

HOW BODY DISCOURSES INFORM A FASHION BRAND'S ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS

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Abstract of master's thesis

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Abstract

The goal of this research was to analyze body representations in advertising and the evolution of body discourses over time. There is a lot of existing literature on the topic, however, it has mainly focused on a limited number of factors, excluding some important ones, such as time. This research aimed to fill this gap by studying the evolution of both male and female body discourses over time in the context of the fashion industry, and it was led by the following research questions:

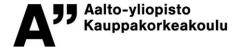
- 1. What kind of discourses inform body representations in advertisements between 1990-2019?
- 2. How does a fashion brand represent body in its advertising campaigns over time?
- 3. How has the conceptions of the body in advertisements changed over time?

This study was conducted using discourse theory, CDA to be more exact. Fashion field was used as a context due to its long-standing reputation in setting beauty ideals, and Calvin Klein was used as a case company. Data was collected online, and it consisted of altogether 73 campaigns between the 1990s and 2010s out of which one campaign per decade was analyzed more thoroughly. The analysis was conducted using CDA tools, mainly Fairclough's three-dimensional model.

The findings support the current understanding that the relationship between bodies and advertising is strong. However, based on the analysis, the concept of body ideal is going through a redefinition, possibly resulting in a new dominant discourse. According to this research the body ideal is becoming more accepting and versatile, and the meaning of the body in advertising is getting less important. The results also emphasized the social nature of body ideals and how others' opinions have supposedly a bigger effect on body image than a single physical feature of a body.

These results can be used to better understand how and why advertising does indeed affect body discourses and their evolution over time. Giving companies data to both understand the issues of trying to force their customers to fit into one body ideal as well as showing them how changing this approach could benefit both them and their customers and could result in a more accepting world and less body issues.

Keywords discourse theory, body discourses, fashion industry



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Maisterintutkinnon tutkielman tiivistelmä

Tekijä Nea Ketonen				
Työn nimi Miten diskurssit kehosta info	ormoivat muotialan markkinointik	kampanjoita		
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Tiivistelmä

Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli analysoida sitä, miten keho esitetään mainonnassa ja miten nämä kehon diskurssit kehittyvät ajan myötä. Aiheesta on olemassa paljon aiempaa tutkimusta, mutta ei mitään yhtä kokonaisvaltaista ja pitkittäistä kuin tämä. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli täyttää tämä aukko tutkimalla kehon diskurssien kehitystä ajan myötä luodin alalla seuraavien tutkimuskysymysten avulla:

- 1. Millaiset diskurssit kuvaavat kehoa mainoksissa vuosina 1990–2019?
- 2. Kuinka muotibrändi edustaa kehoa mainoskampanjoissaan pitkällä aikavälillä?
- 3. Kuinka käsitys kehosta on muuttunut mainonnassa ajan myötä?

Tutkimus tehtiin käyttäen diskurssiteoriaa, tarkemmin sanottuna kriittistä diskurssianalyysia. Painopiste oli muodissa johtuen sen vuosikymmenien taakse ulottuvasta maineesta kauneusihanteiden luojana. Esimerkkiyrityksenä toimi Calvin Klein. Tiedonkeruu koostui 73 kampanjasta 1990- ja 2010-lukujen välillä, joista jokaiselta vuosikymmeneltä analysoitiin perusteellisemmin yksi kampanja käyttäen lähinnä Fairclough'n kolmiulotteista mallia.

Tutkimuksen tulokset tukevat nykyistä käsitystä siitä, että kehon ja mainoskampanjoiden suhde on vahva. Analyysin perusteella ihannekehon käsite on kuitenkin kokemassa murroksen, mikä saattaa johtaa uuteen hallitsevaan diskurssiin: ihannekehosta on tulossa hyväksyvämpi ja monipuolisempi, ja kehon merkitys mainonnassa pienenee. Tutkimuksen tulokset korostivat myös kehoon liittyviä sosiaalisia paineita, a ja sitä, kuinka muiden mielipiteillä oletetaan olevan suurempi vaikutus kehonkuvaan kuin kehon fyysisillä piirteillä.

Näiden tulosten avulla voidaan paremmin ymmärtää sitä, miten ja miksi mainonta todella vaikuttaa kehoon liittyvään keskusteluun ja ihanteisiin. Tulokset auttavat myös ymmärtämään ajan merkitystä diskurssien muodostumisessa ja ylläpitämisessä. Yritykset tarvitsevat enemmän dataa ymmärtääkseen yksipuolisten ja epärealististen kauneusihanteiden haittapuolet, ja toisaalta kuluttajat tarvitsevat enemmän kriittisyyttä mainosten tulkintaan ja parempaa medialukutaitoa.

Avainsanat diskurssiteoria, kehon diskurssit, muoti

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the topic

Advertisements are everywhere. They affect us whether we want it or not. Traditionally, the bodies of the models are overly good-looking. The body representations shown in advertisements create pressure as people try to reach the ideal that the marketing professionals and companies promote. The goal of these good-looking models is to create insecurities to which the companies then offer a solution with their products and services (Pollay 1986). They aim at creating needs, often irrelevant ones, and then "saving" the consumers with their offers. Advertisements want to tell people who they are and who they are supposed to be (Cortese 2016).

Protein World's campaign in 2015 is a great example of an advertisement like that (Figure 1). In the advertising picture a skinny woman in her bikinis is looking at the consumer in the eyes with a provocative and powerful look asking "Are you beach body ready?" hinting both that the skinny woman in the ad represents the ideal beach body, and that if one did not already have a body like that, one should get it and Protein World would help with that. The need is, thus, a perfect beach body, and the solution is their weight loss collection. The advertisement caused a lot of controversy and even got banned in the UK. (Hackman 2015.) However, it is a great example of how advertisements create needs and promotes body ideals.



Figure 1 Protein World's ad in 2015 (Hackman 2015)

Some of the companies have started realizing the harmful effects of unrealistic bodies in advertisements and have chosen a more responsible and versatile approach. A great example of a socially responsible pioneer is Dove with its Real Beauty Campaign that was launched in 2004. The goal of this campaign was to celebrate authentic 'real' beauty and diversity of female bodies, challenging and questioning the dominant beauty ideals (Unilever.com 2017). The advertisement (Figure 2) was filled with women in all shapes and sizes looking happy and confident. The campaign name "Real beauty" hints that other campaigns do not represent authentic beauty and it also encourages women to see beauty everywhere as this campaign represents very versatile beauty ideals. However, a lot remains to be done and a big part of the companies still rely on the traditional unrealistically good-looking bodies. My goal in this research is to understand how the body ideals have changed over time and how body representations in advertising have supposedly started moving towards a healthier direction.



Figure 2 Dove's campaign (March 2014)

This research will approach the issue of body representations through discourse theory. Historically, there have been different types of discourses informing the current ideal body types. Body and body ideals are social constructions promoted and built mainly through media, such as films and books. Advertising as a form of media, especially in the fashion industry, has been the main driver of these discourses. Recently, as mentioned and as Dove's campaign proves, there has been a promise of a change for a better direction. Discourse theory, critical discourse analysis to be more exact, will give us the tools

to analyze this change and the phenomenon of body discourses in advertising to be able to understand their evolution and the factors enabling it.

1.2 Research objective & questions

Advertisements represent our daily life – or the ideal of our daily life, and in this case, our ideal body. This research aims at understanding the discursive changes on body representations in the advertising campaigns over time. The analysis will consist of three decades, starting from the 1990s, the 1990 taken as a point of analysis because it coincides with the emergence of modern technological inventions, such as the World Wide Web and telephones, and ending in the 2010s. This period of time will enable the research to understand the evolution of the discourses and to provide us with a more thorough conclusion.

The goal of this research is to understand how different discourses inform different ways to represent body over time. The focus is on fashion industry due to its strong emphasis on bodies and its long-standing history in setting beauty ideals. To make the industry a bit more researchable within the resources of this study, I will be using Calvin Klein as a representant of the industry and as a case example. I will analyze Calvin Klein's advertising campaigns between 1990s and 2010s using critical discourse analysis as a method.

There are three research questions that this thesis aims at answering and they are listed below:

- What kind of discourses inform body representations in advertisements between 1990 - 2019?
- 2. How does a fashion brand represent body in its advertising campaigns over time?
- 3. How has the conceptions of the body in advertisements changed over time?

This thesis will start with an introduction of the key concepts researched: body and advertising. After defining them, it will move on to describing the existing literature on the relationship of advertising and body images, later narrowing it down to fashion

industry. Part 3 introduces and explains the theoretical background, such as discourse theory and the concept of consumer power and its relevance for this research. Part 4 will move onto the methodology and methods explaining the research approach and data gathering methods. The three decades as a context will equally be described in the methodology part giving us tools to analyze the contextual and historical backgrounds of the advertisement campaigns. The fifth part focuses on the findings after which part six will focus on discussion, limitations and future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to fully understand the concepts explored in this thesis I will start by defining body and advertising. I will then move on to explain their relationship; body representations in advertising, and finally narrow it down to the fashion industry as a context.

2.1 Body

Body as a concept is versatile and complex. Its physical characteristics, such as size, shape and movements, affect our life on a daily basis shaping our interactions with other people and ourselves (Howson 2013). According to the Dictionary of Cambridge (Dictionary.cambridge.org 2021a) the simplest definition of a body is: "the whole physical structure that is a person or an animal". Sometimes body can even "refer to the main, physical part of a person or animal but not include the head, or not include the head and arms and legs". However, this research views body as a social construction rather than a physical one, built by discourses and language. Body as a concept exists only through our social reality and it is created and changed by social acts. (Blood 2004; Fairclough 2010, Fairclough 2013; Synnot 1992.)

We see our body and operate within it based on how we experience it (Howson 2013). Body image is a person's perception and thoughts of their physical self, including both positive and negative ones. In the simplest way it means the way a person sees one's own body. (Nedc.com.au; Dictionary.cambridge.org 2021b; Mentalhealth.org.uk.) Body image is being created in a social context, just as the concept of body, and it can have a major impact on a person's life. Having a positive body image, that is, respecting and accepting one's body, is crucial for good health and happiness (Mentalhealth.org.uk). However, according to a survey conducted in March 2019 by UK's mental health foundation and YouGov up to one in five adults had felt shame because of their body during the past year and 13 % of adults had experienced suicidal thoughts due to body image dissatisfactions (Mentalhealth.org.uk). According to statistics maintained by WHO, 28 % of 13-year-olds and 29 % of 15-year-olds in the HBSC countries (a researcher community of 48 countries and regions; Hbsc.org 2021) considers themselves too fat (Gateway.euro.who.int 2021). Thus, body image issues can be seen as a global problem.

Besides negative feelings and thoughts towards one's body, body image can be completely distorted to a point where it is considered as a disease. In diseases, such as eating disorders, a person can see a completely different body from a mirror than what the reality is. This can result in obsessive and harmful behavior since a person tries to change one's body, through excessive weight loss for example. (cf. Longo & Haggard 2012; Monteath & McCabe 1997.) There are obviously numerous factors affecting bodies and body images, and everything is very individual. However, societal factors have, once again, been recognized being a key factor behind body misperceptions (Monteath & McCabe 1997). In this research we will focus on advertising as a societal factor that affects body ideals, and thus, body images, and see what kind of an effect is has on them. The relationship of bodies and advertising will be further explained in Chapter 2.3.

2.2 Advertising in consumer research

Advertising is more ubiquitous than ever. We are being exposed to hundreds of advertisements on a daily basis, no matter where we go and no matter what we do (Cortese 2004). Advertisement's creep into our lives secretly, without us even realizing it, and even if we do, we might still think that our mind is stronger than the others'; we think that advertisements affect others more than us (the *third-person effect;* Davidson 1983). Advertising as an institution has grown to be more powerful than ever due to the disappearance of traditional authorities, such as the church, as opinion leaders (Pollay 1986). It tends to also regulate people's lives and assist powerful companies to become even more powerful, and thus, it shapes the society even more (Wolburg 2012). Not acknowledging the power of advertisements, makes us that much more vulnerable to the effects of them.

Advertisements affect every aspect of our lives: advertisements do not only sell products and services, but they also sell values and emotions, even create cultures and subcultures (Malmedin 2010; Pollay 1986; Bordo 2004; Sheehan 2004). According to Pardun (2009) advertising affects our lifestyle, consumption habits, and even our diet. Sheehan (2004) claims that is goes as far as affecting our entire worldview. Advertising is a part of our culture; it shapes and directs it and tell us what is ideal and what is not. The more involving ads are, the more they affect (Rodgers & Thorson 2012). Thus, creating an emotional brand attachment with a brand can be very beneficial for the company; if a

customer has a possibility to relate to an advertisement or to a situation presented in the ad, it can have a deeper influence (Thompson et al 2006; Malär et al 2011).

Advertising as a medium is very persuasive; one of its main goals being influencing its target audience (cf. Pollay 1986). Advertisements aim at creating a need and then making consumers aware of it offering them a solution, the solution being a specific product, service or a lifestyle change. Rogers and Thorson (2015, 5) divided the utilities of advertising into four specific groups: *brand building, lead generation, driving purchases and changing life behaviors*. This research focuses on the last one, changing life behaviors, in this case changing attitudes towards body and body ideals to be more specific.

Sheehan (2004, 4-6) offers a different kind of approach to advertising and its relevance. He focuses on the different roles advertising has in the society. According to him advertising has three main roles: the economic, the informative and the entertaining role. Advertising is crucial for economic growth but it also both informs and entertains people. Both of these approaches emphasize the economic relevance of advertising and according to Rodgers and Thorson (2015, 10) advertising "keeps the wheels of the economy turning". It is good to remember that even though advertising affects attitudes and lifestyles, the deepest motivation for businesses is money, and thus, the attitudes promoted in advertising always have a financial motive.

To be able to use advertising as a medium in this research we have to define it. The definition used in this thesis is that advertising is *paid communication from a sponsor that* can be identified using mass media in order to persuade audience. Usually this implies to professional ads, such as TV ads. (Rodgers & Thorson 2012, 4.) Another, very similar definition, supporting the choice of the definition stated by Rogers and Thorson, says that adverting is a paid and mediated form of communication sent from an identifiable source, designed to persuade the audience to take some action (Richards & Curran 2002). The case example and the advertisements used for the empirical research will be chosen following the criteria of these definitions.

2.3 Advertising and body in consumer research

One of the very well-known effects of advertising is promoting body ideals. Actually, Patterson (2018) claims that marketing communications are primarily responsible for the constitution of body images. For decades advertising has represented the contemporary ideals resulting in people being dissatisfied with their body. Body ideals and beauty are constructs that vary from culture to culture and change over time (Frith et al 2005; McClendon 2019). Advertising is notorious for aggressively promoting these changing ideals, and thus, offers a unique way to study the construction and evolution of them (Frith et al 2005).

There is a lot of research on the relationship of advertising and body. Bordo (2004) posits that the thin body ideal seems to be a product of the western world, and she too recognizes the strong role of advertising and media in creating it. By and large, these works seek to provide a critical account of advertising and body. For example, Brown and Tiggeman (2016), researched the difference of peer and celebrity images on Instagram, and their negative impact on women's mood. According to them, both attractive celebrity and attractive peer images on Instagram increased negative mood and body dissatisfaction in women. Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn (2004) paid attention to men and the harmful effects of media exposure on their body images since most of the existing research focuses on women. Myers and Biocca (1992) researched the relationship of television advertising and body image distortions already back in the 90s. According to them advertising can damage the body image and even indirectly result in an eating disorder. Adomaitis and Johnson (2008) focused on adolescents and their vulnerability as a target audience. According to them younger people are especially prone to social comparison when looking at ads.

All previous research shows that advertisements do encourage people to actively worry about their body and then provide help and solutions to ease these worries. As earlier mentioned, as a side effect, lots of people struggle with body dissatisfactions, even mental health problems such as eating disorders (Nedc.com.au; Bordo 2004; Mentalhealth.org.uk 2019; Myers & Biocca 1992; Sypeck et al 2004). Cohen et al (2017) discovered that the appearance-focused content affects body image more than appearance-neutral content. Ads in general can be seen as a form of very appearance-focused media, and thus, the

relationship of advertising and body should be carefully considered and researched, especially in the contemporary world where social media and new technology are always one click away bombarding people with new advertisements from all around the world day and night.

The harmful effects of advertising on people's body images can be seen as unintended effects of marketing communications (Rodgers & Thorson 2012; Pollay 1986; Sheehan 2004; Mentalhealth.org.uk 2019). According to Rodgers and Thorson (2012) the unintended effects of advertising can be seen as side effects that the advertisers have not consciously planned. The goal of advertising is obviously not to hurt anyone or cause mental health issues, however, advertisers think that their target groups are able to process the ads critically enough to avoid these negative consequences (Sheehan 2004; Murphy 2005). This biased setting can result in harmful consequences since advertising has a much bigger impact on people's live than one could think; the third-person effect, the huge audience of advertisements and the lack of criticism can be a harmful combination. The unintended and unconscious effects could possibly be avoided with more versatility and responsibility in advertisements.

Even though advertising can have a very harmful effect on people's lives, it can also be used for good things. During the past decades, brands like Dove have tried to pay more and more attention to responsibility (Sheehan 2004). CSR (*Corporate Social Responsibility*) acknowledges the responsibilities of companies. According to Carroll's pyramid of CSR (Carroll 1991; Carroll 2016) there are four kinds of responsibilities: *economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibility*. Especially the ethical one emphasizes the company's responsibility to take society's values, norms, expectations and principles into account, such as values surrounding different kinds of bodies. Socially responsible advertising is another way to emphasize the good values of a company. It means that the company's values, be they body positive or environmentally friendly actions or something completely else, are very integrated in their advertisements. They do not just encourage people to act and follow certain values, they lead with example. (Sheehan 2004).

2.4 Fashion industry and fashion brands

The field of fashion is very broad and complex. According to Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) it includes clothing marketers (such as designers), media (both fashion and mainstream media), fashion associations, fashion and design schools, celebrities (such as endorsers and influencers) and, last but not least, consumers. Despite the high number of key actors in fashion, the field is known to be driven mostly by the artistic visions of designers (Scaraboto & Fischer 2013). These visions have traditionally been valued more highly than consumers' wants and needs; consumers have tried to fit themselves and their bodies into the clothes instead of the fashion field designing clothes that would fit their consumers (McClendon 2019; Scaraboto & Fischer 2013). An infamous example of an artists' vision is Mike Jeffries' (previous CEO of Abercrombie & Fitch) comment in an interview in 2006 concerning the company's success: "...we go after the cool kids...a lot of people do not belong [in our clothes], and they cannot belong. Are we exclusionary? Absolutely." (Temin 2013).

Body is very central in fashion; it serves as a way to display and sell clothes providing the field an ideal opportunity to either voluntarily or involuntarily create body ideals. Thus, the appearance of the body is critical, and it is placed in the center of attention (Entwistle & Rocamora 2006). This makes fashion as a field an ideal context for this research. However, the presence of bodies in fashion does not only mean looks but also the bodily demeanor, such as bodily ease during an event (ibid). The looks on the other hand mean more than just the size, it also includes age, mobility, race and gender identity (McClendon 2019). Nevertheless, the fashion industry is notorious for its body ideals especially the ideals around size and shape, and thus, this research will mostly focus on that side of bodies, their shape, size and the way they are represented, due to the limited resources of the researcher.

When it comes to body, fashion industry has chosen to celebrate certain body types while stigmatizing others (cf. McClendon 2019; Sypeck et al 2004; Scaraboto & Fischer 2013). In other words, it does not only promote certain body ideals, but it also downplays and discriminates others. While the ideal and fashionable body can be seen as a cultural construct that changes over time (McClendon 2019), the beauty ideals have long emphasized the thin and skinny body stigmatizing obese and even normal bodies (David

et al 2002; Sypeck et al 2004; Scaraboto & Fischer 2013). This has been done despite the fact that the evidence suggests that consumers will more likely get inspired by people they can identify with (Scaraboto & Fischer 2013). The market has intentionally chose to disregard the needs of many consumer groups resulting in numerous body image issues, even mental health issues.

While the emergence of internet has become the frontier of body shaming and stigmatizing, it has also given people a platform to spread pictures of normal bodies and body positivity (McClendon 2019). Anyone can publish content, no matter how their body looks like, and this has challenged the traditional hierarchy and beauty standards of the fashion field. The online fashion arena is a relatively recently formed forum; the first traditional fashion companies went online in 1994 and a lot of the currently popular fashion forums started between 2002-2004. Personal fashion blogs started emerging around the same time with the professional fashion forums, and the number of them grew fast – normal consumers had finally a possibility to voice their opinions on the fashion trends and fashion industry and to participate. (Dolbec & Fischer 2015.)

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Discourse theory is one way, among others, to study consumer behavior. It focuses on discourses that are expressed through language and that become a norm through repetition. This research focuses on body discourses communicated in advertising. Advertising can be seen as a powerful institution continually promoting and rewarding the discourses it benefits from, that is, beautiful bodies that encourage people to buy their products or services. When certain body image is being promoted continually and determinedly on advertising, it becomes a norm, an ideal that everyone aims at having. It is important to understand the discursive processes behind the formation of these norms to be able to prevent the harmful effects of them.

3.1 Advertising as a discourse

To be able to understand and research how advertising represents body we have to analyze the messages advertisers send, the body discourses they promote. *A discourse* is a way to mediate meaning, such as meaning attached to people, events, or bodies in this case. It refers to groups of statements that shape our world through structuring the way we think and act. It is a set of ideas that provide presuppositional understanding and help us communicate about different topics, thus, it is particular knowledge of the world that shapes our understanding (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008; Kates & Shaw-Garlock 1999; Rose 2016). A discourse is a complicated set of relations that bring meaning into the complex relationships that constitute social life, and thus, discourses are essentially viewed as a type of social practice (Carvalho 2008; Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008; Fairclough 2012; Kozinets 2008; Munir & Phillips 2005).

Advertising is a form of discourse (Goddard 2002). It is a complex way of communication with several producers and receivers, several creators and target groups. Most of the time the producers are also the receivers which makes the process even more complicated (Cronin 2004). As a text type, advertising is very unique due to its sensational and persuading nature that might often result in deeming it unreliable (Kates & Shaw-Garlock 1999). The word 'advertising' itself comes from a Latin word advertere that means 'to turn towards' (Goddard 2002, 9). The goal of advertisements is indeed to catch attention and provoke immediate action, such as a purchase or a change in attitudes, as stated earlier

in Chapter 2.2. A more traditional text type, such as a poem or a book, does not have such goals, and thus, interpreting advertising discourses is more complex than interpreting many other text types.

People also interpret advertisements differently for several reasons. Firstly, the different positions a reader might take, such as an accepting or a skeptical approach to advertisements and marketing communications, affect the interpretation (Kates & Shaw-Garlock 1999). In other words, the level of confidence and trust to advertisements as a text type give the consumers different kinds of backgrounds for the interpretation process. Secondly, and more importantly, everyone has one's own mental conceptual map that results in as many interpretations as there are people interpreting (Hall 1997). These conceptual maps consist of representations, that are one of the major cultural processes, on which discourses depend (Du Gay et al 2013; Hall 1997). Representations form a mental 'system of representations' for each individual, in which we organize and arrange different kinds of concepts in our heads, forming a complex entity of meanings and concepts through which we see the world (Hall 1997; Rose 2016). Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) highlight the social side of discourses claiming that discourses are representations of social life, and thus, differently positioned actors represent life as different discourses. Research shows that consumers' lives are indeed constructed around several realities and different groups see the world differently depending on the process of creating these representations. However, these realities are similar within each culture to enable communication between individuals. (Arnould & Thompson 2005; Hall 1997; Rose 2016.)

Representations connect language and meaning to culture, and on the other hand, language is used to represent the world and to "make sense" of all of it (Hall 1997). Thus, we cannot analyze any discourses without understanding the relevance of culture and the cultural context, especially when it comes to advertising that is very much connected and a part of cultural processes. Consumer culture theory (CCT) is a "family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings" (Arnould & Thompson 2005, 868). In a culture, meaning depends on large units of analysis, such as discourses that operate widely, across a variety of areas of knowledge and a variety of different kinds of texts (Hall 1997). The different representations carried by the representants of a specific culture establish the cultural meaning (Du Gay et al 2013). Through discourses advertising shapes culture and

creates social roles and ideals, such as body ideals (Sheehan 2004). Kates and Shaw-Garlock (1999) researched the ideological representation of women in advertisement created by marketing professionals. Munir and Phillips (2005) on the other hand researched the way Kodak changed the consumer culture by combining different discourses to create a completely new one: they made photography a part of the social culture. With this research they also highlighted that enterprises are strategically producing discourses that suit their interests, in this case selling more cameras, in our case selling clothes. This research focuses on a similar phenomenon: how has the case company, Calvin Klein, shaped the cultural meaning of body via producing discourses.

3.2 Consumer power

Discourses are eventually being created when the advertisements are being interpreted, that is, in the eyes of the audience, consumers. To be able to better understand this process we have to discuss consumers as an audience and their power. Consumer power has been a topic of interest for a long time. The latest substantial change in the field has been the internet; the *World Wide Web* allowed individuals to access all the data and information online, anywhere and anytime. Labercque et al (2013) talked about the four sources of consumer power brought by the development of the internet: *demand-*, *information-*, *network-* and crowd-based power. Demand- and information-based powers are individuals' resources; a wider selection and the possibility to access more information on the products and services, both written by companies but also other consumers. Network-based sources, network- and crowd-based powers, combine social resources and benefit from the power of a group, in a form of social movements for example. Other research supports this division of power: consumers can be empowered, and advertisements complemented on an individual level, through online reviews for instance (Kozinets 2016; Smith 2007), and on the other hand, the power of a group is strong online (Smith 2007).

However, internet does not only bring consumers more power. Even though it gives people more ways of communication than regular media, such as many-to-many and one-to-one communication (Pitt et al 2002) and is independent of distance and time, it has also introduced the marketing professionals several new ways to practice their power. All the content you see online is determined by an external source, through algorithms.

(Labrecque et al 2013.) Companies are in charge of deciding the target groups and programming the algorithms accordingly. Consumers' reactions to this might differ. According to Arnould and Thompson (2005) consumers can be seen as interpretive agents that either embrace the dominant representations and discourses portrayed in the advertising and mass media or deviate from these. Thus, internet divides consumers that see the exact same material online, into two different categories with different amount of power.

Pitt et al (2002) think that consumer power is stronger in the long-term than in the short-term; they believe that consumers have relatively much power in the long run and especially over the bigger companies but in the short run and at an individual level consumers have very little power. According to Denefri-Knott et al (2006) marketing and consumer power should be complementary. Cronin (2004) on the other hand highlights the fact that it is harder and harder to distinguish the consumer/producer boarder; producers are always consumers as well. Thus, this research considers individual consumer having little power on their interpretations and reactions on advertisements but acknowledges the fact that it is very individual and might change in the long run. The power of a group can be bigger and engaged consumers are constantly trying to drive change. However, the research of Dolbec and Fischer (2015) suggested that the consumer power practiced online by regular consumers is still shaped and inspired by the professionals, especially in the field of fashion. Also, when talking about consumer power it is important to acknowledge that there are consumer groups that are considered to be especially vulnerable, such as kids and adolescents, and that might need extra carefulness and even regulations to protect them (cf. Ec.europa.eu 2016; Rodgers & Thorson 2012; Sheehan 2004). All in all, the amount of power depends strongly on an individual and on one's way to use it and is still very affected by the professionals.

3.3 Conclusions on the theoretical background

As the literature review shows, the phenomenon in question is by no means new or unknown. In fact, there is a lot of existing research on bodies and advertising, and their relationship. Body affects our lives on a daily basis, and the way we see it can have a huge effect on the quality of our lives. A huge part of the constitution of body ideals happens in advertising, in fact, according to some researchers it is the main influencer of

body ideals. These ideals can be analysed via *discourses*, connected speech on a specific topic that help us understand the world. Discourses can and do change over time due to changes in power relations; new discourses emerge to challenge and question the dominant ones until some of them might finally be able to shake the power dynamics and become the new dominant one, the new norm.

To be able to understand the effect of these body representations on an individual, I used CCT and consumer power theories to better understand the phenomenon of advertising creating body ideals. According to CCT advertising creates social ideals, such as body discourses, that shape the culture and might become a norm. According to the consumer power theories the individual power to receive and interpret these ideals really depends on many factors but is rather weak in the short run, and thus, consumers can be seen as a quite vulnerable audience to these ideals. These theories will help analyse the results, and they give us a good general understanding of the phenomenon in a larger picture.

As proven, it is obvious that there is lots of existing research and information on the topic. However, there was nothing as longitudinal and deep as this thesis. Besides, the earlier research has focused mostly on only a few aspects at a time, such as only pictures instead of paying attention to the entire discourse or only females instead of all sexes. A more thorough analysis on the subject is needed, both on the body discourses but also on their evolution over time. This research will focus on that. Besides, the methodology (explained in Chapter 4) also provides a unique approach to research and better understand this complex phenomenon. The achievements and findings of earlier research give this thesis lots of background knowledge to further explore the subject and form a broader picture of body representations in advertising.

There are several important contributes this study adds to the existing literature. This research will provide knowledge on the evolution and development of body discourses in advertising, and thus, will gain new in-depth knowledge on the topic from a longer period of time than previous research. This choice is supported by Pollay and Belk (1985) who claim that advertising can be responsible for the shifts in lifestyle values, thus this research will try to find these kinds of shifts in body discourses and their evolution. Secondly, as mentioned, while the previous research has focused mostly on advertising

pictures, this research will take the analysis on a new level including a thorough linguistic analysis on top of the visual one. Lastly, it will focus on only body, both female and male bodies. This will make sure that the analysis focuses on bodies, their shapes, sizes and representation, instead of including the facial beauty as well.

4 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

A good understanding of the research philosophy is the starting point for determining good methodology and efficient data collection methods (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008). The goal of this research is to understand and question body representations in advertising by analyzing body discourses in the chosen advertising campaigns over three decades. Based on these research goals I draw on critical discourse analysis (CDA) due to its strong focus on the social side of language and its normative approach to the power relations created by language (Fairclough 2010). CDA focuses on how power relations are being practiced through language and how they might change over time.

4.1 Research approach

Based on the goals of this research and discourse as a theoretical framework, the epistemological approach of this research is a social constructionist view (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008; Fairclough 2010; Munir & Phillips 2005; Hodges et al 2008). It assumes that access to reality is through social constructions such as language, discourses, and thus, the social constructionist view means that reality does not exist outside individuals and their interpretations of the world (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008). The ontological assumption of this research is therefore constructionism that believes that reality is socially constructed and there is no reality outside of individuals (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008).

I draw on discourse theory, CDA to be more exact. All discourse analysis is essentially an analysis of language - knowing what language is used for and how (Brown & Yule 1983; Hodges et all 2008). Language can be understood as any interpretable artefact, such as spoken words, texts or images, as long as they serve to express or communicate ideas (Grant et al 1998; Fairclough 2013; Goddard 2002; Culler 1976; Scott 1994; Hall 1997; Rose 2016). As a qualitative research mechanism, discourse analysis is getting more and more important: it focuses on cultural meanings attached to people and things that are being mediated through language. It gives us a way to analyze both them and their consequences. (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008.) In this case, advertising has continually promoted certain types of body images, and thus attached a cultural meaning to bodies through language.

CDA emphasizes the social side of language and is critical towards the power relations language creates and the inequalities that emerge due to them (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008; Fairclough 2019; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Hodges et al 2008; Fairclough 2010, Rose 2016; Vaara et al 1006; Wodak 1997). It focuses on analyzing relationships between the discourses and other objects, moments or elements, as well as the relations inside of a discourse (Fairclough 2010). It views discourse as a form of social practice that both shapes and is shaped by its situational, institutional and social structures, institutional factor in this case being advertising (Wodak 1997). One of the primary focuses of CDA is in the role of power relations in social wrongs (Fairclough 2010; Van Dijk 1995; Rose 2016). Thus, the critical side of CDA focuses on what is wrong in a society, and how these wrongs could be mitigated or even righted. Unrealistic body images promoted by advertising campaigns and the issues following them is the wrong in this case, and CDA analysis will help us determine the tools to right it.

There are several different approaches within CDA: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist one (Hall 1997). These theories tell us about the relationship of language and meaning. Based on the philosophical discussions of this research, the approach chosen is the constructionist approach that believes that meaning is constructed in and through language, and it acknowledges the very social character of language – things per se do not have a meaning, people construct it. Language has two major functions: it is both used to express things and information but also to establish and maintain social relations and attitudes (Brown et al 1983). All discourse analysis tries to go beyond the actual semantic meaning of words and language and reach a deeper understanding of it, such as the social roles and expectations it creates.

As mentioned, CDA pays a lot of attention to the role language plays in the construction of power relationships (Vaara et al 2006; Fairclough 2013; Hardy & Phillips 2004). CDA considers discourses to be social constructions, which results in language serving as a power tool between different actors (Wodak 1997). Power in discourses appears in two ways: as asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and in control over how texts are produced, distributed and consumed (Fairclough 2013). Advertising professionals have more power in producing texts than readers, and adults are generally more capable to interpret and process these texts compared to kids, for example. CDA aims at

revealing these different types of power relationships between different discourses and actors and bring attention to them (Vaara et al 2006, Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008).

However, it is important to remember that power works both ways, it might both sustain status quo but also transform it, in other words it can help to both produce and reproduce inequalities in different kinds of power relations, in this case different kinds of body discourses (Wodak 1997). According to Fairclough (2013) discourses have indeed taken a major role in sociocultural change in the modern world. The reproduction of power relations deals with time; at a particular moment the relationship between discourse and power is fixed, that is, actors may aim at producing texts that challenge the current dominant discourses, but they can only do that within the frames of existing discourses. However, discourses do change over time. (Hardy & Phillips 2004.) For this reason, this research focuses on the evolution of body representations in advertising over long run instead of focusing on a few campaigns at a given time. The picture below (Figure 3) demonstrates this change: a discourse creates power that is fixed at a particular time that then gets challenged by other discourses that eventually create new dominant discourses that become the new power

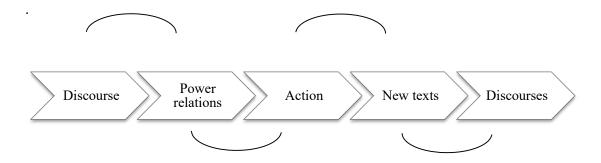


Figure 3 Discourse over time (a simplified version of Hardy & Phillips 2004)

Fairclough's three-dimensional framework encapsulates what is important to CDA and demonstrates the connections between text, discourse practices and sociocultural practices. According to it texts have to be analyzed alongside with the institutional and discursive context in which the texts are embedded, in other words the context of production and consumption of a text should be taken into account when conducting a discourse analysis. Discourse is thus seen simultaneously as a sum of these three dimensions (Fairclough 2013; Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008.)

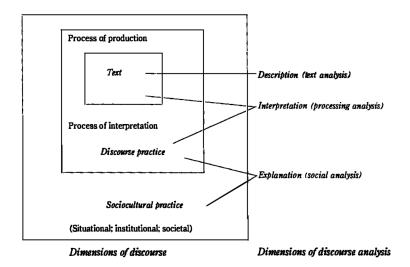


Figure 4 The three-dimensional framework for CDA (Fairclough 2013)

The first dimension, text, means analysis at word level, that is analyzing either spoken or written text, images, or a mix of all of them. It pays attention to linguistic features such as choices of words, patterns and grammar. It is a way to analyze the obvious elements of a discourse that are being expressed on a linguistic level. The second dimension, discourse practice, focuses on the production, distribution and interpretation of the text. It emphasizes the society in which the texts are being produced, consumed and circulated, and situates them in that societal context. Language is subject to interpretation and the interpretation depend on the communities in society (an obese person views an ad differently to an anorectic person).

The third and the last dimension, sociocultural practice, is about power. It is an analysis of the ideological and hegemonic processes in which discourses are featured. Language can be used to create change. Furthermore, discourses are embedded on several levels within the sociocultural practice: in the immediate situation (between friends, in a family...), in the wider organization or institution (advertising can be seen as an institution, Wolburg 2012) and at a societal level (body ideals in a society...). (Fairclough 2013; Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008.) A thorough analysis conducted paying attention to these three different levels aims at mapping these three separate levels onto one another and deeply understanding the versatility of a discourse (Fairclough 2013).

As stated in the three-dimensional model it is crucial to pay attention to is the context: who is the speaker, who are the readers; what is the place and time of production (Eriksson

& Kovalainen 2008; Rose 2016; Fairclough 2013; Brown et al 1983; Arnould et al 2006). Especially qualitative research methods, and the collection and analysis of data, are sensitive to the context (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008). Words are always used to refer to things, they express the relationship between language and the world as it is at the moment, and they are always said by someone. (Brown & Yule 1983.) Context is also an ongoing process that continuously adapts to its environment (Van Dijk 1995), and thus, understanding the context in its entirety is a key factor for a successful CDA. For those reasons, the historical context will next be described in Chapter 4.2

4.2 Research context: Introduction of the decades

Advertising historians have claimed that consumer culture and advertising have developed together, hand in hand (Rodgers & Thorson 2012). Advertising can be seen as an important historical report; as a "family album of society" (Belk & Pollay 1985, 888). Being familiar with research context, both social and historical, is crucial (Arsel 2017; Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008), and thus, a longitudinal research is needed. As Hardy and Phillips's theory (Figure 3) proved discourses and power are fixed at a given time but the emergence of a change in power relations, that is, new discourses, can eventually shake the hierarchy, and cause a change in the dominant discourse. This research focuses on three decades, 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, to be able to understand these changes and the evolution of body discourses over time.

4.2.1 1990s

The decade of 1990s started with good news: the collapse of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991. The Cold War had finally end and people could stop worrying. In 1994 Nelson Mandela was elected president of South Africa in the country's first multi-racial elections ending the decade-long apartheid (Jones 2019; Nelsonmandela.org 2021). Women got more and more empowered, through the third wave of feminism in the 90s and in the beginning of the 21st century. This wave finally included women of ethnicity and color, and they started being very vocal of their rights (Mann & Huffman 2005.) However, the happiness did not last long since the recession shook the world in the early 90s (Kalrgaard 2010). The issue of climate change was brought up in

the late 80s and early 90s, causing a huge wave of environmental activity and worry (Bodansky 2001). Besides that, AIDS was recognized in the 80s, and the cases kept increasing and worrying people until the late 1990s (Centers for Disease Control 1981; Cohen et al 2008).

Alongside with the societal and historic changes, the technology kept progressing. The development of internet that had started already back in the 60s took huge steps forward and continued its expansion throughout the century (Abbate 2000; Leiner et al 1997). At this point, there was more and more interest towards the commercialization of the Internet, and the emergence of the World Wide Web in the 90s made it possible (Leiner et al 1997). Finally, in the beginning of the 90s internet opened for business enabling advertising as an industry to take the next big step (Ratliff & Rubinfeld September 2010). A lot of the innovations we nowadays take for granted were also invented in the 90s, such as GSM calls in 1991 (Nokia.com 2021), the world's first smart phone, the IBM Simon, in 1994 (Bbc.com 2014), Google in 1998 (About.google 2021) and the world's first mobile internet service in 1999 (Kyodo 2021).

The body ideal in the 90s was extremely thin. Top models like Kate Moss were representing the beauty ideal called *heroin chic* which meant exhausted skinny, even anorectic, bodies and an unkempt appearance. (Arnold 1999). The pictures of such models spread a lot faster than before thanks to internet. The "big six", the iconic six top models from the 90s, represented the dominant skinny body ideals: Linda Evangelista, Claudia Schiffer, Naomi Campbell, Kate Moss, Cindy Crawford and Christy Turlington (Back 2021). Below you can see a photo of Kate Moss taken by Corinne Day from a cover photoshoot for Vogue UK in 1993. The picture caused a lot of controversy back in the days and was labelled as 'heroin chic', and thus, is a great example of the body ideal, especially in the fashion context, of the 90s. (Corinneday.co.uk 2021; Higgins 2017.)



Figure 5 Kate Moss for Vogue UK in 1993, photo taken by Corinne Day (Higgins 2017)

4.2.2 2000s

The 2000s started with a heartbreaking event, 9/11 in 2001 shook the world and the modern media helped the news to travel all around the world within seconds. A bit later the physical euro notes and coins were introduced to the Euro-zone making the EU more and more united (Barnicoat & Woolf 2009). Between 2007-2009 the world went through the Great Recession, this one being considered a lot worse than the one of the 90s (Karlgaard 2010; Christiano et al 2015). In 2008 the US elected its first black president, Barack Obama, giving the world another victory against racism (Barnicoat & Woolf 2009).

The 2000s can be seen as a milestone for the development of media and advertising since the first social media platforms were launched in the mid-2000s: Facebook in 2004 (Barr 2018), Youtube in 2005 (Leskin 2020) and Twitter in 2006 (Meyer 2019). It has had a huge global impact, both on people's personal and work lives. (cf. Edosomwan et al 2011). Besides the social media, iPhone 1 was introduced in 2007, completely changing the phone industry. It had everything: an iPod (the first iPod was released in 2001), internet communication and mobile phone features (Protectstar Inc 2013). Advertising developed a lot as well, and the field of online advertising really started getting bigger. The first ever banner ad was published in 1994 and ever since marketing communications have gone through a complete change with the emergence of all types of digital marketing inventions, such as targeted marketing, social media marketing and marketing analytics

(McCambley 2013; Statista.com). Among the first marketing-related inventions in the 20000s was Google Adwords that was launched in October 2000 (Googlepress.blogspot.com 2000).

The body ideal got a bit more accepting and healthier in the 00s. Instead of looking extremely skinny and exhausted, models looked thin but also toned and were encouraged to have some boobs and athletic curves. Models like Miranda Kerr, Karlie Kloss, Lara Stone and Gisele Bündchen were the household names in the fashion industry. (Liao 2019.) Below is a picture of Gisele Bündchen, one of the supermodels in the beginning of the 21st century. It was a Vanity Fair cover from 2007, taken by Mario Testino (Milligan 2017). As the picture shows, Karlie still represents a very thin ideal, but her toned shoulders and visible boobs prove that the ideal is somewhat healthier and a bit curvier.



Figure 6 Karlie Kloss' Vanity Fair Cover in 2007, photo taken by Mario Testino (Milligan 2017)

4.2.3 2010s

The decade started as an aftermath of the Great Recession and people and companies tried to get back on track. Terrorist attacks became more and more visible in the mass media, such the attack in Paris in 2015 (Lemonde.fr 2021) and got people scared and insecure.

Later during the decade Europe went through a migrant crisis that caused a lot of controversy (cf. Evans 2020). The process of Brexit started in the 2010s and made the European Union unstable for a moment (cf. Gov.uk 2021).

In 2010 Instagram was founded (Instagram.com 2021). Instagram became one of the most popular social media platforms all around the world and grew rapidly: it had 90 million users in January 2013 and up to a billion users in June 2018 (Tankovska 2021). In 2018 TikTok was founded and attracted millions of users in just two years (Tidy & Smith Galer 2020). Social media became more and more relevant, and trends and news were able to spread all around the worlds in just seconds, making the world a lot smaller.

In 2010s there were lots of different kinds of movements; people wanted to make a change and they benefited from the resources and new communities that social media offered worldwide. Activists like Greta Thunberg got the attention of the public audience and became household names. In March 2021 Thunberg had almost 11 million followers on Instagram (Greta Thunberg 2021a), almost 5 million on Twitter (Greta Thunberg 2021b) and over 3 million on Facebook (Greta Thunberg 2021c). Movements in the 2010s concerned anything and anything: race (Black Lives matter), sexual minorities (Pride), bodies (Body Positivity), sexual harassment (#metoo). People finally had a platform to efficiently defend their rights and opinions.

In 2010 the body image went through a major change when social media enabled people sharing authentic pictures of normal bodies. Celebrities, like Kim Kardashian, Meghan Trainor and Nicki Minaj, were proud of their curvy bodies and one picture at a time, they changed the body ideal from skinny to curvy and more accepting towards different body types. Being energetic and happy became the new beauty standard. (Sabas 2020; Schlossberg 2016). At the same time models got courage to be more vocal about the pressure they had been experiencing which made the whole advertising scene more approachable and the skinny beauty ideal a bit less glamorous (cf. Vogue 2019). Lots of brands hired models of all sizes, even Victoria's Secret, a well-known American lingerie brand, included plus size models in their line in the spring of 2020 (Thompson 2020). Below, as an example, is a picture of a contemporary plus size supermodel, Ashely Graham, posing confidently on the cover of WSJ (Ashely Graham 2021).



Figure 7 Ashley Graham on the cover of WSJ, photo taken by Ethan James Green (Ashley Graham 2021)

4.3 Data gathering

The data used in this research comprised of Calvin Klein's advertising campaigns between the 1990s and 2010s. The goal of this kind of data was to gain a good and thorough understanding of the body representations in advertisements and their evolution over time. Instead of individual advertisements, I chose to focus on advertising campaigns to get a more profound and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

The collection of data started with trying to find as many advertising campaigns online as possible to be able to choose one campaign per decade for a thorough CDA analysis. Everything else was taken into account but perfume and eyewear campaigns, due to their emphasis on face. Altogether 73 advertisements were analyzed and taken into account (Appendix). All the data was found online and my main sources for this phase were modelling websites, such as Uomoclassico.com, and online fashion magazines, such as Vogue.fr. Out of these 73 campaigns, 2-3 campaigns per decade were analyzed more thoroughly, that is, I went through more content, I compared the campaigns to the other ones making sure they were representative of the decade, and I studied their ideological and sociocultural contexts. This "elimination" round made sure that the advertising campaigns chosen would serve as a good example of the decade. I also wanted to make sure there was enough material available online and that the bodies were visible enough in the

advertisements. Lastly, I chose one campaign per decade which I then analyzed thoroughly using CDA tools, mostly Fairclough's three-dimensional model. From these campaigns I chose a few videos and/or photos to serve as an example in this research after going through all of them myself. Both videos and pictures were taken into account in all analysis. Next, I will briefly explain the data gathering process of each decade and justify the campaign chosen.

4.3.1 1990s

The 1990s was the easiest decade to find data from. I went through altogether 38 campaigns, three of them more thoroughly (shown in Table 1). The first campaign, for CK Underwear, was published in 1992 starring Kate Moss and Mark Wahlberg (Marky Mark at the time). It included both video material and several pictures. The campaign contained lots of nudity and the lines, all said by Mark Wahlberg, were very sexual. The second campaign starred Christy Turlington, again, promoting underwear in several revealing pictures. This campaign focused only on images that included nothing but a black and white Turlington. The third campaign was supposedly one of the most controversial campaigns of Calvin Klein. It was a campaign promoting jeans, with pictures of lots of people against a wooden wall and a video that has been compared to an amateur child porn video (cf. Phelps 2015).

Models	Year	Product Line	Content
Kate Moss & Mark Wahlberg	1992	CK Underwear	Photos + video
Christy Turlington	1995	CK Underwear	Photos
Numerous models	1995	CK Jeans	Photos + video

Table 1 Campaigns from the 1990s that were analyzed more closely

I chose the campaign with Moss and Wahlberg because there were lots of material available, it combined all the crucial elements from the other campaigns of the decade and the bodies of the models were very visible. I found the Calvin Klein Jeans campaign of 1995 too controversial for these purposes, and thus, not necessarily representative of

the whole decade, meanwhile the 1995 Turlington campaign was a bit too bland, and it was challenging to find enough material. Another reason to choose Moss' and Wahlberg's campaign was that they were starring several other campaigns in the 90s as well indicating that they had to represent the body and beauty ideals. Moss was clearly the household name for a female Calvin Klein model and her face was in altogether 15 campaigns analyzed in this thesis. Wahlberg, on the other hand, was in three campaigns. The other more visible male models of the decade were Antonio Sabato (three campaigns), Justin Chambers (three campaigns) and Edward Furlong (2 campaigns).

4.3.2 2000s

From the 2000s I went through 24 campaigns out of which two got a more thorough analysis meaning that, once again, I looked at more material, compared it to the other campaigns of the decade, googled about the context and made sure there was enough material available. The first campaign was with Natalia Vodianova and Fredrik Ljungberg in 2006, the two of them posed very close to each other promoting CK Underwear, their bodies, obviously, very visible. The second one was with Eva Mendes and Jamie Dornan in 2009, again for CK underwear. The two campaigns were very similar, they both included a man and a woman, posing together, promoting underwear.

Models	Year	Product Line	Content
Natalia <u>Vodianova</u> and Fredrik Ljung- berg	2006	CK Underwear	Photos
Eva Mendes and Jarnie Dornan	2009	CK Underwear	Photos

Table 2 Campaigns from the 2000s that were analyzed more closely

I chose the first campaign because there was more material available, and it was more suitable to represent the whole decade. Again, Natalia Vodianova was clearly "the" model of the decade starring seven campaigns, Eva Mendes seemed to be in only one campaign. Fredrik Ljungberg was used in two campaigns, the most present male model was Travis

Fimmel (four campaigns). Based on these reasons and the nature of the pictures, I found the 2006 campaign with Vodianova and Ljungberg was suitable to represent the 00s.

4.3.3 2010s

The 2010s was the decade of the true emergence of social media, and Calvin Klein, among others, really took advantage of these new online marketing possibilities. In the 2010s CK's ads were as controversial and brave as ever but they shared a common ground of using hashtags and involving consumers through user-generated content. Campaigns like that, especially hashtags, have a long life that can last for years. For example, the hashtag #mycalvins was launched in 2014 and it is still being used, both by the company and customers. On the 27th of May the hashtag had been used on 881 598 posts on Instagram. In 2010s the models changed too. Calvin Klein has always used celebrity endorsers, but they were usually paired with a top model, like Kate Moss. In the 2010s the advertisements were planned around celebrity endorsers, like Justin Bieber, instead of the top models even though some of them were still included.

Models	Year	Product Line	Content
Several, #mycalvins	2014	CK Underwear, later CK Jeans	Photos, videos, user-generated content
Several, 'I speak my truth in #mycalvins'	2019	CK Underwear	Photos, videos, user-generated content

Table 3 Campaigns from the 2010s that were analyzed more closely

I analyzed two campaigns more thoroughly (similarly to the two earlier decades). The first one was the iconic #mycalvins campaign launched in 2014 and including lots of contemporary celebrities like Kendall Jenner and Justin Bieber. The other campaign was called 'I speak my truth in #mycalvins' and it was launched in 2019. As the title says it is

technically a part of the #mycalvins campaign family, but it was a lot more separable than the arbitrary launches of new celebrity endorser, and thus, it is treated like its own campaign here. Just like the #mycalvins usually, the campaign was full of the hottest contemporary names. I chose #mytruth as the representative campaign of the 2010s because it combined all the factors of other campaigns and was very typical for the decade with the celebrity endorsers, themes and hashtags. Compared to the campaigns chosen to represent the 1990s and 2000s this one had a lot more content and a lot more people were involved so all of them cannot be analyzed. The chosen campaign contains less material than the other option and that also affected the decision, it is easier to analyze within these resources.

4.4 Calvin Klein as an empirical case

Calvin Klein was founded in 1968 by Calvin Klein and his business partner Barry Schwartz and acquired by PHV Corp. in 2003. PHV is one of the largest apparel companies in the world, owning brands such as TOMMY HILGIFER and Van Heusen on top of Calvin Klein. (Calvinklein.fi 2021a; Phv.com 2021). Calvin Klein is a global lifestyle brand with revenues worth of billions of dollars; 1.669 billion dollars in North America and 1.998 billion dollars in the world in 2020 (Capitaliq.com 2021).

Calvin Klein is a brand that "exemplifies bold, progressive ideals and a seductive, and often minimal aesthetic" (Calvinklein.fi 2021a). They offer everything from sportswear and underwear to perfumes and jewelry, and describe themselves as "timeless yet contemporary, classic yet provocative" (Calvinklein.fi 2021b; Phv.com 2021). Provoking people has always been their trademark, and they are considered to be a very culturally relevant and intelligent brand (Phv.com 2021). Things like using a lot of celebrities and sexuality in their ads both catches people's attention and causes controversy. According to Calvin Klein's website they seek to "thrill and inspire our audience while using provocative imagery and striking designs to ignite the senses" (Calvinklein.fi 2021a). They pay attention to the culture and are not afraid to stand out making Calvin Klein a good brand to use in this research as an empirical case.

4.5 Data analysis

One of the most fundamental characteristics of discourse is the historical nature of them; everything builds on previous texts and discourses, enhancing or challenging them (Carvalho 2008, 163). The focus of this research will be on finding these dominant discourses, the ones challenging them, and to analyze their evolution. To be able to do so the analysis will be as thorough as possible, and it will focus on both textual and visual side of Calvin Klein's advertising campaigns.

The data will be analyzed using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework that was explained in Chapter 4.1. Another theory by Fairclough (1992; 2010) also emphasizes the versatility of the analysis saying that the analysis has two complementary types of levels: linguistic analysis and interdiscursive analysis. The interdiscursive analysis refers to the simultaneous articulation of multiple discourses in the same text. It shows hox the texts draw upon other discourses and emphasizes the dependence of texts upon society and history. There are indeed always several discourses that compete (Rose 2016). Often, many of them are even portrayed in one text. Linguistic analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the semiotics, such as language (grammar, phonology...) and visual images. It pays attention to the textual organization beyond individual words and sentences.

INTERDISCURSIVE ANALYSIS

• Finding the different simultaneous discourses

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

 Semiotics: language, visual images, body language, sound effects, music...

Figure 8 Dual character of textual analysis (Fairclough, 1992)

Codes are our access to discourses and their analysis, and thus, the analysis of this research will be done with the help of coding, Meanings are constructed and fixed by codes that can be seen as the link between our conceptual systems and our language systems. Codes are a way to verbally express our observations and thoughts via language. (Hall 1997.) The coding technique used in this research is open coding since the codes will be derived from the text as emergent codes (Blair 2015). The goal is to find different codes expressing different body discourses paying attention to the dual characteristics of

languages mentioned by Fairclough (Figure 8) and the three-dimensional framework (Figure 4). Coding in this research will be done in two rounds. Round number one will be devoted to finding the codes, using emergent coding, and round number two will make sure all the right codes are attached to the right pictures. The whole process will be carefully recorded in a coherent and efficient way using color codes. Once all the codes are derived, they will be organized into mind maps and used to support the other CDA tools. The historical context and the brand personality of Calvin Klein will be kept in mind throughout the whole process and the results will be analyzed reflecting on them.

All in all, the data analysis will follow the three steps shown in the picture below (Figure 9). First, I will analyze the very basic level and focus on what the advertising tells us in practice; what we can really see while looking at it. Codes will be used as a tool to make this step more organized and clearer. The next step is about the discursive context and understanding how the advertisements fit into the dominant discourses of the time. The third and the last step is the macro-level analysis: does the advertisement drive change, what it is institutional and societal context in the larger picture and what are its cultural effects.

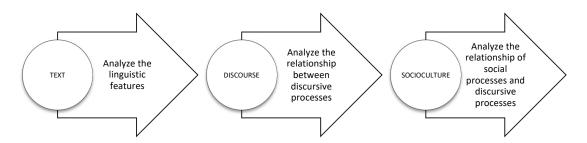


Figure 9 The textual analysis process (a modified replication of Fairclough 2013)

5 FINDINGS

All the findings will first be analysed chronologically decade by decade and then combined to get a good understanding of the entire process and the discursive changes. The analysis will be done using Fairclough's three-dimensional model and via coding as earlier explained in Chapter 4.5. I will first describe the first two dimensions of Fairclough's model and then move on to the third one.

5.1 Text and discursive dimension

5.1.1 1990s

The overall feel of the 90s were passion and misery. The advertising images were full of strong feelings, sometimes it looked like deep misery and sometimes like strong erotic passion. Sex was very present, in both the visual material but also in the lines in the videos. Women were always extremely skinny, even anorectic, and used their body to express vulnerability and to seduce men. Men, on the other hand, were extremely muscular, apart from a few campaigns with very skinny men, and they used their body to show strength, even arrogance, and to dominate women. The campaign used as an example is an underwear campaign with Kate Moss and Mark Wahlberg shot in 1992 by Herb Ritts. Wahlberg, or *Marky Mark*, was in a well-known 90s band called the Funky Bunch at the time and Moss a rising top model. This campaign contained both image and video material, both were analyzed. The pictures did not include any other text than the name of the brand. The videos contained lines, all said by Mark Wahlberg

All of the pictures had a very similar setting. Both Wahlberg and Moss were topless, their "calvins" peeking from their jeans. Wahlberg looked extremely muscular and his whole essence was very confident, even arrogant. Moss, on the other hand, looked very thin and vulnerable. In most of the pictures Moss avoided directly facing the camera, showing her waif-like figure either from behind or from the side, usually leaning towards Wahlberg. Her bones were visible, her face looked very skinny, and her body language made her look vulnerable. In the video Wahlberg either ignored her or paid attention to her in a sexual, arrogant way.

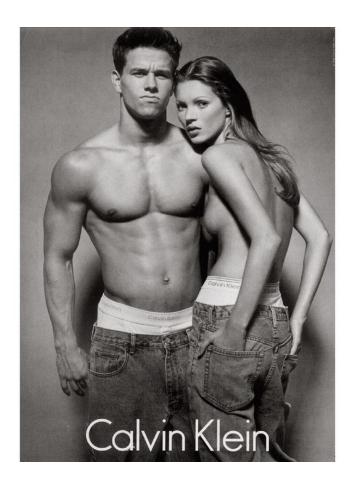


Figure 10 Kate Moss and Mark Wahlberg for Calvin Klein Underwear in 1992 (Mayer 2017)

The video had a similar setting: it included both topless Moss and Wahlberg. As in the pictures, Wahlberg was in a central role, "owning the stage". All the lines were said by him while Moss just walked around him. He was very relaxed both in the way he moved and in the way he talked: "these [the boxers] are the 90s man", "hype shorts", "shoutout goes to my man Calvin Klein". The language was very relaxed and "cool", it was as if Wahlberg was talking to a friend. Wahlberg was very confident, showing his body and dancing while Moss just walked around covering herself with her arms. The arrangement seemed to highlight a man's status while making the woman look vulnerable. The body types enforced this idea: Moss' anorectic figure against Wahlberg's extremely muscular body made a clear contrast and emphasized their differences

The comments made by Wahlberg supported this setting. The codes derived from the video all referred to women being vulnerable and men being masculine and strong. Sex seemed to be a big theme in the 90s. In the video Wahlberg made several suggestive

comments like "they [boxers] hold me snug" (while grabbing the front of his boxers) and "now that [Kate's butt] could definitely come between me and my calvins". The second comment refers to Brooke Shield's ad in the 80s where she said: "You wanna know what comes between me and my calvins? Nothing.". These little erotic suggestions, all made by the man, made the atmosphere very masculine and indicated that the women were valued mostly on their looks and the evaluation was made my men. The message seemed to be that buying calvins will make you lucky in the dating world and in bed.

The presence of sex was probably Clavin Klein's way to make a statement. The world was just going through a sexual liberation and as a cultural leader Calvin Klain wanted to participate in a more provocative way. However, the current AIDS epidemic combined with comments like "Now the best protection against aids is to keep the Calvins on" made the campaign a bit offensive. To make matters worse Wahlberg made the comment about having sex with Moss, 17-years-old at the time, right after his comment on protection and AIDS. This can be interpreted either as a fun comment or as an underestimation of the epidemic, knowing the context it sounds provocative and risky.

Gender roles were very central in the campaign indicating that inequality was still a big problem. Feminism was just about to make a breakthrough but had not succeeded yet. Bodies were also very central in the campaign, and they were emphasized with body language: Wahlberg really showed off in several ways while Moss was seducing him by walking around and covering her breasts. The linguistic features in the lines on the video used confident modalities talking about bodily actions; the ad promised success in sex life and looking good in the underwear.

5.1.2 2000s

The atmosphere in the 00s was powerful and seductive. The spring/summer underwear campaign of 2006 starred model Natalia Vodianova and an ex-football player Fredrik Ljungberg (at the time a well-known player in Arsenal). The pictures taken by Steven Klein portrayed a powerful and confident couple having an intimate moment in their Calvin Klein underwear. Both Vodianova and Ljungberg looked incredibly confident, even a bit provocative with their sexy suggestive looks, but without the arrogance and the vulnerability of the 90s. Sex was, again, very present in the pictures but not in an offensive

and dominant way. Besides the couple shared the intimacy with the audience by looking straight into the camera as if talking to the consumers; they held each other in an intimate, yet respectful way, while sharing the moment with whoever was looking at the ad.



Figure 11 Natalia Vodianova and Fredrik Ljungberg for Calvin Klein Underwear in 2006 (Midena 2015)

In most of the images Ljungberg was the passive participant and Vodianova did most of the posing and took most of the attention. Ljungberg usually laid down gently holding Vodianova while she showed her thin but feminine body to the camera. If anyone, she was the focus of the photoshoot and dominated him by sitting on him and holding him, respectfully. She looked confident, even possessive, when holding her hands on Ljungberg's chest, as if showing the audience that he was hers. Both of them looked very calm and relaxed, even provocative, which added to the confident atmosphere. Ljungberg obviously enjoyed her company and he let Vodianova be in the spotlight.

The bodies were very visible, especially the female body. Vodianova's body looked thin but feminine and she had some curves that were being embraced in the way she posed to the camera. Compared to 90s her body looked healthier and curvier; however, she was still very skinny and did not have anything extra. Ljungberg on the other hand was less visible since Vodianova was often on top of him, but he was still obviously very muscular.

His abs were showing, his arms looked muscular, and his entire presence was about strength and confidence. The way she let Vodianova lay on her confirmed that.

Apparently, the advertising campaign was made to escape the homoerotic overtones of several previous campaigns starring men in questionable poses and little to no clothes (Pearlman 2006). In 2003 Ljungberg had done another campaign for Calvin Klein that had been criticized of being too homoerotic (Figure 12). Thus, the campaign with Vodianova may have been done to both rebrand Ljungberg as a person and to redirect the overtone of the Calvin Klein campaigns. Another campaign redirecting the overtone away from the homoerotic feeling was the Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter campaign in 2009 starring Jamie Dornan and Eva Mendes.





Figure 12 Fredrik Ljungberg for Calvin Klein Pro Stretch in 2003, by Steven Klein

The discussion about homoerotic content indicates that the inequality issues were directed towards sexual minorities instead of genders. The campaigns in the 2000s did not emphasize any sexual differences anymore and the body language between men and women was a lot more respectful. Calvin Klein was determinedly publishing campaigns with homoerotic content as well, indicating that their values were accepting, but the public opinion seemed to be strong, and they redirected their campaigns a bit.

5.1.3 2010s

The overall feeling of the 2010s was authenticity and diversity, the more versatile and real the better. Another key theme was the power of user-generated content and online communities. Thanks to social media, internet and hashtags the campaigns of Calvin Klein spread like fire. The campaign chosen for closer analysis is called 'I speak my truth in #mycalvins'. It gathered all the important element of the most recent Calvin Klein campaigns: authenticity, using celebrity endorsers as storytellers of their own personal experiences and benefiting from social media. In the 2010s Calvin Klein promoted all kinds of people in their campaigns and that did not only make the brand more authentic, but it also made the brand more relatable and accessible to new target groups.

The #mytruth -campaign starred 11 celebrities from different fields and areas of influence, mainly actors, singers and models (see Table 4). The 11 personalities chosen for the campaign did not only represent different professions, but they also represented all kinds of groups and minorities when it came to race, sex, sexuality and weight. There were for example a non-binary (Indya Moore), two gays (Troye Sivan and Kevin Abstract) and an obese person (Chika Oranika). Besides that, each celebrity had prepared their own statement expressing their vulnerability. The point of the campaign was to show that clothing can help one gain confidence and allow you to feel good as one is, despite one's own challenges and weaknesses. The campaign consisted of lots of material: a video with everyone together, everyone's separate videos and pictures expressing their statement, their truth, and the user-generated material on social media.

The video consisting of everyone was rather fast paced. It started with Shawn Mendes standing in his Calvins, Billie Eilish's song Bad Boy in the background. The video was very versatile, and everyone had their own thing going on. For example, Shawn Mendes' storyline proceed from standing alone into being praised by an audience and flying on top of his fans. His statement was vulnerability and the courage needed for trying new things, and thus, this storyline can be seen depicting his journey from taking the risk and publishing his first singing video to the moment he became one of the biggest stars in the world. Each celebrity had a similar storyline going on based on their truths. In the background, besides Eilish's music, the celebrities said empowering lines, such as "I just have to be real" and "I won't wait to be free". In the beginning and in the end they all kept saying "I speak my truth" and "This is my truth".

Everyone's individual part of the campaign was built around their statements, and they were thus very different. Most of the videos did not show a lot of skin and the sex appeal was very different compared to the campaigns analyzed earlier. It was there, it was an underwear commercial after all, but they were all portrayed as individuals, focusing on their own confidence and being sexy in their own way instead of the traditional seducing way. The only scenes that actually contained intimacy with another person were with Hadid and Absract. Hadid was kissing a computer-generated Lil Miquela in her scene and Abstract was hugging another guy. Abstract's scene was more loving than sexy, both men were fully clothed and just hugging. Hadid's scene, on the other hand, caused lots of controversy. Despite Lil Miquela not being real, she represents a woman and the fact that Hadid that is knowingly straight and was currently dating a man kissed a woman in the video was seen as "queerbaiting" (Petrarca 2019). Apart from those two scenes, the videos focused on individual confidence, and even these two videos, were about finding one's confidence, not about seducing the other one.

At the same time, bodies were very visible and on the other hand not visible at all in the video including everyone. As earlier said, bodies were not used as a tool to seduce. In fact, the pace was so fast that you could hardly see the bodies. Besides, some of them wore lots of clothes or were only filmed above their shoulders. Every one of the celebrities had a very different way to carry oneself and one's body. Some of them were really showing off in their underwear while some of them did not show anything, either because of the angles or because of their clothing. The most visible and revealing bodies were the ones of Shawn Mendes, ASAP Rocky and Indya Moore. They were all either proudly or bravely flexing their good-looking bodies with little clothes. The most covered body was Billie Eilish's but she is known for hiding her body. Troye Sivan and Kevin Abstract were also fully clothed and did not show a lot.

To make the analysis easier, Table 4 summarizes all the celebrities used in the campaign and their body type and way of representing it. The third column shows a few key comments of everyone.

Who?	Profession	Body type	Comments
Billie Eilish	Singer	Not visible: Known for hiding her body	Very covered, in a bath, reserved
Shawn Mendes	Singer	Visible: Skinny and muscular	Skinny but muscular, kind and approachabl
Troye Sivan	Singer	Not very visible: Very skinny	Different, skinny, feminin, queery, shy
A\$AP Rocky	Rapper	Pretty visible: Muscular	Arrogant, confident, sexy
Chika Oranika	Rapper	Visible: Plus-sized	Strong, heavy, powerful, determined
Kevin Abstract	Rapper	Not very visible: Muscular	No body visible, love, tenderness
Noah Centineo	Actor	Pretty visible: Muscular	Muscular, shirt covered abs, kind but confident
Indya Moore	Actress	Visible: Athletic, curvy	Lots of nudity, calm, natural, sexy
Yoo Ah-In	Actor	Not very visible: Toned	Toned, very covered with clothes
Bella Hadid	Model	Visible: Skinny, athletic	Superathletic, skinny but toned abs
Kendall Jenner	Model	Not very visible: Very skinny	Comfortable, skinny, curvy

Table 4 Calvin Klein's #mytruth campaign

There were more men than women in the campaign (six men, one woman and one non-binary). Even though the campaign was accepting and showing versatility, 10/11 of the celebrities could be considered skinny. The only celebrity that was really plus size was Chika Oranika and she was obese. All the men were rather muscular, despite Sivan who was very skinny, and all the other women were skinny and athletic. However, the only women in model measures were Jenner and Hadid, the other women looked healthy or over-weight (Oranika). All the men were very tone but none of them was toned like Mark Wahlberg, they looked more realistic and more approachable. The body representations in general were more versatile, even though they still lacked "normal" people and heavier men. However, now the sexy thing seemed to be confidence and being oneself, which made the approach very different.

Body was visible in the statements given by the celebrities, their truths, as well. The statements varied all the way from problems of fame and accepting oneself to depression and inequality issues. 45 % of the issues dealt with body. The statements dealing with body were very different and covered a variety of bodily issues. The following list includes all the statements dealing with body one way or another:

Billie Eilish: Fearing other people judging her body, hence she covers it

A\$AP Rocky: Equality for all skin colors

Chika Oranika: Weight and how she has been criticized for that

Noah Centineo: Scars, both physical and mental

Indya Moore: Being able to be her natural self as a nonbinary

Only two of the statements dealt directly with weight, the others dealt with other issues such as scarves and skin color. Moore's statement could be anything, she was insecure in herself in general. The other statements dealt with other issues like anxiety and privacy. The two celebrities talking directly about body insecurities were Billie Eilish and Chika Oranika. Eilis talked about hiding herself to avoid the probable mean feedback and comments on her body: "I never want the world to know everything about me. I mean, that's why I wear big, baggy clothes. Nobody can have an opinion because they haven't seen what's underneath. —" (Trending Pop Videos 2019). Oranika on the other hand said that no one had ever believed in her because of her weight (Figure 13). Neither of them talked about specific body insecurities but both acknowledged the importance of having a certain body type. While Oranika and Eilish have an opposite body type, both feel insecure. Their insecurities deal with the reactions of others, not their personal opinions or their weight.



Figure 13 Chika's post on Instagram about her campaign (Chika Oranika 2019)

5.2 The sociocultural dimension

After a careful analysis of the textual and discursive dimensions, it is time to look at the bigger picture and the social outcome. First, we'll conclude the main themes and

discourses of each decade, and then we well move on to analyzing the discursive changes of body discourses and social outcomes of the past 30 decades.

The 1990s were overly sexual. The advertisements were seductive, and the main marketing message seemed to be looking good and being attractive in the eyes of the opposite sex. When it came to body discourses, women were extremely skinny and men, on the other hand, very muscular and strong; men looked powerful and women vulnerable. These opposite discourses on the female and male body supported each other and worked together emphasizing the inequality. The advertising campaign analyzed in this thesis was published at the same time with a peak in the AIDS epidemic making the comments on sex more questionable and even offensive.

Due to the third wave of feminism in the 90s and in the beginning of the 21st century women got more and more powerful and that was visible in the campaign of the 2000s. The couple in the campaign seemed to be more equal, and they treated each other's bodies with respect. The ideal female body looked healthier, although still very skinny. The male body looked very athletic but his way of representing his body was more modest and less arrogant than in the 90s. All in all, both of their bodies still looked very unrealistic but there was a small improvement from the past decade. The biggest improvement, however, was in the way the couples handled each other's bodies: the woman was more powerful, and her body was represented respectfully, not as a tool to seduce a man.

The tone changed completely in the 2010s. Even though the body ideal had become a bit healthier already in the beginning of the 21st century, the campaign of 2010s changed the entire culture of body ideals: instead of representing one body ideal, Calvin Klein claimed that everyone's body is their body ideal. For the first time ever, they asked people to embrace what they have instead of creating a need to look different. This new approach was an opposite direction to the older campaigns. On top of that, the campaign was all about celebrities talking about their insecurities and exposing themselves by showing the world that everyone has issues. Below Table 5 demonstrates the dominant discourses of each decade.

1990s	Masculin, sex, extremely skinny/extremely muscular
2000s	Equality, sex, healthier body ideals yet very unrealistic
2010s	Confidence, diversity, authenticity

Table 5 The dominant discourses of each decade

Based on the analysis there were three main discursive changes during the past three decades, all of them building on the previous one in some sort of sedimentation. Rose (2016) talked about discursive formation meaning the way meanings are connected in a particular discourse, that is, for example, how the discourse of a feminine body affects the discourse of a male body or how a discourse of skinny models affects the discourse of heavier models. The campaign of the 90s and the significant differences in the male and female body discourses are a good example of that. Discourses also build on earlier discourses, over time. Here Calvin Klein switched gradually from Kate Moss to Chika Oranika. The transition took time but also prepared the consumers and the advertising world to be able to receive it. A decade ago, it could have been too big of a change.

As said, according to the analysis of this thesis, there were three significant discursive changes during the past three decades. The first discursive change dealt with inequality and occurred hand in hand with feminism. Female bodies became more equal to male bodies instead of continually being dominated and objectified. The next change took place in the 00s when the body ideal became a bit healthier, still not realistic though. The last discursive change, and also the biggest one, happened in the 2010s when Calvin Klein presented the idea of being one's own ideal instead of trying to fit into a mold. The normalization of diverse body types and redefinition of a body ideal can be seen as a possible start of a new dominant discourse.

Strategy	Discursive Process	Example	Outcome
Create advertise-	Respectful body	Figure 11: Body	Equality, making
ments that respect	language between	language in the 00s	woman more than
female bodies	female and male	campaign	just a body
	models		
Create healthier	Choosing healthier	Figure 11: Athlete,	Healthier and more
body ideal	looking models	healthier female	realistic body im-
		body in the ads af-	ages
		ter 90s	
Letting go of a sin-	Choosing diversity	Figure 13: Using a	Letting go of hav-
gle body ideal	over an ideal, using	"model" that	ing just one body
	real people in ads	breaks all ideals	ideal, finding real
		and stereotypes	authentic beauty

Table 6 The three discursive changes between the 1990s and 2010s

One of the factors enabling the third and the last discursive change is surely social media where normal people and influencers are determinedly promoting diversity and healthier body representations. A great example of a normal person challenging traditional ideals is a Finnish entrepreneur and wellness coach Monna Pursiainen (Monna Pursiainen 2021). She is a mom, a wife and an entrepreneur in sports encouraging people to be happy in their own bodies. Figure 14 shows an example from her Instagram. In the picture she demonstrates how misleading pictures can be. The caption starts: "Body ideals, distorted ideas about food, forbidden fruits, angles ... I have worked as a personal trainer for almost 10 years. From the beginning, I have always emphasized common sense and discouraged my customers to have lists of forbidden ingredients and to go on strict diets. —". She reminds people that all body types are beautiful, and that health should be more than a body size. Thanks to social media, normal people like her have a platform to make a change, and based on the Calvin Klein campaigns, companies are starting to join that change.



Figure 14 Monna Pursiainen (Monna Pursiainen 2021)

6 DISCUSSION

The goal of this research was to analyze body representations in advertising and the evolution of body discourses over time. Due to the moral and social nature of the phenomenon in question I used discourse theory to approach the subject and the analysis was done using CDA tools, mainly Fairclough's three-dimensional model. This research focused on fashion field as a context, and Calvin Klein was used as a case company. One campaign per decade was thoroughly analyzed between the 1990s and 2010s. In essence, I was able to find answers for all three research questions listed below:

- 1. What kind of discourses inform body representations in advertisements during years 1990 2019?
- 2. How does a fashion brand represent body in its advertising campaigns over time?
- 3. How have the conceptions of the body in advertisements changed over time?

As the findings demonstrated the whole concept and relevance of body ideals and bodies in advertising has been redefined: from promoting a very homogenous extremely skinny/ muscular body type Calvin Klein has moved on to promoting authenticity and is slowly letting go of the entire concept of an ideal body. According to this research the body ideal is, thus, becoming more accepting and versatile, and the meaning of the body in advertisements less important; personality and relatability can be seen as more important factors. This change has happened gradually. While Calvin Klein was not among the pioneers of this trend, their campaigns of 2010s have been determinedly and relentlessly promoting healthier and more diverse body discourse instead of the waif style that defined the brand for decade. Given Calvin Klein's reputation as a cultural leader, this will hopefully encourage other brands to follow their lead.

Calvin Klein has always used celebrities and opinion leaders in their advertising campaigns: in the 90s *Marky Mark* from the Funky Bunch, in the 00s Ljungberg from Arsenal and in the 10s several household names from all kinds of entertainment fields. However, in the past, all the celebrities fit into the same mold; men were muscular and masculine, women skinny and extremely beautiful. The models were all chosen solely based on their looks and status, and each celebrity was paired with a top model. In the campaigns of

2010s, their influence and personality started weighting more. Weight and looks are not the only criterion anymore, there is room for all kinds of bodies and personalities. Some of the celebrities had even been publicly talking about their body issues earlier which gave this specific campaign even more credibility and made it more approachable.

There are obviously lots of factors effecting the change. One of them surely being consumer power: the power of consumers has increased due to the emergence of internet and social media. As earlier discussed Laberque et al (2013) listed the four sources of consumer power brought by the development of the internet: *demand-information-, network- and crowd-based power*. All these different forms of power have enabled consumers to voice their opinions in a better and more efficient way. The power is stronger both on individual level (through blog posts, reviews...) and on group level (through online communities). In the 2010s consumers have started to be more vocal about body positivity and their opinions on the body ideals in the fashion industry and Calvin Klein has managed to respond to these needs and demands by promoting healthier and more relatable bodies.

Change takes time. Calvin Klein hired their first 'plus size' model, Myla Dalbesio, earlier in 2014. Plus size meaning size *medium*. Compared to standard model sizes and the earlier waif looking models of Calvin Klein, she was indeed heavier, but compared to the rest of women she looked skinny. Calvin Klein did not make a fuss about her. On the contrary, they hired her and included her in the campaigns just like everyone else, without emphasizing her being "different". This might tell a lot about their values; they did not directly use her as a marketing tool. The public's reaction, on the other hand, was very harsh, they were shocked that she was classified as a plus size model according to the standards of the model world. Dalbesio herself claims to be an "*in between*" in terms of her size. (Edwards 2016; Swash 2014). For the consumer classifying a normal female body as an "*in between*" or as "plus size" is not the healthiest model.

This example leads to a question on whether these body discourse changes are real progress or empty marketing gestures. Based on the facts mentioned, Calvin Klein as a brand seems to genuinely believe in their values and aim at a real change. Consumers might still be sceptical given that no matter what, money is and will be the main driver in advertising (cf. Sheehan 2004; Rogers and Thorson 2015). However, the best way to get

financial results might not be to make me people worry about their bodies but to make people feel welcomed and appreciated. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) posited indeed that consumer will more likely get inspired by people with whom they can identify. Thompson et al (2006) and Malär et al (2011) on the other hand emphasized the importance of creating an emotional link between the client and the company. Thus, having relatable bodies in advertisements could actually result in more profitability. As Cohen et al (2017) discovered, appearance-neutral content is better for a healthy body image than appearance-focused content. Continuing to make advertising campaigns like #mytruth that focus on personal growth, vulnerabilities and characteristic could be a good way to avoid some of the harmful unintended effects of advertising. Advertising, being a key influencer in lifestyle value shifts, has the platform to make that change while financially benefiting from it.

These results can be used to better understand the link between advertising and body discourses, and their evolution. This research also enlightens the discursive processes enabling the discursive changes over time. In the case example of this research Calvin Klein redefined itself gradually but determinedly in the eyes of consumers. They gave a new perspective to body as a social construction and as our examples proved, especially the ones of Billie Eilish and Chika Oranika, body discourses and ideals are indeed social and other people's opinion and group pressure might weight in more than a single physical feature of a person's body. Calvin Klein used celebrities in an intelligent and efficient way to raise awareness on the subject and to drive a change. Seeing our beloved idols confessing that they too are insecure made the brand a lot more approachable and made people think about the body representations as a concept in a different way.

What the results of this research entail is that the idea of an ideal body might be getting outdated. Body and body ideals are social constructions and companies have a major responsibility in guiding them. Giving companies data to both understand the issues of trying to force their customers fit into one body ideal as well as proving them how changing this approach could benefit both them and their customers could result in a more accepting world and less body issues. As demonstrated earlier, fashion industry especially is rather stiff and selective when it comes to ideals but having big international brands like Calvin Klein fighting against the dominant discourses they have created and maintained for decades might encourage a bigger and more permanent change. Body discourses are indeed

a social creation and have more to do with opinions rather than bodies themselves, and thus, the direction towards the ideal being authenticity is a good and healthy start for a new dominant healthier discourse that eventually could become the new norm.

6.1 Limitations of the study

This study gave us a good general understanding of the evolution of body images, however, it is subject to some limitations. First of all, it only focused on one brand. While this brand was carefully chosen to best represent the evolution of body discourses, a more thorough research of several brands would be needed to get more reliable and generalizable results. Arnould et al (2006) warned about the paradox between the need for familiarity and distance for context and due to that Calvin Klein served as a great case example being somewhat familiar to the researcher yet distant enough.

Critical discourse analysis aims to produce interpretations of areas in social life, and thus, the interpretations and explanations made in this thesis form and produce new discourses (cf. Fairclough 2010). However, as earlier discussed, interpretations depend on several factors, such as one's personal representations, and to make the analysis a bit less subjective it could be beneficial to have another researcher analyzing the data together, despite the constructionist approach and subjectivist nature of this research. The results of two researchers would provide a deeper and more versatile analysis on the phenomenon.

The third limitation concerns the amount of data analyzed. In this research I only analyzed one campaign per decade very thoroughly. Considering the resources of this research, it was a justified decision, however, with more resources a more thorough analysis of all the 73 campaigns (Appendix A), or even campaigns from several brands, could have produced more profound and versatile results, or at least better justifications for each discourse found.

6.2 Future Research

These results can be used to better understand how and why advertising does indeed affect body discourses and the processes behind it. These implications help understand the link between advertising and bodies, and their effect on the customers. Future research is, however, needed both from the perspective of consumers but also from the perspective of companies. Consumers should not suffer from unrealistic body ideals anymore, instead, the fashion industry should make clothes that fit their consumers' bodies and, thus, meet their needs. As earlier discussed, companies could also benefit from that. To decrease the amount of harmful unintended effects of unrealistic body ideals presented in advertising, more research is needed, and more companies must be involved to make diversity the dominant discourses

This research focused mainly on consumers and the harmful effects they must deal with. According to Tylka and Wood-Barcalow (2015) media literacy could be a factor diminishing these harmful effects for individuals. With the right education children and adolescents could learn to receive all these different advertising messages and would have the tools to process them in a good and healthy way. This could be a useful future research subject on the topic of advertising and body discourses, and the results could be implemented in the educational system.

When it comes to companies and marketing professionals, a thorough research of the benefits of including diverse bodies in their advertising campaigns is needed. As mentioned, it could be financially beneficial to be able to appeal to a larger audience and offer people clothes and products that fit them instead of asking consumers to change. More research is needed on that, as well as on the rebranding strategy for companies that do decide to be more inclusive. All the research should focus on both female and male bodies, until today the focus has unfortunately been on female bodies.

This research focused mainly on finding the different discourses, the discursive changes and understanding their evolution in a bigger picture. Future research could dive deeper into the different factors enabling such change, such as social media, the increase of "regular" influencers or the changes in societies, such as in equality. Another focus could be racial body representations. In this research, the only obese person represented

in the advertising campaigns was a woman of color. More research on this would be both needed and interesting.

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APPENDIX: DATA GATHERING PROCESS

Year	Campaign	Models
	Calvin Klein Spring/Summer	Chris Ives, Elaine Irwin, Ray Brown and others
	Calvin Klein Underwear Fall/Winter	Albert Delegue
	Calvin Klein Jeans	Carré Otis, Lisa Marie Smith, Marcus Schenkenbe
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Unidentified
	Calvin Klein Underwear	Mark Wahlberg, Kate Moss
	Calvin Klein Menswear Fall/Winter	Teak Nichols
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Undentified
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Mark Wahlberg, Kate Moss
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Mark Wahlberg, Kate Moss
1993	Calvin Klein Menswear Spring/Summer	John Enos
1994	Calvin Klein Underwear Fall/Winter	Michael Bergin and Kate Moss
1994	Calvin Klein Spring/Summer	Tony Bruce
1994	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Michael Bergin and Kate Moss
1995	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Joe D'Alessandro, Kate Moss and others
1995	Calvin Klein Underwear	Christy Turlington
1995	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Kate Moss and others
	Calvin Klein Collection Fall/Winter	Joel West
1996	Calvin Klein Underwear Fall/Winter	Unidentified
1996	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Kate Moss and others
	Calvin Klein Jeans Khakies	Kate Moss and others
	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Several
	Calvin Klein Jeans Khakis Spring/Summer	
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Antonio Sabato
	Calvin Klein	Edward Furlong and Kate Moss
	CK Calvin Klein	
		Edward Furlong
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Colin Eggleston and other
	Calvin Klein Menswear Spring/Summer	Norbert Michalke
	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Kate Moss, Angela Lindvall, male models
	Calvin Klein Khakis Spring/Summer	Kate Moss and others
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Antonio Sabato
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Justin Chambers and Kate Moss
	Calvin Klein Khakis Spring/Summer	Christy Turlington, Carolyn Lurphy and others
1998	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Antonio Sabato
1998	Calvin Klein Spring/Summer	Patrick Petitjean, Gabriel Aubry, Kate
		Moss, Christy Turlington
1999	CK Calvin Klein Menswear Fall/Winter	Kelly Rippy
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Justin Chambers and others
	Calvin Klein Jeans Khakis Spring/Summer	Justin Chambers, Kelly Rippy, Eva Hergizova
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Unidentified
1777	Carvin Kicin Onderwear Spring/Summer	Altogether 38 campaigns
2000	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Ethan Spears
	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Ja Rule
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	James Penfold
	Calvin Klein Fall/Winter	
		Damien Van Zyl
	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Lucas Babin, Tasha Tilberg
	Calvin Klein Khakis Spring/Summer	Lucas Babin, Tasha Tilberg
	Calvin Klein Fall/Winter	Travis Fimmel, Jessica Miller
	Calvin Klein Spring/Summer	Travis Fimmel, Jessica Miller, Lawrence Chapman
	Calvin Klein Body Spring/Summer	Travis Fimmel
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Travis Fimmel, Nadia Vodianova
	Calvin Klein Pro Stretch Fall/Winter	Fredrik Ljunberg
2004	Calvin Klein Spring/Summer	Natalia Vodianova and male model
2004	Calvin Klein Jeans	Unidentified, several models
2004	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Jamie Dornan, Natalia Vodianova
2005	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Jamie Dornan, Natalia Vodianova
	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Natalia Vodianova and male model
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Jamie Dornan, Natalia Vodianova
	Calvin Klein Underwear Spring/Summer	Natalia Vodianova, Fredrik Ljunberg
	Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Natalia Vodianova and male model
	Calvin Klein Fall/Winter	Diimon Hounsou
	Calvin Klein Fail Winter Calvin Klein Jeans Spring/Summer	Unidentified
	CK Underwear Fall/Winter	Garrett Neff
	Calvin Klein Jeans Fall/Winter	Jamie Dornan, Eva Mendes
2009	CK Jeans Spring/Summer	Several models and celebrities
2010	Colvin Vlain	Altogether 24 campaigns
	Calvin Klein	Unidentified
	Calvin Klein Jeans	Lara Stone and others
2012	Calvin Klein Underwear Fall/Winter	Lara Stone
	(Naked Glamour)	
2013	Calvin Klein Concept (debut in Super	Matthew Terry
	Bowl)	
2013	Calvin Klein Underwear Fall	Christy Turlington
2014 and	Calvin Klein Underwear, later denim	Several models and celebrties (Lara Stone,
	#mycalvins	Kendall Jenner, Grace Coddington)
	O 1 1 771 1 7	Lottie Moss
onwards	Calvin Klein Jeans	Zoe Saldana
onwards 2014		ZOC Saldalia
onwards 2014 2014	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear)	Kendall Jenner and others
onwards 2014 2014 2015 and	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to	
2014 2014 2015 and onwards	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to jeans	Kendall Jenner and others
2014 2014 2015 and onwards	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to	Kendall Jenner and others Several models and celebrities (Justin Bieber,
2014 2014 2015 and onwards 2018	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to jeans #CK 50, birthday campaign	Kendall Jenner and others Several models and celebrities (Justin Bieber, Hayley Bieber)
2014 2014 2015 and onwards 2018	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to jeans #CK 50, birthday campaign Calvin Klein Spring T speak my truth in	Kendall Jenner and others Several models and celebrities (Justin Bieber, Hayley Bieber) Several celebrities and models (Shawn
2014 2014 2015 and onwards 2018	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to jeans #CK 50, birthday campaign	Kendall Jenner and others Several models and celebrities (Justin Bieber, Hayley Bieber) Several celebrities and models (Shawn Mendes, Chika Oranika)
2014 2014 2015 and onwards 2018	Calvin Klein Envy (underwear) Calvin Klein Jeans, #mycalvins extends to jeans #CK 50, birthday campaign Calvin Klein Spring T speak my truth in	Kendall Jenner and others Several models and celebrities (Justin Bieber, Hayley Bieber) Several celebrities and models (Shawn