

Representing the Modern Filipino Housewife: Presuppositions in *Good Housekeeping Magazine Philippines*

Katrina Ninfa M. Topacio
University of Santo Tomas, Philippines

Abstract

Magazines, like any other form of media, are seen as powerful tools in propagating certain ideologies about gender and consumerism. Today, there are thousands of magazines in print all over the world influencing the way women think about themselves, interact with other members of society, and use material and financial resources. It is the aim of this discourse analysis research study to establish how presuppositions are used as persuasion strategies in female-oriented magazines. Using Yule's (1996) categories, the paper explored the different kinds of presuppositions that appeared in the feature articles of *Good Housekeeping Philippines*, the ability of such presuppositions to construct the image of femininity, and their role in persuasion, within a feminist consumerist framework. Results show that presuppositions are a powerful linguistic strategy to assume the kinds of readers magazines are dealing with by mentioning things, events, and attributes that magazine text producers assume their readers should have in order to play their role as women of that society. Applying a feminist stylistics framework and critical discourse analysis, it can be deduced that text producers intentionally favor certain images of Filipino women so that they can promote the acceptability of consumerism in Philippine society.

Key words

language, gender, critical discourse analysis, feminist stylistics, presuppositions, feminist consumerism

Introduction

Herman and Chomsky (2011) effectively illustrated how media uses its power to influence ideology through their propaganda model. This model explains that media's ultimate function is to serve the end of the dominant elite, or to propagandize

the interests belonging to those financing them. Therefore, it is expected that the culture and ideology propagated by media works within a capitalist framework in which advertising and commercialism are important themes or goals. It was further explained how the domination of the elite and the powerful in media materializes through the operation of filters that allow them to show that the set of beliefs they propagate are natural and therefore unquestionable. Among these filters or essential ingredients, which enable the propaganda model to operate, are the size, wealth, and profit-orientation of the dominant media firms, with advertising as the primary income. Through a consideration of the exercise of these filters, it can be explained how mass media are able to “manufacture” the consent of the public, thereby influencing it to accept certain beliefs as naturally occurring when in fact they are contestable.

While criticisms of these actions by media have only been observed lately, the role of media in the manufacture of ideologies has been operating for some time. For instance, printed publications like newspapers seem to produce information in objective ways, but close analysis can reveal biases, and magazines may appear to create friendly dispositions in the readers through helpful advice, but actually predispose them to embrace consumerist ideas.

Magazines, publications that appear on a regular schedule and contain various types of content and usually characterized by glossy paper and colorful prints, are highly advertisement-loaded tools. First, direct advertisements for products, as also seen in newspapers and on billboards, constitute numerous pages of a modern magazine. They also contain articles that can be distinguished as belonging to a specific genre, but which indirectly suggest that certain products should be bought to achieve something good in return. It is argued that the magazine belongs to certain highly structured genre, which means its discourse structure is highly motivated by the communicative intent of its text producers, and that contents are organized following a socially acceptable framework (Jones, 2012).

With this, it is argued that certain forms of media, like magazines, work their way by promoting certain ideologies grounded on a very consumerist framework, by presenting them as good, pleasurable, acceptable, and in a way that does not contest certain established social values in a direct manner. It is through critical discourse analysis (CDA) that such truths can be unveiled. It has been a focal point of CDA research to analyze discourse practices in magazines and reveal race, identity, and gender-related issues in their contents. Many of these issues concerning identity and gender are found embedded in the contents of magazines.

Research Objectives

With the emerging issues regarding the portrayal of women in print media, several research studies as cited above have been conducted. Such research has started in foreign contexts, and there is a dearth of studies related to the Philippines. Recently, several foreign-published female-oriented magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, *Mega*, *Seventeen* and even home-oriented magazines like *Good Housekeeping*, have been found to have versions or issues tailored to the Philippine context.

The aim of this research is therefore to explore presuppositions as a discourse practice used in the female-oriented magazine *Good Housekeeping Philippines* and determine whether it specifically promotes gender ideologies or images through the use of presuppositions.

Specifically, this research aims to answer the following questions:

1. What type/s of presuppositions are used in the female-oriented magazine *Good Housekeeping Philippines*?
2. How does the use of presuppositions construct the image of femininity in the magazine?
3. What is the role of presuppositions in creating certain gender ideologies and thereby supporting and propagating consumerist ideas?

Language, Feminist Consumerism, and Gender Ideologies

The first general-interest magazine, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was published in England in 1731. In 1770, *The Lady's Magazine*, the first dedicated fashion, literary, and arts magazine for women, was published. The earliest magazines are said to have been meant for readers belonging to the aristocratic class, and it was only by the middle of the nineteenth century they began accommodating the middle-class readers of Europe and the United States. It is said that magazines have been promulgating consumerism from the very beginning, as they provided female readers with ideas about what activities to engage in and which commodities to buy, but also included domestic themes that were not seen in the more aristocratic publications (Ferguson, 1983, as cited in Talbot, 2010). Today, countless fashion magazines in print all over the world influence the way women think, dress up, and interact with other members of society.

According to Talbot (2010), magazines, like any other form of media as discussed by Herman and Chomsky (2011), exist to serve the interests of the ruling elite and capitalist giants. Profit-making is essentially what determines the pro-

duction of magazines; their writers are not free to make decisions regarding each magazine's production but are controlled by "business methods." This leads to the diverse and often contradictory features of magazines, that is the use of multiple voices and genres (letters pages, advice columns, recipes, advertisements, human interest stories, etc.) that seem to assist the readers in their real-life dilemmas and even present them with empowering ideas, but at the same time limit their world views to accommodate only ideas supported by consumerism. Furthermore, Talbot said that this discourse practice places women in the role of the consumer, and that "this subject position is part of the femininity offered in women's magazines, since feminizing practices involve the use of commodities" (p. 140).

Talbot's commentary leads us to the bigger issue of how magazines contribute to the creation of gender ideology. It has already been discussed how language is utilized by the more powerful to influence others with their worldviews, and many of the issues referring to these complex power relations are ideologies about gender. Recent studies on gender have established it as not fixed or biologically determined like sex, but something that is fluid and which we can practice. Therefore, gender ideologies, which refer "to attitudes regarding the appropriate roles, rights, and responsibilities of women and men in society" (Kroska, 2000, p. 368) are not constant in terms of dictating what men and women should be, what they should do, and how they should represent themselves in terms of language. There is nothing in our biological make-up that should determine our roles in the society. Therefore, gender is more of a construct, and one that can also change over time. However, it is also something that we do not simply choose; rather, we practice it by conforming to or challenging dominant gender ideologies that have been practiced for some time in our society (Ahearn, 2012; Goddard & Patterson, 2009; Talbot 2010). Hence, it can be said that many of the gender ideologies that we practice are influenced by the ideologies of the powerful in society, if we are to return to the idea discussed earlier of language as symbolic power.

Thus, the feminist critique of language is concerned not only to show how language represents masculinity or femininity but also to establish how its users create their certain gender identities. In this view, language is taken as a shaper of ideas and not just as a tool for conveying them (Cameron, 1992, 1998; Mills, 1995; Talbot, 2010).

Several studies involving a discourse analysis of magazines have discussed one or more of the following issues: (1) observations of the representation of masculinity and femininity in magazines and that certain representations are more favored than others; (2) how consumerism has played an important role in maintain-

ing certain representations; (3) that magazines tend to influence the formation of gender identities, roles, and responsibilities; and (4) how language plays a significant part in the construction of these gender identities.

One prevailing issue is whether women are still portrayed in more traditional or stereotypical roles or whether magazines have advanced in terms of including representations that depict women in non-traditional images and roles. While some studies using content analysis and semiotic analysis have observed that the portrayal of women in contemporary magazines has become more modernized and non-conventional (Pugsley, 2007), others contend that even if there has been an effort to modernize in terms of content, there is still a tendency to fall back upon and reinforce the domestic, dependent, and stereotypical images (Feng & Karan, 2011; Schlenker, Caron, & Halteman, 1998; Yuliang, 2010). It is somehow expected from contemporary magazines that both traditional and non-traditional images will surface, and that this use of rather diverse images is part of the text producer's strategy to promote consumerism among women in different societies.

Some studies found that magazines have a tendency to favor some forms or notions of beauty over others. For instance, McLoughlin (2013) observed the multimodal representations of beauty in *Asiana*, a contemporary magazine aimed at British Asian women. Through the use of semiotics and the principle of CDA, the study found that the magazine in question promulgates the white, western, and wealthy standard of female beauty. This is the same finding observed by Conradie (2013) as she established how *Indye*, an African in-flight magazine, tends to choose white models even in a country where the black race is dominant. With fashion magazines defining the standards of beauty, it is important to consider, therefore, how such prevailing discourses affect the identity of women, especially in a world where Western culture dominates and Western standards of beauty are given more attention and importance.

In some other studies, the role of language in the creation of gender ideologies has been emphasized. For instance, Del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) conducted a lexical analysis of four US magazines using mixed methods. The connection between lexical choices and gender ideologies in each magazine was explored. The study shows that certain uses of gendered words reveals the magazine's gender biases. The research reveals that a study of the lexical choices made by magazine writers can unveil the meanings deeply embedded in the text.

The discourse analysis studies conducted on magazines led the present research to also explore how certain gender representations are observed in magazines. However, unlike research that conducted content analysis and placed articles and

magazine contents in absolute categories like traditional or feministic, this study aims to place language in the center of the analysis. If there are certain power relations that exist in magazine articles, then language is the most effective means to reveal them. The study also aims to explore presupposition as another type of linguistic category since it is something not always explored in magazine CDA. This can be considered as an advancement in this area of discourse analysis where gendered lexis and vocabulary have typically been the areas of concern.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Presuppositions in Discourse

According to Yule (1996), a presupposition is “something that the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance” (p. 25). Furthermore, he mentioned that these presuppositions can be categorized into different types through the linguistic forms or structures used in constructing the sentences that contain the presupposed meanings. These devices are indicators of potential presuppositions which can only be actualized “in context with speakers” (p. 27). In this case, it seems that Yule’s categories have so far only been considered in the context of oral discourse. However, Machin and Mayr (2012) also demonstrated how presuppositions can be analyzed in written texts or discourse. According to them, presupposition is “one skillful way by which authors are able to imply meanings without overtly stating them, or present things as taken for granted and stable when in fact they may be contestable and ideological” (p. 137). As language and discourse are filled with numerous presuppositions, it is therefore important to identify in the context of this research the presuppositions that may represent certain ideologies, especially those of gender identity and roles. Hence, it is the aim of this study to apply Yule’s categories in the analysis of printed texts.

It is also important for this research to verify whether Yule’s categories of presupposition can be applied to written discourse such as magazine articles. Usually, such an analysis of linguistic units is applied to political discourses, such as news items and editorials. In this study, presuppositions are also deemed to be important in magazine text production, as it is an effective way for the text producer to assume the kind of reader they are dealing with, and at the same time indirectly imply meanings that may not be acceptable if stated directly, probably because they challenge established social values or practices.

The types of presuppositions that will be used as the basis for analysis in the study are the following:

Table 1
Yule's Types of Potential Presuppositions

Type	Description
Existential	Not only assumed to be present in possessive constructions, like “your car,” but more generally in any definite noun phrase.
Factive	A presupposition usually preceded by words like <i>know</i> , <i>realize</i> , as well as phrases involving <i>be aware</i> , <i>odd</i> , and <i>glad</i> . These show that the presupposed information followed by these expressions can be treated as a fact. * In this research, I tried to include as well those preceded by <i>know that</i> or <i>that</i>
Lexical	The use of one form with its asserted meaning is conventionally interpreted with the presupposition that another (non-asserted) meaning is understood. For instance, to say that a person “started” complaining presupposes that they weren’t complaining before.
Structural	The presupposed information is signified by certain sentence structures instead of merely using words or phrases.
Non-Factive	Preceded by words like <i>dream</i> , <i>imagine</i> , and <i>pretend</i> , these presuppositions are assumed to be non-existent or not true.
Counter-factual	The presupposed information in this type is not only assumed not to be true but the opposite of what is true.

Yule’s structural categories only included questions or interrogative forms. This research, however, also included structural imperatives since a significant number of presupposed meanings regarding the assumed reader have been used in the samples. Also, forms that indicate factive presuppositions included more than the examples given by Yule. Other verbs and verb phrases not mentioned above but that indicate presupposed meanings that look like facts were included in the analysis.

Feminist Stylistics

Feminist theories and studies in the French literary and linguistics scene have started questioning the role of language in propagating certain gender ideologies by combining psychoanalytic theories and language use. These theories have been highly instrumental in influencing other inquiries in language and gender studies, which according to McConnell-Ginet (1998) can be divided into two major categories: First, women’s language use as differentiated from men’s, and second, the ways women are represented in language.

This particular study aims to focus on the second category. Therefore, a femi-

nist stylistics framework is very important to yield answers or results for the objectives set. Specifically, this study will use the feminist stylistics of Sara Mills (1995). There are a variety of reasons why the framework is deemed important: First, it allows for an analysis of features of a text's language other than simply relying on content analysis to be able to extract ideologies present in a particular discourse; second, a stylistic analysis emphasizes the foregrounding of certain features of the text that may seem natural or ordinary, but that in reality provide an opportunity for a more critical analysis of ideologies propagated by the more powerful entities in a society; and third, it aims to also identify the socioeconomic factors that have led the language of the text to "appear" as it is, and the reasons that have made its interpretations possible.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The significant role of presupposition in supporting consumerist ideas and thereby creating certain gender ideologies will be explored through the critical discourse analysis square or three-dimensional model of discourse developed by Fairclough (2010). The first dimension represents text analysis, in which the use of presuppositions will be accounted and classified according to Yule's categories. The second square, pertaining to discursive practices, aims to show that presuppositions are a dominant discourse technique in writing magazine articles as it assists in furthering whatever goals they have. The third square aims to discuss how the use of presuppositions in magazines tends to represent a bigger and wider social practice in our society, that is, influencing the ways we view gender in the society, and how it influences us to construct self-identities.

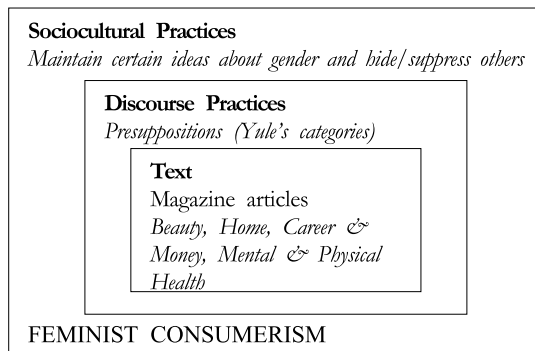


Figure 1. Discourse Analysis Square

Methods

The Sample

The sample consists of ten issues of *Good Housekeeping Philippines* published in the span of one year, 2016. The samples were selected based on availability of these magazines in a high school library situated within a university. During the time of the research, only the 2016 issues have been completed in the library's collection. Its presence in the library indicate a possible readership among young students, and other academic members within the university.

Good Housekeeping is a female-oriented magazine distributed by Summit Media. It is an offshoot of *Good Housekeeping UK*, which has other versions in other countries. According to their website, the aim of the magazine is to “help women save time, money, and hassle, thus allowing for more room—and encouraging them—to pursue the things that make them happy and their lives fuller.” Its target readers are women aged 35–55, married, with children aged 1–15, and belonging to income levels B and C. The magazine's circulation is between 45,000–50,000 with an estimated readership of 225,000–300,000.

Procedure

The procedure involved tallying the occurrence of identified presuppositions and categorizing them according to Yule's categories. Presuppositions included in the study are those that have the potential to promote certain ideologies connected with gender and that may be contestable.

For this purpose, the following limitations apply: (1) Only feature articles were included in the analysis, and (2) the study excluded direct advertisements, advice columns in which specific persons (letter-sender) are direct readers, and editor's messages. Images, or graphical representations, are excluded from the analysis since the framework of Yule only allows for the analysis of grammatical units which have potential to indicate presuppositions. This is also what Yule calls as “triggers.” When the term “images” are used in the present study, it does not refer to the graphical representations like pictures, but connotate the mental images formed in process of writing or reading the text.

In terms of topic categories, the magazine articles were categorized according to a modified topic category proposed by Feng and Karan in their 2011 study. This was done to establish whether the presuppositions and the content categories match to portray an image of a woman who is either traditional/conven-

tional or non-traditional/progressive. The articles in this research were categorized according to content: *Beauty and Fashion*, *Parenting and Relationships*, and *Home* under traditional topics, while the non-traditional topic categories were *Career and Money*, *Self-Development (Mental & Physical Health)*, and *Leisure and Lifestyle*. The following table shows a modified version of Feng and Karan's topic categories.

Table 2
Modified Version of Feng and Karan's Topic/Theme Categories

Topic/Theme Categories	Description
Beauty and Fashion	Includes articles about cosmetics, beauty tips, and clothing.
Home	Originally only "housekeeping" in Feng and Karan, this study includes topics about housekeeping, house decorating, crafts, gardening, baking, and cooking.
Parenting and Relationships	Includes articles about effective parenting, and tips on handling relationships with husbands, children, relatives, and others. Parenting was not part of Feng and Karan's categories, but was included in this study to represent the mother role.
Self-Development	Includes articles on mental and physical health. In Feng and Karan, only physical health was considered.
Career and Money	Includes articles on career development and financial management. Feng and Karan's study did not include topics on money.
Leisure and Lifestyle	Originally "travel and vacation" in Feng and Karan's work, but modified to <i>Leisure and Lifestyle</i> to include other leisure activities women engage in, such as going to movies, reading, books, going to the spa, etc.

Feng and Karan's (2011) topic categories have been modified to fit the themes offered by *Good Housekeeping Philippines* magazine and its target readers. Although used also for female-oriented magazines, the main target readers in their study were young and single women in China. In the present study, the magazine under analysis includes target readers who are middle-aged married Filipino women. Furthermore, the topic categories were further classified by Feng and Karan as traditional and non-traditional. Traditional themes include fashion, beauty, and family relations, and housekeeping while non-traditional themes include career development, travel and vacation, social awareness, and human-interest stories. This present study also sought to find out whether a traditional or non-traditional theme is generally portrayed by the magazine in question.

Using the principle of CDA according to Fairclough, the presuppositions were qualitatively analyzed to determine certain discourse practices utilized by magazines and how they reinforce or challenge certain social values and practices.

Results

The Sample

The following table shows the identified presuppositions in ten issues of *Good Housekeeping Philippines* magazine, taken from different topic categories.

Table 3
Occurrence of Presuppositions

Type	Beauty & Fashion	Home	Parenting & Relationships	Career & Money	Self-Development	Lifestyle & Leisure	TOTAL
Existential	44	34	26	91	39	20	254
Factive	7	3	3	6	3	2	24
Structural	233	91	60	160	163	65	772
Lexical	20	7	7	20	18	1	73
Non-Factive	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Counter-Factual	8	0	1	6	3	2	20
Total	312	135	97	284	226	91	1145

The data in Table 3 shows that the highest number of occurrences is classified as structural types (67.42%) of presuppositions, with existential presuppositions (22.18%) following in second place. Lexical presuppositions are the third highest at 6.38%. Factive, non-factive, and counter-factual presuppositional triggers were used sparingly.

The tables also show that presuppositions were mostly observed in articles discussing Beauty & Fashion, with 27.25% of the total number of occurrences, closely followed by Career & Money at 24.8%. Presuppositions observed under Self-Development were third at 19.74%.

The following gives examples of presuppositions for each category type.

Table 4
Examples of Different Types of Presuppositions Taken from the Magazines

Type	Presupposition	Presupposed Meaning
Existential	For the fraction of your income that you mandatorily invest in these programs, you earn guaranteed protection, not only for your hard-earned assets, but also for the people you hold dear (p. 72, Dec 2016)	The possessive “your” followed by the noun “income” presupposes that the reader has a job and earns a salary. This presupposition confirms the fact that the target reader is middle class, capable of saving and investing money. It also presupposes the reader has the power to decide on financial matters.
Factive	As any homemaker knows, there are extra challenges involved in keeping one’s home spic and span when it’s pouring wet outside. (p. 11, August 2016)	The use of the word “knows” presupposes that the following information should be treated as a fact. Therefore, it presupposes that the reader sees the experience to be true. This statement of presupposition may show an image of a woman who is responsible for managing the home.
Lexical	If you’ve got time and a little bit of extra money, you can start your own side business. (p. 62, April 2016)	The word “start” presupposes that the reader has not yet started a business but is thinking of doing so. This can also project an image of a woman who has control over her finances.
Structural – question	Running from one meeting to another? (p. 72, May 2016)	The use of the question as an opening for a feature article presupposes that the experience is true for the reader to whom the question is directed. Presupposes that the reader is a busy career woman and a housekeeper as well.
Structural – imperative	Trade the boring collared outfit for a dressy top-and-pencil skirt combo that can also work after-hours. (p. 61, September 2016)	The use of imperative presupposes that the situation has not yet occurred. In this example, it is presupposed that the reader has not yet considered changing her boring outfit into a trendier one. It also presupposes that the reader wears the “boring” kind of outfits.
Non-factive	The ideal scenario is that you’ll have enough money to live until 100 when you retire, which means you can afford to simply put the money in a savings account. (p. 67, Jan-Feb 2016)	The use of the word “ideal” presupposes that the situation/ circumstance may not be true for the reader at the moment. In this case, the idea of future financial stability has not yet been realized, or has not yet been prepared for.
Counter-factual	There’s no need to fear colored eyeliner - just make sure the rest of your makeup is toned down. (p. 49, March 2016)	The statement presupposes the opposite, that the reader fears bold makeup and too colorful cosmetics.

The examples above taken from different articles and issues of the magazine show how the presupposition types in different linguistic forms were used to indicate presupposed meanings. For instance, the existential presupposition indicated by the possessive “your” with the noun phrase “income” not only presupposes the existence of the reader’s income, but also indicates a presupposed meaning that the reader maintains a career and is financially independent. Since this image of women is frequently observed in the texts, it promotes certain images that may not be directly conveyed since presuppositions are used.

Lexical presuppositions are used to assert something using an indirect word that may represent what the text producer wants to emphasize or, in Yule’s words, “The use of one form with its asserted meaning is conventionally interpreted with the presupposition that another (non-asserted) meaning is understood” (Yule, 1996, p. 28). In the example above, the use of the word “start” does not only literally mean that the reader has to start doing what was suggested, but also implies that the text producer thinks or presupposes that he or she has not engaged in the activity yet. The same is true with using words and phrases like “got to,” “have to,” and phrases that indicate that something has been going on or was being done before but no longer is, like “falling back,” “repeat,” and “again.”

In Yule’s examples of structural presuppositions, he only included examples in the form of a question. Asking the question implies that situation presented in the interrogative form is true or applicable to the reader. However, it was observed from the analysis that a significant number of structural imperatives were also used to indicate a presupposed notion that the action indicated by the imperative is not yet being carried out by the reader. For instance, the imperative “Trade the boring collared outfit for a dressy top-and-pencil skirt [...]” (see Table 4) presupposes that the reader has not yet taken action to trade in her outfit for a dressier or trendier one. Analyzing the sentences this way, it can also be implied that another presupposition occurs which is that the reader has boring outfits and there is a need for her to change them.

Non-factive and counter-factual presuppositions only occur sparingly in the samples. They both indicate that something may not exist for the reader. In the example for non-factive presuppositions, the use of the word “ideal” presupposes that the situation is not yet true for the reader, that a stable financial future is currently only an imagined dream, but which the text producer also presupposes that the reader aspires to. Targeting this aspiration, in a way, also allows the text producers to insert indirect advertisements that make the reader think is an opportunity to realize the dream. For instance, the example presupposition can be used

to advertise an insurance company the reader can invest in. Counter-factual presuppositions, on the other hand, not only imply that the situation is not true for the reader, but also indicate that the opposite is what is currently happening. In the example, the text producer presupposes that the reader “fears” bold cosmetics by indicating the phrase “You don’t have to fear [...]” Countering the reality is also seen as another advertising strategy, which in this case can be a cosmetic product. The text producer sees the “fear” of particular cosmetics as a hindrance in selling the products of companies sponsoring the magazine.

A considerable number of existential and structural imperatives were observed in the magazine articles. The overwhelming number of structural presuppositions can be explained through the effectiveness of the imperative form to do the following: 1) It establishes a friendly relationship between the reader and the text producer through direct dialogue using the second person; 2) it targets the reader as a consumer who should purchase and use certain products through indirect advertising; and 3) it emphasizes an action that is expected so that the reader can play her designated role in the family or society.

It has also been observed that the effectiveness of existential presuppositions is based on their capability to produce an idea that may exist for the reader through the use of definite noun phrases and possessive forms. It allows the text producer to assume the kind of readers they are dealing with by mentioning things, events, and even personal characteristics or attributes that they think the readers have or should acquire in order to play their role in the family and the wider society.

Constructing the Image of Femininity through Presuppositions

The presuppositions analyzed in topic/theme categories such as Beauty, Home, Career & Money, and Self-Development revealed that presupposed meanings are able to give an image of the kinds of readers they are dealing with. While the occurrence of the types of presuppositions and their appearance in different category types reveal that the discourse practice of presupposing exists, the qualitative analysis of the examples and their presupposed meanings provided an image of the woman as follows: 1) that the reader is a woman who is maintaining a career and keeping a home at the same time; 2) that the reader has a husband and children whose well-being is her obligation; 3) that the reader maintains the traditional image of the woman who is domestic, in charge of managing the home, and doing home-related chores; 4) that the reader maintains the traditional image of the woman who engages in stereotypical activities like shopping, dressing-up, hosting

parties, and going out with friends; 5) that the reader, although a housewife who maintains a traditional role, is also modern—keeping up with the latest fashion trends, gadgets, and even activities, and making independent decisions about money and finances; and 6) that the reader tries to adopt modern non-traditional attributes like being smart and confident, maintaining a positive outlook in life, and taking care of her own mental, emotional, and physical well-being.

While some studies, like Schlenker et al. (1998) and Feng and Karan (2013), were able to categorize articles' messages as conveying traditional or feministic messages, it has been found in this study that such absolute categories do not exist. Instead, it was observed how the magazine still reinforces the image of a woman who is domestic or concerned about the affairs of the household, be it chores, food management, or more challenging skills like maintaining healthy relationships with family members, but at the same time is capable of making independent decisions regarding career and financial management which emphasize modern and non-traditional traits. Furthermore, there is a tendency for the topics to elevate the status of domesticity from something that is taken for granted in the past into something that is as relevant as any career in the present.

Johnston and Swanson (2003) discussed how both traditional and non-traditional images of motherhood can be revealed by magazine discourse. The traditional image of the mother is characterized by the woman who does not work outside the home and considers her role as rewarding. There is a tendency for the traditional mother to sustain what is considered to be outdated parenting styles based on control and exclusivity (exclusion of outside interference). The non-traditional image of the mother, on the other hand, characterizes a woman who has a career outside home, shares parenting responsibilities with the father and other people concerned, and finds the responsibilities of motherhood “fulfilling” and equivalent to a career. Similarly, the present study reveals an image of the housewife that is domestic but empowered. By integrating topics that discuss *career and money*, *physical and emotional health*, and even *political and social awareness* with conventional themes like fashion and household activities, the magazine was able to create two opposing images. From the combination of these two images, the magazine was able to produce a new image of the modern Filipino housewife.

However, it has been observed that although a modern and non-traditional image of the woman as mother and housewife is depicted through the choice of topics, the analysis of presuppositions reveals that implied meaning sometimes still tends to revert to the traditional image. For instance, presuppositions found under *Career and Money* are expected to reveal women who are successful in their line of

work, and can make effective decisions about money, but manages to inject every now and then that part of their money decision-making can also involve buying things or acquiring services that can be considered rewards for the hard work they are doing. In one article about money, it was observed that women are traditionally viewed as frequent shoppers. It highlights a negative image observed in magazines which implies that women's lives are centered on consumerism. However, contemporary magazines such as *Good Housekeeping Philippines* tend to lessen the overt-ness of this kind of image. In many of the articles analyzed, the magazine writers made an effort to present important advice about money handling, budgeting, and investing. These rather progressive ideas about the role of the wife or the mother can probably balance out the very consumerist images portrayed in other sections of the magazine. However, these progressive ideas are downplayed when the articles, through the use of presuppositions, tend to fall back on the consumerist idea. In some other cases, it was emphasized how the woman is supposed to consult her husband about decisions regarding finances. The following extract shows an example:

Managing personal finances can sometimes be tedious, and that's why it can be challenging to stick your plans. Overcome this by constantly checking in on your progress with your spouse or partner (Jan–Feb 2016, p. 64).

Although other presuppositions found in this study may indicate the woman's financial decision-making power, contradictory statements such as the one in the example also show that important financial matters are tedious and challenging. Hence, there is a need to consult with the spouse to overcome such difficulties. Furthermore, it has also been shown that women's financial decisions as depicted in the magazine are limited to those related to household and family matters: What to shop for, when and where to invest for the family's future, and how to budget family expenses.

This contradictory nature of female-oriented magazines was also observed by Talbot (2010) when she emphasized that “magazines are diverse and often contain contradictory elements” (p. 144). There seems to be an amalgamation of different voices in the magazines since they contain different genres and even diverse kinds of discourses. Although it can be said that this could be an effect of various authorship (unlike a book with only a single author), the diverse voices can also be considered as a strategy for the magazine to accommodate modern images of

women without fully rejecting the traditional one. The reason for this is to offer the idea of consumerism as acceptable without negating previously established values in the society.

This observation of contradictory images can also be related to Coates' (1998) notion of competing discourses. According to this notion, women are able to perform varying "selves" because they also have access to varied kinds of discourses. Magazines as ideological apparatuses, through their different discourses, can create for women different ideas and images of themselves and provide possible roles that they can play. Hence, it can be said, based on the analysis of presuppositions in this study, that magazines strictly uphold neither a traditional nor a non-traditional image of women. On the contrary, discursive practices of magazines reveal that both images are upheld, and that competing discourses are used.

Feminist Consumerism

According to Talbot (2010), profit making still determines magazine production. The people who write for magazines are hardly free agents, and they are controlled by business methods. This is hardly surprising since advertising is also a big source of income for magazine publishers. The magazine firms can only do what corporate giants ask them to do regarding selling their products and services. To do this, magazine publishers and writers face another challenge: How do they present the idea of consumerism as an acceptable thing in the present society?

Consumerism is a western-born idea that strongly contradicts some values long established in Philippine society. Filipino values have always emphasized the importance of thrift and non-materialistic happiness. Christian and conservative traditions existing in the culture do not support beauty that is artificial or altered by science. Consumerism is also an especially difficult concept to promote in a country plagued by too much poverty and economic insecurity. To keep the notion of consumerism alive, text producers adopt techniques to obscure the promotion of consumerism. Through the presuppositions analyzed in this study, text producers were able to inject ideas that promote the traditional image of the Filipino woman with a modern twist, like "*women can be fashionable but they can be smart as well by choosing pieces that are affordable or expensive but considered as wise investment,*" when investment is only a contestable idea that may not really exist. They also manage to convey ideas like dressing smart and looking good are correlated to confidence which allows the modern woman to perform her duties effectively.

The maintenance of the traditional image combined with the modern image of the Filipino housewife may be considered a technique to further the goals of magazines as advertising tools. The text producers needed the effectiveness of the presuppositions to remold the unacceptable images in a more acceptable way in order to promote consumerism. This result can be related to Conradie's (2013) study in which it was discussed how magazines manipulate the consumer's way of thinking by using lingual primitives as a way to establish a good relationship with the reader in order to advance advertising goals.

The technique of balancing the traditional and modern image of the woman uses a rather postmodern way of viewing gender. It veers away from certain negative stereotypes and absolute categories to promote a more positive view of gender and gender roles. The feminist view of women put domesticity in a negative light, and clamored for a more empowered image of women. On the other hand, the independent and "iron-lady" image of the woman also gives a negative impression related to rebelliousness. The postmodern view shatters such categories, and supports ideas such as that being a housewife and a full-time mother is like any career, and that domesticity is not an easy feat but requires proper skills and management. It puts domesticity on a whole different level, supporting the idea that women gain power through domestic purchases and activities. Another idea is that fashion is no longer seen as shallow but more like a form of art and a creative resistance to a certain stereotyping of women in society. While magazines offer emancipating ideas about women, this is sadly only to the extent of the limits allowed by the interests of capitalism. This analysis can be related to the concept of neoliberalism which Conell (2005) defines as "the political and cultural promotion of free-market principles and individualism and the rejections of state control" (p. 370). At first glance, the concept seems to be liberating as it seems to promote gender neutrality (such as women taking roles and attributes of men), and the power of individuals to choose gender identities. However, a closer analysis of discourses of capitalism, such as advertisements, reveal that individualism propagated here is not geared towards gender equality or social justice, but more of an instrument to further promote and legitimize consumerism. The gender ideologies revealed in a critical discourse analysis study such as this reveal this facet of capitalism.

Conclusion

Through feminist stylistic analysis, this study established how magazine text

producers are able to use and manipulate linguistic forms to indirectly convey messages that may be contestable or ideological. Through the use of presuppositions, the text producers are not only able to assume the kind of readers they are dealing with, but are also able to promote an image of the modern Filipino housewife as both maintaining traditional characteristics and adopting modern or non-traditional attributes. Although promoting a more modern image, this portrayal may not necessarily be empowering since the highlighted attributes or characteristics only seem to infuse ideas that promote consumerism. The use of presuppositions tends to downplay unacceptable attributes and present them as acceptable to avoid challenging established social values or practices.

Critical discourse analysis provides us with an awareness of how language is used in the society and how influential it is in creating certain ideologies and worldviews. This study confirms how linguistic choices made by text producers are never neutral, but are biased toward a favored worldview (Jones, 2012). It is also the reason why texts and other forms of discourse can promote certain ideologies, which provide us with models of how the world is supposed to be. This also explains how we assimilate or adapt to cultures that are long established in societies.

This study was able to show, through the linguistic analysis of presuppositions, how certain representations of women are found in magazines. Outwardly, they show images that are acceptable and do not seem to reject the social values embedded in our cultural traditions, but a closer analysis of the implied meanings suggests the contrary. This manipulation of language can also lead to an alteration of certain worldviews. Magazine publishers understand this power and use this technique to influence a way of thinking that supports their consumerist goals. It can be seen here that language does not only act as tool by which we transfer cultural ideas, but also as a catalyst for changing certain gender ideologies.

References

- Ahearn, L. (2012). *Living language: An introduction to linguistic anthropology*. London, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Anderson, J. A., Diabah, G., & hMensa, P. A. (2011). Powerful women in powerless language: Media representation of African women in politics (the case of Liberia). *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 2509–2518.
- Brown, A., & Knight, T. (2015). Shifts in media images of women appearance and social status from 1960 to 2010: A content analysis of beauty advertisements in two Australian magazines. *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 35, 74–83.
- Cameron, D. (1992). *Feminism and linguistic theory* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Cameron, D. (Ed.). (1998). *The feminist critique of language: A reader* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Coates, J. (1998). ‘Thank God I’m a woman’: The construction of differing femininities. In D. Cameron (Ed.), *The feminist critique of language: A reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 297–320). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Connell, R.W. (2005). Change among gatekeepers: Men, masculine, and gender equality in the global arena. In S. Applerouth & L. D. Edles (Eds.), *Sociological Theory in the Contemporary Era*. New York, NY: Sage.
- Conradie, M. S. (2012). Lingual primitives and discourse analysis: A case of gender ideology in Cosmopolitan. *Acta Academia*, 45(1), 1–25.
- Conradie, M. S. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of race and gender in advertisements in the South African in-flight magazine *Indwe*. *African Identities*, 11(1), 3–15.
- Cotter, D., Hermen, J. M., & Vanneman, R. (2011). The end of the gender revolution? Gender role attitudes from 1977 to 2008. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(1), 259–289.
- Del-Teso-Craviotto, M. (2006). Words that matter: Lexical choices and gender ideologies in women’s magazines. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 28(11), 2003–2021.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Feng, Y., & Karan, K. (2011). The global and local influences in the portrayal of women’s roles: Content analysis of women’s magazines in China. *Journal of Media Communications and Studies*, 32(2), 33–44.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. London, UK: Tavistock Publications.
- Goddard, A., & Patterson, L. (2009). *Language and gender*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Herman, E., & Chomsky, N. (2011). *Manufacturing consent: The political-economy of mass media*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

- Johnston, D., & Swanson, D. (2003). Invisible mothers: A content analysis of motherhood ideologies and myths in magazines. *Sex Roles, 49*, 21–33.
- Johnston, J., & Taylor, J. (2005). Feminist consumerism and fat activists: A comparative study of grassroots activism and the Dove real beauty campaign. *Signs, 33*(4), 941–966.
- Jones, R. H. (2012). *Discourse analysis: A resource book for students*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London, UK: Sage.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2008). Prestige, cultural models, and other ways of talking about underlying norms and gender. In J. Holmes & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The handbook of language and gender* (pp. 509–527). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Kroska, A. (2000). Conceptualizing and measuring gender ideology as an identity. *Gender & Society, 14*(3), 368–394.
- Lehtonen, M. (2000). *The cultural analysis of texts*. London, UK: Sage.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction*. London, UK: Sage.
- Marshall, D., Davis, T., Hogg, M. K., Schneider, T., & Petersen, A. (2014). From overt provider to invisible presence: Discursive shifts in advertising portrayals of the father in *Good Housekeeping*, 1950–2010. *Journal of Marketing Management, 30*(15), 1654–1679.
- McConnell-Ginet, S. (1998). The sexual (re)production of meaning: A discourse-based theory. In D. Cameron (Ed.), *The feminist critique of language: A reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 198–210). New York, NY: Routledge.
- McLoughlin, L. (2013). Crystal clear: Paler skin equals beauty – a multimodal analysis of *Asiana* magazine. *South Asian Popular Culture, 11*(1), 15–29.
- Mills, S. (1995). *Feminist Stylistics*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Mooney, A., Pichler, P., Preece, S., Soden, S., Peccei, J., LaBelle, S., ... Irwin, A. (2011). *Language, society and power* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Pichler, P., & Preece, S. (2011). Language and gender. In Mooney, A., Pichler, P., Preece, S., Soden, S., Peccei, J., LaBelle, S., ... Irwin, A., *Language, society and power* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Pugsley, P. C. (2007). Sex and the city: A study of sexual discourse in Singaporean women's magazines. *Asian Journal of Communication, 17*(3), 231–245.
- Rotman, D. L. (2006). Separate spheres? Beyond the dichotomies of domesticity. *Current Anthropology, 47*(4), 666–674.
- Schlenker, J., Caron, S., & Halteman, W. (1998). A feminist analysis of *Seventeen* mag-

- azine: Content analysis from 1945 to 1995. *Sex Roles*, 38(1–2), 135–149.
- Silverstein, M. (2013). Discourse and the no-thing-ness of culture. *Signs and Society*, 1(2), 237–366.
- Talbot, M. (2010). *Language and gender* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Polity Press.
- Temmerman, M., & Van de Voorde, M. (2015). Absent husbands and whispering voices: A critical analysis of the representation of men in two popular Flemish women's magazines. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 24(1), 3–17.
- Wang, C. L., Bristol, T., Mowen, J. C., & Chakraborty, G. (2000). Alternative modes of self-construal: Dimensions of connectedness-separateness and advertising appeals to the cultural and gender-specific self. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 9(2), 107–115.
- Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Yuliang, C. (2010). A semiotic analysis of female images in Chinese women's magazines. *Social Sciences in China*, 31(2), 179–193.

Biographical Note: **Katrina Ninfa M. Topacio** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of English, University of Santo Tomas, Manila, and a Research Associate at the Research Center on Social Sciences and Education of the same university. Her research interests include Language and Gender, Stylistics, and Adult Women Literacy. She is also an advocate of reading and is currently pursuing a reading advocacy program that strengthens the partnership of the home, school, and local government in teaching Filipino children the culture of reading.