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The Social and Cultural Effects of Advertising

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Editor's Foreword

Specialists in cultivation analysis studies insist that the true social and cultural impact of advertising cannot be determined in isolation but must be considered as a contributing element to the total impact of the mass media. Advertising is never experienced in isolation, but as part of a total media environment, interwoven with other components such as entertainment and news. Its effects are a result of this interaction with other media contents.

While this perspective is incontestable, the impulse to try to sort out some of the particular effects of advertising remains powerful for several reasons. Not the least of these is the desire of advertisers to know whether the large amounts of money they are spending on advertising are having any tangible effect on the sales of their products. Similarly, many perceive advertising as having a special role to play in the growth of the consumer mentality--with ethical and moral implications for advertisers, media producers and audiences.

Consequently, researchers often do study advertising in isolation from other media contents. This double issue of *Trends* will explore some of their work, as well as various theoretical views of this important field.

The Editor

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Because of the importance of advertising, and the large amount of writing about it, this double issue of *Communication Research Trends*, totalling sixty pages, is being devoted to this single topic. This is the first issue of *Trends* to be produced in the new home of the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture, on the campus of Saint Louis University. New facilities available to us will help us improve the quality of *Trends* in the future. Issues now in preparation deal with "Audience 'Interpretation' of the Media" and "Media Use in Group and Participatory Communication", which will appear as Vol. 14, Nos. 3 and 4, respectively.

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EFFECTS OF ADVERTISING

I. History of Advertising

Ronald K. L. Collins & David M. Skover. "Commerce and Communication." *Texas Law Review*, Vol. 71, No. 4 (March 1993), pp. 697-743.

Michael Schudson. *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion; Its Dubious Impact on American Society*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Advertising, in a broad sense, has been part of economies since at least the beginnings of trade. Merchants have always shouted out the advantages of their goods in the marketplace. Collins and Skover note that the oldest known written advertisement is a 3000-year-old Babylonian tablet requesting the return of a slave. Shop signs and broadsides affixed to walls, posts, or trees were common advertising devices in all civilizations prior to newspapers. Then the invention of printing by moveable type ushered in a new age of commercial communication. The first printed advertisement in English appeared in 1477, the year after William Caxton set up his first press in England. By the middle of the seventeenth century, British newspapers had adopted advertising as an intrinsic part of their contents. The first daily newspaper in the American colonies devoted as many as ten of its sixteen newspaper columns to advertising. The styles and objectives of these ads stood as models--in English-speaking countries, at least--for the first period of the modern era of advertising.

Modern Advertising: An American Phenomenon

Industrial mass production began in England, but the assembly line and other innovations pushed the United States into the forefront of industrialized nations in the early nineteenth century. Similarly, consumer culture began, according to Rosalind H. Williams (1982), in the court of the Sun King, Louis XIV, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Later, it spread to the general population of France and England in the expositions and department stores of the nineteenth century. But consumption, like production, found its most fertile ground in North America.

As America became more industrialized, especially from the 1880's to the 1920's, mass-appeal advertising paralleled the mass production of goods. Nationwide advertising directed the public's attention to the increasing variety and quantity of products distributed on a nationwide basis. Mass production gave urgency to the creation of a mass market, so that all that was made could be sold, rather than piling up in warehouses. Agencies appeared in France and the United States in the 1840's. By the 1870's, they were using relatively sophisticated marketing surveys and marketing strategies (Ewen 1989: 17). Maloney (1994: 13-15) also traces the origins of advertising research to the late nineteenth century and links it to the growth of the agencies. Research reports and textbooks began to appear around the turn of the century, notably those by Harlow Gale (1900) and Walter Dill Scott (1903). But Maloney notes that an especially rapid proliferation in research on advertising from many disciplinary perspectives began after the Second World War.

Daniel Pope (1983) and Roland Marchand (1985) are widely recognized sources for further information on the rise of U.S. advertising.

The Evolution of a Cultural Institution

Most advertising during this period focused on the product--its construction, its performance, its uses, its price, and its advantages. Product-information advertising aimed both to familiarize the newspaper reader with the national brand and to introduce new products and educate the consumer as to their purposes. Many of the claims made for products were excessive and often mendacious, bringing advertising into disrepute well before the turn of the century.

After the 1920's, the product information model was replaced by a model of competitive mass advertising that stressed product imagery and product personality. This advertising placed commodities within natural or social settings--a garden, a home, a party attended by sophisticated people, etc.--in order to project the meanings and values associated with those settings onto the commodities. Similarly, product-personality advertising equated the personal attributes of individuals with the qualities of the commodity: "The cigarette of discriminating smokers."

Influenced by the new forms of advertising, the meaning of the commercial exchange altered fundamentally: people paid money for product image

and personality instead of product utility, as in earlier transactions. A combination of factors interacted to promote the emergence of product-image and product-personality advertising between the 1920's and the early 1950's. Among the most significant were technological innovations, especially photography and radio, the rise of parity products--manufactured items so nearly identical that special efforts had to be exerted to discriminate one brand from another--and the beginnings of statistically-based audience demographics and market segmentation strategies.

The technological developments offered better opportunities for product presentation. Radio's sound transcended distance and time limitations in transmitting commercial messages. The realistic representations of photography conveyed images in ways that older forms of illustration could not. Advertisers used the possibilities of photography by intensifying the symbolic association between goods and the consumer's self-image. These possibilities in advertising stimulated the development of emotional, affective, or 'mood' advertising. Under the influence of photography facts about the product had to give way to product fictions, and utility became less important than fantasy. Likewise, marketers exploited the potential of radio by commercializing its content and revolutionizing advertising's form.

Products which were physically indistinguishable and were set apart only by their brand names still could differ in the image given to the product. A fictitious distinction, a belief, became a product attribute. Marketers began to differentiate goods less by describing the real or reputed character of the product itself and more by product imagery. Audience demographics and market segmentation strategies developed out of this urge to set the product apart. With data about prospective consumers--including geography, social and psychological characteristics and buying behavior--the advertiser could more easily reach distinct market segments with appropriate commercial messages.

All these factors distanced advertising from product information. Product identity and product identification became important, rather than the character and quality of the product itself. In the 1950's and 60's, notions of lifestyle also became increasingly important. Greater affluence and the popularity of television, among other things, made it easy for advertisers to promote the lifestyle ethic. Advertising told commercial stories that linked the individual to a social group or an economic class and associated products with the style of consumption of that group or class.

The lifestyle format widened even more the gap between advertising, on the one hand, and utilitarian messages and their "reason-why" logic, on the other. Commercial television and refined demographic research strategies stimulated lifestyle advertising. Programs were delivered in a format suited for the sale of advertising blocks. Time became expensive when commercial television was the medium. The original one-minute commercial, replaced by the thirty-second one, became a fifteen-second flash because of rising costs. This had a significant impact on the presentation: little time was left for reasoned argumentation, comparative analysis, or meaningful product information.

Consumers are now divided into market--lifestyle--segments characterized by "psychographical" features which describe all their buying preferences. According to Hal Himmelstein (1984: 64), "The ultimate goal of this research approach is to develop a group's so-called psychographic portrait, consisting of generally applicable personal values, attitudes, and emotions." Using such a "portrait," advertisers could better identify and exploit the wishes and fantasies of potential consumers. Like earlier demographic research, psychographics identified blocs of people for advertisers, who then targeted them as buyers of their products. Psychographics continued the process by which lifestyle images were given priority over the presentation of facts about the product.

Advertising today uses all the many arrows in its quiver: information, image, personality, and lifestyle. How it mixes these for a particular campaign also depends on what factors are present: the kind of product or service being sold, intended audience, the character of the actual audience, the product or service type, the context in which it will be used, and the medium by which the message is transmitted.

Changes in Consumption

As a result of all this, changes have occurred in the way products are consumed. Michael Schudson (1993) says that today's advertising and consumer-culture have roots in the changing nature of the market in the late 19th century. Those changes paralleled changes in the modes of transportation and communication, urban growth and a cultural climate for, and social fact of, social and geographic mobility. In the 1950's, people had more money and they could afford to purchase more goods. Slowly the companies started to sell in a

different way. From the selling concept, "try to sell everything you produce without considering if there is any need for it," manufacturers came to use the marketing concept, "Discover and appeal to existing needs and wants." But, only a small range of needs were appealed to. Many of the needs satisfied were environmentally wasteful, materialistic and short-term. Other needs were and still are unsatisfied.

II. Two Research Approaches

Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock, David W. Stewart (Eds.). *Attention, Attitude, and Affect in Response to Advertising.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994.

John C. Maloney. "The First 90 Years of Advertising Research." Chapter 2, in Clark, Brock, and Stewart 1994 (op. cit.). pp. 13-54.

Advertising can be approached by two main research paths.

One deals with ways to devise more effective advertising. Its point of view is that of business. It is responsible for the bulk of the material published on advertising: books on consumer behavior, how-to-advertise, marketing guides, and even semiological approaches that explain the complex world of the consumer's preferences.

Maloney (1994) notes that many of the research methods used in the study of advertising's effectiveness just after World War II have been called into question by the methodologists of the various academic disciplines involved. One big stumbling block was the large number of factors, apart from advertising, which affected sales. As computers came into widespread use, in the 1960's, sophisticated computerized models were increasingly used to refine theories and procedures.

The other path, the critique of advertising, is more from the consumer's point of view. Advertisements are analyzed and their influences on the public are measured, not in terms of buying behavior and sales, as the business-oriented researcher would do, but in terms of psychological, social and cultural changes attributable to advertising.

With few exceptions, the critical scholars are negative toward advertising, in contrast to the business point of view. The latter often claim that advertising only mirrors the society in which it exists and that advertising itself is unable to create wants and needs other than those which consumers already experience. Studies from the critical viewpoint nearly all deny this, and a positive or neutral stance seems almost impossible to achieve if one assumes an initially critical perspective.

This issue of *Trends* is an attempt to review some of the latest developments along both paths of research as dispassionately as possible, harkening back to when we last devoted an issue to advertising, twelve years ago (Vol. 3, No. 3, 1982). What is new in the nineties? Are the old criticisms still valid and as vehement as before, or have the two paths come closer together? What is left of the Frankfurt School--the classical critics of the Enlightenment and its progeny, the "cultural industries"? How Marxist are the new critical theories? All these questions might be explored. But the key issues remain, "What is advertising doing to us, to our society and our culture?" and "What, if anything, can, or should we do about it?"

III. Arguments for "American-style" Advertising

Commercial Advertising

"Advertising", as we usually understand it in contemporary society, is a process of persuading a mass audience through the mass media to buy commercial products. It is distinguished from direct selling--the hawker of merchandise in a public market--on the one hand and "public service announcements"--times of church services, health warnings sponsored by non-profit organizations, etc.--on the other.

In this issue of *Trends*, we are chiefly interested in commercial advertising by large enterprises. Local advertising--announcements of food prices in supermarkets or of sales in department stores--is ethically less problematic than the expensive, wide-reaching advertising campaigns of national or multinational corporations. The main criticisms leveled against advertising deal with ethics--in the narrow sense of conscious distortion and manipulation, or in the broader sense of what the forms of advertising are doing to human discourse in general. Advertising, by its nature, changes and directs human behavior and culture--although its only intention is to sell. The critics, even those who do not doubt the general morality of that effect, call into question the ethics of many of the means employed and the appropriateness of particular campaigns.

An "American" Institution

Large-scale commercial advertising is characteristically Western. Moreover, even if it is carried on by local advertising agencies in Tokyo, Singapore or Nairobi, its pattern is overwhelmingly American in origin. Furthermore, the driving engines of much of contemporary advertising are those large American corporations that perceive advertising as an indispensable element in their companies' profitability. Their dependence on advertising has set a precedent which others feel they must follow if they are to remain competitive. The kind of advertising we are discussing therefore can appropriately be called "American", even if it is used to sell the products of Sony, Toyota, Hyundai, Nestlé, Shell, Volkswagen, or Volvo.

Defenses: The Business Perspective

Bruce Bendinger. *The Copy Work Shop Workbook.* Chicago: Copy Workshop, 1988.

Courtland L. Bovee and William F. Arens. *Contemporary Advertising.* Fourth Edition. Boston: Irwin, 1992.

Roxanne Hovland and Gary B. Wilcox, (Eds.). *Advertising in Society; Classic and Contemporary Readings on Advertising's Role in Society.* Homewood, IL: NTC Business Books, 1989.

J. L. Piñuel. "La Publicidad", Chapter Nine in *La Dirección de Comunicación*, by M. H. Westphalen and J. L. Piñuel. Madrid: Ediciones del Prado, 1993, pp. 433-561.

Both the manufacturer and the advertising agency share in making advertising. The manufacturer devises the marketing strategy, and the agency develops ways to carry it out. The ultimate responsibility for advertising, however, lies with the manufacturer, who is buying it. An agency only devises a format, which the manufacturer can accept or reject. If dissatisfied with one agency's approach, the manufacturer can go to other agencies until it is satisfied, or it can devise its own campaign. Since the manufacturer's role is so great, ethics in advertising is essentially tied to ethics in marketing.

Bruce Bendinger's widely used book (1988) illustrates this division of responsibilities. It is a technical explanation of how to write good and creative copy. The author makes the striking comment in his foreword that he is not very involved with ethics. In fact, the book does not deal with ethics at all, just good advertising in terms of getting attention to sell the product. Although Bendinger does not say that ethics is not important, he thinks it is not appropriate to deal with in his book because it is not part of the creative process. But where *do* people take care of ethics in advertising? The industry has laid itself open to criticism in the past by not assigning a high enough priority to ethical considerations.

The book by Bovee and Arens (1992) is a standard advertising handbook used widely in business and journalism schools. Its arguments in defense of advertising therefore can be taken as representative. Although the book deals mainly with "how advertising works from a business perspective" and how to run successful campaigns, the authors also took most of the main criticisms into consideration.

"Show Window": They highlight one of advertising's most important functions as making the products of industry visible to the public. It is the most visible activity of business, its show window. By showing people their products, producers are making claims for them, but also they are inviting public criticism and attack if their products do not live up to their promised benefits. For this reason, proponents say it is safer to buy advertised products than unadvertised competing products. The makers of the advertised product put their brand names and reputations on the line. They will try harder than others to fulfill their claims and maintain their good reputations.

"Materialism": In response to the charge that advertising makes us too materialistic, the authors admit that advertising affects our value system by suggesting that the means to a happier life are in the

acquisition of goods, more material things. But they point out that different consumers have different needs and desires. Advertising presents the possibilities; it is up to the consumers to determine which are among their more urgent needs. Some enjoy a simple lifestyle; others want to indulge in the material pleasures of a modern technological society. There are advertising sponsors making appeals at both poles of this continuum. A whole industry exists--and advertises--to sell products designed for those who want to live "more simply"! Material satisfaction may even serve as a means to create a wider range of opportunities to achieve higher cultural and spiritual values. For example, advertising informs the public about upcoming cultural events like opera and drama, thereby making them more accessible. Gregorian chant--promoted by advertising--is currently (Spring, 1994) near the top of the pop music charts in some countries!

"Manipulation": According to the critics, "Advertising manipulates us to buy things we don't need by playing on our emotions. The persuasive techniques are so powerful that consumers are helpless to defend themselves." In rebuttal, Bovee and Arens say that advertising cannot make us buy things we do not need. According to the authors, people who say the opposite have little respect for consumers' common sense and their ability to make decisions. Many advertised products fail. Subliminal advertising, which has inspired many fears among critics, has never been proven effective (cf., Zanot in Dana, 1992: 56-62). Some products are successful even without advertising. In short, Bovee and Arens would agree with Schudson that advertising's influence has been exaggerated. According to them, people are skeptical and do not pay that much attention to advertising.

"Artificial Needs": To the complaint that, 'Advertising creates artificial needs,' they respond that if there is no need for a product then people will not buy it. Advertising does not create needs; it helps the consumer decide which among the various brands to purchase. Marketers have found that the way to advertise and sell products is to satisfy genuine needs and wants rather than to invent needs.

"Too Much": Many complain that there is too much advertising, but the authors say we will just have to put up with it, because the dominant economic system demands a high level of mass distribution of products. Advertising volume will stay high because mass distribution supports our free enterprise system. It is the price we have to pay for free television, freedom of the press and our high standard of living.

"Offensive": They acknowledge that many find advertising to be offensive and in bad taste. What is "offensive" often is subjective, determined by time and culture. Many things that used to be offensive in the past are no longer offensive. Liquor ads can be offensive for some people while others take them for granted. Often the products themselves are not offensive, but the advertising offends to gain attention. Benetton, a clothing manufacturer, in 1991 literally plastered Europe with billboards showing nothing but a blood-soaked newborn baby, with no further comment and no evident relation to the product. The same company simultaneously staged a similar, "distraction marketing" magazine ad campaign in the United States--arguing that it wanted to stir up discussion of controversial issues. One of the ads featured a nun kissing a priest, others portrayed a dying AIDS victim, a corpse in a pool of blood on a street, etc. (Collins and Skover 1993: 713-715). However, if a campaign does not in some way attract people, it is the standard opinion of advertising experts that it will fail. The audience has the veto and can ignore the offending advertisements. But advertisers are aware of what the general public considers as distasteful and, for the most part, try to avoid it, the Benetton example apparently notwithstanding.

"Stereotypes": Bovee and Arens admit that advertising perpetuates stereotypes, as many critics claim. However, great changes have occurred in this regard in recent years. Advertisers have become sensitive to stereotyping population groups, because these groups mean business for them just as much as other groups. Minority advertising has become niche-marketing, instead of the use of stereotypes. The image of women in ads also has changed significantly. Men and women are more equally portrayed. This is due not to feminist pressures, according to the authors, but more to changes in the marketplace which make the exploitative representation of women counterproductive.

"Deceptive": To the complaint that, 'Advertising is deceptive,' they reply that continued deception would be self-defeating because it causes consumers to turn against a product. Even 'puffery'--"the best", "greatest", "premier"--is sometimes believed and therefore deceptive. There is little evidence that deceptive advertising helps sales. It is in the interest of the advertiser to stay honest.

"Adds to the Cost": J. L. Piñuel (1993), writing from a Spanish context, but nonetheless about the characteristically American form of the advertising

institution, adds another often-heard complaint: that advertising adds to the cost of the product to the consumer." He notes that, in Spain, a car of the Seat-Audi-Volkswagen Company would theoretically cost 100,000 pesetas less if the cost of advertising were omitted. Consumers might cry, "We are paying to have something sold to us!" But Piñuel answers that this is not true because advertising makes possible mass production, which in turn reduces prices through economy of scale. He notes that there are many other factors in the cost of an automobile which are equally intangible, but of acknowledged importance: aesthetics, psychological satisfaction, etc.

Social benefits of advertising

Bovee and Arens also say that advertising stimulates the development of new and better products. It gives us a wider choice, it holds prices down, it encourages competition. It subsidizes the media, supports freedom of the press, provides means of dissemination of information for health and social issues as well as for products. Although advertising sometimes is misused, the Federal Trade Commission has reported that 97% is satisfactory. It is up to both advertisers and consumers to ensure that advertising is used intelligently and responsibly.

Advertising ethics and social responsibility

Advertising is bound by laws, but it also is tempered by ethical responsibility and the canons of good taste. You can act unethically without breaking any laws, but the community may impose its own informal sanctions for such violations. Most advertisers claim today to maintain high ethical standards and socially responsible advertising practices, but the sins of the past haunt them. Still, the pressures to make a strong and innovative impression are so intense that the temptation to strain the limits of good taste and even morality often becomes too strong to resist. Michael J. Stankey (in Hoveland and Wilcox 1989: 434) reports that ethical considerations tend to be an afterthought in the planning of most advertising campaigns, despite the high level of temptation.

Previously free of formal restrictions, advertising is now a heavily regulated profession, due to earlier excesses and shortcomings. Consumer groups, special-interest groups and government can review, check, control and change advertising. In the United States, federal regulation of advertising imposes strict controls on advertisers through law. There are a number of institutional bodies which look after the rules. The Federal Trade Commission is the major governmental regulator of national advertising for products sold in interstate commerce. Its role is to protect consumers and competitors from deceptive and unfair advertising. Probably the most important body, however, is the National Advertising Review Council. It is a self-regulatory organization in the advertising industry. Because of its prompt action, informality, modest cost and expertise in the field, it has special advantages over the court system in resolving advertising disputes.

Consumer Controls

Through consumer protection groups, consumers have power to influence advertising practices. They have promoted consumer research to learn what consumers want and have caused advertisers and agencies to pay more attention to product claims. In the end, say advertising's defenders, listening to these groups will pay off in better sales and products.

But organization is no substitute for vigilance. Collins and Skover (1993: 715) cite the example of "an advertisement for extravagant jewelry in the form of a cross [which] ran in a Florida newspaper on Good Friday in 1991; it urged readers to 'Share Our Passion'." The authors note that this extreme example of bad taste "drew little or no public complaint," possibly because many readers already had begun to take it for granted "that consumerism increasingly has become America's 'new time religion' and advertising its greatest prophets." (*ibid.* 101n.). In any event, lack of public protest will invite greater excesses, whereas even mild protests frequently will have a chastening effect, precisely because advertising's whole purpose is to create a favorable public impact, not an unfavorable one.

IV. Arguments Against "American-style" Advertising

One of the most offensive aspects of advertising for the intellectual is its total abandonment of rational discourse in favor of the non-rational image which dominates the fifteen-second television spot. Collins and Skover (1993:712) quote anthropologist Jules Henry (1963:48) to the effect that the kind of

commercial thinking "which accepts proof that is not proof" has become an "*essential* factor in our economy", since it would be hard to sell anything to "careful thinkers".

The critics are certainly numerous, and many undoubtedly are reacting against the seeming irrationality of advertising. Many other arguments also emerge, as the pro-advertising rebuttals cited above have suggested.

Commodification of Culture

Collins and Skover (1993) focus on the ways in which advertising has turned culture into a commodity. Mass communication is almost wholly determined by commercial considerations, and the mass media give us the codes of our culture. They agree (pg. 699) with Burt Neuborne, a spokesman for the Association of National Advertisers, that "as a means of expressing shared values and a common national ideology, advertising dwarfs any other genre of communication." By these criteria, we have become largely the sum of what we buy.

Communication About and Through Commodities

All our communications, like our cultures, are suffused with objects, the symbols and ideology of commercialism. "We talk about commodities, we refer to ideas and feelings given symbolic form and meaning by commodities, and we express the cultural values embodied in our commodified social system" (*ibid.*, pg. 700).

In its transition from selling through information to selling through image and lifestyle, in the 1920's and 30's, advertising became a 'transformative' vehicle. It encodes products with symbolic meanings - independent of their functional values. The transition has been marked by a decline in product information. Symbolic associations could be greatly intensified through new technologies such as photography and radio. Marketing exploited their potential to the maximum to intensify the symbolic association between goods and the consumer's self-image.

The reduced length of commercials eliminated reasoned argument but was well suited for lifestyle and image advertising. Market segmentation targeted groups by income, sex, age, lifestyle and similar demographic and psychographic features. Today advertising has become a mix of image, lifestyle, personality advertising and product information--but often very little of the latter.

Communication in a Commercial Culture

Advertising has become an all-surrounding thing. One can go nowhere to escape it. According to the authors, "America became a junkyard of commodity ideology", with more than 130 billion dollars spent on advertising each year. The jumble of images which results presumably gets consumers to buy, but their appeals often have little substantive connection to the product.

The Mirror Theory

Collins and Skover 1993, *op. cit.*

Andrew Wernick. *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression.* London: Sage, 1992.

According to the "mirror theory" put forth by some defenders of advertising, the industry simply takes its contents from culture, transforms them and throws them back. A metamorphosis occurs when culture's symbols are associated with goods. "The meanings of images and ideas are infused into products and services, just as the meanings of products and services are infused into images and ideas" (Collins and Skover 1993: 708). Advertising then releases the altered meanings back into a commercialized world ready to deliver products and services. The authors see "something parasitic" in this process of feeding on the products of noncommercial culture--ideology, myth, art, sexual attraction, even religion--for commercial ends.

Andrew Wernick (1992) describes the process similarly. He notes that the selling function of the advertising message limits what is mirrored. Promotion is always positive; commodities are presented as the road to happiness. In short, advertising uses existing values and symbols but by no means reflects them. It typifies what is diverse, filters out what is antagonistic and depressing, and naturalizes the role of consumption. The presented picture is flat, one-dimensional. It habituates the audience to its interpretation of what is "normal."

It can go even further. Commodity imaging constructs the precise ideological focus most appropriate for a certain market situation. It builds dense semiological systems out of a selection of cultural items. In this way commodity imaging can, to a degree, be ideologically creative, and it may bring

about a real change in the culture's symbols.

While calling advertising "parasitic", Collins and Skover (1993: 708) would agree with Wernick that it does contribute something by reconstituting meaning, rather than merely reflecting it. The devoured cultural contents retain their affectivity but are stripped of their context and "sold back" to the consumer as a new cultural system--with new, commercial values replacing the original noncommercial values. For example, women are commodified to sell almost everything: cars, perfumes, etc. Their bodies, sexuality and mystique are traded. Today's mass advertising has less to do with products than with lifestyle and image, not reason but romance. Therefore it is a cultural system instead of an informational system. But it is an incomplete cultural system, since the real values of its noncommercial contents have been drained out, leaving only their affects attached to commodities. Furthermore, only the pleasant side of life is shown, not the unpleasant and painful experiences with which a complete socio-cultural system must cope.

The distorted image reflected by advertising is conservative, an effect of appealing to the lowest common cultural denominators, with which all will agree and which can offend as few as possible. In the constructed world, the safe compromise but false unity of perspectives which advertising shows is represented as our deepest and natural desire, according to Wernick. The middle-of-the-road approach, the fear to offend any group, has been politically institionalized. Therefore as an ideological vehicle, advertising is not just constrained by the logic to hug the middle of the road, but it also becomes subject to the pushes and pulls of cultural politics, and it is punished when it blunders too far off the track.

Ramifications of Commercialized Communication

Collins and Skover (1993: 710-711) list seven "cultural ramifications of the commodification of discourse"--consequences which follow "when the values of communication are fused to the market": The logic of discourse changes and becomes distorted. The recontextualization of images and ideas debases their former normative values. The identity of the consumer is reshaped as a relationship to goods and services, which themselves are turned into "fetishes" with unrealistic symbolisms of power. Reliance of mass media on advertising revenues gives advertisers direct influence on media contents, and they can reshape almost the entire spectrum of the media to meet their needs. The constant urging to change products and services contributes to waste. "When messages are disseminated largely because of their market value, the ideals of citizen-democracy succumb to those of consumer-democracy." And, finally, politicians' imitation of mass marketing strategies makes political discourse indistinguishable from advertising discourse.

The authors paint a disturbing vision of an advertising-dominated world: Logical relationships are destroyed when there is no longer any real connection between the product and the images and emotions used to sell it. The use of images from religion, art, patriotism and similar noncommercial dimensions of culture trivializes and debases not only the images but also the noncommercial institutions themselves.

People become regarded as "economic animals" when the real relationships of life are distorted as human nature is devalued and defined only in relation to the goods and services humans consume. Values far beyond what they really possess are attributed to the commodities being sold.

Consciously or unconsciously, those who pay for advertising come to control the media, the financial "bottom line" becomes the only criterion of "worthwhile" programming or publishing, and both the artistic and moral values of the media are inevitably degraded. The waste of resources becomes a virtue, under this influence, as product "turnover" to inflate the "bottom line" overshadows even the most urgent demands of environmental conservation.

If people are only "economic animals", it would follow that they have no rights except as contributors to the economy, and the central principles of democracy would come to be gravely threatened. This threat would be made greater by the assumption, gained from the advertising-dominated culture, that the selection of political leaders should be guided by the same mindless process by which advertisers now sell their commodities.

The Legal Protection of Commercial Expression

As legal theorists, Collins and Skover are chiefly concerned with the legal aspects of advertising. Advertising is regulated in the United States, but regulation can legally go only so far, because legal precedent in Constitutional law has given commercial expression much the same protection as other forms of speech. It is the informational function of commercial speech which gives it this claim to protection, according to a U.S. Supreme Court decision (*ibid.*, pg.

732). The role of the Federal Trade Commission can therefore be that of a watchdog of truth against deceptive and false advertising, since its "informational" value is at issue. But, they feel, most contemporary advertising has little to do with "information", because it is "imagistic", not rational. Legally, it can be said not to be "commercial speech" at all, because it only presents images and does not "propose a commercial transaction." But some legal authorities (Kozinski and Banner, 1990) say it should be protected since it uses common cultural symbols and is therefore protected by the same "constitutional umbrella" which protects political, religious and social symbols. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution exalted the liberty of individual action through self expression. After a century this was extended to corporations as well, when a unanimous Supreme Court declared that they were "persons" under the Fourteenth Amendment.

In the opinion of Collins and Skover, what is missing from the legal treatments of commercial speech is a grasp on the reality of the advertisers' world as the advertisers see it. Few legal theorists see the implications of the actual workings of advertising on their visions of free speech. "The reality of the mass advertising marketplace is simply: **IMAGE IS ALL**" (pg. 736). In the authors' view, advertising speech should be handled more restrictively in law than individual speech because truth is irrelevant in image advertising. Since there is no information content, "the right to know" is also irrelevant to advertising. Furthermore, they say that advertising is part of the commercial culture, not the informational, and therefore should not be automatically protected constitutionally.

However, they fear that those who would question the current level of legal protection enjoyed by advertising are fighting a losing battle, because advertising is so intimately related to a commercialism which many Americans tend to equate (wrongly, the authors imply) with American capitalism and free enterprise--even if commercialism is gnawing away at traditional constitutional values.

Alex Kozinski and Stuart Banner, in a response to Collins and Skover (1993), accuse them of being too theoretically based. They insist that the degree to which commercial speech is legally protected depends more on the history of actual cases than on the First Amendment alone. The Bill of Rights really said nothing either for or against commercial speech. They do feel, however, that it is good to open discussion on the topic, since the development of mass media in recent years has made it difficult to apply to it legal principles originally formulated to meet the needs of face-to-face and print communication.

Is Law Enough?

Ross D. Petty. *The Impact of Advertising Law on Business and Public Policy*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 1992.

In his comprehensive public policy analysis of advertising law from the perspective of social sciences and communication, not from that of law itself, Petty asks, "Are US advertising laws ruining competition? Are they helping or hurting consumers?" The recommendations in the book are meant to reduce costs and improve the quality of law; to enhance free competition and still protect consumers from misleading or unfair advertising.

The book, by what it does not cover more than by what it does, makes one thing especially clear: even the most effective laws can respond to only a few of the negative elements which the critics see in advertising. Petty describes the structures of advertising in detail, especially the ins and outs of American advertising law. But his book also illustrates the correctness of the view of Collins and Skover that advertising law has no grip on the cultural influence of advertising. Advertising law deals with unfair, deceptive or distasteful advertising and similar issues, as do consumer protection groups. Neither the law nor consumer protection groups can have much direct effect on the social and cultural impact of advertising, the area where it is most influential and most disturbing.

Advertising forms and reforms culture by selectively showing only certain parts of it. It is the chief supplier of iconography to the western world, but it is an iconography of the "good life", not of real life. There can be no laws against showing products in opulent, perfect environments, and it would not usually make much sense for an advertiser to do otherwise.

Criticism of advertising is not so much a critique of the free-market system as it is a call on advertisers to place their products in a **real** environment. But that is not in the nature of advertising. It is meant to sell, and therefore it must idealize images and the products involved. But idealization leads to distortion, and the constant diet of advertising creates for the audience a cultural image of the world far out of line with the way the world really is. Telling people you have a

product to sell is not wrong in a free-market system. But the symbols and images advertisers use are held, by the critics, to reflect real culture wrongly and to have a negative transformative influence on culture--particularly on norms and values. Not even the advertisers want that to happen, but it seems to be intrinsic to the nature of the institution. Extremes can be dealt with by law or consumer pressure, but not the day-to-day ways and manners of appealing, of getting our attention, which inevitably shape the ways we view life.

Advertising laws protect consumers. They also protect competition, with all the advantages that has for the economy. But they have little long-term impact on social structures or culture.

Culture at the Crux

Sut Jhally, "Commercial Culture, Collective Values and the Future." *Texas Law Review*. Vol. 71, No. 4 (March 1993), pp. 805-814.

Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising. Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society.* New York: Routledge, 1987.

John Kavanaugh, *Following Christ in Consumer Society.* Second edition, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1992.

Andrew Wernick, 1992, *op. cit.*

In his article (1993), a response to that of Collins and Skover (1993) in the same issue of *Texas Law Review*, Jhally criticizes the two authors from the neo-Marxist perspective of political economy. He had earlier (1987) analyzed the thought of Jean Baudrillard concerning the fetishism of goods, and suggested that advertising has become the religion of the consumer society.

In the 1993 article, he highlights some fundamental questions he does not feel the two other authors have adequately addressed. "Around what notion of happiness and satisfaction is our present society organized and what institutional structures arise around such notions? What happens when we integrate *real people* and not abstract economic individuals into our debates concerning issues of consumption? What values and ideas does a commercially dictated culture suppress?" And, "How does our prevailing commercial discourse encourage us to think of the future?" (Jhally 1993: 805).

Commercial discourse has so infiltrated every aspect of our environment that production, distribution and consumption have become "the defining rationale for the organization of social life" (pg. 807). The advertising industry has spread wide the value of economic growth as a source from which happiness and satisfaction derive for individuals. This industry now generates more messages than any other creative force in the world, and through its mediation the economy is seen not only as a "mechanism that provides employment through increased production, but it is the fountain from which flow the sources of real happiness--commodities." Jhally states that, due to advertising, not only in the West but throughout the world, personal welfare, satisfaction and happiness, even political freedom, have become directly linked with the presence of an "immense accumulation of commodities".

According to Jhally, the most valuable insights into contemporary consumer behavior are provided by anthropologists (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 65; Sahlins 1976: 177; etc.) and sociologists who have demonstrated, in contrast to economic models, that consumption is a social activity, not an individual one. Also, the main determinants of satisfaction are social rather than material (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1990: 302).

Jhally (1993) points out that a market based society has a tendency to push people towards things it can provide--goods and services--while the real sources of satisfaction are outside the capability of the marketplace to provide. The advertising industry ceased concentrating on goods alone and connected the images of a socially desired life with commodities--creating the illusion that one could be bought with the other.

The author notes that commercial speech addresses us as individuals. The market-mechanism mediates between individuals and their needs. But we are moving into a situation wherein we are confronted with social and environmental problems which need a collective approach and solution, such as affordable health insurance, child care, education and housing. "A commercially dominated media system is unable to pose hard questions for fear of polluting the environment for advertising messages, and for fear of losing audiences who only want to be confronted with pleasant messages" (pg. 811).

Looking into the future, Jhally sees that the present system of consumption is absorbing raw materials and natural resources which cannot be replaced. If we do not take action now to limit the exploitation of natural resources, we will experience a crisis in the middle of

the next century. There is an inevitable end to unlimited consumerism. The time-frame of advertising is very short-term. It does not encourage us to think beyond the immediacy of present sensual experience. In fact, according to Jhally, the more crowded the advertising environment becomes, the more direct and more deeply appealing to emotional states it becomes, leaving us no room for thinking.

"The value of a collective social future is one that does not, and will not, find expression within our commercially dominated culture. Indeed the prevailing values provide no incentive to develop bonds with future generations" (Jhally 1993: 813). The new World Order will be based upon a struggle for scarce resources as the Gulf War proved. Consumer society is based on scarce resources and the peoples of the Third World are seen by the industrialized world as enemies who are making "unreasonable" claims on those resources. According to Jhally, the West responds, "The future and the Third World can wait." Instead of being distracted by "ideologically inspired idiocy," such as "the marketplace of ideas and advertising as a form of information," he thinks we should attack "the real and pressing problems that face us as a species."

Alienation

Father John Kavanaugh, S.J. (1992), cites a certain appeal remaining in Marxism, even after the failure of the economic system it inspired. Its contribution was to critique the costs which capitalist achievements have exacted from humanity--individually and collectively; psychologically, spiritually and culturally. Marx developed a critique of economic and political ideologies which alienate us from our personal and social worlds. Ironically Marxism-Leninism was one such ideology which was destroyed by that very alienation. But the consumer culture is equally dangerous to the human spirit.

Kavanaugh has no objection to things and possessions, technology, or even capitalism, but all these things have been changed into idols, and systems of virtual enslavement to the way of life of consumerism. The advertising industry is a major influence in this development. Goods are personified by advertising. We have lost our interiority and fill it up with goods. Desires, values and ultimately ourselves all have been turned into commodities by television advertising. In our consumption culture the influence of advertising leads to degeneration of values, such as love and friendship, which are projected onto goods by the advertising industry.

The Semiology of Promotional Culture

Andrew Wernick (1992), using a semiological approach, shows how the impact of advertising on cultural formation has become increasingly fundamental with the spread of the market into every corner of life. The resulting "promotional culture" has transformed the character of all forms of communication.

Moving beyond a simple critique of advertising as an ideological process, Wernick relates its impact to the broad social processes gathered under the label of "post-modernism". He traces the impact of "promotion" from the selling of goods to electoral politics and even to promoting the university. In doing so he questions not only the shape of contemporary societies but also the role of the individual as an acting and communicating subject.

In case-studies of selected advertisements Wernick is able to explore several aspects of advertising: its history, its influence on society and its uses. The cases illustrate how advertising involves the re-imaging of gender, the re-imaging of cars, and the dazzling symbolical complexity which happens when advertising media advertise for themselves.

The depth and acuity of semiological analyses yield a refined view of how deep rooted advertising is in the American society. The role which Wernick is ascribing to advertising as a cultural force is an important one.

In his conclusion he suggests a rather radical way to save culture from becoming completely "promotional". As a central principle, cultural production would have to become non-commercial. But that would mean it would have to be tax-supported, so it would not have to depend on income from advertising and corporate sponsorships. It also would mean that public values would have to be changed, so expression and communication would not be restricted by economic considerations. Obviously this would have to be done as part of a larger reorientation of society towards goals which are social and humanistic, not economic.

Unfortunately, this does not seem very practical. Trouble always arises when attempts are made to define "culture" for legal purposes--especially for the purpose of doling out public funds equitably to those claiming to represent different aspects of "culture". Where the effort actually has been made the results often have been disconcerting, as in Britain under some local councils, where gay and lesbian clubs as well as

separate community centers for every imaginable ethnic minority siphoned off much of the money designated for "culture". Nevertheless, the present situation of a growing market orientation and consequent economic determination of cultural production is at least equally disconcerting.

V. Media Education and Advocacy

Richard W. Pollay and Banwari Mittal. "Here's the Beef: Factors, Determinants, and Segments in Consumer Criticism of Advertising". *Journal of Marketing.* Vol. 57 (1993), July, pp. 99-114.

Richard W. Pollay. "The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising". *Journal of Marketing.* Vol. 50 (1986[a]), April, pp. 18-36.

Richard W. Pollay. "Campaigns, Change and Culture: On The Polluting Potential of Persuasion". *Information Campaigns: Balancing Social Values and Social Change.* Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research. Vol.18, edited by Charles T. Salmon. Newbury Park: Sage, 1989, pp. 185-196.

Rick Crawford. "Techno Prisoners". *Adbusters* (forthcoming). This article is condensed from a chapter in the also forthcoming book, *Invisible Crises*, edited by George Gerbner, Hamid Mowlana and Herbert Schiller. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, scheduled for publication in September 1994.

Richard W. Pollay. "Media Resistance to Consumer Resistance: On the Stonewalling of 'Adbusters' and Advocates". *Advances in Consumer Research.* Vol. 20. Provo, UT: Association of Consumer Research, 1993. p. 129.

Research for Education

An important concern of those involved in the growing movement for media awareness education (sometimes called "media literacy" education) is with advertising and how people can "defend themselves against it." Among the many strands which have to be sorted out before media education can be properly carried on, however, is the need to find out just why and how people object to and distrust advertising. Pollay and Mittal (1993) have given a partial answer by their empirical study of the ways people perceive the social and economic effects of advertising. They wanted to determine the adequacy of the usual methods used to study advertising. In addition, they wanted to make and test a research model of beliefs and attitudes towards advertising and to study the factors in belief structures about advertising and their importance.

Their respondents reported some positive and some negative impressions of advertising. It was regarded as communicating product information, thereby promoting market efficiency and improving the economy. On the other hand, it was seen as misleading, as promoting materialism and corrupting values. While shaping the kind of person who will buy goods and therefore contribute to the economy, advertising also was thought to undermine children's education and to promote sinful inclinations.

An earlier, two-dimensional model of advertising's perceived effects--that of Bauer and Greyser (1968)--was found to be deficient, since it gave inadequate place to personal uses of advertising, such as for product information and amusement. The new research also delineated three kinds of cultural effects more sharply than had been done earlier: materialism, value corruption and falsity.

Public attitudes towards advertising were found to be increasingly critical and distrustful. The proliferation and intrusiveness of advertising were especially annoying to many.

Unintended Consequences

In the earliest article cited (1986a) Pollay presents a survey of the work of some of the most significant scholars in the humanities and social sciences who have written on advertising's social and cultural consequences. He classifies their views by discipline: Psychologists think advertising is a source of learning or conditioning. Sociologists see it as establishing role models and as impacting on social behavior. Anthropologists view it as ritual and symbols, giving

meaning to artifacts and other objects. Educators are concerned with its influence on child development. Communication scholars often equate it with propaganda and analyze its role within the mass media and its influence on the media.

Advertising is subtly seductive, causing a preoccupation with material concerns and the assumption that commercial means lead to happiness. Pollay lists a number of reasons for advertising's effectiveness. It is pervasive, it is repeated over and over, it systematically uses research designed to improve attention, comprehension, retention and behavioral impact. Finally, its impact is enhanced by the fact that its audience is increasingly living in a cultural vacuum, away from traditional sources of cultural influence such as family, church and school.

Mainstreaming

In view of the relative cultural vacuum in which it operates, advertising has a strong "mainstreaming" effect, especially for more greedy and materialistic consumers. Many of the effects of advertising cited by Pollay echo those voiced by other observers. To these, he adds that it raises expectations--showing the "grass to be greener" elsewhere. It also romanticizes the past. It uses only moderate sexual stimuli because excessive sexual provocation would not be controllable for the advertisers' purposes. Advertising promotes passiveness. It changes the norms of public decency by showing all kinds of social phenomena and expressing indifference to them. Consequently, collective political priorities decline. As long as consumer demand and GNP are up, we do not need social and economic justice, according to the political value system advertising encourages. Pollay notes that the distorted emphasis in the language taught by advertising reduces the credibility of language and also advertising's own credibility.

Whether from a Biblical perspective or from that of secular humanism, advertising appears to be a social force opposed to religion. Some of what it sells is sinful, by the standards of many people. It promotes a morality of materialism and a gospel of goods. The author acknowledges that materialism preceded advertising, but the appearance of the latter coincided with the rise of other influences, such as urbanization, industrial expansion, increasing literacy, and widespread education, all of which worked with advertising to promote materialistic values.

He would seem to agree with George Gerbner that all these influences--together with the influence of non-advertising contents of the mass media--work together in complex ways to cultivate the social meanings by which we organize our lives. The relative share of advertising in carrying out this process remains ambiguous and impossible to measure with any certainty. Nevertheless, its tendency to focus on certain values to the neglect of others must have some impact on those heavily exposed to advertising. Pollay still holds out the hope that advertising agencies may recognize the fact of this selection process and take steps to try to have a good rather than bad influence on the moral climate.

Information Campaigns

Pollay (1989) comments that advertising's critics exempt from their criticism the information campaigns of non-profit organizations, even though they share the same tools and techniques as commercial advertising, and may also exhibit the same ethical shortcomings. Excesses in diet information campaigns might, for example, cause anorexia or bulimia in susceptible individuals. However, the constructive intent of such campaigns is a factor which should not be underestimated, and the fact that they are non-commercial may actually work against the materialistic mainstreaming tendency of commercial advertising.

"Technological Enclosure"

Rick Crawford, a computer security researcher from the University of California at Davis, has developed a model of co-evolution between social structures and technology. According to the model, public spaces fragment into private spaces through a "technological enclosure" movement, analogous to the "spatial enclosure" movement, which blocked access by the poor to previously "common" land at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Some of the technological developments of the "information superhighway" contain the danger of a degree of isolation and supervision of individuals comparable to that of the "panoptic prison", or "Panopticon", envisioned by eighteenth century philosopher Jeremy Bentham. Bentham's ideal prison was one in which prisoners were kept in isolation from each other, visible to the guards, who were invisible to them, having perfect liberty within their cells, but condemned never to leave them.

Crawford feels that millions already are prisoners of

television technology--their time, their dreams, their agenda of thought given over to "the rhythms and dictates of institutional marketing strategies." The situation could get much worse when the interactive networks made possible by continent-wide webs of fiber-optics are finally in place. Imprisoned in corporate-designed, technologically-structured private spaces--"home entertainment center", automobile, etc.--walled in by a fully-internalized consumer ideology, as well as by (selectively) "interactive" technology, individuals will be "perfectly free" to choose among and interact with the many corporate products offered to them. They will not be free to venture outside those offerings. They will be subjected to the enhanced surveillance capabilities of the new technologies--technologies which can follow the "data tracks" of everyone, to unearth the most minute facts about their lives. "Consumers are offered images of freedom and community, but never the real thing."

Censorship of Anti-Advertising Movements

Pollay (1993) points out how the corporation-controlled mass media have consistently "spiked" news about consumer resistance campaigns which tend to threaten their "bottom line" by attacking advertising. According to him, organizations whose activities have been thus "censored" include the Washington-based Center for the Study of Commercialism, the Foundation for Media Education and its magazine, *Adbusters*, and the Cultural Environment Movement.

Media Education on Advertising

Adbusters. A quarterly publication of The Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Avenue, Vancouver, British Columbia V6H 1B7, Canada.

English and Media Centre. "The Advertising Pack and Video. A video pack from The English & Media Centre". Sheffield, UK: English and Media Centre, 1994.

Media and Values. Special Double Issue: "Fatal Attraction: The Selling of Addiction." No. 54-55, Spring-Summer 1991.

Cultural Environment Movement. "Prospectus". P.O. Box 31847, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA, no date (1 page).

Practically all the many movements for media education, in increasing numbers of countries, devote considerable attention to advertising. (An earlier issue of *Communication Research Trends* [Vol. 13, No. 2, 1993] surveyed the situation of media education around the world.)

The English and Media Centre, of Sheffield, England, for example, produces an "Advertising Pack", including a video, focusing on advertising and language. It shows how advertisers construct audiences for their products, how childhood and family are represented in commercials, how advertisements are made, and it includes a case study of a campaign for Levi jeans.

Similarly, The Center for Media and Values, in Los Angeles, issued a "workshop kit on tobacco and alcohol advertising" called "Selling Addiction", in 1991, preceded by a special issue of its magazine, *Media and Values*, devoted to the topic, "Fatal Attraction: The Selling of Addiction."

In addition to such broad-spectrum organizations, which promote all kinds of education to help people use the mass media in general more intelligently, some groups target consumerism and advertising more specifically.

One of the more entertaining and sustained attacks is conducted by *Adbusters*, a magazine published by The Media Foundation, of Vancouver, British Columbia. Using caricatures of familiar advertisements, *Adbusters* hammers home critiques of the many negative aspects of advertising in a humorous way.

Strong, though indirect, criticism of advertising comes from the Cultural Environment Movement. According to its approach--consistent with the position of its founder, George Gerbner--advertising cannot be understood apart from the international culture where trans- and multi-national corporations hold a vital place in controlling culture. Their advertisements are only a small part of a greater whole, and therefore advertising is just one of many influences on society. Its own precise impact is hard or impossible to measure because it is one aspect, mingled with many others.

The perspective of the Cultural Environment Movement can be summarized as follows:

The culture industries controlled by the great corporations mock the ancient art of story-telling, which used to be handcrafted, homemade and community-inspired, but which is now mass produced and policy driven. Storytelling is the result of a large and complex manufacturing and marketing process. Parents and educational institutions have lost educational and upbringing influence to a handful of conglomerates who want to sell something. The consequences are dramatic: The competitive nature of the media (mergers, bottom line pressures) leads to a shrinking supply of real creativity, and a reduced

diversity in program content. Mass media enrich local cultural horizons, but in doing so, they narrow perspectives, limit alternatives and homogenize outlooks.

The influence of advertising is striking in the cultural sense: Small children recognize and remember more advertisements than they do things that really matter. We are pushed into a mainstream culture. In the meanwhile, we pay for it ourselves: By buying advertised products, we pay the money which supports the advertisements. In this way, we pay to be repressed. Advertising money is not only needed for the selling of products but also for the maintenance of the media-system which controls our culture. Therefore, the conglomerates which own both the media and the advertisers manipulate our culture by flooding us with material which will force us into the consumer mainstream, whether it is advertisements or entertainment. Business tells the stories that we used to have in common. For society it is a way to preempt alternatives, limiting freedom of the press to those who own it, divorcing payment from choice, and denying meaningful public participation in cultural decision making.

The radical view of the Cultural Environment Movement sees advertising as one part, but not the most important part, of the world system of the media owned and operated by multinationals. According to its promotional literature (n.d.), the Movement is concerned with "distortions of the democratic process," which promote

> "practices that drug, hurt, poison and kill thousands every day; portrayals that dehumanize and stigmatize; cults of violence that desensitize, terrorize and brutalize; the growing siege mentality of our cities; the drift toward ecological suicide; the silent crumbling of our infrastructure; widening resource gaps and the most glaring inequalities in the industrial world; the costly neglect of vital institutions such as public education, health care, and the arts; make-believe image politics corrupting the electoral process" (n.d.).

The Cultural Environment Movement wants to build a coalition of organizations and individuals committed to public participation in cultural policy-making which can become a constituency with some political clout. It also wants to cooperate internationally with groups that work for the integrity and independence of each culture's own decision making about its mass media. It wants to collaborate with journalists and creative workers struggling for greater freedom and diversity in media employment and expression. It also supports the general aims of media education: promoting media literacy, awareness, critical media use, etc. Finally, it wants to bring cultural policy issues openly onto the socio-political agenda, rather than letting them be determined covertly, by special interests.

VI. Moderate Critics

Advertising and Its Influence on the Media System

Leo Bogart. *The American Media System and Its Commercial Culture.* Occasional paper No.8, March 1991. New York: The Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, Columbia University.

Bogart is not fighting the system. He does not want to eradicate advertising, but he criticizes it for being too commercial, and he pleads for more legal restrictions on the commercial media market to preserve diversity and freedom of speech.

He feels something is seriously wrong with the American media system. Its commercial base causes the media to see advertisers as their public instead of the consumers, who are their real public. The media are paid by the advertisers, not by the public; so by the logic of economics, the interests of the advertisers are primary, and those of the public are incidental. In this commercial system, diversity and cultural richness are flattened by commercial influences. Media content has been driven to maximize audiences that can then be sold to advertisers. The desire to communicate the truth or express deep thoughts and feelings no longer is a factor in the process. The daily press, the traditional forum for contention and irreverence, has undergone a steady attrition of competition and a general retreat to the safety of the middle ground. Left to its own devices the public drifts toward amusement rather than enlightenment, avoiding confrontation with the pressing problems that confront the world and the nation.

Advertising is an integral part of a dynamic,

competitive market economy rooted in the excitation of consumer demand. This economy has been linked in a historical way to the exercise of diverse opinions and political freedom, but the different functions of the media also are inseparable. Information cannot be disentangled from entertainment, and "the presentation of news is inseparable from the business constraints placed upon those who present it" (Bogart 1991: 4). Furthermore, "advertisers have no functional concern with the meaning or consequences of mass communication except insofar as it provides a mechanism for the delivery of their messages to prospective customers" (pg. 6). Thus, advertising enters into the communication experience of the public, to affect even non-advertising content and to control decisions affecting the life or death of individual media outlets.

The system is badly flawed, but its flaws cannot be corrected in the marketplace itself, especially in view of growing media concentration. Separate media have coalesced into integrated multimedia systems in the hands of a few people who are mainly interested in commercial revenue, not the public interest. Bogart argues that culture cannot be left entirely at the mercy of commercial forces. The quality of the communications environment is as much a collective good as is the physical environment and should get the same protection.

He states that to preserve freedom of expression and democracy of taste, Americans have to try to make a national commitment to upgrade the integrity and quality of expression and taste. The first step is to recognize that a problem exists and that market forces cannot solve it. The second step requires us to look at mass communication policy as an integrated whole, rather than to continue to resort to occasional piecemeal gestures that deal with only one form of communication at a time. Shortcomings of individual media cannot be addressed one by one anymore. They are now part of a single system, which has to be constantly scrutinized and nudged. Bogart refers to other democratic countries which have stronger government media controls than the United States, restricting television advertising, subsidizing newsprint, etc. This has more often served to stimulate freedom of expression than to limit it. Bogart therefore calls for limits on free market forces in favor of a better and freer media system.

The Ideology of the Industry

John Sinclair, *Images Incorporated: Advertising as Industry and Ideology*. Croom Helm: London, 1987.

Australian John Sinclair says that Marxist thinking has provided the sharpest and most coherent critiques of advertising. However, he tries not to let the Marxist opinion influence his point of view when he reviews the past and present developments in the advertising industry, dialectically and ideologically.

This review leads him first to analyze the position of advertising in the capitalist system. Then he compares it to other ways of promoting and selling. He distinguishes commercial advertising from advertising by services or institutions, and shows, like Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990), the importance of the distinctions between kinds of advertising carried by the different media and distinctions among the various audiences toward which each kind is aimed. Doing this, he reminds us, like Schudson (1993), that advertising is never an isolated factor, but is simply that part of marketing which can be seen from the outside. He observes that its economic impact is not necessarily related to its ideological impact.

This recognition of the possibility of independence of ideological and economical effects is a key epistemological point. However, it often is obscured by the complexity of the relationship between the economic system and advertising. Sinclair criticizes "mechanistic explanations" which assume "manipulation" or "conspiracy". He singles out Vance Packard (1979), W. B. Key (1973), and Stuart Ewen (1976), as examples. But he also attacks the presumption of those who assume they can eradicate the social deficiencies of the dominant classes by attacking media images that seem to encourage and legitimize them. For this, he blames most of the Western Marxist analyses dating from the period of Marcuse (1968), for whom capitalist culture was 'one dimensional', and Althusser (1971), who equated culture with ideology. According to Sinclair, they overemphasized ideology to the neglect of economical, organizational, and structural factors.

He credits Dallas Smythe (1977) for restoring, in media studies, some of Marx's original balance among all these factors. In Smythe's view, capitalism is, first and foremost, a mode of **production**, and advertising is only a tool. It is production and consumption that are in a dialectical relation with each other. The high visibility of producers who advertise has more to do

with the development of mass communication technology than with the economic function of the producer.

How Much Control? Debates among Marxists about the meaning of, and relationship between "base" and "superstructure" have complicated Marxist interpretations of the role of advertising. The "vulgar Marxism" of the official Communist Party line implied that the superstructure was simply a reflection of the substructure. The Frankfurt School feared totalitarianism rising out of capitalism's industrialization and standardization of cultural production. British "culturalist" Marxists see the operation of elite ideological control as a dynamic process by which elites organize social life and cultural meanings to accomplish their purposes. Others reflecting various interpretations include, according to Sinclair, structuralists and anthropologists of consumption.

Advertisers attach culturally-derived images to their products to encourage sales. This explains the abundance of such symbols in our environment, but it neither tells us anything about their consequences or whether the consequences will be the same in other environments. Neither social psychologists nor advertising agents themselves would accept the view that advertising influences us subconsciously or unconsciously. A trademark must be consciously recognized to be effective. Many other factors also intervene to enable an advertisement to sell a product successfully.

Consequently, although Sinclair sees advertising as part of the process of ideological control, he does not credit it with the overwhelming power over individuals with which many Marxists would tend to credit it.

An Uncertain Art

Michael Schudson. 1993 [1984], *op. cit.*

Schudson would agree with Sinclair that the effects of advertising are, at best, ambiguous. He discusses advertising from several perspectives: that of the advertiser, the agency, the consumer, the anthropologist, and the culture historian. It can even be considered from the artistic perspective, as "capitalist realism" (1993: 209-233). This multidimensional approach results in a book praised by many as one of the most even-handed in an area of communication studies which is not usually noted for dispassionate discourse.

"Art", rather than "science", certainly best characterizes the work of the advertising agency. It tries, with all the means at its disposal--scientific data, aesthetic sensitivity, "gut feelings", etc.--to produce a campaign which will appeal to consumers and sell its client's product. The result is a "work of art"--but not all works of art are appreciated by the art critics, and not all advertising campaigns are accepted by consumers. There is no guarantee of success. Sometimes there is not even any sure indication of whether a campaign succeeded or failed, since sales might fluctuate widely for entirely unrelated reasons.

With cigarette marketing and consumption as a case-study, Schudson illustrates how many diverse factors can enter into the information environment of the consumer, apart from advertising, affecting his or her purchasing decisions in unpredictable ways.

Key points for Schudson, as he states in his preface to the paperback edition, are that "different groups are differentially vulnerable to advertising; and their vulnerability varies not so much with the character or quantity of advertisements as with the informational resources they can claim by age, education, station in life, and government guarantees of consumer protection" (1993: xvi).

Ads Do Not Create Consumer Culture: Though not a "defender" of advertising, Schudson doubts that it is the calculated, class-wide effort at social control which some of its critics believe. Advertising by itself does not "create" consumer culture. Many other complex factors are involved. Different demographic groups of a population are differently affected by it. Advertising ostensibly promotes a democratization of goods and their distribution, but certain segments of the population--rural and urban poor, shut-ins, isolated ethnic groups, etc.--clearly do not benefit from this democratization. They are, in fact, penalized by their inability to participate in the abundance of the idealized culture portrayed by the advertisers. The under-informed can suffer if they respond to a sales pitch which assumes knowledge they do not have. The Nestlé powdered milk campaign in Third World countries was widely criticized for failing to take account of the lack in many places of the rudimentary knowledge of sanitation and health which were needed by mothers in order to use the product safely.

Human Needs: Although advertising often targets the individual, appealing to isolated needs, the most important human needs are eminently social and relative to circumstances, according to Schudson. Real needs in any given situation depend on the consumer's

place in a social system and his or her ties to others through kinship, business, politics, affection, and shared experience. Every society contains its "misers", people who sacrifice relationships to hoard personal material wealth. But they usually are regarded as deviant personalities. Most societies commend the sacrifice of material goods to promote social solidarity and other non-material values. Gift-giving and other forms of social exchange are important processes in both primitive and modern societies (Malinowski 1922; Mauss 1967 [1925]; Gouldner 1960). People not only need to possess but also to share in order to enjoy stable and fulfilling lives.

Schudson (1993: 91) agrees with Gerbner that advertising is just a small part of the large information environment. The influence of advertising is greater, however, whenever the information environment becomes smaller. One exposed to little media content other than advertising could naturally tend to be more strongly affected by it than by other media. But non-media factors would, even then, be more important.

Brand loyalty: Satisfactory personal experience with a product creates brand loyalty which subsequent advertising would find difficult to change. Furthermore, no one operates in a social vacuum. Personal recommendations by friends, relatives and reference groups can easily outweigh mass media recommendations. Health care and consumer protection institutions also can act as gatekeepers and influential advisors about product selection. The rising phenomenon of "advertorials" and "adformation" represents an effort by advertisers to take advantage of the higher credence often accorded to public service announcements. In those formats, advertising is disguised as supposedly impartial information disseminated for the public's benefit.

Advertisers are concerned only with consumers who fit the image the advertisers themselves have created. Furthermore, they listen mainly to people who have money to spend and consequently generate advertising campaigns suited to the elite, not to the majority of people. Contrary to the industry's claims, advertising can hurt people by causing them to buy things they do not need--especially in an information-poor society where people cannot weigh their own real needs against product claims. The claim that responding to "felt needs" is not harmful also is wrong, since some goods--e.g., cigarettes--are felt to be "needed" but are intrinsically harmful (*ibid.*, pg. 236).

Ads and Social Control: Schudson, in his "Afterword" in the 1993 edition (pp. 244-260), takes sharp issue with David Potter (1954) when Potter says that the transition from a producer society to a consumer society brought about a new culture appropriate to the new way of life, with advertising acting in it as an instrument of social control comparable to churches, schools and workplace in the previous culture. For Schudson, advertising is not at all comparable to church, school or workplace. Social control always has a symbolic, cultural dimension. Advertising is symbolic, but it does not have anything like the social dimension necessary for real social control--a dimension which includes "threats, social pressure, coercion, and even physical violence" and also "a variety of symbolic inducements and enticements" (1993: 247).

Advertising can try to persuade symbolically, but "the social aspects of consumption do not usually **depend** on advertising" (*ibid.*). Potter's view, "that people need to be instructed in the emotions and art of consumption", was reflected in the writings of Vance Packard (1979 [1957]) and Stuart Ewen (1976). Schudson notes that consumption is pleasant and natural, and people do not really need to be "force fed" with the products of industrial society in order to keep the wheels turning. Rather, what traditionally has had to be taught and inculcated in American society has been self-discipline and self-denial (pg. 249).

VII. Advertising in the Industrially Developed World

Globalization, a "Major Change"

Armand Mattelart, *Advertising International. The Privatization of Public Space*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Mattelart reviews, from a French perspective, the contemporary situation in which advertising has come to operate on a global scale, and he does not like what he sees. Advertising has ceased to be a simple instrument and has become a distinct mode of communication. "Its field of competence is so

diversified and branching, that it forms a social network which enervates media, economies, cultures, political and social society, international relations" (pg. ix). The era of the communication society is beginning, and Mattelart questions its consequences as he examines the impact advertising communication has on various aspects of society. A new hierarchy of values has been introduced. "King Money is the name of the game - while the crisis in public service grows even deeper" (pp. 188-189).

Mattelart calls this "unquestionably the major cultural change of the 1980's" (pg. 189). The culture of the masses is audiovisual, and in order to reach them, you have to tell them a story instead of writing a text which is no longer going to be read. Mattelart supports his view that "very few states escape it" (pg. 192) by means of case-studies.

Governments are forced to use the genre of advertising in order to educate the public on the hazards of AIDS, driving without putting on safety-belts, and so on. The British government has the oldest tradition of using advertising for these purposes. Although advertising seems to be a powerful mode of communication, Mattelart says that political advertising has thus far proven ineffective in many places. For example, in the 1980's French politics as well as the French population rejected its adoption in France.

Exporting the Dream

Richard W. Pollay. "Quality of Life in the Padded Sell: Common Criticisms of Advertising's Cultural Character and International Public Policies". *Current Issues and Research in Advertising*. (Ann Arbor: Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan). Vol. 9 (1986[b]), No. 2, pp. 173-250.

Although its forms largely became standardized in the United States, advertising is a universal phenomenon in the contemporary world. Even socialist countries have had consumer-directed advertising of one kind or another for industrial products, apart from their hard-sell political propaganda. But capitalist advertising is a horse of a somewhat different color, and a bit frightening to those who until recently have been fenced off from it. Since the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, consumerism and its attendant advertising have come to be regarded as major threats, in the eyes of many observers, in the rush to fill the economic vacuum.

Pollay wrote this article before the Eastern European upheaval was even anticipated, but much of what he says about issues of public policy with respect to the cultural consequences of commercialism internationally can at least set the stage for understanding the situation. Around the world, many still view commercialism with the same caution and cynicism Pollay perceived. Now that international capitalism is essentially unopposed, and almost uncontrolled, the reasons for caution may be even greater.

The MacBride Report: The author draws heavily on UNESCO's "MacBride Report" (MacBride, et al., 1980) for a sampling of thought about the question by qualified international authorities. The report acknowledges some of the positive uses of advertising, such as supporting various desirable social aims--savings, family planning, farm information, etc. It provides the consumer with information on which to base choices. Also, "since the advertising revenue of a newspaper or a broadcaster comes from multiple sources, it fosters economic health and independence, enabling the enterprise to defy pressure from any single economic interest or from political authorities" (MacBride et al., 1980: 110).

But the report also contains negative comments:

> "Advertising is seen by many as a threat to the cultural identity and self-realization of many developing countries: It brings to many people alien ethical values; it may deviate consumer demands in developing countries to areas which can inhibit development priorities; it affects and can often deform ways of life and lifestyles. Moreover, the threat to withdraw advertising--by private interests or by a government--can jeopardize press freedom." (*ibid.*, pg. 111)

Government Action: The criticisms suggest that government controls on advertising are necessary to preserve the common good. As Collins and Skover (1993) also pointed out, this raises knotty political issues, because to limit advertising is to limit free commercial speech. There must be a trade-off between economic benefits that might derive from intensified commercialization, on the one side, and the moral corruption or loss of national identity that might accompany the same commercialization, on the other.

Different ideologies place different values on these consequences, and the consideration of who experiences the economic benefit and who experiences the social costs also can be viewed from different perspectives. Governments everywhere face a number of policy options or alternative means of managing advertising's social impact on their society. At one

extreme would be a total ban, or a ban on certain kinds of advertising, specific to certain groups. The other extreme would be full *laissez faire*, where government undertakes no action at all. In between there are numerous degrees and kinds of regulation, self-regulating institutions, and guidelines for advertising.

Current (as of 1986) circumstances in America make governmental action less likely than elsewhere, according to Pollay. What might otherwise be government functions are, to some extent, filled by important consumer groups, by the establishment of self-regulatory mechanisms, and by the quite conservative character of the political mainstream. Furthermore, it is seen as 'un-American' to restrict any freedom--the controversy over gun control being a prime example. Mattelart and Palmer (1991: 537) would modify this view of the American situation, noting that European Community regulatory moves in the 1970's were opposed by the advertising community in Europe, who compared "the EC with the US Federal Trade Commission, well known for its severity towards the American advertising industry."

In other countries there are varying views of advertising. The MacBride report made some recommendations for advertising. Its overall concern was that advertising is a tool for persuasion, influence, and molding cultural values. The more developed countries have more experience, technological expertise, and resources to bring to bear through their advertising. UNESCO was anxious to channel those powers, to ensure that the media power of the developed countries and their transnationals would be employed in ways beneficial to the national interests of host countries.

Specific National Codes and Concerns

Pollay (1986b) reviews regulatory activities in a variety of countries, as they have been reported by informed observers. The countries, with the principle sources cited about them, are: Jamaica and St. Lucia (Lent, 1977); Argentina, Peru (Alisky 1981; Janus 1980, 1981, and 1984b; Pierce 1979); China (Sit 1983; Anderson 1984) Malaysia and Singapore (Anderson 1984; Kuo and Chen 1983; Lent 1978); The USSR and Yugoslavia (Hanson 1968, 1974) and The European Common Market (Dunn 1974; Boddewyn, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983).

Governments in all countries face a policy dilemma, whatever their state of economic development or ideology. Their desire for economic affluence motivates them to favor unrestricted communication and persuasion on behalf of consumption to promote sales and thereby to stimulate the economy. This is an especially strong persuasive for most government officials since they are, almost ipso facto, part of the elite class structure that most benefits from any economic development.

The impact of advertising is as much economic as cultural. Traditional values, lifestyles and customs all change along with changes in affluence and exposure to the commercialized 'western' culture. But the shift to modern values from traditional ones can separate families into generations with disparate and conflicting values, at the same time creating political upheavals and dramatically altering the traditional role of religion in these cultures. Even those who eagerly pursue free trade have misgivings about possible cultural consequences of unrestrained commercialization.

Circumstances of economic development, colonial history and ideology vary enormously, but there is not much difference in the extent of regulatory control of advertising. Pollay, writing in 1986, saw an exception to this in the USSR and China where advertising was limited and regulation consequently was not very articulated. But in countries with similar experiences of advertising, regulatory guidelines are quite similar.

Nevertheless, there are also many particular regulations to fit the needs of particular nations. For example, Malaysia's regulations express more concern about cultural and sub-cultural traditions and sensibilities than do those of most other countries because of the cultural threat ethnic Malays perceive, despite their political dominance in the country. But the rules do not bother the advertising industry. Even in countries hostile toward advertising, regulation does not seem to have great success.

Most regulations do not address social and cultural issues at all. When there are bans on alcohol and children's advertising it is not clear to what extent they are effective. Budgets of transnational advertising, of agencies and of the media around the world which depend on advertising are growing more rapidly than state budgets. But developing countries are seeking more effective policies to control advertising and are introducing various kinds of regulatory mechanisms. These include requirements for national ownership of agencies, limitations on permitted amounts of advertising relative to other media contents, and control of specific contents and forms of commercial speech.

The trade-off between economic gains and cultural losses is made by powerful policy makers who

themselves often share personally in the economic benefits. Affluence seems to play an important role. The more affluent a society is, the more regulations and consumer protection there is. Probably because people become used to the marketing habit and also become more demanding.

Self-Regulation

Armand Mattelart and Michael Palmer. "Shaping the European Advertising Scene." *Reseaux - French Journal of Communication* (London). Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 9-26. (First published as "La formation de l'espace publicitaire européen: la liberté d'expression commerciale, enquête de légitimité", *Reseaux* (Paris), No. 42 [July-August 1990], pp. 42-62.)

Mattelart and Palmer (1993: 9) note that self-regulation of the industry began as an effort by American advertisers early in the twentieth century when, to deflect criticism and regain lost credibility, they agreed to "a code of conduct based on 'truth' and fair competition."

Since then, the industry has continued to seek legitimacy by creating national associations, multinational associations--such as the European Association of Advertising Agencies and the European Advertising Tripartite--and worldwide associations--such as the International Advertising Association and the World Federation of Advertisers--to defend its interests against government regulation. Advertisers, on the one hand, and agencies, on the other, usually organize separately, but have much common ground on which to collaborate. One of these associations' most important weapons is self-regulation through setting professional standards. This tendency has gradually become quite strong on an international scale.

Europe

Leslie B. Snyder, Bartjan Willenborg and James Watt, "Advertising and Cross-Cultural Convergence in Europe, 1953-89. *European Journal of Communication* (London: SAGE). Vol. 16 (1991), pp. 441-468.

Armand Mattelart and Michael Palmer. "Advertising in Europe: Promises, Pressures and Pitfalls," in *Media, Culture and Society*. Vol. 13, No. 4 (October 1991), pp. 535-556.

European Deregulation: Pollay (1986b: 241), citing Dunn (1974), noted a "surprising laxity of administration and enforcement of advertising regulation in Europe". Even when the rules were in place their enforcement was lacking. The only real codes existing in the early 1970's were those of the International Chamber of Commerce, and they were only advisory, according to Dunn (1974). The codes often were unknown by the practitioners of advertising. If existing codes remain unknown, unenforced and ineffective they accomplish little with respect to root problems, except to function as role models for countries which do take enforcement seriously. The accumulation of experience through affluence and the inevitable cultural costs of affluence are important influences on the cultural impact of advertising. So too are the preemption of regulation by self-regulation and the strength of a society's attachment to traditional values.

In the 1980's, there was a move towards deregulation in Europe, in which advertisers claimed that commercial speech should be treated as any other free speech. Renewed importance was placed on self regulation. Self-regulation should take precedence over efforts to harmonize broadcasting policies of the various states, according to advertising representatives in the debate on "television without frontiers" in the European Community and the Council of Europe. However, Mattelart and Palmer (1991:554-555) warn that in many policy discussions the public organizations rely for data about the advertising industry and markets on the very lobbies which advocate self-regulation. "Are not the cards stacked in its favour?" (pg. 555). In the absence of genuinely independent sources, one can argue that trade associations have succeeded in founding part of their legitimacy on data which may be questionable.

Mattelart and Palmer (1991) recognize that advertising is increasingly assuming a major role in the funding of audiovisual communications in Europe, and this is partly due to the deregulation of most European broadcasting systems. As a result, the advertising industry has acquired great influence over the future shape of the European broadcasting system, probably to the detriment of the concept of public service broadcasting.

Homogenization?: In response to the global debates about advertising standardization, cultural imperialism, convergence and autonomy, Snyder, Willenborg and Watt (1991) describe changes in the national and international character of advertising messages in Western Europe during the period of gradual economic unification between 1953 and 1989. A content analysis of magazine advertisements in France, West Germany,

Great Britain and the Netherlands showed that advertisers of domestic products use more national symbols, and that advertisers of foreign products, whether from among European Community countries or from other countries, use images and languages which stress their foreignness.

Advertisers say that they want to use the new globalism of economies to standardize their campaigns across cultures. Europe, which is becoming more and more a political and economic unit, could be approached as a single homogeneous audience; a single cultural entity.

Cautious though their interpretation was, their data nevertheless yielded Snyder, Willenborg and Watt some remarkable results which challenged any such assumptions of European cultural homogenization. In some countries, when public opinion had shifted towards European economic unity, some advertisers began to use foreign languages in ads. This had two surprising results.

First, by 1989, there was no evidence of any growing Americanization of advertising images. The percentage of non-European visuals and languages was consistently low throughout the period. English was the most common language in advertisements, but it appeared mostly in the logos and product labels, and rarely in the text itself.

Secondly, the number of ads using Europe-wide cultural symbols or scenery was small to begin with and actually decreased slightly over time. Very few ads used multiple foreign languages at any time. Instead of an increase in pan-European images, the use of cross-national images and languages increased. This heightening of the national orientation of advertising strongly suggests an underlying concern about loss of cultural identity and national cultures, rather than any increased Europeanization of identity.

France

Guy Durandin, *Les mensonges en propagande et en publicite* (Collection "Le Psycholoque"). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982.

Guy Durandin. *L'information, la desinformation et la realite* (Collection "Le Psychologue"). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993.

Antoine Hennion and Cécile Meadel. "Les questions sans réponse: un parcours bibliographique de l'enjeu publicitaire." *Reseaux* (Paris). No. 42 (July-Aug, 1990).

The contents of communication studies in different countries obviously varies a great deal, depending on the intellectual tradition of each country. Advertising research is no exception. In France, a speculative and philosophical tendency is evident.

Lies and Disinformation: Guy Durandin, Professor Emeritus of Social Psychology at the Université Rene Descartes (Paris V), deals with lies in commercials and propaganda. For the first study (1982), he collected cases of what he defines as "lies" in advertising and propaganda. He carried out a semiotic analysis of them with the help of two principal features: the "signifier of the lie" and the "operation of the lie." He also indicated similarities and differences between commercials and propaganda.

As Durandin continued with the same line of research, he perceived that the enormous increase in knowledge and channels of information in recent years has not noticeably reduced the amount of disinformation. In defining "disinformation" more precisely, Durandin also analyzes the characteristics of reality, truth, error, and lies. He notes that information is valuable, and therefore it is not shared as a matter of course, but only for a good reason. Also, knowledge is so abundant in the contemporary world that it is important to know which sources of information to turn to. However, sources often intentionally conceal their true identity. The author regards this, too, as deception and analyzes the various forms it can take.

Advertising's Effectiveness: In their bibliographic and semiotic journey around the gaming tables of advertising, Hennion and Meadel find no "sure thing" on which advertisers might bet.

Studies of advertising have focused on two opposite targets. One is the efficiency of advertising, concentrating on results, such as sales, and more generally on the economic system, competition and prices. The other target is the consumer--starting with a semiological or psychological approach, and insisting on the creation of desire, in various forms. Between both perspectives, a critical approach to advertising seen as manipulation has met with the same ambivalent results about the real power of advertising as more classical approaches have done. It can be said that the different hypotheses have led to the same need for empirical study of the concrete work of advertisers to ascertain the degree to which it works.

Italy

Giuseppe Richeri, "La publicité déchaînée de l'Italie des

années 80." *Reseaux* (Paris). No. 42 (July-Aug, 1990), pp. 63-72.

Rapid changes in the control of Italian media in recent years have focussed attention on policy considerations and power relationships.

Advertising volume in Italy multiplied two and one-half times during the 1980's, according to Richeri. This happened because of larger changes during the second half of the 1970's: in distribution and the growing importance of the brand over the product, but especially in the loosening up of various political, economic and social factors which had previously combined to make Italian mass media structures quite rigid. The beginning of privately owned television was the most important stimulus to change, but it was paralleled by a transformation in the press--especially dailies and magazines--which had diversified little in the previous eighty years.

In the course of this evolution, the Italian media have lost political power but have gained economic power. Elements such as commercially aggressive TV advertisers and the transformation of Italian society into a TV audience have been important in this change. Mass education also has been a factor, according to the author, bringing about the "liberation" of many individuals from their earlier dependence on social institutions such as the family, the Church, and political parties. The relative economic affluence of two-thirds of the population created greater buying power, even though the lower one-third had, at the same time, become increasingly marginal (pg. 70).

The forms of advertising, themselves, have influenced other segments of culture, not the least of which is language. The brevity of advertising spots, their "rhythms, symbols, discursive modes, etc." all have influenced other television contents, and through them the modes of expression of the whole culture. Richeri also feels that the "mode of communication proper to enterprises" has become one of the most important sources of communication in contemporary Italy, and that it also has considerable influence on the "ingredients of the collective imagination", which should be studied in greater depth (pg. 71).

Spain

J. L. Piñuel 1993, op. cit.

The mass media in Spain have emerged from strict government control only within the past fifteen years. Therefore much attention must be paid to measuring and analyzing the characteristics of the media in this relatively new situation.

Piñuel (1993) notes that the first advertising agency in Spain was founded in Barcelona in 1870. Through the middle decades of the twentieth century government controls on the mass media effectively limited the growth of advertising, but during the 1980's it began to develop strongly. However, it has recently begun to level off. In real terms, allowing for inflation, the industry grew only 9% from 1990 to 1991, down from the 1980's when annual increases of 10% to 15% were considered normal (pp. 456-457). Advertisers place their greatest reliance on the press and television, and they tend to underestimate radio. He feels, however, that radio is a powerful medium for advertising and much less expensive and complex than television.

Radio has almost universal coverage of Spanish audiences, and it is complementary to television, in terms of time slots, reaching people when television does not. Like other media, radio has its own special requirements, total dependence on sound for the communication of ideas and images being the chief limitation. Spots which are too long can easily become boring; so great skill is needed to create an effective radio commercial. Too frequent repetition of spots also can annoy listeners and therefore is counterproductive.

Prime time is not necessarily the best time. The slots are more expensive, and the period often is overloaded with advertising. It is better to choose a less crowded strip of time, directed to specific categories of listeners.

Effective advertising campaigns, in any medium, depend on careful studies of competition, market, product, and audience, as well as the use of subtle strategies of presentation, based on carefully refined "selling points". Coordination with other media activities and with the personnel of the advertiser's business are both necessary for good results. Research, creativity, and good planning and execution all are needed, but even the best organized campaign can fail for unknown reasons. Piñuel warns advertisers that nothing should be left to chance, but he also advises them that chance can never be fully eliminated.

Hungary

Thomas Oehler. "From Party Rule to Rating Rule: Advertising and Media Market Hungary" parts 1-3. *Markenartikel* (Wiesbaden) No. 7/93 (July), pp. 352-360. Part 4, *Markenartikel*. No. 8/93 (August), pp. 394-397.

Although the formerly communist countries of Eastern Europe might be considered to have moved from the "Second World" to the "Third World" economically, as a result of their recent upheavals, they remain culturally and economically similar to and integrated with Western Europe. Their advertising industries, in particular, are in the process of quickly adapting to western forms.

Oehler documents the transition of Hungary from a "command-model" to a "market-model" economy as it pertains to the advertising and media market. Since the early eighties, Hungarians had access not only to Austrian terrestrial TV stations but, increasingly, to western satellite broadcasting. The difference between the products available in Hungary and those on sale in the West "represented for the Hungarian consumer a frustration and a kind of 'dream-land'" (pg. 356). Although the causes for the change were much more complex, Oehler regards western advertising as a contributing factor.

Since only four years had passed between the collapse of the communist regime and the writing of the article, little could be said about the social and cultural impact of advertising, as such, but the impact of the transition itself has been enormous and traumatic. The political and economic context is worrisome: "A crisis of confidence is emerging on both sides of the officially no longer existing--but still clearly visible--iron curtain." The West doubts the ability of people in the East to make good use of their freedom; while Eastern Europeans doubt the seriousness of the West's promises to help (Oehler 1993: 353).

Advertising is perhaps the only segment of the Hungarian economy to show any improvement as a result of the transition. From a share of only 0.37% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1986, it rose to 0.74% in 1992. This was partly due to a declining GDP, but the annual growth of advertising in absolute terms was also significant (pg. 358). Much of this was due to western advertisers competing with each other for a share of the declining Hungarian market.

The important medium under the communists had been the press followed by broadcasting. Between 1988 and 1992, the proportion of advertising investment devoted to the press rose only slightly, from 55% to 58%, while that of television rose from 15% to 24%. Radio stayed nearly constant, after a slump, and cinema declined sharply, while outdoor advertising grew from almost nothing--other than propaganda--to 18%, in 1990, before sliding to 11% in 1992 (pg. 396).

The history of the mass media in the transition has been turbulent. Press privatization took place suddenly, and western interests rushed in to scoop up various newspapers. In April 1990, Axel-Springer Budapest, a subsidiary of the German media giant, bought seven regional dailies, creating a public outcry but no legal objection, due to "legal vacuums and ambiguities," according to Oehler (pg. 357). Other western interests which acquired Hungarian dailies included Bertelsmann, Hersant, Maxwell and Murdock (pg. 360n.). In the prevailing Hungarian political climate, this may not have been altogether a bad thing, in Oehler's opinion, since political parties were also competing to acquire papers to represent their particular interests. The foreign owners were interested only in money, and therefore stayed out of their papers' editorial and news policies, permitting relatively unbiased coverage. This factor of foreign ownership was significant in maintaining the health of the advertising industry, since the foreign owners wooed western advertisers. The top advertiser in 1992 was Procter and Gamble, the American soap company, which had shot up from twelfth place in 1991. Second was Unilever, which had been ninth in 1991 (pg. 394).

The mass media picture in Hungary has been complicated by the lack of a media law and by the survival of the "command media" mentality in a non-communist government which, despite its dedication to democracy, is reluctant to give up control of the powerful broadcast media.

Conflict over this and other issues led to the "media war" of 1992, in which the leadership of television and radio was contested by various government factions. However, Oehler thinks that all parties recognize that the market economy, despite its problems, is the only viable prospect for the future. Deregulation and some privatization of broadcasting are inevitable, but Oehler hopes that the public service concept, divorced from political interference, will also somehow survive.

Australia

John Sinclair. *Globalization and National Culture: Structure, Regulation and Content in the Advertising Industry in Australia.* Policy Research Paper, no.24. Centre for International Research on Communication and Information Technologies (CIRCIT), South Melbourne, June 1992.

Robert J. Donovan & Susan Leivers. "Using Paid Advertising to Modify Racial Stereotype Beliefs." *Public Opinion Quarterly.* Vol. 57, No. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 205-218.

In Australia, according to Sinclair, television advertising is thought of as expressing national culture, and therefore has been regulated by "Australian content" rules. These have undergone a recent liberalization, and there has been a consequent increase in the amount of foreign commercials shown. But the increase has been small, "suggesting that advertisers and their agencies recognize the 'natural barrier' which culture poses against the use of global advertising". "Global advertising" is advertising in which "the same campaign is mounted across a number of national markets throughout the world or certain region so as to achieve the economies of scale theoretically available to the global manufacturer". Sinclair cites Marlboro cigarettes as the "classic example,..with its cowboy image, theme music and distinctive pack: 'One sight, one sound, one sell'" (Sinclair 1992: 26, citing Mattelart 1991: 55).

The author wants to try to predict the consequences of deregulation in the Australian law on advertising in the context of the globalization not only of advertising agencies, but of manufacturing and the mass media as well. "Advertising is cultural in the sense that the images and phrases it creates and disseminates through the media give visual form to social identities such as those of gender or nation and ideals about how life might be lived" (pg. 3). But advertising must listen to consumers first and speak in culturally acceptable words, before they will listen to it. Sinclair argues that, in the real situation, it seems more advantageous for advertisers to adjust the ads to the culture in which they will be used--a multi-domestic approach by global advertisers. The report notes the particular Australian situation, which would, in theory, make that country's culture--English-speaking and with a population largely drawn from British and Irish origins--especially vulnerable to the influence of global advertisements.

"Global" means, in fact, American and British, because the most dominant global advertising agencies are American or British. But the "natural barrier" of culture makes global advertising counter-productive, or at least less effective, in Australia. Sinclair feels that little cultural harm can be done by global advertising, but advertisers would find an "Australian look" more effective: "On the question of national cultural expression, it has been argued in this paper that the multi-domestic strategies of global advertisers and those of Australian advertisers are equally expressive when it comes to 'cultural nationalist' styles of campaign."(pg. 35) Furthermore, in order to be competitive, advertising agencies should be able to produce both "Australian" and "global" ads, because they will take part in a globally integrated manufacturer/media/marketing complex too. Too much protectionism is not good because it makes the industries look and act less than the international industries they are.

Donovan and Leivers (1993) report on a mass media campaign which was developed in Australia utilizing primarily paid advertising and designed to reduce some of the negative beliefs about Aboriginals and employment. The campaign stressed information about Aboriginals in employment-related situations to illustrate the erroneous character of certain stereotypes common among white Australians. The research supports the view that advertising can not only contribute to making stereotypes but to breaking them as well, although the "breaking" may happen more rarely. The authors believe it likely that similar mass media campaigns can be used effectively in other areas of discrimination.

Japan

Sumiko Iwao. "The Prevalence of Foreign Models and Their Effectiveness." *Keio Communication Review* (Keio University Institute for Communications Research, Tokyo). No. 8 (1987), pp. 3-27.

Jyotika Ramasprasad and Kazumi Hasekawa. "Information Source and Advertising Content Preferences of American and Japanese Youth." *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 3, No. 2 (1993), pp. 104-116.

Japan has known relatively sophisticated forms of advertising--in the form of shop signs, billboards, and even brand names, trademarks and logos--since at least the seventeenth century, when capitalistic enterprises began to be significant. Now, Japan is one of the world's most advertising-ridden societies. The author describes her impressions:

> "The first thing one notices when boarding a Japanese train is the plethora of advertisements, and on all non-public television broadcasting channels, commercials follow one another in quick succession. Advertisements indistinguishable from articles appear in great number in pictorial magazines. Songs and jingles from TV commercials become hits, and short, catchy phrases used in advertising become popular expressions. In short, advertisements have come to occupy a very important role in our daily

living environment.

> "Foreigners, and particularly Caucasian blonds, would seem to make up a high percentage of the models used for these advertisements." (Iwao 1987: 3)

In this survey research, Iwao asked why so many foreign models are used in Japanese advertising. Out of 7,478 models used in 1,236 advertisements (515 magazine, 721 television) surveyed, 44.9% were Caucasian and only 42.9% were Japanese in the magazine ads, but Japanese dominated television commercials, by 69.8% against 27.8% Caucasian. Foreigners show up not only in image and life-style advertising, but also in advertising for very ordinary products--such as *ramen* noodles--and the use of foreign models is increasing. What are the reasons for this?

The study concludes that the use of foreign models is aimed to instill a sense of high class and prestige appeal, because they usually are portrayed in association with luxury goods. An interesting result is that the ratings for quality awarded by respondents were higher in the survey data in those cases where foreign models had been used, in comparison with cases in which Japanese models were used to advertise identical products.

It seems evident that Japanese consumers are coming to place increasing value on product quality than was true in the past. Foreign models appear to appeal to this Japanese desire for quality, and they will probably appear in greater numbers in the future. Products with foreign models score higher for commercials which appeal to quality, "high-class", and "fun".

The use of foreign models is more common for luxury goods, and may appeal to a desire of Japanese consumers to escape from the dreariness of everyday life. The use of a foreign child in a noodle ad may represent an effort to "glamorize" even an intrinsically humdrum product. The divorce between the actual use of the product and its image is evident in this research. It is not so much the foreign goods, in themselves, but more the portrayed foreign lifestyle which seems attractive to Japanese.

Ramasprasad and Hasekawa (1993) compared American and Japanese youth preferences for information sources and advertising content. They found larger parental involvement and smaller media use for Japanese students. But, contrary to expectations, Japanese students ranked advertising highly as a preferred information source, and family considerably lower; while American students did the opposite. Friends, not family, were the most important interpersonal information source for the Japanese. The Japanese youths' preferences for indirect, symbolic, visual, and emotional content, with frequent brand identification, were more in line with the researchers' expectations.

VIII. Advertising in Newly Industrializing Countries

Kwangmi Ko Kim and Katherine T. Frith. "An Analysis of the Growth of Transnational Advertising in Five Asian Countries: 1970-1990." *Media Asia.* Vol. 20, No. 1 (1993), pp. 45-53.

Noreen Z. Janus. "The Making of the Global Consumer: Transnational Advertising and the Mass Media in Latin America." Doctoral dissertation. Institute for Communications Research, Stanford University, 1980.

Noreen Z. Janus. "Advertising and the Mass Media in the Era of the Global Corporation." In *Communication and Social Structure: Critical Studies in Mass Media Research*, edited by Emile G. McAnany, et al. New York: Praeger, 1981, pp. 287-316.

Noreen Z. Janus."Advertising and the Creation of Global Markets: The Role of the New Communication Technologies." *The Critical Communications Review*, Vol. 2: Changing Patterns of Communications Control. Vincent Mosco and Janet Wasko (Eds). Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1984[a].

Noreen Z. Janus. "Transnational Advertising: The Latin American Case." In *World Communications: A Handbook*, edited by George Gerbner and Marsha Seifert. New York: Longmans, 1984[b].

Dong-hyun Byun (1994). Interview.

Kim and Frith discuss transnational advertising in Southeast Asia, focusing on five newly industrializing countries--Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan and South Korea. These are countries which have

developed strong manufacturing sectors since the Second World War and are, with the exception of Malaysia, now as industrialized as countries of the so-called "First World." The only difference is their relatively rapid movement into the "industrialized" category. They usually continue to be treated separately, however, because their relatively recent and rapid industrialization and their former colonial status and, except for Hong Kong and Singapore, formerly predominantly agricultural economies give them characteristics which may prove to be a pattern for the future of currently "less developed countries." The ways in which they have coped with the challenges of both domestic and international advertising are among these characteristics.

The operations of transnational advertising agencies (TNAAs)--their motives, methods and structures--in these countries are given special attention, since they have not been given much research attention in this region in the decade since Michael Anderson's (1984) study.

The overall concerns about transnational advertising have been defined by Noreen Janus in her works (1980, 1981, 1984a, 1984b) on the implications of transnational advertising for peripheral societies. Many of Janus' observations in the early 1980's remain valid for the 90's. She stated, for example, that transnational advertising impacts developing countries by creating demands for unnecessary products with which domestic products cannot afford to compete, by making local media dependent on a professionalism which is western in form and control, and by creating transnational consumption patterns which change culture patterns. Local manufacturers cannot afford the expense of the sophisticated advertising used by their foreign competitors.

In Janus' view, advertising helps to conceal the contradictions in situations of economic deprivation and political oppression by implying that the free market system is the solution for all society's problems. She also agrees with Peter Golding's position (1977: 293), that dependence on western advertising professionalism integrates the domestic industry into a dominant global culture based on western principles and under western control. Transnational advertising agencies in Third World countries are characteristically run by western expatriates, with western-oriented indigenous experts in subordinate positions. Citing the example of convenient, pre-packaged western breakfast food in a country where the traditional breakfast is cooked rice, Janus, with some of the MacBride panel (MacBride et al., 1980: 110-111), Cees Hamelink (1983), and others, viewed advertising as a threat to national cultures. In less developed countries, advertising is aimed at the privileged few who can buy expensive products, and ignores the needs of the poor majority. The poor nevertheless see ads for things they cannot possibly buy, and the gap between rich and poor is thereby made greater.

In their research, Kim and Frith found a "trend...in all the countries toward cultural and economic dependency on the TNAAs", which they feel "could be increasingly detrimental to the Asian advertising industry" (1993: 53). Liberalizing government policies stimulate the process of foreign involvement in domestic advertising. On the other hand, sophisticated higher education systems in the five countries improve the chances for more autonomous development. This is especially true in South Korea, where the four largest agencies are domestically controlled.

Korea[1]

South Korea is an example of the course advertising development might take in a newly industrializing country. It had strict limits on foreign intervention in the domestic advertising industry until the late 1980s, when the rules were greatly liberalized. Advertising volume there now has surpassed 1% of GNP, for two or three years, putting the country among the "developed countries", which generally have over 1% of GNP devoted to advertising (Byun 1994). Up to 1987, foreign advertising companies were limited to a consultative role, but since then have been allowed to start wholly-owned subsidiaries and joint ventures.

The largest Korean ad agencies are usually allied with, or are subsidiaries of the *chae-bul*, or conglomerates, which dominate the South Korean economy. The largest is Che-il Advertising Agency, connected with Samsung Corporation. It is wholly Korean-owned, but has a consultation contract with a

[1] Information in this section was supplied in St. Louis on March 9, 1994, by Professor Byun Dong-hyun, of the Department of Communication, Chonnam National University, Kwangju City, Korea. It is based on multiple sources published in the Korean language. The two major academic centers of research on advertising in Korea are the departments of advertising at Hanyang University and Chungang University, both in Seoul. There also are smaller departments in provincial universities, but the two in Seoul are considered the most important ones. Both do research on the creative process and critical research, as well as more pragmatic research.

U.S. advertising company. It also has a much smaller subsidiary company with a different name which is a joint-venture. The two other major advertising firms, Oricom and Union, owned by Doosan Corporation and MBC Broadcasting Corporation, respectively, have similar arrangements. The alliance of agencies with chae-bul is much criticized, on the grounds that it hurts creativity and weakens media planning and budgeting.

The Advertising Committee of the Korean Broadcasting Commission, appointed by the government, meets once a week to conduct prior censorship of broadcast (radio and TV) commercials. Print media are, by contrast, monitored only after publication by a self-regulatory committee of the newspaper industry. All broadcast advertising is also de facto further regulated by being funneled through the Korean Broadcasting Advertising Corporation (KOBACO), a government-constituted "clearing house" corporation. It publishes the major advertising research publication in Korea, *Kwang-go Yongu* (Advertising Research). KOBACO is regarded as a stumbling block by independent advertising agencies, partly because it skims off one-third of their potential profit for a fund to promote cultural development.

Since the bodies mentioned above are chiefly concerned with economics and finance, and the growing numbers of consumer groups are concerned mainly with consumer protection, there is no disinterested body specifically concerned with monitoring quality in advertising programming. Although often criticized for copying Japanese and American models, creativity has improved with the current boom in advertising business, to the point where Korean ad agencies have won several international awards.

IX. Advertising Impact in "Less Industrialized Countries"

Korea is one of the few examples of a country which has raised itself from the "less developed" to the "more developed" ranks while maintaining tight regulation over foreign investment and avoiding foreign economic domination, in advertising as well as other sectors of its economy. Most countries have not been so wise or so lucky. They are the field in which dependency theory and concepts such as "cultural imperialism" have sprouted and grown.

Thinking about the effects of advertising and consumerism in the less industrialized world has gone through various phases. It seems probable that most observers would now agree with Snyder, Willenborg and Watt (1991) and John Sinclair (1992), in their discussions of Europe and Australia, that foreign advertising does not inevitably lead to "Americanization" or some other form of alienation from traditional domestic culture. But most would also agree that a problem remains in endemically poor countries. One problem lies in the "selling" of expensive consumer goods to people who can never hope to have enough money to buy them. Another involves the introduction into countries unprepared for them of kinds of goods which can lead to wasteful squandering of resources or even to physically harmful effects for their users (Martinez 1994).

International advertising agencies stand for a Western consumerist way of life, and they shout out that message in all their commercial advertising. All over the world, including the home countries in the Western world, critics have the same complaints. Most criticism is an attack on consumerism; in the Western countries because this way of living is seen as a culturally flattening, mis-mirroring and therefore distorting form of cultural influence; in non-Western countries, because it is regarded as a culturally alienating force, which is taking over local industries as well.

Advertising: "Engine of the Global Mass Media"

Leslie Sklair. "Consumerism Drives the Global Mass Media System." *Media Development* (London). Vol. 40, No. 2 (1993), pp. 30-35.

Noreen Janus. "Transnational Advertising: Some Considerations on the Impact on Peripheral Societies." In, *Communication and Latin American Society: Trends in Critical Research, 1960-1985*. Edited by Rita Atwood and Emile G. McAnany. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986, pp. 127-142.

If the thesis of cultural imperialism or media imperialism were to hold true, Sklair says that the Third World would hold little hope for escape from dependence on and domination by the West and Japan. However, he feels that a more likely and plausible thesis follows from the fact that the dominant cultural

force in the world is no longer Western or Japanese but "the culture and ideology of consumerism that dominates the poorer communities as it does most of the world" (Sklair 1993: 34).

Western and Japanese forms may be influential in this globalized consumerism, but it is, more accurately, a global capitalist project of transnational firms which may be domiciled anyplace--the U.S., Japan, Western Europe, Brazil, Korea, South Asia, the Middle East, etc. The elites in each country, rather than any outside forces, are consumerism's chief promoters and the chief supporters of the operations of transnational corporations in their countries. Until sufficient opposition arises to the "culture-ideology of consumerism" the global system is unlikely to change.

According to Sklair, an important implication of all the major "modernization" theories "is the assumption that people in the Third World have to be taught how to consume." In terms of his own "globalization" theory, however, the profit motive of the transnational corporations must be stressed: the capitalist class organized the world economic system to ensure profits. Consequently, "the culture and ideology of consumerism increasingly dominate the 'communication of information'," giving theories of cultural and media imperialism new meanings and a revivified role in the debates (pg. 31).

Sklair's theory of globalization suggests that the key to media and communication in the global capitalist system lies in the ways in which the communication of information is being transformed into a global "culture-ideology of consumerism". The process can be called "Americanization" in the sense that "Americanization, the method of the most successfully productive society in human history, gives its imprimatur to global capitalist consumerism." But "to identify cultural and media imperialism with the USA, or even with US capitalism is a profound and a profoundly mystifying error." Even if United States influence ended, the consumer ideology would remain strong. The large-scale distribution of Brazilian telenovelas is cited as an example of how promotion of the consumer ideology thrives without reference to the United States (see also, Oliviera 1992).

Sklair remarks on the increasing role of trans-national advertising agencies (TNAAs) in promoting consumerism in the Third World, where they at least tutor domestic agencies in western methods and values, even when they do not directly control them. Janus (1986: 128) points out how, in Latin America, lifestyles promoted in advertising include implicit and explicit agendas for social relations, political action, and cultural change. The local media become more and more transnationalized.

The next step, however, seems less easy to penetrate: the changing of consumer habits. Janus feels the acceptance of new customs "is not the harmonious process the advertising industry would like it to be", and predicts a "perpetual confrontation between transnational expansion and local cultural expansion" (ibid., pg. 133).

Other authors, such as Fejes (1980), Jefkins and Ugboajah (1986), and Mattelart (1978), provide arguments and evidence in support of Janus' view that TNAAs are not simply trying to sell specific products in the Third World, but are engineering social, political, and cultural change in order to ensure a level of consumption that is 'the material basis for the promotion of a standardized global culture'(Janus, 1986: pg. 135). Cathelat (1976: 231) even hinted at the presence of a crusading mentality, saying that "Advertising creates not only commercial products but also *civilization.*"

Latin America

José Martínez Terrero. *La Publicidad en Venezuela.* Second edition. Valencia, Venezuela: Vadell Hermanos Editores. 1991.

José Martínez Terrero. "The Economic and Value-Centered Approach to Advertising Research in Latin America". Privately distributed paper, February 17, 1994.

José Carlos Durand. "The Field of Advertising in Brazil, 1930-1991." In, *Communication for a New World; Brazilian Perspectives.* Edited by José Marques de Melo. São Paulo: School of Communication and Arts, University of São Paulo, 1993. Pp. 253-261.

José Martínez Terrero, S.J., stresses that advertising, in Latin America as elsewhere, cannot be studied alone, but must be considered in its dynamic relationship with television or radio programming and newspaper or magazine articles. Advertising operates as a deep structural determinant of media texts, influencing virtually every aspect of the media. Mass media content and advertising are inextricably bound together.

Mass media (press, film, radio and TV) in Latin America were born without any relation to advertising, but more from political and educational motives. The

market gradually became the most dominant force in society, and advertising, as a tool of the market, became more influential. Transnational enterprises have changed the 'global village' into a multi-mediated supermarket, based on an intended and growing homogeneity of consumers. The most important single agent in achieving this has been TV advertising, according to the author. Large enterprises select the advertising agencies which will represent them, and they select the channels which will serve as their outlets, as well as the programs which will be broadcast.

Advertising might be considered a simple economic tool in the developed economies, but its use in underdeveloped economies, like those of Latin America, can become an abuse when advertisers and industries produce items that can only satisfy the sometimes 'created' needs of a small elite. More logical and more morally defensible in a poverty-stricken society would be the devotion of resources to things people really need, rather than creating artificial markets for luxuries. Underdeveloped economies based on the market system are distorted, since they serve chiefly the interests of the elite minority.

The above analysis sums up the critical approach which has become so strong in Latin America. It grows directly from the depressed situation of the majority of the population and has stimulated special sensitivity to the needs of the poor, which has led to a strong movement for 'media education' and the 'critical reading' of advertising.

Complaints about advertising's negative effects on the poor in Latin America parallel those heard in other regions of the world:

- It stimulates the production and consumption of luxurious and non-essential items, when the basic needs of the majority are not yet satisfied;
- Savings are not used for future investments in the production of much-needed capital and consumption items, but are wasted in the production and consumption by the elite of less socially needed items;
- It creates frustrating ambitions among the majority of the population, who do not have enough money to buy the advertised luxurious items;
- It employs workers and advertisers, but they could be better employed in producing capital and consumption goods which are more needed by the majority of the population.

Negative values in advertising content, especially the use of sex, also have been emphasized in Latin American advertising criticism.

Durand (1993) charts the history of advertising in Brazil. He regards it as an eminently international institution, which must internationalize its own agents if it is to be successful and expand its business. Consequently, it recruits those with a predisposition for becoming internationalized. Brazilian advertising has been marked by rapid penetration by both agencies and advertisers based in North America, with a social and cultural impact not yet adequately studied. The author feels that a sociological approach would be the best method for filling in the information gaps on this issue, as well as on the effects of radio and television in general (pg. 253).

Durand's description of the introduction of advertising in Brazil by foreign agencies underscores a major difference between Brazil and the United States. In North America, advertising and consumer culture emerged from the changing nature of the market in the late 19th century. Market changes, in turn, were linked to changes in the modes of transportation and communication, to urban growth and to a cultural and social predisposition for social and geographic mobility. This was a more or less organic evolutionary process, quite different from the Brazilian situation, in which the population was confronted with advertising suddenly, and without preparation, when the new media appeared.

Durand studied the development of the advertising field itself, not its effects. But this historical perspective helps illuminate the effects, as well. Nowadays there are over 2000 small and medium-sized Brazilian advertising agencies, alongside the larger American agencies operating in Brazil. The Brazilian agencies face a choice between continuing as wholly domestically-controlled organizations without the expertise which has been developed overseas, or entering into joint-ventures with foreign agencies, thereby giving up some control but gaining competitive power through access to know-how (pg. 260).

India

Keval Kumar. *Advertising*. Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1990.

Keval Kumar. 'Social Advertising and Public Communication Policy in India.' A paper presented to the International Association for Mass Communication Research Conference in Sao Paulo, Brazil, July 1992.

Sivaram Srikandath. "Cultural Values Depicted in Indian

Television Advertising. *Gazette*. Vol. 48 (1991), pp. 165-176.

Catherine N. Axinn and Vijay Krishna. "How Informative are the Prime Time Television Commercials in India?" *Media Asia*. Vol. 20, No. 3 (1993), pp. 168-172.

Kumar's book describes Indian advertising's role in Indian society while criticizing it. Over one decade the advertising market in India more than tripled in size. Most agencies have sought relationships with the larger international agencies. The author says that now, in a very competitive market, the global agencies rule the advertising business in India.

In the introduction, he questions the role of advertising in a market where so many people are so poor. He notes that in recent years the advertising industry has experienced its most rapid growth in East Asian countries. The multinational agencies dominate the industry there, as they do in India. At home, in the West, their growth is limited, but here they overwhelm the local industry. One major advantage of tie-ups with the western agencies is to acquire accounts of multinational corporations. Prestige and the securing of expertise are additional motives for such links. But Kumar sees many more disadvantages.

He predicts that the competition will become so severe that is will be impossible for local agencies to survive under the pressure of the multinational agencies. This will result in less informative and more life-style advertising. "And above all, the tie-up with the internal agencies will bring in cultural values which will lead to consumerism and individualism" (pg. 158). Kumar fears the development of a strong cultural dependence which can have long term social, cultural and political consequences. The press and the broadcasting services already are largely dependent on advertising for their income.

Future prospects for Indian advertising indicate a tremendous expansion in which competition and the need for professionalism will increase. International tie-ups will lead to a global approach to advertising. The distinction between advertising and public relations will become increasingly blurred. Wrapping products around lifestyles will become the norm, and television advertising will become snappier and often will be style more than substance.

Kumar sees hope for the future in the growth of participation by greater numbers of Indians in critical consumer groups which are alert to manipulation, in self-regulation and in increased ethical awareness among advertisers. He finishes with a plea to advertisers that they will gain from telling the truth, addressing people as respected, thinking individuals rather than as a mass of insensitive idiots. He hopes the industry will emphasize creativity and will put public service ahead of profit.

Social Advertising in India: "Social", or "public service" advertising in India is extensively used to propagate national development campaigns related to family planning, literacy, national development, the environment, and various health practices. Three major bodies are involved in such development efforts, according to Kumar (1992). The largest, and most heavily funded, is the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP), which is a media unit of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The second is the Films Division, a unit of the same Ministry, in charge of publicity and motivational film production rather than of direct advertising.

The third organization is the newly-established Lok Seva Sanchar Parishad (Committee for Public Service Communication) which is a voluntary nonprofit organization with representatives of advertising and marketing agencies, the mass media, and the Indian Television network (Doordarshan) as well. Lok Seva Sanchar Parishad is a collaborative venture between private enterprise mass media and public broadcasting. During the past few years, this voluntary body has been the most active force in advertising for development in India. Several of the advertising agencies collaborating with Indian Television have multinational connections. The style they frequently adopt for social advertising is similar to that of lifestyle advertising. Selling social messages is to them no different from selling soap.

Kumar's (1992) paper is a critical study of the Indian social advertising scene. It explores the relationship that exists between federal government policy and social advertising. It also attempts to analyze the implications of that relationship for media education theory and practice. More generally, the paper evaluates the international movement in media education from a development/liberation perspective, and suggests that there is a need for the movement to raise questions about the strategies and ideology of social advertising, especially in relationship to public policy.

Indian Television's Cultural Values: During the last decade, television audiences have grown enormously in India. As a result of this growth, concern has arisen about, among other things, television advertising's

impact on traditional values. After briefly sketching the historical evolution of Indian television and advertising, Srikandath (1991), reports on an analysis of 200 Indian television commercials, using a method devised by Richard W. Pollay, to identify the predominant cultural values transmitted through the advertisements. The study found that Indian television advertising to a large extent, if not predominantly, promotes the values of high technology and modernization, as well as consumerism.

Axinn and Krishna (1993) analyzed the information content of prime-time commercials aired on the state run Indian Television Network. Indian commercials appear to be very informational, in contrast to the "image" orientation of western advertising. The study suggests that advertisers in India should include at least the basic information about their products, especially information related to performance and quality. And if they wish their product to stand out, they should include additional information cues about differentiating features.

X. Gender, Logos, and Other Symbols in Advertising Psychology

Lance Strate. "Beer Commercials: A Manual on Masculinity," Chapter 6, in *Men, Masculinity and the Media*, edited by Steve Graig. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992.

Diane Barthel. *Putting on Appearances: Gender and Advertising.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Morris B. Holbrook and Elizabeth C. Hirschman. *The Semiotics of Consumption: Interpreting Symbolic Consumer Behaviour in Popular Culture and Works of Art.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993.

David A. Aaker & Alexander L. Biel (Eds.). *Brand Equity & Advertising: Advertising's Role in Building Strong Brands,* 1993. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993.
Jersey.

Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock, David W. Stewart (Eds.), 1994. *op. cit.*

Philip N. Meyers, Jr., and Frank A. Biocca. "The Elastic Body Image: The Effect of Television Advertising and Programming on Body Image Distortions in Young Women." *Journal of Communication.* Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 108-133.

Gender

The origin of the use of pictures of women as sex symbols in advertising is lost in the early history of the industry. The motives are obvious, but they represent an assumption on the part of the advertiser that the majority of potential buyers of that particular product are men. Changes have occurred in the use of gender references in advertising in recent years which, as Courtland L. Bovee and William F. Arens (1992) pointed out, owe more to the advertisers' perception of their audience than to any considerations of morality, decency or good taste, or even to the influence of the feminist movement. Most advertisers now realize that women have at least as much buying power as men, and consequently take pains to avoid offending them. This does not mean that there is less sex in contemporary advertising, just that it is used more subtly.

Strate (1992) discusses how gender stereotypes and myths are interwoven in beer commercials and their contexts. Drawing on research on the relationship between alcohol advertising and drunken driving, he discusses the ways in which the myth of masculinity is expressed in beer commercials. The advertising works both as a mirror and as a reinforcement for the myth. Strate notes that beer commercials are only one form in which the myth appears, since it is found in ordinary, non-mediated communication as well as in all sorts of mass media contents. The ads both reflect and reinforce the culture's conceptions of "the man's man." Also, myths take different forms each time they are related; so beer ads "reshape the myth of masculinity, and in this sense, take part in its continuing construction."

Myths in any culture tell the boys and men of that society what it means to be a man, what kinds of things men do, how boys become men, what environments are to be preferred by men, how men relate to each other and to women, etc. Strate tries to discern how each of these concerns is defined in beer commercials. Challenge, risk, and mastery over nature,

technology, others, and self, dominate the image of masculine activity portrayed by the commercials. Beer is a reward for challenges met and overcome. Beer drinking itself is never portrayed as a challenge, even though it poses many challenges. Alcohol affects judgement and slows reaction time. It threatens self-control. The author therefore sees drinking beer to be a challenge in itself, but it would be self-destructive for the beer industry to advertise it as such.

Strate says that in the world of beer commercials, masculinity revolves around the theme of challenge, an association that is particularly alarming, given the social problems which stem from alcohol abuse. For the most part, beer commercials present traditional, stereotypical images of men, and uphold the prevailing myths of masculinity and femininity. Thus, in promoting beer, advertisers also promote and perpetuate these images and myths. Furthermore, Strate points out that the commercials are highly accessible and attractive to children and offer answers to their questions about gender and adulthood. They do have an impact on social learning and attitude formation.

The myth of masculinity has a number of redeeming features, in Strate's view, but the beer commercials present only one dimension of masculinity, a dimension which is "clearly anachronistic, possibly laughable, but without a doubt sobering."

Diane Barthel (1988) examines the cultural meaning behind contemporary American advertising. She shows how gender identities are emphasized and how advertising created a gendered relationship with the consumer. We use consumer goods to define and reinforce definitions of what is masculine and what is feminine. In numerous examples Barthel describes how advertisers draw heavily on masculine symbols with which they want their goods to be associated. When a product is to be sold in a new context, the symbols representing masculinity change to fit that context.

She states that much of the power of advertising is indirect. It often does implant an image in our minds. But she feels that responsibility for action to correct the imbalances in advertising rests not on advertisers but on consumers. We should unravel the cultural meanings in the messages to see how their images of masculinity promote not individual identity but corporate profits, then take action to correct the distortions the advertisers' distorted values have created. Advertising "is out there in society, because it is of society. It can be altered, shaped and molded." The advertisers are unlikely ever to correct the distortions themselves, without consumer pressure to do so.

The Semiotics of Consumer Behavior

Morris B. Holbrook and Elizabeth C. Hirschman (1993) ask what role semiotics play in consumer behavior, reading consumption behavior "as a kind of text that invites interpretation" through analysis of its symbolism and imagery. This is an interpretive approach, at odds with neo-positivistic approaches to consumer research and marketing, and consequently attacked by advocates of those approaches. The authors hope that through such an interpretive approach they can find a place for the semiotics of consumption in the study of popular culture and works of art. They focus on the use of products from popular culture, in general, and from cinema and television, in particular, to draw inferences concerning the meanings that underlie various aspects of consumption. They find and analyze consumption symbolism and marketing imagery in poems, novels, plays, and librettos in order to interpret their meanings. The meanings are related to the romantic treatment of the joys and sorrows of consumption in the artistic works.

Although the book does not consider advertising as such, the understanding of consumer behavior is a base for advertising. It is the ocean in which advertising swims and the environment to which it must adapt if it is to succeed. The authors say that, "by focusing on the meanings of brand imagery, product symbolism, advertising messages, sales appeals, shopping experiences and other phenomena directly connected to the elements of the marketing mix, semiotics may help to guide the formulation of marketing strategy--especially in the areas of product planning and the management of promotional communications" (pg. 55).

Brand Building

David A. Aaker and Alexander L. Biel (1993) have compiled papers from a 1991 conference which studied how advertising contributes to building "strong" brands--i.e., favorable audience responses to brand names and the logos and other imagery associated with a particular company or product.

Norman Smothers (Aaker and Biel 1993: 97-111) tried to answer the question, "Can products and brands have charisma?" by studying the advertising of Marlboro Cigarettes and Absolut Vodka. He decided that "The construction of product charisma is not about functional or instrumental utility; it is about

manipulating emotional meaning, which is different from rational function" (pg. 110). It also avoids questions of "truth in advertising," because "there can be no literal way to taste Marlboro Country or verify that Coke adds life."

Marlboro Country is "metaphysical", in the (negative) sense of the word used by positivists such as Moritz Schlick and Rudolf Carnap. It is a "social construction of reality" which "exists only if people participate in its construction and maintenance." But if such an image is firmly related to the product it can radically change its value. "It can lend charisma" (ibid.).

Stewart Owen (Aaker and Biel 1993: 27) ends his report on an "imagepower" study with the conclusion that brands are very important in the marketing process. In the beginning there is only a company, which creates, manufactures and sells a product. Next comes the product, with certain physical features, and certain functions and attributes. It characterizes what the company is selling. After that comes a long-term communication process which establishes brand identity through creating and positioning various symbols which will define the product in the minds of the audience. Finally come individual advertising campaigns and other promotional measures to cumulatively build up the brand's presence to, and desirability for the public. Careful and consistent brand building can result in greater sales. In different cultures, brands are built differently. Brand building in Europe needs individual attention for each country, and "branding" in Japan is different from most Western practices. Branding is a vital stage, according to Owen. Whether the product is good or not, if people do not believe in the brand they will not buy it again. This sums up the ultimate aim of all "image" and "lifestyle" advertising. It also suggests why advertising is so essential to free enterprise marketing, and why that kind of advertising is unlikely to disappear as long as that economic system lasts.

Smothers noticed that just as followers are willing to die for a charismatic leader who is associated with a glorious cause, some consumers exhibit extreme behaviors towards artifacts imbued with compelling meaning. He cites an example of a teenager killed for his Nike shoes (Aaker and Biel 1993: 104).

Smothers thus points out, but does not develop, an ethical problem related to "charismatic" brands. Strong brand identity is, at the same time, one of the most important objectives of advertising and one of its most troublesome attributes.

Psychology and Advertising Practice

The book edited by Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock, and David W. Stewart (1994) brings together conference papers by specialists in advertising and psychology. The wide variety of approaches represented in the book "amazed" even the editors (pg. ix), and illustrates the complexity of the field. Studies like these will help lay a solid empirical research foundation for more effective advertising. But the call for "more research", reiterated in paper after paper, illustrates how little is known with any confidence about the effectiveness of the advertising industry.

In their chapters on the history and contemporary status of advertising research, Maloney (in Clark, Brock, and Stewart 1994: 13-54) and Tellis (ibid., pp. 55-65) highlight the important role psychology and psychological constructs have played and continue to play in advertising research.

According to Maloney, the theories and methods used at the beginnings of modern professional advertising were inadequate. The computerized models developed during the 1960's also did not live up to expectations. Advertising research went through a severe crisis of confidence in the 1970's, as advertisers became impatient with the cautiously qualified responses they were receiving from the researchers (Maloney 1994: 46-47).

Advertising research in this century's closing decade may also seem confused and floundering, but the cumulative experience of almost a century of systematic study has at least produced an awareness of the complexity the problems it faces (*ibid.*, 48-49).

Effectiveness: Tellis reviews the points which years of advertising research have made it possible to state with some degree of certitude about advertising's effectiveness. Customers' brand loyalty, once established, is strong. All forms of promotion except television advertising elicit a strong positive response from consumers, and information-oriented promotions are the most effective in getting people to switch brands, but price-oriented promotions encourage larger quantity sales.

The effects of TV advertising are more complex and subtle, and far more research is needed before much can be said in any definitive way about it. It seems to play two roles: Giving information and reinforcing brand loyalty. The level of intensity seems to be less significant than novelty in design, positioning and timing. Stress on monetary incentives (low price, etc.) will give stronger short-term responses, but stress on

quality or brand attributes is likely to have a more enduring effect. Interactions among campaigns in different media also may be an important consideration. For example, television may provide brand visibility which can be played on by other media which stress quality, price, availability, etc. TV may also strengthen brand loyalty, a valuable result for the advertiser even when it does not increase sales.

The nagging question of subliminal advertising became a cause célèbre in the mid-1970's with the publication of the book, *Subliminal Seduction*, by Wilson Bryan Key (1973). Eric J. Zanot (in Dana 1992: 56-62) has reviewed several studies on the subject which conclude that, although subliminal perception can occur, there is little or no evidence that subliminal advertising has any significant effect.

Attracting Attention: Stuart Tolley and Leo Bogart (in Clark, Brock and Stewart 1994: 69-78) report on research which explores some of the reasons why newspaper advertisements are not all able to attract the same amount of attention. Different ads were found to attract a very wide variation in reader attention. People who are interested in buying an item will be more likely to see an ad for that item. Others will scan all the ads, but the question is how to get them involved in a particular ad. Advertising impact works at the level of memory, and much depends on the initial perception of the advertisements. The authors suggest that further research of this kind should focus, not on advertising alone, but on the whole reading process.

In their discussion of the psychology of comparative advertising, Pechmann and Stewart (Clark, Brock and Stewart 1994: 79-96) criticize earlier research on this subject for methodological limitations. One of these is the studies' tendency to focus respondents' attention on the test ads, thereby precluding the research from testing the degree to which the ads initially attract attention. Another defect is to ask test subjects for their immediate recall and responses only, without testing for long-term recall. On the positive side, research has demonstrated that comparative ads can upgrade the images of brands with a previously low market share. However, they may sometimes be counterproductive in encouraging recall of the "other" brand, rather than the one being advertised.

"Left-brain/Right-brain": Joan Meyers-Levy (Clark, Brock and Stewart 1994: 107-122) studied gender differences in cortical organization--use of the right hemisphere of the brain for some functions and the left for others--which may affect advertising perception. Gender differences are important to advertisers who may, variously, be targeting men, or women, or both.

It appears that there are gender differences in the structure and functioning of the human brain and that psychosocial and biochemical factors play a role in their development. Consequently, men and women may process information differently, due to these differences, not just because of cultural conditioning. In the practical order, males may be more amenable to the apprehension of graphs and charts, because of right-hemisphere processing of that kind of information. Qualitative features of products may be more strongly suggested to men by music or nonverbal sounds, whereas the same information might better be conveyed to women by verbal messages, "more conducive to left-hemisphere processing," such as literary metaphors or analogies. This also has implications for product positioning, or context, in advertisements, depending on whether the holistic processing style of the right hemisphere or the differentiated processing style of the left hemisphere is activated.

> "For example, a piece of furniture may be viewed as relatively streamlined and graceful if viewed in a store in which music airs in the background, because such music is likely to foster the use of right-hemisphere processing. By contrast, the same product might be viewed as detailed and angular if the store airs a highly verbal news program in the background, because such verbal material should prompt the use of left-hemisphere processing during perception." (pg. 117).

The "ideal" feminine form: Addressing a widespread concern about the relationship between advertising and eating disorders, Larry Percy and Martin R. Lautman (Clark, Brock and Stewart 1994: 301-311) discuss the influence of advertising on the body symbolism which affects women's self- perceptions. The "ideal" feminine form undoubtedly has become thinner over the past hundred years. "In 1894, the ideal was reflected by a 5-ft, 4-in. model, weighing 140 lb, with a 37-in. bust and 38-in. hips. She was slimmed down...in 1970 to a mere 118 lb; and this despite the fact that she was now 5 ft, 8 in. tall" (pg. 301). Advertising portrayals of women have paralleled this shift. At the same time, the incidences of the two dangerous psychogenic disorders, bulimia and anorexia nervosa, have increased.

The two studies confirmed that female imaging in advertising has become thinner over time and that women perceive various frozen foods of different caloric content differently relative to their figures. But no definite linkage can be established between

advertising and the wish to be thinner. "Although there is no doubt that social stimuli, including advertising, portray thinner women, the extent to which the images portrayed in advertising drive, rather than reflect, ideal images remains a subject for more extensive study" (pp. 310-311).

Meyers and Biocca (1992) would disagree somewhat with Percy and Lautman. Based on their research, they say that a young woman's perception of her body can be significantly influenced by seeing just thirty minutes of depictions of the ideal female form. Watching more extended media portrayals of the ideal female body could lead to nervous and eating disorders. Surveys show that women have an elastic body image, which can cause conflicts between the represented ideal body image and the self-perceived body image.

The Changing Male Image in Advertising

Sammy R. Danna (Ed.). *Advertising and Popular Culture: Studies in Variety and Versatility.* Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1992.

The portrayal of women in advertising has changed greatly, in recent years, but so has the portrayal of men. Part of this change may be due to the recognition, noted earlier, that women control substantial buying power, and that male sexual attractiveness can be used to sell to women, much as female sexual attractiveness has long been used to sell to men. Sammy R. Danna (in Danna (Ed.) 1992: 146-159) discusses this changing male image.

Male stereotypes have appeared which are just as degrading to men as the longstanding, and much decried, female stereotypes have been degrading to women. Danna discusses the work of OASIS (Organized Against Sexism and Institutional Stereotypes), a Boston-based organization which has tried to fight against both male and female stereotyping. But, since a tendency in advertising is to shock in order to attract attention, negative and extreme stereotypes persist. Unfortunately, the debate is sometimes carried on with an extreme seriousness in some quarters, which not only confuses the issue but also fails to recognize the possibilities for a bit of humor in the whole situation.

The Ethnography of Advertising

Children, and adults too, often see advertising as entertaining. Most students of the subject--whether or not their view of it is favorable--also would acknowledge that advertising has some direct and indirect influence on the general culture. Ethnographers of contemporary culture certainly must take advertising into consideration, along with other dimensions of culture. But it is a difficult subject to study in depth, because of its complexity but also because many of its manifestations are transient, ephemeral, and even quite trivial. Sorting out important generalizations from the trivialities can be a challenge, but the effort can be rewarding in terms of understanding a culture.

Students of popular culture have viewed advertising not only ethnographically, but also historically. Both perspectives can help put contemporary advertising in clearer focus. For example, Richard N. Chapman's discussion (in Danna 1992: 23-28) of the assaults on advertising by social critic Stuart Chase, in the 1920's, provides a sometimes-needed reminder that strong criticisms of advertising, like advertising itself, have been with us a long time. Chase's criticism had considerable effect on the development of the consumer movement and stimulated advertisers to defenses which included moves towards improved self-regulation.

XI. Children and Advertising

Brian M. Young. *Television Advertising and Children.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Hal Himmelstein (1984: 69) cites a summary of "social science findings regarding children's cognitive development and its relation to advertising," by Jonathan Price (1978: 6), to the effect that, at the age of five or six, children have trouble distinguishing fantasy from reality and make-believe from lying. They do not distinguish programs from ads, and may even prefer the ads. Between seven and ten years-old, children are most vulnerable to "televised manipulation," according to Price. At age seven, the child usually can distinguish reality from fantasy, and at nine, he or she might suspect deception in ads--based on personal experience of products which turned out to be not as advertised--but cannot articulate it and "still has high hopes." By ten, this has begun to turn into the cynical view that "ads always lie." Around

eleven or twelve, the child begins to accept and tolerate adults' lying in ads. "This is the real birth of the adolescent's enculturation into a system of social hypocrisy."

Young (1990) agrees that, due to their lack of experience, young children have less resistance to advertising, and it may be especially harmful because of their inability to distinguish it from other programming. But the frame of reference for judgements of "reality" or "fantasy" can shift. Children, asked whether a "realistic" drama about a school was "real," replied that it was not, "because it was not like their school." The considerable similarity of the television portrayal to their own experience, but with discrepancies, had actually increased the children's perception of it as "unreal" (pg. 244).

Another problematic area is advertising's tendency to view only positive aspects, avoiding ugliness, pain, and other negative dimensions of real life. In this it differs from education, other contents of mass media, and similar, more balanced modes of presentation.

The content of advertising has long been subjected to much criticism--discussed earlier, but accentuated when its impact on children is considered. Stereotyping and the raising of children's expectations higher than they can be fulfilled might be stressed. So might the way advertising plays on existing fears and constructs irrational fears. These visions of advertising see it as a malignant rather than a benign influence; pervasive and often immoral (pg. 292).

The Image of the child: Television, in general, has also changed the image of the child in modern society, and advertising may amplify the change. In earlier times, children were regarded as "sweet" and "different"--incapable of adult responses. Now there is a tendency to portray them as "kids"--"streetwise, amusing, interested in excitement and fast action. Kids really know more than we give them credit for and should not be talked down to" (ibid.). If that stereotype comes to affect adult-child interactions, little leeway would seem to be allowed for either discipline or education. From another perspective, children are seen as living in an "age of innocence"--trusting, naive, uncritical. Adults who act upon this stereotype are likely to regard television advertising as unmitigated evil, seducing and taking advantage of the innocent and defenseless.

Children's programming was used, in the early days of television in the United States, to attract a young television audience and thereby influence the sale of television sets. "A great deal of specialized children's programming of high quality was produced and much of this was presented without advertising sponsorship." After a certain "critical mass" of numbers of television sets had come into use, in the early 1950's, programmers began to appeal to sponsors rather than to potential purchasers of TV sets. The audience already had been "hooked", so the attention of the advertiser turned to the adults, who had buying power. Temporarily, quality children's programming revived, but it was loaded with advertising. After the mid-1950's, children's programming was no longer regarded as lucrative, and declined significantly (pp. 20-21).

Media Awareness: Young sees media awareness and media literacy education as pillars on which to build resistance to advertising. Action for Children's Television (ACT) was formed in the United States in 1968 to monitor children's programming and generally to work to improve the impact of television on children. It is especially concerned with advertising. In 1970, sparked by a program which had engaged in direct selling of toys by the host during the purported entertainment portion of the program, it petitioned the Federal Communication Commission to impose tight controls on children's programming--especially in regard to advertising. Over the years, largely due to the political power of the major networks, there has been little success in instituting such official controls, although the broadcasters themselves have shown some responsiveness to public pressure (pp. 18-38).

Young ends with a hope that further research will be done.

> "It is with the benefit of hindsight that we are able to see the significant results and shortcomings of the work done in the 1970's and 1980's. Perhaps we can hope that the 1990's sees a revival of interest in the research issue of the role of television advertising in the development of the child, with the questions framed in terms of advertising literacy and the developmental psychology of rhetoric" (pg. 316).

PERSPECTIVE

In the view of George Gerbner, there is no use in studying the social and cultural effects of advertising alone. They are part of a larger system: A system in which large conglomerates control our culture. One of their tools is advertising. This view, developed in terms of Gerbner's Cultivation Analysis approach, is one of the more negative scholarly views of advertising. It certainly is correct in insisting that advertising must be studied in its proper context and as one influence interacting with many others.

Advertising is a product of industrialized society. Since a coherent and viable economy, today, is largely dependent on mass industrialization, advertising will continue to be a factor in our lives.

Effects as "By-products": But advertising is what we see and what we hear all day long. All conceivable media are filled with it. The study of the social and cultural effects of commercial advertising is in itself a negative one. Social and cultural effects are not the intended effects of advertising, because it is not designed to change social behavior or cultures.

Advertising functions only to sell products or ideas. Therefore it is not surprising that this topic is not dealt with much in advertising textbooks, which stress "how-to-advertise." Social and cultural effects are by-products of advertising, but they are central to the interest of those who are fearful that advertising has too much influence on our view of the world. And it does. Exactly how advertising works on consumers' minds is still a matter for continuing research, but **that** it works cannot be denied.

America, the Laboratory: The critical study of advertising in the United States is especially welcome, because that country is the Valhalla of advertising, or as others argue, the country most "littered" or "polluted" by advertising. At least the effects are more obvious there than in most places. The U.S. is the laboratory of advertising research, and what has been happening there may soon be happening elsewhere.

The Distorting Mirror: Defenders of advertising say that advertising only mirrors culture in order to create sales appeal. But the mirror is distorted. Every critic on the subject describes the way in which the mirror selectively uses only **parts** of culture, linking values and symbols to commercial products. Advertising is so all-encompassing that this--clearly faulty--mirror has become an authority on what culture "should" be. The mirror tells us about an ideal life, toward which we all should strive using the products recommended. Advertising functions as did the storyteller in ancient times, and by telling us its stories, it transforms culture into a consumer culture. The commodification of culture is the result of linking the culture's symbols, norms and values to goods.

The rationale for dealing separately with American advertising and advertising in the rest of the world is that advertising has become such an integral part of American culture. Also, American society can stand as the model for Western society in its relation to advertising. The Western way to advertise can now be seen all over the world. When globally operating companies advertise in non-Western parts of the world, they use the same Western mirror for their advertising, though they will sometimes use indigenous models, as well.

Global Frustration: This makes the mirror even more biased. By showing Western advertising in non-Western countries, the Western ideal lifestyle, Western culture, is proclaimed. The critics of "cultural imperialism" will say that this will lead to cultural alienation. Others see it as a tendency to globalism--companies operating and advertising globally represent a tendency toward a global culture. Advertisers say that it does not make sense for them not to target indigenous culture, because in that way they will sell more, which is their ultimate goal.

But Western advertising can and does lead to frustration: Many cannot afford the goods of the ideal life. And, whether using local symbols or not, the distorted mirror of advertising will still be linking culture to products and therefore stimulating consumer culture wherever it is shown. Criticisms of advertising are less criticisms of capitalism than of its result: consumerism. People do not need all the products shown in order to be happy. We can do without the "materialism," which is used so often to stereotypically describe American society but in fact describes most of the industrialized world.

Some parts of the world are not represented in the works discussed in this issue. But the overall conclusions of scholars dealing with advertising and culture are amazingly consistent. Advertising all over the world is operating in much the same way, and all over the world, it is increasing in volume and probably in influence. The tendency to globalism, first in economy, and gradually also in culture, gives

advertising free rein.

More Active Critics: A few general comments can be made about developments in the literature on advertising. Over the past decade the amount of advertising has increased. As a result, the criticisms have changed a bit--becoming even more severe. Organizations like The Centre for the Study of Commercialism (CSC), The Foundation for Media Education (FME) and its magazine *Adbusters*, and the Cultural Environment Movement (CEM), stand up to advertising 'pollution' by creating awareness among teachers, communicators and others who disseminate information. They have developed an active role, which can be considered as new--distinguished from the more general consumer protection of the past.

Also there are those who hold moderate views which consider advertising not to be as bad as other critics make it seem. But they, too, warn of its harmful effects. An example of this tendency is Michael Schudson (1993), who describes the information environment in which people live as crucial for social and cultural effects. The more access one has to information, the less influence advertising is likely to have. Conversely, the less information one has, the more influence advertising will tend to have.

More Dialogue: Law is not an issue here, because there can be no law against showing only the "good life" while leaving out its deficiencies. There is no way to escape advertising, but at least we can strive for more responsible advertising--more responsible in restoring the true reflective power of the mirror, whose distortions have been the source of much of the evil.

The business point of view has changed little. In consulting typical textbooks to see how they deal with criticisms of advertising, I found that they use most of their space to respond to the easier-to-answer difficulties and paid scarce attention to the more central and critical issue of the "faulty mirror theory." Some complaints are easy to rebut, but the distortion of reality seems to be an essential trait of most contemporary advertising and needs to be faced squarely.

A serious dialogue between advertising and its critics is important. Advertising has a responsibility. It must be possible to sell goods without devaluing cultural symbols or the values held by a culture. That advertising is leading to consumerism is largely a result of mass-production by industries which have to sell large quantities of their manufactured products to show a profit. But, still, there is no need to present that as the most valuable goal attainable. Responsible advertising should try to achieve its economic goals while keeping them in proportion with greater human values.

More of the Same: Despite vast technological and political changes sweeping the world, it seems that nothing **really** new has happened in advertising over the past decade except, as some of the critics would say, that the situation has deteriorated. The world has become more Westernized. Global corporations have expanded to different regions of the world where they cause more of the same complaints heard so often in the past. Advertising is still growing, and therefore growing in importance. The critics of advertising have grown with it.

Some relatively small organizations make an active effort to attack advertising by education, and consumer groups have gained in power. But it also seems that governments are not cooperating with the critics: There is a worldwide tendency towards liberalization, deregulation, and privatization favoring the advertising industry. So the critics have sharpened their views.

In the meantime, there have been some more nuanced reactions as well, from scholars who see the benefits of advertising, along with its bad aspects, and who are somewhat less critical. The arguments in defense of advertising remained, overall, the same, which is somewhat unfortunate, since they so frequently miss the main points raised by the critics, and no dialogue takes place on those points. But it does seem that the advertising business is listening more attentively to critical views and takes suggestions from them in order to produce better advertising. There is room for the presentation of critical papers in the meetings of advertising specialists, giving hope that broader dialogue will develop.

The Commodification of Culture: Whereas earlier critics concentrated on advertising's creation of unwanted needs and use of unwanted persuasion, in 1994, the critics are attacking the commodification of culture, the all-encompassing presence of advertising, and the cultural changes for which advertising is held partly responsible. Advertising has changed people into consumers. Some ads are clearly an insult to people's intelligence. Fear at these tendencies and indignation about them still run high, and are even growing in some circles.

The development of advertising is a 'success' story, and its end is not in sight. New media have been invented which will create new possibilities for advertising. Will the "information superhighway" be free of advertising? I doubt it. It is the perfect vehicle

to reach millions of people. And good marketing sense demands the use of culture and cultural values for efficiency in targeting audiences. The often-heard complaint that the mirror of advertising is a distorted one remains serious. But a true reflection of reality would not sell many products; so some distortion seems inevitable. Most criticism is directed against this faulty mirror.

As for myself, I hate to admit it, but I buy my favorite beer because I like the image shown in the advertisements. Advertising is appealing to me!

--Martijn Wolff

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AFTERWORD

By the Editor

Some years ago, the then-Superior General of the Jesuits, Father Pedro Arrupe, was widely quoted as having told a press conference that the Church should sell Christianity "like Coca-Cola". Of course, he did not mean that literally; but he did feel that Church communicators could take a leaf from the book of the advertisers in their systematic approach to presenting to a wide audience the favorable aspects of their "product". Father Arrupe founded the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture--the publishers of *Communication Research Trends*--to promote greater use of systematic communication research by the Church to further its work. Advertising research is an important, if problematic, resource for that mission.

As we have seen in this issue of *Trends*, some of the things advertisers, ad agencies, and the mass media do to sell their wares are morally and ethically questionable, if not downright reprehensible. On the other hand, many of their methods are straight out of the rhetoric books, and have been employed by public speakers and writers since the time of Aristotle--including preachers of all religious traditions. Other methods are new--growing out of the new capabilities offered by the new mass media--but they are not necessarily any worse than the traditional rhetoric. After all, the misuse of rhetoric brought scorn upon the heads of the Sophists of ancient Athens more or less equivalent to that heaped on advertisers today. As with rhetoricians, the means used by advertisers are, for the most part, indifferent; it is the ends for which they are employed and the ways they are used which give them moral and ethical significance.

Consequently, religious communicators would do well to study the methods of advertising and be willing to use, as the advertising industry does, every arrow in their quiver which can carry their message--with the only difference being that they have previously broken and discarded the poisoned arrows of unethical and immoral methods.

To put it even more strongly, there is a special obligation on religious communicators to use every means they can to reach their audience. This obligation arises, on the one hand, from their mandate to preach effectively "to every creature", and, on the other, from the new cultural and social environment which the new media--press, cinema, radio, television, computers, satellites, fibre optics, etc., etc.--have created, and are continually re-creating. There is a lot out there to compete with--not the least of it being the rampant consumerism which advertising has done so much to support and promote.

Even the most worthwhile message can be drowned out unless it uses effective means to get the audience's attention. Those means--for our day--have by and large been developed and refined by the advertising industry. Whoever would compete effectively will have to study the broad spectrum of methods developed for the mass media. But they should pay the closest attention to the methods of advertising--since that industry has honed those tools most finely--and to what has been learned about their effectiveness.

Many of the studies cited have emphasized that it is extremely difficult, in most cases, to determine how advertising works, or even whether it is effective at all in a particular situation. It uses both science and art, but, in the end, it is preeminently an art--ambiguous in its effects, interacting with the rest of the cultural environment, and with an impact on the individual and society that is tangible, but impossible to fully analyze or evaluate.

Nevertheless, more and more is becoming known. The sources cited in this issue will provide entry into this ever-expanding realm. Here, we have only been able to sketch a few of their insights and conclusions; so there is far more to be learned from consulting them directly.

Negatively, advertising, as the instrument of the materialistic consumer culture which holds the world in its grip, is feared and condemned by many. But it does seem to be the consumer ideology, itself, not advertising alone, which is the chief danger to human dignity and integrity. And even those who are conscious of that ideology find it difficult to escape from its influence. Most or all of those who argue most vehemently against advertising nevertheless comply with the dictates of their consumer culture--driving private cars rather than using public transportation, eating harmful, advertising-shaped diets, smoking, etc.

Advertising, like consumerism, cannot be expunged from a world geared to an international market economy. We will have to live with it for the foreseeable future. But, we can arm ourselves and our children against some of its more dire effects by studying its methods and becoming alert to its more deceptive and seductive practices. These constitute a major target of media awareness education programs, such as were discussed in *Trends* last year (Vol. 13, No. 2, 1993). For the effective conduct of those programs, too, there is no substitute for precise and in-depth knowledge of research findings about ads.

-- W. E. Biernatzki, S.J.

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Kwang-go Yongu (Korea - in Korean)
Media, Culture and Society (UK)
Media Development (UK)
Media Information Australia
Media Perspektiven (Germany) [advertising market, only]

CURRENT RESEARCH

AUSTRALIA
John Sinclair (Department of Humanities, Faculty of Arts Victoria University of Technology, Ballarat Road, Footscray PO Box 14428, MMC, Melbourne, Victoria 3000; Tel: +61 3 688 4449; Fax: +61 3 688 4805) continues his interest in advertising and culture, with stress on theory and developments regarding advertising policy and regulation in Australia.

BELGIUM
Keith Roe & Gerda Cammaer (Department of Communication Science, Catholic University of Leuven, E. van Evenstraat A, B-3000 Leuven) have been studying the role of music television in advertising directed at youth.

BRAZIL
Flavio Mario de Alcantara Calazans (INTERCOM, São Paulo; Fax: +55 11-815-3083 or 814-4764) presented a paper on "Subliminal Advertising" at the XVIII IAMCR Scientific Conference in Guaruja, Sao Paulo, Brazil (1992). In further study he has explored the relationship between subliminal advertising and hypnotism, with possible useful health care applications.

Francisco Gracioso, Gilberto Gidra and **Odair Furtado** (Instituto de Altos Estudos de Comunicacão, São Paulo) have studied the impact of advertising on the attitudes, behavior and fantasy life of people in low income groups.

CAMEROON
L. C. Boyomo-Assala (L'École Supérieure des Sciences et Techniques de L'information et de la Communication, Université de Yaoundé II, BP 337 Yaoundé; University telephone: +237 22 07 44; Telex: 8384) studies advertising regulatory policies.

CANADA
Jonathan Rose (Queen's University at Kingston, Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6; Tel: +1 613 545 2000; Fax: +1 613 545 6300) has studied Canadian government advertising in relation to the Quebec referendum.

Stephen Kline, Brent de Waal and **Theresa Keifer** (Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, Canada) have studied viewers' emotional strategies for resistance to various advertising formats.

Richard W. Pollay (University of British Columbia, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, 2053 Main Mall, Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2; Fax: +1 604 822 8521; Tel: +1 604 822 8338) has recently been focusing on cigarette advertising and has published extensively on cigarette advertising history, segmentation, public relations and content analyses of cigarette advertising, (self-)regulation, management practices and summaries on cigarette strategies and success. He has a chapter, "Thank the Editors for the Buy-ological Urge," in a forthcoming book edited by Ronald Fullerton, titled, *Research in Marketing (Explorations in the History of Marketing, Vol. 12)*, in press with JAI Press. It discusses the role of magazines and advertising in the promotion of the consumer culture between 1920 and 1980.

DENMARK
Henrik Dahl and **Claus Buhl** (Marketing Institute, Copenhagen Business School, Struenseegade 7-9, 2200 Copenhagen N, Denmark; Fax: +45 38-15-20-15; Tel: +45 38-15-38-15) have worked on the function of applied semiotics in marketing.

Hanne Longreen (The Copenhagen School of Economics and Business Administration, Struenseegade 7-9, 2200 Copenhagen N; Fax: +45 38-15-20-15; Tel: +45 38-15-38-15) has studied visual aspects of advertising in cross-cultural communication in Africa to determine differences between the ads developed by international agencies and domestic agencies.

Preben Sepstrup (Department of Marketing, Aarhus School of Business, Haslegaardsvej 10, DK-8210 Aarhus V.; Fax.: +45 86 15 39 88; Tel.: +45 86 15 55 88) has written extensively on the socio-cultural effects of commercial advertising from various perspectives, including broadcasting finance, information content, sex roles in advertising, and diminishing effects of spot advertising.

Brigitte Tufte (The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, Centre of Mass Communication Research and Media Education, Copenhagen) has studied adolescents understanding of unconventional marketing methods on television.

FRANCE
Jacques Guyot (University of Rennes II and the Center for the Study and Research of Communication and Internationalization [CERCI]) has written on the way in which advertising techniques influence ideology.

Armand Mattelart (7 Rue Payenne, 75003 Paris) is focusing on advertising in the context of the deregulation of communication systems and on the emergence of the advertising industry as a new political actor in the transnational public space.

Michael Palmer (Département des sciences et Techniques de la Communication (DESTEC), Université Paris III, Sorbonne Nouvelle, 13, rue Santeuil, 75231 Paris Cedex 05; Fax.: +33 1 45 87 41 75; Tel.: +33 1 45 87 40 91) has written extensively on advertising in Europe.

Marie-Claude Vettraino-Soulard (UFR de Sciences Sociales, Université Paris 7 - Denis Diderot, 2 Place Jussieu, 75251 Paris Cédex 05; Tel.: +33 1 44 27 51 78) has written on audience reception of advertising and has devoted special attention to imagery in advertising.

GERMANY

Werner Kroeber-Riel (Universität des Saarlandes, Institut für Konsum- u. Verhaltensforschung; Postfach 11 50; D-66041 Saarbrücken) has written on advertising strategy and technique.

Michael Schenk (Universität Hohenheim, Lehrstuhl für Kommunikationswissenschaft und Sozialforschung, Postfach 70 05 62, D-70574 Stuttgart) has written on the effects of advertising.

HUNGARY

Thomas Oehler (Diosarok Utca 49 A/II, H-1125 Budapest; Fax. and Tel.: +36 1 202 6484--Also, DDB Needham Heye & Partner, Eroicagasse 1, A-1190 Vienna, Austria; Fax: +43 1 37-15-46-20; Tel: +43 1 37-15-46-0) has been studying the changes which have taken place in the advertising market as a result of the recent transition from communist to democratic rule in Hungary and other countries of Eastern Europe.

INDIA

Keval Kumar (Department of Communication and Journalism, University of Poona, Ranade Institute Building, F.C. Road, Pune 411 004; Fax.: +91 212 333 899; Tel.: +91 212 344 069) recently published a book "*Advertising: A Critical Approach*" and continues to study social advertising and public communication policy.

JAPAN

Kazumi Hasegawa (Department of Communication, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, USA; Fax.: +1 517 336 2589; Tel.: +1 517 355 1855) is a doctoral student studying international advertising and cross-cultural consumer behaviour.

Sumiko Iwao (Institute for Communications Research, Keio University, 2-15-45 Mita, Minato-ku, Tokyo 108; Fax.: +81 3 769 2047; Tel.: +81 3 453 4511; Telex: 34532) studies symbolism in the audience appeal of advertising.

KOREA

Shin In-sup (Managing Director of the Audit Bureau of Circulation, Seoul) is regarded as the leading student of Korean advertising. He has written extensively on advertising theory and practice, including (in Korean) *Principles of Advertising Production* and *History of Korean Advertising.* Generally, these are in the "How to Do It" school, and heavily qualitative.

Cho Byung-ryang (Department of Advertising, Hanyang University, 17 Haengdang-dong, Sungdong-gu, Seoul 133; University tel.: +82 2 292-2111) and **Lee Tae-ryong** (Department of Advertising, Chungang University, 221 Huksuk-dong, Dongjak-ku, Seoul 151; University tel.: +82 2 829-5031) both administer research on the creative process in advertising as well as critical studies. These two universities are the major centers of academic advertising research in Korea.

MALAYSIA

Mohamad Md. Yusoff (Communication Programme, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Minden, 11800 Penang; University tel.: +60 4 883 822; Telex: 40254).

THE NETHERLANDS

Carl Rohde (Wergroep Massacommunicatie, Centrumgebouw Zuid, Kamer E 341, Heidelberglaan 1, 3584 CS Utrecht; Tel.: +31 30 53 47 00; Fax.: +31 30 53 16 19; E-mail: rohde@fsw.ruu.nl) reported, at the Scientific Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, in 1992, on the results of a pan-European research project on major trends in the social-cultural climate of Europe, how these trends are reflected in advertising, and how they influence the attractiveness of symbols and images used in international advertising.

NORWAY

Kathrine Skretting (Communication Department, University of Trondheim, Sverres gt. 15, 7013 Trondheim; Fax: +47 7 596893; Tel: +47 7 595000) has studied differences and similarities in commercials in TV and Cinema. Although the communication material of the commercials is the same, they differ in how the viewing is organized, in who the viewers are, and in how the two media position their viewers.

Ragnhild T. Bjornebekk (Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo, POB 1072, Blindern, 0316 Oslo; Fax: +47 02 854442; Tel: +47 02 855050) has studied the impact of commercialization of children's TV studied by comparing children from two socio-culturally similar areas whose TV-viewing possibilities differ: one where they can choose between commercial and non-commercial television, and the other where they can view only non-commercial television.

RUSSIA

Natalia Tolstikova (Department of Advertising, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801, USA; Fax.: +1 217 244 3348; Tel.: +1 217 333 1602; E-Mail: tolst@uxa.cso.uiuc.edu) presented a paper at the American Academy of Advertising (AAA) Conference, in 1994, entitled, "Signs From The Other World: Russian Attitudes Toward American Advertising." She plans to continue her Ph.D. studies on related topics in cross-cultural consumer research, theory of diffusion of innovations, and reader response theory through interviews and participant observation in Russia.

Maria Shkolnik (Independent Institute of Mass Media and Advertising [IIMMA], Bolshaya Ordynka 16/4, Building 3, Moscow 113035; Tel.: +7 095 124 1625; Fax.: +7 095 233 4705) and **Leonid Shkolnik** (IIMMA, Profsousnaya Street 8-2-4, Moscow 117292 [same tel. and fax. numbers]) are involved in general research on Russian advertising.

SPAIN

Maria Josep Baró i Ballbé (Professor of Civil Law, Universitat de Girona (or) Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona) has written on law regarding consumer protection vis a vis advertising.

José Luis Piñuel Raigada (Vice-Decano de Inv. y RR.II, Fac. de CC. de La Informacion, Universidad Complutense, Ciudad Universitaria, 28040 Madrid; Tel.: +34 1 394 2105; Fax.: +34 1 394 2055).

UNITED KINGDOM

Barry Richards and **Iain MacRury** (Centre for Consumer and Advertising Studies [CCAS], University of East London, Longbridge Road, Dagenham, Essex RM8 2AS; Tel.: +44 81 590 7722; Fax.: +44 81 849 3616; E-mail: @UK.AC.UEL) have been conducting research on advertising and cultural change in Britain between 1950 and 1990, based on an empirical investigation of changes in advertising content in two sectors of consumption, still to be selected. This would provide comparative case-studies through which to explore aspects of gender and class divisions in British society, shifts in the cultural meanings of ideas about technology and nature, changing images of the family, conceptions of health, and the impact of competition in shaping representational strategies in advertising. Richards is also undertaking a parallel study of changes in political advertising during the same period. **Mica Nava**, also at the CCAS, is studying practices and meanings in late twentieth-century food consumption. A conference, sponsored by CCAS, in September 1994, will deal with changes in consumption and advertising since 1950.

UNITED STATES

The American Academy of Advertising (AAA) held its annual conference in Tucson, Arizona, from April 8th to 11th, 1994. In the program you can

find a number of American researchers who are presenting their papers at the conference. One focus of the conference were regional case studies on the Pacific Rim, Latin America, and Russia.

Other papers presented at the same conference which are of special relevance to the topic of this issue of *Trends* include:

"Advertising Research: Is It Socially Superfluous," by **Lawrence Soley** (Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI 53233; Tel. +1 414 288 7302);

"Disclaimers in Children's Advertising Revisited: A Decade Makes a Difference," by **Joanne M. Klebba, Bruce L. Stern,** and **Douglas Tsengh** (Portland State University, PO Box 751, Portland, OR 97116; Tel.: +1 503 357 6151);

"Subliminal Advertising: Grand Scam of the 20th century," by **Stuart Rogers** (University of Denver);

"And Now a Word From Our Sponsor: An Exploratory Concept Test of PSAs Versus Advocacy Ads," by **Eric Haley** and **Jeff Wilkinson** (University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996; Fax.: +1 615 974 8546; Tel.: +1 615 974 1000);

"AIDS Knowledge, Attitudes and Beliefs Among Chinese College Students: Implications for PSA Development," by **Debbie Treise, Kim Walsh-Childers, Shiyan Dai,** and **Kristie Swain** (all of University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611; Tel.: +1 904 392 3261) and **Demetri Vacalis** (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Atlanta, GA);

"Emotions Elicited by Threat Appeals and Their Impact on Persuasion," by **Patricia A. Stout** and **Trina Sego** (University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712; Tel.: +1 512 471-1232);

"The Third Person Effect in Three Genres of Commercials: Product and Greening Ads, And Public Service Announcements," by **Esther Thorson** and **James Coyle** (University of Missouri at Columbia, Columbia, MO 65211; Tel.: +1 314 882 2121);

"Slim, Trim , and Ever So Thin: A Content Analysis of Magazine Advertising Claims for Weight Control Products," by **Patrice Katrak** and **Nora J. Rifon** (Department of Advertising, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824; Fax.: +1 517 336 2589; Tel.: +1 517 355 1855);

"Personalized Interaction with and Generalized Beliefs about Advertising: The Case of Malaysian Students," by **Jyotika Ramasprasad** (Department of Journalism, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale; Carbondale, IL 62901; Fax.: +1 618 453 1992; Tel.: +1 618 553 3277);

"Women, Emotion, And Social Responsibility: Patterns of Perceived Influence in Advertising," by **Rhonda Harris** and **Jacqueline Hitchon** (University of Wisconsin at Madison, Madison, WI 53706; Fax.: +1 608 785 8809; Tel.: +1 608 785 8000.

The next annual conference of the Academy will be held in Norfolk, Virginia, March 24-27, 1995.

Karen C. Alman (School of Journalism and Communication, 1275 University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403; Tel.: +1 503 346 3754; Fax.: +1 503 346 0682; E-Mail: KALMAN@ccmail.uoregon.edu) has studied the relationships between TV dependency, TV advertising, and acculturation. She tested a proposed path model through a survey of individuals from 50 countries, and found that cultural proximity, acculturation motivation, alternative information sources, and length of residence are key variables in the media-acculturation process. She is planning further research on the effect of media availability on acculturation patterns through a comparative analysis of 2 geographic areas.

Leo Bogart (135 Central Park West, Apt. 9N, New York, NY 10023; Tel.: +1 212 724 0006; Fax.: same number) has a new book in press with Oxford University Press, titled, *Commercial Culture*, directly on the social and cultural effects of advertising.

Stuart Ewen (Program in Media Studies, Department of Communications, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021; Fax.: +1 212 721 8585; Tel.: +1 212 772 4949; E-mail: drstu@aol.com (or) ewe@cunyvmsl.gc.cuny.edu) is co-editing with **Serafina Bathrick, Elizabeth Ewen, and Andrew Mattson** a book, *Consuming Culture: Mass Media and Consumer Society, A Documentary History*, for publication by Westview Press. Ewen also has two chapters, "Dynamic Obsolescence," and "Notes for the New Millennium", in a forthcoming book, *Looking Closer: Writings on Graphic Design*, edited by Michael Bierut, Bill Drenttel, Steven Heller, and D. K. Holland, in press with Allworth. He also has a chapter, "Imitations of Life: The Anatomy of Images in contemporary Culture," in a forthcoming book, *And justice for all..*, edited by Jan van Toorn, Ole Bouman and Jeanne van Heswijk, in press with Jan van Eyck Akademie and the Dutch Ministry of Culture, Maastricht, Netherlands.

Alan D. Fletcher (Manship School of Mass Communication, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803; Tel.: +1 504 388 2237) concentrates on speciality advertising and advertising in telephone yellow pages.

George Gerbner (University of Pennsylvania), **Hamid Mowlana** (American University), and **Herbert Schiller** (University of California at San Diego), have edited a book, *Invisible Crises*, to be published by Westview Press (Boulder, CO 80301-2877; Fax.: +1 303 449 3356; Tel.: +1 303 444 3541) in September 1994. It deals with the suppression by the mass media of important information about dangers to the life and freedom of millions which would be threatening or embarrassing to "the dominant structures of cultural power"--many of whom are advertisers.

Michael Jacobsen (Centre for the Study of Commercialism, Washington, DC; Fax.: +1 202 265 4954; Tel.: +1 202 332 9110) is preparing a book, in collaboration with **Laurie Mazur**, with the working Title: "Marketing Madness: What Commercialism Is Doing to Our Culture," scheduled for Autumn publication by Westview Press.

Ali Kanso El-Ghori (Assistant Professor of Advertising, A. Q. Miller School of Journalism and Mass Communications, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506; E-Mail: akanso@ksuvm.ksu.edu) is doing research related to international advertising and public relations. He has written a number of articles concerning international advertising and culture.

T. J. Jackson Lears (Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903) has written a forthcoming book on the cultural history of American advertising.

Cynthia Meyers (Department of Radio, TV, and Film, 6.118 CMA, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712) is writing on the social and cultural history of advertising in the development of American mass media. She has recently written on conflicts between outdoor advertisers and urban environmentalists and on the role of advertising in the formation of popular radio soap operas of the 1930's and 1940's.

Sandra E. Moriarty (Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309; University tel.: +1 303 492-8909) was a 1992-1993 Freedom Forum Center Fellow, doing work on 'Responsible Standards for Advertising Aesthetics and Popular Taste.'

Jon Raymond (2221 Mink Drive, Bear, Delaware 19701; E-mail: com19885@udelvm.bitnet) has studied affective response to advertising, focussed on American magazine advertisements.

Kim Rotzoll (College of Communication, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 119 Gregory Hall, 810 South Wright Street, Urbana, IL 61801; Tel.: +1 217 333 2350) continues to work on the social, economic, cultural and ethical dimensions of advertising, and has written or co-edited three books due for publication this year and early next year. Rotzoll also does work on advertising history.

Linda M. Scott (Assistant Professor, Department of Advertising, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 119 Gregory Hall, 810 South Wright Street, Urbana, IL 61801; Fax.: 217 244 3348; Tel.: +1 217 333 1602) focusses on consumer culture in relation to women, and is currently writing a book from the critical perspective on the relationship between advertising, feminism, and the commercial beauty culture. She also has two articles

forthcoming, "The Bridge from Text to Mind: Adapting Reader Response Theory to Consumer Research," in *Journal of Consumer Research*, and "Images in Advertising: The Need for a Theory of Visual Rhetoric," in the same journal.

Joyce Wolburg (Department of Advertising, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996; Fax.: +1 615 974 8546; Tel.: +1 615 974 3048 E-mail: wolburg@UTKVX.UTK.EDU) is doing her doctoral dissertation on the ways in which individualism as a cultural value is manifested in TV advertising, represented by 170 prime time TV commercials. She is examining the advertising techniques that individualize messages and trying to determine whether the main messages of the ads came across in the text or in non-verbal elements of the ad. In collaboration with **Michael J. Stankey** of the same department, she presented a paper, "Why Must I Be a Teenager in Love? More Findings on Development of Taste," at the 1994 conference of the American Academy of Advertising.

THAILAND

Gordon E. Miracle and **Vittratorn Chirapravati** (Department of Advertising, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, USA; Fax.: +1 517 336 2589; Tel.: +1 517 353 3862) presented a paper, "International Advertising Strategies of Japanese and US Companies in Thailand" at the 1994 annual conference of the American Academy of Advertising.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Abadal, Ernest, et al. *Communication, Culture and Society: Contributions from Catalonia to Contemporary Media Research.* (Monografies i Documents, 4). Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992. Pp. 145. ISBN 84 393 2127 9 (pb.) n.p.

This volume makes available in the form of English abstracts some of the prolific output of Catalonian communication scholars, whose works in Catalan are not easily accessible to readers from outside Barcelona, the rest of Catalonia, the Balearic Islands or the smaller Catalan-speaking territories ("Valencian Community..the Aragonese strip [Franja d'Aragó], Andorra, North Catalonia [France], and Alguer [Italy]", according to Josep Gifreu and Maria Corominas on pg. 33 of this book). Much of the flowering of Catalonian communication studies in recent years is due to the creation, in 1987, of the Centre d'Investigació de la Comunicació (CEDIC), as an agency of the Catalan Autonomous Government (Generalitat de Catalunya), which sponsored the production of this volume.

The works which are abstracted in the book are quite varied, but several focus on print or electronic mass media in Europe, Spain and Catalonia, stressing the differences and degrees of integration at the various regional levels. Others deal with theory, symbolism, policy, film translation, and telecommunications. Daniel E. Jones' *Spanish Directory on Mass Communication Research*, published in Catalan, Spanish and English, in 1991, and abstracted on pages 77-80, may be of special value to those interested in the development of research in Spain. In a quantitative analysis of the listings in that directory, Jones notes that "Most centres [of communication research in Spain] are of recent creation and scholars are generally quite young." This reflects the growth of democracy in Spain and the country's progressive integration into the European and international life. In addition, it suggests that Spain will play an increasingly important role in communication studies in the future.

An appendix, by Manuel Parés i Maicas of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, consists of a "Bibliography on Cultural Identity and Other Identities", citing works in English, Spanish, Catalan, French, German, Italian, and Danish.

Berger, Arthur Asa. *Media Analysis Techniques*, Revised Edition. (The Sage CommText Series, Vol. 10). Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991. Pp. xiii, 143. ISBN 0-8039-4361-X; ISBN 0-8039-4362-8(pb) £11.50.

Berger selects four major approaches to media analysis for discussion in the first part of the book: semiological, Marxist, psychoanalytic, and sociological. The author's admittedly brief description of each approach suggests ways it can be used to increase our understanding of communications media. While cautions are sometimes expressed the over-all tone is positive.

The remainder of the work is devoted to the application of these approaches to the analysis of four examples of 'the public arts': a mystery novel, fashion and cosmetic advertising in *Vogue*, football, and all-news radio stations.

A closing section notes that analysis "doesn't just exist in

and of itself," but will be influenced by the perspectives the analyst brings to it. "The goal of media analysis," as he sees it, "..is to offer the most comprehensive, most interesting, most profound reading of a text possible. ..we need analysis to fully appreciate and understand a work."

Bianchi, Jean, and Henri Bourgeois. *Les Médias côté public: Le jeu de la réception* [The media from the side of the public: The game of reception] (Collection Fréquences). Paris: Centurion (Bayard Presse), 1992. Pp. 133. ISBN 2-227-434-02.3 (pb.). 99 F.

Bianchi and Bourgeois are, respectively, teachers of theology and communications at the Institut Catholique de Lyon, France. From the perspective of reception analysis they discuss the active roles of media audiences. This view makes possible a more positive perception of media use than the assumption of a 'passive' audience which dominated so much earlier research on audiences.

The movement towards a focus on the subject is true both of the critical stream of media studies and the semiotic stream. They have converged towards an ethnographic concern with the act of receiving, although ideological colorations remain.

The book's three chapters examine the "hidden side" of the mass media, suggest how competence might be developed among receivers of the media, and explore the logic or "wisdom" of reception by perceiving what happens when the media are received.

An extensive bibliography of French- and English-language references on mass media reception is appended.

Blumler, Jay G., Jack M. McLeod and Karl Erik Rosengren (Eds.). *Comparatively Speaking: Communication and Culture Across Space and Time.* (Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research, Volume 19). Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1992. Pp. 303. ISBN 0 8039 4172 2; ISBN 0 8039 4173 0 (pb.) £15.00.

The editors see a need for more comparative communication research across cultural boundaries in order to perceive patterns and problems which would be missed in studies of single societies. Only in this way can the generalizability of theories, assumptions and propositions be accurately gauged.

The book developed out of papers delivered at the 1989 conference of the International Communication Association. They were selected to represent "the variety of functions and utilities that comparative communication research could serve," and "to mirror comparative communication research as it stands right now: in a phase of dynamic development." The cultural systems compared may be either geographically distinct or distinguished historically within the same cultural tradition. Several of the authors try to take account of the inevitable interaction between the spatial and temporal dimensions of such systems.

After three chapters discussing different approaches to comparative communication research, the "exemplars" in the main part of the book deal with material concerning Japan, the United States, Britain, France, Italy, the Soviet Union, Sweden, and China.

British Broadcasting Corporation. *Annual Review of BBC Broadcasting Research Findings, 1992* (Number 18, 1992). London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey and BBC Broadcasting Research Department, 1993. Pp. ix, 91. ISBN 0 86196 368 7 (pb.); ISSN 0956 9065.

This is the eighteenth in the annual review series reporting the research activities of the BBC's Broadcasting Research Department. Chapters deal with television viewing and radio listening data for 1991, a new Reaction Index to measure audience appreciation of radio programs, satellite viewing, the VCR, television audiences in Scotland, the BBC' public image, music listening behavior, British aversion to breakfast television, and a detailed study of reactions to the film portrait of the Queen, *Elizabeth R*, broadcast in early 1992. An appendix lists special project reports issued by the Broadcasting Research Department in 1991.

Collins, Richard. *Satellite Television in Western Europe*, revised edition. (Acamedia Research Monograph: 1). London: John Libbey, 1992. Pp. v, 125. ISBN 0 86196 388 1 (hb.) £18.00; ISSN 0956 9057.

The second edition updates the first (1989) edition's account of the history of satellite television, with its "contradictory and complementary relationships between satellite, cable and terrestrial television, the technical, regulatory and financial factors which have shaped the development of satellite television."

The author holds to his "rather gloomy" prognosis, in the first edition, that satellite television would have trouble competing with terrial stations in Europe, except where the reception of the latter is poor. For example BSkyB, in the UK, by 1992 had achieved only about one-third of the audience estimated to be necessary to allow it to break even. This is true even though the cost of reception hardware and subscriptions has declined, whereas that of terrestrial reception--represented by the BBC license fee--has risen. The "Television without frontiers" policy of the European Community, in effect since October 1991, has made it difficult for countries to legally block pornographic transmissions from other countries within the EC.

Chapter five presents an annotated listing of the 45 European television satellite channels which were technically capable of being received in Britain in 1989.

Chapter six considers factors which will affect the future

of satellite television in Europe. The most attractive feature of satellite broadcasting is not original programming but the film and television archives to which the satellite broadcasters have access. Original content is largely limited to news, sports and some children's programming. The success of the Astra satellite delivery system and the expiration of PAL video encoding system patents has practically assured the future dominance in Europe of PAL over the MAC system long preferred by the French.

Dayan, Daniel, and Elihu Katz. *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History.* Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1992. Pp. xi, 306. ISBN 0 674 55955 X (hb.) £23.95.

Even before the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War underlined the fact, it was widely recognized that worldwide live broadcasts of "historic" events "have the potential for transforming societies as they transfix viewers around the globe." The Olympic Games, winter and summer every four years, are the most institutionalized of these "festive events".

The authors analyze the Games, Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the royal wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana, John F. Kennedy's funeral, the moon landing, and Pope John Paul II's visit's to Poland. Chapters draw upon these and other cases to show how such events are defined ("High Holidays of Mass Communication"), scripted, negotiated, performed, celebrated, "shamanized" and reviewed.

An appendix describes five "frames" for assessing the effects of media events: four of them representing current schools of media effects theory and the fifth being the ethnographic method of cultural anthropology which they, themselves have used in the book and have found useful. By comparing the "shamanic efficacy" of the symbols used in media ceremony to those of shamanic ceremonies, for example, and applying to the former the methods of anthropologists such as Victor Turner and Claude Lévi-Strauss the hegemonic role of the media events is clarified. That is, we can understand more fully how the media ceremonies "remind societies to renew their commitments to established values, offices and persons."

Dreyer, Libby, and Jenni Karlsson. *Ulwazi for Power and Courage: A Guide to Starting a Resource Centre.* Illustrated by Dumisani Phungula. Durban: Media Resource Centre and Community Resource Centre Training Project, University of Natal, 1991. Pp. 80. ISBN 0 86980 831 1 (pb.), n.p.

Apartheid in South Africa limited the access of disenfranchised people to libraries and other information sources which are essential if they are to play an empowered and constructive role in society. In response to this need, non-governmental organizations have established resource centers since the early 1980's. Starting in the late 80's, courses have been offered by the Community Resource Centre Training project to train staff for the centers, and some of the materials developed for its courses provided the basis for this book.

The aim of the authors is to make these materials available for broader use, in communities which may not have access to the Community Resource Center, and to do so in a way which is practical and appropriate to the very limited social and material infrastructures of most non-white South African communities. The book "has been written for those who want to start a resource centre but do not know how to set out on that adventure."

The material is presented in the form of a story about the steps in the establishment of a hypothetical center, from the community-organization-type brainstorming about the community's needs, through information-gathering about a variety of established centers and the many practical details of organization, funding and administration, to routine operational procedures after the center is set up. There is an emphasis throughout on flexibility and on responsiveness to the needs of the local community, rather than on rigid adherence to patterns established elsewhere.

An appendix lists the addresses of resource organizations in all parts of South Africa.

Ellis, Donald G. *From Language to Communication.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1992. Pp. xii, 226. ISBN 0 8058 0022 0 (hb.) £36.95; ISBN 0 8058 1071 4 (pb.).

This textbook "is preoccupied with essential principles of language and the subtle ways that language is responsible for creating and sustaining social interaction and meaning." It bridges the approaches to language and communication in the fields of psychology, sociology, linguistics, and communication science; but text and context are its central focus, not "social psychological issues." It deals with the common denominators of all communication, whether that of "the grunts of two cave men arguing over a bone" or of the most advanced, computer facilitated systems of the "electronic superhighway."

The author feels that traditional approaches to language, "and formal linguistics in particular", have too often separated language from its role in the human experience of communication. He says that "language is the primary mechanism of experience," and that "the foundations of language are in social life."

After reviewing the history of the study of language and communication and contemporary theories about language and linguistics, Ellis focuses on "the domain of symbols" as the most fruitful approach to the otherwise intractable study of the mind, "the bridge that connects the body to the soul." In this, he questions a mechanistic tendency in Noam Chomsky's insistence on innate intellectual capacities and prefers giving culture a more central role.

He then goes on to discuss the "meaning of 'meaning'", the meaning system, which is both "the essence of language and communication" and "probably the single most controversial issue common to linguists, communication theorists, logicians, and psychologists alike." Since the essential role of language is to communicate, to transmit meaning, Ellis finds that "it is certainly odd that linguists, psychologists, and communication theorists have spent little time studying meaning or they avoid it altogether."

Much communication with language depends on context, and therefore raises the problem of "extralogical meaning". The coherence of discourse depends on organizational patterns on both a global and local level. The author agrees with T. A. van Dijk that the macrostructural organization which gives coherence to discourse at the global level cannot be explained by reducing it to the criteria which govern coherence at the local (or micro-) level.

The book closes with a chapter outlining Ellis' theory of the communication codes individuals use "to construct their own internal representations of meaning." Codes are both pragmatic and syntactic; and both kinds are used by the individual in ways "governed essentially by social requirements."

Franklin, Bob (Ed.). *Televising Democracies.* London/New York: Routledge, 1992. Pp. xvi, 290. ISBN 0 415 07021 X (hb.) £35.00; ISBN 0 415 07022 (pb.) £11.99.

British television began broadcasting sessions of the House of Commons in November 1989. At first, it was experimental, with misgivings expressed by many--a number of whom were sitting Members. Gradually, however, the experiment has become an institution.

Contributors to this volume deal with the effect these broadcasts have had on the House and its members behavior, as well as their implications for the role of media in a democratic society. Some attention also is paid, in the final section of the book, to the televising of the American Congress, German Bundestag and European Parliament. The perspectives of broadcasters, politicians and academics are represented, respectively, in three earlier sections. Broadcasters tell of their difficulties in structuring and organizing parliamentary broadcasting. Politicians give their views of the consequences of the broadcasts. Researchers relate the findings of empirical studies on the content of the broadcasts, the impact of the broadcasts on political journalism, and audience responses.

Members seemed satisfied that the broadcasting had been conducted in a "full and fair" manner, and a majority voted to continue them. Little change due to the broadcasts could be discerned in the public's understanding of, or esteem for Parliament, although this may have been because of the relatively brief time the broadcasts had been going on when the studies were conducted (two years). Although the broadcasts seem not to have hindered or damaged the work of the Parliament, it was uncertain, from the research, whether significant positive effects had been achieved.

American Congressional committee hearings and special joint sessions of the two houses had been broadcast in the late 1940's and early 1950's, but the idea of routine broadcasts from the floor of Congress met with considerable resistance. The Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN) was organized by cable operators in 1979, partly in anticipation of a favorable shift in Congressional attitudes, and both coverage and viewer interest grew--the latter, at least to the point where the service is viable. The use of the broadcasts in schools has been especially valuable.

Television broadcasting from the West German Bundestag began in 1953. Controversies cause some breaks in the coverage, but about 20 per cent of plenary sessions have been covered live since 1979. It was especially important, and probably influential during the process of German reunification.

Gunter, Barrie, Adrian Furnham, and Zoe Lineton. "Watching People Watching Television: What Goes On in Front of the TV Set?" (ITC Research. Research Paper). London: Independent Television Commission, n.d. [1993], 33 pages.

This paper continues the series of research reports from the research department of the Independent Television Commission, chiefly on aspects of British television broadcasting and reception.

In this project, Barrie Gunter, of ITC Research, and his collaborators, from University College, University of London, observed six families' television watching behavior by means of a video camera housed in a special television cabinet in their homes. Ethnographic data of this kind are regarded as a badly-needed corrective for ordinary viewing surveys which give information only about whether and when the set is turned on and to what channel it is tuned, but lack reliable information about whether anyone is actually watching it and what degree of attention they are paying to it.

The results should be disconcerting, if not shocking, to programmers and advertisers. Over half the observed time when the television set was turned on no one was in the room. Even when present, they often were not watching. Religious programs, news and documentaries kept the viewers' attention best, with sports and crime-drama also relatively high. Even those program types were viewed with many interruptions and distractions. These findings agreed with the results of earlier observational studies with the same objective.

Hall, Stuart, David Held and Tony McGrew (Eds.). *Modernity and Its Futures.* ("Understanding Modern Societies: An Introduction" series). Cambridge, UK: Polity

Press in association with Blackwell Publishers and the Open University, 1992. Pp. viii, 391. ISBN 0 7456 0965 1 (hb.) £45.00; ISBN 0 7456 0966 X (pb.) £13.95.

This introductory textbook on "modern societies and modern sociological analyses" is designed to examine the forces shaping contemporary industrial societies and "the new patterns, structures and relationships that are emerging in the contemporary world." It is the fourth and final book in the series, "Understanding Modern Societies: An Introduction", and asks about "the durability and prospects" of the modern political, economic, social and cultural forms whose emergence and consolidation were explored in the first three books (*Formations of Modernity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben [1992]; *Political and Economic Forms of Modernity*, edited by John Allen, Peter Braham and Paul Lewis [1992]; and *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity*, edited by Robert Bocock and Kenneth Thompson [1992]). "Key debates about these changes are introduced and critically discussed." Some of the key words, including "modernity" and "post-modernity", are also considered, especially in terms of whether they "are adequate for social formations today."

The editors are at pains to point out that none of the authors would assert "that we have left modernity behind and are moving rapidly into a new, 'post-modern' world." The processes they are describing are much too complex and ill-defined to admit of such a simplistic characterization. The signs of change often point in contradictory directions, and "much depends on the specific features of the particular institutional dimension being examined."

Separate chapters explore this complexity regarding ideologies (liberalism, marxism and democracy), globalization, environment, economy, cultural identity, and "the changing nature of modern social thought". In chapter seven, where the question of social thought is treated, Gregor McLennan stresses that the idea of post-modernity poses a radical challenge to the assumptions from the eighteenth century Enlightenment thinkers which have formed the foundations of modern social theory. If the validity of the challenge is admitted, not only particular forms of social thought are called into question but also our ways of thinking about social thought, its form as well as its content.

Each chapter is followed by readings selected from authors at the cutting edge of theory about the topic discussed in that chapter. Chapter seven, for example, has selections from Jean-François Lyotard, Jürgen Habermas, Peter Dews, Zygmunt Bauman, Anthony Giddens and Margareta Halberg.

Hancock, Alan. *Communication Planning Revisited.* Paris: UNESCO, 1992. Pp. 220. ISBN 92 3 102754 9 (pb.) n.p.

The author of *Communication Planning for Development*, published ten years previously, reviews and evaluates changes in the methods advocated in that book, especially in view, as he says in the preface, of "a growing conviction that I now disagreed with much of what I had said earlier, and needed to redefine both my premises and my conclusions.."

After a section in which planning principles are reassessed, he concretizes this reassessment by presenting case studies of planning for products, institutions, networks, systems and concepts, before closing with a section in which he proposes an interim evolutionary framework as a synthesis of the experiences described earlier.

At the core of Hancock's discussion is the "framework approach" to planning, introduced in the earlier book, which he is trying to revise to meet "a maximum number of planning demands." The two-dimensional grid in which the framework originally had been presented was judged to be too confining, alternative solutions were inadequately provided for, the dynamic interrelationships of participants in the planning process were not sufficiently taken into account, it was focused too much on the single level of system planning, it delimited information gathering and processing too rigidly, and, in general, it focussed too much on product and not enough on process.

The case study chapters include discussions of the planning process dealing with large-scale projects with which UNESCO has been involved. These include the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) and COMNET, an international network of communication documentation centers--such as AMIC in Singapore, CIESPAL in Latin America, NORDICOM in Scandinavia, IBERCOM in Spain, and ACCE in Africa--which was established as a result of a UNESCO meeting in 1969. The planning process for a national broadcasting system in Zambia provides another case, as does the "concept" of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as a dimension of UNESCO's communication policy in the 1970's and 1980's.

Hancock's reevaluation of his own earlier model can provide a stimulus for new insights into their own work on the part of others engaged in planning large-scale communication development projects.

Hansen, Kathryn. *Grounds for Play: The Nautanki Theatre of North India.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. Pp. xvii, 367. ISBN 0 520 07273 1 (hb.) $42.50.

Although Indian religious theater has been studied by many scholars, secular genres, such as *Nautanki*, have been largely overlooked. The author feels this was due to its use of female performers, making it not respectable enough, by Victorian standards, for serious consideration. Nevertheless, the traditional secular stage had a significant role "in producing shared values and symbols and hence in constructing community." It also is enduring, having enjoyed an especially high level of popularity throughout the last two hundred years. Furthermore, it is a lineal ancestor

of much of modern India's popular cinema--and consequently has influenced the shape of the largest national cinema industry in the world.

The influence of the traditional theater on Indian cinema was most noticeable in the early years of the motion picture. Later, as Nautanki and other traditional theatrical forms were threatened by the competition of cinema, the influence was reversed, with whole stories from the Bombay cinema being translated to the stage and many urban and Western musical tendencies being adopted.

Many of the martial, romantic and magical stories which form the contents of North Indian theater are widely shared, not only among the different theatrical genres but also in myths, legends, ritual narratives, oral epics and poems. Nautanki drama is distinguished from the many similar genres by the way it sets up communication between audience and performers. Certain expectations are established which make for relatively unambiguous interaction. Singing and music tend to alternate, antiphonally. Performances are complex. Actors and singers are professionals, their training often beginning in childhood. Nautanki has been feminized, even its name being that of the princess who takes a central role in many of its dramas.

Although unabashedly entertainment, Nautanki and other secular theater genres have a liminoid quality which has made them an arena for social experimentation. While upholding traditional values, they confront everyday moral dilemmas, without necessarily resolving them.

Jayaweera, Neville. *Folk Media and Development Communication: Myths and Realities: A Report on Experiences in People's Communication in Mexico, India and the Philippines.* Manila/Delhi: Asian Social Institute/Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (ISPCK), 1991. Pp. 92. ISBN 971 8543 21 X (pb.) n.p.

The "people's communication" discussed is communication in what is more commonly called "community organization" projects. Cases from four places in Mexico, two in India, and one in the Philippines are described. Each of them was studied in research projects funded by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) and carried out by research teams using the participant observation approach. The Philippine case--three villages of fishermen around Laguna de Bay, just south of Manila--was the most intensively researched, over a four year period.

The research program was launched because of a realization that investment in mass media was not having its desired or expected results in Third World development. This realization was confirmed both by critical research which undermined earlier models of development and by an empirical research project undertaken by WACC in India which showed interpersonal communication to be far more valuable than centralized mass media in disseminating development information.

Findings of the study in Mexico included the realization that communication is a total community process, not one limited to particular media or content. In West Bengal, folk media were useful in disseminating information, but only after a "seminal stirring of consciousness" had occurred in the community. In Tamil Nadu organization to carry out practical projects was seen as having the more significant achievement of giving marginalized villagers a sense of dignity and self-worth. Fishermen in the Philippine case found that their local community organizations could interact with similar organizations in other communities to have national influence, provided their interpersonal and participatory communication was "practiced systematically and on a widespread scale."

Generalized conclusions were summarized in chapter seven: "Traditional forms of communication are by themselves not generally capable of producing social change on any noticeable scale." "However, traditional forms can be harnessed for effective social change when adapted and backed by a strong motivation and social consciousness." "The use of traditional forms for social change should not be confused with cultural revival." Consciousness of the need for liberation is fundamental to an understanding of people's communication." "Developing a strategy for liberation is the beginning and the essence of people's communication."

Appendices discuss drama production and the use of sound slides in people's communication.

Jean, François (Ed.). *Populations In Danger: Médecins Sans Frontières.* London: John Libbey & Co., 1992. Pp. vi, 154. ISBN 0 86196 392 X (pb.) £10.50.

This book surveys world trouble spots and outlines their problems from the point of view of "the human element", which the volunteer medical personnel of the non-governmental organization, Médecins Sans Frontières are almost uniquely qualified to represent, and which economic and political analyses frequently neglect.

The first section of the book is a "catalog of horrors", documenting the human impact of individual crises throughout the world, from Africa and the Balkans to Southeast Asia and Latin America. The worst, when the book was written and perhaps now, as well, is Sudan, where few echoes of a racial (not religious) war can reach the outside world, although "all evoke massacres, famine and forced displacement of population.." and the international community remains largely indifferent. The sporadic relief efforts which have been attempted there have run head on into "a regime firmly decided to reach its political goals whatever the cost in human lives."

Similarly straight-forward prose characterizes each brief, but informative chapter on ten populations which "have been chosen to feature in this document because they face imminent--and often measurable--life-threatening danger."

The second section discusses in a more general way several

problems facing populations in crisis situations and the aid organizations which try to help them: new conflicts in the post-Cold War period, famine, displacement of populations, epidemics, etc. Most of the crises are caused or exacerbated by willful human actions. One chapter, "Humanitarian Aid Versus Politics" (pp. 107-111), suggests that non-governmental organizations must sometimes interfere "illegally", against the wishes of their own governments and those of states in crisis, "by providing clandestine aid to people in danger."

Jordan, Stephanie, and Dave Allen (Eds.). *Parallel Lines: Media Representations of Dance. London: John Libbey, 1993. Pp. xii, 241. ISBN 0 86196 371 7 (pb.) [NB: get price from publisher].*

The "parallel lines" of the title represent the trajectories of dance, on the one hand, and the mass media of the moving image, on the other. Dance has moved with natural ease from the stage to cinema and television, and the new media have opened new horizons for choreographers and dancers to explore.

The five commissioned chapters and five chapters consisting of reprints of key critical pieces discuss the varied ways in which dance has been presented on "public television" in Britain. Inevitably, perhaps, "public" must be stretched a bit to include Channel 4, where perhaps the most consistent and serious dance programs appear, despite that channel's commercial character. The full range of dance genres is represented, from classical ballet to music video and old movies, and even dancing in television advertising.

Most of the chapters deal with content. Bob Lockyer, in chapter six, "Stage Dance on Television", however, confronts the problems inherent in moving from one medium to another. Colin Nears also dwells on method in chapter seven, "Bridging a Distance", where he cites the challenges dance presents to the cinematographer and editor.

Korzenny, Felipe, and Stella Ting-Toomey (Eds.). *Mass Media Effects Across Cultures* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Volume XVI). Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1992. Pp. vii, 269. ISBN 0 8039 4623 6 (hb.); ISBN 0 8039 4624 4 (pb.) £16.95; ISSN 0270 6075.

The books in this annual series are sponsored by the Speech Communication Association. This book, on the effects of mass media across cultural boundaries, addresses an especially important topic which the editors feel has been neglected.

Five of the papers discuss theoretical and methodological questions, four on the study and one on the conduct of intercultural communication through mass media. Five papers report on comparative and ethnographic studies of the topic. Two papers point to the future, in terms of global management of socio-cultural change and national media codes of ethics.

An 'epilogue' by Fred L. Casmir reviews the papers in the volume and stresses that properly understanding emerging social and cultural changes in perceptions will require new heuristic models.

Raymond Gozzi, Jr., uses the "high-context"/"low-context" typology of cultures developed by Edward T. Hall to develop a theory of cross-cultural mass media effects. He feels this theory will help researchers allow for the different ways mass media functions in Third World countries, where people of local communities have much shared experience, compared to industrialized countries, where less experience is shared. According to the theory, foreign mass media exposure will subtract context from high-context cultures (e.g., Third World cultures) and will add context to low-context cultures (e.g., industrialized cultures).

Bradley S. Greenberg, Linlin Ku and Hairong Li found that parental behavior in mediating their children's television viewing differed mostly because of differing demographic characteristics. They studied more than 2,000 children in Beijing, Tokyo, Seoul and Taipei, comparing them with an American sample. Parents tended to control girls' viewing more than boys' in all the countries except China.

Using a comparative cultivation analysis technique, Michael Morgan and James Shanahan found their methods more predictive among adolescents in Argentina than in Taiwan, possibly due to heavier television viewing and more entertainment programming in Argentina. Exposure to imported American programming seems to have little cultivation effect in either Argentina or Taiwan.

Marcuse, Michael J. *A Reference Guide for English Studies*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. lxxii, 790. ISBN 0-250-05161-0 (alk. paper); ISBN 0-520-07992-2 (pb.) $40.00.

This annotated bibliography of standard reference tools for English studies lists more than 10,000 titles covering a broad range of bibliographies, directories and similar sources for research in English language and literature.

Many of these will also be useful for communication studies, particularly those listed in sections on "serial publications", "the performing arts--theater, drama, and film", "theory, rhetoric, and composition", and "bibliography". Other entries of interest may be found in sections devoted to particular periods and regions--especially materials dealing with folklore, myth, popular culture, ethnic literature and literature concerned with intercultural relations. The annotations are thorough and often lengthy. Authors, titles and subjects are listed in separate indexes.

Miller, Nod, and Rod Allen (Eds.). *It's Live - But Is It Real? Proceedings of the 23rd University of Manchester*

Broadcasting Symposium (Current Debates in Broadcasting: 2). London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey, 1993. Pp. vi, 121. ISBN 0 86196 370 9 (pb.) n.p.; ISSN 0963 6544.

Live broadcasting, the theme of this 1992 symposium at the University of Manchester, can be deceptive. At first glance, it represents "a simple authentic reality." But, "clearly, artifice, construction and mediation are still involved in live programmes."

In 1992, a greater than usual amount of live programming appeared on British television. Besides sports such as the Barcelona Olympics, "confrontation programmes", talk shows, political and cultural events, on-the-scene live news reports, and other forms of live programming seemed to proliferate. Some of this emphasis on live programs may have been due to their relatively low production costs, in the light of the increasing financial pressures which both the BBC and the independent broadcasters were beginning to experience. Apart from such pragmatic considerations, live broadcasting permits immediate coverage of topical events and gives participants an added awareness of their audience--lending excitement to their participation while it influences their contribution to the program's content.

Complex legal negotiations influence the ways sports are broadcast, by what broadcasters, and to what audiences. Broadcast journalists are constrained by pressure at many levels, and in political reporting this can result in the politicians effectively setting the reporting agenda. The presentation of live music across international or ethnic borders is influenced by cultural factors, especially the notion of what is "authentic" music in different cultures. Confrontational and interview programs can run afoul of sticky ethical problems. These and other considerations provided grist for the symposium's mill. In addition, the book was rounded out by commissioned papers on such particular issues in live broadcasting as war coverage, regulation, advantages and disadvantages of live versus recorded news coverage, and some considerations growing out of television reporting of the 1992 UK general election.

Østergaard, Bernt Stubbe (Ed.). *The Media in Western Europe: The Euromedia Handbook.* London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage, 1992. Pp. xi, 265. ISBN 0 8039 8575 4 (hb.) £32.50; ISBN 0 8039 8576 2 (pb.) £12.95.

This publication of the Euromedia Research Group reviews the development of the mass media in seventeen countries in Western Europe since 1945, in separate articles written by communication scholars from those countries. The commissioned articles each follow the same outline, facilitating cross-national and cross-media comparisons. As the editor points out in the introduction, the volume appears at a critical time in the history of the European mass media. Multinational and multimedia corporations have become prominent factors, and their "media wars" have furnished some of their own headlines. Deregulation is the trend at the national level, while certain kinds of re-regulation are being attempted at the continental level.

The government monopolies of the past and with them the public service concept in broadcasting have come under increasing pressure from privately-owned, advertising-financed networks. Cable systems and satellites have multiplied the numbers of television channels and therefore the competition. Reactions have been varied and sometimes tinged with either euphoria or panic. The dilemma for traditional public service outlets has been especially difficult, with some trying to compete with the entertainment offered by the private channels and others struggling to maintain quality despite declines in viewer numbers.

Discussion focusses on press and television with some attention to radio, but practically none to cinema, except as it relates to television. Policy and legal frameworks are systematically discussed for each country. A table at the end of each chapter provides some key statistics for that country.

Paletz, David L., and Alex P. Schmid (Eds.). *Terrorism and the Media.* Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1992. Pp. viii, 250. ISBN 0 8039 4482 9; ISBN 0 8039 4483 7 (pb.) £15.50.

This book, with papers by eleven authors--six from the United States, three from Europe, and one each from Canada and Australia--stems from a 1992 congress on "a European response to terrorism."

Some questions about the media/terrorism relationship are simply incapable of solution. To governments, any violent action against them is likely to be called "terrorist", while similar acts sponsored by a government are not. Resistance movements which use violent means invariably regard them as acts of "war", not of "terrorism". Paletz and John Boiney devote the book's second chapter to a survey of academic work on terrorism and the media.

Robin P. J. M. Gerrits and Cynthia L. Irvin discuss the terrorists' perspectives. Jennifer Jane Hocking gives the perspectives of governments. Paletz and Laura L. Tawney deal with the role of the broadcasting organizations, and Schmid with that of editors and other "gatekeepers" within the media. Mark Blaisse views the issue from the reporter's perspective, with episodes from his own and others' efforts to find and interview Abu Nidal. The public' perspective--sometimes with the unfortunate concept of "terrorism as theater"--is reviewed by Christopher Hewitt. Finally, Ronald D. Crelinsten, gives the point of view of the victims.

Perloff, Richard M. *The Dynamics of Persuasion.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993. Pp. xii, 411. ISBN 0 8058 0490 0 (hb.) $69.95; ISBN 0 8058 1377 2 (pb.) $27.50.

Persuasion is not only "one of the oldest fields of academic study," as the author states in the first line of the "Preface",

but, as he adds, it also has become a vast and growing industry, including advertising, sales, public relations, political consultation, and numerous other organized efforts to change attitudes and behavior.

This textbook covers a broad range of persuasion research. The author traces its history, from a text on how to communicate effectively written in Egypt 5,000 years ago, through the intensive concern with rhetoric which marked classical Greece, and finally to modern cases, such as charismatic religious cults and "brainwashing" in prisoner-of-war camps.

Part one focusses on attitudes and their complex relation to behavior. Part two shifts to the processes involved in changing attitudes and behaviors. The various theories and heuristic models which have been used to study behavior and attitude changes are described and evaluated. These include the cognitive models--cognitive response approach and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM)--models which focus on evaluations of the sources of persuasive messages ("What makes a communicator persuasive?"), the study of the effects of different types of messages, variables affecting channels and receivers, social judgement theory, and cognitive dissonance theory. Finally, part three looks at theory and research in interpersonal persuasion and the processes and effects of mass media information campaigns--"communication approaches to persuasion." Ethical considerations are brought up at several points in the text.

A sizeable bibliography is appended.

Ray, Eileen Berlin (Ed.). *Case Studies in Health Communication.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993. Pp. xx, 311. ISBN 0 8058 1108 7 (hb.) $79.95; ISBN 0 8058 1109 5 (pb.) $24.95.

This reader in health communication stresses the point that communication can be a critical factor in almost all dimensions of health services. Sections--most consisting of three chapters by different authors--deal with communication in medical training, in caregiver-recipient roles ("bedside manner"), in medical care, in social support, in intercultural situations (Appalachia, Japan and Mexico), in health-care delivery, and in the dissemination of health information. All the authors are based in the United States, and most are on the faculties of communication departments.

The articles deal with such touchy issues as communication with terminally-ill patients--including those with HIV and AIDS--issues of patient autonomy regarding prognoses, tests, and second opinions; dealing with the elderly; discussion of alcoholism with students; discussion of their disabilities with the disabled; communication with parents regarding childbirth; relieving stress among medical personnel; informing patients about financial arrangements; social justice issues involving communication in medical facilities; communication about institutional changes; and public information campaigns. Most of the material is presented as case studies. Each chapter is followed by a list of "relevant concepts", discussion questions and references.

Schultze, Quentin J. *Redeeming Television: How TV Changes Christians--How Christians Can Change TV.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992. Pp. 198. ISBN 0 8308 1383 7 (pb.) n.p.

Television is "sometimes deplorable" but hardly "the devil incarnate", as some critics, Christian and non-Christian, often appear to think of it. Schultze sets out to clear the air, saying, "My thesis is that television can be 'redeemed' when producers and viewers alike hold the medium up to standards of spiritual, moral and artistic integrity." Extreme views of television's potential for good or for evil fail to recognize that it is a social institution, with its own complex internal dynamics. We have to learn to "view" it, rather than merely "watch" it, learning its unique visual language in order to judge it and use it wisely. Organizational imperatives and the abilities of those who create television limit the ways it can be used and therefore what can be expected of it.

It would be as much a mistake to think that Christian influence in television should always be explicitly evangelistic as it would be to reject the use of the medium entirely. The last chapter gets to the heart of the matter. As Schultze summarizes it: "It calls Christians to claim television discerningly for the glory of God and to the benefit of humankind. This means that we must inspire talented people to enter the 'secular' television industry, establish explicitly Christian media, encourage each other to view the tube discerningly, and cultivate in our communities knowledgeable Christian critics who can provide wise evaluations of programming."

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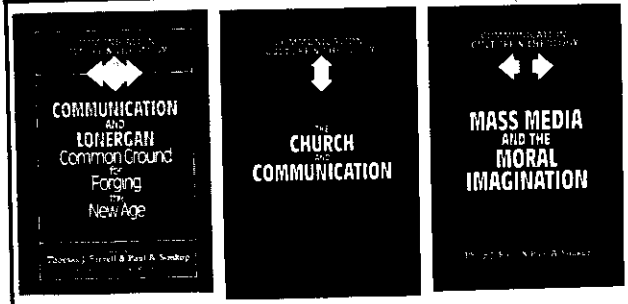

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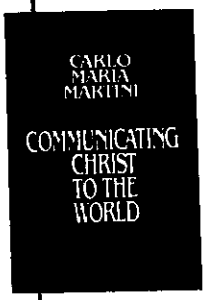

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Dear Colleagues & Friends!

The previous issue of *Communication Research Trends* announced that *Trends* headquarters, with its parent organization the **Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture** (CSCC), was moving from London to Saint Louis University in the USA. The move now accomplished, we send you this issue on "Advertising" from our new location. Because it is a double issue, please note that you'll receive only three mailings from us this year (this is the first), not the usual four.

We're grateful to our new Executive Assistant Marcia Deering, and to *Trends* editor William E. Biernatzki, S.J., and co-author Martijn Wolff, for their excellent work preparing this issue during the complicated period of starting up CSCC at its new home in the USA.

The "advertisement" at left is the first ever to appear in *Trends*. It features four books we would like you to know about. They inaugurate a new series from Sheed & Ward. The backbone of the series will be books developed from the biennial "Cavaletti Seminar," an ongoing project co-organized at Rome by CSCC and the Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Communication at the Gregorian University. The first two books from the Seminar are featured in the ad at left: *Mass Media & the Moral Imagination*, and *The Church and Communication*.

The series will also include books commissioned by CSCC. The first such project is also featured in the ad: an English translation of *Communicating Christ to the World*, by Carlo Maria Martini, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan. CSCC acted as liaison in this project with the author Cardinal Martini, the translator Thomas Lucas, S.J., and the editor Paul Soukup, S.J.

Finally, the series will include books by members of CSCC's network of collaborators. Though CSCC does not initiate these works, it recommends them to Sheed & Ward and, once accepted, helps where it can. The first example of this type of book appeared early this year: *Communication and Lonergan -- Common Ground for Forging the New Age*. In this case, much of the editing was done by Father Soukup during a sabbatical from Santa Clara University, which he spent at CSCC last year.

CSCC is proud to be associated with these books, and we hope you'll purchase them. You can order them directly from Sheed & Ward. Or, because CSCC is a partner in the series, you can get a 10% discount if you order from us. Please write us if you are interested.

Cordially,

Kevin F. Kersten, S.J.
Publisher