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GLOCAL LIMITS OF POSTFEMINIST ADVERTISING: THE CASE OF ORKID'S #LIKEAGIRL CAMPAIGN

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Abstract

Postfeminism emerged as a critical interrogation of contemporary feminism, particularly drawing attention to the ways in which feminist motifs are incorporated in consumer ideologies through advertising and popular culture. This article aims to problematize the local articulations of postfeminist representation from the perspective of Turkey's contemporary advertising landscape. A global brand of women's hygiene products, Always launched its "#likeagirl" campaign in June 2014. As the Turkey branch of Always, Orkid adapted the campaign and broadcast an advertisement on TV in January 2015. On discursive level, both ads share in common postfeminist sensibility as they sound women's certain problems by at the same time not providing a radical critique. However, feminists in Turkey observes that Orkid ad is less progressive than the original Always ad, which they celebrate for sounding women's issues despite its postfeminist character. Analyzing two ads and their feminist articulations, this article problematizes the cultural limits of postfeminism in Turkey's social landscape to point out the complexities of a glocal postfeminist experience.

Keywords: Advertising, Gender, Glocal, Feminism, Postfeminism.

1. Introduction

The role played by advertising in the reproduction of gender norms has been articulated especially after the 1970s with the development of advertising industry worldwide. Advertising has been accused of producing idealized images and conveying them to the public, continuously transmitting culturally hegemonic meanings especially with regard to gender. Nonetheless, with the mainstream critique of commercial advertising discourse, brands were also inclined to include certain critical insights to their advertising narratives that tend to challenge the hegemonic discourses on gender.

The ways in which feminist values and ideas have been acquired by mainstream commercial discourse especially by advertising have been problematized by the scholarship on postfeminism. The notion of postfeminism draws attention to the complexities of the seemingly feminist elements incorporated by the mainstream media discourse, particularly the works of popular culture and advertising. The term has been an analytical tool to critically negotiate the potentials of popular culture as a tool for popular feminist claims and at the same time as an apparatus that reproduces sexism and patriarchy under the disguise of feminist rhetoric.

Due to the global expansion of markets, advertising has been a crucial agent in conveying the elements of postfeminism across societies. It is however not possible to mention a grand narrative of postfeminism as a uniform entity. Rather, postfeminism is a global phenomenon with local particularities. Cultural, economic, political differences and most especially disparities among gender equality between Western societies and newly emerging consumer societies such as Turkey pave the way for distinct modes of experiencing, audiencing and reproducing postfeminist sensibilities that are globally conveyed to these local contexts. Considering postfeminism from a local perspective brings along the following questions: How is a postfeminist media discourse perceived, reproduced and contested in a local context? What if an advertisement, which conveys the elements of postfeminist sensibility for a certain cultural context, may be considered as feminist and thus challenging enough by the audiences of another? How is an advertisement reconfigured and adapted to a local context, what does this adaption tell about the translatability or untranslatability of postfeminist sensibility and how such processes are perceived and contested by audiences?

This article aims to seek answers for these questions problematizing the interrelationships of the local and the global in the reproduction and the perception of postfeminist advertising discourse. For this purpose, it analyzes the responses by feminist activists in Turkey against an advertising campaign initiated by "Orkid" brand. Orkid is the Turkey branch of "Always", a brand of women's hygiene products, owned by multinational consumer goods company Procter & Gamble. In June 2014, Always launched an advertising campaign entitled "like a girl", which calls for young women's empowerment by questioning

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the established conceptions of doing something "like a girl" in male hegemonic society. In January 2015, Orkid launched its advertising campaign with the same title in Turkish: "Kız Gibi". Their campaign was followed by an online activism organized by feminists in Turkey, who claimed that Orkid failed to interrogate the patriarchal conception of "like a girl" and that it rather reproduced such conception with its advertising discourse. Displaying a positive reaction to the original Always advertisement, the response of feminist activists in Turkey points out the changing boundaries regarding the perception and negotiation of postfeminist sensibilities inscribed in advertising discourse.

Turkey, in this sense, provides a unique cultural experience since it is situated between the East and the West; historically established as a nation-state with Western and secular ideals which today holds a developing economy, consumer society, yet at the same time a patriarchal culture leading to intersectional ways of women's subordination. Turkey ranks 130th among 145 countries in terms of gender gap with high rates of femicide and women's unemployment.[1] As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nas, 2015a; 2015b), gender inequality is reflected on media and popular culture as well, such that Turkey's advertising imagery is dominated by overtly sexist representations of women. Postfeminist imagery, as experienced in the West, points at a new visual experience for Turkey's audiences. This cross-cultural difference determines the extent to which postfeminist imagery can be adapted into Turkey's local context, as well as it is countered and resisted by local feminist activism.

2. Advertising and Postfeminism

As a powerful rhetorical device, advertisements have been one of the most popular visual artifacts since the rise of consumer cultures in twentieth century. The potential of advertising as a discursively productive popular visual medium has been critically addressed by many critics especially in terms of the ways in which it constructs and reproduces gendered stereotypes (Featherstone, 1982; Goffman, 1979; Goldman, 1992; Jhally, 2006; Williamson, 1978). As a critical category to interrogate the ways in which relations between sexes are culturally and socially constructed (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 56), gender existed as an object of academic curiosity especially with regard to its representation in advertising discourses. Depicting the idealized versions of reality in its "magic system" (Williams, 1999) by conveying certain mechanisms of signification, advertising not only mirrored social relationships but also constructed hegemonic meanings regarding femininity and masculinity. Women's gender roles were systematically defined in advertisements vis-à-vis men's; reducing their roles as individuals responsible for housework and baby-care, while attributing men with the role of breadwinner (Lazar, 2014: 206); thus legitimizing the traditional gender roles imposed on sexes.

As a response to the advertising discourse, sexism and gender stereotypes in advertising have been tackled by feminist scholarship and activism during the 1970s and the 1980s. During the late 1980s, the circulation of feminist arguments in popular culture marked the emergence of a new era called "popular feminism" (McRobbie, 2004: 256). With feminist critique of advertising becoming mainstream, advertisers needed the urge to revise their discourses on women and came up with distinct representations that tend to take into consideration feminist critique (Goldman, 1992: 3; Lazar, 2014: 206). The incorporation of feminist arguments with the market purposes paved the way for a different advertising discourse, which may be defined as "commodity feminism" (Goldman, 1992: 133). Under the effect of popular feminist arguments, advertising reproduced the image of woman, who is emancipated from male hegemony and can freely act in a way she desires in line with her sexual and bodily pleasures (Gill, 2007: 152; Gill, 2008a: 436; Lazar, 2011: 38). Popularization of feminist arguments and their incorporation in accordance with market interests has been evaluated as a "backlash" that feminist activism experiences (Faludi, 1992) since the new atmosphere posed as if women's problems were solved and that feminism is not needed anymore. This new era mainly characterized by women's representation in popular culture has also been called postfeminism and was considered as a departure from the radical, revolutionary and egalitarian arguments of feminist thought.

The mainstreaming of feminism in popular formats was also critically conceptualized as the "postfeminist sensibility" by Gill, rather than a historical shift in feminist activism and thinking. According to Gill, postfeminism introduces a new sensibility to critically assess the contemporary articulations of gender in the media (2007: 148). In this respect, postfeminist discourse mainly relies on a variety of characteristics including generating neoliberal female subjectivities, self-disciplining and monitoring of women's bodies, an emphasis on individualism, choice and empowerment, the reassertion of sexual difference and rapid sexualization of culture (Gill, 2007: 149). Advertising plays an important role in reproducing postfeminist sensibility. Women are especially represented as active knowing and desiring sexual subjects rather than objects (Gill, 2003: 103), possessing idealized bodies as heterosexual, young, slim, attractive, able-bodied and usually white (Gill, 2008b). The emergence of a new feminine subject in

[1] See. Global Gender Gap Report by World Economic Forum http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/rankings

advertising since the 1990s until today inscribe women's bodies as sexual objects; nonetheless it at the same time poses female body as an active, desiring sexual subject who is able to correct herself in accordance with the ideal codes of beauty when necessary (Gill, 2008a: 441). The ways in which women are represented as active beings capable of making their own decisions about beauty and other bodily pursuits pose a challenge to feminist activism since it renders invisible the structures of oppression and domination. Such advertisements reproduce "sexism without an alibi" (Williamson, 2003), including deeply hidden narratives of gender discrimination rather than overt forms of sexist visual representation. Furthermore, cause branding campaigns such as Dove's "Real Beauty" promotes a self-branding of neoliberal identity and equates the process of beautification to empowerment, rather than challenging the intersectional roots of women's oppression (Murray, 2013). In a similar manner, Gill also contends that advertising discourse resexualized women's bodies, with an attempt that made it difficult to critique (2009: 104). In sum, the portrayal of women making their own decisions and getting empowered with consumption is critically elaborated by feminist scholarship to underline that the particular image of women that contemporary advertising pose is a neoliberal form of subjectification with an idealized representation of women corresponding only to a minority (Gill, 2007: 152).

The operation of postfeminist sensibility mainly discussed in Western contexts can also be traced in other national contexts. Postfeminist sensibility is imported by non-Western contexts as well due to the globalized industry of goods and neoliberal governance (Dosekun, 2015; Lazar, 2006). According to Gwynne, postfeminism is the phenomenon of late-capitalist societies and although it is global in terms of spreading consumer cultures around the globe, its operation nevertheless can be better observed in relatively more democratic and egalitarian societies (2013: 327). As a response, Dosekun (2015) explores how Nigerian young women adapt postfeminist strategies to reproduce their class-privileges in a non-Western context, which sets up insights regarding the local operations of postfeminism. The discussions illustrate the glocal articulations of postfeminist sensibility that can be manifest with changing strategies of audiences and market forces in different cultural settings.

The term "glocal" draws attention to the "dynamic negotiation between the global and the local", analytically addressing the ways in which the local appropriates the global elements while "employing at the same time strategies to retain its identity" (Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopouloue, 2004: 86). The notion of "adaptation" as a technique to introduce the global to the local context has been a crucial point of investigation. The term "glocalization" occurred as the need to theoretically elaborate the interrelations between local and the global, defined as "the combination of intense local and extensive global interaction" (Wellman, 2002: 13). This article points out that Turkey's contemporary cultural landscape provides insights regarding a distinct way of postfeminist sensibility in terms of the production and audiencing of advertising discourse, where a postfeminist narrative may be adapted into a local cultural context to include lesser elements of feminism to avoid any potential challenges to Turkey's patriarchal social setting. Furthermore, in terms of audiencing, a postfeminist narrative produced in a distinct cultural context may be interpreted as feminist in a local context since the adaption of such narrative includes lesser elements of feminism. The complexities behind the production and audiencing of postfeminist discourse varying from global to local contexts illustrates the ways in which postfeminism is glocalized as a strategy to govern gendered relations of power in local contexts such as Turkey.

3. Postfeminism in Always Advertisement

A global brand of women's hygiene products, Always' "like a girl" campaign was launched in June 2014 by the release of the TV ad. The ad was uploaded to Youtube for online users and the ambitions of the social marketing project was declared at Always website. The brand coined the term "epic battle" for their #likeagirl activism and directed the participants' attention to the core aims of the project with the following remarks:

> "Do we limit girls and tell them what they should or shouldn't be? Do we box them into expected roles? 72% of girls DO feel society limits them — especially during puberty — a time when their confidence totally plummets. Always is on an epic battle to keep confidence high during puberty & beyond. We're on a roll, and we're not stopping! Now, we're spreading that word that girls everywhere can be unstoppable #LIKEAGIRL when they smash limitations. We need your help. Join us. Watch, share and champion the girls you love to be unstoppable #LIKEAGIRL."[2]

The introductory text to the campaign suggests that the target audience consists of girls experiencing the age of puberty. The campaign focuses on the restrictions against girls whose potentials are limited due to social pressures and expectations and states that they are negatively affected by these limitations in the future. Putting an emphasis on "not stopping", "unstoppable", "on the roll", "smashing limitations" and

[2] See the introduction of the campaign at http://always.com/en-us/about-us/our-epic-battle-like-a-girl

"epic battle", the advertisement constitutes a discourse of empowerment. Moreover, the advertisement undertakes a critical stance towards gender norms imposed on women by underscoring the aspect of "limitations" and the need to go beyond the limits. The advertisement does not openly refer to the notions of patriarchy, gender or male hegemony as the cultural roots of women's subordination. The advertisement addresses the sources of women's limitations by pointing out a broad notion of "society" as a limiting category. The advertising discourse involves an emphasis on the need for empowerment; however, the structural agents that negatively impact women's empowerment are vaguely conveyed with a very broad term such as "society", instead of clearly addressing the concept of patriarchy as an analytical tool to investigate women's subordination.

The campaign's discourse of empowerment becomes more explicit in the video advertisement with the introduction of further discursive strategies. The beginning part of the video asks, "What does it mean to do something like a girl?" and participants provide a response in turn. Designated as a kind of social experiment, the video includes a series of testimonies by young women and men that situates where "like a girl" discourse culturally and ideologically correspond in their perceptions. The director, Lauren, asks the participants to perform the first action that come up to their minds as a response to what she tells them. Accordingly, the following question is addressed to the participants: "Show me what it looks like to run like a girl." For this part, three young women and two men, including one children and one adult perform and undertake the act of running "like a girl", in a "feminine" style as encoded as a cultural performance. The following questions, "show me what it looks like to fight like a girl" and "throw like a girl" is responded by the participants in the same manner. The next part of the advertisement consists of answers provided to the same questions by young girls. Surprisingly, young girls react in a different manner by running, fighting and throwing not "like a girl" but the way they wish regardless of what is imposed on them by cultural articulations of gender. Lauren asks one participant "what does it mean to you when I say run like a girl" and she responds as "it means run as fast as you can". The advertisement consequently asks, "When did doing something 'like a girl' become an insult?" and explores the responses provided by participants. Lauren asks the participants a series of questions to assess whether they think "like a girl" is an insulting expression or not. The little boy confesses that it is a bad word and that he insulted girls by using it and the young girl says that the expression seems like a bad thing: "It sounds like you humiliate something." The narrations suggest that while adults seem to have internalized "like a girl" discourse by performing them without any critical distance, young girls and the boy problematize the expression by tending to explore deeper structures of meaning. In the following scene, the advertisement provides information about the fact that young girls at the age of puberty lose their self-confidence due to societal expectations of "like a girl". What follow are the testimonies of the adults where one participant advises the young girls with the following statement:

> "I mean, yes, I kick like a girl, and I swim like a girl, and I walk like a girl, and I wake up in the morning like a girl because I am a girl. And that is not something that I should be ashamed of, so I'm going to do it, anyway. That's what they should do."

The next part portrays the performances of the participants who, instead of acting "like a girl", performs as the way they wish. The advertisement ends with the scenes including participant women's performances as the advertisement slogan goes as follows: "let's make #likeagirl mean amazing things. Join Always to champion girls confidence." The advertisement ends with the following remarks done by a participant who says, "Why can't run like a girl also mean win the race?"

The discourse of the advertisement aims the viewers to engage in a critical questioning of an everyday expression of "like a girl", which has been normalized and internalized either by men and women at different ages. In this regard, advertisement facilitates a disenchantment of the normalized hierarchies and inequalities of everyday life by exposing how gendered formations of power operates on the level of discourse. The construction of gendered subjectivities is deconstructed by the advertisement's critical stance on female empowerment by the incorporation of young individuals' testimonies into the general narrative of internalized practices of subordination. The ways in which young boys and girls suspect certain negativity in "like a girl" expression but they cannot fully comprehend it reveal that young boys and girls have not yet fully been interpellated by gender ideology whereas adults have already been subjectified. The narrative gains its critical potential by making visible this pre-subject formation. It further attempts to eliminate the gendered impositions on women by reworking on language and transforming the expression of "like a girl" from an insult to a counter-hegemonic apparatus. Women are encouraged to perform the way they wish and acquire the word "like a girl" to populate it with positive connotations.

On the other hand, the advertising discourse also embodies a depoliticized narrative for certain respects. The need for women's empowerment is a problem to tackle by exposing the roots of women's subordination and to point out the necessary venues as potential means to carry out resistance. The narrative

however undertakes a superficial understanding of empowerment by reducing women's problems regarding the lack of self-confidence to certain daily acts such as running, swimming and throwing. The narrative fails to represent injustices and inequalities under male dominated society including violence, rape, political underrepresentation, economic exclusion; problems encountered not only in US society but also worldwide. Furthermore, the ways in which women with different class, ethnic and religious belongings as well as ages and bodily states encounter varying degrees of subordination is not included in the advertising discourse, which deems the representations of subjectivities highly privileged. On top of all, advertising discourse does not mention the concepts such as patriarchy, gender, male domination or male hegemony, which would provide a potential for radical critique against the real causes of why women lack self-confidence. Eventually, Always advertisement acts upon a postfeminist sensibility in the sense that it includes a deconstructive attempt on gendered uses of language, yet it significantly lacks the necessary potential to clearly point out and tackle women's problems that it tends to address. The advertisement targets women at a certain age to self-brand themselves under the discourse of empowerment by participating to the campaign, enjoying the virtually emancipated arena of gendered discourse provided to them by the brand by at the same time not fully engaging in a critique of patriarchy.

4. The Limits of Postfeminism in Orkid Advertisement

Before being adopted in Turkey by Orkid, Always' advertisement was broadcast online in July 2014 with Turkish subtitles.[3] The advertisement was adopted in Turkish with the hashtag "#kızgibi" - direct translation of "#likeagirl" - and was broadcast on TV in January 2015.[4] Orkid's advertisement includes Nil Karaibrahimgil, a female singer and a celebrity figure, who previously appeared as starring the "Free Girl" in an advertising campaign, wandering around the country by playing her guitar. Rather than a social experiment that has been screened in the original Always advertisement, Orkid advertisement is based on Nil's celebrity status, leading and singing with other women to sound the messages of collective empowerment.

Orkid's #kızgibi advertisement begins with a textual message, "Orkid & Nil Presents", as it opens the stage for women to participate. The positioning of Nil next to the brand centers the celebrity figure in the advertisement discourse from the beginning. In a few seconds, the scene appears with a young girl sitting in the middle of a classroom setting holding a guitar. The classroom is filled with musical instruments and a blackboard at the back. The young girl is wearing a dress in pink with white collars and white socks, likening the dress to that of a school uniform. As the song begins, the young girl grows old and Nil appears on the scene with the same clothing and singing the initial lyrics of her song. The song was written by Nil herself and the lyrics goes as follows:

> "Kız gibi gülme dediler (They said not to laugh like a girl) / Kız gibi koşma dediler (They said not to run like a girl) / Kız gibi yaptım ne yaptıysam (I did everything like a girl) / Yapamazsın sen deselerde (Even though they said I can't) / Hem Çocuk Hem Kariyer Yaptıysam (I both had a child and a career) / Ooooo aaaa O sönmeyen Yıldızlar Gibi (Like those stars that do not fizzle out) / Kız Gibi Yap Sen Ne Yaparsan (Do everything like a girl) / En iyisini Yap Sen Ne Yaparsan (Do the best) / Geçemezler derler engelleri (They say that you cannot overcome the obstacles) / Uçarsın kanatları açarsan (You fly if you spread your wings) / Yenilmeyen kızlar gibi Ooooo aaaa (Like girls who cannot be defeated) / O dinmeyen rüzgar gibi (Like the wind that does not stop) / Olur, korktuğun olur, düştüğün olur ama koş sen durmadan (It happens, you can fear, you can fall down but you run without giving a break) / Olur, olmaz derler olur asıl kızlar da kahraman (They say that it doesn't happen but girls can also be heroes) / Kız gibi yap ol kahraman (Do it like a girl and become a hero) / Kız gibi yap ol kahraman (Do it like a girl and become a hero)."

The lyrics of the song emphasizes women's empowerment, especially with the expressions of "doing best", "not being defeated", "stars that do not fizzle out", "becoming a hero", "without stopping" and "without giving a break". The lyrics however also include the discourse of "having a child and career at the same time", which connotes motherhood as women's role imposed by society. Despite the fact that the lyrics seem to be promoting women's empowerment in a feminist sense except the emphasis on motherhood as an imposed gender norm, the visual language and the arrangement of the song provides crucial hints about the clip's departure from feminist principles. The song is accompanied by a collective performance of dance staged by a group of young women in a classroom setting. Throughout the scenario, a group of young girls looks from the window of the classroom to see inside as they hear Nil singing and get curious. Right after Nil says "I both had a child and a career", young girls come in and begin to participate to the performance by dancing and singing. Their attitudes are initially passive in the sense that they cannot fully adapt their

[3] The ad was published online with Turkish subtitled at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qv_jwegGtvY

[4] The ad was published online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LL2ZeSBPaEs

bodies to the performance. As Nil leads the group and directs them to perform in a certain way in a short notice, the group of young girls becomes increasingly active. Soon after a group of young women looks inside from the window of the classroom and they also participate to the performance. From there on, Nil leads the classroom of young girls and women in a collective act of dancing and singing until the end of the advertisement. The final part introduces another voice stating the following: "Do it #likeagirl and do it the best way", as the advertisement ends with three different Orkid products are centered on the ending scene.

Orkid advertisement conveys a postfeminist sensibility with its emphasis on women's empowerment with the use of seemingly positive linguistic and bodily signifiers, which seem to be "feminist" in the popular public perception. Nil's presence as a celebrity figure recognized as the "Free Girl" in a previous campaign reasserts the popular feminist elements in Orkid's campaign. The advertisement popularizes certain elements of feminism especially with regards to women's empowerment, yet it at the same time conceals the possible points of conflict and critique that feminism may entail. Another aspect observed in Orkid's advertising discourse is related to the ways in which postfeminist imagery constructs a certain type of women and femininity in accordance with the given definitions of sexiness and idealized beauty. As represented by Nil in the starring role, individuals participating to Orkid advertisement constitute a homogeneous group of women, whose representations correspond only to a minority when considering the multiplicity of women's cultural and economic belongings in Turkey. All women in Orkid advertisement are slim, fit, young, able-bodied and "white", not in the racial sense but in terms of their privileged class status and ethnic identities in Turkey's socio-economic landscape. Multiplicities regarding women's varying identities and class belongings are excluded from the advertising discourse, which solely represents the image of women with certain privileges. Moreover, women's bodies are continuously sexualized throughout the song with the camera's focus on the bodily gestures of the participants, especially on certain parts of their bodies including their mouths, legs and hips. The lyrics that accompany the visual language provides only a limited way to counter patriarchy. Emphasizing acts of "running", "laughing", "flying", "not losing", "winning" and "being a hero" with regard to #likeagirl, advertising discourse conveys a message of female empowerment but fails to address women' problems and possible solutions from a critical perspective towards Turkey's patriarchal society. Orkid ad calls for women to become heroes despite difficulties, but it fails to address the causes of such difficulties and how women should cope with those challenges in an organized manner under Turkey's patriarchal culture. Besides, the way in which lyrics emphasize the aspect of motherhood, suggesting that women can bear a child by at the same time pursuing a career, reproduces patriarchal discourse asserting women's roles as mothers thus, does not pose any challenge to patriarchal relations in Turkey. Hence the advertisement applies a certain discipline and surveillance on women just as any other commercial advertisement does by visually fragmenting women's bodies into components that are representatives of an idealized and sexualized bodily state with Nil starring as a stereotype of the "emancipated women figure" which is highly classed, nationalized, aged and able-bodied.

Orkid advertisement bears certain similarities and differences with the original Always advertisement. Both advertising discourses are based on a postfeminist sensibility in the sense that they rework on the popular elements of feminism to form the basis of a self-branded female consumer identity. Both advertisements conceal the crucial elements leading to women's problems such as patriarchy and instead offer a visual experience emphasizing the notion of empowerment without clearly tackling the disadvantages in achieving such an empowered state. What Orkid and Always ads share in common is their visualization of a privileged female identity; particularly classed, able-bodied and aged narratives accompany the general discourse of empowerment that concomitantly sets up the parameters of ideal female social status and beauty. On the other hand, both advertisements involve certain differences as well in terms of the visual and discursive constructions of postfeminist sensibility. While Always ad is based on a social experiment that attempts a deconstructive approach on the basis of language and how language creates social realities, Orkid ad solely relies on a song with lively and entertaining lyrics and a female celebrity, encoded as "the emancipated women figure" by Turkey's culture industry, is starring. The popularized elements of feminist critique that tends to interrogate the relationship between language and gender in Always ad is replaced by other popular feminist inclinations which are less densely inscribed in Orkid ad. Always ad portrays a social experiment without any reference to its products, which conveys the impression to the viewer that the company prioritizes a social responsibility project, rather than merely aiming at sales. Orkid ad however ends with the images of three different products of the brand that is being marketed in Turkey; which approximates the aim of advertisement to commercial purposes, rather than foregrounding a message for the social good. Different from Always ad, Orkid ad suppresses individual voices by a song, which is collectively sang and led by a celebrity figure. In this sense, Orkid ad reproduces a hierarchical discourse, which situates women at the back of a celebrity figure whose image is constructed as the ideal

role of the emancipated women and who points at the pathway for further emancipation for younger generations.

The idealized representation of women in Orkid ad is populated with neoliberal and gendered representations, disregarding the real causes behind women's subordination in Turkey, which is strongly felt in several areas of social life, including politics, culture and economy. The real conditions of subordination that women face stands in a sharp contrast with the ways in which women's problems were addressed in Orkid's advertisement. Similar to the Always advertisement that does not recognize the real conditions of women's deprivation in political, economic and cultural aspects of life, Orkid advertisement also fails to facilitate a critical standpoint towards the causes behind women's subordination. Its message has further been evaluated and criticized by feminist activists in Turkey, together with a comparison between the original ad and its adaptation to Turkish context, which significantly points out the ways two different postfeminist sensibilities are perceived and acted upon by local feminist subjectivities.

5. Resistance to Postfeminist Advertising Discourse

In May 2015, a group of feminist activists initiated a campaign as a response to Orkid's #kızgibi advertisement. Organized by Erktolia.org, a feminist activist website and a network of anti-sexist digital platform to struggle against sexism, feminists published a critique together with a call for action against the representation of women in Orkid advertisement.[5] Calling their online activism as "We are rewriting the perception of 'like a girl'", activists firstly share Always' #likeagirl campaign advertisement and make the following commentary:

> "Always brand initiated an advertising campaign with the slogan 'like a girl.' In the advertisement, when young girls are asked to do something like a girl, they do their best rather than perceiving the expression as an insult. However, things change when it comes to young women. For them, doing something like a girl means doing that action in an unsuccessful and ridiculous way. At this point, Always shares with us the following information: 'The self-confidence of girls rapidly drops during the age of puberty.' Therefore, Always wants to change this by preventing the way 'like a girl' is used as an insult. The twitter page of the campaign asks us what we do 'like a girl'. Girls share photos and comments, doing the following: Climbing, fighting, jumping, management, etc. Because the aim of this campaign is 'to rewrite the rules' as Always suggests."

Feminist activists further provide the link of Always advertisement for the viewers' attention. Greeting Always advertisement in a positive fashion, feminists state that the advertisement aims to go beyond the limits that society sets up against women's progression. They observe a sharp contrast between what Always proposes and what Orkid does as a local adaption of the campaign in the following remarks:

> "The image of women in Orkid advertisement is solely based on physical appearance. We assume that for Orkid, being a girl is only about dancing in front of a camera in a 'pretty', 'beautiful' and 'monotype' state. Instead of rewriting the insulting expression of 'like a girl', Orkid almost supports this insulting meaning by supporting the image of 'super woman'. Super women who easily do the housework by using the right cleaning products, who do baby caring with using the right care products, who manage to stay 34 size by using the right personal cosmetics and nutrition, who is always a sexual object, who abides the advises of the media regarding beauty and appealing to the eyes of the media and men, on top of all who work and have careers! As women who are aware that Superman is a fiction, we stand against the notion that propagates patriarchy's image of superwomen and its imposition on young girls! Where are girls who throw the ball in a fierce fashion like a girl, and run fast like a girl in Orkid advertisement? Rather we see that it is easier to focus the camera on the girls' hips with white pants! Like feminist author Eda Agca says, we women are reasonable enough not to learn what it means to be a woman from the Orkid advertisement since we know that courage does not mean to wear white pants during menstruation!"

As a response to Orkid advertisement, feminists illustrate their discontent with the advertising imagery vis-à-vis the discourse of the original Always advertisement, which they claim to be including elements of women's empowerment. Their concern does not include any critical reaction to the original Always advertisement. Although it is possible to describe Always advertisement as a visual narrative involving the elements of a postfeminist sensibility, Turkey's local dynamics determine the way the advertising discourse is perceived and reacted in challenging ways. Always advertisement is celebrated and almost considered as the carrier of feminist activism and values, whereas Orkid advertisement is accused of stereotyping the image of privileged women and therefore reproducing the patriarchal conception of women's assigned gender roles by the image that they call "super woman". Their response illustrates that the popular feminist elements conveyed by Always advertisement is evaluated as challenging enough for

[5] The manifesto by feminists were published online at http://erktolia.org/kiz-gibi-algisini-bastan-yaziyoruz/

Turkey's patriarchal dynamics. What may be interpreted as bearing postfeminist imagery in a Western, late-capitalist society is characterized as a critical visual material that shows the potential to challenge patriarchy in Turkey's cultural setting. This changing perception of two postfeminisms also explains the reason of why Always advertisement is not directly adopted or broadcast on TV with Turkish subtitles. Since the original Always advertisement is challenging for Turkey's patriarchal setting, it is reconfigured and transformed into a visual piece of a less progressive narrative on women's empowerment, that does not pose serious challenge to Turkey's patriarchal cultural context. Feminist activists who are not satisfied with Orkid's unchallenging advertising narrative further propose a call for action with the following remarks:

> "As an awareness-raising project, Orkid's advertisement should have transformed the insulting understanding of 'like a girl' and should have rewrite the rules. It is obvious that Orkid fails to run this campaign according to its original one. We decided that we should tell Orkid how to run the campaign. To sound your reactions, send your photos in which you rewrite the definition of like a girl to @erktolia and @orkid with #KızGibiDedilerGeldik (eng. They told us how to be like a girl and here we are) hashtag. We expect your photos on the acts that they claim women cannot perform or that women perform inadequately! Afterwords we will make a gallery of photos and show how we destroy the already established concept of like a girl!"

Criticizing Orkid for failing to adapt the original Always advertisement, feminists call women for action to share photos of themselves that would shatter the like a girl myth in Turkey. In the following days, total of 48 photos were published on the activism's Facebook account, each portraying women in various actions.[6] The photos included women wearing military uniform, fixing an automobile, boxing, doing home repair, climbing up the mountains, watching soccer, bodybuilding, playing the guitar with having a beer, drinking raki, carrying a washing machine to the third floor and riding a truck (Figure 1). They also prepared several other images, which include women in Turkey who managed to achieve success in their careers that are dominated by men; such as a soccer referee, a truck driver, a scientist, a mathematician and a politician (Figure 2). In this way, feminist attempt to fill in the gaps that exist in Orkid advertisement in terms of challenging "like a girl" myth by emphasizing best practices. Their attempt also show that they criticize Orkid advertisement for failing to address the crucial issues regarding gender inequality in Turkey, which is strongly felt in all areas of social life.

Figure 1: Feminists share photos that display the diverse acts of women

[6] The photos of online activism were published on the activists' Facebook page:
https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.877028722354814.1073741831.803180053073015&type=1

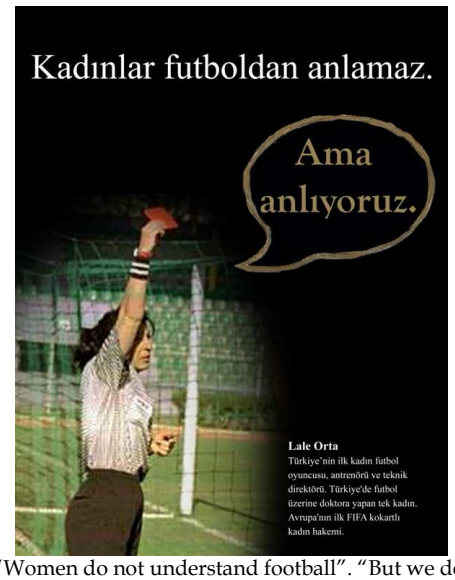

Figure 2: The following captions say: "Women do not understand football". "But we do". It further displays the image of Lale Orta, Turkey's first woman referee.

Diversity of women's experiences constitutes a critical point of view especially with regards to the postfeminist sensibility manifest in Orkid advertisement. Involving multiplicity of performances with a plurality of women participating, the counter-campaign manages to embody a counter-hegemonic space for feminist activism in order to challenge hegemonic femininity and postfeminist imagery put forth by Orkid advertisement. Contrary to what Orkid does in the advertisement, in which women cannot sound their concerns but become a part of a homogeneous and depoliticized collectivity, feminists provide a space of collective enunciation so that participants can freely express their experiences of womanhood. Their enunciation not only politicizes the need for women's empowerment in Turkey's patriarchal society, but also demystifies the cultural representations of the "powerful" and "privileged" yet surveilled and self-disciplined women portrayed by the advertising discourse. The online activism of feminists in Turkey not only responds to Orkid advertisement, but also to Always advertisement in the sense that they tend to restore the feminist elements in the original Always advertisement that were completely lost during its adaption to Turkey's patriarchal society.

6. Conclusion

Postfeminism is a global phenomenon due to the expansion of markets and consumer cultures, which also determines the ways in which narratives of gender circulate across societies throughout different audiences and sites of production. The complexities behind the local adaptions of postfeminist sensibilities necessitate new conceptualizations of glocal postfeminisms. Turkey's cultural and political context provides a unique setting for postfeminism as a global phenomenon to be observed from local perspectives. In this sense, postfeminism is glocalized in Turkey's contemporary cultural landscape with the adaptation process from Always' advertisement and its local reconfiguration by Orkid brand. The process can be summarized as the following remarks:

1) Always advertisement involves postfeminist imagery in certain aspects.

2) As the adaptation of Always advertisement, Orkid advertisement involves fewer elements of popular feminism and employs a less progressive narrative on women's empowerment.

3) A group of feminists in Turkey do not stay critical to Always advertisement. They rather support the aims of this advertisement and criticize Orkid advertisement for not being a faithful copy of the original ad, contrarily reproducing gendered stereotypes.

4) The glocalized discourse of postfeminism from Always to Orkid ads points at the shifting dynamics of postfeminist sensibility on local grounds; as Always advertisement, which can be criticized for not handling women's issues sufficiently in US context, can be considered as a useful medium for challenging Turkey's patriarchal cultural dynamics.

As Gwynne (2013) reckons, postfeminism can be considered as the phenomenon of late-capitalist era. As the incorporation of feminist elements with the capitalist interests, postfeminism is a sensibility that can be observed in relatively more democratic and egalitarian societies (Gwynne, 2013: 327). Despite its growing economy and the established consumer cultures, Turkey experiences certain problems in terms of democratic standards and human rights, particularly women's rights. Turkey's conservative cultural setting also determines the extent to which elements of feminism can be manifested in popular culture within postfeminist discourse. Eventually, glocal postfeminism becomes a strategy for advertising creatives to negotiate with patriarchal culture by reducing the degree of feminist discourses. In return, postfeminism in

global contexts promise an emancipatory potential for local feminists who are discontent with the insufficient tone of feminist narratives in the glocalized discourse of the cause branding campaigns.

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