manages identity, and Eurocentrism is controlling intersubjectivity. Each one of these institutions exists interdependently with all the others; then, the consolidation of a pattern of power has been configured into a system (Quijano, 2000).

This dynamic was supported and sustained by the expansion of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Deep in the bosom of both the previous discourse oriented on activating corporeal forms that would stimulate the principles of productivity, health, governance, and emotionality (Pedraza, 2009). Following Cobo (2015), in such a process of a free market, women's bodies have been understood as a commodity from which certain added-values are taken off and considered fundamental to the social reproduction of contemporary patriarchies.

This type of analysis can be rendered evident when addressing messages reproducing the economic model. Publicity constitutes a form of argumentative discourse that recreates the statutes of a specific gender (Castillo, 2006). It is a performative act that builds a form of corporality, social roles, and in so doing, creates a certain category of women (Muñiz, 2014).

Giménez (1981) understands discourse as all enunciative practices in their critical junctures of social, institutional, or historical production. The author emphasizes the importance of three functions of discourse: informing, expressing, and arguing. Although all three functions are always related, the argumentative function is always hegemonic, as long as “all argumentation puts in play a certain discursive rhetoric structure as it selects and organizes predetermined logical-semantic operations responding to a very precise objective” (1981, p. 145).

Thompson (1998) conceptualizes discourse as a symbolic form, including a broad field of significant phenomena (from action to statements, text, television programs and works of art). In his definition, Thompson acknowledges how the ideological nature of these forms contributes to establish relationships of dominance. According to Giménez, the process of argumentation “transforms language into ideology, the entity delivering the message appropriates fact, objects, situations, values to then both subtly and technically elaborate a process of restraint on the normalization of social relationships” (1981, p.145).

2.2 Discourse in Advertising, Women, and Food

Advertising is an argumentative type of discourse (Márquez, 2007; Giménez, 1981) given that it is built on the basis of predicative determinations in which runs a persuasive ideology (Loscertales & Núñez, 2009; Giménez, 1981). Regarding the case under examination, this means what food must be intaken and, to that end, advertisers use stereotypical images of men and women.

Following Caro (2014), the role of publicity within a capitalist environment is to provide products with meaning, which far from fulfilling a mere function of announcing a product, implies the semiotic production of the merchandise in question. Caro dubs the phenomena linking meaning with merchandise as the “publicity of signification”, a process designed to “formulate” brands where transcendence is a result of the indiscernible moment of its own advertisement statement (Caro, 2014).

Following a feminist framework, there is evidence of the effect of ascribing meaning observable in the performative nature of advertisements. Butler (2004) points out that reiterating discourses provides a field of meanings. Such meanings turn into norms and fix subjects based upon a certain legality organizing the world around binary cisgender identities. In gender performativity, biology in defining sex is nullified, focusing the discussion exclusively on language as a tool that builds cultural and social practices, modalities of expression producing what they aims to enunciate (Butler, 2002).

Food advertising clearly highlights meanings associated with corporality, gender roles, and healthy lifestyles. For instance, Díaz-Méndez and González-Álvarez (2013) indicate that current dietary problems are linked to discursive messages on maintaining adequate physical health, the ideals of beauty, and control of the body.

When analyzing the female body in advertising, Cabrera (2010) concludes that the canon of beauty is restrictive and can damage health, attributing greater value to slender or slim physiques. According to Muñiz, “The practices in achieving or maintaining beauty are central to reproducing controlling relationships, to perpetuating the disciplinary effects of femininity” (2014, p.430).

In their research in Colombia, Velandía & Rincón (2013) identified the gender representations and stereotypes used in the advertisements broadcast on television. Their study revealed differences in how gender was depicted, with female figures more likely to be located in private settings, while masculine figures were found more likely to be represented in public settings. The use of the bombshell and housewife persona was a proven phenomena in the study, where females were employed as decorative objects or depicted in dependent roles.

When conducting a content analysis of food advertisements, Espinar & González (2012) concluded that gender stereotypes are not only sustained by the ad main characters, but also by the narrators of those ads. Loscertales and Núñez (2009) point out that the main stereotypes driven by publicity are based upon physical features, permeating how women are taken into consideration in general. According to Ribas and Todolí (2008), the relevance of stereotypes lies in that such constructs are still

organizing the social images through advertising shaped by the metaphor of women as objects.

In Chile, there is little academic work on advertising addressing advertising agencies or ads (Repiso, Fernández & Lloves, 2015). Out of the few empirical studies conducted on the subject, Uribe, Manzur, Hidalgo & Fernández (2008)'s research stands out. Their research analyses gender stereotypes in a sample of Chilean graphic publicity. The research shows that the advertising under examination associates women with beauty products and personal care, with greater emotional dependency, age averages lower than men, and for showing more of the female than the male body.

In a comparative study analyzing racial stereotypes found in Chilean and French television systems, Amigo, Bravo, Sécali, Lefébure & Borrell (2016) concluded that in France non-white racial minorities were underrepresented. In Chile, the study found there was a tension between the implicit self-definition of a "white society" and the fact that most people represented on television are whiter than the majority of the population.

Following this perspective, we visualize a situation doubly as complex where the female form in publicity discourse is concerned. On the one hand, the body becomes a passive object incapable of communicating in service of its own agenda, subjugated to the guidelines set by the media in fashion, beauty, and social acceptance (Márquez, 2007). On the other hand, the discourse behaves like a "semiotic object, where it is represented in varied languages" (Duch & Melich, 2000, p.245), in this case due to the colonial and ideological power embodied in the advertising discourse surrounding food and the body.

3. Method and Materials

Relying upon the foundations previously discussed, this study aims to analyze the ways in which, discursively, the category of "woman" is built up out of television ads regarding food and feeding. Out of their bibliometric analysis of a body of scientific research on sexism in publicity from 1988 to 2010, Navarro and Marín (2013) point out printed media have been more studied than visual media. In the same vein, Espinar and González (2012) argue that

most of these studies have preferred a quantitative perspective on content analysis over qualitative methods, such as the argumentative discourse analysis. Regarding the study of food advertisements, Royo-Vela, Aldas-Manzano, Küster & Vila (2008) point out that, generally, they are not related to or concerned with gender. Furthermore, publicity has rarely been the object of study when analyzing gender representation, most studies have been more concerned with addressing the link between ads and eating habits (Espinar & González, 2012).

This study's main contribution is further knowledge on the construction of the category of women, using a methodological design that analyzes the discourse in argumentative and syntagmatic logic in television advertisements for food products. In doing so, this research collaborates to acknowledge predicative and grammatical structures that produce meaning, as well as to better understand the sequence of signs and statements connected to each other in producing the category of "woman".

3.1. Design

The research embraces a qualitative framework that, via an argumentative discourse analysis (Giménez, 1983), seeks to break down the category of "woman" in food product television advertising.

3.2. Corpus

The corpus was intentionally sampled, using inclusionary criteria. First, we choose the advertising time slot with the greatest television consumption. According to data provided by the yearly statistics of the National Television Council (CNTV) for 2016, it was the morning slot (between 08:00 and 12:00) with 36.9% of preference. Then, we selected the four channels with the highest ratings for the morning timeslots: TVN, Mega, Chilevisión, and Canal 13.

Although all these stations are members of the National Television Association (ANATEL) each one has different roots and trajectory. *Televisión Nacional* (TVN) is the only public broadcast service. Created on January 31st 1969, it currently boasts nine

regional-based stations located in Chile's main cities. These channels produce their own local broadcast content exclusively for their respective broadcast areas. *Megavisión* first started broadcasting in 1990 and became the first private broadcasting company in Chile. *Canal 13* is a privately owned television company that began broadcasting on the 21st of August 1959, under the protection of the Catholic University. Lastly, *Chilevisión* started their broadcasting on the 4th of November 1960, is currently privately owned, and considered the third oldest network in the country. It is important to mention that the four networks broadcast programs with similar formats and duration in the morning slots, at the same time (morning TV shows). In the same fashion, they also have similar advertising breaks and the same type of publicity ads for food products.

Once selected the networks and timeslot, between June and August 2018, researchers registered all the advertisements for food featuring women. In total, 15 advertisements associated with meat, dairy, flour, fruit, species, sugar, and food supplements were identified and coded. The following table informs the corpus analyzed in this study:

Eight out of 15 products coded correspond to dairy products covering different formats and packaging: yoghurt, dessert, and milk. The others, excluding flour products, appeared in different, single categories.

Table N°1: Registered Publicity Advertisements

N°	Food Category	General Theme	Brand	Duration	Type of woman depicted
1	Flour	Pasta	Lucchetti	30 sec.	Young Mother and Wife
2	Dairy	Yogurt	Greek, Soprole	30 sec.	Young Women
3	Dairy	Yogurt <i>Light</i>	Colún	17 sec.	Young Women
4	Dairy	Adult Food Supplement	Ensure Advanced	30 sec.	Adult Woman
5	Dairy	Children's Milk Snack	Nido	30 sec.	Young Mother
6	Food Supplements	Adult Food Supplement	Glucerna	20 sec.	Young Women
7	Dairy	Milk for Adult and Child Consumers	Pediasure	20 sec.	Young Mother
8	Sugars	<i>light</i> Sugar	lansa	31 sec.	Mother and Wife
9	Dairy	Yogurt	Soprole	45 sec.	Young Women
10	Fruitive	Tea	Lipton	31 sec.	Adult Woman
11	Dairy	Dessert	Chandelle	31 sec.	Young Women
12	Meat	Chicken	Super Pollo	32 sec.	Active Granny
13	Flour	Soup Pasta	Lucchetti	30 sec.	Young Mother
14	Condiments	Stock concentrates	Maggi	24 sec.	Adult Woman
15	Dairy	Children's Milk Snack	Similac	29 sec.	Young Mother

Source: Own Elaboration.

3.3. Categories

The women’s category was operationalized as a form of a binary classification inherent to patriarchal colonialism which is structured on three discursive objectives: denying their productive role, controlling social relationships, and the bourgeois family, defined as it follows:

1. Controlling social relationships: The set of devices framing and regulating social norms based on neo-liberal logic.
2. Bourgeois family: The patriarchal institution supporting the interests of capitalism.
3. Denial of Women’s Productive Role: imposing of a social role on gender to ensure social and material order of the bourgeois family.

At the same time, these discursive objectives were evident observing morphological, narratological, and communicative aspects in the ads under examination. To that purpose, researchers created and filled in a matrix (based on Giménez, 1981; 2005; Del Valle, 2015-2019) that registering visual and systematic observation, made it possible to index the arguments present in the 15 ads.

3.4. Methodology for Argumentative Discourse Analysis

To analyze the corpus of the study researchers used syntagmatic analysis in three phases developed as described below.

3.4.1. First Stage

Consists in recognizing and identifying the arguments in all 15 advertisements in terms of the three discursive objectives (Table N°2). The arguments “are predicative determinations that define and give content to discursive goals, providing them with certain aspects, characteristics, and functions” (Giménez, 1981, p.145). They can also appear as modalized statements which “have an important role in argumentative strategy and can be defined according to the manner in which the subject of a/enunciation relates to the enunciation itself, or the target of the enunciation”. Giménez indicates the existence of varying forms of modalized statements: assertion categories (affirmation, denial and interrogation), certainty categories (true, probable), deontic modalities (must be), factitive modalizations (do), veridictive modalizations (seems to be, it’s true that).

Complementing the above, Greimas and Courtés define modalization as “the production of an enunciation that over-determines a descriptive enunciation. On its part the predicative modalization can be defined, solely on its taxic function, transitive finality, capable of reaching another statement taken as an object” (1982, p.262). The results of the analysis are presented in Table N°4.

Table N°2: Operationalization of the Women’s category

General Aspects	Observation Criteria	Argumentation
Look: Morphological Aspects	Gender expression	
	Gender representation	
	Gender functionality	
Visuality: Narratological Aspects	Actor roles	
	Space/time	
	Symbolic Context	
Image: Communicational Aspects	Level of Visual Verbiage	

(Source: Giménez, 1981; Del Valle; 2015-2019)

3.4.2. Second Stage

The second stage consisted in explaining the grammar of the argument. To that end, Giménez proposes selecting the pivotal arguments of the discourse, arguments that exemplify the associating logical relationships between arguments (equivalence, implication, consequence, complement, union) or the dissociative relationships (incompatibility, exclusion, opposition, difference, discrimination). To carry out this analysis, it was necessary to regroup these arguments, as presented in Table N°5.

3.4.3. Third Stage

This stage required to represent the discursive strategy. In order to represent such strategy, logical and modal operations were selected and organized regarding the discursive objective. The results of this stage are presented in diagram N°1.

4. Results

Table N°3 presents a general and synthesized description of the study cases in terms of their morphological, narrative, and communicational constructions.

4.1. Identifying the arguments

In this phase, with the aid of the matrix previously presented in table N°2, we identified and registered each one of the arguments as they appear in the ads while simultaneously recognizing their enunciative nature. Table N°4 illustrates that the discursive objective of controlling social relationships registers a greater number of arguments which are characterized as being modalizations of assertions, veridiction, deontic, factitive, and of certainty.

The arguments listed above are expressions of the traits women in society must have, they must be: mothers, young, slim, healthy, beautiful, and ener-

Table N° 3: General Description of the Case Studies

General Aspects	Observation Criteria	General Description
Look: Morphological Aspects	Gender expresión	The ads show an affectionate happy woman. In her role as wife and mother she is concerned with diet, the purchase and preparation of food.
	Gender Representation	Depicts a woman with an active, slim, and jovial physique and demeanor.
	Gender Functionality	The female gender is associated with familiar and dietary socialization, excluding the male gender from the role.
Visuality: Narratological Aspects	Actors roles	The main characters are mothers, wives, and grandmothers, as well as children and grandchildren. Men have a secondary role.
	Space/Time	Depicts a private world, two-parent homes of high-earning socioeconomic means. The main spaces shown in the advertisement are the kitchen and dining room. The public space shown in the commercial is the school.
	Symbolic Context	The home is pictured as a space that is happy and where one can develop comprehensively. The context is one of normal nutritional and aesthetic context. The masculine figure is not depicted as a care-giver nor in the preparation of food.
Image: Communicative Aspects	Visual verbiage level	The advertisement reiteratively repeats the slogan of care and affection, interchanging both words as synonyms. In addition, the woman is depicted as the entity charged with providing said care/nutrition. The message also transmits the idea that food is the basis for a happy and healthy lifestyle.

Source: Own elaboration.

getic. The ads also display the functions they must perform such as being affectionate and taking care of the family. Regarding the discursive objective of the bourgeois family, arguments are focused on recognizing the high-earning socioeconomic family incarnating traditional stereotypical values. Women are placed in private settings and tasked with the specific roles of raising a family and preparing food. Lastly, the discursive objective of denying women’s productive role, the concept of women as

exclusively reproductive figures is reinforced (such as that of being a mother, grandmother, and knowing how to cook).

4.2. Explaining the Grammar

In this phase, the arguments presented in Table N°4 were regrouped by identifying nodal points in

Table N°4: Summarized Arguments According to Discursive Objective

Discursive Objective	Arguments	Nature of the Enunciation
Controlling Social Relationships	1. The woman is young and slim. 2. The woman is energetic. 3. Children must complement their diet. 4. Food is affection. 5. Cooking is innovative. 6. Cooking is happiness.	Assertion: Enunciation as affirmation.
	7. The woman is happy as a mother or wife. 8. Cooking is equated with giving affection. 9. Being a woman means cooking. 10. Cooking is related to looking after children. 11. For children the mother is the most important. 12. Home and school are places for development. 13. Children, men and women are associated with nutritional and aesthetic normality.	Veridiction: Enunciation as truth.
	14. Being a woman means being a mother. 15. Mothers are always concerned with children. 16. Mothers should always be concerned about the growth of their children. 17. Women should be concerned about health. 18. Mothers teach children values.	Deontic: Enunciation implies being a certain way.
	19. Mothers own the private spaces. 20. Women must complement their diets. 21. Women must be more energetic.	Certainty: Enunciation as certainties or probable certainties.
	22. Abuelas son activas y aventureras 23. Para cocinar se usan redes sociales 24. Mujer debe consumir alimentos light	Factive: Enunciations that imply what to do.
	Familia burguesa	1. The woman decides what food to buy. 2. The woman decides what to cook. 3. Home has light and open spaces. 4. Women are always from high-earning socio-economic backgrounds. 5. The home is women’s main space. 6. Families enjoy meals.
7. Mother is a young woman. 8. Women must look after the family.		Deontic: Enunciation implies being a certain way.
Denial of Women’s Productive Role	1. The woman is a mother or grandmother.	Veridiction: Enunciation as truth.
	2. The woman is at home. 3. The woman is in the kitchen. 4. The woman has children. 5. Children prefer to be with their mothers.	Deontic: Enunciation implies being a certain way.
	6. The woman accompanies the children to school.	Factive: Enunciations that imply what to do.

Source: Own elaboration.

Table N°5: Pivotal Arguments

Discursive Objective	Pivotal Arguments
Controlling Social Relationships	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Women's body image: arguments refer to the woman's body, a beautiful, healthy, young body. 2. Social roles in nutrition: argument poses the link between women and everything from choosing food products to preparing them. 3. School and home: arguments establish the importance of school and the home as spaces where children develop. 4. Nutritional and aesthetic normality: arguments establish the importance of taking care of health and aesthetics, consuming light products and food supplements to stay within and maintain the normality portrayed therein. 5. Role of social networks: arguments pose the need to innovate in the kitchen.
Bourgeois Family	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Women and high-earning social economic status: arguments explicitly indicate women belonging to high-earning social economic segments of the population. 2. Women and private space: arguments link women to the home and the kitchen. 3. Happy family: arguments equate the role of women with happiness in the family. 4. Traditional stereotypical families: traditional two-parent families.
Denying Women's Productive Role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Women and reproductive roles: arguments associate women with being a mother and/or grandmother, in charge of raising the family.

Source: Own elaboration.

the discourse sustaining the rest of the arguments (Table N°5). Then, the associations and dissociations of the pivotal arguments are presented in descriptions.

According to Giménez, associative relationships can be expressed in: equivalencies, implications, consequences, complementation, and union. Dissociative relationships can be expressed through incompatibility, exclusion, opposition, differentiation, discrimination, and hierarchy.

Continuing with this nomenclature building the women's category in televised commercial ads on food is a result of both associative and dissociative relationships. When associating pivotal arguments link women with reproductive roles, body image and belonging to high income families. The logic behind this associating is expressed in equivalencies with arguments that refer to taking care of the family and private spaces, which are ultimately related, using terms that express union, to women's social role in nurturing and food preparation. Lastly, the traditional stereotypical family is depicted as a complementary pivotal argument to that of school and the use of social networks.

Regarding the main dissociations the pivotal argument of body image is, although compatible with nutritional normality and high-income status, is

still expressed in terms of differentiation from reproductive roles, the traditional family and women's exclusive belonging to private spaces. In all these cases, the arguments are of a different nature and not necessarily relatable to each other. In high-income families reproductive roles are generally taken on by maids, meaning that private spaces are generally occupied by maids. In the same fashion not all high-income families live in the traditional stereotypical manner, on the contrary, multiple parental dynamics have been observed.

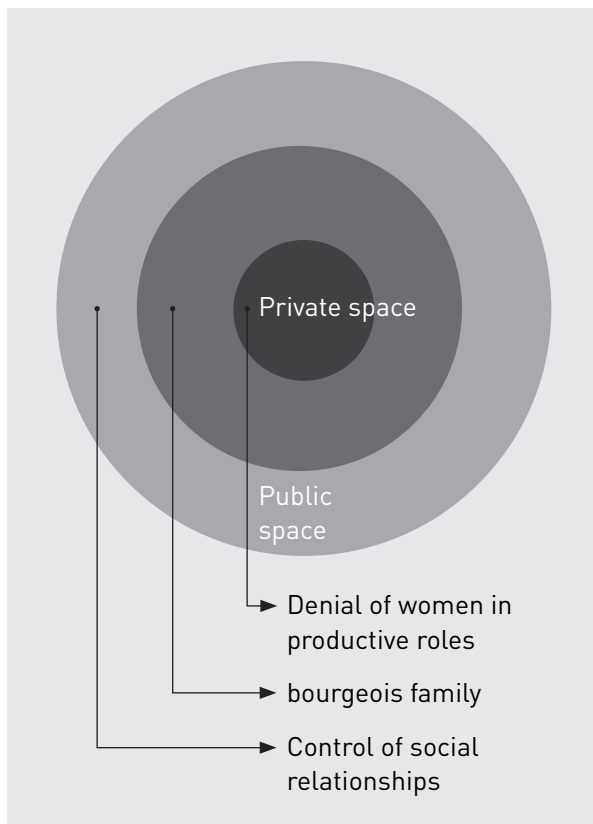
Despite the differences presented in these arguments, from this grammatical analysis we can observe that the discourse in commercial advertisements are clearly coherent in propositions reinforcing stereotypes, and the role that women must continue to fulfill in the context of social relationships, maintaining the bourgeois family, and in reproductive roles; three areas of control that form a confluence and mutually reinforce one another in particularly explicit arguments expressed through nutrition. The following are a couple of excerpts of the dialogue presented in advertising campaigns that exemplify the previous: "Lucchetti is mother's pasta", "They are prepared for what's coming, all the love and values I give them grow alongside them. Nido, your love, your future", "Super pollo feeds you with care", "Maggie stock, cooking your happiness" and "with Glucem, you are still you".

4.3. Identifying Discursive Strategy

In accordance with diagram N°1 we can observe that discursive strategy is rebuilt from pivotal arguments linked to private space and which refer to the denial of women in productive roles and the bourgeois family. For their part, the control of social relationships situated in more public settings, as a discursive objective link to pivotal arguments associated with: women's physique, food socialization, the complementarity between home and school, nutritional normality, and the role of social networks.

In this sense, the bourgeois family fulfills the function of connecting spaces and discursive objectives. In the private space it reinforces the discursive relationship with maintaining reproductive roles, while on a public level the discourse unfolds through arguments defining the control of social relationships. In the manner, discursive strategy is ordered logically as follows:

Figure N°1: Discursive Strategy



Source: Own elaboration.

5. Conclusions

According to our analysis, we observe how patriarchal logic materialized in the arguments therein to build a women's category from the basis of nutrition. Ads as a repeated act of discourse legitimizes the binary cisgender roles and stereotypes argumentatively across all three of the analyzed discursive objectives.

Regarding the control of social relationships the results portray nutrition as an important medium through which to instill nutritional and aesthetic normality in women at a social level, and expressed from a Eurocentric perspective associated with beauty, body image and youth. The results coincide with empirical evidence establishing that in television and commercial advertisements in Chile, there is an implicit self-imposed definition of a white society (Amigo et al., 2016).

In order to maintain the bourgeois family, the message in advertising defines it as a space of reproducing global capitalism through assigning reproductive roles associated with women, roles that express mechanisms of control over resources and products associated with the women's category (Quijano, 2000). In this fashion, the results articulate with previous studies that reaffirm the existence of decorative representation given to women, by assigning dependent gender roles and the almost exclusive use of private spaces (Velandia & Rincón, 2013).

Therefore, the results confirm previous studies linking women to patriarchal and sexist roles and representations (Velandia & Rincón, 2013; Espinar & González, 2012). Such stereotyping of gender is very likely to the findings of Uribe et al. (2008) in a study of a sample of Chilean graphic advertising, where the results indicate that advertising associated women with beauty products, personal care items, and greater emotional dependency. In both cases, they build a rigid, socially simplified image of women.

In this sense, the effects of "signification" in advertising are unmistakable under the relationship of sign-merchandise (Caro, 2014). Therefore, the conclusion is that in food advertising in Chile, paradoxically, food is not the central topic; what matters the most is the semiotic production built

around food. In other words, nutrition is the analog in building the women's category. What transcends from all this is the semiotic capitalist model that includes formal ingredients intervening in the syntax of the ads, an element that in the purest terms pushes the merchandise to background (Caro, 2002).

Having said that, the semantic and pragmatic structure described above behaves like a system of meanings that allow for the incarnation and formal manifestation of the conditioning ideological factors of a modern colonialist society, where a woman's body becomes the centerpiece of merchandising (Cobo, 2015). This implies that, through discourse in advertising, not just ideological conditions are introduced, but also social and institutional, which, according to Giménez (1981) establish the limits of discourse. The limits govern what can and cannot be said about women, and consequently, what one can and cannot consume as food.

Food advertisements in Chile articulate around a discursive strategy stemming from diverse enunciations (such as assertions, certainties, deontic, and factitive enunciations) which affirm, deny, establish truths and duties regarding the expression, representation and functionality of the female gender. In the same way, such a strategy puts women in a determined space, time, and symbolic context. A series of logical semantic devices that grammatically permeate a set of actions that produce a social reality.

As a result, argumentation with modalized and phrasic components become a global existence of sense (Greimas & Courtés, 1982). Under an interpretive analysis of the results, we acknowledge the modal predicate corresponds to argumentative enunciations (Table N°4) which can be defined by the transitive finality as pivotal arguments (Table N°5) capable of reaching yet another larger enunciation with still greater sense, the articulation of discursive strategy (Figure N°1).

Pivotal arguments can take on diverse relationships of association and dissociation between them, expressing several layers of coherence with or contradiction of the internal logic of the argument, an issue that leads us to conclude that publicity discourse on food goes beyond the question of true or false (Baudrillard, 1974). It is here that "reality becomes nothing more than a model that

speaks of itself" (Baudrillard 1974, p.181). Taking into consideration the previous one concludes that the semiosis written in the advertisement is a language set in motion in which relationships of power and control materialize, relationships on which societies function which further reaffirms their ideological nature.

Turning to the feminist bent of the present study, the conclusion based on the results, and some contextual information, is that televised food advertising is failing to provide a position in discourse for a vast majority of women. For example, women who do not identify with maternity are invisible. In regards to the latter, data provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2017) indicate not just a drop in the number of children, but also a delay in motherhood increasingly longer in the life cycles of Chilean women.

Food advertising in Chile also fails to represent those who do not fall in the category of aesthetic or nutritional normality. In Chile, 32% of women over the age of 18 are obese, leading the ranking in Latin America (FAO, OMS & UNICEF, 2017). Furthermore, this percentage is highly concentrated in the group of Chilean women with lower levels of education (Chilean Ministry of Health, 2010), a segment of the population that is also invisible in ads.

Publicity also excludes women who, in addition to having reproductive roles, are also productive. Despite the fact that in Chile the proportion of women that are the main earners in the home is lower than that of men, 6 out of every 10 women participate in the job market, although under conditions of inequality. They receive lower salaries and occupy fewer positions of responsibility (INE, 2017).

The main contribution of this study was the methodological design, which allowed the researchers to recognise certain predicative determinations, the argumentation in function of different modalizations present in the discursive objectives, the relationships of association and dissociation among pivotal arguments, and the general logic behind the discursive strategy of food and food related publicity.

In the digital era, television continues to deploy "old practices" when building the women's category, but does so through "new semiotics". These new

semiotics are a set of modalizations that ensure the reproduction of a “semi capitalist” economic model (Caro, 2002).

Lastly, there is proof of the need to continue researching and investigating food publicity from an analytical feminist approach, broadening the study

of discursive objectives that make it possible to reveal and explain the ideological nature operating as a form of truth in the construction of the women’s category in advertising in the third world.

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