

Tribhuvan University

Male Gaze and Ideological Formations in Nepalese Television Commercials

**A thesis submitted to the Central Department of English in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Masters in Arts**

By

Kamal Raj Sigdel

Central Department of English

Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur

May 2006

Tribhuvan University

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

This thesis entitled "Male Gaze and Ideological Formations in Nepalese Television Commercials," by **Kamal Raj Sigdel** submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University has been approved by the undersigned members of the Research Committee.

Members of the Research Committee

.....

.....

.....

Internal Examiner

.....

.....

.....

External Examiner

.....

.....

.....

Head, Central Department of English

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu

May 2006

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi for all of his efforts in bringing this project to fruition. His approval of this paper is without a doubt the crowning achievement of my academic career, for he is not just the supervisor of my thesis, but is my mentor as well. Without his guidance or his intolerance of mediocrity, this project could never have been realized. I would also like to extend my special thanks to Mr. Saroj Ghimire and Mr. Nagendra Bhattarai for their valuable guidance in writing this thesis. I would also like to thank Ms. Sachchhi Ghimire Karki who encouraged and helped me in taking up this type of research.

I would also like to extend my hearty gratitude to Martin Chautari for selecting this research to award the "Chautari Investigative Media Fellowship 2006".

My special thank goes to Mr. Sambhu and Mr. Nirajan of Trikon Advertisig who helped me by providing the records and CDs of the television commercials. I would also like to thank my elder brother, Mr. Rajendra Sigdel and the EasyTech Media family for their contribution in recording and printing television advertisements from the live broadcast.

I would also like to thank my dear brother, Uddhav Kumar Sigdel, and sister, Sharmila Sigdel for helping me while I worked for this thesis.

As a personal achievement, I dedicate this paper to my parents, whose love gives meaning to everything I do. All I have ever accomplished and all I will ever be I owe to my dear mother and father.

May 2006

Abstract

This paper explores into the semiotics of Nepalese mass media, especially the television commercials which display a sort of obsession with portraying men-women relation in a manner that caters to male voyeuristic gaze. The structuration of the Nepalese television advertisements shows how an all-pervasive psychological force, gears to monopolize the audience of the television commercials as only males by positioning the women characters therein as passive sexual objects who can only exhibit to-be-looked-at-ness and the male characters as the principal viewer.

This paper examines the Nepalese television commercials with the theoretical possibilities provided by the psychoanalysis, where the idea of voyeurism and fetishism are central and the Foucauldian concept of gaze, where the activity of looking images under certain spectacles provide privileged power for dominion over what is being looked at. The research thus takes on to explicate how the combination of these two effects in Nepalese television commercials lead to ideological formations.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
I. Introduction	1-22
1.1. Advertisements as Works of Art.....	2
1.2. Television Advertisements as the Focus of Study	4
1.3. Advertisements and Politics of Picture	5
1.4. The Male Gaze	10
1.5. Possibility of Female Gaze	12
1.6. Critical Review	15
II. Voyeurism and Fetish	21-34
2.1. Psychoanalytic Theory: Voyeuristic and Fetishistic Pleasures of Looking.....	21
2.2. Foucauldian Theory of Gaze.....	31
III. Male Gaze and Ideological Formations	34-66
3.1. Victim of Voyeuristic Gaze	34
3.2. Fetishistic Substitution.....	41
3.3. Production of Disciplined Individuals	42
3.4. Constructing Active and Passive Image	47
3.5. Authority to Make Definitions.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
3.6. Focus of Advertisements: Body Parts or the Product	51
3.7. Monopoly of Male Audience	53
3.8. Ideological Formations	55
IV. Conclusion.....	59
Works Cited.....	61
Illustrations	63

I. Introduction

Among the scholars who have published criticism on representation of women and men in Nepalese print and television media, surprisingly few have examined the media's role in formation of ideologies, and of these few, none have dealt with the operation of "male gaze" in the representation.

Particularly, most critics have ignored the fact that the media representations always present women's images with over invested sexual meanings not because of dominion but because of the "fear" that haunts a male every time he faces a woman. As a result, these critics have overlooked the critical possibilities, which arise when psychological forces operate to influence media and the society, and have therefore failed to uncover the underlying elements, voyeuristic and fetishistic fantasies, that are guiding the posture and shape of images in the advertisements and are forming ideologies. The mass media, through continuous reinforcement and broadcasting of same advertisements formulates ideologies in society, because the media creates a world of virtual reality and its frequent broadcasting exerts influence upon its audience.

The result is that, the critics of mass media have not yet treated the trend of exposing women's images in mass media as the serious problem it is, realizing the prejudiced representation and critiquing the profound impact of this biasness upon society and its ideology.

Instead, criticism of Nepalese mass media has tendency to fit in the categories of feminist criticism, that end up simply revealing the gender discrimination in the

treatment and representation of women in media due to what is often called the "patriarchal society", but not the underlying psychological and political causes. Such criticisms, however sporadically, have tried to trace male domination, violence in the screen, commodification of female body and other effects on the characters used in the teleserials, advertisements and other promotional shows, or combination of the above. Most criticisms and analysis have failed to see beyond these categories.

There are some notable exceptions, however, and which have played instrumental role in laying the foundation for this research paper. These are "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" by Laura Mulvey and *Discipline and Punish* by Michele Foucault. In her extremely influential essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Laura Mulvey writes that traditional films present men as active, controlling subjects and treat women as passive objects of desire for men. Such films objectify women in relation to 'the controlling male gaze' (Mulvey, 33), presenting 'woman as image' and man as 'bearer of the look' (ibid., 27).

This research, however, will focus on advertisements taken as works of art, which in many respect, is similar to what other critics do while making criticism on films and fictions. This research, thus, begins by exploring the possibility of analysing how the "male gaze" is operating in production of Nepalese advertisements.

1.1. Advertisements as Works of Art

When this academic research has its focus on television advertisements, it implies that the advertisements, here, are taken as works of art. They are created with their own aesthetics and the main aim of such arts is to attract the audience or the

consumers towards the product that they advertise. So advertisements like other literary works do have their own aesthetics. Designing of advertisements demands certain degree of creativity and that creativity is used to strategize techniques for drawing the audience's attention. In doing so, advertisers use so many techniques, including psychological tricks and strategies. This makes the advertisements persuasive because to win the audience is their central aim. The more the advertisement becomes able to persuade its audience, the more successful it is regarded. So art of advertisement lies in attracting and persuading its audience to the desired direction or action.

Advertisements and commercials, therefore, involve or call for the engagement of their producers, the medium through which they are broadcast, the audiences, spectacles used in the medium, images moving or still in the advertisements, the relation between the viewers and the viewed and so on.

Advertisements not only try to persuade their audience or the target population, they also amuse (or sometimes even offend) because they are the works of art intended to exert an effect upon the audience.

Advertisements as works of art do take different forms according to their technical qualities, the medium through which they are broadcast etc. And of the different types of advertisements, those that have more visual effects can attract their targeted audiences more powerfully. Hence, in advertisements, what matters is only the look and gaze of both the audience and the characters presented therein. At this, television advertisements come first, which have become the focus of this research.

1.2. Television Advertisements as the Focus of Study

When we talk of Nepalese advertisement, it excludes its other types: print and audio. This research is focusing only on audiovisual advertisements that are broadcasted through television on regular basis.

The audiovisual advertisements have both audio and visual dimensions that make them more attractive and at the same time more complex. As it is usual everywhere, the advertisements in Nepal are of all kinds (audio, print and audiovisual) but those that are in print and audiovisual are taking lead. It is mostly because the visual effects are more powerful than that of audio. The visual advertisements, therefore, either they be still or moving, are more powerful to have desired impact upon audience. Television media has provided the advertisers a platform for broadcasting their visual advertisements to the larger audience. As Ms. Sangita Rayamajhi says:

The advertisers have great power over the television. Therefore the best way to win the audience even for the newspapers is the creation of visual effects. The *Kantipur* weekly, for example, prioritises women's body and the aura of sex to win the audience. So do other dailies and their weeklies. So much so that the articles are written by men who betray their wishful thinking and macho ego in their unobtrusive and patriarchal writings in the columns of the weeklies and even dailies. . .

. (10)

This indicates the fact that the “visual effects” of advertisements have the power to “win” the audience because the advertisers tap up human psychology, especially of males since women’s body is used for this purpose and males obviously are the presupposed audience or viewer. This “visual effect” is applied more pervasively in television advertisements than in print advertisements, as the former possess the possibility of moving the pictures and images to make them more lifelike.

Audiovisual advertisements, being one of the major contents of most of the television channels, provide enough samples and space to work in. The television advertisements thus are the texts or the work of art of which this research will do a critical analysis.

1.3. Advertisements and Politics of Picture

Advertisements, be it photographic or videographic, tend to be more and more pictorial and glamorous because they all presume certain viewers whom, as Sangita Rayamajhi says advertisers want to “win” through the display of women’s bodies. Those audiences are own or overpowered by the power of pictures presented in the advertisements as to attract them to a desired direction, as John Hartley in his *The Politics of Pictures* writes:

No picture is pure image; all of them, still and moving, graphic and photographic, are ‘talking pictures’, either literally, or in association with contextual speech, writing or discourse. Pictures are social, visual, spatial and sometimes communicative. As visual text and social communication they construct literal social space within and between

the frames and fields of which they're made. Pictures of all kinds are aesthetic, textual works, capable of personal appreciation and individual interpretation, but at the same time they are institutionally produced, circulated within an economy, and used both socially and culturally. Not only is their own internal space organized or framed, but also relations are developed between them and spectators, users, audiences or publics, real or imagined, outside the frame. (28)

Advertisements and commercials share a large part of the mass media as they generate the largest revenue for operation of the media itself. Mass media nowadays has become largely pictorial which intermixes colourful images with sounds. The television culture is all-pervasive in our present day society. No one remains untouched by the colour of media. Media has thus, become one of the very powerful systems operating in modern society to the extent that it controls society and its people. John Hartley says that the public, which views, observes and controls the image, is made up of pictures:

But nowadays there is no physical public domain, and politics is not 'of populace'. Contemporary politics is *representative* in both senses of the term; citizens are represented by a chosen few, and politics is represented to the public via the various media of communication. Representative political space is literally made of pictures – they *constitute* the public domain. (35)

So the pictures once introduced in the media, play a role of politics, for example, favouring some existing ideologies and reinforcing their norms and values through frequent broadcasting. A study of the photographs used in a Kodak's photography guide *Home Movies Made Easy*, an example of typical advertisement, carried out by John Hartley indicates how the Kodak film company has contributed to the politicisation of family life and formation of gendered ideologies through the treatment of images. He writes:

Kodak's *Home Movies Made Easy* is one such guide, whose advice is summarized in 'OUR FAMILY PICNIN', starring Mom, Dad, Betsy and Butch, in a banal tale of travel, food preparation and consumption, playing games and clearing up. The family is cast in traditional roles; mother and daughter set the table and roast marshmallows, while Dad oversees the barbecue and sets up the badminton in response to Butch's demand for 'action'. It is not hard to see these sequences as a politicisation of family life; Kodak's fictional family discursive organization as well technical tips. Advice on how to film sexual division of labour is also endorsement and propagation of them, while the integration of movie-making into family activities is 'naturalized' by associating the family with the consumption of technology. So a family picnic is the site for gender and consumer politics, made into a meaningful story, which is what is being taught. (47)

So John Hartley says that 'OUR FAMILY PICNIC' is ideological and manipulative in its vision of 'the family', but the politics of its pictures includes an unstated struggle between Kodak and the purchaser, whose filmmaking plans may not include a family, to say nothing of picnic (48).

This shows that the pictures in the public domain play certain role in changing society of the audiences, toward which the pictures or the visuals are directed. This indicates of the fact that the pictures and the visual images broadcasted in the public domain have certain power to control the society or the audience. John Hartley has an interesting insight into this effect. He states:

Within the repertoire of viewing practices, the power of the viewer escapes that of the institution, its controllers, regulators and textual regimes; the disciplinary apparatus not only circulates to the viewer from the screen but also in the reverse direction. Watching is exercising power to turn one's own disciplinary gaze or glance on and through screen, using the act of looking to keep an eye on the social and discursive organization of the world at large, and to make judgments and take actions which are themselves exercise of power, often enough of a directly political kind, over which the forces of disciplinary domestication have much less control than they of their critics would like to think. Television does exercise social power, but half of the equation has historically been ignored; the social power of

surveillance exercised by audiences in the meaningful use of television as a cultural resource of their own. (86-87)

John Hartley's "power of looking" is coterminous with the concept, which I am trying to deal with, 'male gaze', the central focus of this research. The power of looking as described by Hartley has the power to control, objectify and define or categorize so as to put that in discipline. In the same way the "gaze" as described by Michel Foucault exists in the field of photography and film. According to Foucault, the careful and curious focus of the camera upon the individual possesses a power that dominates who is being recorded or photographed. This is what he calls "surveillance effect" which could also be described with the particular example of Foucault's panoptical prison where the prisoners are taken into control through a mechanism of looking/watching which enables the controller to see all the prisoners in their cell but disables the prisoners to see their observer while they are aware of the fact that someone is keeping a constant eye over them. So this is a "gaze" which is what Hartley says "power of looking". John Hartley further writes:

Where gazing may be favoured as honorific by critics schooled in rationality (the second glance), glancing – the appreciation of social totality through appearance – seems to me to be the serviceable version of power viewing. But like Veblen and Sahlins, I'm impressed by social productivity as well as individual skill, and the power of the glance is not that of individual skill, but of anthropological pervasion. Its analogy in natural attributes is the 'power of speech'; its analogy in

the historical world of material production is fashion. Furthermore, even in western political mythology, glancing is the very foundation stone of politics. (94)

Thus John Hartley shows up the possibilities of what I have been calling the effect of “gaze” in the production and broadcasting of advertisements. “If we give it a second glance”, adds Hartley, “may we see in television the beginning of some new philosophy, some new politics; the miracle of social cohesion in the era of an urban public whose members are ‘not personally acquainted’ but span the world (95)? This indicates that advertisement is the actual platform where there is significant operation of gaze that brings together media, commercials, body politics and ideological formations through a unique politics of picture. Before we explore the operation of “gaze” in Nepalese television advertisements, it is necessary to throw light on the difference between look and “gaze” and thus enter into the specific “male gaze”.

1.4. The Male Gaze

There is a basic difference between look and gaze. To look normally means to have a normal sight of something that our eyes can catch. But gaze is different from look; it is more associated with power. Gaze normally refers to a stare which means to look at something continuously without winking our eyes so as to carefully observe or dominate what is looked at. It is a normal case that none objects or cares when we look people but everyone feels uncomfortable or even gets angry when we gaze them curiously. When a male looks at objects through this particular kind of gaze, it is normally called male gaze.

This normal meaning could help us understand how the look and gaze are operational in the television advertisement, the subject of study of this research.

When we look at an object, we see more than just the thing itself: we see the relation between the thing and ourselves. Some objects are intentionally made to be looked upon. While making the objects to be looked upon, a viewer is always presupposed. For example, if we take the trend of Nepalese television and print commercials, in most of them a male is the presupposed viewer. The image of woman in those advertisements are portrayed usually as inactive, submissive and passive, or sometimes even shown admiring her own image in a mirror. All this is done to nurture the presupposed viewer's/spectator's sense of possession and control.

The "portrayal of woman and her beauty in such a position offers up the pleasure for the male spectator" (Mulvey 5). So the male gaze here is the powerful look which can control and possess the images that are looked at for his pleasure. But the spectator's gaze sees not merely the object of the gaze, but sees the relationship between the object and the self. He sees her as a creature of his domain, under his gaze of possession. So, male gaze refers to a powerful and purposive stare at the women's images to take pleasure of looking at women's body parts through a secure vantage point.

In the case of recorded texts such as photographs, advertisements and films, a key feature of the gaze is that the object of the gaze is not aware of the current viewer (though they may originally have been aware of being filmed, photographed, painted etc.).

Viewing such recorded images gives the viewer's gaze a voyeuristic dimension. This applies to cinema and advertisements where the situation is such that the viewer is privileged to be in a position where the images that walk and talk in the screen cannot look back at the viewer. This privileged position gives the viewer a chance to fearlessly identify his "self" to the acting protagonist's self in the screen.

The male gaze is seen operating in viewing produced cinema or commercials through a voyeuristic fantasy, but it also operates through fetishism. This occurs especially when a male confronts a female body in such a situation where the male viewer is visible to the female also.

The male gaze is said to be the outcome of the fear that all men harbour throughout their life. This fear, according to Laura Mulvey, emerges whenever a male sees female body parts, which reminds them of "castration anxiety". And the male gaze is the way out to overcome the "castration anxiety" (Mulvey 5). So depending on the situation, the male gaze leads either to fetishization of women's body parts or to voyeuristic victimization of the female.

1.5. Possibility of Female Gaze

Unlike men, women are thought to represent a threat - in Freudian psychoanalytic theory, the threat of castration. The threat is however experienced by the presupposed male viewer upon looking at the women's images. So this threat is overcome, for example in cinema, by the narrative which either victimizes or fetishizes women.

The male gaze is therefore always active trying to mastery over the threat-reminding female body. So the "female gaze" is always subordinated and limited to an identification with the woman being looked at. Moreover, the hegemony of male gaze has such an effect that even if a female designs any advertisements, she does it according to the existing patterns and according to the expectations of males. For she presupposes that the audience are males. This could also be proved by the fact that there are no advertisements where male characters are portrayed as a passive bearer of female look.

This situation rules out the possibility of any kinds of significant "female gaze" that could influence the making of visuals and photography in cinema or television.

Similarly, the existence of female gaze is also ruled out because, males are often, at least in Nepalese context, presented not as a bearer of female gaze but as a perfect and ideal ego, a macho figure. Let me explain it more, as described by Laura Mulvey.

In looking, according to Mulvey, pleasure is derived in two ways. One way is through scopophilia which arises from using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight. The other is through "identification," where the ego outside identifies with the one in cinema. While the former one is more associated with sexual pleasure, the latter one is close to nostalgic reminiscent of the pre-subjective moment of image recognition and to narcissism.

In narcissism, one takes pleasure by looking at the screen image (or mirror image as in the version of Lacan), which is regarded by the viewer as an ideal ego or the role model which the viewer aspires. So the activities however glamorous of the male protagonist are not viewed as the erotic activities of the gazed object but as activities of a more perfect ego that is identified.

So the process of getting pleasure through the system of socophilia involves separation of egos (one of the viewer and the other of the viewed) and that of identification involves merging of two egos. The first is direct socophilic pleasure second is fascination with the character in the screen and identification which is indirect.

So the spectator too can possess the woman whom the character of the screen possesses. Besides, the female viewers are subject to identify with the male gaze and take part in the activity of watching as a male.

So, had there been the presence of female gaze, there would have been man's images presented as a bearer of look. Most of the advertisements in Nepalese televisions have portrayed male figure in a way to reassure the controlling gaze rather than evoking female gaze. Very few advertisements have imagined women as their audience or as the target of their attraction, even if they are meant for the women consumers.

There is however, a single advertisement, collected here as an example, in a daily newspaper *The Himalayan Times* December 12, 2005. It is the print advertisement of Frenchie, men's underwear, where there is a caption in the

advertisement that reads, "Women resent being treated as sex objects SOMETHING TELLS US . . . men won't have any such problems . . ." Apparently, it seems to have a female gaze (clip 1), but it neither by its visual aspects nor by its words printed as caption present the male figure in a way that could facilitate or cater to the female gaze.

The possibility of the existence of female gaze is however undercut by the man's bold facial expression and his look. Unlike the advertisements with male gaze, the male character in the advertisement does look at the audience with certain power to counter the female look. However, such printed advertisements do not exist in audiovisual forms, which is the focus of this research.

1.6. Critical Review

There is indeed a dearth of literature on advertisement sector. Though freelance journalists, women rights activists, students and lecturers have written and published several articles advocating for banning prevalent discriminative advertisements in Nepalese television channels, nobody has done a detailed research on this issue till now. And nobody has explored the dominant male gaze and its effect on ideological formations that underlies all the problems connected with the discriminative advertisements.

Focusing on the issues of gender and media there are, however, some detailed researches carried out by a few world famous critics and scholars. In most of the cases, they have greatly benefited from the works of Michel Foucault, Sigmund Freud, Lacan, and Simone de Beauvoir. The radical film theorists of the 1970s have

used the concept of "look" and "gaze" developed by Foucault to study media sexism. While looking at the use of the concept "gaze", both in Foucault's own works and in the radical film theorists of the 1970s, power relation is the central focus. For Foucault, the term "gaze" carries the "sense of being objectified, subordinated, or threatened by the look of another" (Brooker 90). The radical film theory of the 1970s, developed from the articles in UK journal *Screen* has explored the concept of "gaze" in reading of films. One of the writers of the *Screen*, Laura Mulvey in her extremely influential essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" elaborates a specific theory of what she called "male gaze" (90). Mulvey drew on Freud's concept of 'socopophilia' to designate the pleasure of watching screen images, and upon Lacan's concept of "mirror phase". Mulvey argues that "viewing images in a darkened cinema is likened to "voyeuristic phantasy" and can be understood as an expression of both of "active scopophilia" or the looking at an object separated from the self, and narcissism or self love, involving the contrary movement of identification with a fuller, more perfect image presented on screen" (Brooker 90). Mulvey here indicates the gender imbalance and discrimination seen in films as the outcome of dominant "male gaze". Same is the case with advertisements in Nepal Television, where, to give one example of the Fair and Lovely face cream, male are introduced with a "gaze" who look while women are positioned as sexual objects who can only exhibit "to-be-looked-at-ness" (90). However, my focus in the study will be on how this dominant "male gaze" is operating in the advertisements and how it contributes to ideological formations.

It is, however, not to declare that the females in the advertisements do not have "female gaze". There is the presence of "female gaze" but that is subordinated and passive, limited to identification with the woman being looked at (91). The "female gaze" therefore does not possess that power as to lead towards ideological formations. So, it is rather than being a gaze it is simply a look.

The operation of "male gaze" which I will be exploring in the reading of television advertisements is also exploited by the postcolonial theorist and critic Homi Bhabha. Bhabha accepts the earlier theorists that the operation of the "male gaze" in cinema gives birth to "fetishism" (90). But his further study and exploration that benefits my current study is that the concept of "fetishism" can be used to understand resist stereotypes. He says that in the case of racial discriminations, one's anxiety is of the racial or ethnic other's lack of the same skin colour (Brooker 83). In the same vein, in Nepalese cosmetic commercials, e.g. Fair and Lovely, the acting women's anxiety of her darkish complexion is the result of the operation of the "male gaze", which leads to ideological formations and gender discrimination.

Similarly, Foucault's concept of "surveillance" is found here to be one of the most effective tools to study the operation of power in visual advertisements. Helen Malson in her *The Thin Women* draws upon Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and argues that "the examination" plays a central role in the exercise of discipline in the process of producing disciplined individuals as it:

Introduces individuality into the field of documentation. The examination leaves behind it a whole meticulous archive . . . [It] places

individuals in a field of surveillance . . . it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them. (171)

In advertisements also the surveillance as indicated by Foucault could be traced, where individual is meticulously documented and examined so as to fix her or him to certain category or definition. Foucault says that this activity of documentation links "a certain type of the formation of knowledge" to "a certain type of exercise of power" (171). But the power is exercised not only through documenting detail but also, necessarily through observation, through placing the individual in a "field of surveillance." Malson argues by quoting Foucault:

The examination transformed the economy of visibility into the exercise of power . . . In discipline; it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. (171)

This indicates how the controlling gaze observes, examines and categorizes individual images so as to put him or her under discipline. This gaze with power leads ultimately to ideological formations. And this phenomenon is clearly visible in Nepalese advertisements.

In Nepal, some have done general media surveys with an objective to assess such advertisements where the patriarchal ideology is playing the major role in making the advertisements gender discriminative, though without noticing and

acknowledging the effect of powerful "male gaze". Ms. Arati Chataut has recently done a general research on the overall mass media of Nepal on gender perspective. Her study *Electronic Media in Gender Lens* however lacks specific focus on the advertisements and the underlying male gaze. She has, however, identified 70 advertisements as "gender discriminative" (20).

One of the notable exceptions however exists. Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi in his article "Male Gaze, Bodylines and Dreams" published in *Across*, makes an insightful review of photographs of young women published over the year in the centre page of the Kantipur weekly. Explaining how the male gaze is operational in the photographs of the weekly, Prof. Subedi writes:

The postures are in many cases defined by the male gaze that also decides the gestural forms. The women's body lines are carefully exhibited to suite the male gaze. The girls appear funny in their passive roles. The active agency is the male voyeurs. (Subedi 17)

Ms. Manju Thapa has also done more or less similar research on women's representation in Nepalese media. Her book *Women in Media* clearly states that the mass media be it governmental or private are neglecting gender issues and some of the programs are openly discriminative (52). Her book, however, does not focus on the role of male gaze in the television advertisements, which is the main cause for what she calls "legitimizing gender disparity" (53).

Some other newspaper article have raised this issue of media sexism and protested for the government's negligence. In some newspaper articles, Kamal Raj

Sigdel and some other critics have raised the issue of discriminative commercials. In the articles “Legitimizing Disparity”, Chauvinistic Ads”, “Gender Insensitive Ads” and “Need for Reform in Nepalese Mass Media” published in *The Kathmandu Post*, Sigdel has tried to expose the fact that advertisements in Nepalese media are legitimising gender disparity, which gradually contributes to ideological formations.

These studies, articles, and research reports, though very few in number prove and support that there is a serious problem in the Nepalese television commercials. Amid such scenario, the research, which will be first of its kind, will explore further in the area of advertisements, the power operated in and through it, oftentimes the male gaze, and consequent ideological formations. This research thus sets out to expanding the knowledge on the complexity of media, gender, and reading of advertisements and films.

II. Voyeurism and Fetish

2.1. Psychoanalytic Theory: Voyeuristic and Fetishistic Pleasures of Looking

Sigmund Freud defined human psychology as collective functioning of three conflicting forces namely: id, ego and superego, which led to the formulation of psychoanalytic theories. But here in this research, more than anything else, his division of human psychosocial development into three different phases and how a child is socialized and how his psychology is shaped are instrumental.

Freud believed that in course of socialization every child must pass through the three different phases of psychological development: oral phase, anal phase and latent phase (Malson 17). When a child enters into the latent phase he realizes the sexual deference which contributes to the formation of what he calls “penisenvy” in female child and “castration anxiety” in male child which leads to “Oedipus complex”.

The fear aroused by “castration anxiety” in a male child is instrumental in our analysis of “male gaze” in this research. Though the concept of “lack” in female psychology or the “castration anxiety” in male triggered by the same “lack” has been the subject of much criticism among the feminist theorists, this has been a point of departure for many of them.

Among the critics and scholars who have dealt with Freud’s psychoanalysis, we see how the views are grouped in two different poles: one group that affirms Freudian psychoanalytic theory and builds upon it new theories and principles, while

the other rejects its basic ideas and concepts and sets out to destroy all the props of Freudian psychoanalysis on which it is constructed.

Many feminists have viewed Freud as an enemy claiming that psychoanalysis is patriarchal status quo, regarding woman as biologically inferior and ‘true femininity’ as subordination (Malson 12). But there are other feminists who have used the Freudian psychoanalysis greatly for furthering their views and criticisms upon patriarchal power relations.

Feminists, including de Beauvoir, have often criticized Freudian theory as a biological determinist account of gender while the others like Laura Mulvey have used the same theory to deconstruct the patriarchal nature of narrative cinema. As quoted in Malson’s *The Thin Women*, Sayers says that:

If we actually look at Freud’s account of the development of psychological sex differenced we find that he did not subscribe to a biologically determinist account of female psychology. Instead he regarded the development of the characteristically female (and male) personality as the effect of the way the child constructs her (or his) biology. (12)

This means femininity and masculinity are not automatically and mechanistically determined by biology but are effects of society’s ideas about biology. Femininity and masculinity are not natural and given but constructs. Malson, in her book *The Thin Women*, therefore, says “psychoanalytic theory can therefore be read as an anti-essentialist theory of sexuality” (12).

The important point to note here is that Freud cannot be criticized on the ground he presented psychoanalysis with “phallic illusion” (12) about gender and identity because he did not recommended it to be followed, rather he exposed by analysis what is in the patriarchal society.

Freud’s psychoanalysis here functions as a basic theory for the interpretation of the operation of what we have been calling “male gaze” in the television advertisements. While making it clear that Freud’s psychoanalysis theory is not supportive to patriarchy, it is now necessary to explain how his concept of what Lacan latter on called “lack” functioning in the formation of child psychology contributes to the formation of fear and consequently the male gaze.

When a child is born, the sex of the child is not noticed by the child itself. Since birth to a certain point of realization, both male and female infant grow up in same undifferentiated and engendered state. Both boys and girls take mother as “love-object” (Freud 299) and both share similar experience during oral and anal phases of psychosexual development. And it is not until ‘the phallic phase’ of development that the two sexes begin to diverge psychologically:

During this stage, the penis or clitoris becomes the principle erotogenic zone, and physical differences thus become significant. For the boy, phallic eroticism leads to phallic desires for the mother so that the father becomes an Oedipal rival. Fearing castration by the father in relation for these desires, he renounces the mother as love-object,

forming instead an identification with the father, thus taking up a masculine position. (Malson 13-14)

Then onwards, the child, especially the male one, whenever confronts a female body, begins to experience a “castration anxiety” that any time he could be punished. The British critic and psychoanalyst, Laura Mulvey, takes this case of child’s “castration anxiety” to a point where he manages to overcome it through a powerful “male gaze”, where the fear is transformed into pleasure.

The psychoanalytic theorist Jacques Lacan was the basis for Laura Mulvey’s concept of “male gaze”. Lacan had indicated to the narcissistic tendency of a child with reference to his mirror analogy. He explains about it in describing “the mirror phase”, which is a phase of child’s psychological development when child realizes its full identity in the reflection of mirror. He describes it in detail in his “The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience”. Lacan explains the mirror stage as an “identification”, by which he means “transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes as image” (Lacan 898).

Jacques Lacan's concept of gaze emerged from this theory of the mirror stage, where a child sees itself in the mirror and misrecognizes it as the real "self". By viewing itself in the mirror, the subject at *the mirror stage* begins its entrance into culture and language by establishing its own subjectivity through the fantasy image inside the mirror. The image is an ideal image the subject aspires towards throughout its life.

This tendency of attachment towards self-image is known as narcissism.

Lacan says that narcissism is a sort of love of beauty which is seen in “the mirror stage” and it is also known as “homeomorphic identification”. Homeomorphic identification, says Lacan, refers to the “meaning of beauty as both formative and erogenic” (Lacan, 899). Here he is talking about two types of libidinal desires, one is related to “narcissistic libido” and the other is “sexual libido” (900). Lacan writes:

In the light of this [Oedipus complex], the term primary narcissism, by which analytic doctrine designates the libidinal investment characteristic of that moment, reveals in those who invented it the most profound awareness of semantic latencies. But it also throws light on the dynamic opposition between his libido and the sexual libido
(Lacan 900)

Lacan goes on complicating these libidinal desires that a child harbors from the very beginning. He indicates to the “voyeuristic” fantasy” (900) a male could grow from the effect of these libidinal desires. The narcissistic desire develops in the child from the image as described in Lacan’s mirror stage, where the image plays a role model for the child. That fantasy image of oneself can be filled in by others whom we may want to emulate in our adult lives (role models, love objects, etc.), anyone that we set up as a mirror for ourselves in what is, ultimately, a *narcissistic* relationship. And when the adult (or a child) fails to be like the role model or the image to which he/she aspires, he/she identifies to it as a voyeur. Explaining this case Lacan writes:

At the culmination of the historical effort of a society to refuse to recognize that it has any function other than the utilitarian one and in the anxiety of the individual confronting the ‘concentrational’ form of social bond that seems to arise to crown this effort, existentialism must be judged by the explanations it gives of the subjective impasses that have indeed resulted from it; a freedom that is never more authentic than when it is within the walls of a prison; a demand for commitment, expressing the impotence of a pure consciousness to master any situation; a voyeuristic-sadistic idealization of the sexual relation; a personality that realizes itself only in suicide; a consciousness of the other that can be satisfied only by Hegelian murder. (Lacan 900)

Lacan’s phrase “expressing the impotence of a pure consciousness to master any situation” indicates the “lack” that the subject feels within himself or herself that leads him/her to narcissistic or voyeuristic-sadistic idealization of the sexual relation. So it is that lack at the heart of desire that ensures we continue to desire. This lack, is therefore a source of fear for the narcissists.

Lacan, however also indicates to the lack that Freud talked about while describing the phases of “psycho sexual development” of child. It is the lack of phallus in women, which always reminds males of the “castration anxiety”. So the lack at the heart of desire at once allows desire to persist and at the same time threatens. This threat among males, as described by Laura Mulvey, is overcome

either by voyeurism or by fetishism (Mulvey 3) which allows them to continue their fascination with the images.

When we look how this human fascination with image functions in actual life, we must observe our (or the common audiences') reaction to images that we confront in our day-to-day life. More than anything else, the facility of visual documentation and observation made possible by the advancement of science and technology like cinema and photography offers a number of possible pleasures to the viewer. This pleasure is associated with Lacan's concept of "mirror stare" and the narcissism therein.

A child, according to Lacan, when confronts mirror, is fascinated with the reflected image which he/she thinks as the ideal ego. This reflected "self" thus becomes an ideal to which the child aspires throughout his/her life. And in watching this image, the child gets pleasure, which Lacan associates with what he calls "narcissistic libido". As there is pleasure in looking screen or mirror images, there is also pleasure in being looked. In her "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Laura Mulvey states that just the other way round there is also pleasure in being looked at. She is one of the most popular critics and film theorists, who have worked on this issue.

Sigmund Freud, in his *Three Essays on Sexuality*, invents a term "scopophilia" to designate a component instinct of sexuality. "Scopophilia," according to Freud is the pleasure a viewer gets from looking at other people or their images which are under control. This pleasure of looking, as Freud says is independent of erotogenic zones; it

is triggered not by the sexual meanings reflected by erotic visuals but by the situation where a viewer can, while looking, take other people as objects, and can subject them to a controlling gaze.

Socophilia or the pleasure of looking is the central force that is guiding the production of visual images in the mass media and thus contributive element for the formation of “male gaze” in most of the pictures and visuals.

There is a process that leads to the formation of male gaze which is associated with two kinds of pleasure of looking: voyeurism and fetishism. These two psychological activities are described partly by Freud and partly by Lacan and other theorists.

Jaques Lacan while describing “the mirror phase” indicated the possibility of two kinds of libidinal desires: one was narcissistic libido and the other was sexual libido. He said that it was the outcome of one’s universal desire or fascination with the beautiful and idealized image (in the mirror or anywhere) to which he or she always aspires. Lacan’s division of libidinal desire is therefore indicative of the two kinds of activities through which a child or adult could reach to gratification. The narcissistic libido and the sexual libido are identical to what Laura Mulvey called fetishistic and voyeuristic fantasy of male in watching images in screen or in the mirror.

Mulvey distinguishes between two modes of looking especially for the film spectator: *voyeuristic* and *fetishistic*, which she presents in Freudian terms as responses to male “castration anxiety”. It is worth quoting a paragraph from her essay

“Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” which describes these two fantasies in male spectator:

But in psychoanalytic terms, the female figure poses a deeper problem. She also connotes something that the look continually circles around but disavows: her lack of a penis, implying a threat of castration and hence unpleasure. Ultimately, the meaning of woman is sexual difference, the absence of the penis as visually ascertainable, the material evidence on which is based the castration complex essential for the organization of entrance to the symbolic order and the law of the father.

Explicating the castration complex that a female character generates, Mulvey shows how a male gaze being operational in overcoming it comes into effect:

Thus the woman, as icon, displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of men, the active controllers of the look, always threatens to evoke the anxiety it originally signified. The male unconscious has two avenues of escape from this castration anxiety: preoccupation with the re-enactment of the original trauma (investigating the woman, demystifying her mystery), counterbalanced by the devaluation, punishment, or saving of the guilty object (an avenue typified by the concerns of the film noir); or else complete disavowal of castration by the substitution of a fetish object or turning the represented figure itself into a fetish so that it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous (hence

over-valuation, the cult of the female star). This second avenue, fetishistic scopophilia, builds up the physical beauty of the object, transforming it into something satisfying in itself. The first avenue, voyeurism, on the contrary, has associations with sadism: pleasure lies in ascertaining guilt (immediately associated with castration), asserting control, and subjecting the guilty person through punishment or forgiveness. This sadistic side fits in well with narrative. Sadism demands a story, depends on making something happen, forcing a change in another person, a battle of will and strength, victory/defeat, all occurring in a linear time with a beginning and an end. Fetishistic scopophilia, on the other hand, can exist outside linear time as the erotic instinct is focused on the look alone. These contradictions and ambiguities can be illustrated more simply by using works by Hitchcock and Sternberg, both of whom take the look almost as the content or subject matter of many of their films. Hitchcock is the more complex, as he uses both mechanisms. Sternberg's work, on the other hand, provides many pure examples of fetishistic scopophilia. (12-13 Mulvey)

This means voyeuristic looking involves a controlling gaze and Mulvey argues that this has associations with sadism. Fetishistic looking, in contrast, involves “the substitution of a fetish object or turning the represented figure itself into a fetish so that it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous.” Fetishistic looking, she suggests,

leads to overvaluation of the female image and to the cult of the female movie star.

Mulvey argues that the film spectator oscillates between these two forms of looking (13).

Critics like Mulvey thus see a unique situation in the act of watching cinema where audiences gratify their desires through identification. As Lacan has said, this is an inherent tendency in human beings to have fascinations with images which leads to voyeurism and fetishism. Now this shows the possibility of using the tools provided by psychoanalytic in making an analysis of the television advertisements that this research takes on to. As Mulvey talked of films, the advertisements have also long depicted women characters as men want them to be, instead of as they actually are, which is an effect of “male gaze”.

2.2. Foucauldian Theory of Gaze

Michel Foucault in his books, *Discipline and Punish* and *The Birth of Clinic* uses the term "gaze". According to him, gaze is a sort of powerful look, which objectifies the other person (who is looked upon), subjects him/her to a curious stare, categorizes, defines and takes control. His use of the term "gaze", therefore, carries the sense of being objectified, subordinated, or threatened by the look of another.

Michel Foucault, who linked knowledge with power, related the gaze to power rather than to gender in his discussion of surveillance. The use of the term “gaze” though slightly varies to its use by Laura Mulvey, there is a strong connection between the two. Foucault focuses on how a “gaze” becomes a technique to utilize the

power of looking into what is look at. He associates the “gaze” to the surveillance effect of a modern scientific camera.

The functions of photography or videography therefore can be seen in the context of Michel Foucault's analysis of the rise of surveillance in modern society. Photography promotes “the normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them” (Malson 25).

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault argues that the gaze of camera plays a central role in formation of disciplines among the viewed. In media, especially in the production commercials and advertisement camera plays the central role of gazing. This gaze of the camera thus produces the women's images (in commercials and the advertisements) in the perspective of male gaze. As Foucault states the "examination" of the male gaze in the commercial advertisements plays central role in defining what is desired by the mass audience. The observation and examination of gaze

introduces individuality into the field of documentation. The examination leaves behind it a whole meticulous archive . . . [it] places individuals in a field of surveillance, it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them". (Malson 170)

This very observation, examination and categorization of the women's images through male gaze contribute to the formation of ideologies in the society because the mass media repeatedly broadcasts them.

The gaze of male in videography and photography and of course in television advertisements thus retains a controlling power over the individual in focus or surveillance.

III. Male Gaze and Ideological Formations

As per the existing pattern and operation of male gaze in collected Nepalese television advertisements, there is the possibility of categorising them on different headings for textual analysis. A through scanning of the advertisements reveals that they could be categorized in seven different groups for textual analysis. Some advertisements have voyeuristic features; others are more close to fetishism. Similarly, some coherently try to have an effect of disciplining authority over the audience, while others tend to promote the monopoly of male audience and all these features are associated with male gaze. The topics below take ahead the part of textual analysis of different advertisements categorically.

3.1. Victim of Voyeuristic Gaze

Television commercial is one of the most effective and powerful means of product advertising in today's world of media and technology. Television advertisements provide possibilities for the use of both audio and visual effects to draw the attention of audience. More than audio, visual effects are exploited in television commercials. When ultimate aim of the advertiser is to capture the psychology of the audience and draw his/her interest to consume the product, creativity is used to design advertisements with all possible visual and audio effects intermixed.

Creativity and the work of art or literature it creates, as Freud says, is associated with creator's conscious and unconscious desire. Most of the advertisements, at least Nepalese ones, are created by male designers. And the female

designers also, if any, follow the majority. At such a scenario, it is obvious, even from observation, that most of the advertisements produced are influenced by the conscious/unconscious desire of the designer, i.e. male gaze. It is also because the supposed desire of the common audience is the central focus of most of the designers and that desire is what they try to exploit.

The advertisement designers in doing so take recourse to voyeurism. The spectacle provided by the television advertisements makes a safe and secure place for the voyeurs to take pleasure from looking secretly. The screen of the television is such a spectacle which distances the viewed from the viewer where the observer can look at the images in the screen but the images in the screen could not look back or disturb the observer. The advertisements that try to exploit this situation fall under this category of advertisements which victimize women's images in the screen through voyeuristic male gaze.

The situation in television is likened to that of the darkened cinema hall, where the audience feels secure as the darkness distances him/her from the images of the cinema and other people in the hall. The more the position of the audience is secure, the more the possibility for him/her to get pleasure of looking images secretly. So as the darkness of the cinema hall, which is a public domain, facilitates voyeurs towards pleasure of looking, the television set and its privacy constitute necessary spectacles for voyeuristic pleasure.

Let's make an analysis of some advertisements where voyeurism is pervasive.

Advertisements which cater to the expectation of male voyeuristic gaze could best be seen in soap advertisements. One of the advertisements recorded for analysis in this research is of a toilet soap named Citrus Lime. The audio version of the advertisement when translated into English reads like this:

Citrus Lime;

Freshness of Citrus Lime, each moment each celebration

A product of Mahashakti Soap. (My Translation)

As the audio narration of the advertisement conveys, the soap is designed to bring freshness. But this effect of the soap is contradicted by the image of woman presented (Clip 2). More than freshness the advertisement focuses in arising sexual desire to the audience through presentation of a woman in swimming costume. Besides, the advertisement's focal point is on the fetish parts of the women, viz: exposed underarm, breasts, neck and belly. The woman is presented as a sexual object to be viewed by voyeurs. To supply a secure position for the voyeuristic male gaze, the woman is made to close her eyes while stretching her both arms upward so that voyeur could fearlessly watch her as there will be no possibility of her looking back. This is a necessary spectacle for creating pleasure of looking for the voyeurs, as voyeurs can only peep or secretly watch. In this advertisement, the "socophilia" or the pleasure of looking is the central force that is guiding the designer in its production. Some advertisements like that of Mini Water Pump are explicitly affected by voyeuristic pleasure of looking. The advertiser to introduce a new product, Mini Water Pump, uses a scene of a woman bathing in her bathroom, a typical situation for

peeping. The advertisement opens up with a light interior of a cozy bathroom and focuses on the back side of a naked woman (Clip 3), who is taking shower. An old man peeps into her bathroom and takes pleasure in secretly looking at a beautiful woman bathing naked. Other men outside follow the first old man and start peeping, and in few seconds, whole villagers are peeping inside. The woman notices this and throws a bucket full of water through the same peeping holes and all of the voyeurs run away. With this scene the advertisement ends.

The visuals displayed in this advertisement do not have anything to do with the water pump, which is the product the advertisement wants to advertise. The sexual and voyeuristic images of the advertisement are used only to draw the audience's attention, which is nothing more than catering to the desire of male voyeuristic gaze.

Similarly, there is another advertisement of Rite Juice. To quote the audio versions of the advertisement the advertisement reads like this:

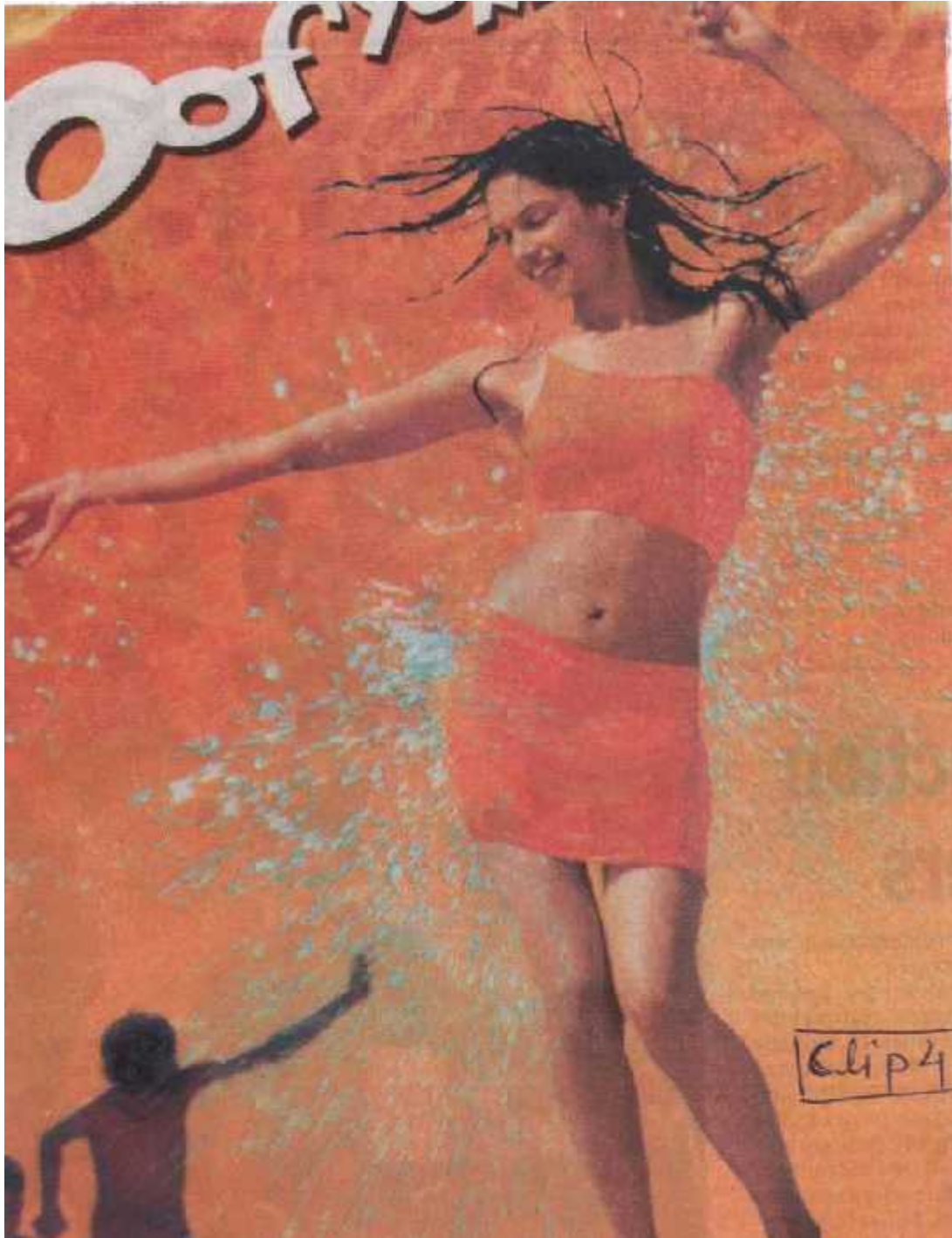
Every thirst demands, Rite juice.

Now available in one litter pack!

On buying one litter Rite Juice, a glass free! (My Translation)

This short audio visual advertisement of Rite Juice displays the image of a woman with wet hair and body which is accompanied by the above audio narration. Unlike the advertisement of the soap Citrus Lime, here the woman can look back at the audience also. But yet, the way she is presented together with the juice could be analysed as one of the effects of male gaze. It is a fact that the product, juice, has its consumer without regard to sex and gender. But the advertisement makes sense as if

the males are only the consumer of the product. The women's image in the advertisement (Clip 4) is the major focus rather than the product itself. The image of woman is over invested with sexual meanings as if she is the metaphor of thirst, a sexual lust of male. The advertisement has presupposed only the male audience and it presents men and women in the perspective of male gaze. This as too clearly displays voyeuristic features.



The advertisement of New Liril Orange is yet another example of advertisements which have voyeuristic features. One may ask looking at the clip of the advertisement placed here (Clip 5): why she is exposing herself without looking at the audience? The answer is simple. Had she been presented with her look, there

would have been fewer chances for the voyeurs to have pleasure of looking at her body. There would have been less confident spectacles for the voyeur's pleasure. In other words, her looking back would have generated "fear" in the audience. The advertisement thus is in the perspective of male gaze. The woman is presented as a field of observation and her body parts exposed with over invested sexual meanings. She cannot look back, she is passive and so she could only exhibit to-be-looked-at-ness. Had she been presented with a look of her own, she would have her own identity. But the way she is presented rules out the possibility of acknowledging her identity. She is acknowledged in the advertisement simply as an object. Another aspect of the advertisement is that this has overlooked the female audience simply because while half of its consumers and thus audience should be females, the advertisement caters completely to male gaze alone.

Voyeuristic features are so pervasive in the media advertisements that it has become a marketing strategy for most of the advertisers. As Sangita Rayamajhi writes in her study, *Use of language in Nepali Press*:

Even *Kantipur Weekly*, in spite of its exemplary write-ups, Q&A and opinion columns etc., the photo clips of women on the cover page and the blow up posters in the center page of some weeklies tend to devalue the position of women in society. Women have been commodified to provide pleasure and hence increase the sale of the weekly. (34)

While images of women in magazines are commodified to provide pleasure,

the marketing strategy is guided by voyeurism. The belief is that the *pleasure of looking* women's body parts, is the demand of audience. This makes the magazines full of blow up posters that cater to male gaze. Same applies to the television commercials as well.

In all the given advertisements, we see how the marketing strategy is guided by male voyeuristic gaze, which is operating in shaping them to the style as they are.

3.2. Fetishistic Substitution

Fetishistic pleasure is the second central force that is guiding the structure and content of Nepalese advertisements. Advertisements that cater to male gaze are produced with the central aim of offering fetishistic pleasure of looking. Substituting certain objects or parts of body with fetish is the major tendency of such advertisements. As Freud says:

What is substituted for the sexual object is some part of the body (such as the foot of hair) which is in general very inappropriate for sexual purpose, or some inanimate object which bears as assignable relation to the person whom it replaces and preferable to that person's sexuality (e.g. a piece of clothing or underlinen). Such substitutes are with some justice linked to the fetishes in which savages believe that their gods are embodied. (Freud 297)

The Nepalese mass media in general is affected by the fetishistic and voyeuristic demands of male gaze. Supporting this thesis, Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi in his article "Male Gaze, Bodylines and Dreams" published in *Across* writes:

In many weeklies and newspapers young women's photographic texts become fetish, which is the feature of the female photographs produced by the male gaze. This feature applies to paintings as well where the concept of male gaze is very important subject of feminist interpretation of artistic works.

This feature, as described by Prof. Subedi also applies to Nepalese television advertisements where the moving images of women are fetishized.

The advertisement of Kailash Tea, for instance, shows how the parts of body are used as sexual genitals. The audio version of the advertisement of Kailash Tea translated into English reads like this:

Golden earring, golden ring, golden top, golden *Fulli* and silver *Pauju* for myself, all in one tea.

Thousands of prizes in purchase of Kailash Tea!

Kailash Tea, changes your mood instantly! (My Translation)

The advertisement starts with the display of a meticulously made up women's face, and as the narration proceeds, the camera shifts its focus gradually from one body part to another: on her fingers, her nose, her ears, her neck and lastly her feet (Clip 6). The advertisement exposes her feet intentionally to arise libidinal desires in the audience as the woman pulls over her *Sarie* to show her *Pauju* that she wore around her feet. The white coloured legs here are exposed as fetish, which are presented as substitute for sexual genitals. The advertisement thus fetishizes the feet/limbs of the women.

3.3. Production of Disciplined Individuals

The male gaze that emanates from the oedipal fear or castration anxiety becomes powerful once it manages to overcome the fear. The gaze then tries to control and objectify the thing which is looked upon. As described in chapter 1, John Hartley terms it as “power of looking” which possesses the power not only to control and objectify but also, as Foucault says, to define, categorize and put object of gaze in discipline. The effect of male gaze is therefore somewhat similar to what Foucault says “surveillance”. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault states that “the examination” plays central role in the exercise of disciplined individuals (Molson 171). So, the voyeuristic as well as fetishistic pleasure of looking also leads to the power of imposing desired discipline in the individuals viewed.

The advertisement of Dabur Honey is one such example. It is such an advertisement, which by effect of male gaze, is exercising the power in producing disciplined individuals. The advertisement presents a slim woman in the background. A male in the foreground comes to make compliments about the fitness of the dancing girl who stops to praise her body in the mirror. The male character, whose presence is not known to the girl, remarks, “she is quite fit”. The advertisement shows both the operation of male gaze and the way it is being operated. There are two layers in the advertisement: the girl is looking herself in the mirror to confirm whether she has become fit or not in the perspective of the male who is looking her and the male who is looking her making nice compliments about her body. This advertisement also reveals the fact that how the women look themselves in the mirror through the eyes of

male. This is because of the dominating power of male gaze. The audio version of the advertisement reads like this:

Drop a dollop of Dabur Honey in your everyday glass of lemon juice
and you'll be surprised how healthy and active you can be. With Dabur
Honey, the best thing to happen to your fitness diet can also be the
tastiest!" (My Translation)

The advertisement with the effect of male gaze is producing disciplined individuals, especially women. The gaze here creates the binary opposition of what is normal and what is abnormal in the society and exclusion of the abnormal. In perspective of male gaze, not being 'fit' or thin is abnormal. The girl in the advertisement is watching her self reflection in the mirror. She is happy that she is now accepted as normal in the society. She is praising her own anorexic body (Clip 7). The act of observing her own image in the mirror with focus to each body parts reinforces that the 'body' is perceived not as an indissociable unity but as combination of different separate parts. And the shape, size, movements and gestures of the body parts are prescribed by the authority of male gaze as shown in the ad.

The advertisement also makes meticulous observation of the girls' body parts, presents them as ideal shapes and introduces a male to prescribe the hard shaped model for all the common girls to strive for.

This type of gaze and observation of the female body parts give rise to a power "which functions through a multiplicity of minor processes of documentation; through supervision and the accumulation of detailed knowledge of the individual

rather than the social body (Malson 170). Thus it is through such detailed surveillance and knowledge rather than violent physical coercion that human bodies are disciplined; are made intelligible, docile and useful” (Malson 170)

The advertisement also displays the effect of male gaze in terms of producing images that intend to stimulate sexual desire while looking at objects of body parts that are over invested with sexual meanings. The advertisement has focused on the necked belly of the thin girl as it places the erotogenic part of the body almost at the center of the screen. This focus also clearly indicates the fetishistic substitution of the body parts and an intention of generating the pleasure of looking at the voyeur viewers. All this happens only in the operation of male gaze while the advertisement is designed or produced.

Some of the advertisements affected by male gaze try to discipline the women. The advertisement of Family Cooking Oil is one such example. The advertisement present a family cast in gendered power relation where parents, husband and wife are given particular jobs that a patriarchal family harbours. The wife is given the kitchen job, while other members of the family are presented as the lords or directors who can complain and chastise the wife. The wife is required to be in the desired discipline, which is imposed by the males. For example in the ad, the wife must possess or learn that art of cooking food, which could meet the taste of the family. Her failure to do so is punishable. To make the advertisement more comprehensible, let me put the audio version of the advertisement translated into English:

Mother: What a bad food you cooked? Don't you have the skill to cook tasty food?

Father: How long will you scold the wife, may be there is something wrong with the oil.

Son: Do not mind mother's words.

(The husband brings Family Cooking Oil from the market; the wife cooks in the oil and serves.)

Mother: Delicious, how tasty food you cooked. Come *Buhari* lets have together.

(The wife thanks the Goddess)

The Goddess: Do not thank me, Thank Family Cooking Oil, Family mustard oil brings happiness in your family. (My Translation)

The wife is badly scolded for she fails to cook food to meet the taste of the family. The mother-in-law's scold represents the violence against women meted out by the males. The wife sobs in grief (Clip 8 and 9). Her husband justifies the violence as he says, "Do not mind mother's words". He however helps her to avert the violence by instructing her to cook foods in Family Cooking Oil. When she follows the instructions, she is accepted in the family. Thus she is forcefully disciplined in the family, which however fails to have similar effects upon the women audience. The latter part of the advertisement further reveals the effect of male gaze. The wife had prayed her goddess to help her make tasty food and avoid any torture from the family members. When the food is liked by the family, she thanks the goddess but the

goddess asks her to thank the Family Cooking Oil which is deemed to be the harbinger of happiness in one's family. It is also revealed from the audio versions that the woman is there as a passive object who is silenced. Thus throughout this advertisement the male gaze has disciplining effect upon the woman who simply is presented as a bearer of male prescriptions and thus male gaze.

However, the advertisement is a failed attempt in terms of producing disciplined individuals in the society. Its effect is weakened by its contradictory effects. It is because on the one hand it intends to attract more and more women towards using the Family Cooking Oil as it helps them avoid familial scorn and violence; on the other hand it intends to keep the woman in the desired discipline.

3.4. Constructing Active and Passive Image

One of the effects of male gaze operating in the production of television advertisements is construction of active and passive images. Most of the advertisements have a tendency to fit into or create any of the binary opposition like male gaze/female look, male active/ female passive, male outdoor/female indoor, male earning/female spending etc. By creating such binary oppositions, the advertisements try to construct ideologies where one is preferred over the other. Most of the advertisements, in doing so, attach the negative attributes towards women characters.

Prof. Abhi Subedi in one of his articles that review the photographs of young women published in Nepali newspaper writes that "in Nepal there are no such magazines that feature women's bodies in any bold manner"(18) and their passivity is

so expressive in the photographs that "several of these young women in their efforts to show their bodylines in an expressive manner, look like sculptures"(18).

The passivity as explained by Prof. Subedi also applies to television advertisements. The advertisement of NB Bank Grihini Bachat present a woman with her backside turned towards the audience (which is also a situation as desired or required by the voyeurs). The advertisement's aim is to encourage women towards saving. Contrary to the aim, the advertisement seems more preoccupied with the effect of arising libidinal desires on the male audience. The focus of the advertisement is on the bare part of the woman's neck and arms (Clip 10), so the face of the woman is not seen while her entire body is seen. More importantly, the advertisement places the woman in kitchen and presents her as a passive and domestic object. The advertisement thus presents an image of woman who without her face is the passive bearer of the look or the male gaze. The special scheme targeted to such passive "grihini" and the way her image is presented is contributing to construct the active and passive images with regard to sex. This particular advertisement could be more fitting to have a comparative analysis with the photographs in Kodak Film's photography guide *Home Movies Made Easy*, of which John Hartley in his book *Politics of Picture* did analysis. As the photographs in Kodak's guide allocates active and passive roles to members of a family, the advertisement of NB Bank functions to cast women as passive and sexual objects.

The advertisement of Agrino Premium Rice is another example of the advertisements that portray active male gaze which the passive female receives. The

advertisement presents two characters, one male another female. The male gazes the female while the female never looks back to the male. She is simply a passive bearer of male gaze (Clip 11). The advertisement thus tries to create active and passive images in the screen by presenting a biased man-woman relation. The reason is that the advertisement is produced in a way that caters to the need of the male gaze.

The advertisement of Shakti Oil displays the effect of male gaze in terms of producing images that portray women as bearer of the look of men. The advertisement displays several characteristics that are typical to male gaze. Firstly the female character barely speaks and looks other characters and the audience. The male with a sense of possession and control directs his gaze towards the woman (Clip 12). As given in the picture the effect is clearly visible in the woman being looked at. She feels controlled and weaker while realising that she is being looked at by a man. The audio version of the advertisement translated into English reads like this:

Children: Shakti !

Children: What is Shakti?

(Six years ago, in the day when prospective bride had gone to look prospective bridegroom.)

Mother: (to the girl) If you have to say anything, please speak.

Boy: What oil did you used to cook the food?

Girl: (Shyly) Shakti.

Children: (Jokingly) Mummy, which oil do you use in cooking?

Shakti pure refined soybean oil, our family, our Shakti!

Here, if we look at the audio version of the advertisement also, the woman character who is exposed as a passive bearer of look is not given a chance to speak, she is silenced. Neither is she given a chance to look at others. Her eyes are looking down. The speakers are mostly males who can look and both of their looks and words are directed towards the woman. The question of the would-be-husband “what oil did you use to cook the food?” to the would-be-wife is characteristic of a male gaze trying to impose his preferences. The woman is taciturn who just replies “Shakti”. The latter part of the advertisement shows how she is, in the sixth year after their marriage, still following the preferences of her husband expressed at the time of their engagement. All these devices in the advertisement are employed in a bid to shape the advertisement in perspective of male gaze.

3.5. Authority to Make Definitions

The relation between the viewer and viewed in television advertisement becomes the important part for any artist. Each time we look at the images in the advertisement, we see more than just the thing itself: we see the relation between the thing and ourselves. Sometimes audience identifies himself/herself with the character inside the advertisement who could be looking another character inside. This relation gives birth to the power of viewer who imposes authority to define and categorize which is being viewed. The male gaze in advertisements takes on this very role of taking control over anything it focuses.

The advertisement of Fair and Lovely is one such example in which the definition of fair and lovely are subject to the male gaze. The advertisement presents a

submissive woman obsessed with the colour of her darkish facial skin (Clip 13). She is unmarried but waiting for a male's proposal. She is presented as if her life is subject to male gaze. She is looked upon several times by several males, but none of them accepts her. She has been made a field of observation and of exercising gaze. To fit in to the desired category of the male gaze, she starts using Fair and Lovely, which is supposed to bring whiteness in skin. At a point, her fairness and beauty is once again looked upon and approved by a male, as it has now been made white with so much of efforts. Then only, a male's gaze approves her fairness and agrees to marry her. The advertisement uses the power of male gaze and exercises it to look at a woman and define her fairness and beauty in terms of whiteness.

3.6. Focus of Advertisements: Body Parts or the Product

While the advertisers think that they are improving themselves and their artistic capabilities in presenting any product in more attractive way, the audiences are getting more confused to determine whether they are advertising certain characters or the products. Advertisers are seeking to be more and more competitive in attracting audience towards the product of which they design advertisements. There are different ways of taking people's attention. The easiest and simplest technique is to provoke male gaze.

One such advertisement is that of Mini Water Pump, which, because of the influence of male gaze, have created confusion for the audience in understanding what actually is advertised: product or the human body.

The advertisement of Mini Water Pump simply ends with presentation of a notorious case of a male peeping into a bathroom where a woman is bathing. The advertiser wanted to draw the attention of the audience towards the product, but in doing so the advertisement goes astray as the women's bathing overshadows the whole episode and the product becomes invisible.

The advertisement of Haldi Bari Tea is one such example, which reveals why the Nepalese television advertisements present images that make it confusing for the audience to identify the relation between the images presented in the screen and the product of advertising. The advertisement of Haldi Bari Tea starts amazingly with a woman's bare waist part as a central focus. To a normal consumer of any type of tea, there is in fact, no relation between the waist of women and the taste of tea. Though there is no relation between the two things, the advertisement meticulously displays the bare waist part making it ridiculous for the audience to look at. But if we look at it from the psychological perspective, it can be deduced with certainty that the use of such irrelevant thing in advertising a tea comes from the effect of male gaze that the designer harbours. It is presupposed by the advertisement that the audience are something like the voyeurs who are attracted by the sight of a woman's back part. And once they are drawn by the "pleasure of looking" secretly at the bare waist part of a woman, as it is supposed, immediate display of the tea would also catch the audience's eyes. This is something like luring the voyeurs to a dark and secret place and suddenly showing a product so as to attract them in consuming it. All this

irrelevant images come together in the advertisements simply because in their making, male gaze is overpowering.

Similarly, the advertisement of Mero Mobile where a woman is presented with a mobile phone in her ear is a typical example of the type of advertisement, which arise confusion. The major focus of the advertisement is on the white teeth of the woman than on the service of Mero Mobile. This characteristic is common in most of the advertisements. For example, the advertisements of Rite Juice, Citrus Lime, CocaCola and New Liril Orange have given emphasis on the women's body parts instead of the product itself. This makes audience confused in determining whether the piece of advertisement is advertising any toothpaste or the teeth of the woman or the woman herself.

3.7. Monopoly of Male Audience

Are there any female viewers to the pictures presented in the public domain like media? The answer is 'no', at least for Nepalese context. In her research report, *Use of language in Nepali Press*, Sangita Rayamaghi concludes, "the political leaders and male only have usurped the press" (37). This statement supports that there is male hegemony in Nepali mass media and the advertisements broadcasted therein as well.

The hegemony of male audience has not only controlled how human bodies should be presented in media but also eliminated the entity called "female audience". Because of repeated broadcasting of the "pictures with male gaze", the female audience in the society began to identify their "self" with the same "male gaze" and enjoy looking together with males, which is an effect of ideology formulated/nurtured

through the same media. So all the pictures here, be it the Nepalese cinema, telecerials, advertisements and commercials, have in mind a coherent male audience.

For instance, watch this commercial of *Pepsi*, which is like a poster of Karina Kapoor, a Bollywood Star. The advertisement designer is guided by his own way of attracting audiences that people will be attracted to look at the advertisement because of the beauty of Karina Kaapoor if her certain body parts are over invested with sexual meanings and that they will also see *Pepsi* bottle in the side of Karina. Thus an audience, caught up by the beauty of the woman will latter buy a bottle of *Pepsi*.

I find, in the ad, how the designer is already in the trap of male gaze and picture politics it creates. The designer supposed that the audience, are indeed only males who are supposed to be attracted by the body of Karina and this “weakness” apparently seems to be exploited by the crafty advertiser. What led the *Pepsi* Company to design this particular advertisement is, of course, the all-pervasive male gaze. And the advertisement without any hesitation approves the monopoly of male audience.

Another such advertisement is that of Rite Juce, where the advertiser uses woman as a means of attraction for exclusively the males. The juice has its consumers both males and females, but the advertisement overlooks the female audience and consumers. The advertisers of Rite Juice, Citrus Lime, Liril Orange have used women characters but at the same time they have designed them for men. In other words, they have forgotten that the women themselves are also their

consumers. About 50 percent of their consumers should be women. But when male gaze is operating in the making of the advertisements, there is always the monopoly of male audience. If we look at the advertisements which are believed to be advertising women consumer's items, we find that there is also the dominance of male gaze. For instance, take the advertisements of Family Cooking Oil and Shakti Soyabin oil where the women are supposed to be the target audience. In these advertisements also what we see is the dominance of male gaze, as women are presented there as passive objects to be "liked" or "disliked" by males upon observing them. In these advertisements, women are not allowed to look back at the males within the story of the advertisements and also the audience watching them. Therefore, who is supposedly watching them carefully is, of course, a male.

3.8. Ideological Formations

The ultimate effect of frequent broadcasting of advertisements that cater to male gaze is in forming ideology in society. Media images, in today's world of mass communication, do have powerful impact in the psychology of audience. This was the very reason why the scholars like Theodor Adorno and other hard-boiled Marxist like Antonio Gramsci rebuked the debilitating effect of media in capitalism. However, here the concern is on how the commercials in mass media lead to ideological formations rather than on its positive and negative effects. Helen Malson in her *Thin Women* describes how the images of women in magazines contribute to discursive production of gender:

One discourse that both converses and diverges from romantic

discourse in its construction of the thin body is a ‘be more beautiful’ discourse promulgated in women’s magazines, where physical beauty is frequently presented less as an aspirational ideal, more as a holy commandment. In these texts beauty figures as a state of salvation achieved through ritualistically following the “step by step” instructions, the day-to-day diets for beatification. (111)

In some advertisements, though there seem to be apparent absence of men, the male gaze remains always active and operating. In the advertisements like that of Dabur Honey, the males are seen to be directly taking part in displaying the effect of male gaze. At such cases the gaze of the male character within the advertisement is identical to that of the outside male audience. The male audiences of such advertisements tend to identify themselves with the male protagonist within the ad. But in the advertisements like Citrus Lime and Rite Juice, male characters are absent yet they are supposed to be watching the women’s images. So in both cases male gaze is present. On this, Malson writes:

The absence of men from this discourse does not, however, necessarily signify their lack of importance here. It may be that being heterosexually active is so culturally important that it goes without saying that woman’s beautifications is for men. Nevertheless, the apparent absence of men from this discourse does also emphasize the extent to which physical appearance constitutes an integral part of femininity so that narcissism becomes the explicit norm in the pages of

women's magazines. Thus, whilst feminine beauty remains equated with thinness, the pursuit of this 'ideal' is presented as a form of self-care rather than a means of attracting a man. Whilst within romantic discourse the thin/anorexic body signifies a traditionally heterosexual femininity, within this 'be more beautiful' discourse it signifies a more self-possessed woman who is beautiful 'for herself' rather than for another. This latter 'reading' of the thin female body cannot entirely escape patriarchally imposed meanings, but it does suggest the possibility that body sustains a variety of meanings, not all of which conform to patriarchally defined ideals of 'femininity'. The disciplinary power of discourse about the body is produced through the entanglement of these different discourses through which the multiple meanings of fat or thin bodies continually slip. And it is within this entanglement and slipping of significations of 'the body' and 'the women' that alternative and often contradictory meanings are consolidated. (Malson 112)

Commercials' effect of ideological formations in society is also backed up by our television culture. For instance, take again the television as a "medium". Since it is a medium, it is also a message. Marshall MacLuhan in his *The Medium is the Message* says that medium is itself a message because it always affects and distorts the message it conveys. In today's television culture, we watch TV everyday and it has become a part of our day-to-day life. Every time we watch thousands of images

flickering in the screen. In most of the houses, television set is turned on at seven in the morning and left on all day. At this, the audience never becomes aware how the images of the television control them - consciously or unconsciously. The frequent broadcasting of same type of commercials gradually forms and nurtures desired or intended ideologies. Mother becomes a “mass women”, and father becomes a “mass man” and children “mass children”, where “mass woman” watches the television while she is at home, and “mass children” watch it when they return from school. The whole family views it for a few hours in the evening. (Van Doren 372). At such situation, the advertisements have homogenising effects on the audience.

Take for instance, the advertisement of family cooking oil. The commercial casts a family in traditional role and relation where men are the observer of the roles played by women. The commercial presents a case where a woman being punished for her inability to cook tasty dinner is justified (Clip 15). The advertisement thus is trying to impose an ideology of a family as harboured by the traditional patriarchal society.

IV. Conclusion

From the arguments and analysis made so far it can be concluded that commercials in Nepalese televisions are guided by the influence of overpowering male gaze. The overwhelming presence of male gaze has subordinated and neutralized the possibility of female spectatorship. Resulting monopoly of male gaze in television commercials and other media contents possess the authority to make definitions and produce meanings thereby contributing to a process of ideological formation in society.

Central to all these effects in television commercials and the society, who views them, is the voyeuristic and fetishistic impulses in the psychology of the advertisement designers and producers.

Since the pleasure of looking images in screen (which a human being acquires from the very beginning at “mirror stage”) guides all individuals, creators of television commercials follow their impulses. In doing so the artists tend to create commercials, which cater to one of two kinds of pleasures: one that is associated with the pleasure of narcissistic and sadistic identification, and another with sexual impulse. While in the second type of pleasure, i.e. sexual, the advertisement designers as well as its audiences present women’s body as a field for observation and careful looking. Though looking images of women in screen gives pleasure, it starts with fearful confrontation because whenever a male confronts women, a castration anxiety and fear overcomes him.

In an effort to overcome the castration anxiety and fear, the voyeuristic creator

or viewer takes recourse to either voyeurism or fetishism thereby victimising the individual images.

In this overcoming of fear most of the advertisements victimize women's images or present men-women relation in the manner that satisfies male gaze. Once a powerful male gaze takes control over the images in the screen, it starts defining and categorizing them and thus producing or attaching meanings in them. Thus with this process, meanings are produced which in collective scale lead to ideological formations.

Works Cited

- Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Trans. H.M. Parhsley. London: Jonathan Cape, 1953.
- Brooker, Peter. *A Concise Glossary of Cultural Theory*. London: Arnold, 1998.
- Butler, Matilda and William Paisley. *Women and the Mass Media: Sourcebook for Research and Action*. New Work: Human Sciences Press, 1980.
- Chataut, Aarati. *Electronic Media in Gender Lens*. Kathmandu: Sancharica Samuha, 2004.
- Doren, Charles Van. *A History of Knowledge*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1992.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin, 1977.
- Freud, Anna. *Sigmund Freud: The Essentials of Psychoanalysis*. Trans. James Strachy. New York: Penguin Books, 1991.
- Hartley, John. *The Politics of Pictures*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Lacan, Jaques. "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience". *Critical Theory Since Plato*. Ed. Hazard Adams. New York: Harcourt, 1971.
- Malson, Helen. *The Thin Women*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- McLuhan, Marshall and Quentin Fiore. *The Medium is the Message*. London: Allen Lane, 1967.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *In Mulvey*. London: Routledge, 1989.

Rayamajhi, Sangita. "Use of Language in Nepali Press". Kathmandu: Across Publication, 1999.

Sigdel, Kamal Raj. "Legitimizing Disparity." *The Kathmandu Post* 14 July 2004: C1, 4. <<http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?&nid=14866>>

- - - . "Chauvinistic Ads." *The Kathmandu Post* 18 Dec. 2003: C1, 4. 20 Dec. 2003 <<http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?&nid=4568>>.

- - - . "Gender Insensitive Ads." *The Kathmandu Post* 11 Oct. 2004: C1, 4. <<http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?&nid=18999>>

Subedi, Abhi. "Male Gaze, Bodylines and Dreams", *Across*. Kathmandu: Across Publication. May 2002. 15-18

Thapa, Manju. *Women in Media*. Kathmandu: Sancharika Samuha, 2004.

- - - . *Women in the Media*. Kathmandu: Asmita Women's Publishing House, Media and Resource Organization, 2002.

Tuttle, Lisa. *Encyclopaedia of Feminism*. New York: Arnold, 1991.

Illustrations

Clip 1

The print advertisement of Frenchie, men's underwear published in *The Himalayan Times* December 12, 2005. There is a caption in the advertisement that reads, "Women resent being treated as sex objects SOMETHING TELLS US . . . men won't have any such problems . . ."

Clip 2

A clip of the television commercial recorded and captured from the regular broadcast of Nepal Television December 15, 2005, which is introducing a beauty soap named "Citrus Lime" manufactured by the Mahashakti Soap and Chemical Industry Private Limited.

Clip 3

A clip illustrated from the television commercial of Mini Water Pump, being broadcast from Nepal Television, which is a pumping machine especially used for domestic purposes. The woman in the clip is bathing in her bathroom while a man appears peeping into secretly.

Clip 4

A clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the audiovisual commercial of Rite Juice being broadcast from Nepal Television.

Clip 5

A clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the audiovisual television commercial of New Liril Orange manufactured by Unilever.

Clip 6

A clip from the audiovisual commercial of Kailash Tea, especially of the moment when the camera's focus shifts on the white legs of the woman acting in the commercial.

Clip 7

A clip extracted out from the audiovisual commercial of Dabur Honey manufactured by Dabur Nepal Privat Limited, which is broadcasted in the Nepal Television on regular basis.

Clip 8

A clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the live broadcasting of the commercial of Family Cooking Oil in Nepal Television, especially of the moment when the woman is sobbing as the mother-in-law in the commercial scorns for her inability to cook tasty foods.

Clip 9

Second clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the live broadcasting of the same commercial of Family Cooking Oil on Nepal Television. At this moment, the husband is suggesting his wife not to mind whatever his mother did to her as punishment.

Clip 10

This is a clip of the advertisement of "Nabil Grihini Bachat" introduced by Nabil Bank Limited, a saving scheme to encourage women, especially the "Grihinis" (housewives).

Clip 11

This is an advertisement of Agrino Premium Rice where a woman is being looked at by a male, probably her husband.

Clip 12

This is a clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the live broadcasting of the commercial of Shakti Soyabin Oil in Nepal Television. The posture of this clip captures the moment when the fiancé asks about her cooking skills gazing at her while she could never look back.

Clip 13

This is a clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the live broadcasting of the commercial of Fair & Lovely face cream in Nepal Television, where the male, who rejected the same girl before, looks at the woman and agrees to marry her as he finds her beautiful this time.

Clip 14

This is a clip captured in December 20, 2005 from the live broadcasting of the commercial of Haldi Bari Tea in Nepal Television. This particular clip captures an initial moment in the commercial when the camera begins by focusing the exposed waist of the woman in the kitchen.

Clip 15

This is an advertisement of Pepsi Cola where a woman, Karina Kapoor, is exposing her body rather than the product itself.

Clip 16

A clip extracted in December 20, 2005 from the live broadcasting of the same commercial of Family Cooking Oil in Nepal Television.