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TEXT AND CONTEXT:
AN ANALYSIS OF ADVERTISING RECEPTION

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Contents

List of illustrations

Figures

Appendices

Abstract

The aim of this study is to explore advertising and in particular advertising reception as a significant part of contemporary social practice. Although advertising in some form has been a feature of a wide range of societies, historically and culturally, its economic and social importance has perhaps never been greater. Advertising, across the industrial period and in particular since the Second World War, has through the entrenchment of market economies and the development of different media technologies increased its reach and density through a variety of means. It has become a significant media form, received by audiences differentiated by social, economic, spatial and other factors. This study enquires into the nature of audience reception of advertising through an exploration and application of the encoding/decoding media model. The study argues that attention to the textual and formal elements of the model need to be given greater emphasis and the decoding aspect of the model broadened to deal with a complexity of contextual factors contributing to the process. Advertising media by their nature are comprised of different formal and presentational means. The study focuses on newsprint, television and billboard and other outdoor advertising. The public and private environments in which these forms appear can be characterised through the social and symbolic difference between the domestic environment in which much television is viewed and the outdoor urban environment in which much billboard advertising appears. These are recognised as contributory elements in the reception of advertising and any significance the advert may have for its audience. Audience decoding of advertisements is then a combination of producer intent and a complexity of contributory factors brought to or found in the decoding process. This includes a recognition of various ways of seeing associated with different media forms and social and spatial circumstances and the presentation and reception of adverts as part of a flow of advertising and of a wider social experience. The relation between adverts and other texts also has important intertextual consequences for reception. In the process of decoding, it will be argued that social groups can be understood to act as interpretive communities and a process of advertising diffusion can be observed. Three empirical case studies form a survey of mainly car or car related advertising, featuring television, billboard and newsprint advertising, and highlight a range of possible decodings. The significance of historical and social factors is confirmed as important in securing particular readings of advertisements, and spatial, environmental and contextual features are emphasised in this survey. The survey acknowledges the significance of advertising form and medium and highlights the circumstances in which negotiated and oppositional readings may occur. This study re-emphasises that advertising texts form their signification within a complex arrangement of synchronic and diachronic circumstances in which immediate social and environmental factors should be accorded further significance in the study of advertising. The study concludes with a reflection on its methods and procedures and a consideration of further work that might be carried out in the area of empirical advertising studies. In the interest of a richer understanding of advertising, further research would acknowledge the complexities of audience reception and might include an enquiry into further advertising contexts and environments.

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Author's declaration

This work has not been submitted for any other award and is wholly the work of the author.

Chapter I

Introduction

Advertising is a significant economic, social and cultural element of contemporary society (Jhally, 2000; Jefkins and Yadin, 2000). Although advertising in some form has been present in many previous societies, it is only with the development of industrial capitalism that modern advertising has come into its own (Williams, 1980). The volume and spread of its forms across a wide range of screens, printed items and other materials has added to the perception that the contemporary industrialised world is suffused with media presence (Corner, 2002; Kellner, 2003). If society is described as media saturated then advertising can be seen to be seeping into much of the material and social fabric of contemporary life. This alone makes advertising worthy of further research.

The critical study of the media, at least since the Second World War, has been marked by an advance in terms of the diversity of approaches taken and the amount of scholarly time invested in it. However most commentators agree on the importance of the ideological work the media is engaged in by formulating/reinforcing opinions, attitudes and beliefs that people hold about the world they inhabit. Advertising is an increasingly important element of the media. Each advertisement fuses ideas and images from the world into a new textual and pictorial unity - the more effective the advertisement, the more striking will be this unity (Cooke, 1992). Consequently, the marketed product is associated with a depicted person, a group of people, a lifestyle, an aspiration, a human emotion, idea or value. As Judith Williamson has put it in her important contribution to the study of advertising, it is the 'ubiquitous quality' of the form, which 'despite the fact that it functions within different technical media and despite different 'content' (that is, different messages about different products) that indicates the significance of advertising. Obviously it has a function, which is to sell things to us. But it has another function, which I believe in many ways replaces that traditionally fulfilled by art or religion. It creates structures of meaning' (Williamson, 1978:11).

The critical study of advertising has continued to form an important part of cultural and media studies throughout the final decades of the twentieth century and into the first decade of the twenty first. The disciplines of media and cultural studies provide the main theoretical underpinning for this work. To take advertising seriously as an object of enquiry is of the greatest importance in a world increasingly saturated by its 'structures of meaning', where audiences ever increasingly have the limits of their world encompassed by its form, not only in the sense of being consumers of commodities although that is important, but in how people come to see themselves, the social relations they enter into and the very world they inhabit represented on the page, screen and billboard (Berger, 1972; Barthes, 1973; Williams, 1980; Dyer, 1982; Leiss et al., 1990; Cooke, 1992; Davidson, 1992; Giaccardi, 1995; Nava, 1997; Jhally, 2000). As Jhally has put it: 'the correct question to ask... is not whether particular ads sell the products they are hawking, but what are the consistent stories that advertising spins as a whole about what is important in the world, about how to behave, about what is good and bad. Indeed, it is to ask what values advertising consistently pushes' (Jhally, 2000:30).

Although advertising may consistently attempt to push its 'values' there is no guarantee that these can or will be delivered to an audience, achieve acceptance or that subsequent behavioural effects will occur (Curran, 2002; McQuail, 1998). The study of the media and advertising has been approached through a variety of models such as 'effects studies' and 'uses and gratifications'. The favoured framework for this study is that of the encoding/decoding model. One of the main qualities of the encoding/decoding model as expounded by Hall (Hall, 1973a, 1981a) in the 1970s and 1980s is that it offers a model of *communication exchange* which enables the whole process to be conceptualised. An outline of the procedure can be explained thus: broadcasters encode from a series of possible frameworks a particular meaning or value which is translated through specific words, images or sounds, into the form and nature of the particular medium, the message is then in place to be decoded by an audience. At this explanatory level, the Morse code system provides a suitable analogy. However in the encoding/decoding formulation different decodings can occur according to a range of factors. Hall refers to the mass communication process that the model seeks to represent as 'the articulation of linked but

2

distinctive moments – production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction' (Hall, 2001:166).

The roots of Hall's theoretical and methodological formulation of the encoding/decoding model were in the tradition of thought associated with Marxism which was the force behind the revival of radical thinking in 1970s Britain (Hall, 1978). Hall's reading of and subsequent work on Marx's newly published English version of the Grundrisse (Marx, 1971) was significant to the creation of the encoding/decoding paper (Hall, 1973b; Cruz and Lewis, 1994; Rojek, 2003) and confirmed a constant but 'semi-detached adherence to Marxism' (Rojek, 2003:7). The encoding/decoding paper and other work produced at Hall's Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was an intellectual project intended to make a political intervention in a social formulation in which class and ideology were important elements of capitalist hegemony. The encoding/decoding paper has been described as an example of 'Marxisant semiotics' (Rojek, 2003:14) but is more widely regarded as an important intervention in the area of media and cultural studies (Denzin and Lincoln 2001). Hall's method was eclectic, blending elements of other areas of thought, particularly from Bakhtin, Volosinov, Lacan, Derrida and others in to what Rojek has termed a 'syncretic narrative fusion' (2003:16). The work of Gramsci and Althusser was central to this project and is dealt with in detail later in this thesis. The original encoding/decoding paper, although an important methodological contribution to media and cultural studies enquiry, was neither based upon empirical evidence nor was it intended as a disquisition on the practical applications of research method. However the findings of Morley's Nationwide research project – one of many ethnographic studies launched at the Birmingham Centre - largely confirmed Hall's theory and method (Morley, 1980, 1981b; Tudor, 1999).

The encoding/decoding model was used initially to show the construction, transportation and reception of ideology in the media in the 1970s. Subsequently the model has been used as the basis for a wide range of empirical and theoretical work (Morley, 1980, 1992; Deacon et al., 1999; Soar, 2000; Torronen, 2001).

The research question

This study applies the encoding/decoding model to advertising. The study is concerned with the production, presentation and, for the most part, the reception of advertising texts. The original encoding/decoding model, ground breaking in its initial presentation, has subsequently been at the centre of much theoretical and empirical work on the media. The model has been of benefit in outlining media forms as ideological and as channels of ideology, the formulation of meaning categories and the categorisation of audience readings of media messages into preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings. However for the wider analysis of advertising the formal and presentational nature of advertising and the specificity of contexts and environments of reception need to be accorded prominence in an exploration of how advertisements come to signify for audiences. A wide range of factors involved in the decoding process need to be explored in detail in the interest of understanding how texts come to signify, and in appreciating the significance of those texts to contemporary social and cultural life.

The research question is as follows:

How important are the contexts and immediate environments of reception to the production of advertising signification?

Purpose of the research

The aim of the study is to consider a range of theoretical concepts, themes and issues and apply these through the framework of the encoding/decoding model to a study of advertising. The work explores the presentation of advertising through different advertising media and the various factors involved in the nature of signification and reception. The empirical element of the study analyses a range of contemporary advertising presentations, potential decodings and environments. The purpose of the research is to offer a more informed account of the factors involved in advertising reception and present an analysis of their significances.

Significance of the study

The research contributes to both theoretical and empirical literature in the field of media and advertising studies. Analysis of advertising texts has through the work of Barthes (1973, 1977), Williamson (1978) and others offered an account of the significance of advertising. Media reception theory less frequently concentrates on, or is applied to, the reception of advertising. Studies into the context and social situations in which the media generally is received have often concentrated on the home: Morley (1992, 2000) and Gray's work (1992, 2002) are good examples of this. This study combines analysis of contemporary advertising with analysis of the places of reception. Attention is concentrated on television advertising and its largely domestic context of reception and billboard advertising and outdoor, urban contexts. This enables comparative work around factors involved in the presentation and reception of advertising in two different media and environments. Comparable texts, and in certain cases the same text, can be analysed within different contexts of reception with potentially different decodings involved. The study therefore broadens the concept of decoding process into a wider consideration of factors involved in reception through comparisons of domestic and outdoor advertising and environments explored in original empirical case studies.

Conceptualisation

This project is formed around a range of concepts many of which are defined and elaborated on in the chapters in which they play an integral part. However concepts that underpin and are applied throughout the work require preliminary attention. This section indicates how these are understood and used in this project.

In this study an **'advertisement'** is referred to as a promotion of a service or a commodity. The combination of words, images and sounds that form an advertisement are referred to as a **text** and carried by a range of advertising media. For the purpose of this work this is largely confined to television, newsprint and billboard and outdoor advertising media. Advertising is the outcome of the **advertising industry** comprised of

a series of business enterprises that enable and organise advertising production and presentation and engages in advertising research.

The conceptual framework of the **encoding/decoding model** conceives of this process as the production of an advertisement or advertising campaign within the encoding aspect of the model, the presentation of an advertising text through an advertising medium, enabling audience reception explored in the decoding aspect of the model. The **decoding** process is the activity of making sense of and interpreting the advertisement within a series of codes formed from shared cultural knowledge. The **interpretive community** in which decoding typically occurs can be defined by possession of this cultural knowledge. Reception of an advertisement can be placed in one of three general reading categories, a **preferred, negotiated** or **oppositional reading**. A reading of an advertisement is understood in this project to be an outcome, a formulation of signification. In the first category the receiver of the advertisement accepts the advertisement as intended by the producer, in the second the receiver broadly accepts but might question certain elements and in the third the intended reading is rejected. The preferred and negotiated readings are **hegemonic** in that power is exercised through a particular position and comes to dominate and to lead. This is conceptualised within the question of **structure and agency**: structure is defined as historical and social forces that constrain and enable agency and agency as human existence and action identifiable from these. A reading is **'ideological'** in that it is produced from and is a display of, values, beliefs and assumptions.

'Context' in this project refers to extra-textual elements that might be accounted for in an analysis of advertising and advertising reception. It refers generally to elements outside of the text either in the advertisement's production, presentation or reception and **'decoding environment'** to more localised and distinctive circumstances.

In this project an advertisement is recognised as a sign or a series of signs. An **'advertisement sign'** is the combination of a referent, the thing referred to and the technical means of referring. A sign signifies and that **signification** is the meaningful

form that the advertisement takes for its receiver(s). The **form** that the advertisement takes refers to its appearance as part of a particular medium such as television or billboard advertising and to its specific arrangement of **formal means** such as shape, line, colour, sound, movement and composition. Advertising texts can be analysed through **content analysis** and **textual analysis**, the former referring predominately to enumerative method and the latter to interpretive method of which **semiotics**, the study of signs, plays an important part.

'**Flow**' refers to the presentation or reception of a succession of advertisements that make up a definable sequence, this may, for example, take the form of a series of billboards positioned closely together. **Television advertising flow** is comprised of sequences of television advertisements or strings of advertisement that occur between programmes. This is a more specific phenomenon involving the **paradigmatic** and **syntagmatic** relation between advertising texts. The former is the replacement of one advertisement by another through time and the latter is the connection between advertisements in a sequence. '**Ergon**' refers to the nature and work of the advertising text whereas the '**parergon**' is its immediate surround. The term '**intertextuality**' indicates elements of content that might be common to various advertisements or borrowed from other cultural forms.

Advertising reception is analysed using a number of key terms. '**Effects**' refer to the cognitive or behavioural outcomes of advertising reception, and '**interpellation**' to the advertisement's ability to call or hail the receiver to its form. Similarly, '**mode of address**' describes the particular visual or linguistic tone the advertisement deploys to engage the receiver. A '**mode of viewing**' is the way the receiver is encouraged to look at the advertisement but this may also emanate from other contextual, environmental and individual factors and '**interpretive time**' is the period in which the receiver engages with the advertisement that enables a reading to occur. The term 'advertising diffusion' indicates the extension of an advertisement's signification passed from one person or group to another.

Public and private spaces of reception refer to the specific places in which advertising is received and **public and private spheres** to the tangible differences between aspects of social life that come to form the social relations of reception. The **social relations of reception** are the common experiences and connections that groups share and may be important to the reception of advertising.

Methodology

This study is a combination of theoretical work and empirical case studies. The theoretical element informs the extended encoding/decoding model of enquiry which is applied to several advertising case studies.

The starting point for the theoretical elements of the project is based on a non reductionist Marxist approach to the study of advertising and advertising reception within the tradition of media and cultural studies associated with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and in particular the encoding-decoding model. Debates around Althusserian and Gramscian notions of ideology and hegemony are engaged with within the parameters of the encoding-decoding framework. Insights from the political economy of the media, and concepts borrowed from other disciplines such as literary theory and from, for example, the media work of Williams and Derrida's philosophical work on framing are integrated into the framework in the interests of a fruitful enquiry.

The case studies that comprise the survey of television, newsprint and billboard and other outdoor advertising are qualitative in nature. Drawing on the textual analysis tradition in media and cultural studies, analysis of advertisements from the various advertising media are approached through a semiotic method. The methodology is overwhelmingly qualitative and interpretivist in nature and further aspects of methodology are explored further in chapter two and in the introductions to the case studies in chapters ten, eleven and twelve.

Scope and rationale of the thesis

The thesis of this study is as follows. The encoding/decoding model of media enquiry expounded by Hall in the 1970s is, when compared to other elements of media enquiry within the traditions of 'uses and gratifications' and 'effects studies' the most productive model to apply to advertising and the reception of advertisements. The model continues to form the basis for a wide range of theoretical and empirical work, for instance: the production and reception of press reporting (Deacon et al., 1999); interpretations of editorials (Torrenen, 2001) and advertising production (Soar, 2000). The model emphasises the process of textual signification and the different elements that make up that process in what Hall has described as 'the articulation of connected practices, each of which, however, retains its distinctiveness and has its own specific modality, its own forms and conditions of existence' (Hall, 2001:166). The model in this study is applied to the production, presentation and reception of advertising texts.

However the model has its limitations. In line with Hall's 1989 comment that 'if you are going to work with the model, you have to change the model and develop it' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:272), two modifications are required. Firstly, by inserting the term 'texts' between the encoding and decoding aspects of the model a greater emphasis is given to the textual element of the formulation and in particular to the specificity of the different presentational forms, such as television, newsprint and billboard, in which advertisements appear. The presentational form that an advertisement takes is significant to decodings that occur in advertising reception. Secondly an understanding of the reception of advertising requires that account be taken of a range of contextual factors. Morley and Gray for instance have extended an understanding of television watching into an analysis of the domestic environment in which it typically occurs (Morley, 1992, 2000; Gray 1992, 2002). The decoding aspect of the encoding/decoding model needs to be further extended from a purely theoretical account of potential decodings into categories to take account of the many contextual factors that are involved in the decoding process which give a richer understanding of advertising and its reception.

This study extends the encoding/decoding model into an enquiry into different formal means of advertising presentation from television and newsprint advertising to billboard and outdoor advertising. It explores these forms within a consideration of the typical spaces in which they are ordinarily encountered, the indoor domestic and outdoor urban environments. Decoding factors found in the two distinct sets of decoding contexts such as the nature and impact of the spatial arrangements in which the advertisement is viewed, different modes of viewing associated with different advertising forms and viewing situations, the significance of adverting flow and diffusion, and the importance of interpretive communities are considered to be of significance in the creation of advertising decodings.

In order to explore this extended encoding-text-decoding model and apply it to advertising texts and advertising contexts a number of case studies have been conducted, the findings from which suggest that this extended model accounts for a range of decoding factors associated with differences in formal advertising media, spatial, social and other context related differences. The extended model of enquiry provides a richer understanding of advertising through recognition of textual and contextual factors that contribute to formulating preferred, negotiated and oppositional advertising readings.

Structure of the thesis

The next chapter outlines and evaluates theoretical approaches to media and advertising studies. An extended form of the encoding/decoding model as presented by Hall, representing a relative autonomy framework of advertising reception in conjunction with textual analysis, is established as the preferred basis upon which to proceed. Chapter three explores public and private spheres and spaces as contexts to advertising reception. Public space is explored further in chapter four where the nature of advertising decoding is placed in the context of an outdoor, urban environment, with examples drawn from the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. Private space is considered in chapter five which outlines the nature of home, household and family and its significance to television advertising reception in domestic space. Chapter six explores the importance of the domestic interpretive community to advertising reception, the nature of advertising discourse and

diffusion. Chapter seven investigates the importance of the aural elements of advertising to advertising reception. Television flow, and in particular television advertising flow, is explored through the work of Williams, Derrida and others and the importance that this has for different advertising media and contexts of reception forms the basis for chapter eight. Chapter nine is concerned with the nature of viewing advertisements and explores looking, glancing and gazing as different modes of viewing. The first of three empirical, car and transport related advertising case studies is introduced in chapter ten which offers a semiotic analysis of television advertising. Chapter eleven is concerned with billboard and newsprint advertising media and contexts of reception and explores different possible readings of an advertising campaign that used two different advertising media. Chapter twelve outlines the findings of the final case study of this project: an investigation into a range of television, billboard and newsprint advertisements, accompanying contexts of reception and potential decodings relative to these. In addition to exploring themes and issues central to this enquiry into text, context and advertising reception, the chapter identifies and charts aspects of car advertising emerging from the case studies, that of car and speed aestheticisation. The final chapter confirms the thesis and reflects on both the research question and research process, and concludes the work with a summary of the direction in which further work might proceed, in the light of a changing advertising world and the consequences of this project.

Chapter II

Approaches to media and advertising

Introduction

This chapter is an overview of theoretical approaches to the study of contemporary media and advertising practice. The chapter offers an exploration of the production and transmission of signification and by implication ideology in the mass media in general and advertising in particular. Although advertising is referred to in general, the application of theory to specific advertisements and campaigns occurs later in chapters six, ten, eleven and twelve. The encoding/decoding model of enquiry is adopted as a conceptual framework in which to present an overview of media and advertising studies approaches. (Hall, 1973a, 1983a; Morley, 1980, 1992, 1993; Deacon et al 1999; Torronen, 2001; Rojek, 2003). The chapter explores particular traditions of enquiry within media and advertising studies including empirical and non empirical approaches, liberal/pluralist and broadly Marxist accounts are placed alongside structuralist and post-structuralist interpretations. The encoding/decoding model is returned to in more detail in subsequent sections of this chapter where a detailed outline, analysis and development of the method is offered.

The first part of the chapter offers a brief historical note, an outline and indication of the original function of the encoding/decoding model. The second part explores other media models of the 'effects' and 'uses and gratifications' traditions of enquiry and then returns in the final part of the chapter to a more detailed exploration of the concepts of encoding, texts and analysis and the nature of decoding. The model as utilised in this study is shown to put greater emphasis on the textual element of the formulation and to extend the scope of the decoding element into contextual aspects in the interest of a more informed understanding of the nature of advertising. Expansion and exploration of these elements of the model sets the scene for the remainder of this study which explores two different forms of advertising, billboard and television advertising, and the social relations and contexts of reception associated with them.

12

The encoding/decoding model.

The model was initially used as a means of exploring the creation of a media/political consensus against trades union 'militancy', one operating within television news programmes in the 1970s. Hall wanted to explain how certain social groups were able to stand outside of this consensus. Strikers and militant workers were able to decode news items message in a different way to that which had been preferred by the broadcaster. The model was an attempt to examine this (Hall 1981). The model has also be used to analyse other less obviously ideological constructions particularly those articulated at the level of ordinary, everyday experiences where leisure and recreation are the reason for engagement with the text such as viewing a television advertisement. It may well be applicable to those moments of our lives where, to paraphrase Althusser, 'ideology is working behind your back'. Recently the model has formed the basis for a wide range of theoretical and empirical work, for instance: the production and reception of press reporting (Deacon et al., 1999); interpretations of editorials (Torrenen, 2001) and advertising production (Soar, 2000).

The encoding/decoding model can be extended to operate as a conceptual framework that encourages an 'image' of the totality of advertising from message production, presentation through radio, television and billboard form and reception of meanings on the part of an audience. These form what Hall has described as 'the articulation of connected practices, each of which... retains its distinctiveness and has its own specific modality, its own forms and conditions of existence.' (Hall, 2001:166) In the spirit of Hall's 1989 comment that 'if you are going to work with the model, you have to change the model and develop it.' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:272), it might however be useful to add one further component to the model. Inserting the term 'texts' between the encoding and decoding aspects of the model gives emphasis to its necessary but unstated element and in the process strengthen the model as a conceptual framework for both theoretical and empirical research. This addition, although already implicit in the encoding/decoding model as it stands, gives a greater weight of emphasis to the text - the actual advertisement - as an element of the communication process *in its own right* (Jordon and Brunt, 1988; Poster, 1990; Cruz and Lewis, 1994). Consequently whilst exploring any of

13

the three stages of the message exchange, encoding/production, text in momentary isolation and reception/decoding, it will draw attention to the whole process or totality of the chain of production and exchange, what Hall refers to as 'the circuit as a whole' (Hall 2001:167), in which is situated the specific area to which analysis is to be applied.

The extended encoding/decoding model offers a level of *specificity* to the particular text(s) (newspaper article, television programme or advertisement) to be examined. As Paul Cobley has argued 'textuality has not received the attention it might have been expected to...' (Cobley, 1994:683; Barthes, 1973; Williamson, 1978; Fiske, 1991; Cooke, 1992). This is an attempt to guard against the text becoming drowned in post-structuralist/post-modernist concerns which are in some sense an extension of the traditional 'uses and gratifications' approach to media output, ones that foreground the audience to the extent of an absolute autonomy from any producer intentions. In contrast, Fenton detects a move away from this position: 'Much recent work on audiences has recognised the rampant relativism of previous active audience theory and sought to recoup the role of the media in the meaning-making process' (2000:733). In these previous formulations the audience is either in 'active' or 'resistant' mode (Fiske, 1987, 1991; Abercrombie, 1996; Ang, 1985, 1995). Similarly the emphasis placed on the specificity of the text guards against the excesses of reductionism in which the text is reduced to the moment of production or that the limits set by the encoding process override the possibility of non-preferred decodings (Seaman, 1992; Mosco, 1996).

The reception element of the model is extended to include a consideration of a variety of factors that constitute the contexts and immediate environments in which the reception of advertising occurs. The encoding-text-decoding conceptual framework provides a structure in which to present an overview of media analysis in this chapter. This enables comparison with earlier conceptualisations of the media and audiences and contrast, in some cases assimilate, concerns and criticisms from other media analysts, theoretical formulations and paradigms. The encoding/decoding model in an amended and developed form is returned to in greater detail towards the close of the chapter.

Effects, uses and gratifications

The two dominant views of the media before and after the Second World War can be summarised on the one hand as 'effects studies' and on the other as 'uses and gratifications' approaches (McQuail, 1969; Morley, 1992; Dickinson et al., 1998; Curran, 2002; McQuail, 2002). Both approaches inform the application of the encoding/decoding model to advertising and advertising reception.

'Effects studies' since the early 1950s are associated with the work of Paul Lazerfeld and James Klapper. The tradition has been described as 'the search for specific, measurable, short-term, individual, attitudinal and behavioural effects' of the mass media (Gitlin, 2002). David Buckingham extends this formulation and suggests that media communication effects might be categorised as behavioural, emotional and ideological or attitudinal (Buckingham, 1997).

'Effects studies' are predominantly behaviourist in conception assuming audience reception and response to media messages that result in particular behavioural form. For example a direct response to the media message would become evidenced in consumption practices created by the direct influence of an advertisement on an audience. Quantitative analysis of content generally supports effects studies and is largely based on the assumption that the message is unambiguous and univalent (Berelson, 1952).[1] Research into advertising effects on audiences has featured in this type of media enquiry, from the effects of television advertisements on children (Fox, 2000) to attitudes towards physical appearance in adolescents (Becker, 2002) and gender stereotypes in magazine advertising (Napoli, Murgolo-Poore and Boudville, 2003).

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[1] The scope of effects studies is wide ranging: from newspaper content and readership (Berelson, 1948), to voting behaviour in the United Sates (Berelson, Lazerfield and McPhee 1954); general social opinions and behaviour (Klapper 1960) to television impact studies (Belson. 1967) (quoted in McQuail, 1969). More recently studies have explored the perceived links between film, video and violence (Webster, 1989; Browne and Pennell, 1998). The depiction of violence has become closely associated with this research paradigm and has featured in the US National Television Violence Study, Mediascape 1996 and in the work of Gerbner 1994 and others (quoted in Gauntlet 1998).

A significant element of the 'effects' approach can be traced back to the Frankfurt School and its characterisation of the media/audience relationship summed up in the phrase the 'pessimistic thesis' of mass society. Set against the rise of Fascism in Europe, the model positioned the audience as a largely passive recipient of the media message. Although only one half of the critical theory generated by the Frankfurt School; the other being a more optimistic reading of the potentially emancipatory nature of media technology associated with Benjamin and others, it is the pessimistic side that is most often noted (Benjamin, 1964; Schultz, 2000). This oppressive relationship between media and audience was to be found at the heart of what Adorno called the 'culture industry' (Adorno, 1991; Adorno and Horkeimer, 1979; Murdock and Golding, 1979) and Enzenberger's 'consciousness industry' (Enzenberger, 1974) through the creation and manipulation of what Marcuse termed 'false needs' and through the operation of 'false consciousness' (Marcuse, 1964).

This and subsequent approaches were influenced by assumptions about the flow of information between senders and receivers of media communication, the flavour of which is captured in the term the 'hypodermic model' in which the message is depicted as being 'injected' into the audience characterised as a passive body. This formulation had important consequences for the way that advertisements were perceived to relay their message. Morley (1992, 1999) rejects 'effects' as inadequate in that it assumes that 'contents impinge directly onto passive minds…people in fact assimilate, select from and reject communications from the media…' (Morley, 1992:51). Similarly David Gauntlet amongst others damn 'effects studies' on a series of accounts: that it lacks a theoretical base other than the crude assertion that certain effects will be produced by media messages; that it ignores audience interpretation; is elitist in its assumptions about the relationship of research to audiences, that its research methodology is artificial and misapplied; and that it is lacking in definitional rigour (Gauntlet, 1995, 1998; Cumerbatch, 1998; Fenton, 2000).

However, Curran and others stress the complexity and ambiguity of many effects research projects towards the audience and the audience's relationship to the message

(Evans, 1990; Lewis, 1997; Curran, 2002).[2] Work on audience effect characterised by the model of the 'two step flow of communication' (Lazerfeld, 1944; Katz, 1955, 1957). showed communications practices as embedded in interpersonal relations and explored audience reception in terms of 'opinion leaders', links between social networks and communication networks. This raised questions about information dissemination; about the transmission, reinterpretation, and decoding of messages an area of enquiry important to an understanding of the reception of television advertisements and is explored under the heading of diffusion in chapter seven of this work.

The second body of media research, the 'uses and gratification's' approach was an attempt to swing thinking across to the other extreme from the 'effects studies' position. Audiences became characterised not so much by their passivity, on the contrary, the audience was perceived to be both fragmentary and productive in their approach to meaning reception. Put simply, the audience(s) in this model is free to use the message in whatever way it wished and to take from it whatever gratification it desired. Elihu Katz provided the classic description of the shift in media studies from 'effects' to 'uses and gratifications' with the statement that 'less attention [should be paid] to what the media do to people and more to what people do with the media.' (Katz, quoted in McQuail, 1998:152).[3] This tradition of enquiry and research emphasised the diversity and fullness of audience response to media messages. Audience uses and gratifications can be formed into 'a typology of media-person interaction' that include 'diversion, personal relationships, personal identity and surveillance (or information seeking) goals' (Hermes, 2002:284).[4] The 'uses and gratifications' approach has underpinned work on the social

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[2] Examples are, Kendall and Wolfe's (1949) analysis of differences in audience response to anti racist cartoons, and audience affiliations and predispositions (Hastorf and Cantril 1954, Levine and Murphy 1943) as significant yet elaborate examples of 'effects studies' (Curran 2002).

[3] In the United States, Herzog (1944), in one of the earliest research projects of this type used an interview method to investigate radio serial listening and the uses and gratifications female audiences derived from it. This included both identification and escapism (Curran, 2002). McQuail, Blumler and Brown (1972), in a study of audience response to television quiz shows attempted to show that the same text could be put to different uses and different gratifications by different people. Responses might range from an education and learning use to relaxation and entertainment.

[4] According to McQuail the post-war period of 'uses and gratifications' research can be organised into five areas of enquiry: children and media use; political communication and media gratification; the appeal of

uses to which advertisements are put (O'Donohoe, 1993, 1995) and Internet communication in particular the use of bulletin boards (Morris and Ogan, 2002) and advertising behaviour on the web (Xueming Luo, 2002).

In effects studies models the stress is on individual taste and choice as a variable independent of the text and with little grounding in historical and conditioning factors (McQuail, 1998). The primary criticism of uses and gratifications is that the individuated readings form 'an unstructured mass of differential interpretations' (Morley, 1992; Elliot, 1973) and functions derived from the subjects own reporting of the nature of the use or gratification acquired from the media message are subjective definitions and accounts (Feilitzen, 2002).

Against this background of thought cultural/media studies at least in this country was revamped in the 1970s by the 'rediscovery of ideology' (Hall, 1982) which co-existed with a growing interest in the works of Althusser and the formulation of ideology and interpellation or hailing of the subject by ideology, and of Gramsci and his notion of hegemony. On the left of media studies, this enabled a move away from the rigidity of for instance Frankfurt School thinking which essentially viewed the media as the superstructural legitimating force for capitalist economic exploitation. Althusser carved out a space, which enabled ideology to be seen to be operating in a text and how the subject of that ideology was positioned by it. The work of Gramsci (1971, 1978) with its emphasis on the notion that hegemony is something to be constructed, fought for and contested enabled scholars to investigate the actual processes in which consent is negotiated and achieved.

In this context of debates within Marxism and against the prevalence of other traditions of analysis and frameworks of understanding such as content analysis, pure semiotic and textual analysis, the uses and gratifications and effects studies traditions, Hall set out the basic premise of the encoding/decoding model. (Cruz and Lewis, 1994; McRobbie, 1996;

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different media forms; media and social integration; information seeking; and more theoretical model building work (McQuail, 1998).

18

Rojek, 2003) In particular the target was the centre for Mass Communications Research at the University of Leicester which Hall regarded as 'a traditional centre, using traditional empirical, positivistic models of content analysis, audience-effects survey research et cetera.' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:253) and which according to Rojek (2003:93) represented 'the dominant paradigm of the day in media and communication studies in the UK, namely behaviourism'.[5] (Curran, 2002:111) The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies provided the background but also the direction which was to extend beyond its confines through the work of Morley, McRobbie, Hebdige, Gray and others. The CCCS was an important area in promoting thought and research not only into media studies but also into the wider area of cultural studies (Curran, 2002; Rojek, 2003).

Against this background of the two traditions of enquiry, the encoding-text-decoding framework is further explored in the subsequent sections of this chapter. The three aspects that make up the model are arranged sequentially, and encoding, text and textual analysis and decoding are ascribed separate sections.

Encoding

The encoding aspect of the conceptual framework is the area which precedes the presentation and delivery of the message. The advertising director, creative or designer, working individually or as part of a team is central to this process of advertising production. The 'signifying process' (Hall, 1972:61-64) of advertising has been addressed in both theoretical and empirical work (Shapiro, 1981; Schudson, 1993; du Guy, 1997; Soar, 2000). It is the process, conditions and relations of production, which contribute to or in part determine, the nature of the message. At the first and basic level, this approach insists on the recognition that the production of messages is always a social process carried out in concrete situations and results in the production of messages which should not be perceived as being 'natural' (Fiske, 1991; Hall, 2001) in the sense that messages merely *reflect* some aspect of nature, which is mirrored, for example, as

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[5] Curran citing the work of Murdock and Golding 1977; Murdock 1982; Curran 1980 and 1986; and Garnham 1990, emphasises 'the importance of economic processes – in particular, media ownership, advertising, the structure and logic of the market – as important influences that shaped the media' to that project.

newspaper or advertising copy which surfaces in the pages and on the screens of the media as an unideological and unmediated truth about the world.[6] The encoding-text-decoding approach emphasises the constructed nature of the media message at least in part as a product of the position of the manufacturer of media messages in social relations, constructed from specific relations of production and then organised into particular ideological configurations. This approach gives emphasis to the constructed nature of advertising texts. Advertising production includes such practices as individual and group conceptual work, producing copy, layouts and sketches, organising service functions, the technical production of film and printing, considering and organising outlets within practical, technological, ideological and cultural parameters (Nixon, 1997; Soar, 2000). The process of encoding is the construction, selection, shaping, squeezing and packaging of information into highly structured formats: advertising texts.

A media/cultural studies exploration of the 'encoding process' as the first stage in the communication process is enhanced by a political economy approach. Although Golding and Murdoch recognise the shared tradition between cultural studies and critical political economy in that they 'both work within a broadly neo-marxist view of society', they put greater emphasis on the encoding part of the framework. Cultural Studies tend to emphasise the analysis and reception of an advertising text where as political economy concentrates 'on the structures responsible for its production' (Mosco, 1996:140; Mattelart and Mattelart, 1998, Wittel, 2004). According to John Corner, organisational factors of 'funding, production, distribution, and regulation' are important. (Corner, 1997:225). These are examined in the political economy work of Garnham (1990), Murdock and Golding (1979, 1991), and Meehan et al. (1994) amongst others.

The contribution of this line of enquiry to cultural studies understanding of the 'encoding process' is to give a greater recognition to the products of media production as outcomes in the first instance of their economic determination. Deacon et al suggest that what is omitted in some media and cultural approaches is the 'crucial mediation, such as the

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[6] This concern with mimesis (representation) was being debated at least as far back as the 5th Century B.C. in Plato's discussion of reality and mimesis in part ten of The Republic.

ways text are produced and the wider political economy of that production' (1999:8). Morley associates this with extreme 'active audience' cultural studies approaches, that apportion complete freedom of interpretation to audiences and underplay 'the economic, political and ideological forces acting on the construction of texts' (1993:15).

This is not however to return to a position where textual meaning is a *pure reflection* of its production. On the contrary, it is, following Golding and Murdock's reading of Hall's (1983) work to characterise economic 'determinations' as operating 'in the first instance' rather than in some interpretations of Marx's original formulation: 'in the last instance'. McRobbie articulates the concern of much cultural studies thinking that a return to a 'pre-postmodern Marxism' is invalid and would be 'predicated on prioritising economic determinations over cultural and political relations by positioning these latter in a mechanical and reflectionist role' (McRobbie, 1992:720).

However the critical political economy approach of the 1970s and 1980s relies in the main on a theoretical formulation and a perceived homology between the interests of the 'owners' and the content of media texts which off-load meanings on to the audience (Murdock and Golding, 1979; Curran and Seaton, 1981). These meanings are perceived to be conducive to the continuation of the relations of production within a particular form of ownership and organisation of capital within the media industry. As Murdock and Golding put it: '(T)he process of cultural domination has its roots in the economic dynamics of the "culture industry" and is an indispensable starting point for any Marxist analysis' (1979:18). The insistence that economics is 'the starting point' rather than the end point of analysis is a crucial distinction. Garnham writing in the same year addresses the base/superstructure relationship eschewing Althusser's superstructural semi-autonomy for a formulation that sees the superstructure fold into the base: 'under monopoly capitalism the superstructure becomes precisely industrialised; it is invaded by the base and the base/superstructure distinction breaks down via a collapse into the base' (Garnham, 1979:130).

Critical political economy reminds us that the organisation of the industry follows similar patterns of ownership and control to other capitalist organisations. However in his later work, Adorno offers an ambiguity to the culture industry term that it should not conjure up exactly other industrial processes. Yet, even in film making, 'the central sector of the culture industry, the production process resembles technical modes of operation in the extensive division of labour, the employment of machines and the separation of the labourers from the means of production' (Adorno, 1991:87).

The study of organisations and professional ideologies situated in the work place is an area of study close in conception and in its domain of enquiry to the political economy of media institutions.[7] These are the kinds of work that are, in the cultural studies area, with its emphasis on media texts and audience reception, under represented, although some interesting work on the advertising industry, its social relations of production and working practices is worthy of note (Hirschman, 1989; Schudson, 1993; Hirota, 1995; Soar, 2000).

Under emphasis on the production aspect of the encoding-text-decoding model is attributed by some commentators to the predominance of Arts and Humanities thinking in the area of cultural studies which has encouraged the development of textual analysis and reception studies to the exclusion of production (Kellner, 1998). Mosco makes a wider criticism that: 'Cultural studies is also considerable more uncertain about one of the central substantive goals of political economy approach: understanding social totalities' (Mosco, 1996: 267). Garnham makes a similar point: 'the capitalist mode of production has certain core structural characteristics — above all that waged labour and commodity exchange constitute people's necessary and unavoidable conditions of existence. These conditions shape in determinate ways the terrain upon which cultural practice take place' (Garnham, 1998:611). However, Mosco claims for political economy a position that overlaps with that of cultural studies, one that has pulled back from the position associated with late 1980s postmodernist 'active audience', 'resistance', and 'semiotic

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[7] Work carried out in the area includes: the professional relationships between the encoders of political information and political elites (Gurevitch and Blumler, 1977); the internationalisation of television (Negrine and Papathanassopolous, 1990); and media relations (Tunstall and Palmer, 1991).

democracy' theories (Fiske, 1986, 1987, 1989; Grossberg, 1984; Ang, 1995): 'far from rejecting oppositional readings categorically...political economy situates these readings within the specific power-geometry identified by the co-ordinates of commodification, spatialisation and structuration' (Mosco, 1996: 262).

Halls encoding/decoding model has had major influence and formed the basis for much theoretical and empirical work. However it is true to say that the directions taken have placed a greater emphasis on the decoding side of the equation, towards the development and extension of audience reception theories. Textual analysis, approached as part of the encoding/decoding formulation, has been less well explored (Deacon et al., 1999) and even more so for the encoding aspect of the model particularly as applied to advertising (Soar, 2000).

The encoding element of the encoding-text-decoding framework can be summarised thus: the encoding process is that area of cultural production in media organisations where information, meaning and ideology are loaded into the message. It is the ordering and selection of items which will become for example, the news item, an aspect of photojournalism or text of an advertisement. Critical political economy offers at this level a useful criticism of the cultural/media approach in its foregrounding of the actual processes of production carried out in specific relations of power which are the framework for the production and presentation of texts that display similar ideologies, and relations of power. Although cultural and media studies does attempt to work backwards from the text to the moment of production to ask 'why the text came to be as it is', critics are in some sense justified in arguing that the process is too 'top heavy' with textual analysis and that recent preoccupations within cultural studies have over focused on the free interpretation of texts and audience freedoms. The cultural studies position has pulled away from the reduction of the text into productive processes.

Texts and analysis

The next section of this chapter is concerned with texts, the central element of the encoding-text-decoding formulation, and the analysis of them. Advertisements and

advertising campaigns are referred to in general but analysis of connections between two television advertisements of the 1990s is used to illustrate intertextuality in this section. However the main application of theory to specific texts occurs in later chapters specifically in chapters six, ten, eleven and twelve. Media advertising texts can be described as a media productive form (Comer, 2002:294), an outcome 'constructed on the basis of codes' (Sturken et al 2001:369), that involves three elements, the formal elements of the medium including intertextuality and the processes of reading and instances of reception (Fiske, 1987:16) that can be 'temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purposes of analysis' (Cook, 1992:1). Analysis takes two forms: the qualitative, interpretavist tradition of textual analysis and the quantitative and empiricist approach of content analysis. The terms are frequently but inconsistently used in the literature to describe academic approaches to, and method of analysis of, the products of media output (Deacon et al, 1999). Content analysis sometimes describes a general approach to the analysis of texts (Holsti, 1969), but can more often refer to a specific method of enquiry that involves some form of measurement of textual phenomena. In this thesis the term is used in this latter sense. Although the distinction between the two methods is often blurred: in essence content analysis has tended towards the *enumerative* approach adopting statistical techniques in order to quantify and measure the frequency of occurrences of key elements. These can include, words, sentences, paragraphs, references, images, image types, aspects of images, and other elements that form the unit of analysis within or between a volume of texts (Deacon, 1999; Hansen, 1998; Leiss et al, 1997). Content analysis as a quantitative method in the positivist and empiricist tradition is primarily concerned with establishing the frequency of certain phenomena in media output. Textual analysis, within the qualitative tradition, is concerned to investigate the meaning and signification of texts. Textual analysis is the main analytical form applied to advertising examples and case studies throughout this thesis but some content analysis is present particularly in the car advertisement survey in chapter twelve.

Content analysis

Content analysis as method was developed in the early twentieth century and attempted to deploy the objectivity and rigour of the natural sciences applied to the study of human

and social phenomena. Berelson described content analysis as a 'research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson, 1952:18).[8] As Deacon et al (1999) show, content analysis has since been carried out across a wide range of contemporary media forms from cartoons to music videos. A similar diverse range of applications of content analysis exists in advertising studies; ranging from children and magazine advertising (Viser, 1997) to gender roles in radio commercials (Hurtz and Durkin, 1997).

Content analysis as defined by Berelson above has been criticised for its claim to 'objectivity' and 'value free' research which can lead to a masking of research choice, values, interests and ideologies that underpin the research process and contribute to its findings. More recent manifestations of the technique have underplayed the 'objectivity' claims to the content analysis research procedure. However, Hansen (1998:95) summarises the remaining quantitative elements of content analysis as 'systematic (Holsti, 1969) or replicable (Kripendorf, 1980)'. The main strength of the method is in dealing with the volume of media output, (Gerbner, 1969; Hansen, et al, 1998) and creating an overview or 'map' (Winston, 1990:62) or 'big picture' (Deacon, 1999:117) and identifying frequency and pattern, to 'provide some indication of relative prominences and absence of key characteristics in media texts' (Hansen 1998:95). Content analysis is reluctant, or unable, to ascribe value, depth or significance to a text or to the signs and symbols that constitute it. For some commentators (Holsti, 1969; Leiss et al, 1997) this is a strength: 'content analysis deliberately restricts itself to measuring the manifest or "surface" content of the message under study...' (Leiss et al, 1997:219). But as Sumner has succinctly put it: 'It is not the significance of repetition that is important but rather the repetition of significance' (Sumner, 1979:69).

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[8] In 1910 Max Weber advocated perhaps the earliest form of the method, 'to measure the quantitative changes of newspaper contents during the last generation' (quoted in Hardt 1979:181-2). Early content analysis work included the quantification of political propaganda in media output (Lasswell, 1936; Laswell and Leites, 1949). Content analysis was at first confined to print and radio, but notably extended to a detailed scrutiny of American television in George Gerbner's cultural indicators programme, first outlined in the 1960s (Gerbner et al., 1980; Gerbner, 1995).

Most commentators agree on the limited use of content analysis when deployed as a singular method of enquiry. As Lewis argues: 'Cultural Studies has, from its inception, surpassed the notion that the world is a value-free, objective, experiential realm that can be reduced to neat rows and columns of numbers' (1997: 86). However when used in conjunction with other analytical techniques, quantitative content analysis methodology has its place (Deacon, 1999; Hansen, 1998). As Lewis puts it 'the conventional wisdom regarding qualitative and quantitative methodology is that the former allows us to explore and the latter allows us to confirm' (Lewis, 1997:91).

Textual analysis

Just as content analysis as a description of a quantitative method of enquiry is used ambiguously in the literature, so too is the term textual analysis. Deacon et al (1999:135; 144) refer to two modes of textual analysis; 'semiotic and structural analysis' and 'critical linguistics' as opposed to content analysis and Leiss et al (1997:198) refer simply to two major methodologies 'semiology and content analysis'. Similarly Hansen et al (1989:129) contrast content analysis with 'semiotic and discourse analysis'. Ang (1996:19) highlights the significance of the 'semiological approach' but positions it in opposition to the 'sociological' which might include 'uses and gratifications' and ethnographic approaches. Prior to the ascendancy of semiology, the interpretation and analysis of the content of visual imagery was pioneered by the art historian Erwin Panofsky (1955/1993) and developed in the work of Warburg, Gombrich and others (Woo, 2001; Gombrich, 1977). Iconology is the study of the imagistic content rather than the form that the visual arts in particular painting take: it is 'that branch of the History of Art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of art' as distinct from a more formalist approach (Panofsky quoted in Doro and Greenhalgh, 1992:55). Perhaps the most fruitful manner in which to define textual analysis is as a qualitative methodology closely associated with semiotics or semiology but occasionally involving other forms of enquiry such as discourse or linguistic analysis that stands in contrast to the systematic, enumerative and quantitative approach associated with content analysis.

Most explanations of and operating guidelines for textual analysis begin with the various works of Barthes (1968, 1973, 1977, 1981) which outline semiological approaches to texts and are often accompanied by a backward glance at work of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the influential Course in General Linguistics (de Saussure, 1974). In addition to the Barthesian tradition of 'semiology' the 'semiotic' work of Pierce (1958) with its interest in indexical and iconic signs is of importance.[9] The term semiology refers to the European tradition emanating with Saussure and semiotic to the American Piercian tradition (Gottdiener, 1995), however the former term is commonly used to refer to both aspects of the study of signs (Deacon et al 1999; Cook 1992).

For Barthes and others (Barthes, 1973; Williamson, 1978; Myers, 1988;) working in the area of semiology a text is to be read as a series of signs that are meaningful, 'everything has a meaning, or nothing has...' (Barthes, 1981:170). Barthes starting point is to explain how a sign is constructed in its relation to reality, a thing, object or person is signified, in the case of an advertisement image by the use of line, form/shape, colour and other elements: by a signifier. Both of these elements in combination i.e. the referent and the reference become the sign. In a complex process of layering the sign now acting as a signifier re-enters the process and becomes a component part of a new sign which is perceived to be operating at the level of myth. For Barthes, it is here that ideology enters the field in the distinction between what is denotative meaning and what is connotative meaning. At the denotative level a sign, for instance placed at the side of the road depicting two walking children suggests only the shapes that can be read as two children walking, but at the level of connotation it will mean something like 'drive carefully - you may be approaching a school - children may be crossing the road you are now driving

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[9] Amongst Pierce's categorisation of signs; indices, icons and symbols are the most significant, providing links between phenomena and the signs of those phenomena. Examples of indices might include natural occurrences such as the presence of dark clouds suggesting rain, or animal or human footprints indicating previous presence, both of which entail a direct causal link between phenomenon and sign. The iconic sign refers to a visual similarity between the sign and the natural or social object. For instance, the stylised representation of a male as a representation to indicate a male domain, is an example of an iconic sign. As Gottdiener points out in Pierce's model of the sign 'truth claims, or meaning, arise through language only when an idea or concept can be related to by something else already existing in the mind of the interpreter' (1995:9). It is therefore, more about the exchange of information than about communicative interaction. The Piercian version of semiotics requires less 'encoding and decoding' work than in the formulations of de Saussure and Barthes (Ellis, 1992; Cooke, 1992; Burton, 2000; Bignell, 2002).

down'. The Stars and Stripes primarily denotes geographical and legal discourses but it may connote an idealised, certainly ideological and perhaps mythological notion of 'the American way of life'.

The semiological approach to identifying significance in the social has continued across a range of disciplines and applied to a breadth of objects and phenomena with Barthes famously applied the technique to advertising and other imagery.[10] The approach continued to be applied to the critical content of advertising (Williamson, 1979; Dyer 1982; Goldman, 1992; Cook 1992; Myers, 1994, 1999; Leiss et al 1997; Cannon et al 2000; Bignell 2002) and by the advertising industry in the creation and scrutiny of its own products (Wernick, 1997; Lury and Ward, 1997). Critical appraisals of semiology and semiotics have continued to accompany these various applications of the technique (Lash and Urry, 1994; Gottdiener, 1995; Deacon, 1999).

The work of Louis Althusser (1971), in addition to that of Barthes and the tradition of semiology, has had immense significance in theorising the textual aspect of the encoding-text-decoding formulation. Althusser allows us to imagine the procedures of a text where ideology hails a subject into position. The level of connotation, identified by Barthes, working at the ideological level interpellates the subject of an advertisement. As Williamson (1978) has pointed out, in what is perhaps the most significant semiological work on advertising since that of Barthes, the subject of an advertisement is not only the product which it is attempting to sell: the subject of an advertisement is also the beholder the one who is being persuaded, drawn into the text and given positionality in its discourse. The ideological work of advertising is multi layered. At one level it draws us into an imaginary relationship with the product, and where use value is converted by the sign of the commodity into ever increasing bizarre relations of fantasy. (For example, car = power, wealth, status, sexual attractiveness, or other attributes). It is perhaps worth recalling an early critic of advertising who suggested that, 'If we were sensibly materialist... we should find most advertising to be an insane irrelevance. Beer would be

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[10] Examples of semiological method range from literature and linguistics, (Eco, 1976, 1984); anthropology, (Levi Stauss, 1986, 2001); architecture, (Jencks, 1977; Gottdiener 1995); to urban space (Koolhass, 2002).

enough for us, without the additional promise that in drinking it we show ourselves to be manly, young in heart, or neighbourly' (Williams, 1980:85). In recent advertising, from the late 90s onwards, more disconnected and surreal representations of the commodity, social actors and forms have formed significant stylistic elements.

Ideology

The critique of 'ideology' in general and the Althusserian system of ideology, institutions and subjects in particular, has added significantly to an understanding of the nature and operation of the media (Thompson, 1990). The term has had a fluctuating presence within the field, losing ground either because 'Marxism became weakened' (Corner, 2001), or because of 'a profound shift in political power towards the right' (Philo and Miller, 2000). Debates within Marxism (Corner, 2001; Miller, 2002) and between Marxist, post-structuralist, postmodernist and post-postmodernist thinkers (Fiske, 1987; Poster, 1990) have been wide ranging: with the development of ideology critique being an important aspect of certain strands within critical theory and the development of recent audience theory (Corner, 1991; Morley, 1992; Cobley 1994; Roach, 1997). The relation between ideology and Hall's formula of encoding/decoding is close and is associated with questions of history, determinism, the nature of consciousness and the subject and agency debate. The significance of ideology and Althusser's general contribution to cultural and media studies has been well documented (Stevenson, 1996; Fiske, 1997; Curran 2002). It has been acknowledged in relation to advertising (Williamson, 1978; Goldman, 1992); specifically television advertising (Poster, 1990) and to the nature of interpellation of the subject to media form along Lacanian lines (Morley, 1992; Corner, 1997). Corner (2001) provides perhaps the most recent and concise overview of the area.

Corner (2001:525) stresses the ambiguous use of the term 'ideology' in the field of media and cultural studies and notes 'a number of shifts of emphasis' that lead him to conclude that: 'It would be better to hope that we are coming to the end of attempts at repair' (Corner, 2001:532). Larrain (1996:47) whilst arguing for its retention acknowledges that 'disagreements affect almost every aspect of the concept: its content, its effectivity and its epistemological status' and chooses to refine definitions and usage. Van Dijk (1998)

defines the 'neutral' aspects of ideology and restricts the use of the term to this end. Thompson (1990:24) recognises two strategies towards the term: either that of dispensing with it or offering a developed 'critical term': one that is less concerned with the 'structure and content of media messages [that] have tried to "read off" the consequences of these message' and one that 'emphasises interpretation, appropriation, [and] audience activity...' (1990:69).

Crucially, ideology 'represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence' in Althusser's frequently quoted phrase (1971:153). This aspect of Althusser's concept of ideology, the product of an 'ideological state apparatus', that creates 'misrecognition', 'false consciousness' or 'falsehoods' (Corner 2001) in which the individual misrecognises themselves as self-creating free agents (Stevenson 1996), has proved most controversial. Larrain clearly separates the concept of ideology into two 'versions' the 'neutral' that articulates group, class or even party interests and the 'negative', defined as 'the attribute of any thought or idea which distorts or inverts reality' (1996:54). Clearly this latter version coincides with Althusser's formulation. According to Larrain for Marx 'ideology is a specific form of distortion, not just false consciousness in general' that is linked to its 'function of sustaining domination and reproducing the capitalist system by masking contradictions', not least by the 'exchange of equivalents by free individuals in the market is seen on the surface of society and conceals the hidden extraction of surplus value' (1996:56-57). This is the specific form of distortion or inversion. Yet Hall, defining ideology as 'those images, concepts and premises which provide the frameworks through which we represent, interpret, understand and "make sense" of some aspects of social existence' (Hall, 1981:31), appears to Larrain to move away from this specific use of ideology at the same time as creating distance from the perception of the term as falsity associated with Althusser. This came about by merging Althusserian ideological interpellation with Gramscian hegemonic theory (Rojek, 2003) that constitutes the ideological as a constantly fought for element along 'complex lines of resistance and acceptance, refusal and capitulation, which make in the field of culture a sort of constant battlefield' (Hall 1981c:233), or in Mouffe's term an 'expansive hegemony' (Mouffe, 1981; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) and

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one where class comes to lose its primacy as an underpinning of identity. The social comes to be comprised of a 'chain of equivalence' in which class based impositions come to be inserted in the ideological chain equally with other formulations.

The Althusser/Gramscian pairing that steers Hall's use of 'ideology' within the encoding/decoding model appears to win approval with Miller in attempting to 'avoid the disabling reductionism and functionalism of Althusserianism' (2002:50). At the same time, Miller disapproves of the use of the term 'discourse' which he sees, in the Foucauldian sense (Sarup, 1996:69), as replacing ideology in Hall's work. Yet for Miller the move away from Althusser has not gone far enough 'we should be aware that class and corporate power occur 'behind our backs' in the sense that we do not know about them, rather than in the sense that we unconsciously consent to them via the mysterious mechanisms of ideology' (Miller, 2002:255). This constitutes a 'condescending view of the proletariat as being 'subject' to ideology' (Miller, 2002:254). Garnham on the other hand argues that cultural studies should take seriously the working class struggle 'by giving the working class a sense of the importance of its own experience, values, and voices as against those of the dominant class' (1998:606). On the surface this appears to conjoin a version of Marxist ideology with a celebration of 'culturalism' rather than the 'structuralism' of Hall's two paradigms (Hall, 1981; Bennett, 1986; Cobley, 1994). This is associated with Hoggart's (1957) celebration of working class life and culture and its increasing 'vulnerability to the intensifying comodification of popular life' (Mulhern: 2003). This also follows Larrain's identification of a 'neutral' version of ideology that represents the interests of different classes or groups which he ascribes to Lenin.[11]

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[11] Furthermore Garnham defends the concept of false consciousness, though recognising the 'uncomfortable' role assumed by an elite (party, class faction, intellectual) that appears to deem 'inauthentic' the experiences of others, because 'relations to social reality are mediated via systems of symbolic representation and...we live within structures of domination' (1998:607). Rejection of the concept of false consciousness is linked to a form of relativism associated with a 'rejection of truth as a state of the world' (Garnham, 1996:608). Similarly in rejecting the term, Lovibond (1989:26) and Norris (1993:5) see a rejection of both the Enlightenment and of modernism: 'For it means rejecting the view that personal autonomy is to be reached by way of progressive transcendence of earlier, less adequate cognitive structures' (Lovibond, 1989:26).

Hall was keen to emphasise that the preferred element of the encoding/decoding model although related to dominant ideological formations was a move way from reductive explanations of media communications. Although certain ideas, positions, readings and ideologies are key markers of the social – as Eagleton puts it: 'the force of the term ideology lies in its capacity to discriminate between those power struggles which are somehow central to a whole form of social life and those which are not' (1991:8). Much textual effort is invested in identifying these, there is no guarantee that they will succeed as preferred readings, in an uncontested manner. As Hall puts it 'meaning is not fixed, there is no overall determining logic which can allow you to decipher the so-called meaning or the ideological import of the message against some grid' (Cruz and Lewis,1994:254). Hall makes the position unequivocally clear: 'I really have never been much attracted by the full-blown notion of false consciousness' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:256).

Preferred readings

The relation of ideology to 'preferred readings' in Hall's work and the tradition associated with the encoding/decoding model are criticised by Corner (2001:531). The concepts of preferrel, preferred meaning and preferred reading as forms of 'ideological transfer' are dismissed without exploration or acknowledgement of other decoding positions that provide an explanatory or functional context. In so doing, Corner ignores the theoretical complexity of the totality of the social system, (Fiske, 1987; Morley, 1992; Roach, 1997; Stevenson, 1998; Kellner, 2003), instances of the deployment of the model in applied research (Gray, 1992; Morley, 1992; Deacon et al, 1999; Torronen, 2001), and the breadth of empiric and ethnographic work of the 80s and 90s (Moores, 1995). Conversely Deacon et al (1999) and Rojek (2003) regard the encoding/decoding model with its central concept of the preferred reading as 'a notable intervention in politicising the study of the media and communication' (Rojek, 2003:103). Furthermore Rojek cites Alexander's (2001) requirements for work to attain canonical status in the human sciences: that of being part of a critical discourse and promoting subsequent programmes of research and argues that these criteria are satisfactorily met.

The concept of the 'dominant or preferred meaning' from the outset of the encoding/decoding approach to media texts in 1973, was an attempt to envisage the relationship between ideology and the subject and to see this as a manifestation in and of the text. This is an essential element of the encoding/decoding model to be applied to the study of advertising as a system of representation and to specific advertisements and campaigns. However, the concept does not necessitate a successful closing down of other possible readings. In fact Hall claims that this is never the case: 'The element of closure can never work...preferring is the attempt which power makes to secure the message to one meaning – which it can never succeed in doing' (Hall quoted in Cruz and Lewis, 1994:66). This reaffirms the constantly fought for status of the hegemonic meaning. This, it will be argued in chapter six, extends through diffusion beyond the initial individual decoding into a mobile culture of continual decodings and re-encodings: a 'progressively modified reading of the text' as part of a social process (Jordin and Brunt, 1988:243). Hall was keen to emphasise that 'dominant' should not be used as a synonym for 'determined'. '(D)ominant because there exists a pattern of 'preferred readings'; and these both have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalised. The domains of "preferred meanings" have the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs...' (Hall, 2001:172). This moves away from the dominant ideology thesis in a number of significant ways (McGuigan, 1992:131) through the rejection of false consciousness, of economic reductivism, and the rigidities of historical determinacy in favour of a model that recognised how 'reception frequently involves the active transformation of meaning' (Deacon, 1999:5); and one that envisions 'representation and ideology as a mobile field of relations' (Rojek, 2003:92).

Hall's initial work on the encoding paper coincided with working on Marx's newly published English version of the 1857 Introduction to the Grundrisse (Marx 1971) and this was an important influence on the encoding/decoding paper (Hall, 1973b; Cruz and Lewis, 1994; Rojek 2003). This denied a vulgar Marxist economic reductionism, promoted the relative autonomy of the superstructure and in conjunction with Williams reworking of Gramscian hegemony into dominant, residual and oppositional elements

(Stevenson, 1995; Rojek, 2003), one that emphasised counter hegemonic and oppositional cultures 'orientated towards replacing the dominant order' (Rojek 2003: 106). Not only is this 'Marxism without guarantees' (Hall, 1983) but also reception without guarantees, 'reception isn't the open ended, perfectly transparent thing at the other end of the communication chain' (Hall quoted in Cruz and Lewis, 1993:254). However, the 'preferred reading' is intended to counter the 'polysemic' nature of texts. The concept of 'polysemy', 'polyvalence' or 'multivalence or multi-accentuality' referring to the textual potential for multiple meanings and the struggle to secure those meanings had been mobilised in the earliest stage of the model from the work of Volosinov (Volosinov, 1986; Hall, 1973, 1986; Fiske, 1986; Rojek, 2003). In this sense the struggle over meaning secures the negation of both determinism and of false consciousness and requires a relative 'active' audience. The position of the preferred reading and its relation to polysemy and its potential reworking or replacement by negotiated and oppositional readings constitutes Gramsci's hegemonic struggle. As Hall put it in a later paper: 'Meaning is polysemic in its intrinsic nature...It is caught in and constituted by the struggle to 'prefer' one among many meanings as the dominant. The dominance is not already inscribed in structures and events but it is constructed through the continuous struggle over a specific type of practice-representational practices' (Hall, 1989:47). In this formulation dominance exists and potentially secures its position because it enables struggle.

The concept of the preferred reading and the nature of ideological formulations within media texts have attracted a range of academic interest. Lewis offered an early critique of Morley's 'Nationwide' methodology, and implicitly of Hall's initial encoding/decoding formulation, claiming that they were too dependent on reading categories identified through theory. The preferred reading can in this position only be identified through empirical research on real subjects. 'The analyst's task is to construct a series of "preferred readings" from the material gathered after the interviewing has taken place' (Lewis, 1983:195). Asserting that theory emerges from research data in the inductive rather than deductive tradition (Bryman, 2001), Lewis denies the possibility of constructing a preferred reading from the socially contextualised semiotic material made

34

available in the text (Lewis, 1983; Cruz and Lewis, 1994). Hall's response has been that certain forms of textual analysis can identify preferred meanings, but that 'preferring on the decoding side means something different to preferring on the encoding side' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:266). Against Lewis' position Jordin and Brunt (1988) argue for the possibility of establishing preferred readings prior to empirical research: they argue that the established preferred reading should be used as a yardstick in order 'to view all decoding as negotiation with a preferred reading...' (Jordin and Brunt, 1988:245). This had implications not least for the existence of a truly oppositional reading but established that preferred readings could 'be isolated textually prior to audience research' (McGuigan, 1992:134). Torronen concludes a discussion on applying the model to newspaper editorial policy by restating Morley's claim 'that the idea of preferred reading is still the best starting point to conceptualize the relations between the media and the audience', but that the preferred reading 'be seen more as a point of intersection for meaning construction than as a conveyor belt for one meaning' (Torronen, 2001:174).

Consequently the Jordin and Brunt position on the identification of preferred readings prior to ethnographic studies and the Lewis position that denies this has consequences beyond questions of research methodology. In maintaining the possibility of the preferred reading *a priori*, the encoding/decoding model maintains in its hegemonic form a relation with the concept of dominant ideology (McGuigan, 1992:134). These positions are central to the debate around 'active audiences' (Rojek, 2003) with the Lewis position looking back to the earlier 'uses and gratifications' model of communication exchange and forward in the work of Fiske (1987), et al. whose deployment of the term dispenses with the idea of the preferred reading (Stevenson, 1995:90) in favour of nebulous concepts such as 'reader's liberation movement' and 'semiotic democracy' that comes close to an ideology of 'consumer sovereignty' (Curran, 1990:148, Morley, 1992:26) and the 'excessive stress on human agency' (Lewis, 1997:90). In these formulations an advertisement can be read in any number of ways.

The concept of the preferred reading has been further problematised in response to Morley's concerns about Hall's use of Parkin's codes based on social class (Morley,

1992:126). Although retaining the concept of the preferred reading, Morley's reservations surface in questions about the preferred reading being produced from the text by 'skilled reading' presumably of a semiotic or deconstructivist nature or a 'prediction' about the majority audience reading: 'In short, is the preferred reading a property of the text, the analyst or the audience?' (Morley, 1992: 122). The ontology of the text and the possibility of knowing it independently from communications processes came to be questioned, with the most extreme forms of this argument dissolving the text into 'reading formations' (Brown, 1984; Bennett and Woollacott, 1987; Grossberg, 1987). Bennett and Woollacott (1987:264) referred to the text as a 'chimera'. In response, Brunsdon (1989) recognised the need to acknowledge contextual factors and the nature of viewing and reception as significant factors in the process. Moores distinguishes between 'admitting that the text is only accessible via an interpretive act' and a position that involves 'denying the very existence of a message to be read' (Moores,1995:28; Deacon, 1999).

The encoding/decoding model staking its claim to validity within the 'relative autonomy' formulation of the reader/text relationship was open to the criticism that it paid too little attention to 'viewing contexts' (McGuigan, 1992:135) and to the historically formed and situated position of readers in relation to texts, what Rojek refers to as 'the question of the route or passport that audiences use...' (2003:100). Morley had moved from the artificial context of the Nationwide audience work to ethnographic work carried out on television and audiences positioned within homes and households (1980; 1986; 1992), however in the nature of the research, positivist and quantitative readings formulated within viewing contexts are closed off by the very nature of the enquiry brought to bear on them. Many commentators make the point with varying degrees of emphasis that the encoding/decoding model is a 'process' (Hall, 1973:166, 1993:91; Lewis, 1983, Jordin and Brunt, 1988:242). Hall's original model was conceived to extend from the 'moments' of production into the many 'moments' of reception and as will be argued later in this thesis re-encoding, receptive distribution, and potential further decodings within social groups. These frozen 'moments' are identifiable from, yet analysable as part of the 'process' (Deacon et al, 1999). Later in conversation, Hall affirms the connectedness of

36

these elements and rejects the idea that the 'moments have any self sufficient character' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:257). For Jordin and Brunt this constitutes a process that entails a 'progressively modified reading of the text and the progressively renegotiated identification and definition of the appropriate discourse through which it is to be read' (Jordin and Brunt, 1988: 243). Corner argues as much against 'closure' associated with 'viewer's meanings or a postmodern and rather miasmic notion of the everyday' should no more occur than earlier closures around 'texts, medium or institution' (1997:258).

The 'texts and analysis' section of this chapter can be summarised thus: the preferred meaning of an advertisement is the form of signification intended as a product of the encoding process; of the procedures, technological and creative mechanisms that go into its production based upon economic and social factors. This includes the modes and relations of production associated with the advertising industry which is situated within the values and practices of the wider social whole. The preferred meaning is the reading the encoders wish to privilege over other possible readings and appears in the text as a potential preferred reading that creates signification. The text has its singular distinctive moment within the process of communication. Comparably, the advertising text has a place within an economy of production and consumption, to represent and promote the specific commodity it is associated with, in addition to a series of values and ideologies within a discourse of consumption. The preferred reading is not guaranteed by the position of the encoders in the production system, command over the productive process nor by the technical means of signification chosen. The preferred reading is in 'struggle' with the open and polysemic possibilities of interpretation.

Although the text cannot be totally divorced from the encoding process in the sense that its significations or range of significations are in the first instance set by the encoding process: the 'specificity of the text' notion allows that the text stands as an object in its own 'moment' in the diachronic process, with a specifically interesting and *unique* organisation of words, images, and/or sound irreducible to its moment of production as a mere reflection of that production. This is to reaffirm the idea of moments in the circuit

of signification that are required to be thought in order that specific aspects such as the text can be analysed (Hall, 1973:166; Cruz and Lewis, 1994:257; Deacon et al, 1999).

Technology and difference

The idea of technological difference, is a recognition of the different technologies used by the advertising industry to produce and present advertising. These considerations fall within the debate associated with Habermas and Marcuse from within critical theory on the neutrality and autonomy of technology (Feenberg, 1996). Technological difference refers to the specific forms and methods of any given technology and the creation of an appearance of the specific forms through which it produces representations and significations and through which it works (reproduces or translates) ideology and meaning through its own representational form.[12]

The viewer of a magazine car advertisement may be 'drawn into' the depicted space of the advertisement which is, for arguments sake, a depiction of the countryside in which the car is placed, in a similar manner to the way a viewer is 'drawn into' the depicted perspectival space of a photograph or painting with similar subject matter. Perspective is the ordering of elements in an image, foreground, middleground and so on, which culminate in a vanishing point and so creates the illusion of a real space in which one's thoughts and imagination can wander. However a television advert for the same product may use the method of the moving camera, which by moving rapidly into an empty space stands in for the viewer in the text in a different way. That is; the subject position in the text is the position of the moving camera. The relation of the spectator to the represented countryside, commodity and the ideological value ascribed to them in terms of, for instance, 'freedom' will not be exactly contiguous in the television advertisement and in the magazine advertisement. These ideas are explored further in chapter twelve of this study through reference to a series of advertising texts for the marketing of the Toyota Corolla car, which appeared as both billboard and magazine advertisements in 2002.

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[12] An historical analogy can be drawn from book production in the fifteenth century by comparing the difference in appearance between an elaborate hand written and illustrated book, for instance the gospel of St John and the same text reproduced in rational, uniform movable type. Words representing ideas, formed through the application of different technologies, appear in quite different forms.

This has a significance in many areas, but in the context of this argument, the point is that even though similar associations are being made with the depicted product in both instances, the technical differences in the method of producing the equation will in some sense offer different versions of similar ideological values. Neither necessarily have much in common with how that value 'freedom' is known in lived reality. In a more general but important area of the construction and transportation of ideology, it would suggest that the same ideological proposition cannot be carried in exactly the same way by different technologies. Given that the method of production in part constructs ideology, in the sense that ideology only becomes presentable, comes into existence on this terrain with the presentation of the advert, then the ideology will be presented in a different way. It is inflected through the codes and mechanisms of the particular technology.

Technological and formal difference is overlooked in Althusser's formulation of the ideological state apparatuses (ISA) and in the tradition of analysis that has followed in its path. In focusing on the *relationship* of the individual to the real conditions of existence, the relationship which is a distortion is always imaginary (Althusser, 1971:155). As Poster notes: 'Althusser affirms the materiality of the imaginary by asserting its rootedness in an apparatus along with its associated practices' (Poster, 1990:54). The apparatus and its practices primarily surface as form: the constant formal qualities of a billboard will be different to the appearances and disappearances of the ultravision site and even more so to the kinetic qualities of the television or cinema screen. Poster's point is that the specificity of practice and signification of each apparatus is unaccounted for in Althusser's formulation. '(I)ts weakness rests with its inability to specify the mechanisms at play in each such apparatus' (Poster, 1990:56). Hall, reflecting on the encoding/decoding model and television production, makes a similar point identifying 'two levels of signification': the first 'what Althusser would call "signification in general", like ideology in general.' and the second a more specific technology related ideological production associated with 'the activity of producing a television programme' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994: 259). For Hall, this is related to *differance* and articulation and to

the difference between 'reproduction' and 'repetition' of the same ideological features untouched by the process of production. The plurality of technologies producing advertisements and the technological differences that lead to difference in formal presentation are significant factors to an understanding of ideological formations and tend to work against the monolithic nature of the ISA block that can appear in a reading of Althusser. Chapters twelve and thirteen of this study examine similar advertisements presented in different advertising media, through different technological means and received within different contexts of reception.

Intertextuality

In the moment of presentation, a text enters into relations with other texts. This occurs at different levels and in a variety of different ways.[13] Advertising posters are allocated billboard space above, below or side-by-side other advertising posters and television advertisements are preceded by and followed by other television advertisements independently of the will of the producer of the singular advertisement. The nature of the static and juxtaposed advertising text and the relation to flow is explored further in this work.

Intertextuality occurs not only as the innocent juxtaposition of texts. Advertisers play on the language and visual forms of other advertisements often reproducing an existing advert in a slightly altered manner in order to promote a new and often unrelated product. Signification is created around one advertisement and altered or inflected to suit the needs of another product and in so doing creates another ideological configuration. The language of wants, desires and needs is central to a consumer society and is either a stated or implied element of advertising discourse (Soper, 1981, 1990; Doyal and Gough, 1991; Slater, 1997). The language of want/desire as deployed in for instance a television advertisement for Prudential Insurance (May 1993) is proclaimed by a series of characters, 'I want to be...an individual/young again', or whilst attending to the

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[13] A newspaper article may be juxtaposed with other articles or photographs of similar or dissimilar content, which may alter the potential reading of either text. Similarly, a newspaper front page may be juxtaposed with other pages on the newsstand and a montage or synthesis of signification created independently of the intentions of the producers.

40

'chauffeurial' needs of the boss, 'I want to be where he's sitting' and the same phrase resurfaces in a Christian Aid advert spoken by a desperate character from the third world who exhorts Western charity with the words 'I want to be alive'. The re-use of the phrase places the language of the second advert in a parasitic relationship to the first or if the intertextuality is mutually beneficent, in a symbiotic language relationship (Cooke, 1992:29). To view the Christian Aid advert is to remember the values of the Prudential's 'I want to be'. It is also possible to view the process as circular, the viewer of the Prudential advert marshalled by notions of property or economic satisfaction is now evaluating his or her wants/needs with that of the more socially significant Christian Aid advert.[14]

Intertextuality occurs in two forms the horizontal and the vertical (Fiske, 1987). Horizontal intertextuality occurs between texts that are linked through 'the axes of genre, character, or content...' and the vertical to the relationship between a primary text and other forms that relate specifically to it (Fiske, 1987:108). The Christian Aid and Silk Cut advertising examples from 1990s fall into Fiske's 'content' category. Categories of advertising genre are identified such as the 'testimonial' referring to celebrity endorsement of a product, the 'scientific-rational' referring to a 'scientific' testing of a product in addition to the 'comedy', 'animation' 'slice of life' and the 'many variants and combinations' (Corner, 1992:112). The basic genre category of adverts might also have accounted for advertising clusters that relate or refer to product categories such as household goods, food and drink, or specific commodities such as cars. Cook, applying linguistic theory to advertising, prefers the term 'intra-discoursal', which covers similar ground to Fiske's horizontal form and inter-discoursal which can in some senses be associated with the vertical (Cooke, 1992). Giaccardi creates three linked categories of textuality which cover similar ground to Fiske but insist on the link between the textual, intertextual and a reality it can be applied to. The 'cotextual' refers 'to the whole of

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[14] In the 1990s the familiar purple and white colours and design of the Silk Cut cigarette advertisement were reused unaltered by a company selling beer, with a description of the product offered in the space traditionally reserved in the cigarette advert for the Government health warning. This serves as an example not only of intertexuality but of the successful creation of an advertising 'structure of meaning' in which colour, form, language and meaning are borrowed and exchanged across the borders of separate and unique texts (Williamson, 1978).

41

advertising discourse for a certain period', her example is of an understanding of the portrayal of women in car advertising involving a survey of the portrayal of women overall in advertising, 'intertextual' refers in Fiske's idea to similarities of content and 'contextual' to 'a repertoire of images and conventions for dealing with reality (the cultural context)' (1995:114). These are useful analytical tools and are deployed in subsequent chapters as part of the analytical advertising framework of enquiry deployed in this thesis.

Decoding

The final section of this chapter deals with the third part of the encoding-text-decoding model, that identifies the moment of 'decoding' as the outcome of the circuit or process in which signification emerges. It is this aspect of the model that has attracted a considerable amount of attention, both in critical theory and within developments in applied research, especially in the area of ethnography. This section expands upon the concept of decoding in the light of developments in critical theory around subjectivity, subject positions and questions of identity and how this impacts on decoding strategies. This informs the remaining chapters of this study that form a critical exploration of the complexity of decoding, and extend these areas of enquiry into the environmental circumstances and social relations of reception within two different contexts of reception.

Decoding and structure and agency

Before exploring further questions of subjectivity and decoding formulations it is necessary to locate the concept of decoding within the parameters of the structure and agency debate. Advertising is one of the significant structural elements of contemporary society. The production and reception of advertising is informed by the structure and agency debate concerning history and the human subject.

Marx's formulation of the relationship between 'conditions' and 'consciousness' is the starting point for an outline of the area, in which 'social existence...determines... consciousness' (Marx, 1935:371-372) and 'men make their own history but...not... under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given

and transmitted from the past' (Marx, 1935:116). Gidden's theory of structuration is composed of both structure and action or agency and is a conceptualisation of society that neither overemphasises the fixity of structure as a pre-given nor as in extreme liberal and pluralist conceptions insists upon autonomous individual human agency. Structure is both limiting and enabling in Giddons formulation (Giddons, 1993:123). Hall has produced comparable work on the differences between 'culturalism and structuralism' (1981). On the 'culture' side Hall aligns the work of Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart and F. R. Leavis which had explored the texts and 'lived experience' of culture as 'a whole way of life' as Williams has put it (Williams, 1992; 1981:43). In the Structuralist camp Hall brings together the familiar names and practices of Levi-Strauss and anthropology: Ferdinand Saussure and linguistics and Louis Althusser and ideology. Hall characterises structuralism and culturalism in a similar vein to Giddens structure and agency elements of the structuration process, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches and acclaiming that 'the great strength of the structuralisms is their stress on determinate conditions' (Hall,1981:30).

These approaches are often criticised from political economy perspectives as affording agency greater significance than structure (Thompson 1989; Murdoch 1993; Mosco 1996). However cultural and media studies are frequently viewed by the social sciences as the area of social enquiry best placed to explore the question of structure and agency (Tudor, 1995, Wallerstein, 1997).[15] In an enquiry into the nature of advertising reception the question is the extent to which the human subject is 'free' to interpret advertising outside of constraining factors.

The work of Willis and Dinnertein offer interesting explorations of structure and agency and both inform an analysis of human agency in advertising reception. Paul Willis's ethnographic study of working class male schooling in the mid 1970s focuses upon a 'set of practices, symbolic forms and cultural styles which are used to oppose some of the official purposes of schooling' and were used to create a counterculture (Willis,

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[15] As Tudor suggests: 'Cultural studies... is particularly well equipped to address these issues [that is] the tension between social agents constructive capabilities and the constraining potential of culture and ideology' (Tudor, 1995:97).

1981:80). Willis's methodology treats the boys as the object of study as social actors who show a great deal of awareness of their structural surroundings. According to Willis's account the boys create, out of the cultural material available, a resistance to the dominant values of schooling but this resistance occurs on a site that is both at the same time *created by* the boys and *offered by* the school. It is a space of both resistance and adherence to dominant forms: a defence created in collusion with what it attempts to defy. Consequently the working class boys do 'badly' at school and their class position is confirmed by the working class occupations they enter (Willis, 1977; 1981; 2000). Dinerstein explores subjectivity and social class using the work of the theatre director Stanislavsky (Dinerstein, 1996). The author explores the 'handling' (Hall, 1981:26) of historical or structural material, using theatrical, scripted production as a stand in for structure and the exercise and direction of the actors' form, movement and voice to represent agency. Dinerstein examines the second of Stanislavsky's acting methods, the 'method of physical actions' that allows for the 'creation of organic relationships on the stage. Within this process, the actors build the subjectivity of their characters themselves, despite the fact the play is already written' (Dinerstein, 1996:5). Dinerstein's conception here is of an analogy between the historical process and the mechanics of stage production and more particularly between the stage and the social actor. The dialectical transformation of the script takes place in the encounter between actor and structure within a theatrical structuration.

History channels its subjects down a complexity of interweaving pathways, but the choice of paths is limited. As Gramsci has argued the human agent is the 'product of the historical process to date which has deposited...an infinity of traces' (1981:201). The historical experience then equips the subject with a series of decoding strategies which are brought to the moment of decoding; that is the moment in the space in front of the television screen or billboard. Ideology, values, beliefs, skills and abilities are primarily based upon the learned background of class, gender, ethnicity and other social factors, or in other words the decoding tools are to be found in 'circumstances not of our own choosing.' Thus we can imagine the subject of advertising discourse as a construction of the 'historical process to date': the (metaphorically) diachronic journey suspended in the

conscious moment of the synchronic breadth, sharing the moment with other activity. The synchronic moment can then be envisaged as not only the product of historic and ideological material in isolation but in its situatedness in (the) geographic place. As Jameson has recently put it '(S)pace itself becomes the dominant code or hegemonic language of the new moment of History - the last? - whose very raw material condemns it in its deterioration to extinction' (Jameson, 2003:74).

The structure and agency relationship is essential to a critical enquiry into advertising reception. The question is about history, class structure and agency and is essentially about degrees of historical determinacy and to what extent the social actor/agent/subject is free to act or interpret advertising.

The original encoding/decoding model conceptualised the audience as fitting into three broad categories associated with an 'accepted', 'negotiated' or 'oppositional' reading of the text, described as 'hypothetical positions' or 'codes' (Hall, 2001:174). Hall further elaborates on the nature of these categories as being 'ideal-typical or hypothetical-deductive positions' (Cruz and Lewis, 1994:256). Clearly the three categories are not to be defined as fixed or compartmentalised interpretations but as general positions or strategies that involve readings gathered together as reading clusters. Hall reflecting on the development of the model refers to these as 'positionalities...not sociological entities' (Hall in Cruz and Lewis, 1994:265). In this approach the audience is neither an undifferentiated mass passively absorbing messages as is implied in the 'effects' tradition of media studies nor is it to be viewed as a totally free arrangement of individuals in the liberal pluralist sense of the 'uses and gratifications' model where the audience is able to do what it likes with the media message. On the contrary, meanings decoded by the audience are to be seen as the product of the meeting of the preferred reading of the text and the subject's position in other discourses.

The encoding-text-decoding model recognises that in the first instance the encoder has produced a preferred meaning for the text which now requires to be decoded by a reader/viewer. This 'reception' part of the process 'is thus also itself a "moment" of the

45

production process in its larger sense…' one in which the message as encoded 'must first be appropriated as meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded' (Hall, 2001).

Preferred readings

The preferred reading is for Hall the 'dominant-hegemonic' reading, where meaning is accepted by the reader/viewer as intended by the encoder. There will be a close match between the set of codes, values and assumptions about the world from which the message is encoded and the codes with which the reader/viewer makes sense of the message. Put crudely, a particular ideological view of the world must be the framework shared by encoder and decoder alike. For Hall this will always be one in which power, wealth, resources are differentially distributed (Hall, 1981a:270). In the preferred reading then, the viewer/reader is 'operating inside the dominant code' (Hall, 2001:174). This becomes a form of 'transparent communication in which the critical reflexivity of the audience is suspended or at least decisively checked' (Rojek, 2003:97).

Closely associated with the preferred position is that of the professional code. Hall, in the original encoding/decoding paper refers to four codes, with the professional code of a 'technico-practical' nature closely aligned with the dominant code. The 'technico-practical' or 'neutral-technical' category identified in a television discourse is comprised of the 'visual quality, news and presentational values, televisual quality, "professionalism" and so on', deployed in the creation of the programme or news item. (Hall, 2001:174). Rojek identifies this as the 'techniques and practices deployed by media personnel to construct and transmit messages' but also that in news reporting 'the concepts of impartiality and neutrality already presuppose a "natural" order in which notions of justice, difference and inclusion reflect dominant values' should be included in the professional code (Rojek, 2003:97). A formulation of the professional code as it operates within advertising production would highlight technical proficiency, creative skill, and high levels of technological, cultural and social knowledge which can collectively be termed as 'professional competence'. This phrase is taken from Hall's (1972) description of news production and to which Soar's (2000) study of the advertising industry makes close comparisons. Soar draws on his own primary and other

46

secondary research undertaken in the area of advertising agency production and the work culture of advertising 'creatives' such as graphic designers, visualisers, layout artists, art directors, copywriters, scriptwriters, typographers and other professionals working in the advertising industry (Schudson, 1993; du Gay, 1996, 1997; Nixon, 1997). Who is included in the list will vary according to medium and agency (Jefkins and Yadin, 2000). Soar identifies a 'microculture' formed from the activities and interactions of the 'creatives' who can be distinguished from other workers in the industry and who form a 'class fraction' within the industry (Jefkins and Yadin, 2000:62; Soar, 2000:424-430). Soar identifies this group as operating within 'private codes... disseminated to a broader cultural mass by the creatives' (Soar, 2000:430). These private codes are comprised of shared accumulated professional and cultural advertising knowledge. These 'private codes' as 'dissemination' are the equivalent of Hall's 'professional code', attached to the dominant codes that surface as part of the preferred reading.

Aspects of the professional code, that Hall and Rojek identify as operating within a television news discourse, such as 'impartiality and neutrality', that work towards a naturalisation of ideology, have a counterpart in certain aspects of the advertising professional code. This surfaces most noticeably in adherence to professional codes of advertising practice defined by such organisations as the Advertising Standards Authority, Independent Television Commission and Radio Authority who regulate the industry through setting standards and codes.[16] The 'professional code' of *creativity* may be perceived as working against advertising standards codes by pushing against the parameters of 'taste' or the restraints of 'legal, decent, honest and true' as set by regulatory bodies. This is reinforced by a media discourse that turns controversial advertising campaigns and representations into significant news media items. In such cases the preferred meaning of an advertisement is an attempt to engage the regulatory bodies as part of a controversial advertising campaign. Advertising standards codes operate as an element of preferral that work to legitimate and naturalise the general centrality of consumption to contemporary life, the volume of representations of consumerism, and ideologies of consumption adhering to core social values against the

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[16] Since December 2003, the ITC and RA operate as part of Ofcom.

parameters of such things as taste and fairness applied to singular campaigns by the self regulatory bodies operating through the professional code.

The details of the advertising 'professional code' is based partly on technical culture and varies from one technological means of advertising production to another, and between individual advertising agencies. The form that it takes, as part of the preferred reading, will vary according to changing advertising style, theme and genre and the categories of commodities being represented. It might for instance take the form of exceptional technical or creative display, stylistic presentations of wit, irony, self-referentiality, or sensuous appeal. A reading of an advertisement within the 'professional code' will tend to work against its mundane commodity representation and marketing functions and naturalise it as a cultural item. Over twenty years ago Williams (1980:184) considering the proliferation of advertising imagery referred to advertising in relation to artistic practice as 'the official art of modern capitalist society' and it is in this sense that the professional code inaugurates the transformation of the advertisement primarily designed to sell, into the cultural item. The reading of the advert within the professional code will work against critical or oppositional readings. Poster argues something similar with regard to the language and quantity of television adverts that 'the instrumental function is denegated by the TV ad; the ad only works to the extent that it is not understood to be an ad, not understood instrumentally' (Poster, 1990:63). This is not only confined to the flow of television advertising operating across the surface forms of the rolling television advert but adheres to a lesser extent to the spectacle of the bold, imaginative or mundane, statement of the billboard poster.

Negotiated and oppositional readings
In the second decoding scenario the reader/viewer will in the main accept the dominant tenets of the message in the widest, global sense, but will locate the meaning in a more personal, local sense in a situated reading, a 'situated logic' associated with the subjects position in the social structure and thereby producing a negotiated reading. The 'negotiated code' according to Hall contains 'a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements' and is therefore 'shot through with contradictions, though these are only on

48

certain occasions brought to full visibility'. It is described in Hall's initial paper as a 'negotiated version of the dominant ideology' (Hall 2001:175). The preferred and negotiated readings are to a greater and lesser extent respectively; hegemonic readings yet the negotiated code 'might be said to constitute a reflexive engagement with the media' (Rojek, 2003:99).

Thirdly, according to Hall, the message may be decoded in a totally oppositional way in which the preferred meaning is rejected. The message is received within an oppositional code one that is based upon 'some alternative framework' (Hall, 2001:175). In this scenario the ideological content of the message is made visible and acknowledged as ideological. Hall explains this according to recognitions of 'class interest' (Hall, 2001, 1981a) and Rojek widens this specific opposition to suggest that the: 'opposition code may be a continuous way of reading media messages for some strata' (2003:98). The model thus provides three clusters of readings, the dominant, the negotiated and the oppositional.

Michel Pecheux, following on from and extending the work of Althusser, identified three mechanisms or 'modalities' in which 'individuals are interpellated' (Pecheux, 1982: 156) and has been described as 'an important theoretical advance' (Sarup,1996:74). Pecheux's first modality can be compared to Hall's preferred position in which 'the subject's taking up a position realises his subjection in the form of the freely consented to', this constitutes the 'good' or 'universal subject' of discourse and counts as 'identification'. The second position is that of 'counter-identification' in which the 'bad subject', 'turns against the universal subject by (distanciation, doubt, interrogation, challenge, revolt...) with respect to what the universal subject gives him to think' (Pecheux, 1982:157). This corresponds to Hall's negotiated reading of the media message which entails a universal acceptance and an oppositional reworking to suit local circumstances and conditions. For Pecheux this reversal 'leaves linguistic traces'. His example of a counter-identification is explained in relation to one of the major political issues of the 1970s, defined by politico-media discourse as the 'oil crisis'. The counter-identification response to this is to challenge the formulation in a statement such as: '*what you call* the oil crisis'. Counter-

identification is described by Sarup as being 'held in a kind of symmetry, which consists in resisting only within and on the terrain of the prevailing ideologies which they would challenge' (Sarup, 1996:74). The third modality corresponds to Hall's oppositional code and wholly breaks with the preferral of identification and takes up new ground, 'disidentification' is 'the taking up of a non-subjective position' a refusal to accept the dominant encoding (Pecheux,1982:159).

Castells, in his recent exploration of the nature of identity and identities which he stresses are 'sources of meaning for the actors themselves', recognises that the 'social construction' of identity 'always take(s) place in a context marked by power relations' (Castells, 1997:7). Identity can be placed into three types: legitimising, resistant and project identities. As with Hall's three codes they are in certain circumstances 'originated from dominant institutions...' and become 'identities when and if social actors internalize them and construct their meaning around this internalisation' (Castells, 1987:7). The 'legitimising identity', 'constitutes a civil society' of 'apparatuses such as the Church(es), unions, parties, cooperatives, civic associations and so on', in the Gramscian sense and is introduced by 'dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalise their domination.' The advertising industry and its effects can be located within this category. Hall's preferred reading category can be seen as comparable to Castell's legitimising tendency. The second type of identity building in Castells work is 'identity for resistance' which compares with Hall's negotiated, local version of dominant ideology. This builds 'resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society' (Castells, 1997:8). This involves the building of 'defensive identity in the terms of dominant institutions/ideologies, reversing the value judgement while reinforcing the boundary' (Castells, 1997:9). The third type is the 'project identity' and coincides with Hall's oppositional code, seeking to 'build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure' (Castells, 1987:8). This identity grows from 'communal resistance' and can be compared to Hall's oppositional code (Castells, 1987:11).

The 'hypothetical decoding positions' or 'ideal-typical' positions as they appear in Hall's early theoretical work and applied in Morley and others research, were closely associated with social class. The trend in the Humanities and Social Sciences across the 70s and 80s was to see the primacy of class as an essentialist identity giving way to a range of other social formations. Morley's research (1980, 1986) had particular significance in this area and 'embraced factors of age, race, gender and generation as well as class in the viewing context' (Rojek, 2003:100). The move away from class as a 'foundational identity' (Rojek, 2003) and as a 'master concept' became central to Hall's thinking: 'It is not tolerable any longer to have a master concept like that...We can think of some things in relation to questions of class, though always recognising its real historical complexity. Yet there are certain things it simply will not, or cannot decipher or explain' (Hall, 1991:46-47). This follows closely from the Laclau and Mouffe (1985) view of identity as essentially fragmented and disaggregated and results in the split subject: 'identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured' (Hall, 1996a:4). Hall's term of 'hyphenated identity' (Hall, 1999) seems to capture through the concept of 'articulation' the essence of the split subject, 'always constructed through ambivalence...always constructed through splitting...' (Hall, 1991:47-8) in the sense of the 'overlapping discourses which flow across established borders' (Barker, 1999:33) and disallow an 'independent cultural identity.' (Ang, 1996:45). Finally, this de-centred (Grossberg, 1996:155) and hyphenated identity once formed and recognised cannot be conceived as a forever stable once-and-for-all entity. Identity is for Hall, following Gramscian thought, always in motion 'a process never completed – always "in process"' (Hall, 1996:2).

Althusser's formulation of ideology and of 'interpellation' of concrete subjects into ideological positions - however tempered by articulation to Gramscian concepts of hegemony or Volosinov's multi-accentuality/polyvalence, is the 'base' upon which the encoding/decoding model was founded. Yet as Rojek points out 'Althusser always assumed that ideological interpellation is not necessarily successful' (Rojek, 2003:36). That is that the ideology might fail to recruit, or more significantly that once recruited it may fail to 'hold' the subject. Hirst's critique that the interpellation of the subject required a prior recognition of the position on the part of the subject, is according to Hall

a Lacanian reading of Althusser, in which the 'mirror phase' as metaphor for the interpellation of the subject by ideology should be seen as 'not the beginning of something, but the interruption...' (Hall, 1996:9). Hall wishes to re-emphasise the notion of motion, of constant movement and development, in the Gramscian sense of the constantly fought for position, yet 'the complex notion of a subject-in-process is lost in these polemical condensations' (Hall, 1996:8). Identity then for Hall is the meeting 'the point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate'... and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities' (Hall, 1996:6). The outcome of this, is that a 'temporary attachment' to the subject position occurs but is not necessarily sustained (Hall, 1985; 1986). The 'temporary attachment' is the unsustained adherence to an ideological position/element of the text. It can be imagined in a more wholly material manner as the glance momentarily attached to an advertisement. It is a concept well suited to the visual and aural competition of advertising. The idea of the temporary attachment re-invigorates the concept of interpellation through the operation of the three codes of the encoding/decoding model. The process of interpellation is now configured requiring an investment on the part of the subject in the position being taken up: 'in other words that we identify with the position to which the audience is "summoned"' (Torronen, 2001:174). Furthermore for the Hall of the 90s this requires a knowledge on the part of the subject: 'Identities are, as it were, the positions which the subject is obliged to take up while 'knowing'...that they are representations' (Hall, 1996:6).

This suturing or stitching into discourse creates an 'intersection' which is explained by the term 'articulation' that forms the 'links between concepts'. The concepts emerge from the film studies work of Heath (1981) and the social science of Laclau (1977:7). Articulation essentially refers to the linkage of separate aspects to form a connection: a 'unity of two different elements under certain conditions'. The connection is mutable and its condition of existence is one of potential fracture or disarticulation. A secondary sense of the term articulation suggests 'to utter, to speak forth' (Hall in Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen,1996:141; Fiske, 1996:213). In combination, articulation is an outcome requiring 'particular preconditions...sustained by specific processes, that contribute to the

reproduction of social and economic relations' (Rojek, 2003:123).[17] Articulation and temporary attachment are useful concepts to the study of advertising reception enabling an understanding of the momentary connection between an advertisement and viewer.

The concept of articulation in conjunction with the notion of 'temporary attachment' frees the idea of interpellation from its overly deterministic configuration traditionally associated with Althusser (McRobbie, 1996:47). The temporary attachment allows interpellation to be seen as a constantly fought for condition with subject positions occurring across a range of discourses. Hall puts it most succinctly: 'It does not follow that because all practices are in ideology, or inscribed by ideology, all practices are nothing but ideology' (Hall, 1985:103). Paul Willis challenges the proposition that there is no space outside of ideology with his concept of 'sensuous knowing' which can 'hold off or invalidate prescribed models of how you should act, feel and be...' (Willis, 2000: 34). Practices, including advertising reception, should be understood as 'sense-full' across the semantic range of the term, from sensation to meaning, which gives real position to 'social-structural form and location, providing "lived" assessments of the possibilities as humanly occupied' (Willis, 2000:34). In addition, articulation accounts for the technological specificities and differences that are involved/linked in signification alongside ideological formulations and to the significance of the social relations and spatial arrangements of reception. As Slack has put it, '(C)ontext is not something out there, within which practices occur or which influence the development of practices. Rather, identities, practices and effects generally, constitute the very context within which they are practices, identities or effects' (Slack, 1996:125). This is important to the study of advertising, where contexts of reception are considered important elements in the presentation of the advertisement and in the decoding work carried out by situated people.

Finally, Hall's 'oppositional codes, strategies and readings', Pecheux's 'disidentification' and Castell's 'project identity' operate by drawing on specific experiences. For Madan

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[17] However articulation as it is used in Hall's work is criticised by Wood who finds a definitional vagueness and application of the concept (1998). Daryl Slack however guards against a reification of the term as 'not just a thing (not just a connection) but a process of creating connections' (1996:114).

Sarup, utilising Larrain's 'neutral' concept of ideology, this occurs through 'political and ideological practices which work on and against what prevails' (Sarup, 1996:74). For Pecheux, 'disidentification' takes place through 'appropriation of scientific concepts and identification with the political organisations "of a new type"' (Pecheux, 1982:158). This shares with the early Hall and Parkin a reliance on working class industrial and 'militant' experience and an adherence to socialist parties, which for Pecheux are Marxist-Leninist. For Castells 'project identities' produce new subjects who emerge as 'collective agents of social transformation' in a wider, more diverse sociality and in the process creating a 'communal, cultural identity' (Castells, 1997:67). This creates a 'transformation of communal resistance into transformative subjects' (1997:12).[18] However constituted, project identities produce the new cultural codes within which decoding strategies can be formulated and become the historical material that can be utilised against the dominance of the preferred meaning of a media text. Project identities and the networks they become part of 'are the actual producers, and distributors of cultural codes', distinct from the dominant codes of legitimising identities (Castells, 1997:362).

Hall's 70s and 80s examples of an oppositional code are drawn from the experience of the industrial working class. For Castells of the mid 90s the new social movements that are the basis of resistance and of project identities include the Zapatista and women's movements, emergent national, religious and ethnic identities and an environmentalist political culture. For Hardt and Negri, the new proletariat defined as 'a broad category that includes all those whose labour is directly exploited by and subjected to capitalist norms of production and reproduction' and 'subject to capitalist discipline and relations of production' is the articulating element of the diverse whole (Hardt and Negri, 2001:52-53). This 'multitude', is 'no longer subsumed under the industrial working class', neither is it a homogenous whole, but is 'cut through in various directions by differences and stratifications' (2001:53). At a local level, renewed trades union activity and political

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[18] These can include religious fundamentalisms, nationalisms, ethnic identities and territorial identity that begin as resistant identities and may develop into project identities. McGuigan (1999:117) offers the reminder that: 'These resistant identities are not necessarily progressive in a left-wing sense.' The labour movement though still significant in this process 'does not seem fit to generate by itself and from itself a project identity able to reconstruct social control and rebuild institutions in the Information Age' (Castells, 1997:360).

action alongside anti capitalist, anti-privatisation, community and environmental activity have given form to connectivities of action and informational networks. This has created 'not the appearance of a new cycle of internationalist struggles, but rather the emergence of a new quality of social movements' ones that are 'immediately subversive in themselves and do not wait on any sort of external aid or extension to guarantee their effectiveness' (Hardt and Negri, 2001:58). According to Hardt and Negri the lack of horizontal connectedness is not detrimental to effectivity because 'each one leaps vertically, directly to the virtual centre of Empire' (2001:58). This is captured in the slogan: 'Think global, act local'. As Mertes suggests this creates a 'chaotic, dispersive, unknowable' opposition (Mertes, 2002:110). The social forum movement and anti-capitalist movement, embracing 'ecological, feminist, ethnic, human rights, municipal democracy – combined to form the movement that together with union organisations and anti-WTO groups, would surface so explosively in Seattle in November 1999' (Sader, 2002:97). This has given rise to a global sense of hyper political activity, creating formulations and reformulations across geographical borders and political boundaries, of which the intense anti-Iraq war activity, both centrally organised but often spontaneously local, has and continues to be at the time of writing a base of critical thinking and action at the local, national and global levels (Ali, 2003; Wainwright, 2003). The oppositional code(s) in the early years of the new millennium are produced from the experiences of the diverse, overlapping and even contradictory groups listed above, but above all from the arguments and experiences centred around the anti-war movement that has brought Hardt and Negri's 'Empire' clearly into focus and against which it has positioned itself. But as Deacon points out 'an oppositional reading is not necessarily a political act in itself' (1999:240). Cultures of resistance, emerging project identities, developing and sustained oppositional codes take hold and move beyond oppositionality into what Panitch and Gindin (2000:18) refer to as 'capacity building' on the Left. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this work it is enough to chart the ground upon which oppositional codes exist and provide material that can be utilised against preferral.

Decoding: reassessment and development

The creation of advertising signification is a combination of producer intent and the complexity of decoding factors brought to, and found in, the decoding process. Therefore an understanding of advertising will be served by analysis of advertising texts, the contexts in which they occur, and of both in combination. These analyses are necessary components to an extensive insight into the nature and range of significations potentially occurring in the process of reception. The study will now explore the complexity of factors involved in audience advertising reception in the interest of a better understanding of this process. In order to do this, the encoding/decoding model, with an increased emphasis on the specific, formal and textual aspects of advertisements, and the particular nature of the advertising media in which they appear, and an extended application of the concept of decoding, involving immediate contexts of reception, will be applied to a range of advertising texts and contexts.

In the interest of producing a more productive enquiry into advertising and advertising reception the original encoding/decoding model has as a result of producing this thesis, developed into **a wider analytical framework of advertising enquiry**. These developments can be categorised into two general areas, that of text and of space/reception.

In summary, advertising is received by audiences differentiated by social, cultural, economic and other factors. Social class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and other 'deep' social identities are brought to the encounter between text and receiver. Audiences are actively involved in reception (Thompson, 1990:69; Deacon 1999:5), in which they come into a specific relation with a text, and are interpellated and positioned in a relation of temporary attachment to it (Hall, 1986, 1996). Identities are important to advertising reception. They are neither singular nor monolithic, but operate in clusters through a complex of 'hyphenated' identities formed as Gramsci's 'product of the historical process

56

to date'. They are part formed by, and surface in, the places and spaces in which advertising is received. The modified and extended encoding-text-decoding formulation will be applied to the circumstances in which these identities appear in the environments in which advertising is presented and in which texts are encountered and decoded. It is against these texts and within these contexts that preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings occur. This developed understanding of decoding provides a better understanding of advertising and advertising reception.

In the pursuit of a more informed understanding of texts and the contexts and immediate environments of reception to the production of advertising signification, this study will compare and contrast the formal and presentational aspects associated with different advertising media. These are represented by newsprint, television, billboard and other outdoor advertising and will be explored within the public and private environments in which they appear and are received. The social and symbolic difference between television's domestic context and the billboard's outdoor urban context will be evaluated as decoding factors in advertising reception. The breadth and complexity of decoding will be explored through an analysis of the various modes of viewing associated with different advertising media and contexts of reception; the effect of audio form; the presentation and reception of adverts as part of a flow of advertising in particular as part of television output and as part of social experience. Social groups can be understood to act as interpretive communities and through these a process of advertising diffusion can be observed. These phenomena and that of intertexuality will be explored as having important consequences for advertising reception.

In order to pursue the analysis of advertising and advertising reception through the analysis of advertising texts and contexts, three empirical case studies of mainly car and car related advertising, were conducted as part of this study. These case studies featured television, billboard and newsprint advertising, and were conducted in order to explore advertising texts, contexts and a range of potential decodings. The findings are presented in subsequent chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the encoding/decoding model as put forward by Hall in the 1970. It has examined it against a series of prevalent theoretical and methodological positions of content and textual analysis, 'effects studies' and 'uses and gratifications' that historically preceded the model and have run concurrently with it. Semiological analysis is considered to be a significant aspect of the method of enquiry. It has been argued that the three codes or decoding strategies of the original formulation are useful general categories to utilise in further exploration of advertising as an aspect of cotemporary media production.

The questions of ideology and of preferral have been addressed and examined theoretically and applied generally to the area of advertising. The encoding/decoding model has been addressed from a variety of strands of critical theory. Emphasis on the encoding elements of the model have been stressed from the political economy approach. Yet it is the textual element of the original encoding/decoding model that has been given further emphasis than in the original, and textual difference arising from different technologies and advertising media has been recognised as being significant. It has been acknowledged that subsequent theory and applied research emanating from the model has tended towards an exploration of the decoding aspect of the formulation. Subsequent chapters explore themes arising from the analysis of the encoding/decoding model in this chapter. These are: the significance of the different advertising media forms of billboard and television advertising; the formal aspects that arise from these, such as the nature of advertising flow, the aural elements of advertising; the nature of urban outdoor and domestic indoor contexts of reception; the identification of decoding factors investigated as part of the social relations of reception through an analysis of interpretive communities, advertising diffusion and the different modes of viewing advertisements. In the next chapter the public and private domains of media reception are explored as an introduction to the outdoor city environment and indoor domestic contexts of reception.

Chapter III

Public and private spheres and spaces

Introduction

The previous chapter considered the encoding/decoding model against a range of concepts and theories. The extended model enables a consideration of decoding within the spatial and social contexts in which it occurs. The immediate context and environment in which advertising is decoded is analysed as the last moment of historical processes. An enquiry into the nature of advertising and the importance of domestic and urban contexts and environments to advertising signification, requires an elaboration of the concepts of public and private spheres. This chapter distinguishes between the public and private as spheres and as symbolic and experiential spaces important to advertising reception. This marks out the ground for subsequent chapters that consider the urban space as context to outdoor advertising and domestic space as context to television and to a lesser extent newsprint advertising.

Spheres

The concepts of public and private spheres are important distinctions and essential categories of analysis in sociology and cultural and media studies, and are also important to a study of advertising and advertising reception. The literature is dominated by Jurgan Habermas's seminal work 'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere' in which he argues for the emergence of a new form of 'public sphere' with the rise of sixteenth century mercantile capitalism (Habermas, 1989). 'The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public' (Habermas, 1989:27). The public sphere, separate from the 'private realm' and comprised of a world of letters and newspapers, a circulation of reasoned opinion, discussion and debate amongst educated property owners, concerned 'the regulation of civil society and the conduct of the state' (Thompson, 1995:71) and 'represents an operationalisation of civil society's capacity for self-organization to alter its own conditions of existence by means of rational–critical discourse' (Ding-Tzann Lii, 1998:115). In addition the public sphere was separated from the state. 'The private realm thus comprised both the

59

expanding domain of economic relations and the intimate sphere of personal relations which became increasingly disengaged from economic activity and anchored in the institution of the conjugal family' (Thompson, 1995:70).

David Morley indicates the significance of this distinction, suggesting a clear difference between the public and the private spheres and the importance of an 'analysis of the media's role in articulating the private and public spheres of society...' (Morley, 1992:251). However this distinction is not always maintained with clarity across the literature, either in discussion of the phenomena or in the language used to represent it. In support of the distinction which forms a part of Morley's influential 'Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies' he quotes Fontaine (1988:26), that: '(T)he former (public) is [understood as] the realm of law and consists of the institutions of the state and the national economy, the latter (private)[is seen] as the state of personal affection and moral duty (Morley, 1992:223). Fontaine's reference to the 'national economy' and 'institutions of the state' as part of the public sphere seem at odds with Habermas's formulation. Habermas's 1962 work, translated into English in 1989, has defined the nature of the public sphere as that aspect of human activity where political reflection/reflexivity, questioning and analysis might take place, located to one side of the productive process and market and unhindered by the State. Similarly, Roger Silverstone refers to 'the public sphere: a culturally and politically defined public space where the democratic process... can be pursued unhindered and unfettered by the forces of the State or the compromises of the market' (Silverstone, 1994:65).

Habermas's discussion on the nature of the public and private spheres is founded upon an understanding of the historical development of public and private: from the public life of the polis played out in the agora (market square) in which the citizen population of the Greek city state took part, away from the privacy of the oikos (home/household) to the private homes and households of modernity.[19] The development of the 'family with its

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[19] The continued use in the Middle Ages 'of the contrast drawn in Roman law between *publicus* and *privatus...*' (Habermas 1992:3) to the 'German word *privat* which was borrowed from the Latin privatus, (and) can be found only after the middle of the sixteenth century, having the same meaning as was assumed by the English *private* and the French *prive*' (Habermas, 1992:11). By the eighteenth century: 'The private

interior domain' (Habermas, 1989:30), the implications of intimacy and shared domestic space as the normative social unit of modern times is the material reality and context for television and television advertising reception. The importance of the domestic domain and the 'conjugal family' to 'the realm of commodity exchange' is important to an understanding of television advertising operating within private, domestic space. Thompson states that the evolving private realm is 'comprised (of) both the expanding domain of economic relations and the intimate sphere of personal relations' yet the latter *'became increasingly disengaged from economic activity* and anchored in the institution of the conjugal family' (Thompson, 1995:69). 'Economic activity' in the developed world of the television age, includes advertising as an essential element of consumption. Indeed for Habermas the modern family has lost many of its functions such as 'upbringing and education, protection, care, and guidance – indeed, of the transmission of elementary tradition and frameworks of orientation', the family has been reduced to a 'community of consumers' (Habermas, 1989:151-156).

The literature on the subject describes a wide range of human behaviour and experience, categorised as public and private, yet the terms are often used interchangeably (Emirbayer and Sheller, 1999; Weintraub, 1997). Indeed Habermas notes that 'however confused their employment…ordinary language…but also the sciences…do not seem capable of replacing traditional categories like public and private…with more precise terms' (Habermas,1992:1). For instance, the public and private spheres are also referred to as the public and private domain, in addition to realms and spaces. The use of the term 'private domain' to describe contemporary domestic space captures common assumptions and ideologies about home associated with notions of freedom and personal control yet carries with it the imprint of the Latin domus – household and home. Notwithstanding the ambiguous and interchangeable use of these terms the related concepts of sphere and space are appropriate concepts for the purpose of this study.

Roger Silverstone describes the 'public sphere' as 'a culturally and politically defined

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sphere comprised civil society in the narrower sense, that is to say, the realm of commodity exchange and of social labor, embedded in this was the family with its interior domain (Intimsphare)' (Habermas 1989:30).

public *space*' (Silverstone, 1994:65). The public sphere is comprised of activities and objects which occur and are deployed in spaces: in real demarcated areas. Habermas refers to public access to fountains and market squares as inscribed in medieval Germanic Law and the spaces in which the emerging public sphere of the sixteenth and seventeenth century operated were those of salons and coffee houses. In the earlier period of the Greek polis, the public sphere of the agora and to an extent the theatre could be spatially distinguished from that of the private sphere in which, 'the private sphere was attached to the house not by [its Greek] name only' (Habermas, 1989:3). Evidently 'spheres' can cross the thresholds of 'spaces' and are not reducible to them: the sphere should not be reified but can be identified in specific spaces as can the objects of the public sphere.

Ding-Tzann Lii also extends Habermas's public sphere. The public sphere is contrasted with the term 'social sphere' and the latter becomes identified with public spaces as meeting places where discussion and debate take place. According to Ding-Tzann Lii: 'While the public sphere emphasizes reason and language, the social sphere stresses sense, body and performance' (Ding-Tzann Lii, 1998:116.). In the past this was associated with the development of 'leisure' and 'the coffee houses, parks and theatres became the new public spaces of the social sphere in modern societies...' and later these would compete with, and largely be replaced by the places of modern consumption, the department store and shopping malls (Ding-Tzann Lii, 1998:128). Similarly Weintraub (1997) associates the public sphere of civil society with public space. If the public sphere could find its spaces in publicly accessible buildings and in the outdoors the private sphere only had to look indoors to an extended bourgeois domestic form.

John B Thompson suggests that the public sphere as an arena and site of activity has a contemporary social significance through a much expanded mass media from its newspaper base of the Eighteenth Century to which Habermas originally refers (Thompson, 1990). An expansion in the number of forms and new technologies that constitute the mass media has occurred alongside increased capacity and the depth and spread of its social reach. For example, the penetration of the world wide web into domestic and other spaces, its propensity for interactive debate and discussion and

encouragement of new forms of political contact and involvement; - provides a route into the public sphere and a line back into the domestic confinement of the private. McCarthy emphasises the 'dynamic and flexible' elements of the public/private division leading her to conclude that the television should not be aligned simply with one side of the equation: 'The arrival of television in the postwar home did not simply bring public space into the private space of the home; rather it reshaped the ways in which the boundary between public and private was conceived in domestic discourse...' (McCarthy, 2001:121). Sheller and Urry (2003) make a similar, but more general, point about mobility across the boundaries of public and private, using the neologisms of 'public-in-private' and 'private-in public', hybrids that are 'physical (in the form of mobile phones, objects and hybrids of humans–in-machines), and informational (in the form of electronic communication via data, visual images, sounds and texts)' (Sheller and Urry, 2003:108). The blurring of divisions between public and private space has, for McQuire, created 'a crisis of space' where the 'deterritorialization of domestic space goes hand in hand with the increasing subjection of the public sphere' (McQuire, 1999:149). Non determinist accounts of new technologies and media forms emphasise the possibilities for a multiplicity of potential social uses: from a new deeper attachment to commodity form and representation to movement in physiological and cybernetic developments. These considerations might not be strong enough to halt what Habermas detected as 'the shrinking of the private sphere into the inner areas of a conjugal family...(where)...the quiet bliss of homeyness – provided only the illusion of a perfectly private personal sphere...' (Habermas, 1989:159). 'Rather than sounding the death knell of public life, the development of mass communication has created a new kind of publicness and has transformed fundamentally the conditions under which most people are able to experience what is public and participate today in what could be called a public realm' (Thompson, 1990:246).

Spaces

Public and private spheres require public and private spaces and the distinction between the two is significant to an understanding of advertising reception. The 'public' in the geographical and topographical definition of public space is often perceived as the realm of the outdoors, of open spaces and in a broader sense to freely accessible places that

enable a relatively wider social interaction. For the purpose of this work public space although taking a wide variety of historical forms is represented by the modern urban environment and is contrasted with contemporary domestic space in which are found two different advertising media, billboards and television advertising.

The significance of domestic space in relation to communications and in particular the reception of television texts has been recognised in the area of media and cultural studies as part of a general recognition of the significance of spatiality to the process of media communication and reception. Scannell in the Eighties wrote of the double significance of 'the places in which (broadcasting) speaks, and the places in which it is seen and heard are relevant considerations in the analysis of communicative contexts...' (Scannell, 1988:15). David Morley goes further recognising space as a factor in reception and communication, stressing the importance of investigating 'communications processes within the terms of postmodern geography, and...the role of communications in the ongoing construction and reconstruction of social spaces and social relations' (Morley, 1992:271). Similarly Robins argues that 'issues around the politics of communication converge with the politics of space and place' (Robins, 1989:146).

On the other hand, discourse theory pursues its characterisation of the audience without recourse to the audience in empirical, tangible space: in a place outside of the text. Formalist and discourse theories suggest that the audience is purely a function of the text: that a reader/viewer is a textual inscription, a position in relation to a series of other textual elements. Martin Allor asserts the position of the purity of the text, the text without context in which the 'audience exists nowhere; it inhabits no real space only positions within...discourses' (Allor quoted in Hartley, 1992b:119). A formalist analysis may be able to identify the implied reader as a purely textual construction and claim that the inscription does not necessarily associate itself with any position in social reality. This position neglects that the inscribed reader has a history: has to be drawn from somewhere, whether from a pre-existing textual inscription or from the raw material of non-textual lived reality. In this formalist formulation the 'I' is born of parthenogenesis a pure product of, and coming into being in, the text. This is neither a question of

interpellation in the Marxist Althusserian sense nor does it involve the occupancy of a textual space/place taken up or refused willingly by the free choosing subject. The separation in a formalist account is a double one. The text is separated from real circumstances outside and prior to itself from which the subject is drawn into position and separated again from any effects that position might have in lived reality.

Hartley attempts to bridge the gap between an emphasis on reader in place and reader in the text. He invokes Popper's idea of the 'three worlds' comprised firstly of the 'physical objects or of physical states', secondly of the 'states of consciousness or of mental states', and finally the 'objective contents of thought, especially of scientific and poetic thoughts and of works of art', which are utilised in defence of the reality of textual positions (Hartley, 1992b:120). Hartley affirms that the audience is a creation of discourse *and* that discourse has a place in the real tangible world: the 'lived reality' which formed one of Raymond Williams three definitions of culture. Furthermore, textual activity is an important element of shaping this 'real' world: 'I would argue that the intellectual work conducted in Popper's third world has a rather more powerful effect on the other two worlds of conscious and physical states; it has the effect of shaping their content' (Hartley, 1992b:120). This study follows Hartley in acknowledging textual considerations and the significance of the spaces of reception in particular those of private and urban space as a tangible, material reality that forms a significant element of the decoding process.

Public space

Public space can be contrasted with private space and understood through a series of categories such as accessibility, symbolic and material boundaries that enclose space, and the practices associated with these spaces. Historically, public space and the public sphere are conceptually close, the latter often physically occupying the ground of the former.

For example, in the ancient, pre classical and classical worlds of Mediterranean culture the agora of Greece and later the forum of Rome was an open market place – open in the

main to the elements and to the free passage of people including metics and slaves. Women were excluded from these public spaces. In the ancient city of Athens this was comprised of a series of streets for the passage of pedestrians, animals and carts; open spaces, stoas and temples and formed the commercial, administrative centre of the polis. In the centre of the agora, a large open space defined by boundary stones was - by the 5th Century BC, considered a sacred place from which people accused of serious crimes were excluded. Other forms of exclusion (ostracism) of individuals from the public sphere and thus the political life of the community and physical space of the polis were decided here.

The modern city can be represented by similar institutions, functions, relations and other elements operating in the public sphere and in its public spaces and can be described as, 'the city of streets, public institutions, sites of political encounter and debate, the consumption of commodities and symbols, of education, business and the conduct of neighbourly relations' (Shields, 1996:238). Public space in the modern world is often the context to advertising reception, and in this function as the urban setting for much outdoor advertising it is further explored in the next chapter of this study.

Private and domestic space
Private, domestic space provides the site of reception and context for a series of advertising forms delivered through a range of media from the electronic means of radio, internet, television, telephone and rapidly developing mobile phone technology to the paper media of magazines, periodicals, newspapers, circulars and mail delivered advertising.

Private, domestic space is the domain of the familiar and the inclusive. Less varied in scope and breadth than urban space in which a greater variety of encounters, transactions, objects occur and in which 'the other', the strange and unfamiliar is signified. Private space is the space of home, household and family. It is an intimate, materially formed place. Symbolically bounded, constituting the more familiar, predictable, knowable aspects of the social world, it is perceived as being within the control of its inhabitants. The relative stillness of the private space is contrasted with the flux and rapid movement

66

of the modern city environment.

In addition, the domestic environment is perceived as personal, a private space of enclosed things, objects, spaces and people, closely linked elements that form an inclusive relationship. This forms a kind of kinship of things with a shared aura and culture that reflects the presence of private individuals in spaces. The interior is in some sense a self assemblage. Walter Benjamin making the distinction between the public life of the outside and the private world of interiors, put it this way: 'Corresponding to these phantasmagoria of the market, where people appear only as types, are the phantasmagorias of the interior, which are constituted by man's imperious need to leave the imprint of his private individual existence on the rooms he inhabits' (Benjamin, 1999:14).

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the concepts of public and private spheres with those of public space associated with urban centres in which outdoor advertising is situated and the private spaces of domestic life in which much television and newsprint advertising is received. The study will extend the developing academic interest in domestic space as a significant element in media reception to an exploration of the reception of television and newsprint advertising in the private space of the home. This is compared and contrasted with the reception of outdoor advertising in the public space of the urban environment which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter IV
Advertising in the City

Introduction

This fourth chapter explores the modern city or town as part of a public sphere and public space in which poster and other outdoor advertising contributes to the range of significations prevalent in the urban environment. The poster billboard site, Adshel Superlite, scrolling electronic billboard or mobile advertising vehicle manufactured to advertise commodities as its primary function, or vehicles such as buses, trains and trams carrying advertisements as a secondary function make up what the advertising industry refers to as the 'outside industry', or 'outdoor media' (Goodwin, 1991; Mansell, 1997). The environment or context in which the advertisement is placed is explored in this chapter as being a part-determinant of the significations that may emerge for advertising audiences in the public domain. In the main the urban billboard and contexts of presentation and reception will be the main objects and features for consideration. This chapter also explores the importance of advertising research and acknowledges the feeding back of consumer information into an advertising circuit or loop, forms of market surveillance, organisation and regulation of consumption in urban environments which are considered as temporal and spatial elements. The moment of decoding and the environment which gives context and meaning to that decoding are here explored in the instance of the experience of urban life in the public domain.

The Vantage of the Billboard.

All advertising is a means of speaking to 'the public' whether defined by the academic or the commercial world. The phenomenon of a modern urban public engaged in its many and varied social activities, ranging from work to leisure, in situ or in movement, at home or at work, can be observed as sociological categories such as class, gender, age, ethnicity, race or other social groupings. The rise of lifestyle categorisation by the media industries explores socio-cultural currents; tracking, measuring, forecasting and shaping the form and quantity of future publics as consumers. In the advertising world: 'The

project of 'lifestyle' studies is to define the coherent profiles and homogeneous typologies of consumers-viewers-listeners which are brought together in individuals' (Matterlart, 1991:164). This 'public', occupied in shop, city or street work or engaged in differing intensities of consumption from serious purchasing to casual shop window browsing, may be observed as a mass of atomised individuals. The advertising industry, from the vantage of the billboard site, will come close to the sociologist's view using the classifications of A, B, C1 C2 and so forth, in order to measure income and gauge the purchasing power of the passer-by. From this knowledge each advertisement will adopt a specific 'mode of address'. 'The mode of address refers to the way in which a text - film, novel or radio programme, for example, - speaks to or addresses the viewer, reader or listener. It is the way in which a text, by using particular devices, constructs a position of intelligibility: that is, a position from which it might be viewed, or listened to and understood. Different modes of address may also imply that the reader, viewer or listener possesses certain social characteristics' (Bennett, 1983:10). The mode of address will be expansive addressing the widest possible urban audience or selective in targeting certain sections of the city public.

From the vantage of the billboard site the individual advertiser, with the assistance of the advertising industry its research organisations and mechanisms, will engage the viewer - reader through a variety of modes of address and reading strategies. The completed decoding produced by the receiver of the advertisement is unlikely to remain the property of the socially situated recipient of the advertisement but may be appropriated or purchased by the industry through market research and channelled back into the general pool of cultural and consumer knowledge from which future encoding decisions are made. Research and planning in advertising is part of an apparatus of scrutiny and evaluation. Mosco notes the increasing 'use of new technologies to expand the process of measuring and monitoring audience activity' (Mosco, 1996:149). 'Outdoor' advertising and responses to it are evaluated by the industry's research mechanisms through inclusion in such categories as 'opportunity to see' (OTS), which measures exposure to an advertisement, 'visibility adjusted impact' (VIA) which takes into account material factors such as size and distance of a billboard from a road or walkway, and 'reach and

frequency' refers to the proportion of the population viewing an advert and the number of times this occurs (McDonald, 2004; Ephron, 2004). These occurrences are referred to as advertising hits. Advertising research mechanisms range from the 'Lowes Ad Avoiders Theory' which attempts, in the interests of eliminating negative consumerism, to categorise those who do not respond to advertisements, to the 'Link Test' which claims to measure viewer responses evoked by advertising campaigns (Campaign, 1997). In addition to mechanisms intended to record and measure responses to completed campaigns, methods are deployed to gauge responses of representative consumers during the planning and production process producing alterations and adjustments to the advertising text which are integrated back into the creative process. For example the 'Awareness Index' is a pre-testing method, designed for 'recording the efficiency of a given advert at generating awareness' (Campaign, 1997:30). In addition to 'awareness' of an advertisement other factors, held to be quantifiable elements of an advertisement or of the readings instigated by it, are pre-tested. The extent and nature of these will depend on the individual research agency and the system used. In 1995, according to 'Admap', the research publication of the industry, twenty-eight different systems of pre-testing advertising were in existence (Cowan, 1997). According to Mike Hall of Hall and Partners Ltd, an advertising research agency, the three important measurable 'frameworks' of response to an advertisement, which may be explored in pre or, as it is otherwise known, copy testing exercises are 'persuasion' which deals with functional attributes of the advertised commodity; 'involvement' where values, presumed to be shared between the advertisement viewer and the advertised product, are investigated and 'salience' which identifies distinctive brand or representational features (Hall, 1997:47). For the managing director of BUY-Test (UK) Ltd. the three elements of advertising effect are 'awareness', 'involvement' and 'persuasion' (Clark, 1997:36). 'Involvement' is defined as a 'measure of whether the ad is worthwhile watching' and 'persuasion' is even less defined as 'the building (or reinforcement) of a bond between the audience and the brand' (ibid.). Many other assumed responses are measured by pre-testing surveys including 'impact', 'recall', 'emotional involvement', 'preference or attitude shift' (Cowan, 1997:43). A variety of methodological approaches to advertising research are used in pre-testing. In the light of the theme of this chapter it is worthy of note that a fundamental split is

apparent in approach to methodology. It is represented by the 'two distinct purposes [of copy-testing]: to "predict" what is going to work in the real marketplace, and to "understand" how consumers respond' (Hall, 1997:46). The former is generally investigated through a quantitative method and the latter approach which provides the information on readings, significations generated and decoding strategies which can be introduced to the production process is associated with a qualitative approach. Mattelart further describes the variety of quantitative and qualitative research used by the advertising world at different stages of the creation of advertising campaigns and summarises it as a '...battery of tools to evaluate the effectiveness of communication following a launch [and] is complemented by the range of pre-tests, that is, tests prior to the launch, in which the envisaged advertising material is tested out on a sample' (Matterlart, 1991:163).

Ellis commenting on the nature and measurement of TV audiences acts as a reminder that these are process of the wider media world: 'With the size of sample and techniques now used in audience measurement, audiences can be specified according to age, class, gender, region, patterns of viewing and even by their degree of appreciation of the programme' (Ellis, 2000:28).

As Hall has insisted in the Structured Communication of Events, the process of exchange in the media business whether it is of information, entertainment or advertising meaning and effect, the business must be understood as just that: a process (Jordin and Brunt, 1988:242). Here the *flat* linearity of the encoding - decoding model can be envisaged as *looping back* on itself, carrying information on reception back into the advertising production process. Hall uses the terms loop and circuit to describe the mechanisms of the encoding/decoding model (Hall, 2001). The outcome in the primary decoding stage is measured, analysed and if necessary reformed and reintroduced into a secondary stage of the encoding process. As the process moves over time the loops reintegrate non-preferred readings as modified outcomes are constantly re-fed into the system. This is similar to Lash's 'non linear socio-technical assemblages' that come to form 'feedback loops' which become 'self causing largely through reflexivity: through observation, description

and communication.' (Lash, 2002:112) This in effect creates an ongoing and reflective advertising process very much in the manner in which Giddens characterises the social process and the placement of the individual within social discourse or as Thrift and Glennie have referred to the process as 'the growth of reflexivity: that is, a development in the ability of human subjects to reflect upon the social conditions of their existence' (Giddens, 1984, 1990; Thrift and Glennie, 1993:43). Pels discussing the nature of reflexivity notes that: 'If reflexivity is the curvilinear movement of a text which attempts to bend back upon itself, the metaphor of the circle or spiral is never far away' (Pels, 1995:7). It is worthy of note here that this reflexivity is closely lined with the development of research technology and increasingly visual technology, a vision machine along the lines of Virillio's 'paradoxical logic' which involves the 'automation of perception' and 'the new industrialisation of vision' (Virillio, 1994:59). However the main point here is that the reflective/reflexive body here is the advertising industry itself constantly assembling and reorganising the consumer audience in the interest of greater returns.

It is worth noting the political economy approach to the mass media which to a greater or lesser degree envisages the audience as a, or even the primary, commodity of the mass media industry. Mosco describes the process as one in which the '...media companies produce audiences and deliver them to advertisers. Media programming is used to attract audiences; it is little more than the free lunch that taverns once used to entice customers to drink' (Mosco, 1996:148). Similar descriptions emanate from the advertising world itself. London Transport Advertising, a body which markets advertising space on behalf of London Regional Transport, is described by its Managing Director as '...not really selling posters, we're selling audiences' (Taylor, 1990). However, this approach to the production of audiences, whether it emanates from the industry or from academia, pays too little regard to the characteristics of the advertising campaign, the particularity of the advertising form, the specificity of text or the nature of the environment in which the advertisement is decoded.

The mechanisms of research and evaluation brought to bear on the urban consumer by the advertising industry and its discourses will be returned to later in this chapter after a consideration of the urban environment in which people are situated as potential subjects of advertising texts.

Urban time and space

The main purpose in this section of the paper is to explore the geographical places and spaces of the contemporary urban landscape and scene: to present a topography of space as physical context to and constitutive element of advertising reception. This will also take account of the multiplicity of experiences, interactions, and stimuli that members of the 'public' - interpellated or hailed as individual subjects - experience in the moment of being interpellated by an outdoor advert or advertising campaign. A consideration of the 'moment of interpellation' will require an examination of temporality and of spatiality: of the historical trajectory of subjects and objects and of the contextual urban environment in which subjects find themselves.

In recent years these concerns have become expansive areas of academic enquiry in the diverse fields of geography, urban studies, visual studies and sociology (Soja, 1990). As David Harvey has argued from the discipline of the geographer: 'Space and time are basic categories of human existence. Yet we rarely debate their meanings; we tend to take them for granted, and give them common-sense or self evident attributions' (Harvey, 1992:201). From a materialist perspective this is to view the spatial site as the final moment of the historical process(es) which create the situational encounter between human subject and advertising text. This follows on from Harvey's materialist position in arguing that: 'the conclusion we should draw is simply that neither time nor space can be assigned objective meanings independently of material processes, and that it is only through investigation of the latter that we can properly ground our concepts of the former' (Harvey, 1992:204). Consequently an attempt to describe, understand and analyse the forms and possible meanings of situated advertising texts placed in a city environment is also to explore the concepts of urban time and especially space.

73

The time and space of the modern city is the cultural, social and the economic - financial centre of a geographic area or region. However, it is an observable fact of most city centres that productive elements and processes and the social relations of commodity production, all of which had been a feature of city experience throughout history have tended to move out of the centre and to the periphery of the city territory. According to Sasia Sassen, 'Allocating space to manufacturing activities in large cities is ... viewed as inefficient' and consequently 'city locations are therefore unfeasible' (Sassen, 1996:26). Most commentators are in agreement about this aspect of the fate of the British city, the territorial space associated with it and its productive identity. If the heart of the modern city was associated with production it is now characterised by something else. Whatever descriptive label is used, the postmodern, late-modern or hyper-modern, the city at the turn of the millennium is characterised by far reaching change. One common feature of this change can be recognised as the 'trajectories of urban spaces towards postindustrialism' (Byrne, 2001:53). What Byrne refers to as 'The general postFordist account of the transition to postindustrialism' (Byrne, 2001:53) suggests, in Lovering's terms that: 'Industries have disappeared into oblivion under the impact of technological change... or moved to cheaper workforces elsewhere' (Lovering, 1997: 68). Industry still operating within the metropolitan area has moved out of the centre and to the margins. This has repercussions for city life and the positioning and reception of urban outdoor advertising.

For example the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne has undertaken this centrifugal transformation, losing most of its heavy industry. Little of its light industrial production remains in the city area, and very little or none in the inner city area, having moved out to the industrial parks and sites of the fringe areas of the metropolis. The experience of Newcastle upon Tyne is broadly similar to that of other British cities which have come to be known as 'edge cities' (Garreau, 1992; Angotti, 1993; Byrne, 2001). Edge city is a new form of extended metropolis: 'the new urban world without a centre' (Byrne, 2001:122). It creates a new form of urban life with a different kind of relationship to the core of the old city centre. It is according to Angotti: 'larger, more complex and plays a more commanding role – economic, political and cultural – than the industrial city and

town that preceded it. It is not just downtown but more like a collection of towns (Angotti, 1993:1). Byrne offers Cleveland Ohio as an American example and Dublin as a European example of the phenomenon, where the people of the region are employed in 'industrial parks, office parks and mall areas which exist both as a ring around the core city and scattered through new post industrial edge settlements. There is even substantial commuting out of the core city to work in these peripheral zones' (Byrne, 2001:122).

In essence the centre of the modern city is given over to various leisure and consumption practices. As Zukin 1996 has suggested: 'Global cities share with regional and national centers a common cultural strategy that imposes a new way of seeing landscape... connecting it to consumption rather than production' and again 'Cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but as landscapes of consumption (Zukin, 1996:45; 1998:82-39). Lovering agrees, 'Britain's cities have become instead centres of consumption and administration. Out with factories, in with offices, shopping malls and clubland' (1997:68). Recent British deregulative legislation, accompanied by the refusal of some retail corporations to act within the law by adhering to statutory shop opening hours, has expanded the time of market consumption and organised leisure - enabling longer shopping hours including Sunday and late evening opening and permitted extended alcohol licensing hours. Consequently, the city has become an extensive place and time of consumption. If production and the social relations associated with it have moved off and out in a centrifugal manner, so consumption and the social relations associated with that have, in a centripetal sense, moved in to fill the vacuum. Increasingly city centres become attractive and extensive sites for advertising.

But this is not the whole picture, for in addition to this development recent trends suggest further shifts of retail capital and the construction of enormous sites of consumption which are being created outside the traditional peripheries of city life and economic zones. In some cases whole lumps of the consumption infrastructure appear to have broken away and drifted out to previously derelict land or metamorphosed in what was previously industrial areas. Gateshead Metro centre is a case in point. Consumer culture has in many ways become associated with car culture and all the inclusions and

exclusions of class, age, gender and other social categories that might involve. As the movement of consumption culture has been inward and outward across space so the 'look' of the urban centre has been refigured and refashioned, firstly in the late Modernist or Brutalist style used to fashion shopping centres in the 1960s and 70s and more recently in the Post-Modern eclectic style, borrowing elements of architectural forms from previous historical periods. To a greater or lesser extent capital investment has been channelled into the creation of more complex centres of consumption and leisure. Though not in itself new: the pace and intensification of the creation of these centres of consumption and leisure has increased.

Intensity and increased velocity of commodity exchange are important factors in understanding contemporary contextual environments that form the context to outdoor advertising reception. Widely divergent commentators would agree on this from David Harvey's historical materialist position: 'The general effect, then, is for capitalist modernisation to be very much about speed-up and acceleration in the pace of economic processes and, hence, in social life', to the non-Marxist position of Jackson and Thrift which recognises that, 'production, marketing, distribution and consumption all tend to be more rapid (in the modern world)' (Harvey, 1992:230; Jackson and Thrift, 1995:215). And Baudrillard sounds a typically pessimistic note in acknowledging the phenomena of acceleration which is detailed as so far beyond the realms of control that there is no longer hope of 'deceleration which would allow us to come back into history, the real, and the social, like a satellite lost in hyperspace re - entering Earth's atmosphere' (Baudrillard, 1990).

As the pace and intensity of consumption appears to increase, so the spaces of the inner city area designated for consumption appear to strain under the pressure of hyperactivity. With the space of urban consumption squeezed into confined areas with the development of the inner city mall complex - Birmingham New Street and Newcastle Eldon Square (60/70s), York Coppergate and Gateshead Metro Centre 80s - remaining work activities usually of larger scale financial/insurance/sales service nature appear to be being relocated in a centrifugal manner. In these largely interior spaces glass protected poster

76

sites, the new version of the old city billboards, are inserted; designed for and positioned to gain maximum advantage.

The centre of the contemporary inner city is now occupied almost exclusively with retailing and consumption and its attendant practices (transport, food and drink, other refreshments, advertising and other forms) and spatial requirements (such as malls, concourses and pedestrianised ways). Small scale financial services (banks and building societies) necessary for the immediate activity of consumption and the provision of wider financial services, compete for valuable space alongside other services acting as intermediaries of consumption (such as estate agents or travel agents). Some other urban forms and institutions: cultural (theatres, cinemas and other forms); state/political (local government offices, amenities and police); essential services (fire and health) remain in the inner city area, but in a much reduced form and volume. As the organisations and activities of consumption accelerate into hyperactivity, competition for space intensifies and activities non-essential to consumption are propelled towards the margins. Consumption dominates and this gives a particular significance to the billboards, adshells and other forms of outdoor advertising situated in urban areas.

Consumption in the inner city might be divided into two categories: shopping for commodities and leisure consumption in bars, cafes, restaurants and clubs both of which are significant to a consideration of the urban environment as context to advertising reception: to creating areas in which advertising reception occurs. The 'social process' of shopping is differentiated the two categories of 'recreational' consumption and 'laborious' consumption, with the latter commonly perceived as being "akin to work itself" (Prus and Dawson quoted in Campbell, 1995:106). This makes a useful distinction between different forms of shopping and different attitudes to it. The leisure consumption of bars, cafes and other services might be seen as an important day time accompaniment to the central activity of commodity purchase providing a service element to both essential and recreational daytime consumption and forming the core element of the night-time economy. Increasingly in the core city given over to consumption, consumption comes to play a significant part in perceived and lived realities and the moulding of identities in

spaces of consumption. Strategically placed urban advertisements reinforce this sense of identity as consumer.

The old spaces of production marked out ground on which a differentiation and categorisation of people by social class was carried out. Identities - both ascribed and lived - and consciousnesses associated with these positions were of paramount importance in understanding social systems and social change. The actual/real productive space of the city has been reduced (apart from the space and perhaps time – in the moment of exchange - shared with retail labour) and reconfigured almost wholly as a space of consumption. This might provide a synecdoche for the social whole: for a world understood as it is and how it might be – only in relation to consumption. Daniel Miller has claimed that: 'It is not the proletariat today whose transformation of consciousness would liberate the world, but the consumer' (Miller, 1995:19). Much theory has tended to equate the idea of the consumer society with that of the postmodern society (Kaplan, 1987; Featherstone, 1991). With the perceived loss of essentialist positions of identity attached to the relations of production, in this model identity formations switch to the other side of the commodity exchange process.

The space of consumption is increasingly homogenous in which the movements and activities – of individuals and of groups - associated with it meld into its core purpose and activity: shopping. Consumption - and its accompanying activities and discourses - comes to be presented as a form of culture. Behaviour and consciousness; singular, atomised, adrift from the paradigm of production is celebrated in postmodern thought. '(T)he isolated individual juggling with assorted signs and symbols in a never-ending attempt to construct and maintain identity in a fragmented and ever-changing environment', is a potent image of the consumer paradigm (Campbell, 1995:101). Consumption then becomes associated with culture as consciousness and manifest as activity (shopping, purchasing and related activities), involving objects (commodities and representations), way of life (repeated and significant behaviour, meanings for actors and recipients, in shared and meaningful space). These activities can be viewed as shared cultural activity in the sense of Williams three elements of culture, the ideal, the documentary and the way of

life in the sense that 'culture' is defined as comprising all three elements in an active relationship (Williams, 1981). An identity is forged through involvement in consumer culture and advertising is an important visual accompaniment to this. In the urban space previously designed for both production and consumption the dispersal of the former to the margins leaves the latter as the core of urban activity and as identity it becomes synonymous with culture.

This is the 'identity' that in-part forms the subject of advertising discourse: the 'I' or 'I'dentity that is hailed into position through the various advertising campaigns and varied modes of advertising address prevalent in the urban landscape. This identity, is formed through general consumer culture, and reinforced by advertising. This forms a circular movement in which the advertisement momentarily draws the subject from the immediate context of consumer culture and then returns the subject to that consumer culture. This achieves a high level of homology. This reinforces the potency of identity and identification for consumers within spaces of consumption. However two possible positions or moments in the cycle can be identified as weak spots or even as potential fractures. The first involves failure, contradiction or even negation of the process and the second allows for other forms of identity to be seen as co-present in the process of consumption thus weakening any cultural identity attached to consumption.

In the first position, the contradiction inherent in the nature of these experiences emerges only in the imaginary or anticipated fulfilment of the cultural activity as it reaches its economic climax in the real and symbolic act of purchase of the commodity. The hyperactivity of modern city based consumer culture builds but does not lead to purchase in certain experiences. The economic position of the subject of an advertising discourse and consumer culture is unable in economic terms to afford the consumer item identified and promoted for the subject through a trajectory of needs, wants or desires constructed through the advertisement. The same is true of commodities in general whether for the individual subject or the social class or group which Byrne, following Auyero, calls the 'marginal mass' (Byrne, 2001:127; Auyero, 1997). The mis-affordability of commodities leads to contradiction in the society of spectacular plenty. Here political economy falls

short of the reality and for certain groups 'consumption culture' exists at the level of an economy of signs of imaginary transactions. Within the paradigm of culture operated by Williams this might for some members of the social be described as an imaginary or purely symbolic culture. In this scenario the activity and representation of advertising is not fulfilled indeed it is unfulfilled, the potential is negated in the absence of real exchange. Marx's comment that: 'That which exists for me through the medium of money, that which I can pay for, i.e. which money can buy, that am I, the possessor of the money', is worth quoting here (Williamson, 1978:20). The 'I' emerges within a consumer culture realised in the trajectory of the purchase of the commodity or remains unrealised existing only as a negation within its own trajectory.

The second moment in the cycle of commodity culture and advertising discourse is where the perfect circularity may be weakened by the potential for extraneous identities - identities constructed outside of the arena of consumption - to intrude into the experience of consumption. Identity created through the experience of work and production and identities of place, gender, and other social forms intermingle with the experience of the modern city consumer environment, where consumerism and the advertising that promotes it functions as the new cultural and total experience.

Consumption as culture, for instance, features prominently in the presentation of place through local government, commercial and media discourses. 'Newcastle offers Britain's finest City Centre shopping. Its fantastic choice of shops in the heart of the compact City is without equal outside London. From the best and well-known national names to elegant arcades, designer stores and street barrows...' is the way that Newcastle City Council chooses to identify the city in the visitor section of its web site. It has recognised the transition from space of production to space of consumption where consumption features as a fundamental element and cultural identity involves both shopping and partying: 'Newcastle – a great city - once in the forefront of 19th century industrial innovation, now, the forefront of technical innovation, leisure and culture. Newcastle is rapidly becoming one of the top UK destinations for short breaks, not just the "Party City", but a city that welcomes everyone - passionate, resilient, inventive, with a sense of carnival and

zest for life' (http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/). For this latter form of consumption the night time economy expands through space with new areas of cities being converted into leisure time activities. The Quayside area of Newcastle is a good example where the night time economy has crept eastwards towards the Ouseburn which is about to be developed as part of a regeneration project under the City Going for Growth scheme with the development of the leisure industry of bars restaurants and cinema on the riverside.

Capital constantly rearranges the spaces of the modern city (Zukin, 1996:49). Retail outlets close, shops stand empty, are demolished and temporarily provide the space for car-parking, necessary to accommodate the migrant consumer, around which may be clustered temporary outdoor billboards. Disused spaces are created: 'Junkspace' as Rem Koolhaas has labelled it where 'an entire junkspace – a department store, a night club, a bachelor pad – turns into a slum overnight without warning: wattage diminishes imperceptibly, letters drop out of signs,... cracks appear as if from otherwise unregistered earthquakes...' (Koolhaas quoted in Jameson, 2003:73). New building projects replace the junkspace and the car parks. Spaces appear and are then filled. '(S)paces become organic, fluid and alive, have pulses and palpitate, flow and collide with other spaces. And their interpenetrations get superimposed one upon another to create *present* spaces' (Merrifield, 1997:420). Some, more permanent advertising sites endure over time lining traffic routes interpellating drivers, passengers and pedestrians alike, creating focal points of familiarity in the flux of spatial change. However, these changing sites and productivities of capital operation are patterned in repetition. It is true to say of the cities that over time 'the same elements of a consumption landscape recur - the privileged housing estates, the shopping malls, the retail parks and so on' (Jackson and Thrift, 1995:208).

A typology of city advertising billboards and sites will include the following arrangements. Firstly the occasional site, a left over space after development, typically a one off or mere handful of boards, sometimes placed in an awkward position to surrounding space from which the glance or gaze is to be drawn; secondly the site arrangement that involves the 'looking in' on the empty space such as a car park in the

centre of retail development for instance the Gateshead Team Valley retail park, or Strawberry car park in Newcastle city centre which typically involve serial visual alignments, uniformity of placing around a central empty space. The third arrangement involves the cluster of boards, arranged in a more random manner often to fit the topography of place, local examples of this third arrangement would be the placing of billboards around Newcastle St James metro station. Further elements that could be included in this typology of urban advertising might include possible subject positions created through sight lines, approaches to billboards, traditional passageways, speed of passage and other considerations important to what Jackson and Thrift and others refer to as 'time-geography' (Jackson and Thrift, 1995:214).

These sites of city consumer activity - the terrain upon which a consideration of the context of billboard decoding occurs - have become a significant area of interest for political and economic geographers. According to an overview of the literature provided by Jackson and Thrift, the work is overly dominated by 'Marxist political economy' which highlights shopping mall consumerism as 'a frothy piece of spectacle or an essentially threatening presence able to bend consumers will to it (Jackson and Thrift, 1995:210). The authors would prefer to see an approach that recognises the relative autonomy of consumer practices and the possibilities of resistance to the lure of consumer items and the non determined and creative use of consumer space by consumers and non-consumers alike. For Jackson and Thrift 'too many geographers do not conceive of social relations as dynamic practices, constantly being forged anew by creative bricoleurs using spaces creatively' (Jackson and Thrift, 1995:211). Similarly Merrifield makes the point, in an investigation of the language deployed in the work of Henri Lefebvre to investigate 'the politics of (urban) space', that temporality is often privileged over spatiality (or as it has been figured in the previous chapter, structure over agency or diachrony over synchrony). 'When space is represented processually, not only do theorists invariably revert to metaphors of temporality, but all sense of richly textured everyday space disappears' (Merrifield, 1997:418)

The description of the spatial context of the outdoor urban advertisement as a 'richly textured everyday space', suggesting Raymond Williams' notion of 'lived experience', is examined extensively by Cosgrove in an exploration of the city environment in which decoding takes place. The following descriptive passage evokes the multiplicity of peripheral consumer experiences involved in and perhaps impeding the activity of, 'shopping with my family in my local town-centre precinct.' Whilst engaging in the process of consumption, '...I realise other things are happening: I'm asked to contribute to a cause I don't approve of; I turn a corner and there is an ageing, evangelical Christian distributing tracts. The main open space is occupied by a display of window panels to improve house insulation - or rather in my opinion, to destroy the visual harmony of the street. [...] A group of teenagers with vividly coloured Mohican haircuts and studded armbands cast the occasional scornful glance at middle- aged consumers. [...] The precinct, then, is a highly textured place with multiple layers of meaning' (Cosgrove, 1989:118-119). This passage indicates graphically the level and multiplicity of activities and interactions, of what has been referred to as the 'thick texture of [city] experience', not directly or even necessarily related to the central moment of the process of consumption; the purchase of the commodity but one that contextualise the activity of advertising reception (Sennett, 1999:25).

In a similar manner the urban advertisement signifies through a process of exchange, with the viewer positioned in the same urban space as the commodity purchaser engaged in the moment of commodity exchange. This serves as a reminder of the closeness and occasional interelatedness of advertising and core marketing and reconstructs at a level of analysis the familiar activities of a discourse of consumption at the heart of which may be either or both the act of commodity purchase or the act of advertising viewing. This representation emphasises the competition from other stimuli and distractions surrounding the relationship between 'advertiser/advertisement' and 'advertised - to'. The relation between text and viewer is likely in these circumstances to be one of distracted attention, of a halting or fractured gaze, resulting in an imperfect homology within which decoding occurs.

Nineteenth and early Twentieth century commentaries of the urban experience record phenomena identifiable at the end of the Twentieth century in an intensified and accelerated form. The sociologist Georg Simmel, considering the city and its inhabitants at the turn of the century offered some useful insights and impressions for understanding and describing the psychological experience of the city which he defines as an 'intensification of nervous stimulation' in which the stimuli are guilty of a 'rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions' (Simmel, 1950:48).

The geographer Cosgrove whilst painting an overall picture of the late Twentieth Century urban scene, depicts a range of diverse activities taking place and like Simmel places the viewer/consumer at the centre of the experience of 'images', ' glances' and 'impressions' (Cosgrove, 1989:118-119; Simmel, 1950:48). Similarly an earlier writer and commentator on city life and the then modern experience of it, Charles Baudelaire, offering the sensibility of his aesthetic judgement and suggestions on the proper subject of art to the Nineteenth Century realist painter, attaches importance to the observation of the 'glance'. The image caught in the glimpse of an unstudied look is significant in a consideration of the relationship between the human subject and Twentieth Century street advertising texts. Of similar interest in Baudelaire's understanding and commentary on Nineteenth Century street life is the importance of the minutia of everyday observations of the 'ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent'. The surface form of contemporary urban existence is important to Baudelaire. Elsewhere Baudelaire stresses the dichotomy or antagonism between the two elements of concrete social life: 'All forms of beauty, like all possible phenomena, contain an element of the eternal and an element of the transitory - of the absolute and of the particular' (Baudelaire, 1982:17). It is this 'fleeting' and 'transitory' aspect of city life which is in constant competition with concentrative and cognitive processes brought to bear on consumer activities that are traditionally viewed as requiring levels of consideration and rational choice commensurate with an ideology of consumer sovereignty. The flux of city life forms the context to advertising reception.

Charles Baudelaire's observations on Nineteenth Century Parisian life and Simmel's impressionistic sociology highlight the little details; the glances and the transitoriness of experience, the contingency of all this 'other', which is the visual distraction which can occur in the moment of decoding a billboard advertisement. Extraneous communication, extraneous that is to the relation between advertising text and human subject present in all decoding moments, occurs in particular intensity in the modern urban environment. In addition to extraneous visual information: aural distraction might also be considered. In most accounts of advertising and its relation with the subject of its discourse the mode of address is imagined as a perfectly clear and unambiguous voice. The ideal speech act, where clarity of voice and perfect reception by the listening subject untroubled by interference, acts as the preferred model (Searle, 1962). What is rarely considered is the extraneous noise of distraction: the noise of the city in its human and mechanical clamour which exists in all of its fragments of aural 'rushing impressions'. The noise, and other stimuli extraneous to the channel of communication, of the city at its busiest time is quantitatively and qualitatively different to the noise encountered in the domestic sphere or other sites of reception.

Contexts as constitutive of the meaning or significations advertisements come to have also include the changed and changing *physical* properties of being-in-space that the viewer-in-transit encounters. Moving through an outdoor space, the focused consumer or casual wanderer might cross an expansive space unimpeded, moving into close proximity to a billboard site; into a place of advertising interpellation where sustained sightlines and interpretative time are maximised. Or the prospective advertisement viewer might move at a pace, not wholly determined by the walker but more likely by the movement and intensity of the crowd - referred to as 'indefinite collectivities...' or as 'the throng as it lives, jostles and consumes in the city of everyday human intercourse...' - around her, perhaps down an enclosed and covered-way of a shopping mall or retail development, with a limited scope for movement and constrained and fragmentary ocularity (Thrift and Glennie, 1993:44). The walk-way enclosed, bordered by shops and boutiques in which commodities, displayed in ranks, shine through ceiling to floor plate-glass windows as the flicker of reflection of the passer-by superimposes and intersects in a framed and

momentary image of commodity/human reflection. The lived experience of the city of commodities and advertisements produces a spectacular effect in which: 'The world at once present and absent which the spectacle makes visible is the world of the commodity dominating all that is lived' (Debord, 1977:37). The resulting movements of crowds and interpenetration of images, signs and reflections are intensified in the enclosed and covered walkways of the modern shopping development. In the less developed areas of the urban environment in the remaining open streets of traditional Victorian width and style or routes fashioned from medieval streets and lanes or still following Roman ways - the potential consumer is hailed by the advertisements of the bill board sites. Routes may open out into open-air market spaces still organised around the demarcated space of the ancient Greek agora or modelled on the form of a Roman forum or they might culminate in a modern covered piazza. Groups and individuals engage with the neon signs, electrically back-lit panels or the flat paper form of billboard advertisements. In the crowd the perfect symmetry of text - viewer is marred by the fractured gaze and the halting pace created by the movements of crowds. To invoke the history and tradition of the city in this description is also to highlight the intensification of its activities and acceleration of pace in what is consistently being described as a post or hyper - modernist pace and space of urban life which emphasises the hyperactivity and transitory nature of modern city experience and its contingent ocularity. The pace and intensity of much urban experience is a real factor in the decoding circumstances that the viewer of outdoor advertising finds themselves situated in

The experience of the city has been characterised as one of many 'rushing impressions', of fleetingness and fracture of experience, of flux and movement of the subject through space. Paradoxically the static nature of the advertising billboard and duration over time of displayed text might be emphasised in contradistinction to the phenomenon of flux.

The distinction between the fleeting nature of urban experiences and the sense that advertisements and billboard sites endure over time and in space is of significance to decoding strategies and the formulation of advertising significations. Elements in a typology of statics and duration of urban features might range from the topographical

contours of the landscape: through the longevity of buildings and place names and monumental landmarks; statuary and street furniture, to the movement of traffic and individuals across space and through time. The advertising site has a relative longevity, a duration which outlasts the passing of the viewer. It may - however humble - take its place in a typology and hierarchy of symbolic markers of time in the urban environment, between ancient monuments, historic buildings and more modern commercial and civic amenities around which urban shared identity may be rallied; and the amorphous movement of traffic and street crowds. The advertisement billboard has a stability and presence over the time of its duration in the urban environment

The outdoor advertisement is in the process of steadily obliterating seasonal and diurnal variation to its own visibility through increased use of illumination. As artificial light increasingly becomes a feature of external advertising so the text can offer its significations over longer periods of time. The back-lit adshel, introduced to London in 1990/91 and subsequently throughout the British Isles, functions to shelter public transport users waiting for vehicles and to illuminate the advertisements it carries (Poster Scene, 1991:1). Similarly the illuminated billboard site has long been a feature of the urban landscape and now offers in the words of an advertisement 'the latest back-lighting technology offering five levels of light intensity' (Maiden Apollo Advertisement, 1997). Increasingly, in recent years, the advertising site has become a more prominent temporal and spatial feature of the urban landscape.

The positioning and measurement of billboard sites is an important feature of the research aspect of the advertising industry. Roadside billboards have since the 1980s been ascribed performance ratings by research agencies using evaluative systems such as OSCAR and more recently the POSTAR system in order that a market price may be attached to the advertising site, its place and command over potential consumers. Boards, or 'panels' as the industry refers to them, are evaluated according to the potential connection they will make with the interpellated subject of the advertising text. The 'outdoor dictionary' categorises sites as 'parallel' or running along side a stretch of road, 'angled' to the road or 'head on' which is in front of the traffic flow (Mansell, 1997:41).

Sight lines and the 'Duration' of the amount of real, and consequently potential interpretative time, which the viewer may spend in proximity to the advert, is established and evaluated. The notion of 'Competition' measures the relationship of the billboard under evaluation to other advertising texts in close proximity or within the same viewer field of vision. 'Visibility Adjusted Impact' and 'Opportunities To See' are mechanisms for 'measuring audiences of roadside poster sites ' which account for the place and the positioning of the sites (Campaign, 1996:4).

In addition to the relatively enduring nature of the advertisement billboard and as an element of symbolic temporal meaning it is also characterised by the changing nature of advertising campaigns. As the carrier of a succession of advertising campaigns involving differences of style, design, representation and written text, the billboard site endures for longer than the texts and textual significations displayed.

In comparison to other forms of advertising such as television - in the main received in the private domain - or cinema advertising - in the public but entry restricted domain - a qualitative difference of formal presentation is that of duration over time. Cinema and television forms of advertising have in common the kinetic nature of imagery and text and the narrative possibilities that result from this in presentation time, which is considerably shorter than that of the billboard advertisement. In addition the billboard text endures across time without interruption. The text may be repeated on other sites thus reinforcing its message(s). This is important in terms of 'interpretative time' as the duration of time which the viewer experiences in relation to the text as an element in the creation of signification that might be generated by the advertisement (Corner, 1995:107). The duration of interpretative time is conditional on a number of factors many extraneous to the viewers' control. Interpretative time may be repeated over the period of the presentation of the advertisement. Periods of interpretative time may be qualitatively and quantitatively different: from an extended interpretative time experienced, for instance, from the stationary queued vehicle, to the minimum interpretative time involved in the casual glance of the passer-by. The nature and duration of interpretative time, applied to the billboard advert, is contingent upon a range of factors but because of an

88

extended presentational time, interpretative time is more within the individual control of the viewer of the advert than in some other media. All these factors are to be taken into account when attempting to understand the creation of signification in relation to the urban advertising text and the part that 'interpretative time' plays as an important element in a consideration of advertising form.

Advertising and surveillance

'So if you want to find out what consumers are thinking this weekend...let PhoneBus do all the running.' 'Each week we interview a random representative sample of 1,000 adults. Questions agreed by Friday will be answered on Monday...' (Campaign research agency advertisement 31.10.97)

From the vantage of the billboard site the individual advertiser with the assistance of the advertising industry its research organisations and mechanisms engages the viewer - reader through a variety of modes of address and reading strategies. Not all of the mechanisms which produce this mode of address, the means of calling the subject to the product through the frame of the advertising text, will be spoken out loud; will be made overt in the interpellation of the subject. Whilst the written and pictorial elements of the text engage the subject through its mode of address a further set of mechanisms, organised by the advertising industry and its research agencies, are operating from beyond the frame of the poster site and its stated and contested textual meanings.

The unstated or hidden modalities of Foucault's 'disciplinary power' is projected from the sites of the billboards and the texts of advertisements, individually and collectively, exercising an administrative and organisational power over the subject. In conjunction with previous explorations of the exercising of hegemonic power and the contested, negotiated and oppositional readings identified within non dominant decoding strategies, it is necessary to recognise that these readings are produced out of struggle not only with the individual text but with the apparatus of advertising in general. The text, as the product of the producer, bears in its construction the advantages of pre-testing of the advertisement and the measured placement of the advertisement in space. In Foucault's

89

work Discipline and Punish, the writer makes the distinction between older forms of power, 'traditional power', and the methods required to exercise it and newer forms of 'disciplinary surveillance' (Foucault, 1977). In the pre-Enlightenment period power was made visible and 'found the principle of its force in the movement by which it deployed that force' (Foucault, 1977:187). However in modern times in the asylum, the prison and hospital: 'Disciplinary power...is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen' (Foucault1977:187). Thus the research methods and methodologies, the measurements and calculations the advertising mechanisms which render the reader to the text are hidden: market discipline goes unseen whilst the potential consumer's moves are tracked, evaluated, quantified, and thus made visible.

In the process of production and consumption, discipline is primarily the concern of the first part of the process of commodity exchange: 'This was the problem of the great workshops and factories, in which a new type of surveillance was organised. It was different from the one practised in the regimes of the manufactories...; what was now needed was an intense, continuous supervision; it ran right through the labour process...It became a special function, which had nevertheless to form an integral part of the production process, to run parallel to it throughout its entire length' (Foucault, 1977:174). As time advanced it became necessary to extend this surveillance: the supervision and organisation; knowledge and measurement of response, into the social relations of consumption.

Information and data on media audiences began to be generated in the 1920s: George Gallup was one of the earliest practitioners and became a name to endure in both political discourse and the politics of production and consumption. In Britain the BBC established its Listener Research Section in 1936 and newspaper statistics began to be gathered by Mass Observation in 1939. The 'Day After Recall', intended to measure responses to, and recall of, advertisements was developed by Procter and Gamble in conjunction with Gallup. 'Over the past five years', the research director of Procter and Gamble is reported as saying in 1987, 'new ways of reading consumer behaviour have emerged, and most are

electronic; that will continue. That provides people who study consumer behaviour with an immense, rich new database' (Mattelart, 1991:152). In this new ordering of power, according to Foucault, those over whom power is to be exercised must be visible. 'Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection' (Foucault, 1977:187). Although the work of POSTAR only began in 1994 its surveillance method includes traffic counts, obtained from Local Authorities and providing profiles of passing traffic and a computer model which predicts traffic flow based on existing data, in addition to pedestrian counts which measure the number of passers-by and numerous travel surveys, to studies which measure ocular urban behaviour from simulated street scenes. The number of impacts or glances at an advertisement site by the passing individual can be calculated. What is required on the part of the agencies in order to improve these strategies, is to know more about the hidden lives of individuals and groups passing by the billboard sites.

Mansell, managing director of Concord and a director of Alban Communication Ltd, imagines the coming advertising utopia: the merging of databases which would 'extend the parameters of the research to include demographic data. Only with these obstacles removed can poster audiences be traded by demographic group...' (Mansell, 1997:43). Demographic details such as income, class, gender, ethnicity, place and details of desires, wants and preferences as well as needs are confided to the pages of questionnaires. The findings of market research are returned to the industry in ever increasing quantity. With the expansion and acceleration of multimedia and Internet web sites, the questionnaires multiply and the databases swell. At the heart of the demographic project is a developing ethnographic trend. 'Qualitative research is working increasingly with ethnographic approaches in order to know in-depth the real meaning of brands, products and services in the true context of people's lives, rather than the artificial context of the focus group' (Salmon, 1997:21). This data is not confined to present desires and preferences but delves deep into the respondents past, creating 'a personal time line' which reconstructs the subjects history creating a biography from biological, cultural and economic information, matching reported interests to world and local events and to former places of residence.

The 'personal time line' discovers and utilises - in Gramsci's terms the 'product[s] of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces' (Gramsci, 1981:201). A profile is prepared which the subject was not aware of having but will be construed in the encoding of advertising texts and validated in the decoding procedure. As the strapline to an Allied Dunbar television advertisement, featuring the Grim Reaper in attendance on a train whilst a passenger appears to experience a minor heart attack in a mock crisis of mortality, explains: it is 'for the life you don't yet know' (Allied Dunbar advertisement, 1998). Involved in this consideration is the consciousness of the subject as all ready measured; tracked and viewed as potential consumer across life and beyond. Newly developing technology and realignments of existing technologies may still have a long way to go in the creation of the all seeing, all knowing advertising agency.

In Foucault's discussion of the prison he insists that he does not refer to fully 'disciplined societies'. 'Thus one might say that disciplinary simply refers to the deployment of certain techniques rather than to the achievement of desired effects as well (Cousins and Hussain, 1984:188). So one might add, advertising culture is not yet drenched in absolute research: all powerful in its predictions and outcomes. Nevertheless as Mattelart has observed: 'There can be no advertising network without a research network, no media and no campaigns without a fixed apparatus of evaluation, both quantitative and qualitative, of audiences and targets' (Mattelart,1991). Surveillance is characterised by Foucault as a constant process. 'And the examination is the technique by which power, instead of emitting the signs of its potency, instead of imposing its mark on its subjects, holds them in a mechanism of objectification' (Rabinow, 1991:199).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the modern urban environment as a context within which advertising decoding occurs. Drawing on urban geography and impressionistic sociology in addition to cultural studies, the temporal and spatial spaces and conditions of consumption have been described and analysed as important factors to a consideration of outdoor urban advertising reception. The positioning and symbolic value of the billboard, in particular, has been commented upon within the urban landscape. Patterns of, and

developments in, advertising research have been charted as a complicating factor in the imagining of the process of the production and consumption of signification in advertising. The pervasive nature of advertising research has been described in the language of surveillance and control. The linearity of the encoding - decoding model, with its clearly defined places and moments of input and of decodings depicted as 'stills' or 'frozen in time' moments, is only a conceptualisation of the process. The movement over time, which returns decodings to the productive stage, has been represented as a series of loops or flip-backs. Nevertheless the framework is helpful in imagining and analysing the various stages, positions and relations involved in this phenomenon. The significance of the context of the city to the reception of advertising found there has been emphasised, in particular the speed and frenetic movement of the modern city plays an important element in advertising reception. In chapters eleven and twelve the city environment is returned to as the context to empirical case studies of outdoor urban advertising, that explores in detail the possibility of preferred, negotiated and oppositional advertising readings. In contrast the following chapter deals with the context of domestic space, home to television advertising.

Chapter V

Advertising in the home

Introduction

The previous chapter of this work explored the importance of context to an understanding of the 'outside industry' of advertising. The urban billboard site, poster advertising and contexts of presentation and reception alongside advertising industry research were considered. The environment or context in which the advertisement appears was explored as a part - determinant of readings emerging for advertising audiences in the moment of decoding. The specificity of this activity – as against decoding contexts associated with other advertising displays - was explored as part of the public sphere.

In this chapter a similar account and analysis will be offered of the private sphere and space of the domestic environment as a context to home-received advertising and in particular television advertising. It explores domestic space and the social relations found there as important to decoding and constituting a different set of decoding circumstances to the urban environment. Decoded readings become constitutive of the social relations of the domestic sphere. Finally, the television as object and focal point of domestic space is considered as an important element of that space and television advertising as the most potent form of home–received advertising, because of its volume and centrality in domestic space.

Domestic space is real, material space in which certain social, cultural and economic activities both productive (work) and regenerative (rest) are performed. It functions as a necessary productive, reproductive and consumption site in addition to its symbolic value expressed by the meanings of 'hearth and home', as context for television family ritual, or symbolic harbour from 'public spaces'. Domestic space as a general description, like its associated labels of 'home, household and family', often overlooks the specificity of local circumstances. The amount, quality and use of domestic space is contingent upon a range of variables. As Morley has noted, this recognition, 'requires attention to the

similarities and differences between families and households and an understanding of their place in the wider culture and society, where issues of class, ethnicity, ideology and power define (should they be forgotten) the materialities of the every-day life world' (Morley, 1992:203). This attention to local detail will involve reference to the range of domestic spaces in which television and television advertising functions: overall home and room areas and volumes, division and function of space into work, leisure, recuperation and other areas. Variables are income and class, household size and makeup, including gender and age profiles. Patterns of use might also include ethnic, cultural and regional differences. The volume of domestic space available to the social unit is often in proportion to its income level and class position. Large homes are inhabited by large incomes. The potential for securing the preferred advertising reading of advertising texts is in part conditional upon this. The size and use of domestic space are important elements in a consideration of television, television advertising and domestic effects.

Domestic space is by its nature bounded. Boundaries are psychological and symbolic, material and physical entities – excluding of the broad public arena and materially protective, inclusive and containing narrow private domains. Domestic space, private domains and private spheres are enclosed areas marked out from the public sphere of city life, culture and public outdoor practices. Interior domestic space contains different physical and material experiences and symbolic values to outdoor public spaces. Domestic space forms a quite different context for advertising reception to that of outdoor public space. Within domestic space the social relations of home, household and family create the immediate social relations of advertising reception within which advertising and most significantly television advertising is decoded.

Home, household and family

The spatial and social arrangements of home, household and family form the immediate context to advertising reception. Some exploration of these concepts is required in order to appreciate the difference to other contexts of advertising reception. As Morley has suggested: 'Households are not families. Families extend beyond households' (Morley, 1992:203).

The 'domestic' as lived experience, has a material and economic reality and contingency across a range of cultures, class configurations and subject experiences. In addition the 'domestic' also has conceptual, normative/idealistic and ideological elements. The potency of the latter often overshadows the empirical and phenomenological reality of the former. Following Silverstone, the domestic can be compartmentalised as three distinct, but overlapping, areas, that of home, household and family. In outline, a household is an economic and consumption category, but not exclusively so, and the home both the physical space and the ideological configuration around which much of domestic life as lived and thought, revolves. 'Changes in the population structure, in society's values and also in social legislation have resulted in something of a transformation of the characteristics and dynamics of the so–called "traditional" household and family' (National Statistics, 2001). Single person households and small, often single, parent family units have become the norm. [20] In addition to home and household domestic space is recognised as containing the family, the primary social unit of reproductive nature, nurture and sustenance, in addition to being a nodality of economic and consumer activity, a centre of ideological resource, and of ideological channelling and reception. Each of these aspects is of relevance to a discussion of home received advertising and television advertising in particular.

Silverstone emphasises the complex nature and meaning of domesticity and the idea of

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[20] In 2000 30% of all households in Britain were single person households and a similar number were comprised of couples without children. 10% of people in Great Britain live in a lone parent family. The reality of the family is moving further from the idea(l) of "the so-called nuclear or traditional family household consisting of a couple with dependent children living in their own home.......during the last four decades of the 20th century the proportion living in such households fell by a quarter..."" (National Statistics - Social Trends 31, 2001).

home for human consciousness and activity. The socially produced nature of the phenomena is emphasised: 'Home is a construct. It is a place not a space' (Silverstone, 1994:26). Silverstone makes the claim that an understanding of the domestic needs to recognise the complexity of the phenomenon of the home and the social, economic and emotional investment in the notion of home as place. Space is a descriptive yet neutral term with associations of belonging and extraordinariness added to give it a sense of place. The difference is made clear in the literature of the subject (Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Buttimere, 1980). The difference between space and place is the transformation from a geographically and topographically demarcated area into a significant locality. It is, '(t)hat distinction (between place and space), an expression of an experiential difference between those areas of the world, large or small, for which we have no feeling and those for which we do' (Silverstone, 1994:27).

Place, transformed from mere space, provides warmth, shelter and sustenance. In addition, as a bounded area, place secures protection. These are real, tangible and necessary elements of existence. Bachelard in his analysis of space and its meanings suggests the significance of these things is more than material: 'These virtues of shelter are so simple, so deeply rooted in our unconscious that they may be recaptured through mere mention, rather than through minute description' (Bachelard, 1994:12). As potent symbolism the idea of home, based partly on real experience and partly on myth, becomes an element of consciousness and of memory. In the quest for ontological security the experiences of present places meld with previous experiences and the general core concepts and shared symbolic formulations that help hold the social together over time (Silverstone, 1994). As Bachelard puts it, '...the house we were born in has engraved within us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting. We are the diagram of the functions of inhabiting that particular house, and all the other houses are but variations on a fundamental theme' (Bachelard, 1994:15). It is an essential of subject position: it is what is referred to in every-day terms as a 'place in the world', or a 'place in society' and in the ontological possibilities carried in the sense of the idea captured in the phrase 'a' or 'the' 'place to be'. As Sennett has recently suggested, '(H)aving a place in the world is what makes the human animal a social being' (Sennett, 1999:23). In

summary home is a space occupied, organised and acted upon: turned from nature into culture or from strangeness into familiarity, into a special place with a sense of belonging. Domestic space then has a significantly different set of associations to urban public space in its material and symbolic values and functions very differently as context to advertising reception (Spigel, 1992; Taylor, 1989; Gunter and Svennevig,1987).

Home as place also has a significance for consumer identity. This is drawn from a recognition of home as a or even the space of consumption. This is inextricably linked to the recent turn from the link between identity associated with production to the idea of identity associated with consumption. Home as place is then the starting point for an analysis of domestic space as a site for significations associated with the texts of advertisements. 'Such home places are indeed foundations of man's existence, providing not only context for all human activity, but also security and identity for individuals and groups' (Relph, 1976:41). A consumer identity enhanced by television advertising is a significant element of the home.

Home as place can be defined from a variety of perspectives and from the outside as a sociological or economic category and from the inside as experience as a 'lived reality'. A phenomenological account of subjective impressions of home 'sees home as the product of physical presence, familiarity, ritual, possession, control and restoration' (Silverstone, 1994:28). In addition the notion and physical space of home is constructed not through individual subjectivities alone but through the interactions and power/place subjectivities and positions but through and in social relations, the social relations within the home and those domestic social relations which both reside in and form a component part of a wider arrangement of the social.

Home is often referred to as a gendered space which in turn comes to bear on the social, physical and economic conditions of television and television advertising reception (Morley, 1992; Gray, 1992). Even before television, 'middle class ideals of domesticity had been predicated on divisions of leisure time a work time...the public world came to be conceived of as a place of productive labour, which the home was seen as a site of

rejuvenation and consumption' (Spigel, 1992:73). Within these social relations of power, advertising texts may be received differently according to decoding strategies associated with gender positions. Ang emphasises the concept and exercise of family power and warns against: 'overlook(ing) the conflicts and the unequal relations of power within the family..., in which the father or husband is mostly in the dominant position' (Ang, 1995:118). John Corner emphasises that television reception of 'a certain range of typical social relations and concurrent activities,' might and should be explored (Corner, 1995:15). Judith and Andrew Sixsmith suggest in their work on the home and the experience of the unemployed, that home and family relations can be expressed in three ways as 'the personal which they describe as a private space, an escape, a place of and for, memory and solitude; the social, a place for family life; and the physical, a place of comfort and security. Each of these domains can be both positively or negatively experienced' (Sixsmiths in Silverstone, 1993:28). Television advertising decoding takes place within this context of family relations and draws upon domestic relations of power.

The domestic formulation of home and place as security mentioned by Relph above, suggests that the domestic functions as a place of stability: as a place of rest and renewal, regeneration and reproduction of life. A place of fixity, of anchorage yet also a place of embarkation and disembarkation. A symbolic and real point of return from where people leave for the outside, wider world and in time return to a fixed point. This aspect of the domestic, the home as place, can be referred to as the Ithaca point. The end of the wanderer Odysseus's journey is the return to Ithaca: the return to the island from where the journey began. Ithaca is home, the point of embarkation, the starting out place for Troy and all its attendant actions and deeds and the point towards which one turns to home. The Ithaca-point is the point and place on the time-space continuum (Giddens, 1984, 1993) to start from and the place to return in the time–space compression (Harvey, 1992). Agnes Heller refers to 'home' as 'a fixed point in space, a firm position from which we proceed...and to which we return in due course' (Heller, 1984:239). Two fundamental or essential narrative moments are fixed in this enduring socio-anthropological narrative: the moments of opening and closure, of commencement and return. These points of fixity establish a terrain which may be characterized through a series of binary opposites: inside and outside; private and public; leisure and work;

99

stillness and movement. The Ithaca-point establishes real destinations and real starting out places. Yet the myth of Odysseus is always one of the detained return, because 'not even when the rolling seasons brought in the year which the Gods had chosen for his homecoming to Ithaca was he clear of his troubles...' (Homer, 1945:21).

In the detained return the Ithaca point becomes the Ithaca moment the imagined place, the teleological imaginary place of repose. In this sense of the Ithaca-point the home/place functions as metaphor in the sense of island 'amongst a sea of troubles' or as escape from the tribulations of the larger outside world. This promises the offer of fixity and stability, the hope of stability, of interiority amongst the flux of the exterior. Place as home is the temporary and temporal, the spatial stability that is opposed to, or is presented as, romanticised myth as being opposed to Marx's description from the mid nineteenth century of a society constantly in flux - of the 'constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation,' (which) 'distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones' (Marx, 1958:37).

On his return Odysseus finds the island of his embarkation changed, Penelope besieged and the clamour of the suitors dominating the palace. On the time-space continuum the place of return is quite different from the place of embarkation. Equally the home/place demarcated as space in time and place along the binary route is broken-into. According to Marx 'All fixed, fast–frozen relationships with their train of venerable ideas and opinions are swept away.' (Marx, 1958:37). Technological penetration brings the outside in through television and more recently the Internet. Home and place have a potent symbolic value and this is part of the context of domestic advertising reception.

Home and Family

The family appears to be of significant importance in examining the reception of advertising and in particular the texts of television advertising. Yet it is difficult to maintain the conceptual distinction between home, household and family in an exploration of the spaces, practices, relations, bonds and boundaries that make up the

phenomenon of people living together in confined places. A historical perspective offers the picture of the 'modern' average family developing across the period of industrial capitalism from bourgeois model - centred on the notion of home, itself reflected in housing and the demarcation of space into rooms with particular social functions and the development within these spaces of a 'family' devoted to the exploration and expression of the conjugal relationship, parenting, the primary socialisation of children and the in-channeling of resources into the family unit primarily in the interests of its youngest members. In short these activities can be seen to be specialized and isolated activities taking place in the domestic rather than the public sphere in the interests of the functioning of the modern 'family' (Aries, 1973; Shorter, 1977).

For the purpose of this study, and in the interest of understanding advertising reception, it can be stated that the family is a social unit around which boundaries might be drawn phenomenologically from within by the social actors concerned using conceptual, emotional and social material of their own working, and from without by academic, media and marketing discourses. For these purposes the social unit can be defined as a small social group of related people sharing a sense of identity who form a receptive community who will bring to the advertising reception procedure a set of social abilities some of which will have been formed by the social unit of the family itself. Often decoding will occur as a family activity and decodings may circulate within an economy of family meanings functioning as a resource and taking part in the formation of a shared identity.

The family is difficult to disentangle as a social unit of habitation from the economic or ideological unit. All three aspects are essential to the make up of society and to the reproduction of itself over time. One of the functions of advertising and in particular television home advertising is to promote and sell commodities. Commodity desire and consumption is in many respects located in the family and within domestic space. The family is significant to the nurturing, development and practice of consumer activity. At the same time, the family provides the markers and identifiers of social identity, a set of relationships within and through which a range of social positions, attitudes and other

101

forms are reproduced and carried. It is the unit of reproduction in the material physical sense over time and a unit or resource. Definitions of family are fraught with difficulty. As Silverstone has suggested, 'trying to define what a family is quite an impossible undertaking' (Silverstone, 1994:32; Bernardes, 1986; Wilson and Pahl, 1988). Nevertheless what is clear is that the family in reality and as an imagined entity is defined around the concepts of place, space and household and as a fundamental productive and ideological aspect of the social structure is an enduring element in its diversity across time and space. Television and television advertising are important element of its shared experience and a focus of leisure, knowledge and information.

Home and Household

Although a definitional distinction has been made here between house, family and household in empirical reality these conceptual distinctions are difficult to maintain where categories overlap and intersect. In essence it might be stated that the home, occupying space which has been converted into place; houses the family. The household then is the home as material reality including its economic existence, requirements and limitations. Wallman has suggested that 'a model of households as resource systems... conceives households as being differently bounded in respect of different resources available to them, the resources they choose to deploy, and the kinds of value they vest or invest in them for particular purposes in local or cultural contexts of various kinds' (Wallman quoted in Silverstone, 1994). Thus the concept of family may be applicable and helpful, describing distinctive real or imagined socio-cultural features of a range of social units whereas the nature of household will vary according to size, space inhabited, income, class and other features. These variable aspects of households are the elements which divide or create difference between households and which will lead to differing qualities of life through income, health, consumption and other factors. They will also provide different material experiences and physical environments in which advertising decoding takes place.

Households, like the family and the general population of Great Britain, have changed dramatically over the period of the twentieth century. The trend in the increase in the

102

number of households has continued into the twenty-first century.[21] Additionally the size of households has undergone considerable change. This has significance for television decoding. The decrease in family size across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in addition to an increased population due to reduced mortality rates has led to an increase in the number of households. This has led to a transformation in the typical or traditional household.[22] Households are increasing but getting smaller.[23] The nature of reception, the role of interpretive communities and of advertising diffusion within the household is affected by these changes. As more households are defined by single membership the shared elements of advertising decoding diminish.[24] This has a profound relevance for the notion of media diffusion and meaning exchange through secondary advertising encoding and decoding in which a household may interpret or exchange ideas about an advertisement or advertising campaign within the confines of the household setting. The size and nature of the household is of importance then to the nature of television advertising reception.

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[21] The population of Great Britain has risen from 37 millions recorded in the 1891 census to 54 million people organized into 21 million households as recorded in the census one hundred years later in 1991 (Wood, 1961:449; Linsey, 2003). The population of Great Britain has increased by more than half over the course of the Twentieth Century and at the same time the number of households has tripled over the same period. 24 million households were recorded in 2000 as against 8 million at the beginning of the century (National Statistics/Social Trends 31, 2001).

[22] The average size of the family has changed dramatically with family numbers in the 1870s at 10 persons per household and across the Twentieth Century the number of people per household has almost halved from 4.6 persons through to household size of 3.1 in 1961 per household to 2.4 in the 2000.

[23] Projections on household size suggest that this is an enduring and deepening phenomenon with a further decline in household size to 2.2 people in 2021 (National Statistics/Social Trends 31, 2001).

[24] In 2000 29% of households – almost three in ten - were comprised of one person living alone. This was a further increase on previous figures: in 1961 2 million single person households existed, by 2000 this figure was 7 million. This works out at 10% of the population living alone in single person households. This suggest that the primary interpretive community of the immediate household and the possibility for the moral economy and of meaning exchange is limited to ninety percent of the population living in private accommodation. Over the last thirty years women have been more strongly represented as living alone than men and women over 65 have formed the largest category. However in this period the largest increase in single person households has been amongst men under the age of 65 with numbers tripling from 1971 to In 2000 the majority of households, that is 64% were comprised of one or two persons. Primary communication bounded within the confines of the household was limited to the basic dialogic component of two human communicators and the shared resource that communication creates. 37% of households were comprised of three or more people able to engage in and benefit from a wider communication community in the primary sense (National Statistics/Social Trends 31, 2001).

However it is the nature of the household as a unit of consumption and the home as a site of a discourse of consumption that has a potent significance for an analysis of advertising and domestic space as context to television advertising reception. The trend over the period of history which has been the era of television has been one of the deepening of domestic space as a space of organised consumption. A significant level of media input, television and print advertising, in particular, is concerned with consumption in and of a domestic nature. Consumption as represented in advertising is often attached to images of home, household and family. With a few exceptions the trend over the period of industrial and post industrial capitalism has been towards emphasis on the consumption side of the productive process, smoothing alienation with comfort or at least the representation of comfort: to extol the benefits of home life over that of the productive life of work. As early as the mid nineteenth century Marx could observe that 'man (sic) (the worker) feels that he is acting freely only in his most animal functions - eating, drinking and procreating, or at most in his dwelling and adornment...' (quoted in Wean, 1999:73). In Adorno's account of the myth of Odysseus, the traveler orders himself to be lashed to the mast of the ship and the ears of his oarsmen plugged against the siren song. Escaping shipwreck, the oarsmen whose undistracted labour steers the ship in its quest for Ithaca, Odysseus continues on his way, experiencing the aesthetic promise of the siren song but unable to act upon it. The 'consumer Odysseus' Huyssen tells us, in response to Adorno, 'blissfully plunges into the sea of commodities, hoping to find gratification but finding none' (Huyssen, 1986:21).

Family and Television Viewing

The family as a social and moral unit and as a household inhabiting space as place emerges from the literature as the ideal representation of the audience. The Annan Committee report emphasised the importance of family to television culture (Hartley, 1992:112). As Ang suggests: 'The audience for a programme may total millions: but people watch and listen in the family circle, in their homes...' (Ang, 1995:23). Television viewing is assumed to take place in the private homes of isolated nuclear families, in which Wilson suggests, 'The family, or familial life-world is assumed to be the predominant context of viewing by media organisations' (Wilson, 1993:19; Ellis,

1982/92).

The family, and the familial life world, has at its centre a social unit of human reproduction, which is located in the home as place and in the household as an economy arrangement. In addition it may be supported by a network of social and economic resources from relatives and kinship attachments both close and distant, geographically, emotionally or socially. Of particular importance to this study of texts and contexts, the family signifies a social group which shares a leisure, consumption and interpretive space. One which is bound by a variety of factors such as shared history, memory, activities, a closeness of experience and of intimacy and a shared outlook on and set of assumptions about the world. That these assumptions, attitudes and even ideologies may well be produced outside of the boundaries of domestic space in the work, market or leisure space these will or might be 'worked through' in the bounded space of the domestic setting. Incorporated in and given a particular and local flavour as familiarised ideology, to the extent that this naturalisation process can be such that the phenomenon appears to be generated in the moment of its utilisation erasing its historical trajectory; appearing in the family as a product of the unique elements and characters comprised of the social unit. In this sense the potency of these life stances, attitudes and values lies in the ability to be shared by and utilised by a close, trusting group involved often in shared decoding within the same domestic space. The family culture forms part of the material and coded experience, understanding and value frame which is made available for the understanding of and interpretation of a range of home-received texts including crucially television advertising. This exists in the advertising space of reception and is applied to television advertising.

In summary domestic space becomes significant as a place which families and households inhabit. Home is a private and intimate space. Despite definitional problems, the family as a social unit with its functions of reproduction, welfare, and socio-cultural, ideological and economic dimensions occupies domestic space. The family as an economic unit is often referred to as a household often as a unit of consumption – is prone to variation in size and nature and is itself culturally and historically specific.

Furthermore television and television advertising is an important feature in the social, leisure and economic life of the family/household as is, to a lesser extent, advertising more generally. Domestic space and the social relations associated with it, is an important contextual element to television viewing and television advertising and one of the factors that differentiates it from urban billboard advertising.

Television and advertising in domestic space

Advertising enters domestic space in a wide variety of ways. From the postal delivery of printed advertisements and electronically delivered radio, internet and telephone advertising to the newsprint media with its ever expanding advertising content, advertising continually crosses the threshold of domestic space. In 1998/99, 60% of the male population and 51% of the female population read a daily newspaper and much of this reading occurred in the home. Supplements and a wide array of special interest magazines and periodicals complete the newsprint media advertising input to domestic space. However, television advertising is the principal home advertising form not only because of the volume of input but because of the dominant visual spatial position the television occupies as a delivery mechanism for television advertising. Television is not only an important element of the domestic, but comes to visually dominate and define domestic space. Domestic space is the area in which the technologies, apparatuses and reception spaces are organized and concentrated, and as McCarthy notes 'the position of the television set...helps to position people' (McCarthy, 2001:119). In fact much of domestic space is organized around television and its practices to such an extent that domestic space is considered to be the home for television advertising. [25]

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[25] The domination of televisual technology is not always confined to domestic space. Increasing colonisation of public space – outdoor public areas, concourses, pubs, cafes and shops - by the television technologies associated with consumer surveillance and broadcast TV has become a significant and increasing aspect of the time-space compression. Dissolving material, spatial boundaries through multiple representations on security screens, banks of entertainment video and broadcast television screens result in a tightening of public space around the increasing dominance of the ocular. The projection screens of shifting and transitory imagery come to dominate much of social space.

Television as Object in Domestic Space

The act of television viewing and the symbolic presence of the television apparatus in the domestic space has changed and developed over time since the first regular British television broadcasts in 1936 and the first independent television channel began broadcasting advertisements in 1955. The television has a totemic function, outside of its technological functions and visual mechanisms, as a meaningful symbolic object in domestic space. The acquisition and positioning of technological items – televisions and accompanying technologies such as video recorders, cassettes, the organization of reception, satellite and cable arrangements and subscriptions, licenses – in the domestic unit is an intrinsic element of household and family expenditure, time and experience. The continuing spread, and volume (numbers) of television in domestic space was noted by Anne Gray in the late 1980s: 'Many households had more than one television, but second sets were usually small black and white portables in the kitchen or one of the bedrooms, preference was for viewing on the main television set' (Gray, 1992:78). The continued increase of sets per household results in the multiple penetrations of domestic space by television and television advertising.

The technologies and spatialities of television: the apparatuses of reception, recording, and playback; the required viewing spaces that form the area in and distance across which the uninterrupted, unbroken projection of imagery takes place utilise a significant element of available domestic space. The more sets per household, the greater the area of space colonised by the apparatuses of TV. The variable distances required for meaningful visual reception, form the space of outward projection, viewing and reception spaces. Some of this apparatus-projection-viewing space will be multi functional, given over to television reception and the wider domestic sociality that often has at its core a discourse of television. Consequently television advertising reception and the significations that arise through decodings pervade and combine with other material and symbolic activities and processes carried out in domestic space.

The television set forms an important element of the domestic decoding environment: displayed in households as a constituent of domestic furnishing. It takes two forms as

domestic object and as medium or channel. It takes its place amongst other selected items that transform domestic space into a personalized and meaningful place. It is both a purchased commodity and an ongoing object of consumption. 'Television', as domestic object, is itself consumed as an object of chosen aesthetic and functional significance and is also the principle means through which advertising enters the home. Morley refers to television as a 'double articulation', 'as an object of consumption, which in its double articulation, is both meaningful in itself (in its marketing and in its deployment) and the bearer of meanings' (Morley, 1992:210).

Outdoor advertising as characterized by large-scale urban billboard sites involves a protracted sight time which involves an expansive space in which multiple viewing positions may occur. The billboard dominates space and creates a comparatively expansive interpretive time. Even in the narrower circumstances of confined walkways and streets where broken sight lines occur, viewing space is potentially greater than in the domestic environment. The domestic viewing context is more closely bounded by the enclosed space; movement around and in front of a television advertising text is restricted by the size of the room and the available spatial surroundings. The field of vision is small and the screen field is invariable, as the viewing position and distance tend to remain constant. Ellis describes the relation of the viewer to the size of TV set as being 'larger than the image' and 'the TV image is looked down upon', and this produces 'the effect of being almost but not quite level with the eyes of an individual lounging in an easy chair' (Ellis, 1982:127). In the early years of the new millennium, changes in technology and style and developments in marketing strategy point to changes in the size, shape and position of the television screen in the domestic environment, becoming like small scale, drop down cinema screens attached to the wall. Television apparatus is usually placed towards the edge or corner of a room. This description gives the impression of spatial control of the viewer over the object, yet paradoxically it is the submersion of viewer, and the viewing process within the domestic environment which it is argued works in the favour of the television text. A 'captive' viewing position confined by and within the domesticity of television advertisement viewing is created in the wrap around effect of domesticity as the environment in which television advertising is viewed.

Reach and dailiness

Television as a medium and as domestic object is central to the passing of everyday time and in the period of modernity and post modernity comes to form many of the markers that create the real and symbolic moments of passage. Television programming, advertising and especially scheduling involve and reflect 'assumptions about everyday life' (Ellis, 2000:26). Ellis, for example, suggests that the 'dailiness' of television as 'the rhythm of the evening schedule mimics the rhythm of the evening in an imaginary average household' the nature of 'traditional slots' such as news and soap programming through to the 'annual pattern of seasons, events and special occasions' scheduling mimics the flow of time and the patterns of work, regeneration and leisure. Advertising slots mark out television time, viewing time and routine domestic time. The home has increasingly become the place of an unprecedented privatised and atomised leisure and consumer lifestyle. At the heart of this modern space is the television. Its very ordinariness and everydayness renders it near-invisible as domestic object. As Silverstone has noted 'we now take television entirely for granted, in a way similar to how we take everyday life for granted' (Silverstone 2000:575). As Scannell has put it: 'This dailiness yields the sense we all have of the ordinariness, the familiarity and obviousness of radio and television' (Scannell, 2000:19).

Volume, intensity and penetration

Television as a material domestic object, its programming and advertising delivery that creates domestic audiences, and its symbolic presence in contemporary domestic space - is a feature of 98% of United Kingdom households.[26] The television set functions as a totemic of shared space at the heart of the territorial domain over which it has representation. With the increase in numbers of TVs in the household, and the spread of TVs to numerous individual rooms outside of the shared leisure space, a fragmentation

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[26] As the trend over the decades since the 1930s has been a steady growth in the number of households receiving television so the spread and volume of penetration has increased within individual households. In the United Kingdom there were 43 television sets per one hundred inhabitants towards the end of 1999. This puts GB at the upper end of the TV ownership chart second only to Sweden with 47:100 and 16 sets less than Ireland with 28:100. the average television set ownership per 100 of population across the European Community was 39 (ESIS, 2000).

takes place. The increase in the number of sets per household is not a purely recent phenomena. The unifying aspect of television ownership and television viewing helped create the 'togetherness' of the 'family circle' (Spigel, 1992:37). Hitherto it had been assumed that as TV was at the heart of modern domestic space it helped to construct that space as a symbolic entity as the hearth had been the centre of the domestic in earlier times. The trend towards divided family spaces had begun in America of the 1950s. As Spigel has noted: 'Sets were placed in children's playrooms or bedrooms, away from the central spaces of the home. In 1952, House Beautiful, a popular magazine of the time, had even more elaborated plans. 'A fun room built adjacent to the home and equipped with television gave a teenage daughter a place for her friends' (Spigel, 1992:67).

The volume, intensity and level of the penetration of television advertising into the home is markedly different to outdoor advertising. Across the range of people in the United Kingdom over the age of four years, the average amount of time spent watching television amounted to 25 hours with differences in gender at different times of life and differences in age. The amount of time given over to television viewing in 1998 increased across the life cycle for both sexes from under 20 hours per week in the under 15s to almost 40 hours per week for the over 65s. Television viewing might be more accurately described as exposure to the television set and the message or text. Studies rarely measure the 'experience' of viewing in the sense of time duration and concentration or quality of viewing.[27] The advertising carrying commercial channels in the UK deduct 9.25 minutes per hour to cover the above in addition to the advertising schedule (Ellis, 2000: 25–38). The amount of advertising differs across the spread of commercial channels and according to the time and day of broadcast.

In summary: the vast majority of household domestic spaces include at least one television set. Some households have more which may functions in an ambiguous

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[27] Nevertheless the annual share of viewing for non-commercial British television in 1998 was 40.8% with the figure of 57.6% representing the combined commercial, advertising carrying companies of ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5 and Cable, satellite and RTE Ulster (BARB, 2004). Satellite television was received by 13% of households in 1998/99 in the United Kingdom and Cable television was received by 9% of households (National Statistics/Source Social Trends 30, 2000). Both of these subscription television services join the Independent Television Channel in broadcasting commercial advertisements as part of their daily programming.

totemic manner spatially and socio-culturally uniting and/or fragmenting the domestic unit. The television as object is of significance to the contemporary home. A large amount of time, on average, 25 hours, is spent viewing and nearly 60% of that time viewing commercial channels, the products of which comprise about 7% - 8% of viewing time.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed domestic space as home, in which the household or family reside. The material and symbolic associations of these aspects have been shown to be significant, not least in forming the immediate social relations of reception for television advertising. Decoding of television advertising often takes place within these relations and spaces and that they, through close physical proximity to the television, come to have a greater importance in television advertising reception than in outdoor advertising reception. Domestic space contains a variety of advertising forms, but television advertising is spatial prominent and plays a part in domestic space and life far more significant than that of outdoor advertising or even other advertising forms found in the home. In the next chapter the family or household is explored as an interpretive community within which television advertising is received and the diffusion of advertising significations amongst these and other interpretive communities is explored.

Chapter VI

Interpretive communities and advertising diffusion

Introduction.

This chapter applies the concept of interpretive communities to advertising audiences and in particular to the reception of television advertising by the household or family within domestic space. The interpretive community shares the codes and values of the producers of advertisements, and draws on decoding strategies that are both general and shared with the wider population yet given a local and particular flavour within the interpretive community of the social unit. This is more pronounced in the domestic environment because of the close proximity of the interpretive community comprised of household or family members and the centrality of the advertising form within domestic space. Within domestic space a diffusion of advertising signification may take place and because of the bounded nature of that space and social and physical closeness of the unit, it is more pronounced than in outdoor urban environments. This can lead to the reinforcement of, or challenge to, preferred readings over time but also points to a different emphasis on the reception of advertising in the domestic to that of the outdoor context. The chapter concludes with examples of advertising diffusion based on original research involving semiotic and linguistic textual analysis of television advertising campaigns for Budweiser and L'Oreal and observation of the social use to which textual elements of advertising campaigns are put.

Decodings and readings of advertising texts are produced within the spatial boundaries of domestic spaces and involve, to a greater or lesser extent, the domestic discourse pertaining to the domestic unit and can be explored as the product of, what have been termed as, 'interpretive communities' (Fish, 1980; Radway, 1987). Although the wider necessary codes and socio-cultural circumstances necessary to produce a decoded reading are present they are given a local flavour or inflection by the household or family. Household and family discourse includes discussion of media output and reception, usually referred to as 'television talk' (Silverstone, 1994; Abercrombie, 1996). Over time it may enter what has been termed the 'moral economy of the household' (Silverstone

and Hirsch, 1992; Silverstone, 1994). This becomes part of the stock of interpretive material and experience that people draw upon. In the process of circulation and exchange, readings, the meaningful manifestation of the advertising text for the interpretive community, may undergo revision and reworking.

The general tendency of communication to become disseminated or 'diffuse' and specifically of media texts, including television advertisements, becomes an important factor in a consideration of the domestic unit as an interpretive community (Rogers, 1995; Baudrillard, 1983; Poster, 1990). Specific readings – significations and values associated with advertisements and products, and patterns of consumption and general, residual meaning relating to advertising more generally, as a core ideological element of a mass consumerist society enters, permeates and becomes diffused in the bounded space of the household or domestic unit.

Different stages of diffusion will be identified as the textual decoding moves through space and time, away from its original moment of decoding often breaching domestic boundaries and borders and crossing into the world of work, leisure and other social practices where social interaction outside of the domestic space occurs. In a reverse manner, advertising texts and other textual readings, generated elsewhere, 'cross-over' – that is travel from outside to the inside of the domestic unit in a centripetal direction against the centrifugal flow. Advertising readings are part of the general flow and exchange of textual readings that are a component element of social interaction. However the contention of this study is that the bounded nature of domestic space, contextual and homologous to the reception of advertising texts, produces a specific set of decoding potentials.

The tendency towards smaller family and household size in recent years is recognised as a limiting factor to the level of 'diffusion' associated with advertising texts within the boundaries of the social unit. Diffusion then, refers to both the spread and exchange of readings and re-interpretations of texts at a remove from the original decoding.

Within domestic space television advertisements may be given an increased potency through 'incorporation' (Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992; Silverstone, 1994). This occurs as a *familiarisation* process endowing the communicated form with a comparable value associated with objects, speech forms, utterances and glances that are partial components of the domestic unit: of that which gives a 'structure of feeling' to shared domestic life (Williams, 1981). At the same time such elements that comprise the domestic structure of feeling: 'actions, gestures and speech acts are formed through television's presence within particular environments' (McCarthy, 2001:11). The dialectical nature of this arrangement enables local and familiar association between media forms and other forms and elements in the domestic unit and facilitates the passage of the former into the latter. Domestic space has been characterised as a particular space of consumption, where circulation of commodity representation, values and ideas associated with commodified form, representation of life style and value, contextualise the preferred advertising meaning. Paradoxically although the potential for negotiated and oppositional readings to circulate within the domestic space abound: reinforcement of the preferred reading as an homologous element fits comfortably with other aspects of domestic life. This incorporation takes place and is reinforced as transaction and exchange between household members.

This might be seen to diminish the intensity of ideological effect as an outcome of decoding strategies associated with television advertising texts. At the same time it might also, by diffusion, come to bolster the general ideological effect of the centrality of advertising to the organisation and stability over time of economic and cultural life within the domestic unit and society more generally.

Interpretive Communities

The concept of interpretive communities is useful to a further exploration of the social relations of reception, within domestic space and how this differs as a context of

114

reception to the urban outdoor environment. The starting point is the formulative work of Stanley Fish, Janet Radway and others from the discipline of literature.[28]

The interpretive community is comprised of both the producers and receivers of texts, that is both the advertisers and advertised to. As Fish has put it: '(I)t is interpretive communities, rather than either the text or the reader that produce meanings...(they) are made up of those who share interpretive strategies' (Fish, 1980:14). The interpretive community formulation can be recognised in its *vertical* form emphasising the relationship of producer/sender with the interpretive community in which encoding as an activity is located within a shared set of codes. In the first sense of 'interpretive community' it is used where a communicative connection is necessary in order that meaningful communication takes place. Language, meanings and other forms must attain a level of homology: of fit between producers and readers of texts. Hall makes a similar point: 'Meaning depends on the shared frameworks, shared codes, shared knowledge-in-us, shared interpretive frameworks between communicator and receiver' (Hall, 1981a:277). The make up of the domestic unit and the ideologies that circulate there, share fundamental elements with that of the producers of texts in the emphasis of the vertical and distant aspect of the interpretive communities.[29] The 'interpretive community' in its second sense emphasises the social group who share in a horizontal manner, and in some sense provide, the material codes, understandings and other forms that enable a text to become meaningful. 'Interpretive community' is applied here – in the horizontal sense - to members of a domestic unit who share codes of language, cultural expectations and advertising comprehensions and understandings with a wider macro

[28] Similar formulations of the producer - receiver relationship of cultural texts such a Gadamer's Hermeneutics, Iser's Constance School of Reception Theory and Bennett and Woollacott's Reading Formulation provide comparative frameworks to the Interpretive Community concept (Warnke, 1987; Iser, 1989; Bennett and Woollacott, 1987; Bennett, 1990)

[29] Bordieu in an exploration of the habitus – the condition that denies the dual absolutes of all encompassing historical and social determinacy and the notion of the freely acting individuals – clearly situates the domestic unit within and subject to the defining characteristics of the outside world. Bordieu expresses it thus: 'Through the economic and social necessity that they bring to bear on the relatively autonomous world of the domestic economy and family relations, or more precisely, through the specifically familial manifestations of this external necessity (forms of the division of labour between the sexes, household objects, modes of consumption and parent-child relations), the structures characterising a determinate class of conditions of existence producing the structures of the habitus, which in their turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences (Bourdieu, 1999:109)

television audience but who also share specific micro characteristics of decoding associated with the domestic unit and the specific social relations contained there.

The interpretive framework precedes the decoding moment, but as Fish explains resides in and between the interpretive community, '...since the thoughts an individual can think and the mental operations he can perform have their source in some or other interpretive community he is as much a product of the community (acting as an extension of it) as the meanings it enable him to produce' (Fish, 1980:14). Similarly Janet Radway in her study of a women's reading group in the United States maps out the ground for a shared interpretive structure: 'Similar reading are produced...because similarly located readers learn a similar set of reading strategies and interpretive codes which they bring to bear upon the texts they encounter' (Radway, 1987:8).

The concept of interpretive communities is a useful application to advertising audiences in general but is particularly relevant to an understanding of television advertising audiences as part of a domestically based interpretive community. The community will share decoding potentials, the codes and values necessary for preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings with the wider television advertising audience but will also gather decoding potential from the moment and environment of its reception. This points to an important difference between environmental decoding factors found in the outdoor city experience and those found in the home.

Fish suggests a circulation of signification, that is that readings are exchanged and modified within interpretive communities. Re-encoding over time within the framework of the domestic unit enables changes or reinforcements to readings to occur within domestic space and beyond. This suggests the importance of textual 'diffuseness', that an advertising reading may be passed on, exchanged between members of an interpretive community.

The idea of the 'moral economy' or 'social economy' of the household involves technological objects such as household television, radio sets and other consumer items

116

and the output of those media passing from the formal economy of the public sphere into the private one: into the realm of domestic use and appreciation. Television has been referred to as a double articulation, in the first sense it is an object of consumption - purchased, placed and consumed in the home and around which a set of significations to do with leisure, sociability, and hearth are marshalled. But it is also the channel or medium across which 'television' as programming and advertising text is broadcast and consumed. These products of the 'formal' economy are 'incorporated' into or 'domesticated' in household settings.

The moral economy has been explored by Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley who draw upon a number of disciplines including anthropology, economics and social history (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley, 1992; Appadurai, 1986; Cheal, 1988; Parry and Bloch, 1989; Thompson, 1971). The moral economy exists within households and is 'conceived as part of a transactional system of economic and social relations within the formal or more objective economy and society of the public sphere' (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley, 1992:17). Commodities and advertising media texts and their associated significations enter households and are, through engagement with household members, 'domesticated', and made part of the fabric or currency of the domestic unit: 'This engagement involves the appropriation of these commodities into domestic culture – they are domesticated - and through that appropriation they are incorporated and redefined in different terms, in accordance with the households own values and interests' (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley, 1992:16). A similar idea is represented by the term 'social economy' in the work of Wheelock (1992).

Advertising diffusion

The television advert enters domestic space, domestic discourse and the cognitive lives of the members of the household as something imbued with the potential for diffusion. Its forms, created through the television mechanisms of image and sound, are capable of transference and transmutation. The advertisement can be replicated as part of recorded programming and replayed as an extraneous attachment to a programme or recorded as a text of leisure, information or analysis in its own right. The advertisement, either as a

117

whole or as a part, is capable of moving out of its own broadcast form and parameters of the advertising slot, overcoming the limits of its first spatial and temporal presentation.

The term 'diffusion' is intended to include a description of both the 'spontaneous, unplanned spread of new ideas' and the sense of 'the directed and managed' usually associated with the term 'dissemination' (Rogers, 1995:7). Diffusion can be applied to a variety of advertising forms and environments, to both urban outdoor advertising and to television and other advertising received in domestic space.

The 'directed and managed' aspect of diffusion can be applied to the organised, pre-planned nature of the advertising message with its built-in abilities to be contentious, copied, parodied or merely commented upon. It is the conscious intention on the part of the producers of the message that certain elements might be used and transported by the viewers of the advert. This is evident in contentious campaigns such as Benetton's that have over the years produced controversial and contested campaigns providing the advertisement with a secondary existence through the controversy it engenders. 'Secondary circulation' of advertising in the media, often referred to as an 'amplification effect', is well documented (Falk, 1994). This adds to the circulation of the media message but the difference in the case of diffusion is that it is 'handled' and exchanged within interpretive communities.

The other sense in which the term diffusion is used, the 'spontaneous, unplanned spread of new ideas', refers to the ways in which the advertising text will be 'used' or 'handled' in different forms by members of the domestic unit who make up an interpretive community. The emphasis here is on the coming to be 'diffuse' by 'negotiation' or even 'opposition', in both senses of the term 'diffusion' is part of a dissemination process of effects. Advertising slogans, strap lines or quotations along with other television-produced elements of popular culture enter the currency of language of lived culture as part of an ephemeral but contemporary referencing of cultural texts, becoming part of the textuality of the everyday. This may be a short term currency or might endure as cultural reference over a longer generational time in a similar way to that of other cultural forms

such as music, literature and poetry and become culturally embedded. Texts entering the popular consciousness and usage may retain authorial intentions and carry and facilitate interpretation that continue to bare original allusions and references. The poetry of the past functions, and is transmitted through time, as formally learned texts and as informally taught and remembered textual quotations. In some instances referential allusions are completely lost as in the case of children's nursery rhymes which although once meaningful often alluding to contemporary political events or characters, lose this meaning over time but continue to be passed on from generation to generation as syntactical formulations with a variety of social pleasures and uses attached

The effects of diffusion are more keenly observed in the domestic space of television advertising reception than in the reception of billboard and other outdoor forms of advertising. The shared space, arrangements and cultural codes of the domestic unit create potential television advertising receivers who are homophilous (Lazerfield and Merton, 1964; Rogers, 1995). That is that the shared cultural or economic attributes are likely to make communication more effective. Rogers defines diffusion in communication as 'the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system' (Rogers, 1995:10). The tendency of television advertising to be diffuse is partly a consequence of the nature of television as object and as medium and the nature and organisation of the household in which the television is a constant and central feature of modern domestic life.

Decoding strategies of preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings are in part produced from the circumstances of reception and discourse as the final stage in the historical process. They are also to be regarded as part of the fabric and dynamics of domestic life. An analysis of advertising reception suggests that the process does not necessarily end with the production of a settled textual reading, but that the reading is part of a process. This may be a continual process. This is also the case in the outdoor

urban environment where different circumstance of reception will produce different effects.[30]

A completed reading – imagined as frozen in time, static and in isolation from other advertisements – is the form in which semiotic analysis takes place - enters a further process of circulation, negotiation and renegotiation. This extends from the primary moment of reception through a series of exchanges between members of the household within the domestic unit. It may also extend outside of the domestic space carrying re-interpreted readings or un-amended dominant or preferred readings into the domain of work and other places where discussion of popular cultural forms, including advertising, is part of the currency of everyday social interaction. Interpretation and reception can be conceptualised as constant process - emanating from the text and carried in the consciousness of the viewer/reader. Fish recognises the importance of the process of interpretation in time: that is time that is measurable from the moment of an encounter between reader and advertising text. 'The act of interpretation is often so removed from the act of reading that the latter (in time the former) is hardly remembered (Fish, 1980:5).

Scannell refers to media delivery as being made up of a series of 'nows': the moments in which the message is produced delivered and received. As he puts it: 'There is the now of the broadcast event...and at the same time the now of listening or viewing...'

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[30] Empirical and positivist research methodology falters in its approach to media text reception as process. Much empirical, research of a survey/questionnaire nature offers an analysis of readings of texts as closed readings. To note that 'cultural texts – newspaper stories, television programmes, films, advertising images and material objects – are seen as frozen moments in a continuous stream of social interaction...' is to recognise the wider sense of the research problem of flow and the specific difficulty of observation and analysis of the production of meaning as part of flow (Deacon et al, 1999:8). In the research procedure, the reading process is brought to a closure of some form in order that the recording of the reading may take place. The fact of the survey demands a closure of the reading process. Therefore the intervention of research produces an investigation of the conditions that would not have occurred without the intervention of that research. This is similarly true of theoretical based textual analysis in the semiotic tradition. This has been true across the period of media studies from Morley's groundbreaking survey of an analysis of readings of the Nationwide current affairs programme of the 1970s to Torronen's recent work that explores a range of decoding strategies and readings on the subject of alcohol consumption policy (Morley, 1980; Torronen, 2001). This produces a settled reading as a product of the quantifiable determining factors such as exposure to an advertising text over time, a method of recording and interpreting responses which result in a closed reading. Measured discussion groups and even focus group research that enables a discussion in which readings or interpretations are exchanged and able to circulate between participants/respondents comes closer to the circumstances of reception found in the domestic unit.

(Scannell, 2000:20). In the case of advertising the 'nows of reception' are repeated: this forms part of its communicative strength. Rarely is the 'now' of advertising reception a singular event. An advertising campaign is, more often than not, a series of 'nows' of reception. However each one is different - occupying its unique historical moment – and alongside each of these must be placed the 'nows' of reflection, discussion, renegotiation, and re-encoding that come to form the flow of nowness. A reading of an advertising text may be returned as part of the material that constitutes a new decoding strategy and reapplied to a further occurrence of the same advertising text. Equally it may be part of the decoding material applied to other non-related advertising texts. Interwoven with other texts and social experiences and reflections, this forms part of the potency of advertising: through repetition and diffusion it permeates contemporary life.

Viewing zones

Diffusion of the advertising text can within domestic space be mapped into three centrifugal zones. Centrifugal zones are centred on the moment of arrival of the text in the domestic environment and emanate from this point. The text exists in time and space but the zones are spatial and classify different types of diffusion. The primary diffusion occurs in the viewing of an advert as a result of direct contact with the television set and the formulation of a reading within space defined and demarcated by the television as object. This is the area that the television is able to command and operate within as part of the 'spatial or sensorial arrangements of its location' (McCarthy, 2001:2). This may be determined by the design and spatial arrangements of the domestic interior and the positioning of the television within these arrangements. In this primary zone the television effect is at its most concentrated.

The second zone of diffusion takes place in the remainder of the domestic unit within the physical and spatial boundaries of the household where broadcasting television is either absent or its presence is subordinate to other domestic activities and concerns. Interior spatial boundaries indicate the rooms and living spaces of the household. The second zone of diffusion is marked by the daily routines and practices of everyday living, of conversation and discussion and by the objects of domesticity and the routines and rituals

121

of domestic consumption. It is here, in this potent, material household space, amongst the trappings of material domestic existence that advertising texts as broadcast and as diffuse items of exchange intermingle with and give resonance to domestic and consumer activity. This is a two way process with family/household/domestic unit sensibilities and activities intermingling with the diffuse reception of advertising texts giving a local and familiar feel to incoming advertisements.

The third zone of diffusion is outside of the domestic unit in the street, workplace, school, and schoolyard or in public spaces of consumption shopping centres and towns - in short the public spaces into which the effect of the television advertisement travels. This third space is where the homophilous relations of the home give over to a greater degree of heterophilous positions in which the exchange, negotiation of advertising meaning may be more difficult.

Domestic viewing scenarios

John B Thompson's conceptual framework used to explore 'kinds of interactional situation created by the use of communication media' is useful to an understanding of interpretive community behaviour. Thompson outlines three types of interaction: 'face-to face interaction, mediated interaction and mediated quasi-interaction' (Thompson, 1995:82). The first describes communication between people sharing temporal and spatial conditions and are immediately present to one another. The second of the terms refers to at a distance dialogic communication between people through technologies such as post, telephone and other forms of communication and the third refers to the monologic media of mass communication such as television and radio. In the exploration of zones and viewing scenarios communication shifts from mediated quasi-interaction to face-to-face interaction and combinations of the two. At a remove from the original text which has been decoded into one of the three categories of decoding – an advertising reading becomes the material to be re-encoded into a new form of communication. Decoded as visual and audio-form material it is then encoded or re-encoded as mainly speech form. Encoded in a different communicative form the text enters into a new set of relations between members of the interpretive community acting as encoders and

decoders. The assembled message will again be decoded by the receiver of the information. Three domestic viewing scenarios are outlined below.

In the first scenario the television advert is received and decoded by a single viewer. In this scenario the viewer creates a completed reading from a succession of advertisements. The isolation of the advert from the general flow of adverts exists only in so much as the television viewer is involved in the production of a single textual reading. In this formulation the extraction of the advertising text from its flow by the performative act of reading returns the advert closer to its original productive condition before inclusion and merger in a string of advertising flow. In a similarly manner two or more viewers in the same room receive the same text at the same time maintaining a conversational silence during television viewing. The viewers interpret singly. What the individual decoders have in common is the exact viewing time and circumstances of reception. The separately received textual reading is then open to exchange in a close temporal framework – close to the moment of broadcast – and the same spatial arrangement in which the primary reading was received. In this and the second scenario, 'television content is used in order to facilitate conversation' (Morley, 1986:31).

In the second scenario the text is received by several viewers simultaneously in the space of the domestic unit, who are engaged in sporadic or intermittent conversation. This entails a very different set of social relations within which the televisual text takes part in a very real sense in the flow of conversation. In this scenario, 'the arrangement affords an opportunity for easy switching between two roles – conversationalist and spectator - often requiring no more than a redirection of the gaze, not even a repositioning of the body' (McCarthy, 2001:124). This may take 'the form of conversation running parallel with the programme, commenting directly on television material as it is presented' as Morley suggests (Morley, 1986:31). In these circumstances the advertising text is a significant part of social interaction and enters what Silverstone borrowing from anthropology has termed 'communitas'; the shared experience, however fragile, momentary and synthetic, of community' (Silverstone, 1994:21).

123

A third scenario can be identified where an advertising text is only peripheral to activities being carried out – in the space in which the television is showing.[31] In these circumstances the television is on but not being attended to in a concentrated manner. This may include a whole range of domestic and work activities and may include a further range of variables such as the number of people present in the space, movements in and out of spaces, conversations, thought patterns and experiences blur the boundaries between television advertising watching and other domestic activity. Wilson emphasises this social nature of television watching: 'Variations in level of attention to the screen, for instance, may be due not to qualities of the text, or to the absences of pleasurable engagement with the programme, but to the interaction within the social context of the audience's "looking"' (1993:24). Scenarios can only be descriptive approximations to real life complexities of thought, action, behaviour and encounters in the phenomenological complexity of domestic space. Ang succinctly summarises the situation recognising that it is 'difficult to demarcate when we are and when we are not part of the television audience' (Ang, 1995:68).

What is important in the idea of viewing zones and scenarios is to track the behaviour of audiences in the proximity of television advertising texts in the knowledge that the specifics of domestic life and space create a different environment for advertising reception to that of the outdoor urban advertising.

Budweiser as an example of diffusion

The incorporation of advertising language into the language of everyday exchange is highlighted by the following example of children repeating an advertising slogan in a learning environment. This is intended to illustrate the way in which language generated by an advertising text, decoded by children in the primary zone of diffusion which will in probability have involved repetition, discussion, and renegotiation within different

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[31] Morley reported women in his ethnographic study as relating the mix of domestic labour and television viewing involving the 'performance of at least one other domestic activity (ironing etc.) at the same time' (Morley, 1986:150). Eating, reading and homework are reported as other attendant activities. (Petrie and Willis, 1996).

viewing scenarios becomes further diffuse, crossing the domestic unit boundary and into the public sphere of education. Education can be regarded as a tertiary zone of diffusion.

A series of adverts generated in the USA in the mid 1990s appeared on British television and elsewhere towards the close of the 1990s. The television campaign, for Budweiser Beer was produced by Anheuser-Busch's main worldwide creative agency DDB Worldwide. That phase of the advertising campaign ran until 2001. The 'Bud ad' featured a series of frogs – and other animations - seated around a pond and croaking in sequence the phonemes "Bud", "wei" and "ser".

The significance of the frog both in nature and as cultural signifier is of course socially and historically specific. In the classical period the dramatic use of the amphibian form of the frog – an ambiguous representation - was associated with the figure of Dionysus, 'God of the vine, god of dramatic rites, god of the transformation from the humdrum to the wild abandonment of the play' (Euripides, 2002:17). An earlier chorus of eponymous Frogs, in the comic play of Aristophanes performed in 405 BC at the Athens Dionysian Festival found the amphibians croaking the praise of the god in ironic tones: 'Oh we are the musical frogs...and our voices are known for their beautiful tone, when on festival days, we sing the praise, of the genial God (Dionysus)' (Aristophanes, 1964:164).

In the Budweiser advertisement, the frogs 'speak' the brand name of 'Budweiser'. The syntax and euphony of the advertising language was such that the repeated brand name 'appeared' to be the croaking of frogs voicing the name of the American beer across the pond. Although accompanied by general pond and frog like sounds, this was the only spoken word of the advertisement. No further oral information about the product was presented in the advertisement nor did it offer any visual suggestions to the nature, benefits or quality of the product on offer.

The communicative effect of the single word advertisement relied wholly upon prosody: the pattern of sound created in the utterance of the product name. The phonetic utterance of the word 'Budweiser' was given emphasis by creating a sharp and distinctive edge to

the three syllables of the word through exaggerated syllabic stress and elongated space between the syllables with a pronounced 'masculine' stress on the final syllable. Elongation of the word and phonetic utterance stretched the product name into the form of a short statement/sentence, meaningless outside of its phonetic effects and placed product reference. This created a defamiliarisation effect: that is a deviation from normal use of the product name in ordinary discourse. Paradoxically in these circumstances defamiliarisation creates a speech form that can be incorporated into everyday familiar usage. The minimalist content of the sign 'Budweiser', a combination of the word, other sounds and images contained in the advert is strengthened through repetition of each phonetic utterance of the word sign 'Budweiser' within the adverting text. Numerous repetitions of the word occur within the advertisement and the Budweiser advertisement was repeated across a series of viewing schedules over weeks and months.

As part of an advertising teaching programme offered to thirty or more 14 year old schoolchildren visiting the University of Northumbria in Spring 2001, the question: "What is your favourite television advertisement at the moment?" was put to the group as part of an introductory exercise. The unanimous response to the question was: the then current Budweiser beer television advertisement campaign. What was particularly interesting in the children's response in this observation was not the choice of subject, but the manner in which the title of the product was re-presented in the class room with children repeating the "Bud" - "wei" - "ser" slogan in the manner of the delivery of the product name in the advertisement. Repetition of the word occurred with obvious enjoyment and satisfaction. It is transmitted as language - enjoyment, euphony, performative. A comparable observation to a different Budweiser advertisement has been noted in a Guardian article about advertising catch phrases. 'Yesterday, stuck on the tube, three guys next to me conducted an entire conversation slurring "Whassup!" at each other, laughing hysterically. For the rest of us, locked up in the carriage between Edgware Road and Baker Street, life rapidly began to lose meaning' (Freeman, The Guardian, 20.10.2000).

Repetition of the adverting slogan suggests that in the reworking and renegotiation and exchange of the advertisement language, the relation of reference to referentiality, of signification to signified is 'loosened'. It can be argued that as the slogan is carried it suffers loss of its original references and allusions to product and is transmitted without, or with little, signification. In this understanding the language of the advert floats free of the product it was designed to promote and the advertisement that was intended to represent it. An alternative view would emphasise the form of the advert following a perceived trend in late modernist or post modernist advertising for advertising to cease making claims – truth, quality, or value claims about the product being promoted and functions as an elaborate product–name placement.

Advertising history is marked by a series of campaigns that have created both short term and long term diffusion. Notable amongst which is the Coca Cola advert from the 1970s 'It's the real thing' produced by McCann-Erickson. The lines 'I'd like to teach the world to sing in perfect harmony, I'd like to buy the world a Coke and keep it company. It's the real thing', provided the saccharine lyrics which were turned into a pop song and given further diffusion by The New Seekers (Falk, 1994). The television commercial featured 200 young people depicted at sunrise on a hill, each dressed in some form of national dress, and holding a distinctive bottle of 'Coke' singing along together. As the Coca Cola company has expanded across time, the advert has become further diffused included in books on advertising (Myers, 1999:9). Similar slogans, strap lines and product identifications become diffuse across time and generations. Neil Alperstein is concerned with 'verbal expressions derived from television commercials and used in interpersonal situations' (Alperstein, 1990). He discovered that a transformation strategy was discovered on the part of advertising receivers in which the language of advertising was 'transformed for use as social commentary' (Alperstein, 1990). Television and poster advertisements from the 1960s – 'Don't forget the fruit gums Mum!', 'Go to work on an egg!' still resonate across time as examples of successful advertising campaigns as retrochic, irony, nostalgia or as a surreal juxtaposition.

Appropriation of advertising and the repositioning of imagery and textual information for other organised purposes, distinct from the intention of the original advertising campaign, is a further example of dissipation and diffusion. Not only might this further a 'cause' through the use of a popular and well know phrase or image but might also function as a commentary on, or stimulate re-interest in, the original source. This may function to the extent that original readings, preferred or otherwise, of the source advertisement are revisited, reaffirmed or reworked in the process of reading the dependent text. During the 2003 fire dispute between Government and the Fire Brigades Union, the FBU made a claim for a substantial increase in basic income. The campaign based on a series of strikes involved a general publicity campaign which had at its centre the slogan 'Y, because we're worth it'. This appeared on placards, car stickers and the sides of fire appliances. The slogan was an appropriation of the L'Oreal strap line that has accompanied advertising for hair and cosmetic product in magazine, television and billboard advertising over several decades. The adverts feature a series of female actresses or models who demonstrate the benefits of the L'Oreal product with exaggerated 'hair' movements, overly stylised poses and a general fetishisation of the body and of physical appearance. A recent television campaign features Andy McDowell, a long camera shot of a pair of female legs, a swirl of hair, and spoken references to 'insurance' and the benefits of the product (L'Oreal, October 2003). The closing line of the advert, 'because your worth it' is spoken directly by the actress to the audience. In previous adverts the slogan was 'because I'm worth it'. In either case the exophoric nature of the mode of address is such that the valorisation of actress within text 'I'm worth it' and valorisation of receiver of the text 'you're worth it' become fused. The 'value' of the represented L'Oreal scene, of glamour, body fetishism and surface appearance but also the affluent media world of fashion and celebrity - that makes up a large part of current media output - is transferred to the position of the reader of the text. This transference, always open to decoding and interpretation, operates in the sense of Scannell's 'for-anyone structure' becoming a 'for-anyone-as-someone structure'(Scannell, 2000:5-24). The 'for someone' aspect is the specificity of the encounter, as Althusser's interpellation theory suggests that the subject comes to recognise that 'it was really me and no other who was hailed'. Against this background

the fire fighter's assertion of value repositioned the slogan, perhaps in an ironic manner but may have reinvigorated and reinterpreted original and ongoing readings of the source advertisement in addition to utilising a familiar piece of popular discourse.

Conclusion

Advertising audiences can be regarded as interpretive communities comprised of the receivers of advertising texts who share a set of codes with the producers of advertising texts. In the horizontal sense, the concept emphasises the nature of decoding material and strategies that a community may share with the wider population but it also highlights local and particular decoding born out of the specific circumstances of domestic or other space where reception occurs. The nature of television, its centrality to domestic space, the social relations found there and the phenomenon of household interaction and discourse create a specific decoding environment. Diffusion, part of television audience reception generally, takes on a particular form in household space and can be understood in terms of viewing scenarios and within viewing zones. Diffusion of television advertising received in domestic space can re-surface in public space and the advertising text reworked and reused in circumstances unintended by the producers. This chapter has offered empirical evidence of advertising diffusion. The utilisation of the concepts of interpretive community and diffusion contributes to a further understanding of the contextual differences between interior domestic advertising reception and outdoor urban reception.

Chapter VII

Advertising Sound and Talk

Introduction

This chapter builds on the idea of advertising diffusion by examining the importance of sound as an element of television advertising in domestic space recognising that outdoor advertising media has to rely on the strength of visual and textual means alone.[32] The sound feature of television advertising functions in a number of important ways: drawing or returning the attention of the advertising receiver to the complete audio-visual advertising text; enabling involvement in domestic activities at the same time as advertising reception occurs; co-existing with domestic conversation, and entering into domestic television talk. Sound, accompanied by visual and textual elements, lends a potency and intimacy to television advertising form. In entering, and speaking from, the bounded space of domesticity it contributes to the sense of self, addressing not just 'anyone' but 'someone'. Consequently the form of television advertising and the nature of its context of reception lends a potency to its presence within family and households situated in domestic space and this forms a significant difference to that of current outdoor advertising and its circumstances and spaces of reception.

Significance of sound

It is the visual that tends to dominate analysis of television and television advertising, yet audio-form is a significant formal element of both. Audio elements of television advertising include combinations of monologue and dialogue, voice-overs, musical scores and lyrics, and sound effects often in combination. The audio element of advertising deserves further consideration as a meaningful formal advertising element in itself; in combination with visual form and in its ability to convey significations across space. Unlike cinema and theatre, television and television advertising is often received in secondary and tertiary viewing scenarios and is incorporated into other domestic activities and conversation. The pure audio-form of radio is received predominately

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[32] It should be noted that audio-visual bus shelters have been under going trials in Blackburn and musical billboards in Glasgow since 2003.

within the domestic setting, interweaving with domestic activities and discourses and comes close to resemble the audio-form of television. Sound plays an important function for television advertising within a domestic context providing a multi layered textual experience, the effect of which is quite different to that of outdoor urban advertising.

The role of the sound track is an important formal element of television broadcasting and has an important significance in 'mediating the relationship between...two flows' of television and of household activity (Altman, 1987:567). Drawing on data from the 1980s Altman acknowledges domestic viewing as characterised by '...an inseparable mixture of watching and non watching as a general style of television viewing behaviour' (Altman 1987:569). Sound can be seen as a means of drawing the wandering spectator back to the full visual and aural presentation of the television advertisement. For the fully engaged spectator in front of the television the advertisement is often wholly understandable in terms of its images. But for that part of the audience only partially engaged with the advertisement the sound track will 'serve to *label* the menu items' (Altman, 1987:573). Sound then acts as a 'label' informing and directing understanding. It also acts as a form of continuity for the intermittent or distracted spectator, during or between advertisements, able to retrieve full attention for the complete television experience of sound and vision. It also enables other domestic activities to run concurrently with the television advertisement: for the domestic unit to function as a series of activities and at the same time as receiving television advertising. Sound according to Altman is, in the Western world, incomplete, 'it seems to call for identification with a visible object given as a sound source' (Altman,1987:574). The intermittent spectator will seek out the image to complete the wholeness of the television experience. In the process of drawing the receiver to the text, sound performs an interpellative role. In the Althusserian sense - it cries 'hey you!', and in the process of turning towards the sound the listener becomes acquainted or reacquainted with the image. Sound in this formulation calls the subject to the image. As Altman puts it: 'And only their prior announcements by the sound track can make those images seem to be made *just for me...*' (Altman, 1987:58). At the same time as interpellating the receiver in a 'for anyone as some one sense' it also grounds and

involves the listening to the television advertisement in a plethora of domestic activities and discourses.

The soundtrack of the television advertisement not only turns the attention of the receiver to the full sound and vision of the television advertisement it also blends with domestic conversation flow. 'Television competes with surrounding objects of attention just as the products it advertises do; it is thus far more discursive as a whole openly interpellating, addressing the audience and thus involving the spectator in dialogue, enjoining them to look, to see, to partake of that which is offered up for vision' (Altman, 1987:579). Domestic conversation then, incorporates into itself a discourse of advertising. The audio element of the audio-visual is able to mingle with the household dialogue, acting independently of the screen able to intrude into domestic space in a way that visible elements do not. Television advertising sound acts as a hegemonic element dominating by consent, weaving in and out of conversation, winning over and absorbing, providing points of conversational departure and filling periods of conversational silence. The domestic advertising subject position may be one of partiality - involving both media and domestic elements - but this partial media attention might not be a weakness for television advertising. Television advertising sound becomes involved in the routines, sounds and conversations of the domestic and embeds the advertising message within the life world of the receiver. This is a feature not shared with outdoor urban advertising that has to rely on the impact of its visual means alone within a very different set of contextual factors.

In addition to the blending of advertising sound and the conversations of the domestic unit, television advertising brings the outside, the public sphere, what Scannell refers to as 'the public world in all its eventfulness' into the domestic and life world of the private sphere (Scannell, 1996:161). Heidegger recognised the importance of radio as early as the 1920s to the fragmented and isolated private spaces of modernity: 'Into this monotony comes a good radio set and my little world is transformed' (Heidegger quoted Scannell, 1996:161). This transformation of 'the little world' also occurs in television advertising in particular through the functioning of the sound element of the

132

advertisement as background domestic sound. The wider world of the public sphere enters into the 'countless my-worlds' of the domestic experience and a stitching together of the personal, private and intimate experiences of domesticity with the world of advertising occurs. 'It is doubled...It is me and my immediate concerns, but now – and at the same time – such concerns extend to and include the great world beyond the immediate horizons of my time, my life' (Scannell, 1996:161). Similarly, the coming together of the two worlds as a single phenomenon requires a 'suture', of the 'spectator into (at least) two places at once' (McCarthy, 2001:125).

Scannell's use of the concept of 'for anyone as someone structures' enables the text and in particular the sound element of the text to be understood in the way that it is both broadcast to a wide audience but is at the same time appreciated and decoded by the individual (Scannell, 2000). This emphasises both the private and the public aspects of television the recognition that the advertisement may be the same for numerous other receivers, but what is received is 'always personal, private and significant' (Hartley, 1992b:110). The television advertising text, impersonal in its 'for anyone' sense, is given significance in its reception in its 'for anyone as some one' sense. The text is imbued with a personal attachment, part of the doubling of both the 'my world' and the newly transported 'outside world'. The advertising text gains this kind of personal significance for the receiver and the sound element enters into domestic space and discourse in a way that is different to the visual element. Through these processes the television advertising text becomes an important element of the life world and of the being in space and a significant aspect of social interaction. The outside, the extraneous, the commercial world of the public sphere with its values and associations is no longer out there but inside the house: 'history is relocated; it is no longer "then", but "now", no longer "there" but "here"' (Scannell, 2000:21). Television advertising in this sense enters personal life in a way that outdoor billboard advertising does not. In the urban decoding environment a distance is created through the outdoor, public context.

Television talk

Television talk and audio-form are important factors in the incorporation of advertising into the domestic world, and in creating a sense of self in relation to the television advertising text through a recognition of the text as functioning not only as a 'for anyone structure' but also as a 'for anyone as *someone* structure'. Television talk is also the domestic unit conversation that is created *about* television and television advertising and becomes a meaningful aspect of domestic life and gives a potency to television advertising far greater than that of outdoor billboard advertising.

Many commentators highlight the importance of television related discourse to the significance of television as a social phenomenon noting 'its capacity to provoke conversation, to encourage talk' (Abercrombie, 1996:17) and that this functions as part of a process of understanding and interpretation of television (Liebes and Katz, 1993). People in family and domestic groups engage in other activities while watching television and 'talking is among the most frequent of accompanying activities' (Kubey, and Csikszntmihalyi, 1990:11). Petrie and Willis report that people talk to other family members during '21% of all primary and secondary viewing' (1996:109). Such talk is routinised in that it occurs frequently and predictably and television provides an important common subject. A significant amount of the conversation that constitutes the communicative practice of a domestic unit is related to television. Conversation determines viewing patterns and specific choice of programme: the when and what of television viewing; appreciation, disregard and general commentary during broadcast; and reflection and retrospective comment on television and television advertising.

Television and television advertising talk is an important part of domestic unit discourse in which television advertising is interpreted and diffused. The domestic unit is important to consumption and the organisation of consumption but also a central feature of the 'life world' of social groups. Wilson's adaptation of Husserl and Schutz's phenomenology to the study of television and its audiences suggests the rich texture of the experience of social groups within domestic units. The concept of the 'life world' as constituted by familiarity, and the 'recurrent sameness' of experience forms the 'horizon'

before which the individual lives out the sense of the known, familiar and the predictable. As Scannell and others have pointed out, the media and in particular television plays a large part in modern societies in constructing 'the every day' through the notion of 'dailiness' of the part the media plays in the construction of modern time through demarcation, repetition and giving interpretation and meaning for specific events and occurrences (Scannell, 1996, 2000). The daily ordering of life is closely associated with the scheduling of programmes and the rhythm and pace of much television watching and therefore of much of everyday life is organised around advertising slots. 'A life world is pre-given an everyday pre-reflective and unanalysed world of assumptions and perceptions, "an ever available source of what is taken for granted"' (Wilson, 1996:17). The familiar forms the terrain upon which, much decoding of advertisements in a domestic setting occurs and this is substantially different to other forms of advertising decoding contexts in particular the outdoor city environment. 'Familiarities', then, 'provide the constant ground of validity' (Wilson, 1996:17). The expected and conservative nature of this domestic experience as outlined in this account is significantly different to the outdoor urban experience and is an important feature of television advertising decoding and the circulation of advertising readings within the domestic environment.

The sound or audio-form of the television advertisement – direct speech, dialogue, music and other audible aspects of *mise-en-scene* – are the textual elements most important in charting the passage of an advertisement into domestic unit discourse. Television and television advertising becomes part of the familiar of the domestic environment and the repetition of advertisements is an important feature of this. It becomes a 'well-known presence within the viewer's life world (a horizon of horizons) through repetition of form, character and content' (Wilson, 1996:20). Repetition of form and content is of major significance when recognising the importance advertising has as a television and domestic presence. Single advertisements are often repeated and advertising slots appear with regularity.

Speech is important to conceptualisations of the life world. At an important level the familial life-world operates through conversation, a need for speech which, when the television is on, is often 'related to what is happening on the screen', and 'conversation constructs the text as a resource, an interest-relevant source of information and prompting' (Wilson, 1996:30). Conversation is not simply the product of social interaction in this instance interaction, in and of the domestic unit, but a part of the fabric of social groups, a concrete element of the 'life world', the cement that binds social groups, units and families together. Conversation becomes part of shared experience, a channel through which previous experiences are related and become part of shared knowledge and experience of the present. Through language as conversation, families and household members elaborate their own individual histories alongside the representation and development of the family or domestic unit's shared histories. As Rudi Dallos suggests 'family members not only hold individual and personal construct systems, but over time come to form shared construct systems' (Dallos, 1997:199). These construct systems and beliefs are created and adapted over time through language as conversation. Identity is located and confirmed within the group through language and speech acts. As Scannell suggests, we 'are confirmed as persons in such ways and in conversations with others we reciprocally re-confirm each other as such' (Scannell, 2000:20). The audio-form of television advertising texts: the conversation of television advertisements enter into the social and identity confirming conversation of domestic experience.

Language as communication in the domestic unit can be viewed as a continual process, 'as a never-ending/never-beginning-flow' (Dallos, 1997:192). Histories, belief systems, shared construct systems may differ in intensity and nature according to the particularities of the group that make up the domestic unit. Family communication or 'family scripts' will have reference points located in the wider family history and kinship connections whereas for a group of cohabiting people making up a household, primarily defined by shared economic imperatives, spaces and locations, conversation will be different. However, conversation *is* the shared experience of any social instance – it is part of the present of any social moment. In this sense the domestic unit generally, but the 'family'

style conversation in particular – is both a product of and a discourse on the family. It is both self-referential and group affirming. Its endowment and sense of preciousness encapsulates the heart of the modern private sphere, regardless of the nature of speech content or form and accompanies the material and emotional aspects of home. Broadcast advertising speech becomes attached to these. In this sense domestic unit discourse is heteroglossic. It involves several speakers, one of whom is the television. Television has in an anthropromorphic sense been included in the domestic unit since the early days of broadcasting. 'Television has become a member of the family', announced House Beautiful in 1951 (Spigel, 1992:50). As Morley suggests, 'media and domestic communications exist in all manner of symbolic intertwinings' (Morley, 1986:21). It is within this television talk that advertising diffusion occurs and advertising readings are exchanged amongst members of the domestic unit.

Conclusion

This chapter has emphasised the audio-form or sound element of television advertising. Operating within the bounded space of the domestic unit, audio-form functions in a number of ways, providing a multi-layered advertising presentation that can re-unite a distracted spectator with the advertising text, drawing the attention of people engaged in other activities, enabling the advert to be followed whilst other domestic tasks are fulfilled. Television advertising audio-form exists and often interacts with domestic conversation and becomes part of domestic television talk about programme and advertising output. Television advertising sound contributes to the sense of self within the domestic space, addressing not just 'anyone' but 'someone'. It has been emphasised that television advertising, within the bounded space and social relations of domestic reception, inhabits a formal presentation, not least of which is the nature of sound, an important part of a different context of reception to that of outdoor advertising.

Overview

In summary, in focusing on the nature and reception of advertising texts within the social relations of reception in the indoor domestic environment this work has contrasted these with outdoor urban advertising found in the city environment. The reception of

advertising and the production of readings around the billboard advertisement in the city environment is carried out typically by a single viewer in transit and subject to the particular conditions of the city environment. In contrast domestic television and the reception of other indoor advertising occurs typically within the household group, within a bounded, domestically controlled space within a different set of circumstances. The decoded reading produced by the single reader of the advertisement in the outdoor, city environment does not, in the same manner as decodings emerging in the domestic environment, enter into an immanent relationship of exchange within an interpretative community. This is a tangible difference between the two sites of reception examined in this work. Although diffusion and reinterpretation of the outdoor advertisement may well occur, it is likely to be to a lesser degree to that which is prevalent in the domestic environment. Studies have shown that television – and by implication television advertising - is an important component of family and household discourse. Domestic television advertising decodings may involve group watching of the television and immediate comment, discussion, sharing of readings generated and exchanged close to, or soon after, the advertisement's appearance.

The interpretive community of the household offers an interpretive framework, which is both an aspect of wider, interpretive codes yet has a local household or family flavour to it. The domestic household or family environment and its attendant global and local culture of consumption both revise and rework meanings emanating at the point of decoding and through diffusion of advertising reinforce certain meanings. It has been argued that this occurs on two levels. Reception strategies of preferred or dominant reading, negotiated reading and oppositional reading help to picture this process as occurring both between advertiser and viewer and between viewer and viewer. Immediate meanings associated with products and their representations in television adverts and ideologies associated with them may be weakened and altered in the process of diffusion but conversely the general place of advertising as a component of domestic perception and consciousness and its general ideological message becomes an essential part of the domestic landscape. In short it reinforces through diffusion the meaning framework of consumption in the space which is given over to a particular form of consumption:

household consumption. This is a very different place of consumption with a different set of values and associations to the outdoor urban spaces of consumption.

However other factors need to be accounted for. In the next chapter, advertising flow, more pronounced in the case of television than in outdoor billboard advertising, is shown to be an important factor weaving advertising texts into the life of the domestic unit in a way that does not occur in the outdoor experience. In chapter nine, the different modes of viewing associated with advertising texts will be considered in terms of the form that adverts take and the contexts in which they are found.

Chapter VIII

Television advertising flow

Introduction

Previous chapters of this work have considered the nature of the domestic context in which television and other advertising is decoded by receivers. This has been compared to billboard and outdoor advertising found in an urban context. Analysis of the private sphere and domestic space has focused on the domestic unit as home, household and frequently family. The domestic unit has been seen to form the immediate social relations of reception and has been explored as a form of interpretive community in which television decodings are formed and circulate. The tendency of television advertising to diffusion and the nature of a variety of viewing scenarios have been noted. This has been compared to the circumstances of reception that accompany the outdoor billboard advertisement located in an urban environment. The nature of contexts has been explored as the final diachronic moment in historical processes.

In this chapter the focus returns to the formal properties of the television advertisement as an aspect of television programming. The television advertisement is explored as a single entity, the relationships created by its inclusion in a string of advertisements making up an advertising slot, the significance of advertising flow and the nature of advertising frames. These elements are shared to some extent with cinema advertising yet distinct from other forms of advertising particularly billboard advertising. It should be noted however that urban, outdoor back scrolling advertising shares some of these kinetic features.

The concept of 'flow' can be applied to television and television advertising in several ways. Firstly, in the persistent and wide spread temporal and spatial relationship of one advertising text to another; the following on of one advertisement from another – the replacement of one text by another in a syntagmatic chain. The second sense of 'flow' involves the relationship of advertising texts to wider programming; of adverts preceding and following television programmes. The idea of flow provides a further conceptual link

between television advertising and the social flow of the domestic unit as the social context in which advertising reception is located. Flow is a formal and contextual element that adds to the potency of television advertising within the domestic environment.

Television advertising and programming

Two important ontological differences between television programmes and television advertisements are worth noting as important to an understanding of the nature of television advertising in relation to other advertising forms. Firstly, the different way in which advertising stands in relation to television's rhetoric of liveness and secondly the relation of television to commodities, commodity form and consumption.

Television's claim to 'liveness' forms one of its defining characteristics pervading the entire output of television programming (Ellis, 1982; Corner, 1995, 1999; Bourdon, 2000; Couldry, 2003). At one end of a matrix of television broadcasting is the pure live broadcast. The news flash is the quintessence of 'liveness' creating a sense of immediacy to the moment, an 'as it happens' flow of information in which the time of reception coincides with the time of production of the broadcast moment.[33] Furthermost from this is the television advertisement, pre-recorded and continually reproduced across schedules and channels; and forming' the perfect television simulacrum. Furthermore it forms a crossover or flow link between commercial channels. As simulacrum and as constant replication across channels, the advert enters advertising and television flow in a different way to other television forms.

The time-space coordinate of a string of advertisements is highly diverse, featuring a wide range of historical references, narrative and formal elements. Television adverts are distinguished from television programmes in their insistence on the surface of representation, lack of defining and separable features and lack of depth and have been

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[33] John B. Thompson identifies three 'space-time coordinates', in the context of production, in the televisual message itself and in the diverse contexts of reception. Together these form the 'space-time interpolation' (Thompson, 1988/1995:92). In the news flash these coordinates are close together. Further along the matrix can be found the scheduled news bulletin comprised of live, set studio presentations, 'at the scene' information, live interviews and limited pre-recorded news items. The wholly recorded television programme, broadcast at a different time to that of its moment of production is further still along a matrix of 'liveness'.

141

characterised as postmodern images, which 'escape the textual discipline exerted by organising concepts such as genre, medium or period' (Fiske, 1991:59). As simulacrum they produce the 'hyperreal'. (Baudrillard, 1983; Fiske, 1991).

The distinction between television advertising and programming can be explored further in comparing the two as different presentational forms. The television programme appears as a package wrapped in spoken introductions, rolling introductory titles, music, credits and continuity announcements. These function to mark out the space and time of the programme from other programmes and to mark out the text from its historical moments and places of production – locations and events. This gives emphasis to the constructed and separable nature of the text. The television advertisement, in contrast, is without textual introductions and conclusions. Neither does it share television programming's regular references in the scheduling pages and review sections of daily newspapers and magazines that form an essential element of a discourse of television programming. Television advertising is however subject to a lesser, more irregular discourse of advertising formed through a media interest in specific campaigns. This may take the form of an interest in the effectiveness of specific campaigns or refer to the controversial nature of specific advertisements.

A further difference is that the advertisement is anchored to the product it is intended to promote. The advert has a referent in the commodity to which it refers. The advertisement is implicated in other referents in the same manner as any television programme – characters, narratives, scenery and landscapes – but it is also tied to a commodity that is often used and incorporated into the household (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley, 1992). It is this incorporation and domestication of commodities from things promoted through television advertising in domestic space, to things placed and used within domestic space, that gives television advertising a particular potency. Television advertisements are received in this domestic space of consumption. Where billboards are situated in the commercial centres of cities they share space with the buying and selling of commodities. The domestication of the commodity in household space in which the

interpretive community functions, creates a context of reception that is distinct from the contexts of reception of outdoor billboard advertising.

The advert has been described as displaying elements of 'anchor', it is tied to a commodity in the way that other forms of television programming are not and that this anchor element is important in the way that commodities form a part of the household and domestic space. Commodities form a part of the context of reception. At the same time, television advertisements, through their formal similarities have a 'pull to surface' element that unites them in a television flow.

Television flow

Raymond Williams's influential yet contested idea of televisual 'flow' is a significant concept to understanding the form and presentation of television and television advertising. Williams claimed that flow, both as a feature of television form and as an attribute of the experience of watching television, marked television out from other media forms: 'planned flow', organized by programmers and schedulers is the defining characteristic of broadcasting (Williams, 1974:86). The nature of television flow distinguishes television from news print media and from cinema, and the flow of advertisements distinguishes television advertising from other advertising forms in particular the outdoor billboard. However the scrolling billboard site enables four or five advertisements to share the same presentational space, but unlike television advertising the order and number of advertisements in a sequence is more limited and repetitive. Recent trends in broadcasting, from the proliferation of cable television and theme TV to the Internet and the fusion of the two comes to create hybrid forms of screen advertising. Still and animated adverts come to occupy part of the computer-television screen coexisting with other visual elements in the same frame. Nevertheless, flow is a significant and distinguishing formal element of television advertising.

Williams outlines television broadcasting as comprised of a series of timed units. Each unit could be thought of discreetly, and 'the work of programming...a serial assembly of these units' (Williams, 1974:88). In commercial broadcasting, advertisements as

143

'interruptions', as items between and within programmes join the progressive flow of television in addition to other segments such as trailers for future programmes and continuity announcements. Television viewing then is composed primarily of units that are shown in sequence which then become a flow. This is nearly always a forward looking flow: moving onwards driven by the 'reiterated promise of exciting things to come...' (Williams, 1974:94). 'What is being offered is not, in older terms, a programme of discrete units with particular insertions, but a planned flow, in which the true series is not the published sequence of programme items but this sequence transformed by the inclusion of another kind of sequence, so that these sequences together compose the real flow...' (William, 1974:90). The distinction between sequence or segment and flow has proved to be the contentious element of Williams' early work on television.

Corner notes that 'criticism and attempted revision has given flow almost a semi-technical meaning in many studies...', yet the 'term cannot really sustain the weight of theory which has often been placed upon it' (Corner, 1999:60). Similarly Ellis sees the idea of flow as 'a much misused one, and its openness to misuse is the result of the way in which Williams defines the idea' (Ellis, 1982:117).

Two critical concerns are prevalent in approaches to television flow. Williams is often perceived as of a generation mistrustful of what was still a new media form and a new form of media reception (Gripsrund, 1998:29; Fiske, 1997:100). Secondly the use of the term 'flow' causes concern suggesting that 'a languid river, is perhaps an unfortunate metaphor' (Fiske, 1997:105) and Gripsrund connects the notion to the idea of the 'passive and non – discriminating viewer' (Gripsrund, 1998:28).

However Ellis, one of the earliest critics of flow, refused to accept television flow as a process in which television 'units' appear to blend into each other 'where everything becomes rather like everything else' (Ellis, 1982:117). Rather, for Ellis, television production is comprised of individuated and separable units or 'segments' not necessarily connected (Ellis, 1982:116). Fiske whilst generally sympathetic to Ellis's view describes the experience of television as a fragmentary one (Fiske:1987/1997:105). Fiske argues

144

that: 'Fragmentation overpowers any attempts to provide coherence within the sequence' (Fiske, 1991:58). Riddell partly agrees with Ellis's position arguing for the stand alone aspect of the discrete television item in which 'meanings are thus discrete and separate, relating only to the segment in question' (Ridell, 1996:569). However, Ridell also links this to the presentation of the television advertisement: 'segments...form groups...through the logic of accumulation like news broadcast items and advertisements...' (Ridell, 1996:569). Giving weight to the blocking arrangements of advertisements shown on television is a significant step in articulating the nature of television advertising in which a succession of advertisements form an advertising flow in between programming.

This 'logic of accumulation' provides the coherence that brings together the concept of television flow and the television segment. A string of television advertisements is formed by juxtaposing a sequence of advertising texts referring to different commodities, deploying diverse narratives, *mise-en-scene* visual and aural elements into a flow. The adverts are segments in reference to the commodities they promote but a part of flow in that they can be identified generically in a reference to commodities in general and as a viewing experience.

The concepts of ergon and parergon are applied to television advertising in the next section of this chapter. They contribute to an understanding of television advertising as both segment and flow. This also points to the nature and form of television advertising as distinct from other forms of advertising media and its potency for household and family located within the domestic environment.

Television advertising flow: ergon and parergon

'Hence one must know....how to determine the intrinsic - what is framed - and know what one is excluding as frame and outside-the-frame.'

(Derrida, 1987:63).

145

This section of the chapter examines the ontological nature of the television advertising text, as the primary piece of advertising work (ergon) and its relation with its immediate surrounding or frame (parergon). The parergon is investigated as the first of a series of contexts. The television screen and television set provide a further contextualising frame, as does the home and household as the place in which decoding strategies are utilised and decodings occur. The foremost purpose of this section is to attempt to explore context not merely as a mass of situations, histories and significations around the text, but to offer some gradations of proximity – to delineate the parergon in relation to the ergon of the television advertising text.

Derrida's valuable work on the nature of painting and framing provides a set of analytical concepts for this exploration of the ontological nature of the television advertisement, and its position as a segment within a syntagmatic chain. In The Truth in Painting, Derrida is concerned with the general nature of signification and meaning in painting. The nature of the painting as an assemblage of formal arrangements, of line, colour, shape, and other aspects on the surface of the canvas, of representational function and signifying practice are coupled with issues concerning how painting is fixed in space, positioned on a backdrop or wall, bordered and marked out from its supportive surroundings. The ergon (painting) is supported by the parergon which is both frame and boundary, marking the border between the meaningful work under scrutiny and the surroundings in which it is placed. The frame has an ambiguous function as the immediate surround to the work and the marker out from the wider surround. Although it has a separate existence from the work, the proximity of the frame to the painting creates a relation with it that is significant to the nature of the painting.

'(T)he parergon' is then for Derrida, 'neither work (ergon) nor outside the work (hors d'oeuvre), neither inside nor outside, neither above nor below, it disconcerts any opposition but does not remain indeterminate and it gives rise to the work. It is no longer merely around the work' (Derrida, 1987:9). This suggests that Derrida's interest here is to show the significance of the frame, as marker and as element, and to provide in Groom's terms a 'disquisition on the parergon; the frame constituting the sign' (Groom, 1993:87).

This idea of the frame as both supporting element and as sign is applied to the television advertisement and the television advertising sequence comprised of segments that function both inside the frame and as the frame itself. This forms an essential element of television advertising and television advertising flow.[34]

The term 'ergon' is used here to signify the work of the television advertisement less in the sense of the work that it does as a meaningful decoded message; persuasion, entertainment and so forth, but primarily in the sense of its ontological existence, as a series of formal elements which include shape, colour, written text, speech, narrative and other textual elements. The ergon of advertising can be approached in formal terms disconnected from considerations of mimesis or representation.[35] The ergon for Derrida is the painting. For the purpose of this study, it is the text of the television advertisement. It is held in place and distinguished from other television advertisements by the frame or parergon which is the boundary or the limit of the individual advertising text.

The parergon functions primarily in television advertising to demarcate one television advert from the next. Derrida notes that as soon as work is recognised, 'there is an inside

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[34] Ergon and parergon as explanatory and analytic terms, are used by Derrida following Kant's use in The Critique of Judgment and The Critique of Pure Reason. Heidegger deploys a similar terminology to describe Gestalt: '(The) figure [Gestalt] is always to be thought in terms of the particular placing [Stellen] and enframing [Ge-stell] as which the work occurs when it sets itself up and sets itself forth' (Heidegger, 1993/2002:189). The 'ge-stell' is similar to the 'parergon'. As used by Kant the terms are used to distinguish cognitive judgment from aesthetic judgments: the parergon is the attempt to 'frame what can rightly be called pure aesthetic judgments, and to detach them from their surrounding cognitive judgments...' (Tucker,1998; Lash, 2002:67). Earlier the ergon and parergon referred respectively to the greater and lesser work of the Rosicrucian brotherhood. Ergon is the task of developing a relationship with the spiritual and parergon relates to more mundane elements of existence. The sense of a hierarchy of value is acknowledged in Groom's description of Derrida's borrowing of Kant's terminology: 'Derrida examines Kant's Critique of Judgment and determines the lacunary character of art. Initially the frame is disclosed as a lack in the work, as its limit' (Groom 1993:93).

[35] For Aristotle both of these emphases can be present in the ends of art or science, 'in the ends at which they aim: in some cases the activity is the end, in others the end is the product' (Aristotle, 1962:3). The usual and most basic meaning of the Greek term 'ergon' is that of 'work' (Ostwald, 1962:307). However 'in other contexts, translations such as function, result or achievement are more appropriate' (Ostwald, 1962:307). These basic, formal elements of presentation are traditionally overlooked in discourses of advertising and require further meaningful study perhaps before other, more sociological enquiries and interpretations are brought into play. As Corner suggests, 'there are many things about advertising which can, and should be addressed this would involve attention to three basic communicative features not present in poster or newspaper formats - speech, action and music' (Corner, 1995:108). Ergon can firstly be distinguished from Argon - without function; to do no work - (Aristotle, 1962:16).

147

and an outside to the work as soon as there is work' (Derrida, 1987:11). Each television advert follows from the last with barely a perceptive break between advertisements. Without some element functioning as a form of parergon the television advert would not in itself make sense: that is stand out from the syntagmatic chain. Without a form of parergon, narrative and television movement through time would be barely separable. If television advertisements were simply a series of still frames - in the sense that paintings hang in an art gallery difference, defined by internal qualities of representation in addition to the separating functioning of the parergon would suffice in distinguishing between them. A further comparison can be made here between the still, framed imagery of the art gallery and the similar formal conditions prevailing for the billboard site in the urban environment. However in the case of the billboard the immediate parergon of frame, is like much modernist painting, a barely discernable presence.

In the art gallery - and one might argue that this is true for the poster sites which are comprised of a series of advertising images - the individual work of art is bordered by a frame.[36] Whatever the nature of the frame its function remains the same. The space of the ergon is clearly marked out from and delineated by the parergon which is in itself that frame which then separates the paintings and their surround, 'neither work (ergon) nor outside the work (hors d'oeuvre), neither inside,' in Derrida's words, 'nor outside' (Derrida, 1987:9). 'Outside' is the extraneous and expansive space that surrounds and strangely unites ergon and parergon into a unity: one that could be read as the overall sign of the painting.

In the example of the display arrangements of the art gallery this 'hors d 'oeuvre' space is the space of consideration where the eye and the contemplative mind rests between the

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[36] The picture frame may be of an elaborate and ornate nature which subsumes the work within it. Such was the case for Impressionist paintings displayed in French exhibitions of the 1870s and after, with lighter tones, flatter depictions and produced on smaller canvasses than for instance the traditional genre of history painting (Harrison and Frascina, 1982). Impressionist paintings tend to be overcome by the size, depth and degree of ornamentation of elaborate picture frames. Post-impressionists such as Seurat and Signac in the 1880s extended their pointillist system from the canvas onto the picture frame (Rewald, 1978; Thomson, 1998). The tension between the parergon to dispel the surround in the interest of the ergon yet at the same time to be not too dissimilar from the ergon is highlighted in this artistic manoeuvre. A tendency within the art of the twentieth century was for frames to become simpler, smaller and less assuming: less in visual competition with the painting.

activities of looking. It is the place of absence of display and the absence of significant form and pictorial meaning. The tour of the gallery and the scopic activity involved in the display of traditional painting is not unlike the process of looking at a sequence of poster advertisements on a series of billboards. A trend in modern and post modernist art has been to turn the scopic activity of the art gallery into a similar experience to that of watching television as a domestic activity with its constant stream of undifferentiated imagery.[37] This can be juxtaposed with the ways of looking at painting and at billboards. Attention span or interpretative time allocated to the two activities, art and billboard advertising, differ not least because of the physical contexts in which each is presented and the intellectual and interpretive time associated with the respective genre of image as much as with any intrinsic or prescribed interest generated by the texts.

It is necessary to return to painting and the parergon before applying this concept in its fullest sense to television advertising. Derrida's elaboration of the frame of painting is that: 'The parergon stands out [se detache] both from the ergon (the work) and from the milieu, ...But it does not stand out in the same way as the work... it disappears, buries itself, effaces itself, melts away at the moment it deploys its greatest energy.' (Derrida, 1987:61). Derrida's point is that the frame stands out, demarcating the painting as work from its background but soon merges with the work. The figure, ground and the parergonal frame that stands out from both is imagined in a still moment of time in the circumstances of the display of art. In the circumstances of the television advertisement the still moment of presentation is dispensed with, as the text moves through broadcast time.

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[37] An early example is Warhol's repeated screen-printed images that make up the work Green Disaster of 1963 with its repeated photographic images of a car crash. The work of Hilary Lloyd is further example of this. Her installation "Ewan" (1995) uses two television monitors, in which one video shows a DJ selecting and playing records in preparation for an evening show. His DJ performance of the same evening shows on the second screen placed back to back with the first (Button and Esche, 2000). Further work by Lloyd (Chisenhale Gallery London 1999), has featured a series of videos, 'placed on professional display stands with their cables and wires visible...they set up a series of contrasting relationships for the viewers to consider...though disparate in subject, style and pace the combined sound, movement and lush colour of the group as whole creates a choreographed rhythm...' (Button and Esche, 2000:68). Psi girls (1999), a five screen video installation by Susan Hiller creates video screens that fill the viewer's field of vision (Coles et al., 2000:66). Each of these examples refers at some level to scopic regimes associated with television watching.

149

How do we discern the parergon in television advertising - which it has been argued is necessary to make sense of individual demarcations of texts before any cognitive procedures are brought to bear on the advertisement? The significant difference between television advertising imagery and billboard advertising and painting is the activity of the moving image in the former and the static nature in the latter. In addition the syntagmatic chain of television adverts appears through diachronic time. It is also operating in a paradigmatic sense with each advert replacing the one that preceded it. Each advert has a place in a sequence. At one moment an advert is the ergon and in the next the same advert becomes parergon to the next. The ergon becomes the frame (parergon). For Derrida the two are always close: 'A parergon comes against, beside, and in addition to the ergon the work done, the fact, the work, but it does not fall to one side, it touches and co-operates within the operation, from a certain outside' (Derrida, 1987:54).

The duration of a typical series of advertisements situated between two commercial television programmes appears to be between 3 and 4 minutes (Chandler and Griffiths, 2000). The Independent Television Guidelines (2000) stipulate that the duration of an advertisement break may be no longer than three and a half minutes.[38] Breaks within programming on British TV Channels often include programme promotions in addition to commercial advertisements which can increase the break to three minutes and fifty seconds. The amount of advertising time is limited to eight minutes in an hour (ITC, 2000). The number of advertising strings occurring within programmes is also strictly limited by the ITC so that a commercial break in programming occurs about every 20 minutes and less frequently during the broadcast of certain programmes such as feature films and films made for television. The Commission suggests that a 'natural break' in a programme should be sought as a point of advertising insertion but there is no more reason to believe that this is adhered to in the present than in the 1970s when Williams noted that, 'a "natural break" became any moment of convenient insertion' (Williams, 1974: 90).

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[38] On the18th December 2003 the duties of the Independent Television Commision were assumed by the new communication regulator Ofcom.

The length of each advertisement that comprises the television advertising string has been relatively constant over time at about thirty seconds in duration although occasionally shorter (Ellis, 1982:118; Myers, 1999:124). Although Chandler and Griffiths (2000) note the occasional occurrence of the longer advert (up to 60 seconds), the ITC regulations discourage this practice. A single string of advertising is comprised of between two and eight adverts with the number of adverts in each string varying between channels and broadcast times. The flow of television adverts is continual, creating a similar advertising experience across a range of channels.

British commercial television clearly signals the distinction between advertisements and programmes by the appearance of a momentary black frame (Williams, 1974:92; Chandler and Griffiths 2000:4). The beginning and end of the programme break that incorporates the advertising string is briefly observable by a momentary freeze of imagery and a short period of silence prior to the take up of the following television output. The momentary split-second pause in audio-visual flow is barely discernable and is itself readily absorbed in the general flow of viewing.

The moment that marks the passing of one advert to another within the advertising string is even less pronounced than that between advertising string and programme. The advertisement has been depicted as having both ergon and parergon aspects – in one manifestation the advertisement spot is the advertising work in the next it is the frame to a previous or further advert. However the intensities of the ergon/parergron aspects of the text are not of equal concentration throughout the period of the adverts transmission. At the beginning of the advert the parergon aspect will be high, contributing to the frame between programme and itself as advertisement. When the advert is placed in the middle of the advertising string it forms a parergon against its predecessor – this aspect will be particularly intense in the opening moments of the advert. Similarly as the advert comes to a narrative closure its parergon quality reasserts itself against the following text. Consequently the parergon quality of the advertisement is not evenly distributed across the period of its transmission and can differ according to where it is placed in the advertising string. The advert as a whole has parergonal qualities but these are more

151

intense towards the beginning and end of the advert. The changes taking place towards the close of an advert have been described by Myers as a 'shift of mode' (Myers, 1999). Myers' 1999 study of television advertising suggests that 'Nearly every commercial ends with the product name, logo, and slogan; most have some *shift of mode* (for instance, voice is replaced by text or conversation by voice over) about 5 seconds from the end' (Myers, 1999:124). The shifting relationship between ergonal and parergonal aspects of the advertising text is contingent upon two factors; where this advert appears in the string of advertisements and the nature of the advert or programme that butts against it.

Signification produced as decoded material may remain and linger in the mind of the viewer. The advertising chain moves on: the television screen changes appearance as the next advertisement appears. An effect of the previous advertisement is to function as the parergon to the present advertisement. Each element in the chain of signification is both ontologically meaningful in the moment of its presentation as ergon and has its potential as parergon. In the next instance, the relationship will be reversed with its parergon quality of framing supporting differentiation, will be realised as its foremost quality. Meaning changes status depending on where the element is in the chain as existing or immanent or previous. Meaning(s) created in one work/ergon become the framing mechanism to the next set of meanings to be produced. As text is reliant on context for the subsequently produced meaning, so the meaning of any ergon of the moment will be supported by two parergon on either side - its predecessor and its successor. The meaning will include the previous and next advertisement in the chain. Consequently the experienced narrative of advertising texts is distinct in that it is a montage with meaningful links from one element to another.

Daniel O'Connor in an exploration of the work of Foucault and Deluze explores the nature of enclosure and the flow of movement across boundaries. Enclosure occupies the same ground as the space occupied by the ergon which is in this case the space and time of the single advertisement. O'Connor following Deluze is interested in the movement between these 'enclosures' or 'frames'. 'Flow is a dimension of movement that passes between interior and exterior spaces...' (O'Connor, 1999:53). O'Connor points to the

'binary logic of presence/absence' which is in this case ergon and parergon as mobile concepts: 'Since there are always breaks in the presumed continuity of the enclosure, the outside will penetrate and the inside will escape through its porous openings in a process of continuous exchange and transformation (O'Connor, 1999:56).

The series of advertisements made up of short, internally coherent images and sounds is different to the extended form of a television programme. The latter may be closer to the workings of film than to television advertising. As Tucker has noted in relation to film and the parergon, 'When we refer to the film frame, we are usually referring to the individual shots that make up the film...' (Tucker, 1998:10). These individual shots have a productive unity and coherence over a longer time span. 'The inside borders of a film, bordering each individual shot (frame), are other shots, other frames, which also happen to lie inside. Thus, the parergon again: the frame comes to frame itself' (Tucker, 1998:10). This account of internal organization is also applicable to the advertisement. But the shortness of the text and its immediacy to other adverting texts creates a more complex arrangement and status as ergon and parergon.

The experience of watching television advertisements is thus made up of a series of elements; each is in turn proto – ergon, ergon and post – ergon, proto parergon and post – parergon. This creates a series of meaningful depictions which because of the rapid status change (ergon – parergon and so on) come to be implicated in one another in a meaningful way as television presentations. In this implication the specificity of each advert becomes compromised by the overall flow of advertising. In this process Williams three stages of 'flow' can be discerned. The flow, 'which is...only sequence', is followed by 'the more evident flow of the actual succession of item... which shows, over a sufficient range, the process of relative unification' and thirdly there is 'the really detailed flow within this general movement: the actual succession of words and images' (Williams, 1974:96). Baudrillard has stated something similar: 'The television screen seems to me to be a place where images disappear, in the sense that each one of the images is undifferentiated and to the extent that the succession of images becomes total' (Baudrillard, 1993:69). For Baudrillard disappearance: for Williams a diffusion of words

153

and images into flow.

For Derrida the authorial signature, the mark of the artist on the painting and any accompanying title of the work is also part of the parergon that supports the work (Derrida, 1987:9). In television programming a variety of parergonal features function to support the programme, introduce it within the flow of television programmes, identify it as a specific and differentiated production, as the work of a creative team, place or affirm the work within a category (genre) of television, and crucially demarcate the space and content of the programme from that of those that precede and supercede it. Parergonal features mark out the work from its immediate neighbours. The parergon is constituted by visual and aural effects: credits, voiceovers, music and other forms. Television advertising unlike television programming does not have these framing features, therefore the advertisements blend and meld into their near neighbours more readily.

Flow as represented by Williams as 'a single irresponsible flow of images and words' is amended by Ellis and others to become a set of discreet but connected televisual moments. The identification of the single television advert as both text (ergon) and as frame (parergon) to other advertisements within its own sequence indicates how a succession of advertisements exist as separable texts with their own singularised references, yet these attributes are carried with the text into its framing position for a further set of different references and significations. Consequently a movement of both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships places the advertisement in tension between flow and segment. Fuer argues that flow as expounded by Williams requires further conceptual work: 'It would be more accurate to say that television is constituted by a dialectic of segmentation and flow' (Fuer, 1983:15). Television advertising then is part of a flow comprised of a series of segmented advertisements which enter into a relationship through paradigmatic and syntagmatic movement.

Television advertising flow is comprised of two different forms. Firstly there is the relationship between a series of texts that form a string of advertisements between programmes and secondly there is a relationship between these strings as they appear

across a period of programming. Advertising flow is a mixture of innovation: fresh advertisements take their place within the sequence, and repetition: long-standing adverts reappear in new sequences. Television generally is constituted of new and recurring forms. Heath and Skirrow use the term 'flow and regularity' and Fuer adds that 'within the planned flow, certain elements, such as series and commercials, predictably recur' (Fuer, 1983:15). Television programmes are repeated to schedule. Television adverts recur without announcement appearing in new juxtapositions with other advertisements. Ergonal and parergonal elements compound in excess forming a stockpile of frames, in what Heidegger refers to as 'Bestand'. Lash notes that 'Concrete objects become frames or Getellen as part of the standing reserve', and that the Bestand has a lot in common with Marxian capital in the form of accumulated means of production (Lash, 2002:82-83). Television texts are rarely 'standing' but part of a movement that mixes the segments of product references, form and content, into unpredicted juxtapositions and with incessant reproducibility, melding advertising text together, as flow.

Television advertising and social flow

Television flow can be seen as part of a wider social formation. The 'fact of flow' is for Williams both the television experience and at the same time an important part of modern social experiences (Williams, 1974:95; Gripsund, 1998:28). Flows are for Castells an essential phenomena of the contemporary world and can be characterized as the 'repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of society' (Castells, 1996:411). Following from Williams and Deluze, Castells broadens the application of the concept. Furthermore society is organised and experienced as a space of flows: '(S)ociety is constructed around flows: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds and symbols' (Castells, 1996:411).

Flow then is textual succession and the movement of the subject through time and space. As Castells has argued, 'The space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows.' (Castells, 1996:412). In the contexts of

155

advertising viewing, explored in this study, the relationship between the relative static nature of the billboard and the mobile nature of the viewer is in sharp contrast to the relationship between the mobile nature of television imagery and the less pronounced mobility of the domestic spectator. Space in both scenarios is that of a space of flows but of differing intensities and relations of reception.

The close relationship between television flow and domestic everyday life is noted by many media analysts who emphasise 'that as a flow within the flow of daily life, television has...an integrated...role' (Ridell, 1996:562; Silverstone, 1994:160). Stephen Heath perhaps goes further in linking television and social experience referring to television's 'seamless equivalence with social life' (Heath, 1990:267). Altman and others outline the relation between programme flow and what he terms 'household flow' as a reference to activities and social relations within domestic space (Altman 1987:571) The 'routines and times of everyday living' (Corner 1999:65) are interwoven with the flow of television advertising. This gives prominence to television advertising as part of what Williams calls 'programme flow' within the patterns of 'household flow' as characterised by Altman and others (Hobson 1982; Modleski, 1983:67; Gray, 1992).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored features specific to television advertisements. The concepts of 'liveness', reproducibility and repetition as applicable to television texts, have been significant to this enquiry. The relation of advertisements to specific commodities and to the general domestic world of commodities was seen as part of the potency of television advertising in domestic space. The distinctive 'flow' of television advertising was examined as part of a general television flow. The ergonal and parergonal aspects of television advertising flow were discussed as a crucial aspect, distinguishing television advertising from other advertising forms. The ergonal and parergonal aspects of television advertisements contribute to their status as segment and as part of television and television advertising flow. Television advertising flow was considered as a significant aspect of domestic space and of household flow which includes the interpretive community that forms the social relations of the domestic unit. The domestic

unit as an aspect of the private sphere has been explored as containing specific conditions of reception which can be viewed as distinct from other conditions of reception such as those found in the outdoor urban environment, in which billboard decoding takes place.

Chapter IX

Advertising viewing

Introduction

This chapter explores different modes of viewing associated with advertising. Three modes of viewing advertisements are identified which are: the look, the gaze and the glance. Each mode of viewing is marked by the length of time over which it occurs and the nature of cognitive concentration and attention associated with it. Different modes of viewing are used according to a range of factors; these include the nature of the advertising text and the advertising media in which it appears, the spatial circumstances of reception, other visual and aural aspects of the environment and viewer preferences. The viewing of television advertising and to a lesser extent newsprint advertising is contrasted in this chapter with billboard advertising viewing. The three viewing modes are shown to be applicable to different advertising forms and viewing circumstances, but that looking and glancing are particularly associated with billboard viewing and all three with television viewing. The glance takes on a special significance for television advertising viewing' within domestic space. Modes of viewing are shown to be important factors in the reception of advertising and impact upon advertising decodings.

Looking, glancing and gazing

The literature on the subject is largely confined to discussion of two forms of viewing – the 'glance' primarily associated with television viewing (Ellis, 1982; Morley, 1992; Gray, 1992; Wilson, 1993) and the 'gaze' associated with cinema viewing (Mulvey, 1975; Corner, 1995). However, for the purpose of this study of advertising presented in different media, it is more fruitful to identify advertising modes of viewing as looking, gazing and glancing. The 'look' is used here as the normative standard of viewing. The look as attached to the billboard or the television screen can be defined as involving a directed and steadfast viewing over a period of time that enables a reading of the advertisement to develop in order that the advert is recognized, its message received and

understood. Different advertising texts in different advertising media demand different amounts of time, attention and concentration to allow this to occur.

The 'gaze' as a mode of viewing shares with the 'look' a form of steadfast and directed viewing. The controlled assimilation of information over a period of time is an outcome of both modes of viewing. The gaze, however, building on the normative standard of the look, will involve a greater visual and cognitive concentration over a longer period of interpretive, viewing time. When the 'look' becomes fractured or interrupted it might be compared with the 'glance' in terms of its duration. The 'glance' is a significantly, and on occasion intentionally, shorter period of viewing. As with the other modes of viewing, it might be invited by the advertising text, through visual or acoustic hailing, or offered by the subject in the process of becoming a viewer. As a mode of viewing, the defining feature of the 'glance' is that it will be only briefly sustained. Cognition associated with the 'glance' will be of a lesser order to that associated with the 'look' and the 'gaze'. In summary the 'gaze' offers the longest and most concentrated period of viewing, the 'look' the required amount of time and interpretation for the message to be meaningful and the 'glance' the shortest amount of viewing and interpretive time that will afford some form of recognition.

The 'look' as a mode of viewing, explored in relation to outdoor advertising such as billboards, adshells, back lit panels and scrolling advertisements highlights certain environmental features of the urban context to advertising. Typically the form and content of billboard design is bold and direct yet lacking the details associated with television advertising, and is such that a reading can take place in the often limited circumstances of the urban reading context. The look once focused on the billboard is exposed to the distractions and dislocations associated with the multiple sensory conditions prevalent in the modern urban environment. Uninterrupted sight lines and interpretive time are important for the look at the billboard to produce a reading. The reading of an urban advertising text potentially takes place within a range of competing visual and aural stimuli, referred to earlier in this work as a series of 'onrushing impressions' (chapter four of this thesis). Typically these will include the density and

movement of traffic and crowds of people, street lay outs and alignments, the position of buildings and street furniture, around which multiple sensory and cognitive distractions occur. The viewer is in some cases in motion as is the advertisement to be viewed on the sides of buses, taxis, advertising trucks and other vehicles. Sensory disruption occurs in the penetration of sight lines by extraneous elements such as traffic and people, outside of the control of the viewer. Urban advertising viewing conditions can be characterized as ranging from the undistracted, undisturbed view over time which might encourage the 'look' to develop into the more concentrated look or advertising gaze. Conversely the urban viewing context, one of disruption, interruption and contingency upon the play of experiences and phenomena may favour the advertising glance as the more likely mode of viewing.

The 'look' as a mode of viewing can similarly be explored within domestic space and focused on television advertising viewing. The look as applied to television advertising suggests a level of attachment and attentiveness but without the depth of fixed concentration associated with the highly channeled and singular activity of watching a television programme or a film. The look requires greater visual commitment, attention and consideration than the glance. The glance, as applied to television watching in a domestic context, suggests the momentary look, the turning towards and the turning away, and the slight or distracted engagement. The glance appears to be well suited to the heavily segmented and truncated form of the television advertisement - even more so than to that of the television programme. As Ellis notes: 'the glance implies that no extraordinary effort is being invested in the activity of looking' (Ellis, 1992:137). Similarly Wilson implies a 'half sustained attention...' associated with the glance which he claims is the main mode of television viewing (Wilson, 1993:47).

In contrast to the look and the glance, the 'gaze' is a mode of viewing often associated with cinema and originally described as a male form of viewing which 'objectified' the female as other and as object (Mulvey, 1975). Recently the term has come to describe both male and female viewing (Ellis, 1982; Silverman, 1983; Gray, 1992) and more recently extended to an understanding of the heterosexual controlling gaze in an analysis

160

of homosexual 'queer viewing' (Evans and Gamman, 1995). In the context of advertising it need not necessarily, as a mode of viewing, refer to a gendered or sexual ocularity. The gaze can be seen as a mode of viewing applied to the cinema screen, to the film and to a lesser extent the cinema advertisement, as a concentrated, highly focused form of looking over a long period of viewing and interpretive time. It can, to a lesser extent, be applied to the single large-scale outdoor advertisement that captures and sustains interest when the circumstances of urban space allow. The gaze as applied to advertising viewing describes an engaged and concentrated attachment over time that enables a deep form of reading and may be appropriate to the development of negotiated and oppositional readings? The look is the normative mode of viewing for billboard advertising but a more sustained attention can be described as a form of concentrated look or gaze.

Corner correctly draws attention to the importance of viewing circumstances in distinguishing between the glance and the gaze. The gaze is usually associated with the viewing circumstances of the cinema, which involves set seating and volume level and a darkened auditorium. On the contrary the domestic circumstances of viewing 'can vary from the most casual and interrupted levels of attention through to intensive, absorbed viewing without concurrent activity going on...' (Corner, 1995:19). Different modes of viewing may occur in the domestic space. Gray comments upon the use of video to show films in the home, implying that the gaze associated with the film and its cinema context might be imported into the home (Gray, 1992:14). However, the gaze is the least likely mode of viewing to be applied to the single television advertising text. Television output has been outlined as a dialectic of segment and flow to which the glance might be attached to a part or whole single advert and the look to the flow of adverts.

Television modes of viewing, the look and the glance, and the circumstances of domestic reception are for Ang more likely to produce a form of resistance to media texts than the gaze associated with cinema viewing and circumstances of reception (Ang 1996). The domestic context to television advertising viewing is marked by activities that cut into and across the flow of an advertising string; 'if the camera pulls us in, the family pulls us out' (Cubitt quoted in Morley, 1986:19). Ang identifies a freedom of movement within

the domestic environment denied to the cinema viewer, 'trapped in their chairs in the darkened theatre, enforced to keep their gaze directed to the large screen'. The cinema viewer is contrasted with television viewers who 'have the freedom to move around in their own homes when their TV set is on' (Ang, 1996:56). This juxtaposition of viewing contexts leads back to the heart of common sense assumptions about the media and subjectivity, structure and agency: 'there is no obligation (on the part of the television audience) to keep looking and they can always divert their attention to something else whenever they want to...' (Ang, 1996:56). So, television advertising audiences can simply stop viewing at will. Although there is much to be liked in the simplicity of this formulation: it is a reification of the complex and variable relation between television text, context and audience.

Wilson and Ellis agree that the act of television watching is performed by the 'distracted viewer' and the mode of viewing can be formulated as the 'glance' rather than the 'fixed gaze', 'If television watching is intermittent, characterised by an often distracted audience which is frequently 'absent' from the programme, it is also to be defined by an audience more 'present' in its own (often) domestic conditions of viewing.' (Wilson, 1993:66). For Wilson this is the guarantee of a 'freedom' from the tyranny of the television text. The context of domestic television viewing encourages a 'critical spectatorship'. This refers to television viewing in general but might be less applicable to television advertising viewing.

Those elements that lead to a 'diverting attention' being 'present in... domestic conditions of viewing' which in Ang and Wilson's arguments act as a guarantee of freedom from the text, also integrate the discourses of domestic life with the processes of advertising reception. Television advertising flow through intermittent viewing and constant sound enters into domestic flow. Television advertising is readily assimilated into domestic space: it enters the everyday. Even if the individual advertisement, the segment of a wider television advertising flow is resisted, consciously or by distraction through a 'diverting attention', it is the wider and continual flow of advertising of articulations and disarticulations, that the adherence of the subject is secured. This takes place not only at

the level of the individual text but across and between television texts and the nature of the domestic setting.

Television advertising is integrated into domestic space through sound and vision and the utilisation of modes of viewing. This distinguishes television advertising both from outdoor urban advertising and from other forms of advertising decoded in the home. The domestic is frequently the context of reception for advertising appearing in newspapers, supplements, magazines and other forms of newsprint media. The gaze as a mode of viewing is largely associated with the predominantly visual media, newsprint media is text based with accompanying imagery. Consequently the look and the glance are the modes of viewing applied in newsprint advertising reception. The look is the mode of viewing applied to the continuous or continual reading of texts and viewing of images that make up newspaper and magazine content. A more concentrated form of look might be applied to items of special interest or where a critical reading is applied. Intermittent and distracted reading and viewing will involve the turning away and return to the newsprint content. Advertising will be encountered during this process and a similar mode of viewing may apply. Glancing at newsprint and advertising content may as a result of domestic distractions or it may be a chosen mode of viewing akin to skim reading and looking.

The mode of viewing of the newsprint advertisement involves a more dedicated and conscious activity of reception than that of television advertising viewing, one over which the receiver has a greater control. Items can be returned to and re-examined, where the flow of television advertising is typically less in the control of the receiver. The nature of the flow of newsprint advertising is closer to that of outdoor billboard advertising and may work in favour of critical reading that involve negotiated and oppositional decodings of advertising. However newsprint advertising shares with television advertising an immanence to domestic everyday activity and a tendency to be absorbed into it, where as outdoor urban advertising occurs amongst a wider array of events, activities that make up the outdoor urban environment.

The mode of advertising viewing is set in motion by a combination of elements from formal properties of media and text to contextual aspects of domestic or urban environments. The mode of viewing is not a property of the text. It may linger as a remnant of a single or a series of textual and contextual encounters becoming absorbed in the spatial and temporal routines, events, objects, organised spaces, and social encounters typical of the domestic or urban environment. The mode of viewing may become inscribed in the social, physical and material aspects of the contextual environment. Glancing at billboard advertising may become a routinised aspect of familiar and repeated everyday travelling, or concentrated looking might be occasioned by the long interpretive time that accompanies a walk past a well-known poster site. Similarly, occasional glances at television advertisements within the domestic environment may over time become routinised as a 'habit of viewing' well after the closure of any specific text.

Conclusion

Viewing associated with advertisements falls into three modes: the glance, look and gaze. Each is often associated with particular media forms, television with the glance, and the gaze with cinema and to a lesser extent with outdoor urban advertisement viewing. The look, it has been argued, is the normative standard against which modes of viewing can be understood. Each mode of viewing is applicable to the domestic viewing environment but that the predominate form in part generated by the nature of television programming and specificities of the spatial context of the domestic environment: is the glance. The mode of viewing is an encounter between text, viewer and context. Both the glance and nature of the domestic context may offer some respite from the ideological penetration of advertising texts but paradoxically this also works to embed television advertising form within the domestic unit and bind the subject more closely to an ideology of consumerism.

Chapter X

Case study: television car advertising and textual analysis

Introduction and methodology

This is the first of three chapters based on advertising case studies. In this chapter, the case study is comprised of three car-related television advertisements selected from several recordings of ITV, Channel Three and Channel Four evening television programming recorded in June 1995. The advertisements were selected for analysis as they represent a range of issues associated with television car advertising, representations of the car in advertising, the significance of advertising to wider social discourses and the nature of advertising decoding. Each of the three adverts appeared more than once in the period over which the sample was collected. They appeared in a variety of advertising sequences as a part of different television and television advertising flows (see chapter eight for a discussion of sequence and flow). For the purpose of analysis the sample is presented in this chapter in a different sequence to that in which the advertisements originally appeared. The first advert relates to the purchase of a car through the Ford Option Scheme, the second is an advertisement for a Ford Sierra Azura and the final one is a public service style advertisement regarding car crime a version of which also appeared in a different advertising media form as a poster displayed on the side of public transport buses observed in Newcastle upon Tyne and elsewhere.

The method of analysis is essentially that of semiotic and linguistic enquiry, in which images and word are treated as signs that create significance for the viewer in the process of reception. This case study is essentially qualitative in nature, although some basic quantitative content analysis method was used in order to organise and quantify categories of television advertising. The sample frame contained over one hundred television advertisements which were then categorised into car related and non car related categories. This enabled the selection of a sample of television advertisements to be analysed through a qualitative and interpretivist approach to the textual analysis of advertising form, content and range of significations. Advertisements are primarily analysed in this chapter in the interest of identifying possible preferred readings within a

range of potential readings. However, unexpected aspects of these advertisements were identified as of interest and these themes and issues are explored further in the subsequent case studies that make up this thesis. To enable analysis, the advertisements have been 'broken down' into a series of frames. Therefore, both the narrative time (the time in which the 'story' of the advert unfolds) and the viewing and interpretive time (the time in which a reading unfolds for a viewer) have been disjointed. In terms of narrative time, the advertisement is returned to a moment in between the initial filming of the sequences and the final editing. Although the narrative sequence is not disrupted, the duration of a narrative moment is lengthened. The interpretive time of the advertisement is now presented in a different way to that in which it will be received and decoded in a typical viewing scenario. In the framing procedure, numerous 'moments' are temporarily retarded or frozen for analysis before rejoining the flow of sequence. Specific frames were selected for textual analysis within an overall analysis of the narrative flow. In the process of obtaining a rich textual and semiotic analysis of a televisual text, the advertisement is subject to a scrutiny that differs from the everyday process of television advertising viewing. Furthermore it is unavoidably removed from the specific contextual features of the domestic viewing environment that include the social relations of reception and the symbolic nature of the bounded private space of reception discussed in chapters three and five of this thesis.

Car advertisements

Ford Options advertisement

The first of the advertisements to be analysed is perhaps the least interesting of the three in terms of the filmic techniques being used and in the way significations are organised around the commodity. In this advertisement the depicted car is not of central interest, what is being sold is a method of ownership; the Ford Options scheme for car purchase. The voice over is as follows: 'Something that has been exhaustively tested over the last two years. We are not talking about the new Ford. We are talking about a new way for you to get one. It's not leasing out and it's not buying and it's not like ordinary H.P. It's called Options from Ford...'. The advert ends with the strapline: 'Everything we do is driven by you' (Figure 1). Sound, comprised of music and voice-over announcement

reaffirms the visual signification of the advertisement and projects the audio elements of the advertising text beyond the immediate television viewing zone (see chapter six pp. 121-122 for discussion).

The above spoken text is accompanied by a single fast tracking camera shot, which traverses a rugged, mountainous terrain at high speed, zooming forward into and away from the landscape. The camera position in the filming of the single scene is airborne, veering down the side of a mountain and then across a plain towards a blue swathe of material under which the Ford products are waiting to be unveiled in a moment of enlightenment as the 'option from Ford' scheme is revealed to the viewer. The motion has been continuous and remains so until the final shot in which the camera/viewers position is brought to an abrupt halt. At this stage the red glossy paint-like text 'options' is projected towards the viewer. The text 'options' and the viewer are united at the same moment in the abruptly concluded narrative. The camera position in the finished advert is the viewer's position in the text, that is to say the camera is the viewer's eye, the place from where the narrative will be viewed. The viewer is being 'pulled in' or in the Althusserian sense 'hailed' into the unfolding narrative: the quest for the commodity revealed as a new method of ownership. The textual signifiers; mountains and rugged landscape, the height and speed of the travelling camera signify a sense 'freedom' in an expansive future which even with the narrative closure of the advert is still an 'option' for a further future. The scene and voice over are supported by a 'racy' electronic-pop music.

The advertising viewer, that is the possessor of the conscious 'I' in the liberal sense of the free choosing individual or in the Gramscian sense of the 'product of the historical process to date' is being drawn into the text, whisked across a fabulous landscape at phenomenal speed in quest of commodity ownership at the same time as social values and ideologies (freedom and expansive futures) are articulated to the product and the means of attaining it (Gramsci quoted in Bennett, 1981:201).

If, as Marx was to put it, the commodity in its transformation from being a product becomes 'a mere moment of exchange', this advert articulates notions of freedom not

only to the commodity in the sense of its implied used value i.e. in the 'freedom' that ownership might bring but also in the method of payment which leads to the moment of exchange.[39] Indeed the advertising form is well matched to the scheme of ownership/leasing which is a continual 'moment of exchange' in the sense that it continues during ownership. The 'I', the potential consumer is being whisked into the narrative of the advertisement into an implied new relationship to the commodity, which is a 'moment of exchange'. Marx's comment that: 'That which exists for me through the medium of money, that which I can pay for, i.e. which money can buy, that am I, the possessor of the money' elaborates an understanding of the camera position in the text which represents the viewer by constructing his/her route in the narrative is that 'I' 'which money can buy'. It is the same 'I' travelling through the narrative to be given a fresh positionality in relation to the commodity.

This analysis, in addition to offering an analysis of a potential preferred reading, has highlighted the dramatic and visual nature of the advertisement created through a narrative that appears, in the dramatic nature of its *mise-en-scene*, to create a sense of flow within the textual parameters of the advertisement. One that is essentially televisual. The movement of imagery within the ergon elements of the text come up against the parergonal elements acting as frames which then take part in the general advertising flow. The flow changes in each presentation of the advertisement depending on the form and content of the advertisements that precede and follow the Ford Options advertisement in the advertising sequence (see chapter eight for discussion of advertising flow).

Ford Sierra Azura advertisement

'The new Sierra Azura at just £9589 you wont believe your eyes'.

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[39] 'The process, then, is simply this: The product becomes a commodity, i.e. a mere moment of exchange. The commodity is transformed into exchange value. In order to equate it with itself as an exchange value, it is exchanged for a symbol which represents it as exchange value as such. As such a symbolised exchange value, it can then in turn be exchanged in definite relations for every other commodity'. Marx. K, Grundrisse quoted in Williamson, J. (1978) *Decoding Advertsiements Ideology and Meaning in Advertising.*

This advert has both similarities with and dissimilarities from television car advertisements that appeared in the mid and late 1990s. As with most ads of this genre it contains a strong narrative element. The 'story line' can be summarised thus: a man is depicted walking through a desert. A series of encounters take place, firstly an offer of refreshment in the form of an ice cream is made yet proves to be an illusion/mirage, secondly a young woman driving the new Sierra passes by. Similarly she is also shown to be illusory and a final encounter with the car includes the commodity's price/exchange value displayed on the side window which is at first taken to be a further illusion but in essence is the remaining and only reality in the text (Figure 2).

A primary semiotic analysis shows that the text is constructed from a series of structural binary opposites: belief/disbelief, illusion/reality, temptation/satisfaction and offerance/acceptance. The text is held together filmicly by a series of motifs, hand gestures and glances which both link frames into a narrative flow but also have a more profound meaning in the text. To what extent these are evident to the viewer as aspects of the preferred reading in normal viewing time is difficult to ascertain.

The primary interest in analysing this text is to consider the possible significations of the sign of the commodity in the advertisement. The recent history of car advertising shows that the symbolic value ascribed to the car through the mobilisation of the commodity as sign, is varied and that more complex associations were beginning to be made in the 1990s. The signs that constitute the advertising text are usually representations of the commodity as exchange value at the symbolic level. So for instance, the sign of the car as exchange value is given fixity amongst real social relations, i.e. made to mean something in terms of use value. It can, for instance, be defined in conjunction to a discourse of femininity, a good example of which was the mid 1990s Vauxhall Corsa advertisement featuring Naomi Campbell and other fashion models in which the form of the car is compared favourably to that of the female model. It has also been defined according to a discourse of family in which the 'new man' depicted in conjunction with the car, functioned as a sign of his child-caring attitude in opposition to previous depictions of the car as a representation of male heterosexuality, class, status or power.

In a world where emphasis is weighted heavily on the consumption part of the production/exchange/consumption chain, production and labour value are rarely shown enshrined in the commodity, with the memorable exception of a car advertisement of some years ago where 'happy' robots were depicted building cars for Fiat. A 2003 television advert for the Citroen Xsara Picasso similarly shows the robotic technology of car production. In this case the scene is set in an industrial car spray bay where anthropomorphic spray paint machines with extended 'arms' decorate the finished car with an individualist, aesthetic and 'painterly' flourish. The advert merges a popular discourse on art – which features the trope of the artist struggling with creativity, against the odds - to a techno-anthropopathy, that ascribes human sensibility to machinery. Interrupted by a human supervisor the 'machines' return to 'spray painting', just having time to sign the work on the side of the car in the hand of the artist. The return of art through mechanical reproduction leaves only the trace of the signature that represents both the artist as producer and art as a general category. Art is now equated with a technology that has in many ways replaced human labour, which was rarely represented in advertising, and is interrupted by human presence. As Paul Virilio has recently said on the transposition of art and consumption 'that where Cambell's Soup not so long ago turned into a painting, today Picasso has become a car' (2004:10). Furthermore the exchange value at the moment of valorisation is rarely a depiction, although a mid 1990s advert for a Renault 19 shows a Cleric exchanging a suitcase full of paper money in exchange for the car. Typically the production process and the process of commodity exchange of material value is subsumed and hidden in a series of represented use values. Real material needs associated with the car are buried under the sign of consumer sovereignty.

The Ford Sierra Azura advertisement is unusual in the way that value and valorisation are represented in the text. The usual representation of symbolic value attached to the sign of the commodity is eschewed; indeed standard advertising promises as attached to possible use values are played down. In the Sierra narrative the protagonist, a city type is shown in a dishevelled state. His clothes, dark suit, shirt and tie, jacket slung over his shoulder,

are evidently unsuitable for the climate. From the opening sequence he is out of place in the narrative, befuddled by the heat of the desert, imagining firstly the offer/promise of an ice cream, the image of which evaporates. Secondly, the image of a car passing by, which symbolises escape from the situation as well as the equation of women/sexual promise/car, is not what it seems. Finally, the empty car is discovered parked in a garage, bringing the short narrative to denouement as the *commodity is realised in terms of its actual exchange value* rather than in promises of spurious use value. The cost is displayed across the car window and this is depicted as reality and the only fixity in a narrative where all other signs are unstable. In the final frames the binary opposites of illusion/reality and belief/disbelief are resolved in the presence of the commodity as exchange value. The protagonist continues his journey in disbelief, the garage disappears as he turns back and only the car/commodity remains. In a similar way, filmic devices such as the use of 'hand gestures' as a symbol of exchange are resolved; from the hand which offers ice cream, to the raised hand which acknowledges the presence of the girl and car, to the moment when the man's hand is held out finally to touch, but not quite, the car. There is no narrative resolution in possession or ownership of the commodity.

The introductory image and mood music with which the advert begins and the final frozen frame of the car and price with which it ends provide the framing effect. As part of the different flows of television advertising in which the advert appeared, these elements butted up to other adverts. As the Sierra text itself became a parergon to other adverts and programmes these introductory and concluding frames became the most potent element of the advert. The advert as ergon and parergon entered the advertising flow. Similar features are discernible in the other adverts featured in this case study.

Closely attached to the binary pairings of illusion/reality and belief/disbelief that encourage a preferred reading of the advertisement are textual allusions to seeing and looking. From the exchange of glances between characters to the pronounced scrutiny of phenomena and objects the advertisement's narrative is organised around references to looking. The advert closes with the spoken observation that 'you wont believe your eyes' which may function to reunite the 'distracted advertising viewer' to the visual

presentation which in the final frame displays the price of the car (Figure 2d). A glance at the advertisement at the behest of the voice-over is rewarded with the essential advertising information contained within the final advertising fragment, information that might otherwise have been gleaned through a different mode of viewing, a concentrated 'looking' in a 'directed and steadfast viewing over time' at the whole narrative presented over the complete time of the advertisement (see chapter nine for discussion of modes of viewing).

Car crime advertisement

This is perhaps technically the most elaborate of the three adverts that form this first empirical advertising case study. The narrative can be summarised in a sentence. A pack of hyenas are seen 'attacking' cars, the second of which they are able to gain entry to and 'steal' money, cash cards and a car radio. Reduced to this minimal description the narrative appears fanciful, however this points to the strength of the use of signs, signifiers and metaphor in order to create, a socially disturbing advertisement (Figure 3).

At a basic level its message is clear and is intended to function to encourage awareness of the need for car protection. This is its preferred reading. The spoken text is as follows: 'Today in Britain there's a type of *scavenger* like a *hyena* it *preys* on the defenceless. *It* shows no compassion towards its *victims*. Most car crimes are committed by opportunists. If your car hasn't got adequate security your making it easier for them. Leave it unlocked and they're laughing. Car crime together we'll crack it'.

The voice over is accompanied by a complex *mise-en-scene*. Firstly, a haunting/mysterious sound track with animal-like sounds, secondly, a mixture of camera positions, fast moving, low level shots position the viewer at the same level and point of view as the hyenas, the rocking motion of which simulates the animals running to 'attack' the vehicles. At other times the camera views the scene from an objective distance. The final main component is the deployment of a dramatic blue/grey lighting effect which enhances the wet/steamy, claustrophobic atmosphere of the building in which the scene is set.

The narrative reaches a climax in the penultimate scene where a hyena is seen savagely, scattering the contents of a wallet, which includes cash cards, loose change and documents, across the garage floor. These items signify personal identity and so moves the advertisement further away from a depiction of property theft and closer to a metaphorical depiction of crime against the individual, in the sense of a personal physical attack.

Set against the general signification of the advertisement, both narrative and *mise-en-scene*, the car criminals as depicted, are intended to conjure up a sense of disgust on the part of the viewer. The camera work suggests a closeness of the pack to the floor, light emphasises the 'animality' of the creatures fur and the entry of the pack to the scene through a sewer-like grill help to create this impression. In combination these elements transform the simile 'like a hyena' of the voice over, into a sustained and running metaphor, in which the real car criminal (human) becomes that which it is made to resemble (animal).

An exhortation by a public service advertisement to lock, secure and alarm cars in the 1990s, by dehumanising the criminal, needs to be considered in the wider context of political and media debates on crime. Public perception of car crime at the time, was that it was rapidly on the increase and as a law and order issue perceived to be out of control. Car crime, for example, was a central factor in the build up to the riots that occurred on the Meadow Well estate on Tyneside and the Blackbird Leas estate in Cardiff in the early 1990s. Public, political discourse included discussion of the formulation of a social 'underclass' concentrated in these areas that formed breeding grounds for forms of deviant criminality such as 'joyriding', 'twocking' and theft from, and of, cars. Public perception(s) are formulated and reinforced not only by news information and from political discourses but also from much repeated advertisements.

In chapter one of this thesis it was claimed that advertising is a worthy object of academic study and research because of the interpretive function it so frequently has in representing

the real world of people, the social relations they enter into, the very way they come to view, value and respond to each other as social beings. This advertisement portrays and reinforces a particular ideological view of crime, on the far side of any positive attempts to describe and understand causal factors or even to find a rational and enabling descriptive language. On the contrary, it reinforces the idea of an 'outgroup' of criminal deviants, outsiders of not only 'normal', 'decent' or whatever other labels are commonly attached to non-criminal behaviour, but metaphorically at least outside of humanity.

This analysis has offered a reading of the 'car crime' advertisement. It has followed a presumed preferred reading but in its semiotic analysis and evaluation has also provided a critical reading. A range of possible readings would also include negotiated and oppositional readings based on age and social experience in which attitudes towards, and experiences of, car related deviancy and criminality are likely to feature. These possible readings would undoubtedly stand against the preferred reading and its metaphorical categorisations. However, the symbolic nature and variety of social relations found within homes and households are the immediate social relations of reception within which the advertisement was received. This range of readings would, in social reality, be formulated within the immediate social and spatial circumstances of domestic reception.

Conclusion

Generally the readings of these three advertisements follow the preferred reading intended by the encoders of the adverts. In addition, a critical analysis has been applied to the advertisements which is untypical of the normative reception of television advertisements. The readings become, in many places deconstructions of the preferred reading in the manner that Jordin and Brunt (1988) suggest, that all readings are against the preferred reading. These readings then are clearly produced within an encounter of texts, preferred readings and what Morley has referred to as the 'analysts reading'. The intention here was to open up the text within what Hall has insisted is not an arena 'in which you can have a fully objective scientific method...' (Hall, 1993:266).

174

The reception of the three television advertisements, selected for analysis in this case study, typically occured within the private spaces of the domestic interiors in which the concepts of home, household and family feature as part of the complexity of decoding factors. The social relations of reception and the immediate values and ideologies of the interpretive community are outside of the scope of this case study. However, Habermas' configuration of the family as a 'community of consumers' might be an appropriate configuration of the interpretive community and the bounded nature of private space and its symbolic associations of 'freedom and personal control' might also feature in the reception of the car crime advert.

This chapter has offered a detailed semiotic analysis of three car-related television advertisements typical of the advertising genre of the time. It has identified possible preferred readings and enquired into the creation of other, different readings of these advertisements. This chapter has situated the advertising texts within the flow of television advertising by identifying ergonal and parergonal elements of advertising textuality. Furthermore, it has begun an exploration of the nature of car representation in contemporary television advertising. Some significant features have been identified and these will be further explored in billboard, newsprint and television advertising media and the contexts in which they appear in the next two chapters of this study.

Chapter XI

Case study: Toyota Corolla advertisement in domestic and outdoor contexts

Introduction and methodology

This chapter consists of a case study of a car advertisement created by the Saatchi and Saatchi agency for the Toyota car company appearing as both a newspaper colour supplement and poster advertising campaign in March 2002. The Toyota Corolla advertisement is examined against a range of contemporary car advertisements found in the print media of that year. Secondly, a range of specific significations and associations identified with the Corolla car advertisement will be explored against a general background of car advertising significations. Thirdly, the outdoor urban and indoor domestic contexts of reception of this advertisement presented in its billboard and colour supplement forms will be accounted for as significant factors in establishing different decodings

The case study is primarily based on semiotic and linguistic textual analysis of the Corolla advertising campaign and other contemporary advertisements referred to in the study. The Corolla campaign was selected from a wide sample frame of billboard and newsprint car advertisements observed in the Newcastle upon Tyne area across the period of March to June 2002. The sample included two forms of the same advertisement occurring in magazine and billboard format. This element of the sample was selected to enable a comparative analysis of two different advertising media forms (see chapter two pp. 37- 40 for discussion). In addition the choice of sample enabled a comparison of the private space of the indoor domestic context and the public space of the outdoor city environment as contexts to advertising presentation (see chapters three, four and five for discussion of public and private, urban and domestic environments). The sample also contained a range of car related magazine advertisements that provided a range of car advertising representations prevalent in the period. This enabled the analysis of the Corolla adverts to take place within a cotextual advertising context (see chapter two pp.

41- 42). This was augmented by observation of the billboard aspect of the advertising campaign, the general urban context and prevailing and immediate environmental circumstances of presentation and reception. From the ensuing textual analysis a range of possible readings were articulated, including preferred and non-preferred readings. As in the previous case study the research was essentially qualitative and interpretivist in nature

Toyota Corolla advertising campaign

The Toyota Corolla advertising campaign took several forms across a range of media: magazine, television, cinema and outdoor billboards in 2001 and 2002. The marketing strategy of which the advertisement was a part 'devised to target a younger, more affluent market' and central to the strategy was the concept of 'pride' in the product (http://www.thenationalbusinessawards.com/ Accessed: September 2003). The strategy was based on considerable research including copy and other pre testing forms (see chapter four pp. 69-71). In October 2002 Toyota's business plan and advertising campaign won the Marketing Strategy of the Year Award, part of the annual National Business Awards and the car was named 'Car of the Year 2002' by What Car? Magazine.

Saatchi and Saatchi devised a television advertisement, controversial because it appeared to feature a child choosing to climb into a stranger's car. This was the first part of the campaign, and was shown in late 2001 and early 2002. The next stage took a different thematic turn, creating a series of poster and magazine adverts generated around the idea of pride in and satisfaction with Toyota car ownership. Several adverts formed the series, each featured a representation of a Toyota car in a different setting (Figures 4a). One advert featured the car parked outside a semi-detached house in a suburban context, another the car in similar circumstances but in a winter setting and another showed the car parked on a roadside in the full glare of a street lamp, and a further advert featured the car in an ill-defined, neutral space. In each case a single car was shown in isolation from other traffic and the imagery was supported by the statement: 'The new Corolla. A car to be proud of' (Figure 4b). This was placed unobtrusively in the lower right hand corner of the advert. One further advertisement, quite different from the others in its use of colour, illustrative and representational techniques and artificial, stage-like setting, completed the

series. This advert did not show a direct image of the car but an illustration of the Corolla as an element of an advert within an advert. The strap line 'The new Corolla. A car to be proud of.', was joined by the additional text 'Have you seen this Car?'. It is this last example from the series that forms this case study. All of these adverts in the series appeared between January and March 2002.

Both billboard and colour supplement versions of the 'Have you seen this car?' advertisement were based on the same image – however significant dissimilarities occurred in the size and orientation of the advertisements presented in their respective formats. The billboard image was comprised of twenty-eight advertising sheets and the colour supplement version occupied a full, single page of the magazine in which it appeared (Figure 4c). The poster adverts were positioned on traditional city billboard sites, around outdoor public car parks, on roadsides, in high streets and in the vicinity of public transport terminals. The magazine adverts appeared in a variety of Saturday and Sunday newspaper supplements. The magazine and billboard versions were identical except that the magazine was vertically stretched to give a portrait emphasis and the billboard version extended laterally to give a wider panoramic landscape form.

The two formats in which the Corrolla advertisement appeared did so in two different spatial circumstances. The bounded, symbolic and intimate private space and sphere of family and household relations was likely to be the context for the magazine form of the advertisement. The billboard presentation of the advertisement occurred within the open, public space of the city environment. The two contexts contain different forms of social relations of reception: the small scale, familiar and private of the domestic and the wider, public arena of the city environment. Modes of viewing of looking, glancing and gazing, are also important to the forming of significations in the act of reception and are conditional on prevailing environmental circumstances. The spatial, social and viewing forms are significant factors in decoding circumstances.

In the magazine version of the advert the picture field is divided vertically. To the left, pushed up to the picture plain, is the foregrounded tree trunk to which is pinned the

178

interior poster (Figure 4d and 4e). Beyond this is a second tree in sharp foreshortening also bearing a poster. A branch of green leaves breaks the divide between the left hand of the picture field and the right. The right hand of the picture field shows a leaf-strewn path in front of a hedge and wall fronting a series of detached or semi detached houses shown against a clear blue sky. The proximity of the trees and houses creates a symbolic closeness represented pictorially by the spatial arrangement of elements. In the billboard version, the right side of the picture field is laterally extended creating a pictorial relationship of two parts space allocated to the house/path sign and one to the tree sign. In both the billboard and the magazine version the overall signification created for the advertisement is one of a gentle, green and clean suburban environment in which the only disarray is a scattering of fallen leaves gathering on the footpath that leads the eye down the only route/passageway available through a neighbourhood noticeably unmarked by the sign of the car. Warm, flat blocks of colour – well blended, organic, earthy-greens close in tonal qualities, - predominate and delineate form. Forms are interspersed with long, deep shadows that fall across a sharp and narrow perspective that seems to transport the real into a surreal representation as close to a stage set as to other visual form. The realist theatre design described by Brecht might be a description of the image. 'If the set represents a town it must look like a town that has been built to last precisely two hours. One must conjure up the reality of time. Everything must be provisional yet polite. A place need only have the credibility of a place glimpsed in a dream' (Brecht, 1964:233).

A comparative sample of car advertisements drawn from magazines between March and June 2002 suggests that car advertisements in this period largely followed the format of the Toyota adverts in depicting the car in isolation from other cars and generally from other forms of road transport. Settings and environments included the open road and landscape (Peugeot, Saab and Renault), natural beauty and seascape (Mercedes Benz and Audi), a single car in an airport setting (Rover) and in an interior fashion workshop (Ford Focus), and against an abstract or ill-defined backdrop (Renault, Ford Ka, Volvo and Fiat). Where a road is shown, it is nearly always an open thoroughfare without sign of other traffic. The advertised car is depicted in splendid, mythical isolation, able to flow freely and unhindered through an uncongested and unpolluted environment. Ideologies of

freedom and liberty associated with the depiction of the car can be balanced by an account of the social effects of the car in the works of a wide range of academic writers. Steve Graham notes the importance of the 'mass diffusion of the automobile and the increasing dominance of car culture' to the modern world (Graham and Martin, 2001:6). More specifically John Howe lists the numerous negative aspects of car proliferation as 'dirt, waste, pollution, clamour and inconvenience; the much anticipated but apparently still remote exhaustion of oil; the dire effects on urban and rural architecture and planning...' (Howe, 2002:111). Kerry Hamilton and Susan Hoyle note that the concept of the social and its associated public spaces are in constant threat from the car: 'society's notion of what the street is for has been profoundly altered by car culture. One of the first effects of the car's take-over of the city street is to denude it of people. This creates a physical as well as a conceptual space on the street, a space which is filled (or is perceived to be filled) by crime, insanity, and other social deviation – and by more cars' (1999:35 in Graham and Marvin, 2001).

A depiction of the car has traditionally been the central feature of car advertisements. This is true of the sample collected in 2002. The Corolla advertisement follows this convention but eschews the centrally placed, glamourised, polished aesthetic of the car. It positions the depicted car as a secondary element within a poster. A photograph of the car below the question 'Have you seen this car?' is followed by the rhetorical response 'Nice isn't it?' and in smaller print 'Phone Phil on 0845 275 5555' which displays the Toyota telephone line for further information. The poster within an advertisement appears to refer to, and play with, the idea of home produced or anti-marketing information, and recalls neighbourhood posters requesting information on lost or missing persons or pets placed in public spaces. The device thus functions to set the central advertising idea that the car as reality, and as representation depicted in other adverts in the series, is worthy of being looked at, and at the same time play with the idea of official, agency produced advertising and information. It draws attention to itself as an advertisement. The poster within a poster contrivance is a self-referential device drawing attention to its own ontological existence as commodity information and at the same time placing the

commodity representation within a contextual representation that denies the reality of the car centred environment (Figure 4f).

The poster within a poster or advertisement within an advertisement format is a well used advertising device. As a functional stylistic device it imports meanings and associations into the visual world of the advertisement by attaching these to the advertisement within an advertisement and ultimately to the product. A Vodaphone advertisement from the early 1990s used a female model posed and attired as if featuring in a Socialist Realist painting of the Soviet period, holding a poster proclaiming the revolutionary attributes of a mobile phone. Noticeable examples are drawn from the period of surrealising cigarette advertising of the seventies and eighties where pack shots were delivered as part of an advertising image within the advertising picture field. A magazine placed cover down on a bench shows a full rear page advert based on a hyper-real representation of an open empty Benson and Hedges packet the content of which have spilled out and onto the floor as represented in the overall advertisement. Similar *trompe l'oeil* effects have occurred in painting at least as far back as Giotto's angels who roll up the early fourteenth century fresco of creation within a depiction of the last judgement in the Arena Chapel at Padua. Perhaps closest to this advertising phenomena and from which it appears to have drawn influence is that strand of Surrealism represented by Dali and Magritte which drew on an extreme illustrative and illusionistic technique, in particular Rene Magritte's series of painting that engage with ideas of representation and scopic arrangements of which The Human Condition of 1934 is perhaps the best known example.

A reading, perhaps the preferred reading, of the Toyota Corolla 'Have you seen this car?' advertisement will involve a series of significations that pull together ideas of neighbourhood, idealistic and idealised suburban life, and the quiet, ordered, clean environment. These qualities are being associated with the product, within a self referential and ironic framework.

The poster within the Toyota colour supplement advertisement is the dominant form and feature of the left hand half of the advert, in the billboard format the poster within the

poster-advertisement fills almost one third of the picture space. The poster text and image is identical in both but inflected differently because of the contexts of presentation. The poster including text are significant elements of both.

The mode of address in both forms adopts a simple and singular exophoric tone: referring to an addressee outside of the textual and imagistic construction (Cook, 1992:155). Two questions are posed of the addressee: 'Have you seen this car?' and 'Nice isn't it?'. The first is rhetorical in its declamatory and persuasive form. The textual language of advertising is ontologically non-reciprocal: monologic in its discourse. Yet the format the language takes is dialogical. As Tim Clark has noted 'All utterances anticipate answers – provoking them, eluding them, orientating themselves towards an imagined future in which something is said or done in reply' (Clark, 1999:305). The question and answer sequence of QAQA is introduced in the 'Have' of the first word of the sentence and confirmed in the question mark that brings it to a closure. In order that the second question can be posed and answered, an affirmative response to the first is assumed. In the space of the response to the first question in the poster within the advertisement is the image of the Corolla. In this sense the image of the car is the response to the addressee's question; the car comes to answer for its self in the affirmative. The follow on question is left unresponded to, but the pattern has been set: it answers itself.

On the other hand the questions might be interpreted as intended statements rather than questions as such, in the sense of some contemporary usage that seems to leave the question mark as mere stylistic or aesthetic appendage. In this scenario the stress in the sentence 'Have you seen this car?' is placed on the word 'seen' with the suggested emphasis that this car is special. The particular but unspecified qualities of 'this car' are already assumed and are being emphasised. This is language in use: language understood in the form of 'pragmatic' use rather than any literal or ossified meaning: in Guy Cook's terms 'what a word or utterance means and does in a particular context' (Cooke, 1992:99). A recognition of the changing nuances of meaning within speech forms in popular culture is to be reminded of Bakhtin's insistence on the significance of voice within the relationship between speaker and listener: 'Meaning is the effect of interaction

between speaker and listener produced via the material of a particular sound complex' (Bakhtin/Volosinov, 1988:103). The speech act as Clark notes is always a shared act: 'The word in language is half someone else's...Word is a two sided act.' (Clark, 1999:305). A recent example of advertising use of language that appeared to follow contemporary and fashionable usage involved the phrase 'What are you like?' with the stress placed on the word 'are' which seemed to deliver a meaning to the phrase as 'look at you' 'you are different – full of effrontery/chutzpah'. In this, advertising language comes to reflect and reinforce contemporary language usage and nuanced meaning.

For both of the etymologies of reception the interpretation of the language used to speak of the Corolla is one of assumption and persuasive assertion rather than enquiry and petition. The reference for the poster within the advertisement is that of the home produced, neighbourhood request for information. But in the authentic neighbourhood manifestation of such knowledge seeking: the question of 'Have you seen this...' is followed by a request for information.

The sentence as question and as statement leads into its potential for decoding within the two different contexts in which it was to be found in March 2002. The sentence in its status as question follows two routes: firstly towards the specificity of the Toyota Corolla and secondly towards reference to the car as symbolic of car in general. This is dependent upon an elaboration of different decodings. In the first instance the phrase demands a response to the question 'Have you see this car?', in the sense of the car's attributes which are taken as being special, rather than those of other brands or types. Furthermore it might also imply the question 'have you seen a further representation of this car' i.e. another advertisement from the series or even the car itself, the car as referent, on the road. In each case the question relates to the Toyota Corolla or its representation in distinction to others. This is evidently the preferred reading: the intention of the advertising producers who intended to associate the idea of 'pride' with the product. But in the gap between stating the question and recognition of the product type and brand there is room for other non-preferred readings.

'Have you seen this car?' then, in the non-preferred reading(s) leaves the image of the car in the poster within the advertisement undistinguished from other types and brand of car: the representation becomes a representation of any car or a symbol of cars in general. The representation of the product as advertised is unable to locate its specificity or if it is located this hold on the specificity is not strong enough to carry the preferred meaning. The question then becomes not only 'Have you seen this car?' but *can* you see this car amongst so many other representations of cars? Can you see this car amongst the congested flow of car advertising? So far the possibility of a reading removed from the preferred reading appears in this argument to be a structural and textual condition as much as a feature of any decoding strategy brought to the text by the reader or recognition of the significance of context to the construction of a reading (Figure 4f).

These two potential structural readings of the question 'Have you seen this car?' have been alluded to as the preferred or Corolla reading which is the product specific reading and non-preferred readings which are car-general readings. The next question is how do these readings perform as attributes of context: as either a product of the contextual positioning of the advert or elements of the decoding strategy brought to the decoding moment? The two are difficult to disentangle: the oppositional decoding strategy which refuses the preferred meaning of the advertisement is the product of the encounter between three elements the reader, diachronic historical strategy and context as final moment of that diachrony.

The effect of the Toyota Corolla representations as they are read in the private space of domestic contexts is likely to be different to that of the same or similar representation being read in the public space of outdoor city contexts. Firstly in the domestic scenario, the representations are removed from the referent and its accessories, from the car, roads, congestion and the immediate effects of pollution (Figure 28). Secondly, the advertisement is part of a series of adverts that are present in the home, either as a sequence of television advertisements or part of the collected advertisements that make up a magazine or newspaper supplement. In the indoor space the image of the car and its surrounds do not need to seek homology. The image of the car works only as an at-a-

distance reference to the car as referent to be located somewhere else. In the magazine advertisement the representation the Corolla in a poster within an advertisement. Or to be more specific it is held within a representation of an outdoor poster within a magazine advertisement. The reference is to something that exists in the main in the public space but has been brought as reference into the private space and sphere of the home.

In the outdoor urban context of public space the advertising imagery is surrounded by the reality of what it attempts to represent. This works at two levels of disjunction. Firstly the representation of a tranquil and clean urban environment clearly doesn't fit with the surrounding (Figure 4c). Secondly the reality of contextual environment conditions of traffic flow, congestion and overload are at odds with the general advertising association of cars and contexts with projections of freedom (Figure 28). This is true of most car advertising the represented car context is in direct contradiction to the lived reality of the social experience of the car, the environment it creates and context in which it operates. In the case of the Toyota Corolla the interior poster's question 'Have you seen this car?' doubles the oppositional reading effect. Unlike the magazine scenario the ad within an ad is also a poster within a poster. A representation of a poster within the poster that represents it. This gives further emphasis to the nature of contexts and environments and the dissimilarity or myth of representation.

A further set of differences occur around the reception of the advertisement within the domain of the public sphere and space. Reception from within the physical and ideological confines of the car may be distinguished from that of the pedestrian or user of non-car forms of urban transport. Physical properties of viewing, looking, glancing and gazing (see chapter four and nine of this study), are coupled with ideologies associated with car travel, ownership and use around 'personal freedom, leisure, and freedom of movement' (Habermas, 1992:129) and the reality and myth of 'the peculiar "auto-freedom" of modernity' (Sheller and Urry, 2003:115). The variability of adherence to these positions will be in part conditional upon the nature of movement and travel through the city.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered a textual analysis of the Toyotta Corrolla car advertising campaign of March 2002. It has outlined preferred and non-preferred readings. It has offered an account of the importance of the advertisement's immediate contexts of reception as the final strand in the historical formulation in which the advertisement is placed. Two contrasting contexts of reception existed for the Toyota Corolla car advertisement. They were identified as the domestic sphere and space of a home environment in which the colour supplement magazine version of the advertisement was received and the decoding conditions existing in a city environment in which a billboard version of the image might be encountered. The difference between the depicted association for the product and real conditions of a car centred environment appear to be more evident in the instance of the outdoor billboard presentation of the advertisement. The signified environmental features are in greater contrast to observable reality in the outdoor arena. In the interior the magazine advert is more easily assimilated into other advertising images and general flow of advertising.

In a subsequent case study which forms the basis of the next chapter a wider sample of car advertising is assessed. Car associations are more fully explored in billboard and newsprint in addition to television advertising media. The spatial contexts of advertising reception are considered in relation to the form and content of a range of transport related advertising campaigns and difference between possible decodings generated from within the outdoor urban environment are examined.

Chapter XII

Case study: billboard, television and print media advertising

Introduction and methodology

This chapter is an account of a further advertising case study in which the findings of the previous 2002 case study and a number of the themes examined in this thesis are explored against further empirical advertising evidence. The survey was conducted in July and August of 2004 and the sample features a range of advertisements which include: billboard and other outdoor advertisements observed in Newcastle upon Tyne city centre; national commercial television advertising and print media advertising comprised of newspapers, supplements and magazines. The representation of motorcars and of motoring environments and differences that might occur in different decodings and the significance of decoding environments to these advertisements were the main themes explored in a previous case study, the 2002 Toyota Corolla survey. The decoding contexts were those of the interior, domestic environment and outdoor urban settings. These themes are revisited in this comparative third advertising survey that examines car and related advertising and decoding possibilities. In addition, the sample includes advertising campaigns representing other commodities unconnected to the car. Adverts have been grouped into three thematic categories for descriptive and analytical purposes. These are: cars and the contexts in which they are represented; other vehicle and pedestrian representations, and other largely non-vehicle adverts.

This chapter summarises the findings of the 2004 survey in which newsprint car advertising is classified into three categories. An analysis of the categories highlighted certain major themes connected to the aestheticisation of the car as depicted object, the aestheticisation of speed and reliance on mythologised settings. These classifications are then extended to the other car advertising media where similar tendencies are observed. The differences in medium are however found to be a significant factor in the type of content, tone and 'feel' of the advert, its content and probable effectivity (see chapter two pp.37-40). Similarly the difference in decoding environments associated with different media also features as a variable factor. In the case of billboard advertising the situated

187

presence and mode of passage of the decoder within an urban environment is likely to be an important factor in advertising reception in particular to the formulation of negotiated or oppositional decodings. This wider survey largely confirms the findings of the 2002 Toyota survey concerning the probable range of decodings and contributing factors. In addition the 2004 survey suggests that outdoor advertising juxtaposition and advertising flow is significant to the development of reception - although less so than in television advertising.

The advertising survey was carried out in July and August 2004 with the intention to gather the widest manageable sample within the period. The television sample frame included the television channels ITV1, C4 and C5 and involved 18 hours of taped television producing almost 340 advertisement slots of which 17 single car adverts were repeated across the days and channels included in the sample. The newsprint media were represented by the daily and weekend newspapers and supplements across the period which involved 3 papers per day which covered about 11,000 advertisement slots. The advertising sample frame included all blocked advertisements, but excluding 'personal' and occupation ads. This resulted in the retention of 200 newsprint car advertisements some of which appear more than once in the sample representing the breadth of publications they were drawn from, and some slight differences in presentational format. In total the newsprint sample consisted of 115 different car advertisements. The billboard survey was conducted in the same period in the centre of Newcastle upon Tyne with billboard, adshell and scrolling backlit advertisements recorded on four different occasions which resulted in a sample of some 50 outdoor advertisements of which 4 car advertising campaigns are analysed and the remainder, car and non car are used as comparative material.

The method of analysis was qualitative and interpretivist in nature. As in the previous case studies, textual analysis of the sample of advertisements required a semiotic and linguistic approach and this formed the main method of enquiry for the billboard, television and newsprint aspects of the sample. In addition an observation study of people in relation to billboard sites generally and to specific billboards carrying advertisements

to be subjected to textual analysis was carried out (Bryman, 2004). The sample was made up of each of the city areas in which billboard advertisements were positioned. This involved making mental notes and producing detailed written field notes that were used as supportive material in the analysis of a range of decoding factors. In addition the direction and intensity of pedestrian and traffic flows were noted; as were potential sight lines; and the general and specific arrangements of the billboards in relation to the environment. A degree of content analysis was deployed in the preliminary analysis of the television element of the sample and particularly in the newsprint aspect of the case study where the sheer size of the sample frame and sample required quantitative categorisation and analysis.

Newsprint advertising

Car advertising continues to constitute one of the main categories of advertising in the various advertising media. This is particularly true in television, billboard and newsprint media that comprise this study. Consequently images of cars, car use and the context within which cars are depicted together with car related narratives and design elements frequently feature as a significant element of advertising campaigns.

Each advertisement in the sample of newsprint media car advertisements featured an illustration of the whole or part of the car being advertised, but the advertisements differed greatly in style, the context in which the image was set, and the use of text and connotation. The 2002 Toyota case study featured a specific advertisement for a Toyota Corolla car and was analysed against a range of car advertisements (see chapter eleven). The findings of that study suggested that car adverts generally depict the car in isolation from other cars and generally from other forms of road transport. Depicted settings and environments included representations of the open road and landscape, scenes of natural beauty, seascapes and abstract or ill-defined backdrops. When a road was shown, it was nearly always an open thoroughfare without sign of other traffic. The myth of the advertised car, it was argued, was set in an uncongested and unpolluted environment. The 2002 Toyota study highlighted ideologies of freedom and liberty associated with the depiction of the car, and were balanced by accounts of the social effects of the car and of

car culture. A finding of the 2002 Toyota case study was that the Toyota campaign denied the reality of a car centred environment and that this advertising campaign was characteristic of car advertising more generally.

The advertisements in the newsprint aspect of the 2004 study fell into three categories when the image of the car was analysed within its represented context. The first category was one of 'non-space' in which the car is depicted without a definable background, the second 'abstracted' space where recognisable elements or referents were indicated in a non realistic style and thirdly where the car is depicted within a specific and recognisable natural setting. The representation of space was nearly always that of public space. The categories are elaborated on below and examples of these different types of adverts in addition to representational themes such as car and speed aestheticisation are analysed.

The first category of car advertisement features an image of the car to be sold against a neutral or non-space background. This included using the natural colour of the paper usually white, upon which was printed an image of the advertised car. This produced an advertisement that blends with the overall look of the news sheet, with a black and white advertisement set on a black and white newspaper page (Skoda Fabia and Saab 9-5, Figure 5), or colour on white against a mixed colour or black and white page (Alfa 147 and Ford multiple car). In some cases, (Jaguar S-Type, Audi A-3) the neutral or non-space background was black (Figure 6). Many of the advertisements within this category, (Renault and Ford, Figure 7) are framed by a functional or decorative border isolating but giving prominence to the advertisement or relying solely on the strength of design and textual language to give prominence (Saab). In some cases, usually of cars depicted against a lighter non space background, a shadow often in a non naturalistic style is added below the car body to create the sense that the car is depicted within a deeper space (Diahatsu Charade and Citroen multiple car). Although language use in this category is important, it is used in a less connotative manner than in adverts in the other categories. The overall effect of advertisements in this category is towards imparting information on model specification, performance, price and purchase arrangements. It is significant that little reference is made to the product other than to its commodity status as car. However,

a small number of advertisements in this category (Jaguar, Audi. VW Pascal and Chrysler) presented the car as an aestheticised object with light falling on the body of the car creating a sensuous contrast between highly polished surface and dark background or with light forming a sensuous contour in which the objects were described as having 'never looked better' and 'graceful' (Figure 6). Movement and speed implied by the depiction of the car within an environment do not feature as significant aspects of these adverts. This category of advertisement represented 25% of the sample of advertisements.

The second category of adverts (28% of the sample), that of 'abstracted space', involved the depiction of the car within more tangible and realistic space that often offers a more acute sense of perspective than that of the first category, but falls short of the illusionistic representations in the third category. Naturalistic aspects, for example landscape or a rural setting, become stylised and form grounds, backdrops and horizons (Mercedez-Benz M-Class, Rover 75 V8, Peugeot 307) that create indefinite space in which the car can be presented (Figure 8). Some of these adverts tend towards the semi abstract and feature a strong stylistic element in for example the Peugeot 307 advert which links the car colour and the upper horizon (Figure 8). Abstract design elements forming 'horizon' elements feature in a wide range of adverts in this category (Skoda, Mitsubishi, Rover) and the Lexus car set amongst a series of Constructivist angular shapes is given both a perspectival presentational space and a visual link to the car as depicted object described as 'Styling by Lexus' (Figure 9). This, the most frequent advert in the sample, links the 'horizon' aspect of this second category to the 'aestheticised' aspect noted in the survey of the first category.

'Aestheticisation' was more pronounced in the second category promoting the car as an object of beauty/contemplation where the overall design of the advert, both image and text is intended to enhance this visual appeal (Featherstone, 1991; Bayley, 1986). Overhead and side lighting creating sharp contrasts that highlight curvaceous form, light reflected from polished surfaces, the centrality of the single car in picture space in conjunction with the use of sensual language far removed from the technical and descriptive language of the first category create a more connotative type of advert

191

(Mercedes-Benz M-class, Toyota Avensis, Chrysler). The aestheticisation of the car as object in these advertisements entails the car being represented as a single and stationary vehicle. In addition some adverts in this category deploy a stylised and often abstracted rendition of landscape as backdrop through which the car is represented as a moving vehicle. This marries the aestheticisation of the car as object to a representation of the vehicular performance and adds an aestheticisation of speed (Subaru, Mercedes-Benz) to an aestheticisation of the car as object. The Mazda 3 advertisement blending sky and road into a blurred backdrop to the car signifying movement and speed is typical of this (Figure 10). A further group of adverts within this category use design features drawn from a variety of sources for example elements of the car such as wheels, doors, dashboard and other items are displayed as reference (Honda CR-V, Audi, VW Golf) with little connotative effect. A further group (Smart, Kia Sedona) use flat backdrop colours with ironic references, or a 'cartoon' presentation of car interior and users.

The third category of car adverts (47% of the total) identified within the sample were those where the car is depicted within a recognisable urban, rural or other setting. Urban settings provided the spatial context for a large number of adverts in this category. From stationary cars parked on roads such as the Lexus IS200 or like the Skoda Octavia to cars in car parks, to cars shown travelling through the city MG ZS180, the car being advertised is nearly always the only vehicle on the road (Figure 11). Two exceptions to this were a VW Polo Twist shown parked alongside other cars in order that a favourable comparison can be made and a second Skoda Octavia advert with the faint image of a second car in the distance. A rural setting of open countryside, picturesque landscape and uncongested country roads (Figures 12 and 13) provided the contextual setting for a large number of this third category (Skoda Superb, Vauxhal Vectra, Skoda Octavia) as did a similarly idealised seascape of beach, sea and open spaces (Jeep). Many advertisements that use landscape and open roads as symbols of an ideology of personal freedom and liberty also show depictions of speed (Porsche Boxster, Suzuki Grand Vitara, Jeep, Figure 14 and 15). As in the other categories the car is shown in free flowing isolation unhindered in its passage along desert roads through wild and untamed landscape. Exceptions to this are multiple car adverts. In a Toyota multiple advert four cars from the

same range are shown travelling in single file and at speed. No other car is present. In each of these advertisements the car is again the only vehicle. All of the ads in this third category aestheticised the advertised car and many cases did so in conjunction with an aestheticisation of speed.

In summary, almost all of the advertisements in the category of 'natural settings' involved a representation of roads, tracks or car parks and in the second category of 'abstracted space' these were implied rather than shown explicitly. Representation of the product tended in most cases to involve an aestheticisation of the car depicted as a solitary object. In very few cases was more than one car shown in the same space and with two exceptions these were confined to multiple car ads as part of a manufacturers' multiple range advert. Representations of space as context to the car were nearly always those of public space, but the constant representation of the car across the range of advertisements as a singular and isolated object, tends to encourage a reading of public space as private space that contextualises the private mobility of the car. Williams concept of 'mobile privatisation' and Sheller and Urry's 'private in public' space (2003:18) is useful here (for discussion see chapter three pp. 62-63). The aestheticisation of the single car within its own space was often assisted by idealized and romanticised natural settings. Advertisements based on the movement of the vehicle through space and astheticisation of speed was a further element of the advertisement. In this respect this wider survey tended to support the findings of the earlier 2002 car advertising survey that implied an idealisation and mythologising of the car and car culture attached to an ideology of liberty and freedom (Figure 16). As was argued above in the 2002 Toyota case study, these representations and connotations are at odds with academic accounts, empirical evidence and every day experience of increasing urban and rural traffic congestion, environmental pollution and the intensity of car culture that forms the reality for road users.

Advertising media and decoding environments.

The advertising media – in this case the newsprint media and the places of reception largely associated with this - is important to a consideration of any potential decodings.

Crucial to a consideration of preferred and oppositional readings (Hall 1973, 1981, Cruz and Lewis, 1994) is the acceptance of car culture mythology as implied in car adverts or challenging this within a recognition of prevailing environmental circumstances. Experiential social factors and identities are important to this. The 2002 Toyota case study explored possible readings of the same advert presented in two different advertising media and decoded in different social spaces (see chapter eleven of this study). The Toyota advert alluded directly to the car as commodity and to its environment. Readings of the adverts were, it was argued, in part generated from the context in which they were found and that an oppositional reading was more likely to be applied to outdoor billboard versions of the advertisement than to a domestically decoded newsprint version. The advertisements considered so far in this 2004 case study appeared in the print media. However an advertisement for a Land Rover Freelander appeared in The Guardian (05.08.04) and other newspapers in the period of the study (Figure 17a). At the same time a billboard version of the advert appeared in the centre of Newcastle on the edge of a car park (Figure 17b). The narrative structure of the advert involves a queue of people waiting to enter a stadium, this arching presence dominates the lateral layout from left to right and creating a deep perspectival space between the building, queue and the viewer. The foregrounded car park is empty, save for the single Land Rover and male streaker whose upraised arms extend beyond the outline of the building and giving prominence to both the streaker and to the Land Rover. The queue of people turn to view the streaker/Land Rover. In this instance the aestheticisation of the car as an object of admiration is achieved without recourse to a comparative object or environment. The process of looking, elaborated on in the 2002 Toyota case study, is referenced in the advertisement through the queue – streaker/Land Rover relationship.

Differences in decoding, although created from deep historical circumstances, surface in the different situations the advert is placed in. In this instance the advert appears in a car park. The depicted car park in the foreground of the billboard version is visually a continuation of the context in which the advertisement is placed. The real car park forms the place from where the advert is to achieve its effect. The act of looking at the advert and the recognition of the signifying elements that constitute it, in particular the

streaker/Land Rover sign that gives the narrative its comic element and meaning as a car advertisement, are also being viewed by the depicted people in the car park. The effect would also work, although perhaps to a lesser extent, in other outdoor spaces from the position of the pedestrian, car driver, private or public transport passenger. The newspaper version of the advertisement fails to achieve this effect because of the difference in medium, the scale of the medium and the viewing position required by it. In this respect the advert bears out the findings of the 2002 Toyota case study regarding the importance of media, placement and decoding circumstances, however it is more difficult to reflect upon readings in particular negotiated and oppositional readings. Nevertheless the depicted car park and the real experience of the car park from where the advert is viewed are likely to conflict.

The advertising medium and the form that it takes may in certain circumstances be as important to reception and to the variety of decodings as the immediate environment in which the advert is viewed. This is well illustrated by the Mercedes-Benz television and newsprint advertising campaign that appeared during the period of the 2004 study. Two newsprint adverts appeared for the Mercedes-Benz C Class car (The Guardian 01.08.04; Mail on Sunday 08.08.04) and a single television advert for Mercedes-Benz SLK Class (Channel 4 28.07.04). Each advert attempted to create a similar effect through car and speed aestheticisation, but the specific effects were dependent on the formal means of the advertising medium. In the first of the newsprint adverts the representation of movement and speed was generated through the creation of curved lines that appeared to follow the car suggestive of velocity and flow (Figure 18a). Depicted as arcing through an ill defined outdoor space, the effect was in the manner of Futurist 'speed lines' created through photographic and possibly computer graphic technology. The other newsprint advert attempted to achieve its effect through a more realistic representation of the car travelling across an open landscape, in this case a dust trail emphasizes movement and passage. This is reinforced by the use of a swirling text positioned above the image in a separate, neutral space - in the manner of 'words in movement' designs again pioneered by the Futurist movement, and in particular Marinetti - in which words such as 'feeling' and 'sensation' are prominent (Figure 18a). The second newsprint advert is more

evocative of mood in a Romantic manner. The television advert in the same campaign attempts its effects through a dramatic use of filmic technique in which the car is depicted travelling at extreme speed in a 'test drive' manner – perhaps making connections across genre boundaries in making reference to television motoring programmes or the motoring imagery of newsprint magazines targeted at young males (Figure 18b and 18c). Blue, yellow and silver grey, the pure colours that form sky, sand and car are captured through dramatic camera angles and the flow of movement features the solitary passage of the car through the extreme natural elements of a desert. Nature is presented here as both a threatening hostile environment and as metaphor for the car's passage. The speed of the car is juxtaposed with the uninterrupted movement of clouds in which drama, excitement and the challenge of nature form the backdrop for the figure of the car driver signifying an ideology of freedom and individualism associated with the product. This is emphasised in the final shot where the automatic roof folds up, over and across the open car encasing the driver in a symbolic protective cover (Figure 18c). Similar significations are involved in the newsprint adverts in the Mercedes-Benz series, yet the television advert achieves its effects through different formal means to these newsprint adverts, not least in the visual flow of the television advertisement and the more general television flow outlined above. The advertising effects associated with preferred readings of the Mercedes-Benz advertisements are likely to be achieved in similar domestic decoding circumstances. There is little here in immediate environmental factors to assist the creation of oppositional readings, although these may well occur through other deeper historical factors.

Television advertising.

The range of television car advertising in the study suggests that this form of advertising is close to the third category of newspaper advertising, where the advertised car is placed in specific and recognizable settings. Although a few television adverts appear to position the car against a non space or abstracted space background, these frequently open or close an advertising string and are marked by their brevity and lack of narrative structure (ITV Ford car advert 07.04). This type of advert tends to be a 'sponsorship sign' for a television programme. This example apart, the contextual setting for television car

advertising is in the main urban (Fiat, Toyota, Skoda, Nissan, Peugeot, and Renault, Figure 19 and 20) with further 'settings' involving driveways and garages (Land Rover and Renault Scenic), motorways (Audi and RAC) and interiors (Ford and Citroen). The non-urban category involved deserts and rugged landscape (Mercedes-Benz, Suzuki and Vauxhall) with the themes of individualism and freedom, made as product associations, to the fore (Figures 18b and 18c). The overwhelming common factor across this category was the organisation of the advertisement around the display of the single car in which no other car or road vehicle was present (Figures 18, 19 and 20). This was particularly conspicuous in the urban setting category and is best represented by the Toyota Corolla advert that uses long shots in which a car drives up to a pedestrian crossing, pauses at a red light and then drives off through a cityscape devoid of other cars or vehicles (Figure 20). Similarly the long standing Fiat Punto exchange of sexual glances, takes place within a vehicle free city environment made even more unreal by featuring the car's passage down an Italian Baroque stairway. A notable exception to this is the Nissan Micra in which the same make and brand of car appears twice in the same street, although no other vehicle is represented. A Skoda Octavia advert uses a representation of cars parked closely together and this image is visually contrasted with a 'display shot' of the Octavia shown in its own self-contained space. The Renault Megane advert also offers glimpses of other forms of transport, but closes with a long display shot of the Megane again shown in its own display space (Figure 21). This involves a similar aestheticisation process as deployed in newsprint car advertising. Narrative structures are typically more complex as would be expected when comparing the moving image over time of the television medium with the still image of the newsprint medium. Narratives further many of the themes deployed in newsprint advertising from the anthropomorphic aestheticisation of the Megane car in which human and car form are compared to the more obscure, atmospheric filmic allusions in the Land Rover advertisement.

Sound comprised of voice-overs, music and other elements formed an important element of television car advertising in this sample (see chapter seven). Sound was found to have a variety of communicative functions. For instance, the drama of the Mercedez-Benz advertisement (see pp. 194-195 of this chapter) was intensified by the accompanying

melodramatic musical score which in the absence of a voice-over relied on visual and musical form to create its signification. A similar use of music occurred in the Freelander advertisement with an eerie, *film noir* style musical score mounting towards a crescendo, marked by the firing of a gun, the sound of the shot followed by a momentary but pronounced silence. This functioned to permeate domestic space and attract aural attention and attract or return the gaze of the distracted viewer to the screen. The Fiat Punto advertisement featured a popular musical sound track that gave way in the closing moments of the advert to a voice over offering financial information about the car. As the ergon of the adverts activity gave over to the parergon of its framing moment the voice-over is left hanging between television segments, before the flow of television resumes. The voice-over speaking into the domestic viewing space provides product information and at the same time mingles with the sounds and discourses of household space: advertising speech enters the household flow. From the findings of this case study, sound is an important formal factor that differentiates television advertisements from newsprint and billboard advertising and adds to the range of significations that a television advertisement may come to have for an audience.

In summary, television adverts, like their counterparts in the newsprint aspect of the survey tended to depict a single car. As a represented commodity item this was frequently presented as an aesthetic object. The process of advertising, the use of settings, narratives and other advertising techniques, tended towards aestheticisation and against information and specification. Ideologies of freedom and individualism, were articulated to the car product, given specific associations through advertising campaigns and images associated with particular car brands and amplified more generally through the volume and saturation of this form of advertising. This was assisted through the mythologised representation of driving environments that tended to depict open, uncongested urban and rural roads and spaces. Realistic environmental factors from traffic pollution to gridlock were absent from these representations of the car as a mode of transport, of traffic flow and of car culture. This is best represented by the car display shot common in newsprint car advertising and a frequent feature of the closing moments of television car advertising. The brightly lit, highly polished bodywork of the car, situated in an empty

urban car park or parked on lonely forest track way reflects, not the light of the real environment in which it will perform and take its functional meanings but the other worldly studio light of the car salesroom.

Decodings of car television advertising, like newsprint advertising generally, takes place within the domestic environment in which the television is viewed and newsprint media read. As a decoding situation, in which adverts are presented and advertising readings emerge, contradictions between the reality of the car driving experience and the experience of other forms of transport particularly in the urban environment are less likely to be at the forefront of consciousness being experientially distant. Furthermore in the case of television advertising the narratives and representations attached to car adverts are likely to be absorbed into the general flow of television.

Urban billboards

In the period of this 2004 case study car adverts appeared less frequently as an element of outdoor advertising than they did as an element of newsprint or television advertising. Three main car campaigns – Landrover Freeloader, BMW Mini and Ford Fusion – appeared during the study. The Mini campaign also featured in television advertising and the Land Rover advert appeared as both a billboard and newsprint advertisement. Billboards, adshells, wall sites, building wraps and other outdoor forms carried an array of non-car adverts campaigning for better health, selling detergent through adverts featuring cyclists and the most frequent series of outdoor advertisements in the period, for DfS interior seating. The significance of urban space and the juxtaposition of car and non-car advertising within that space were identified as important factors in accounting for possible decodings.

Billboard car advertising generally displays similar stylistic, organisational and thematic features to television and newsprint car advertising. Car aestheticisation and depiction of the solitary car within mythologised contexts and settings are common to the three presentational forms. However billboard advertising is most closely aligned to newsprint advertising both in productive method and formal arrangement. Of the three categories

199

identified in the study, the use of contextual non-space, abstracted space and use of reference, it is the latter category that tends to predominate in billboard advertising. Two campaigns clearly represented the elaborate use of referents and connotative language: the Land Rover Freelander and the BMW Mini convertible launched at the end of June '04. The Mini convertible advertising campaign comprised a series of billboard and television adverts that made reference to popular film. The television adverts involved simple narratives associated with films and their titles that have become part of a common store of film knowledge and the everyday currency of popular culture. For instance one advert entitled 'Lassie comes home' by advertising agency WCRS features 'a heroic Lassie sitting in a mini...which she then drives home' (Burns, 2004). The advertising idea behind the campaign generally was to use famous filmic narratives and weave the presence of the car into the story to create 'a mini adventure' as the end line puts it. The formal attributes of television advertising, in particular the unfolding of the narrative over time, in this case a twenty second spot and the visual means of representation are shared with film and television programmes. Furthermore the medium is both the site of television advertising and for showing popular, made for cinema, film. This suggests that any appreciative preferred reading might include a positive recognition of the genre connections for potential 'consumers who dip into many different forms of media' (Palmer, 2004). Other demographic details of the presumed target audience group are 'pre-family, affluent...(and)...thirty-something...' (Burns, 2004). A preferred reading might include an appreciative connection being made between film genre, references to specific films and perhaps even to perceptions of the product's association which were - in the words of the advertising brief provided by BMW – the 'brand's cheekiness'. This reading might also be affirmative of identity through a recognition of the type of person, demographic-social but perhaps perceived as personality-psychological in the self's appreciation of the preferred reading. However, the billboard aspect of the BMW mini car campaign could not rely upon the filmic/television shared productive means and formal presentation nor the shared interior domestic decoding context.

Consequently the BMW mini car billboard advertisements used the flat representational methods of the poster and were situated in the major cities of Birmingham, Manchester,

Edinburgh, Newcastle and elsewhere and as outdoor advertisements relied in the main on the juxtaposition of two immediately inclusive poster elements in the manner of Surrealism. In both the 'Scott of the Antarctic' and the 'Born Free' adverts the same Mini convertible is placed to the centre or to the left of the picture field against a low horizon where a snow covered terrain or scrub land fills about a quarter of the field (Figures 22a and 22b). This gives prominence to the car as a cabriolet soft top, however no further attributes or specifications are alluded to. In both cases the remainder of the advert space is given over to a flat blue sky against which the text announcing 'Mini open air theatre presents' followed by either the text line 'Scott of the Antarctic' or 'Born Free' alluding to the film title.

The preferred reading of both adverts in the series involves the recognition of logical and spatial disparity of the visual elements that make up the image. The juxtaposition of pipe smoking snowmen as car users, the historical landscape referenced by the grounded sailing ship and the modern open-topped car are in the tradition of a well-worn surrealising tendency in advertising. As a simple juxtaposition of facile elements – albeit ones not normally associated within the same spatial or historical contexts or placed together within the same visual frame – this surrealising advertising has little further connection with de Lautreamont's chance encounter: 'as beautiful as an umbrella and a sewing machine lying together on a dissecting table' (De Lautreamont, 1868-70; Mundy, 2001:8). The famous adage was the basis for a Surrealist art that created a new and disturbing image that came into contradiction with a reality from which formal artistic elements were drawn and where social and psychological resolutions might be achieved. The less immediate medium-carrying connection between television advertising and the medium of television and film leaves the billboard campaign offering a less connected preferred reading fashioned from a recognition of a film reference and affirmed by a weak recognition of a surrealising style. In addition the decoding environment – urban billboard viewing - works against the power of the image in particular when the ordinariness of the car park surround is the position from where the image is viewed. A preferred reading might of course be enhanced by knowledge of the television campaign. Perhaps a weak version of the preferred reading is a simple awareness of an open topped

car that might be recognised as the Mini brand. This might be allocated the status of a negotiated reading, that is a weak version of the intended reading that includes a reluctant or barely persuaded acknowledgement of the campaign. In this instance the billboard campaign unlike the television version is insufficiently proficient in its visual means and ideas, to stimulate a viewer/reader to create a reading. An oppositional reading might simply be a refusal to take part in making its connections consequently not engaging with the connotative systems the advert intends to engage in.

As part of the billboard sample of this case study, the mini adventure advertising billboards were observed as occupying space on the fringe of car parks in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. The sites were away from major traffic flows and densely packed pedestrian areas that might have created broken sight lines or other forms of competing urban stimuli (see chapter four pp. 81-87). Consequently the modes of viewing associated with the presentation of the advertising campaign in public space were determined by the levels of interest created by the content of the advertisement encouraging a glance to develop into a sustained look at an advertisement, the nature of passage and mode of transport facilitating the glance from the parked car or the passing pedestrian and the activities and preoccupations of decoders in the act of reception.

The Ford Fusion advert that appeared on billboards in the period of the survey might appear at first glance to fit the 'abstracted space' category of car advertising identified at the outset of this study (Figure 23a). A single car is positioned in a nondescript white space, a casually dressed male appears to be sitting alongside the vehicle perhaps leaning against its side. The car is given perspective and spatial position through the creation of under shadows as if formed by a strong overhead light source. This creates the impression of a deep but unidentifiable space without the repoussoir features that would give the illusion of spatial recession. This also creates an ambiguous space for the seated figure. A visual reading that pushes the car deep into the implied space will foreground the seated figure with the car appearing smaller because of its distance from the picture plane. However the use of a similar shadow beneath the figure means that the figure can be read on the same perspectival plane as the car, thus making the figure, in this implied

202

space, the same size as the car. The two signs of car and male figure are represented respectively in the strap line by the words 'small' and 'big'. 'The small car that makes you feel big'. The word 'you' combines the sign of the seated figure and the position of the reader/viewer of the advertisement. In this reading, the advert then depicts a monumental figure, literally larger than life on a poster placed on a billboard high above the dense traffic and pedestrian flow of a busy city environment. The poster thus shares many of the characteristics of the cyclist depicted in the Persil 'Removes blood sweat and tears' advertisement. Both cases rely on a depiction of human form on a monumental scale represented in conjunction with modes of transport - cycle and car – both viewed from similar urban environments - car park and street. The Ford Fusion advert was placed on a busy corner junction on one of the city's major roads down which a constant stream of day and night time traffic flows. This ensured that the advert enjoyed uninterrupted sight lines for traffic, stopping at or crossing the light controlled junction and for pedestrians proceeding down one of the numerous street pavements and thus secured a high level of visual 'hits' (see chapter five pp. 69-71). The height of the billboard, the simplicity of form, non narrative imagery and visual conundrum proved for an effective, visually striking advertisement. The double exophora of the word 'you' referring to the seated figure – who is larger than the car – and to the viewer of the advert is reinforced by the fixed, confident gaze out of the advertising space in the direction of the viewer. This gaze is returned in the act of viewing the advertisement. At first glance, the preferred reading then is not a literal one, but one in which the advertised car, and a spatial relationship implying ownership or use of the car - makes 'you feel big'. The preferred reading is the easy assimilation of the strap line: 'The small car that makes you feel big'. However, a second glance uncovers the ambiguous spatial relation and the discrepancies in the size of the car and seated figure, casual manner, confidant and outward looking. Seated on the floor in an ambiguous anodyne, clean, cool and sterile space, the image signifies stillness – parked car and seated figure. Viewed and decoded from the street environment, amidst the constant movement and interaction of motorized traffic and pedestrians, amidst the speed, density and pollution of the former a further reading might emerge; one in which the seated figure comes to signify an element of vulnerability. The juxtaposition of represented human-car relationship from the decoding

environment set within real human car relationships might set up a contradictory set of references that might approximate to a negotiated or even oppositional reading of the image. This might be decoded differently according to the nature of the viewer's travel status as walker, cyclist, car driver, passenger or public transport user and the mode of viewing, the gazing, glancing and looking, may in the first instance be conditional upon this (Figures 23b and 23c). Economic and class factors might also be part determinants of a reading in this situation as might environmental or other political/ideological positions.

Urban advertising experience

A further billboard that featured prominently in this 2004 case study encouraged citizens to be more health conscious and become involved in physical exercise (Figure 24). 'Everyday Sport' is a government backed initiative managed by Sport England - accountable to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport - and operating in conjunction with various north east bodies including sport and recreational clubs, businesses and schools. The wide-ranging campaign of Summer 2004 involved a poster campaign designed by Team Satchi and took the form of billboards, leaflets and a thirty second television advert. Local publicity was handled by Newcastle based public relations company Adessi. At the centre of the campaign was a widely advertised web site organising local walks, runs and other physical activity such as cycling and swimming.

The billboard advertisement at the heart of the 'Everyday Sport' campaign is a simple but striking one placed in the centre of the city, the advertising field is split into five green and white alternating horizontal bands. Both image and text refer to walking. The lettering produced in an informal font that appears to be 'standing off' the surface encourages the viewer of the advertisement to 'walk to work', with the white, non space bands depicting a variety of people in the process of walking. The advert is reminiscent of much processional art from the 'Ascent of man' image, the sculptural Parthenon Frieze to Muybridge's nineteenth century horses in motion photography. The horizontality of the billboard, positioned on the edge of and only a metre or so above a pavement, was formally emphasized by the use of horizontal bands within an overall flatness of design.

The closeness of the billboard site to the pavement and to passersby was thus emphasized. The billboard was clearly visible from other pavements and from a nearby seating area. The overall position however was similar to that of the Ford Fusion billboard situated in a traffic dense area largely viewed from across busy roads. Similar contradictions seem to be in play between the exhortation to walk to work in the interest of health and the physical and environmental conditions prevalent in the city through which the viewer/reader many of whom would themselves be workers were being asked to walk A preferred reading of the advert would be likely to agree with its aims and accept the direction of its suggestions regarding physical activity manageable as part of a daily routine. A negotiated reading would broadly accept its tenets with the uncertainty of putting it into practice and an oppositional reading might be formulated from that recognition of an incongruity between the aims of the advertising campaign and the real urban environmental experience not referenced in the advertisement.

Other factors might be involved in the creation of decodings of urban billboards. In addition to recognizing the urban environment as the last historical factor immanent in any decoding, the juxtaposition of adverts in urban centres has to be recognised. This occurs in two ways, firstly, the placing in close proximity of two or more different advertisements, perhaps produced by different agencies, advertising wholly different products in very differing styles, the significations that are created in decoding moments come through as interactive juxtapositions (Figures 25a and 25b). For example, the Everyday Sport advertisement was for a short period of time placed next to an advert for 'DfS' seating and upholstery, that was part of one of the largest billboard and television advertising campaigns of the summer (Figure 25). Placed throughout Newcastle and other cities the billboard campaign involved a series of people, male, female single or in couples seated on a range of sofas in open, uncluttered self contained non-space. The images appeared to intimate comfort and luxurious living. Figures, usually life size or larger, were therefore juxtaposed with similar sized figures advertising cars and detergents. The juxtaposition in this case involves images and text promoting the benefits of walking in the interest of health with an image of an inactive domestic interior. (Intertextuality and juxtaposition are discussed in chapter two of this work.) Preferred

readings might be secured, reinforced or challenged, non-preferred readings encouraged or reinforced by these juxtapositions. Unintentional ironic juxtaposition might lead within this environment to a non-preferred reading.

A second form of juxtaposition occurs with the use of the scrolling electronic billboard where the advertising images share the same space with one or more different advertisements (26a, 26b and 26c). The mechanism rotates giving each advert a few moments of still presentation before rolling onto the next advert. This process of billboard juxtaposition can be compared to television flow and the relation of ergonal and parergonal qualities evident in the presentation of the television advert in sequences. The status of the advertisement is one of presented advert and then becomes through time a framing mechanization. Consequently connections in the decoding process are made between advertisement placed together such as Everyday Sport and the DfS sofa ad in synchronic time and also between three adverts in the scrolling electronic billboard arrangement as diachronic sequence.

Persil

In the 2004 case study of city advertising, two advertising campaigns visually dominated the city billboards and adshells. One of these the Team Persil campaign created its impact through the size and position of billboards selected to carry its advertising posters, the frequency of the campaign, clarity of design, and above all the colossal size of human form representing cycling both as a sport, and as a mode of transport. Unilever detergent company Persil, is a sponsor of the Great Britain cycling team in 2004 and each advertisement features a single member of the team wearing the Team Persil cycling strip and helmet and sporting the team logo on their shirt (Figure 27a). The familiar 'Persil' lettering appearing on packaging throughout the last century and featured in advertising campaigns since the second world war comprises the team logo and appears in the bottom right of each advert. The advertising campaign was prominent across the period of media reporting of the Tour de France and the build up to the Athens Olympics in which the Great Britain team competed.

These adverts appeared on advertising company JCDeceaux's billboards around car parking areas and on back lit bus stop adshells across the city. Three advertisements from the campaign have been selected for description and semiotic analysis and are explored within their specific decoding environments and are juxtaposed with other adverts many of which are for cars. Of the two posters positioned prominently at the limits of car parking areas, one features a standing cyclist displaying the Union Flag and the other the monumental form (portrait, shoulders, torso and upper legs) of a Team Persil cyclist in competition pose (Figures 27a, and 27b). The third image selected shows the upper part of another cyclist's body (portrait and shoulders) and is positioned at bus stops positioned on the end panel of the adshell supelite bus shelter (Figure 27d). These images will be outlined, described and analysed through semiotic technique and articulated against the prevailing decoding framework of preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings as in part the product of an urban setting in which people find themselves positioned as commuters and travellers. Urban identities and perspectives, the product of a range of historical forces, are, amongst other things situated in relation to the mode of transportation. The decoding framework also involves media, political and other discourses as influential elements in the range of contributory elements available in the decoding process.

The first advertisement to be discussed appeared on a forty-eight sheet billboard site on the edge of a busy city centre car park. A formal description of the poster emphasises the left hand side of the frame dominated by the image of the cyclist and the right hand side of the frame by the upper case text: 'removes blood sweat and tears' (Figure 27b). The semiotic potency of the text, with its echoes of Churchill's determined 1940 speech on assuming the British Premiership, is borrowed from the popular axiom emphasising the visible physicality of hard graft and alleviated by the reassuring power of certain detergents to remove these signs. Under this pale blue text, the 'Persil' logo with the accompanying legend 'choice of the GB cycling team' appears in red. The left hand of the poster is dominated by the helmet, front portrait shoulders, arms torso and upper legs of the Team Persil cyclist whose form fills the full depth of the framed advert. The cropped image is given a powerful presence, the strength of the image of the cyclist upon

whose shape light falls giving emphasis to the face, forearms and legs and thus form to the physical exertion involved in competitive cycling. The edge of the helmet and the extended arm creates a strong vertical line that demarcates the image from the text creating delineated space that gives prominence to both. The upperparts of the cycle handlebars create an upward diagonal line that extends across the vertical giving prominence to the text. The image, close to the picture surface, beyond which is a white, flat, even plane that denies any contextual representational function creates a stark, challenging representation. The combination of cropping, lighting and monumentality gives the impression of movement and immediacy in the absence of perspectival features. In combination the colossal image of the cyclist in juxtaposition to the popular phrase signifies solid, teeth-gritting determination.

Consequently this and other examples of the advertising campaign create a forceful image of cycling as a sport and a positive and challenging icon of cycling more generally. This occurs within the modern city one that is increasingly car dominated. The monumentality of the figure, in this particular example of the campaign, comes to visually dominate transit areas of the city such as roads, walkways and car parks. Although these areas are shared with other modes of public and private transport and by pedestrians the speed, volume and presence of the car physically dominates these areas. Recent motoring trends favour higher, wider, larger, less fuel efficient, more powerful private cars associated with driving over rough terrain. In addition to the physical domination of public space by the car as mode of transport is the increasing colonization of intellectual life by the idea of the car, where notions of ownership, individualism and behavioural form are articulated to an ideology of the car. Media and public discourses reflect this and the creation of car-free urban zones and cycle ways reflect the direction that urban public policy has taken in recent years. A further advertising campaign, contemporary with and sharing the city billboards with the Persil campaign, extolled the virtue of Everyday Sport encouraging participation in walking and cycling. The physical vulnerability of cyclists in the urban environment is all too plain to see and for the practitioners to experience.

This observation is in contrast to the enormity of the advertising billboard and size of the figure of the cyclist who appears several times larger than life and towers over the billboards' location on the edge of a popular city car park (Figure 27c). This dialectic of reality and representation in which the reversal of dimensions, where the image of the cyclist and cycle is larger than motorist and motorcar registers at the visual awareness level and provides the basis of a reading of the advertisement. This reversal then becomes a feature of decodings that take place within this location.

The preferred reading of this and the other advertisements that make up the campaign involves ideas and representations common in the media and popular culture in which sports coverage and sports related items form a significant element of both. Sports personalities, individual and team endeavour, achievements and failures run alongside media coverage of national sides as a significant representational and ideological element attached to national identity, nationalism and the nation state. In this instance this is specified in relation to cycling as a form of transport, the Great Britain Cycling Team, its sponsors and the Persil commodity.

The validity of the preferred reading that features nationalism and national identity might be explored in relation to the Persil/union flag advertisement (Figure 27a). Using a bold spatial layout, appropriate to the size, shape and lateral layout of a landscape billboard, the left hand field of the advertising space is given to representation (cyclist and union flag) and the right hand field to text (redder whiter bluer, Persil). Reading the advert from the left, the representative element is comprised of a young, female cyclist displaying a union flag and drawing it towards the centre of the advertising field creating an upward curve through the movement of the arm that draws the viewers eye into the centre of advertising field and towards the beginning of the slogan. Apart from the flesh tones of the arm and the face framed by a cycle helmet, red and blue over background white form the cycle shirt and union flag, the red band, broad, vertical yet gently curving accentuates the gesture that emphasis the presence of the national symbol. The gesture is comparable to similar images found in socialist realist and fascist painting and to a lesser extent poster design of the 1930s and 1940s, for instance I. M. Toidze famous lithograph 'The

motherland-mother calls' of 1941. The upturned head of the cyclist and the uplifted eyes are redolent of Barthes' analysis of 'The young Negro saluting the flag' a seminal semiotic analysis based on the cover of a 1950s Paris Match. The cyclist's arm and hand gestures towards the right hand field of the advert and the text 'redder whiter bluer' that refers simultaneously to previous Persil campaigns 'Persil washes whiter and it shows', to the detergents product performance and to other qualities articulated by the presence and specific representation of the national symbol. The 'redder whiter bluer' slogan is presented in blue text and the 'Persil' logo in red text, both over the white background that provides the white element of the flag and cyclist shirt, thus offering a unifying visual background to the two halves of the advert: one comprised of imagery, the other text. This device brings together the textual, graphological advertising elements to function in an iconic manner both repeating and emphasizing references.

If an element of the preferred reading of Persil campaign was one of sports-nationalism attached to events such as the Olympic games and other sporting events where cyclists representing Britain were competing, then those significations might also be in play where other aspects of nationalism – sports, political and ideological - are part of the general decoding atmosphere. The European football championship held in Portugal in June and July 2004 was the occasion for widespread English support for the national team. This was accompanied by an unprecedented flying of the flag of St George from buildings and most noticeably from private cars, vans, taxis and other road vehicles. The meaning of this display of the English national symbol is widely supposed to signify more than support for the national football team. The political and ideological significations are widely contested, from narrow notions of English identity often associated with football hooliganism and forms of xenophobic nationalism; rejection of multiculturalism; acceptance of multiple identities within English culture; an English nationalism and identity defined against other identities in Great Britain or the United Kingdom and the actual and projected political devolutions within the UK to national and regional centres. In the same period the European elections were held on the10th June in which the right wing parties campaigned under the standard of the Union Flag. The Union Flag symbol was central to the campaigns of UKIP, aiming to withdraw the United

Kingdom from the European Union, and the British National Party, that took its racist and xenophobic ideology deep into local communities (Glancey, 2004; Davenport, 2004; Bragg, 2004).

As the advertisement was situated on an alternating, scrolling billboard its visual temporal appearance was limited to a few seconds, the advert being replaced by two subsequent adverts before reappearing in a flow of advertising. This process although on a smaller scale contains a similar relation between ergonal and parergonal elements as outlined in an earlier chapter in connection with television flow. Any significations generated by a reading of this Persil advertisement soon entered into a diachronic and synchronic flow – albeit to a lesser extent than that of television adverts.

Negotiated and oppositional readings, as has been argued in detail elsewhere in this thesis, are the outcome of the encounter of the historical forces residing in the receiver of the advertising communication and the spatial location within which the communication exchange takes place. Class and other social aspects have been considered as important elements in formulating readings and social class is significant to an understanding of transport related issues in an urban environment. As George Monbiot suggests in a discussion of motor taxation, 'costs fall disproportionately on the poor. While fifty nine per cent of households in social class five have no access to a car, their children are five times as likely to be hit by one as those in social class one' (Monbiot, 2000).

Decodings of this advertisement occur in specific urban environments and spatialities comprised of living space and movement or transit space. The latter is comprised of roads, walkways, pedestrianised zones, cycle tracks and car parks. Different decodings will come into being and vary according to historical formulations but will do so within specific localities and spatialities: urban identities are related to the mode of transport used. The relationship of the potential decoder to the preferred reading of the advert is in a real sense a relationship between an aspect of urban identity i.e. pedestrian, motorist, cyclist or identity and the advertisement. Car drivers, passengers, public transport users pedestrians, cyclists will stand in different relationships to the advertisement and will be

211

party to the formulation of different readings. The Persil advertisement placed at adshells for example has, by the choice of presentation and venue, added public transport users to motorists in transit and pedestrians to its target audiences (Figure 27e). The advert shares a strap line 'removes blood sweat and tears' with the full cyclist image but in this advert the cyclist is presented in a head and shoulders shot. The advert is displayed in portrait rather than landscape format. Consequently the advert does not dominate a long viewing space as in the previous example but is the imminent advertising confronting bus queues and passengers alighting from buses. How might decodings associated with the pedestrian or the public transport user that differ to those travelling in or parking a car? Considerations might include the nature of traffic movement through the city, other travellers, obstructions, and dangers. Oppositional readings might stand in resistance to an ideology of sport/individualism/nationalism formulated at the purely political ideological level or conflict with the positive image of cycling and cyclists portrayed in the advert. A negotiated reading might accept the preferred reading of sport/individualism/nationalism but be aware of the incongruities in the larger than life depiction of a cyclist surrounded by life size and life destroying cars within an overwhelmingly hostile car-orientated urban environment (Figure 28).

However the advertisement is received, the medium and locality are an important aspect of any signification the campaign might achieve. The same or similar advertisement delivered through another medium would not have the same range of decodings. In the case of the Toyota Corolla advert delivered as a near identical advert in both billboard and magazine format, it was argued that the advertisement was more likely to be open to oppositional readings when presented as a billboard in urban space and less likely when presented as a magazine advert decoded in the main in a domestic context. The Persil advertising campaign however has been presented in the single medium of billboard advertisement. However it has been agued that its visual strength and decoding range relies heavily upon the nature of the medium – size, formal clarity, visibility and other aspects – and the spatial location and activity – urban environment and modes of transport - and the relation of advertising reception to these factors in particular to the latter. Had the adverts been placed in the print media or on television the formal

presentation and the spatial relation of the receiver would have been quite different. The incongruities and ambiguities associated with oppositional and negotiated readings would not have surfaced in the same manner.

Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the findings of the 2004 case study that has formed the final empirical element of this thesis. The case study was conducted in July and August and formed a survey of car and related advertising found in a range of advertising media. Newsprint and television advertising, involving the private and domestic interior space of the home was contrasted with billboard advertising found in the urban environment. The case study began with an analysis of car advertising appearing in a range of newspapers and colour supplements appearing during the research period. These were classified into three categories. A content and textual analysis of the categories in the newsprint media identified the presence of themes defined in the earlier 2002 Toyota case study. These are: the aestheticisation of the car as depicted object, contextualisation of the product within mythologised settings and to a lesser extent the aestheticisation of speed connected to car culture. An analysis of the identified themes was extended to television, billboard and other outdoor advertising media. Similar elements of advertising content were observed. Differences in formal media presentation were noted, in for instance the presentation of the same campaign in different advertising media. These differences between television, newsprint and outdoor advertising form were found to be a significant factor in content, tone, probable effectivity and nature of reception. Similarly, the distinctive features associated with these different decoding environments also featured as a variable factor, particularly in the urban context. For urban placed, billboard advertising the situated presence and mode of passage of the decoder is likely to be an important factor in advertising reception. This was particularly true in the formulation of negotiated or oppositional decodings. The 2004 case study, with its wider range of media and larger sample, largely confirms the findings of the 2002 Toyota case study concerning the probable range of decodings and contributing factors. In addition the 2004 case study suggests that outdoor advertising juxtaposition and advertising flow is

significant to the development of reception, of preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings.

Chapter XIII

Conclusion

This study has offered an exploration and investigation of contemporary advertising and in particular advertising reception through an analysis of advertising texts and the contexts in which they appear and are received.

Developing the encoding/decoding model

From a range of approaches to the media, the encoding/decoding model was selected as the most productive framework for an understanding of advertising and from which an enquiry into the nature of advertising reception and signification should proceed. The model was extended in two areas. Firstly, it was adapted to focus upon the social and spatial circumstances in which decoding occurs, through the exploration of two comparative contexts, the urban and domestic. Secondly, greater emphasis was accorded to the textual element of the encoding-text-decoding framework. This was intended to guard against reductionism, where under analysed advertising texts are considered mere reflections of the production process and from relativism where interpretation becomes disconnected from the text. Textual analysis has been applied to a variety of advertisements and campaigns to indicate the nature and range of significations. Advertising readings, produced as academic analyses and as part of everyday reception, are understood as part of a process of advertising production and reception.

Textual analysis formed an important part of the three empirical advertising case studies, conducted as part of this project, producing original and unexpected findings. From the car advertisements that comprised the case studies, three distinct aspects of car advertising were identified. Firstly, the myth of the solitary car in which the advertised car is depicted in untypical traffic free and unpolluted environments was documented as a frequent feature of car advertising. In addition, the aestheticisation of the car as object, appeared as a common advertising feature. Car aestheticisation was often accompanied by a third aspect: the aestheticisation of speed. The volume and frequency of these images, particularly in the newsprint advertising media were greater than anticipated. The

215

predominance of these forms of representation has a social and environmental significance beyond an account of the nature of advertising reception.

In placing emphasis on the textual element of the encoding/decoding model, this study focussed on the formal means of advertising presentation associated with different advertising media. Several advertisements were analysed in which the specific presentational forms of television, newsprint and billboard advertising media were crucial to the range of significations associated with them. When presented in more than one advertising media form, advertising campaigns were shown to take on different emphases and even significations, thus highlighting the importance of the formal means of presentation to the meaning that advertisements might come to have for an audience. The 2002 Toyota case study, one of the three advertising case studies that formed a part of this study, explored the presentation of a car advertisement in two different presentational forms and found pronounced differences between them. Consequently, this thesis has shown that the formal means of presentation are an essential factor in the creation of advertising signification and an important element in the differences that occur when an advertisement appears in different forms.

In this thesis, formal concerns were also recognised as important to the juxtaposition of billboard and other outdoor advertisements in urban contexts and to the assemblage of newsprint and television advertising appearing in domestic contexts of reception. The placing and arrangement of advertisements as part of magazine and newspaper content and the arrangement and shared proximity of outdoor advertising in urban spaces were acknowledged as important to the creation of signification in advertising reception. However, the formal properties of the television advertisement when placed in an advertising sequence, created a flow of television advertising that interweaves with the activities and social life of the household. This aspect of flow was shown to be more significant and intense in television advertising than in other advertising forms and contexts. In addition, the sound elements of television advertising function to create a potent advertising form and help to incorporate it into the household.

In addition to placing greater emphasis on the textual aspect of the encoding/decoding model, this thesis extended the scope of the decoding aspect of the model into a wider context, in which the importance of social and spatial environmental factors were recognised. Outdoor urban and domestic interior contexts were compared and contrasted. Advertising reception, categorised into three broad categories of preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings, was described as the moment in which the advertising text becomes significant for the receiver. Social class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and other 'deep' social identities are likely to feature in the encounter between text and receiver. These operate within the necessary shared framework of advertising codes of knowledge, understandings, values, consumer know how and identity, that enable an advertisement to be understood in a meaningful way. In addition the nature of the space in which the reading occurs was recognised as the final moment and place of Gramsci's 'historical process to date' and these spaces of reception were accorded an importance in the interest of a fuller understanding of advertising reception.

Public and private

In this study, public spheres and spaces have been compared and contrasted with private spheres and spaces. In the form of public space found in the urban centre and private space of the domestic interior, both have been shown to provide important yet quite different contexts to the process of advertising reception. The urban as context was portrayed as a space of multiple activities, frenetic movement and visual and aural overload. In addition the city was marked by advertising surveillance where the process of research functioned to scrutinise and analyse advertising reception in the interest of the advertising industry. This contrasted with the reception of advertising in the private, domestic space of the home. The reception space of home was acknowledged as a place identified with more personal meanings, different to those attached to urban spaces. The material, bounded space of home, household and family and the symbolic values attached to these were likely to feature as decoding factors in the reception of advertising in domestic space. The 2002 Toyota case study, and to a lesser extent the subsequent 2004 case study, explored two different presentational forms of the same advertisement and

attributed the potential for different decodings to the context in which the advertisement was presented.

The study explored the social relations of reception as part of the contexts of advertising reception. The intensity of activity involving the purchase and consumption of commodities in the urban and the concentration of consumption as use in the home add to the distinctive contextual features of both spaces. Advertising reception occurs within interpretive communities. The household functions as an interpretive community sharing codes of understanding and interpretations of television advertising and other cultural forms. The nature of the space in which advertising reception occurs is important to the nature of diffusion of the advertising text. The domestic space of reception was identified as favourable to television talk and through this the exchange of advertising significations between members of interpretive communities. Diffusion did not necessarily favour the reinforcement of preferred readings. Modes of viewing advertising texts were also shown to be important to the creation of signification. Certain modes of viewing were shown to be associated with particular advertising media but might also arise from, or be disrupted by, contextual and environmental factors.

Addressing the research question

The research question at the centre of this study outlined an enquiry into the importance contexts and immediate environments of reception have for the production of advertising signification. The presentational forms in which advertisements appear as texts are the outcome of a creative, productive process. The text forms the necessary but insufficient material from which signification can be formed. It does however, provide the substance around which decoding can take place. In so doing it provides a form of decoding preferral, a meaning or association that the advertising agency would favour or prefer as a reading. There is no guarantee that the preferred meaning will become a preferred reading. The potential decoder is born out of historical conditions in which a range and complexity of identities such as class, gender, ethnicity, culture, education and other social forms are brought to bear on the advertising text. This occurs within a contextual space. For example, the 2004 case study, as part of this study, featured a series of

advertisements, including a campaign for Persil using the theme of cycling. Decodings of these and other traffic related advertisements depended – amongst other things – on the identity of the decoder formed according to a range of social factors but surfacing as an identity in relation to modes of transportation prevalent in the urban space. The circumstances and physical space in which this occurs should be understood as the place in which these deep historical forms appear and that significant, local and specific elements of local environments also feature as part of the decoding process.

In response to the research question: 'How important are the contexts and immediate environments of reception to the production of advertising signification?', this work has explored contexts and environments of reception in which advertisements are presented, received and responded to by broadening and developing theoretical applications and exploring these in empirical case studies. In so doing this thesis has continued in the tradition of media and communication enquiry proceeding from Hall's outline of the encoding/decoding model as 'the articulation of linked but distinctive moments – production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction' in the formulation of textual signification generated by media outputs (Hall, 2001:166). From its inception, the model has attracted theoretical interest and has continued to be deployed in a wide range of academic work (Deacon et al., 1999; Torrenen 2001; Soar, 2000). In order to explore the importance of contexts and environments of reception to advertising signification there was need to develop theoretical and analytical elements of the model. Consequently, in this thesis, the range and scope of the textual and reception elements of the model have been extended and developed in the interest of promoting an analytical framework of enquiry, appropriate to a fruitful exploration of advertising, one that recognises the complexity of textual and reception factors. Further details of this analytic framework of advertising enquiry are listed and explored below.

Hall's encoding/decoding model of media communication provided the theoretical starting point for this thesis. Theoretically, the model was based on the application of Marxism to culture and cultural forms. Hall and others at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies attempted to analyse and explore the functioning of news

broadcasting and other forms of media production as important forms of, and conduits for, ideology (Hall, 1981a, 2001). Within the prevailing debate between 'culturalism' and 'structuralism', between 'the terrain of the lived' and the 'categories, classifications and frameworks' through which one lives and experiences existence (Hall, 1981:29), Althusser's contribution to ideology critique, played a significant part (Larrain, 1996; Miller, 2002). The neutral concept of ideology that articulates group or class interest and knowledge was distinguished from the negative concept of ideology as distortion and Hall's rejection of 'false consciousness' offered direction to cultural studies generally and marked out the ground for subsequent work to follow in the encoding/decoding tradition. Rejecting the characterisation of reception within the uniform 'effects' and overly differentiated 'uses and gratifications' models, the reception of media texts, conceptualised as categories, came to be generalised as preferred, negotiated and oppositional readings (Hall, 2001; Cruz and Lewis, 1994). As the model was deployed and adapted across time the primacy of class as the determining decoding factor was accompanied, and in some cases replaced by, a range of other social categories (Morley, 1986, 1992; Gray 1992; Hall, 1991, 1996; Castells 1997).

This thesis has retained the structure of the encoding/decoding model and the decoding positions that form an integral part of it, whilst developing the range and scope of enquiry into the variety and complexity of factors acting in combination that are involved in advertising and advertising reception. These include: the complex nature of, and pronounced difference between, advertising media forms and texts; how these differences mitigate against the presentation of global, monolithic ideological effect and work in the interest of more local presentations and instances of ideology in advertising; the multifaceted nature of historically produced decoding positions and the significance of immediate circumstances and environments on these and on the presentation of texts. The analytical terrain upon which the transportation and presentation of ideology and signification occurs is considered more complex in the analytical advertising framework of enquiry deployed in this thesis, than the ground staked out by the original encoding/decoding model. This complexity is carried in a number of ways: firstly in the complexity of the formal presentation of advertisements; the relation they enter into with

other social features not least of which are other advertising and media texts; the complexity of identity that people bring to the process of advertising reception and the varied contexts and immediate environments of reception in which both advertising texts and advertising receivers are located. Each of these general elements of enquiry needs to be accounted for within a framework of advertising analysis. To offer textual analysis of advertisements or advertising campaigns as the sole form of analysis is insufficient. The formulation of abstracted decoding strategies based on class, ethnicity or other social forms even when formulated against an advertising text is also insufficient, as are the contextual factors associated with the presentation of the advertisement. Each of the elements of the advertising framework that excludes reference to the others is inadequate as a basis of enquiry.

In the interest of producing a more fruitful enquiry into advertising and advertising reception the original encoding/decoding model has, in the process of producing this thesis, been developed into a wider analytical framework of advertising enquiry. These developments can be categorised into two general areas, that of text and of space/reception.

The text

Firstly the advertising text as it appeared in the encoding/decoding model was underemphasized as an element of that process as was the specificity of the form in which it appeared. The encoding-text-decoding analytical framework of advertising enquiry, as developed and deployed in this thesis gives greater emphasis to a specific 'moment' to the advertising text than was apportioned in the original model. This 'moment' is one that can be 'temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purpose of analysis' (Cook, 1992:1) but this occurs without losing sight of the context in which it occurs and the place of the text in the encoding/decoding process. This enables a space for detailed textual, semiotic and other forms of analysis of specific advertisements to be carried out within the encoding-text-decoding framework in which different readings are imaginable as the property of decoders within specific contexts of presentation. Traditionally semiotic and other forms of textual analysis, although

221

recognising abstracted notions of shared meaning codes, have tended to isolate texts for analysis from contexts of presentation (Barthes, 1973; Williamson, 1979; Gottdiener, 1995; Myers, 1999; Bignol, 2002). In this respect the encoding-text-decoding advertising framework, as deployed in this thesis, enhances textual and semiotic analysis by encouraging an understanding of the text as an embedded form. In addition advertising functions as a significant part of its environment the advertising text, or campaign, imparts meaning to and gathers meaning from its immediate surroundings.

The encoding/decoding model extended to form a wider analytical framework of advertising enquiry emphasises the complexity and diversity of different advertising forms of presentation. Technical and presentational aspects of the different media forms in which advertising occurs are important factors in the creation of signification for an audience (Poster, 1990). Questions of the physical size, scale and frequency of advertisements and advertising campaigns across a range of advertising media are important ones, as are those concerning the different formal mechanisms through which advertising is delivered, not least in the effect on the scope and range of decodings. For instance, as has been demonstrated in this thesis, the kinetic and aural aspects of television advertising create different forms and presences within social space to other advertising forms such as newsprint media advertising or billboard and other outdoor advertising media (Silverstone, 2000; Scannell, 2000; McCarthy, 2001). Partly because of this, they are decoded in different relations of reception. To continue with this example, the sound element of television advertising was shown in this thesis to serve a variety of purposes in addition to the primary function of delivering the advertising message (Altman, 1987). It was shown to function as an additional and reinforcing element to advertising imagery and as a formal advertising element, capable of occasioning a wider diffusion of signification. In addition to disseminating preferred advertising readings, sound might also occasion the creation and transference of non-preferred readings. (Alperstein, 1990; Abercrombie, 1996; Wilson, 1996). Therefore formal advertising difference is an important element of enquiry in the analytical framework of advertising enquiry.

The wider analytical framework of advertising enquiry provides a more detailed analytical space within which an analysis of the advertising text within its context of presentation may occur. This involves recognising that advertising signification may be the result of intentional and unintentional juxtapositions in which an advertisement is read in conjunction with other advertisements, social or cultural contextual features (Fiske, 1987; Cooke, 1992). For example intertextual and cotextual approaches to advertising offer an understanding of the range and intermingling of advertising representation (Fiske, 1987; Giacardi, 1995) and to the appearance of advertising form in combination with other contextual features and experiences (Cosgrove, 1989; Thrift and Glennie, 1993; Gripsund, 1998). The extended framework of advertising enquiry encourages the formal features of advertising production to be taken into account. For instance in this thesis, the flow of television advertising as a series of separate but relational frames was identified as an important aspect of presentation featuring significantly in any analysis of reception (Williams, 1974; Fuer, 1983; Derrida, 1987; Myers, 1999).

Space and reception
The second area, in which the encoding/decoding model has been developed into a wider analytical framework of advertising enquiry in order that a fuller account of advertising and advertising reception is achieved, is that of space/reception. This thesis explored two distinct spaces of advertising presentation. Analyses of the domestic and the outdoor urban environments as contexts of reception focused on symbolic and real spaces of reception, the conditions, social relations, practices and forms of reception found there. Each of these areas was shown to be a factor in the range of possible decodings that form reception and the analysis of each should be an essential accompaniment to textual analysis in any continuing or further development of the analytical framework of advertising enquiry.

An analysis of the material aspects of space as physical setting for and positioning of advertisements is a necessary element of understanding advertising and advertising reception. Space offers the possibilities and sets the limitations for viewing from sight

lines (Mansell, 1997; Jefkins and Yadin, 2000) to interpretive time (Corner, 1995) and the social circumstances and modes of viewing deployed (Mulvey, 1975; Wilson 1993). An appreciation of the open, closed or bounded aspects of space; the prevailing material and symbolic conditions of public and private spheres and spaces; how they feature in the reception process and the social meaning these spaces have for people as real components of reception are necessary elements to an analysis of advertising reception (Silverstone, 1994; Thompson, 1995; Sheller and Urry, 2003). The social and symbolic presence of adverts, advertising campaigns and advertising as a general presence over time and in space is a further element of analysis.

An analysis of the social activities typically found within the space of reception is a further requirement for an understanding of how advertising significations are formed. The nature of the activity might range from paid or unpaid forms of productive labour to various forms of consumption, leisure and other activities. These form the immediate or immanent forms of physical and social presence and, featuring as decoding factors, they help create an advertising reading in the reception process. Involvement in space-typical activities the advertising receiver is engaged in prior to or during advertising reception is important. It is into these activities that deep identities, associated with class, gender, ethnicity and other social formulations, are extended. These create the final moment of Gramsci's 'historical process to date', appearing as forms that shape social activities that accompany advertising reception within social and topographical space.

The third factor to feature in the space/reception element of the developed analytical framework of advertising enquiry is that of the immediate social relations of reception. Building on the work of Fish, Radway and others the concept of the interpretive community sharing interpretive strategies, material codes, codes of language, cultural expectations and advertising comprehensions from where the advertising decoder draws a set of competences are important. Advertising diffusion, in which advertising references enter lived culture through the exchange of language, often stem from interpretive communities. Advertising diffusion extends the advertising text beyond its immediate decoding both in time and space and helps fix advertising as a significant cultural feature.

Summary

In summarising the developed response to the research question it can be stated that: contexts and immediate environments of reception are important to the production of advertising signification. Advertisements are typically the outcome of the advertising industry in which advertising producers select, shape and encode, product associated information in conjunction with ideas, values, ideologies and other social representations as advertising texts. These texts as outcomes of creative advertising production are often complex and various, but their form and to a certain extent content is dependent upon the range of advertising media across which they operate. The advertisement is produced in such a way that an intended preferred reading is presented for an audience. However, there is no guarantee that this will be secured. In the act of reception, advertising decoders bring perceptions, values, preferences, understandings, ideologies and social identities shaped by the 'deep' historical circumstances of class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality other social categories referred to as 'hyphenated identity' to the moment of decoding (Hall, 1999). The advertisement will be read in one of three general ways, in the preferred manner, through a process of negotiation or in an oppositional way. Advertising presentation and reception occurs within specific historical moments and spatial contexts. The moment of reception, the instance in which advertising signification is generated is an encounter between the productive forces and the positioning of the receiver often in complex, unplanned and unpredictable ways. In the moment of reception advertising texts enter into juxtaposed relations with a range of contextual social, topographical and material features of place in conjunction with the fleeting, changeable but prevailing conditions of the immediate environment. Advertising signification is in the last instance contingent upon contexts and environments.

Finally it is within these complex spatial contexts and circumstances of advertising reception that people as active decoders based on historical and immediate experiences represented through 'hyphenated identity' (Hall, 1999) are 'summoned' (Torronen, 2001) by the advertising text, into a 'temporary attachment' (Hall, 1985, 1996). This is part of 'a process never completed – always in "process"' (Hall, 1996:2) in which advertisement

225

vies with advertisement and advertising with everything around it in an increasingly dense aural and visual social landscape.

Subsequent work that might be undertaken in this field, and against which these findings might be compared, could include conducting additional, empirical, case study work. Further comparative studies might include the use of a wider urban outdoor advertising sample that includes a selection of urban areas according to wards, districts, housing and retailing areas that might offer a greater insight into the impact of differences in the economic, social, cultural and ethnic factors on advertising reception. Further comparative work might be wider in scope than that undertaken as part of this study, extending into rural as well as urban locations comparing and contrasting contextual and environmental factors. On the domestic front, case studies into advertising form might include a survey of the increased volume and developing range of television, computer and other information and communication technologies that deliver advertising into the household. Reception studies might focus on specific advertisements, advertising campaigns and generic advertising; different decoding environments and the socio-spatial significances of decoding environments. These should engage with the changes taking place within outdoor an indoor advertising presentation.

The outdoor media forms of poster and billboard advertising have been a significant feature of the urban landscape throughout the industrial period and television advertising has been central to the domestic interior since the middle of the last century. Both are subject to developing change. Changes in advertising form follow changes in, and the merging of, technological forms. Computer, telephone and mobile screen technologies are creating hybrid advertising forms, as are developments in adshells, scrolling multiple advertisements and general projection technologies. Technological trends, the demands of capital and markets will increase the amount and pace of outdoor advertising delivery through more complex juxtapositions of billboard, electronic poster and adshell advertising, increased advertising flow with more kinetic features and the addition of sound introduced, to what has been hitherto, a largely static and silent medium.

As advertising changes so does the make up of the social. The perception of clearly defined cultural identities based on the experience of social class that underpinned decoding strategies in Hall's original encoding/decoding model, as he applied it to the political and economic crisis as reported in the media of the 1970s, have faded, although social difference, conflict between employers and employees and the antagonism between capital and labour continues. Advertising, part of twenty-first century consumer culture, is likely to continue to expand and colonise much of social experience. Oppositional readings, read as a reflection of class position or attitude, seem less likely. Oppositional readings are more likely to be articulated through a mixture of occupation, culture, ethnic, age, association with place and other identity formulations including class-in-consumption as well as class-in-production. Dominant social ideas and values expressed in advertising campaigns will continue to be met with resistance. Identities and solidarities are expressed through a complexity of identities part formed and surfacing in the places and spaces in which advertising is received. This thesis has argued that it is within these spatial contexts and spaces of reception that preferred readings are secured, challenged or lost: that it is within these contexts that oppositional readings are formed, and may become the basis for action: the basis for Castells' 'project identity' in which the recipient 'seek(s) the transformation of the overall social structure' (Castells, 1987:8). As long as advertising remains a central component of the economic and cultural life of contemporary society, and comes literally to capture more ground, to visually and mentally dominate the landscape of the social, it is ever more important that the real, lived experience of people, distinguished from advertising representations of human life and value, can continue to challenge 'the consistent stories that advertising spins as a whole about what is important in the world and about how to behave, about what is good and bad' (Jhally, 2000:30).

Appendix I

Case Study
Newsprint car adverts July/Aug 2004
Cars shown in abstracted space

1	Peugeot 307 Zest	33	Chrysler Grand Voyager
2	Smart Fourfour Passion	34	Audi A3 Sportback
3	Smart Fourtwo Coupe	35	Wheel Chair Fiat
4	BMW 316 tiBS	36	Subaru Legacy 2.0i Sports Tourer
5	Lexus RX300 SE-L	37	Volkswagen Golf S
6	Toyota Avensis	38	Smart Fourtwo Cabrio Passion
7	Mitsubishi Colt 1.1	39	Mercedes Benz C-class
8	Volkswagen Polo E	40	Lexus RX300 SE-L
9	Smart Roadster	41	Chrysler Cross Fire Roadster
10	Volkswagen Golf S	42	Subaru Forester XT
11	Peugeot 407 Hdi	43	Smart Roadster
12	BMW 1 Series	44	Lexus RX300 SE-L
13		45	Peugeot 307 Zest
14	Mazda3	46	Honda Cr-V Se Sport
15	BMW 1 Series	47	Honda Cr-V Tec Se Sport
16	BMW 1 Series	48	Kia Sedona
17	Lexus RX300 SE-L	49	Skoda Fabia VRS
18	Subaru Impreza WRX	50	Chrysler PT Cruiser
19	Peugeot 407 Hdi	51	Peugeot 407 Hdi
20	Smart Roadster	52	Chrysler PT Cruiser
21	Chrysler Grand Voyager	53	Mercedes Benz M-class special Edition
22	Smart Fourtwo Cabrio Passion	54	Chrysler Cross Fire Roadster
23	Vauxhall Sigmun	55	Lexus RX300 SE-L
24	Subaru Forester XT	56	Lexus RX300 SE-L
25	Lexus RX300 SE-L	57	Kia Pecanto
26	Audi TT180	58	Mazda3
27	Chrysler Grand Voyager	59	Subaru Impreza WRX
28	Mercedes Benz M-class special Edition	60	Peugeot 307 Zest
29	Rover 75 V8	61	Peugeot 407 Hdi
30	30 Peugeot 307 Zest		
31	Mercedes Benz M-class		
32	Mazda3		

Appendix II

Case Study
Newsprint car adverts July/Aug 2004
Cars shown in non space

62	Alfa 147	89	Renault Scenic Rush
63	Saab 9-5 Estate	90	Mitsubishi Evolution
64	Skoda Fabia Classic	91	Rover multiple cars
65	Ford multiple cars	92	Skoda Fabia Classic
66	Renault Megane	93	Hyundia multiple cars
67	Renault multiple cars	94	Jaguar S-Type Diesel
68	Jaguar S-Type Diesel	95	Chrysler Grand Voyager
69	Audi A3 Sportback	96	Citroen multiple cars
70	Ford vans multiple	97	Nissan multiple cars
71	Volkswagen Passat	98	Perodua Kelisa
72	Chrysler Pt Cruiser	99	Citroen multiple cars
73	Alfa 147	100	Alfa 147
74	Mitsubihi multiple cars	101	Renault Megane hatch and Sport Hatch
75	Saab 9-5 Estate	102	Jaguar S-Type Diesel
76	Citroen multiple cars	103	Citroen multiple cars
77	Jaguar S-Type Diesel	104	Saab 9-5 Aero
78	Saab 9-5 Estate	105	Saab 93 Sports Saloon
79	Audi A8	106	Alfa 147
80	Renault Megane	107	Alfa 147
81	Ford multiple cars	108	Renault multiple cars
82	Renault Grande Scenic	109	Daihatsu Charade
83	Jeep	110	Toyota Prius
84	Saab 9-5 Estate	111	Jaguar S-Type Diesel
85	Ford multiple cars	112	Nissan multiple cars
86	Nissan multiple cars	113	Ford multiple cars
87	Jeep	114	Citroen Diesel multiple cars
88	Saab 93 Sports Saloon	115	Fiat multiple cars
		116	Saab 9-3 Sport Saloon

Appendix III

Case Study
Newsprint car adverts July/Aug 2004
Cars shown against background realism with description of referents

117 Vauxhall Corsa	sand and sky
118 Mazda 6	road and landscape – blurred
119 Vauxhall Vectra	rural landscape - stormy sky
120 Volkswagen Golf S	urban
121 Fiat Punto Chill	psychedelic rural landscape
122 Volkswagen Touran	seaside - two tents
123 Alfa 156	four sheep, man and car
124 Skoda Octavia	rural landscape
125 Mazda 3	high speed blurred landscape
126 Suzuki Grand Vitara	rural landscape - rough terrain
127 VW Polo E	empty space
128 Lexus 1S200	landscape uncertain night time
129 Skoda Octavia	rural landscape
130 Skoda Superb	rural autumnal landscape
131 Audi A6	urban - architectural
132 Porsche Boxster	race track blurred speed diagonal
133 Mercedes Benz E class	blurred urban
134 Toyota Yaris	parked urban setting
135 Smart Roadster	fairground
136 BMW 316 TIES	abstract road pavement wall
137 Skoda Octavia	rural landscape
138 Vauxhall Corsa	sand and sky
139 Skoda Superb	contrived rural autumnal landscape
140 Lexus 1S200	landscape uncertain night time
141 VW Touareg	rural mountainous river
142 Mazda MX-5 Arctic	blurred rural – speed
143 Porsche	rural - hot autumn – speed
144 Rolls Royce Phantom	urban understated traditional
145 Maserati	landscape undetermined
146 Mazda MX-5 Arctic	blurred rural – speed
147 Mercedes Benz C class	desert speed freedom dust
148 Skoda Superb	rural autumnal landscape
149 Renault Megane	desert landscape contrived
150 Lexus 1S200	landscape uncertain night time
151 Vauxhall Corsa	sand and sky two cars
152 Volkswagen Polo Twist	urban - parked with other cars
153 Skoda Octavia	car park - night time - shopping trolley
154 Vauxhall Corsa	sand and sky one car

155	Alfa 156	four sheep man and car no background
156	MG ZS 180	speed urban road
157	Skoda Octavia	rural landscape
158	Skoda Octavia	car park night time shopping trolley
159	Vauxhall Signum Exec	urban reference
160	Renault Megane	desert landscape contrived
161	Mitsubishi Grandis	parked open rural landscape
162	Skoda Superb	rural autumnal landscape
163	Skoda Octavia	typical urban landscape non glamourised
164	Mazda 3	high speed blurred landscape
165	Jaguar X type	seaside boulevard fir trees
166	Kia Sorento	childlike graphic illustration
167	Mazda 2	speed with added graphic illustration animals
168	BMW 316 TIES	abstract road pavement wall
169	Vauxhall multi cars	3 cars sand and sky
170	Kia Sedona	comic cartoon character on real seats
171	Suzuki Alto	summer sea side
172	Alfa 156	four sheep man and car no background
173	Mazda MX-5 Arctic	blurred rural speed
174	Smart Roadster	scalextric
175	Volkswagen Golf S	urban
176	Lexus 1S200	landscape uncertain night time
177	Toyota Corolla Verso	rural
178	Volkswagen Polo Twist	parked urban with other cars
179	Vauxhall Vectra	rural landscape stormy sky
180	Landrover Freelander	naked man leaping in front of queue
181	Jaguar Aluminium	open rural
182	Vauxhall multi cars	sand and sky
183	BMW 316 TIES	abstract road pavement wall
184	Vauxhall Corsa	sand and sky one car
185	Toyota multi cars	rural cars in procession more than one car
186	Toyota multi cars	rural cars in procession more than one car double page
187	Mazda 6 Zugara	landscape speed
188	Vauxhall Corsa	sand and sky one car
189	Peugeot 206 and 307	swimming pool sunbathing
190	Skoda Octavia	typical urban landscape non glamourised
191	Jaguar X type	seaside boulevard fir trees
192	Volkswagen Polo Twist	parked urban with other cars
193	Lexus 1S200	landscape uncertain night time
194	Lexus 1S200	landscape uncertain night time
195	Jeep	abstract landscape
196	Jeep	sand dunes seascape parked
197	Jeep Grande Cherokee	speed rough terrain off road
198	Skoda Octavia	typical urban landscape non glamourised
199	Volkswagen New Golf	parked urban - London

Appendix IV

Case Study
Television car advertisements and brief description
July/August 20 04

1	Ford	short sponsorship advert
2	RAC	women alone
3	Mercedes-Benz	desert drive the elements
4	Toyota Avensis	short shot
5	Fiat Punto	momentary sponsorship
6	Land Rover	*film noir* women with gun
7	Suzuki	forest 'stay curious'
8	Citroen	C and C3 - laboratory space
9	Nissan Micra	mistaken car
10	Fiat Punto	Italian setting, female glances
11	Renault Scenic	training car
12	Skoda Octavia	mixed imagery students in lecture hall
13	Nissan Micra	washing car on sea front
14	Vauxhall Corsa	cartoon style advert
15	Toyota Corolla	female crossing empty street, instructor pushed out of way
16	Peugeot	sponsorship shot
17	Audi/I robot	futuristic transport

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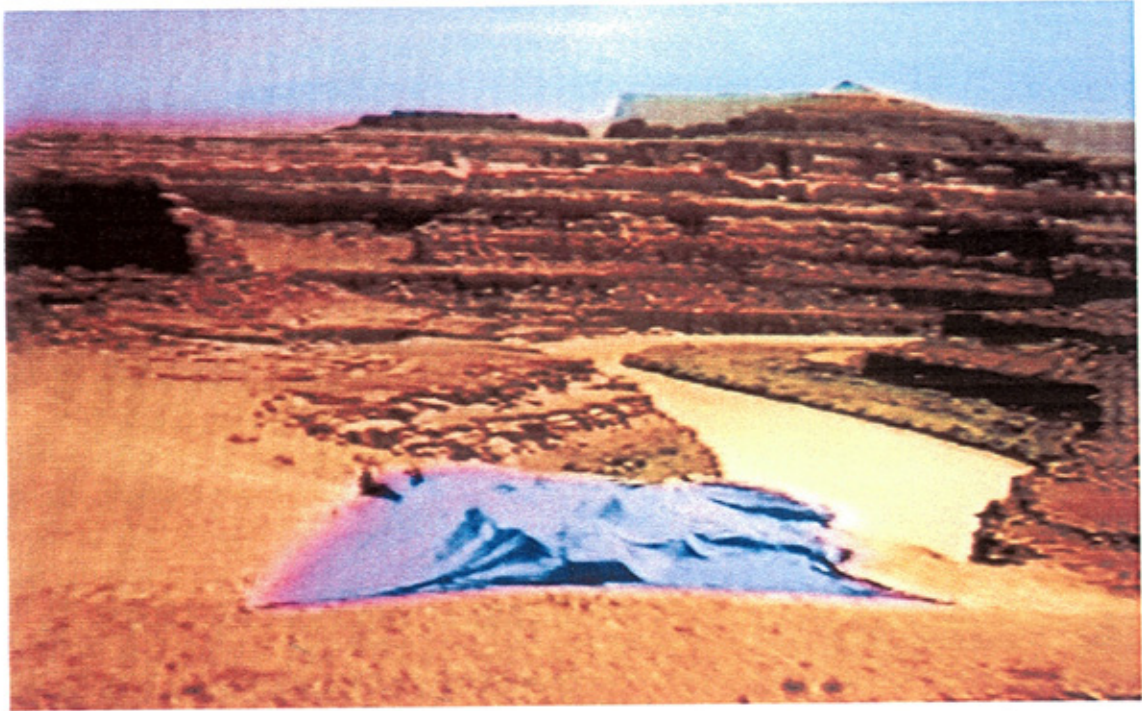
Figure 1a Ford Options television advertisement – rugged terrain, blue cover

Figure 1b Ford Options television advertisement – unveiling the product

Figure 1c Ford Options television advertisement – ariel view

Subject to status. Guarantees and indemnities may be required.
Written quotations on request.
Ford Credit plc. The Drive, Brentwood, Essex. CM13 3AR.
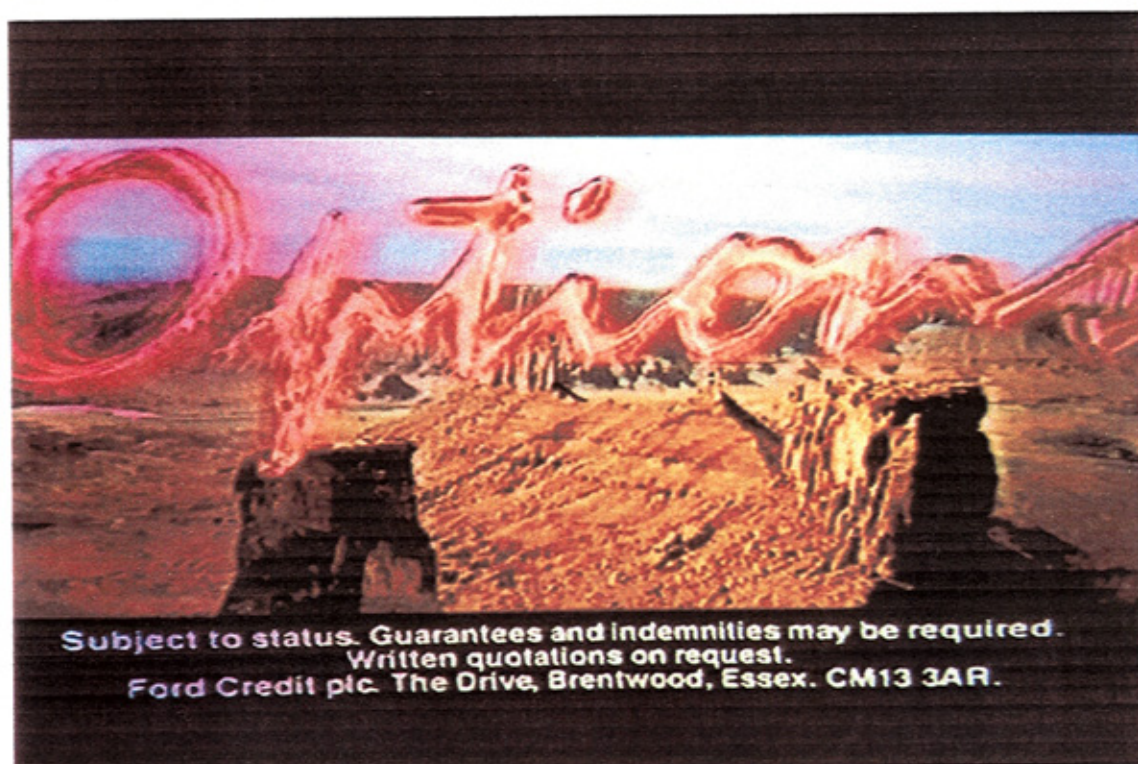
Figure 1d Ford Options television advertisement – options logo

Figure 2a Ford Sierra Azura television advertisement – ice cream vendor

Figure 2b Ford Sierra Azura television advertisement – man in desert

Figure 2c Ford Sierra Azura television advertisement – man and car

Figure 2d Ford Sierra Azura television advertisement – price of car

Figure 3a Car Crime together we'll crack it television advertisement – hyenas

Figure 3b Car Crime together we'll crack it television advertisement – hyena views car

Figure 3c Car Crime together we'll crack it television advertisement – car victim

Figure 3d Car Crime together we'll crack it television advertisement – prohibition sign

Yaris. You could love it too much. TOYOTA

Figure 4a Toyota Yaris magazine advertisement – birds in trees

Figure 4b Toyota Corolla magazine advertisement – slow

Figure 4c Toyota Corolla 'Have you seen this car?' billboard

Figure 4d Toyota Corolla 'Have you seen this car?' single page magazine

Figure 4e Toyota Corolla 'Have you seen this car?' single page in situ

Figure 4f Toyota Corolla 'Have you seen this car?' billboard advertisement

Figure 5 Saab 9-5 Estate newspaper advertisement

Figure 6 Jaguar S Type newspaper advertisement

Figure 7 Renault Megane newspaper advertisement

Figure 8 Peugeot 307 supplement advertisement

Figure 9 Lexus supplement advertisement ('Styling by Lexus')

Figure 10 Mazda 3 supplement advertisement

Figure 11 Lexus newspaper advertisement ('Ready for the Attention?')

Figure 12 Skoda Octavia supplement advertisement

Figure 13 Vauxhall Vectra newspaper advertisement

Figure 14 Porsche newspaper advertisement

Figure 15 Jeep newspaper advertisement

Figure 16 MG ZS18 newspaper advertisement

Figure 17a Landrover newspaper advertisement

Figure 17b Land Rover billboard

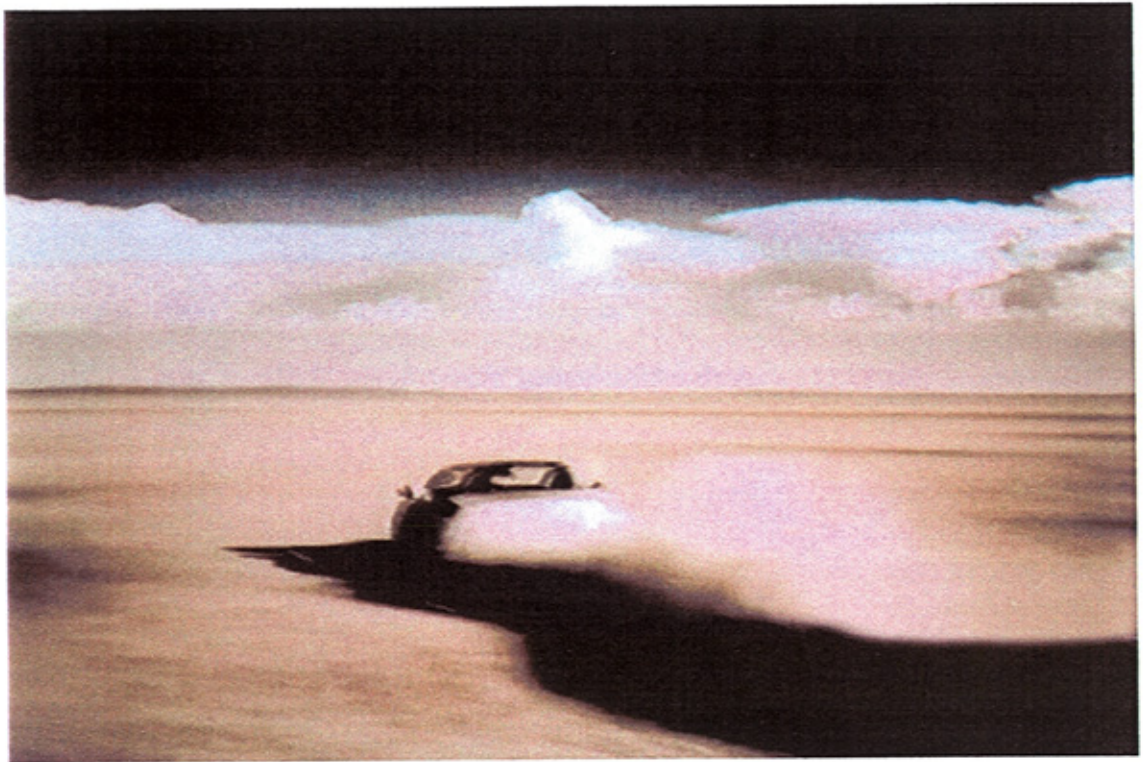**Figure 18a** Mercedes Benz supplement advertisement

Figure 18b Mercedes Benz television advertisement

Figure 18c Mercedes Benz television advertisement

Figure 19 Skoda television advertisement

Figure 20 Toyota Corolla television advertisement

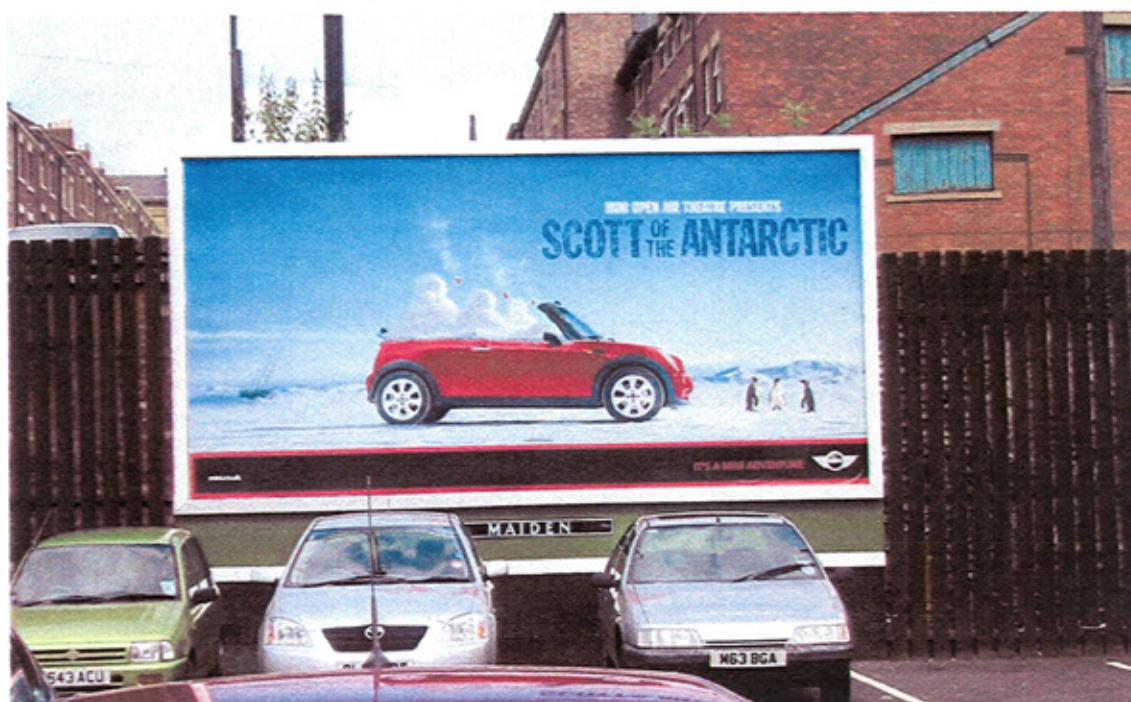**Figure 21** Renault Megane television advertisement

Figure 22a Mini billboard advertisement 'Scott of the Antarctic'

Figure 22b Mini billboard advertisement 'Born Free'

Figure 23a Ford Fusion billboard

Figure 23b Ford Fusion billboard – passed by cyclist

Figure 23c Ford Fusion billboard – passed by walker

Figure 24 Everyday Sport billboard

Figure 25a Everyday Sport and DfS billboard

Figure 25b Multiple billboards

Figure 26a Front lit scrolling billboard – T Mobile 'Relax. Call home'

Figure 26b Front lit scrolling billboard – Easy Jet 'Summer'

Figure 26c Front lit scrolling billboard – Sony 'Shoot Simple'

Figure 27a Persil cyclist and union flag billboard 'Redder whiter bluer'

Figure 27b Persil cyclist billboard 'Removes blood, sweat and tears'

Figure 27c Persil male cyclist billboard in car park context

Figure 27d Persil adshell

Figure 27e Persil adshell with bus stopping

Figure 28a and 28b Cars in urban reality