

Media Valorization of Feminine Beauty in Thai Public Discourse

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary society is often thought of being media-saturated as the mass media have increasingly become an integral part of modern ways of life. The media reinforce gender norms already being communicated by other social institutions through their representation or reconstruction of social reality. Despite legal and social recognition of gender equality, the media representation of both genders still reproduces stereotypical portrayals underlining biological and emotional differences between men and women. With the proliferation of beauty industries, the media reiterate the individual benefits of beautified bodies and encourage individuals to take control of their own beautification. This paper explores the Thai media's representation of femininity in relation to the discursive embodiment of beauty discourse. It examines how the notion of beauty is defined and established in Thai public discourse, particularly in mainstream media texts. These texts are read to highlight power relations in the Thai media's representation of modern Thai women. Two television commercial clips are selected for detailed visual analysis to illustrate how contemporary patriarchal values reinscribe feminine beauty as an essential, imperative commodity in Thailand's capitalist economy. This paper underlines the connection between a patriarchal representation of beautiful women and the commodification of female bodies in valorizing a capitalist beauty discourse in Thai society.

Keywords: media representation, feminine beauty, capitalist commodification, public discourse

บทคัดย่อ

แนวคิดเรื่องอิทธิพลของสื่อในสังคมร่วมสมัย เห็นได้จากการที่สื่อสารมวลชนกลายเป็นส่วนสำคัญของวิถีชีวิตสมัยใหม่เพิ่มมากขึ้น สื่อเสริมสร้างบรรทัดฐานทางเพศสภาพ ที่ได้รับการสื่อสารโดยสถาบันทางสังคมอื่นๆ อยู่แล้ว โดยผ่านการสร้างภาพแทน หรือ การสร้างความจริงทางสังคม ถึงแม้ว่าจะมีการตระหนักเรื่องความเท่าเทียมทางเพศสภาพทั้งในเชิงกฎหมายและสังคม การสร้างภาพแทนของเพศสภาพทั้งสองโดยสื่อ ยังคงเป็นการผลิตซ้ำ ภาพ

จำทางสังคม ที่เน้นว่า ชายและหญิงมีความแตกต่างทั้งร่างกายและจิตใจ ในยุคที่อุตสาหกรรมความงามเติบโตอย่างมาก สื่อตอกย้ำผลประโยชน์เชิงปัจเจกที่จะได้รับหากมีร่างกายที่งดงาม และส่งเสริมให้ปัจเจกบุคคลเป็นผู้ควบคุมการเสริมความงามของตัวเอง บทความนี้ศึกษาการสร้างภาพแทนความเป็นผู้หญิงของสื่อไทย ในประเด็นที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการปลูกฝังวาทกรรมความงามทางสังคม โดยพิจารณาว่าสังคมไทยให้นิยาม เรื่องความงามอย่างไร และแนวคิดเรื่องความงาม ได้รับการปลูกฝังอย่างไรผ่านการศึกษาวาทกรรมสาธารณะ โดยเลือกศึกษาจาก

สารที่ผลิตโดยสื่อกระแสหลัก เพื่อเน้นถึง ความสัมพันธ์เชิงอำนาจในการสร้างภาพแทนผู้หญิงไทยสมัยใหม่ของสื่อ โดยเลือกวิเคราะห์คลิปโฆษณาทางโทรทัศน์อย่างละเอียดสองคลิป เพื่อแสดงให้เห็นถึงการสอดแทรกค่านิยมเชิงปิตาธิปไตยที่มองความงามของผู้หญิงเป็นสินค้าที่จำเป็นในภาวะเศรษฐกิจแบบทุนนิยมของประเทศไทย บทความนี้แสดงให้เห็นถึงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างการสร้างภาพแทนผู้หญิงงามตามแนวคิดแบบปิตาธิปไตย และการเปลี่ยนแปลงร่างกายของผู้หญิงเป็นสินค้า โดยอาศัยการให้คุณค่าวาทกรรมความงามเชิงทุนนิยมในสังคมไทย

คำสำคัญ: การสร้างภาพแทนของสื่อ ความงามของผู้หญิง การเปลี่ยนแปลงเป็นสินค้าเชิงทุนนิยม วาทกรรมสาธารณะ

INTRODUCTION

The rapid pace of development in communication technology has resulted in the broadscale escalation of people's reliance on the mass media as a substantial source of information. Disregarding the hypodermic model of communication, contemporary society is often thought of as being media-saturated since people are increasingly engaging with the media in their everyday lives (Gill, 2012/2007, p. 7). The media as an agent of socialization reinforce social norms already existing in society through media representation or the reconstruction of social reality (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2012, p. 100). These represented social norms, including gender norms to some extent, "construct hegemonic definitions of what should be accepted" as socially meaningful masculine and/or feminine attributes (Carter & Steiner, 2004, p. 2).

Central to the media representation of women and men is the naturalization of the gender binary. Despite legal and social recognition of gender equality, the media representation of both genders still reproduces stereotypical portrayals

underlining physical and emotional differences (Croteau, Hoynes & Milan, 2012, p. 202–203). This polarized representation of gender through a range of media texts not only offers fixed gender role models, but also excludes those who cannot meet society's expectation of ideal gender characteristics.

With the proliferation of beauty industries over the last decade, women and men have been overwhelmingly exposed to media images of certain body types, socially classified as beautiful. Given the pervasive reproduction of these beautiful bodies, the media reiterate individual benefits of beautified bodies and encourage individuals to take control of their own beautification in relation to capitalist ideologies. This emphasis on the notion of choice highlights the intimate relationship between capitalism and the media beauty discourse as beauty is now not just an abstract concept but a commodity that is able to be commercialized and can be fashioned and sold in accordance with social gendered expectation. This valorized social attitude towards beauty is often interpreted as an individual's empowerment since beauty of choice is available for those who have adequate financial means to secure it. However, this reading is also problematic as it destabilizes media texts emphasizing the individuals' agency to design their beautiful bodies.

Parallel to other capitalist economies, Thai media consumers increasingly are being confronted with the advertising images of the beautified bodies of women and men. Countless products and treatments to enhance physical attractiveness have become a common sight in the mainstream media space. This multiplicity of beauty-enhancing products and service advertisements may indicate, to an extent, the tough competition for market share as well as a significant sign of the increasing size of the market for the beauty industries' products. The ways these media texts are constructed pose an interesting question regarding the production of these commercially motivated messages. On the one hand, these texts reflect women's rising disposable income and the positive effects of their decisions to improve

their looks. On the other hand, this emphasis of personal beautification is presented as a prerequisite for a successful life. The production of media texts highlighting individual beauty can therefore be understood as an attempt to reinsert patriarchal versions of femininity, emphasizing that beauty is vital to a woman's achievement in general.

This paper explores the Thai media's representation of femininity in relation to the discursive embodiment of the beauty discourse. It examines how the Thai cultural definitions of beauty are defined and reinforced in the Thai public discourse. The term *public discourse* in this paper includes historical, religious, literary, and media texts, circulated in Thai society. These public discourses can be argued to contain authoritative accounts popularly referred to as official or standardized sites of discursive knowledge in Thai society. This paper draws examples from Thai media texts to illustrate the modern reinscription of patriarchal values essentializing feminine beauty as an imperative commodity in Thailand's capitalist economy. These texts are read to highlight the power relations in the Thai media's representation of modern Thai women. This paper suggests that the media production of beautiful feminine bodies underlines the connection between a patriarchal representation of beautiful female bodies and a commodification of the individual's body in valorizing a capitalist beauty discourse in Thai society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Beauty as a constructed feminine essence

Quite similar to other cultures, beauty has been traditionally valued as an indispensable essence of femininity in Thai society. Thai women are taught to be aware that physical attractiveness can bring prestige and fortune to those who know how to keep and present themselves. Canadian anthropological researcher on Thailand, Van Esterik (2000), comments elaborately in her book,

Materializing Thailand, that:

“Appearance matters. Beautiful appearances matter even more. In Thailand, beauty can override family connections, money or class, as well as other ascribed and achieved attributes of women, and to a lesser degree men....The potential for ranking individuals on the basis of their physical appearance is very strong in Thai society.” (p. 129).

This objectification of beautiful women, according to Van Esterik, “encourages an essentialism of appearances or surfaces. These surfaces are also gendered, and easily materialized and transformed through display, presentation, and every day practices focused on women as visual icons.” (p. 4). This notion of gendered surfaces suggests an individual's requirement to master these concerns of social, ritual, and fastidious presentation of themselves in order to be perceived as beautiful in the public space. The command of self-presentation is not pre-given or natural, but rather a process of bodily discipline.

Compared to Butler's (1999/1990) notion of gender performativity, the Thai notion of beauty can also be understood as a performative effect of the social discourse of beauty. This social discourse of beauty is communicated and implemented through formal training such as the national education system, but more importantly through social institutions such as the mainstream media. The media's reiteration of social norms through their repetitive production of images of beautiful women is so pervasive that it is often mistaken as the media's reflection of reality or nature. Butler (1993) stresses that:

“Performativity is thus not a singular ‘act,’ for it is always a reiteration of norms, and to the extent that it acquires an act-like status in the present, it conceals or dissimulates the conventions of which is a repetition.” (p. 12).

Haraway (1992) also questions the notion of social reality. She asserts that what is thought to be natural is in fact an embodiment of social consciousness. Nature, according to Haraway, “is

only the raw material of culture, appropriated, preserved, enslaved, exalted, or otherwise made flexible for disposal by culture in the logic of capitalist colonialism.” (p. 13). Feminine beauty as a social consciousness is an effective social means of establishing control over women’s bodies. Beauty is often regarded as a woman’s essential commodity, worthy of an investment of time, money, and sometimes pain (Davis, 1995, p. 41).

This performativity of beauty is to some extent applicable to Thailand’s influential Buddhist teachings of impermanence (Anicca) and non-self (Anatta) which explain the individual essences of maleness and femaleness as worldly illusion (Maya). Thanks to the Buddhist beliefs of kammic law and reincarnation, beauty is theoretically subject to an individual’s greater fluidity, rather than fixed essence (Van Esterik, 2000, p. 6). However, this concept is also problematic since it emphasizes that individuals’ various degrees of beauty depend on the personal accumulation of kamma. This unwittingly leads to Thai society’s essentializing feminine beauty as a reflection of one’s positive kamma and therefore it is better to look beautiful as beauty can be popularly interpreted as a sign of goodness.

Representing feminine beauty in Thai public discourse

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1995/1975) stresses that every social being is consciously and unconsciously kept on surveillance to enforce the application of social norms of acceptable behaviors. This analysis of power relations to some extent can be said to explicate the direct and indirect influence of public discourse over the media’s popular representation of feminine beauty in Thai society.

As individuals define their subjectivities through their understanding of contextual interaction and negotiation with other people, language and other cultural media such as media texts can be said to help explain these relationships or to make sense of the social world. In other words, individual

subjectivities have been formed through the use of language and sign systems. Gendered subjectivities are also produced or shaped within this realm of communication. Films, television dramas, literature works, and so forth can be considered social discourses, influencing and institutionalizing popular social perceptions, such as beauty, into regular or normal practices. These social norms of beauty are also defined within cultural limitations in which these subjectivities are constructed, sometimes contested, and/or negotiated.

Similar to fashion, Thai ideals of feminine beauty are constantly subjected to social change. It is not uncommon that traditional norms of beauty are regarded as outdated by contemporary standards. Beautiful Thai women are often described in traditional literature as “having healthy yellow skin complexion as if painted by gold, slender figure and hair as black as bumblebee wings” (Sareechantalerk, 2008, p. 4); while it is commonly accepted that a pale skin complexion, a pointed nose, and long slender legs are popular criteria of beauty aspired to by contemporary Thai women (p. 35).

These different physical standards of feminine beauty not only reflect the changing social values attached to the bodily attributes of women, but also reveal multidimensional power relations in the social production of feminine beauty discourse. Sareechantalerk (2008) states in her study of Thailand’s feminine beauty discourse that the traditional description of beauty (before 1868 A.D.) can be segregated by class and ethnic distinctions into different sets of rules governing the presentation of attractive bodies and postures that are said to indicate individual class and ethnic identities (p. 26). This definition of traditional feminine beauty is considered rigid when compared to the contemporary discourse of beauty, heavily influenced by democratic and capitalist values (p. 132).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research aim of this paper is to highlight the impact of patriarchal values on feminine representation and the commodification of female bodies in Thai mainstream media texts. Therefore, this paper is theoretically informed by the research and academic scholarship in poststructuralist, feminist, and media theories. Thus, it can be argued that such a multidisciplinary approach provides an analytical framework in contextualizing how this capitalist discourse of beauty is pervasively embedded in the Thai media representation of women.

This research employs discourse analysis as a method for studying media texts. Such a sociological approach to discourse analysis investigates the social production of knowledge through the use of image “which is seen not simply as a neutral medium for communicating information, but as a domain in which our knowledge of the social world is actively shaped.” (Tonkiss, 1998, p. 246). The media texts under discussion are not just texts reflecting social reality, but rather social space where the power network of the Thai patriarchal establishment is discursively and repetitively enacted. In other words, these public discourses are sites in which Thais’ understanding of femininity and beauty are created and reproduced, and social identities of beautiful females are also formed.

This analytical approach is influenced by Foucault’s (1980) notion of power relations. Foucault’s analysis of power relations is insightful in opening up the issue of discursive forms of power relations. Rather than simply being a set of relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, says Foucault (1980) in *Power/Knowledge*:

“Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain.... Power is employed and exercised through a net like organization.... Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application.” (p. 89).

This concept of power relations is pragmatic when analyzing a complex issue such as the valorized notion of beautified bodies in Thai society. To follow Foucault, it is imperative to examine the discursive network of power operating through an influential social institution such as the mainstream media since such institutions are the social means of the discursive power network, explicitly and implicitly enforcing the patriarchal construction of beautiful women. These beautified body images can therefore be understood as a point where power is enacted and renegotiated.

Butler’s (1999/1990) theory of gender performativity also provides an analytical tool to deconstruct the discourse of Thailand’s cultural embodiment of feminine beauty. She postulates that gender is a performative effect of discourse. As well, Butler puts it: “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its result.” (p. 25).

Butler’s performativity theory has given a useful departure point for the investigation of the social processes which embody the Thai beauty discourse. That is, like gender, it is crucial to understand how the proliferation of beautiful body images in Thailand over the past 10 years, as Butler puts it, can be viewed as “a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame.” (p. 33). In other words, the discursive media production of beautiful bodies can be understood as a continuing process of repetition and reconstruction within the limited spatiality of the social discourse of Thai patriarchy.

Both Butler’s gender performativity and Foucault’s analysis of power relations provide critical perspectives on assessing the ways the social discourse of beautiful bodies is valorized and represented by public institutions such as the Thai media. Both theories also cast doubt on the myth of the individual freedom of self-beautification since individuals’ choices of the redefinition or reconfiguration of their bodies are prescribed or

dictated by patriarchal values, reinforced by public discourse.

This paper draws recent examples from commercial media representation of beautiful women in Thailand to illustrate how contemporary patriarchal values reinscribe feminine beauty as an essential, imperative commodity in Thailand's capitalist economy. Two Thai language television commercial clips are selected for detailed visual analysis. They are: (1) "Nature Gift instant coffee—Suay sang dai phuchai plian pai", where the Thai words mean "Beauty prevails; men change" (Nature Gift, 2011) and (2) "Wutthisak Clinic—Yaya Ying ronghai thammai", where the Thai words mean "Yaya Ying, why are you crying?" (Wutthisak Clinic, 2013). Critical and interpretative approaches are employed to analyze these media images, and the ways in which social conceptions and attitudes towards female beauty are shaped.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

As social and economic opportunities increase, Thai women are being presented with an essentialized notion of beauty through a discursive media representation of beautiful women. The production of these commercially motivated media texts not only highlights women's increasing economic independence, but also normalizes an individual's decision to beautify oneself. To some extent, the emphasis on personal beautification is made commercially as a natural prerequisite for being successful in life. The production of media images representing individual beauty can therefore be read as an attempt to reinstate a patriarchal vision of ideal femininity, emphasizing that beauty is obligatory for women's accomplishments.

The two television advertisements studied (Nature Gift instant coffee and Wutthisak Clinic) epitomize the power relations in the media representation of feminine beauty in contemporary Thai society. Nature Gift instant coffee is also known as diet coffee, specifically targeting female

consumers who are often believed to share common concerns over their body weight. Wutthisak Clinic is one of the providers of beauty-enhancing treatments including different corrective cosmetic surgery options.

These two television advertisements differ from the countless commercial media texts available on the Thai mainstream television channels. For example, they not only highlight female protagonists who are emotionally satisfied because of their beautified bodies, but also the process of beautification is presented as a matter of these females' self-determination. The emphasis placed on beautiful feminine bodies in these two advertisements somewhat reduces beauty solely to a corporeal essence of women. This commercial portrayal of women therefore presents beautified feminine bodies as commodities in a capitalist economy.

A beautiful body as a prerequisite for successes

The title of the Nature Gift instant coffee clip, "Beauty prevails; men change", emphasizes the figurative invincibility of feminine beauty over men. It presents the idealized world of powerful women thanks to their beautiful and skinny bodies. The first scene opens with a confident and skinny office lady walking into a meeting room. Her presence triggers a different response from each of her male colleagues. As she walks through the room, her skinny figure is particularly emphasized with a low angle shot. In response to her presence, the first man who is picking his nose stops immediately and attempts as charming a pose as he can. The second man who is yawning also attempts a subtly serious posture. The third man calls her attention with the words "too hot," takes off his shirt and pours drinking water on his face. The second scene presents a young and skinny woman talking on her mobile phone somewhere in the city. Her long slender legs are highlighted by her tight skinny jeans as the camera zooms in on this image with a low angle shot. A young man sees her from behind. He

immediately runs into a nearby public toilet where he and a group of other men try to make themselves presentable to the beautiful skinny girl. They rush back out eager to impress her but she is nowhere to be found.

The third scene portrays the family life of a man and woman. As soon as the man wakes up, he reaches out for her but she is not there. He panics and immediately phones her asking her whereabouts. She answers his call replying simply, “(I am) here”. The man runs into the bathroom but she is not there. He keeps asking, “Where are you?” The woman continues to reply in the same, monotonic and soft-spoken voice, “(I am) here”. The camera then takes a wider shot from a low angle displaying her actually vacuuming the living room. Her figure is framed at the centre of the shot signifying the importance of her slender body. Meanwhile the man’s frenzy increases as he searches in a walk-in closet, continuing to ask where she is. The same response is given, “(I am) here”. When he hears her familiar voice coming from the living room, he turns his head in that direction. As soon as he sees her, he runs to her. She quickly embraces him with open arms as he sobs his heart out, begging her never to leave him again. She nods with a sad smiling face. At the end of the clip, while images of the previous three scenes are put together to wrap up the story, an invisible narrator stresses that, “Men change because of your bodies” and a backdrop image is shown of five slim girls emerging amidst a sudden fire explosion. After advertising Nature Gift’s contact details, the clip wraps up with a group of men assuring the impact of female bodies on them with a clear, “Confirmed!”

Due to the nature of this advertisement clip, its representation of feminine beauty is considerably restrictive in that it defines beautiful women’s bodies as those with a slender body shape and long legs. The construction of these media texts also points out other physical attributes currently valued in Thai society, such as a fair or light skin complexion—all three female protagonists presented

in the clip are seemingly ethnic Thai-Chinese. The three of them are also stereotypically portrayed in line with the social expectation of feminine characteristics; for example, their hairstyles conform to the traditional image of women wearing their hair long. The third female protagonist also echoes the social construction of women as supportive and taking care of others. This visual representation of the feminine personality, having a pale skin complexion, doing domestic chores, speaking softly and politely, can then be read as a social reinscription of the patriarchal vision of ideal femininity. Since these characteristics are often associated with female social attributes, these women are presented from a patriarchal perspective or male gaze (Mulvey, 1985, p. 304). Consequently, camera techniques highlighting the slim figures of the female protagonists objectify their appearances as a point of attention or ‘to-be-looked-at-ness’ (p. 304).

The final message of the clip, “Men change because of your bodies,” recognizes to some extent the power of feminine beauty in demanding men’s attention, attraction, and love. However, such a reading may be rather simplistic as this essentialist representation of feminine beauty can mask patriarchal social and cultural dimensions, which define women in relation to men (De Beauvoir, 1989/1949). Therefore, this emphasis on an essentialist feminine beauty discourse does not empower women, rather it reinforces the traditional norms of feminine attributes in relation to capitalist values, implying women’s freedom to control their bodies and their decisions to improve themselves are entirely up to them.

Beautiful bodies as commodities

The second clip, (Wutthisak Clinic—“Yaya Ying, why are you crying?”), tells the story of a Thai singer turned-actress, named Yaya Ying. The presentation of her story in this advertisement is structured to simulate a television talk show program. Yaya Ying describes the ups and downs in

her life with tears in her eyes. She confesses she sometimes feels exhausted but cannot give up because of her obligations to take care of her family. She further explains her reasons to have cosmetic surgery, “People may wonder why we have to place so much importance on the superficial. Is beauty necessary? It gave me opportunities. It strengthened me. Beauty and confidence can really change one’s life.” The clip then wraps up with an invisible narrator’s voice saying, “Beauty can be created” with the clinic’s logo and a smaller caption: “because beauty can’t wait.”

Similar to the previous advertisement, the notion of a woman’s independent decision to beautify herself is also reiterated in this beauty clinic advertisement. Although its brand endorser, Yaya Ying, is an actress, the way she presents her life story with its ups and downs is intended to stress that she is no different from other ordinary women. Her reasons to have cosmetic surgery might be taken as vanity, but she also supplements them with the compelling arguments that she complied with the social expectation of being a good daughter and she financially supported her family. She ends her talk with an encouraging statement to other women that they too could change their lives if they choose to beautify themselves.

Given its commercially driven nature, this media text was designed to normalize and justify women’s decisions to have cosmetic surgery. The positive presentation of an individual’s beautification can be argued, to some extent, to strengthen women’s lack of self-confidence and strengthen their negotiating power in a male dominated society. However, this reading, like the Nature Gift coffee clip, is also problematic. Its representation of feminine beauty is rather rigid with its emphasis on the material value of constructed beauty and is influenced by the thinking of capitalism. Yaya Ying’s descriptive necessity for bodily beautification also conforms to patriarchal social narratives in which women are displayed as emotional and vain regardless of their moral

obligations and their nature of taking care of others. Constructed beauty, according to this advertisement, is represented as a necessary commodity that a woman must have. Female consumers are often led to romanticize about their freedom to choose or redefine their outer beauty, but this essentialist notion of beauty exposes socially rigid definitions of beauty that are prescribed in relation to a patriarchal expectation of femininity.

The notion of beauty presented in both advertisements is that it is personal capital or an asset, readily available for women who are financially capable of acquiring beauty-enhancing products and services, including Nature Gift instant coffee and Wutthisak Clinic’s beauty treatments. This capitalist definition of feminine beauty is considerably exclusive as it confines beauty to particular physical attributes, such as a woman wearing her hair long, having a slender body, an oval shaped face and pale skin complexion, all as shown in both advertisements. In other words, the capitalist representation of feminine beauty advertised in these two media texts not only reinforces a patriarchal expectation of femininity, but also reduces beauty to commercial products and services.

CONCLUSION

This paper argues that the media production of beautiful female bodies reflects the connection between a patriarchal representation of femininity and the commodification of individual bodies in valorizing a capitalist beauty discourse in Thai society. This production of media texts highlighting personal beautification can be considered as a social attempt to reinsert patriarchal definitions of femininity, constructing beauty as a vital asset to a woman’s success. The representation of beautiful female bodies drawn from two Thai television advertisements can be mistakenly regarded as an empowerment of women due to increasing opportunities and social equality for women in Thai

society. This visual analysis reveals a persistent stereotyping of the traditional norms of beautiful women as feminine beauty continues to be defined as an essentialist bodily attribute in Thai society. That is, physical attractiveness has become a prerequisite for a woman's personal and professional accomplishment.

Given this paper's research objective to study the Thai media's representation of beautified female bodies, other substantially influential issues, such as notions of ethnicity, sexuality, natural bodies, and so forth have yet to be included. To incorporate these additional factors within a research project's frame of reference would necessarily require an extended time frame and additional comprehensive research objectives, as well as a wider deliberation of research materials to offer less partial perspectives on the power relations in the commercial media's construction of beautiful feminine bodies.

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