

CLASS-SPECIFIC ADVERTISING: A SEMIOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS OF CLASS PORTRAYALS IN
AMERICAN AND BRITISH MAGAZINE
ADVERTISEMENTS

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is a qualitative analysis which utilizes semiotics in order to determine how social classes are portrayed and presented by advertisers in both Great Britain and the United States. In most semiological analyses, which concentrate on signs and their meanings, cultural distinctions are of great importance, as the meaning of signs and symbols vary depending on which culture they are tied to. Despite the fact that Great Britain and the United States are both Western cultures, they are imagined to have varying degrees of class-consciousness. With this in mind, the basic assumption of this thesis is that despite the fact that Great Britain is considered class-conscious while America is not, the advertisements in both of these cultures will portray the working and middle classes in similar ways.

In developing this thesis, special acknowledgments are owed to several people. I wish to express my appreciation first and foremost to my adviser, Dr. Maureen Nemecek, who gave me the encouragement and confidence to apply for a study abroad scholarship in England, which led to the development of this thesis. I am also grateful to Dr. Nemecek for her advice on doing a semiological analysis. This leads me to express my deep appreciation to the Bailey family, who provided the funds for my study in England. I would also like to thank Dr. DeDe Boden and Dr. Richard Elliott of Lancaster University in England, whose ideas all helped in the development and/or completion of this research. Furthermore, I would like to thank the remaining members of my committee—Dr. Charles Fleming for his methodological advice, and Dr. Charles Edgely for his theoretical advice. Finally, I would also like to express my appreciation to Don Forbes, who was both a mentor and a friend to me, and who first encouraged me to apply for graduate school.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

As we move into the postmodern era, interest in true character and disgust with false advertising diminish . . . ; marketing one's personality becomes the most reasonable orientation to daily life.¹

Several scholars agree that with the 1990s and the rise of postmodernism, the "aesthetic dimension is brought to the foreground."² That is, aesthetics are no longer confined to high culture, but have, with the postmodern era, become part of everyday life: consumers define themselves as members of groups who seek to establish their identities by distinctive symbols such as language and dress, and there is an increased fluidity in consumption patterns as symbolic meanings change rapidly.³ As a result, most Western advertising of the 1990s stresses the same underlying message: by using Brand X, the consumer will *be* somebody.⁴ Arthur Asa Berger argues that it is advertising that creates fashion, gives people a sense of style, and offers information about what kinds of commodities should be consumed to generate a particular image.⁵ John Berger makes the following point regarding advertising's role in status consumption:

Publicity recognizes nothing except the power to acquire. . . . All hopes are gathered together, made homogeneous, simplified, so that they become the vague, magical promise offered in every purchase. No other kind of hope or satisfaction can be envisaged within the culture of capitalism.⁶

Thus, one could assume that status consumption plays a major, if not the primary role in the equation of purchasing many goods.

Along with this, Arthur Asa Berger argues that it is advertising that gives products and services symbolic significance.⁷ Marshall Blonski, in his book *American Mythologies*, illustrates this point. He tells the story of a photographer who was hired by Crisco Foods to photograph Crisco's new "extra-flaky crust" for an advertisement. The photographer shot a

close-up picture of a cherry pie, with just a portion of the pie crust showing. The photographer's goal was to make flakiness the subject of the shot—not the pie, the cherries, or the surroundings. But because the image was not instantly read as a pie in response to the viewer's question of "What's that?," the photo was rejected by Crisco.⁸ The photographer argues that the problem with the photo can be explained by the semiotics of advertisements:

In the days of Roland Barthes, you would try to make a sign that had the greatest number of connotations. The greatest number of meanings for the greatest number of people. Now you want to narrow that beam of meanings down and focus it in the eyes of the people that are in the position to buy your product and are considering it.⁹

Thus, Blonski's point is that images in advertisements do not just bear symbols, but that the symbols are stylized and made recognizable to the reader.¹⁰ This is the basis of semiology. In short, semiology (or semiotics) is both the study of signs, and also the study of what signs mean for those who make and exchange them. And through a semiological analysis of advertising messages, one understands that advertisements are not about truth, but are, as Roland Barthes notes, about a duplicity in the spoken representation of the world.¹¹ For all advertising presents the product, but tells something else through the use of signs and symbols.¹²

It is important to note here that the meanings of signs and symbols vary with the cultures to which they are tied. Furthermore, as scholars such as Vestegaard and Dyer argue, one could make the case that advertising is directly related to the culture of a society and, further, that it is through advertising that we come to know society.¹³ This is explained by Dyer in the following passage:

There are sets of rules known to both advertiser and receiver which assign meaning to certain signs. These rules organize our understanding of the world in terms of the dominant meaning patterns of each culture. As an example, long blond hair is a sign of femininity when it is interpreted through the code of femininity as the signifier of woman.¹⁴

With this passage, Dyer suggests that meaning is something that is negotiated between the sender and receiver and that advertisers use images, concepts, myths, etc.,

already available in society in order to mobilize meaning.¹⁵ Even further, Vestegaard makes the point that it is possible to "take the temperature of the popular ideology" through advertisements.¹⁶

With this in mind, one could question, as this research does, the salience of class-specific advertising in countries with varying degrees of class-consciousness. That is, one could argue that a semiological analysis of British and American class-specific advertisements will contribute to a better understanding of how advertising is related to society. This assumption is based on two notions: first and foremost, the notion that British society is said to be obsessed by class,¹⁷ while America, on the other hand, subscribes to the American dream,¹⁸ and second, the fact that one of the primary segments into which consumers are divided is that of social class.¹⁹

In elaboration of the differences between the levels of class-consciousness in Britain and the United States, one should first explain why these differences exist. In the United States, "the highly individuated notion of personal distinction—marked by the compulsory consumption of images—stands at the heart of the American Dream."²⁰ That is, the presumption that each individual has fair access to status, and therefore can escape the "anonymity and conditions of the common lot," has shaped the meaning and understanding of American democracy.²¹ Thus, with this ability to escape the common lot, along with the importance of individualism, Americans are seen as less class-conscious than other Western societies because they appear to have more opportunity to climb the social ladder to the middle class.

Britain's obsession with class, on the other hand, is attributed to the classes themselves, as both the middle and working class often "seal up" the boundaries between themselves. Despite the fact that the British government has struggled over the years to make Britain a classless society, class is still the most common source of social identity and the most important social factor shaping people's attitudes in Britain.²² One's accent, clothes, job, etc. can all indicate class in Britain.²³ British sociologists explain that the

working class has only become similar to the other classes in its lifestyle and in the amount of goods that it owns. Thus, the working class in Britain are concerned with status and material achievement and do not want to necessarily change their inequality.²⁴ This clinging to one's caste is illustrated by the following passage:

But who exactly are the working class? Oh, you will know them when you see them. There are people in this country, many of them in the media, who no longer know which class they belong to. I count myself among this number. The child of working Londoners, I grew up . . . part of the cockney Diaspora. By virtue of my profession, tax bracket and inclination, I am no longer working class. But although a veteran of a 1000 dinner parties, I don't feel middle-class and never will. The class structure is firmly in place and the working class are the reason—they cling to their caste and know their place. They don't want social mobility—they advertise their social position.²⁵

Numerous researchers, columnists, and scholars have produced work that leads one to deduce that class-consciousness is, in fact, more prevalent in Britain than it is in the United States, which sees itself (perhaps mistakenly so) as predominantly middle class. From this conclusion, this research hypothesizes that despite the notion that America is a middle class country and pretends to have few class distinctions, its advertisements targeted to the middle and working classes will show obvious differences. That is, elements such as design and type of appeal used will differ between middle- and working-class advertisements in both English *and* American advertisements, despite the fact that England is considered class-conscious, while America is not.

It is interesting to note that in researching the topic of class-specific advertising, one finds there is little information on it as a complete subject. What does exist is based on the assumption that groups or classes handle their positions in society differently. For example, John Berger argues that the middle class usually aspires to higher social strata and as a result, the advertisements targeted to them appeal to the individuality of the readers.²⁶ The working class, he argues, is said to be concerned with impressing one's neighbors

and thus, the advertisements targeted to this group promise a personal transformation through the function of the particular products they are selling.²⁷

Despite the lack of significant research on advertisements targeted to specific social classes, there does exist an abundance of research on related topics which served as a valuable resource in developing this thesis. For example, Basil Bernstein's research on linguistic codes of the working and middle classes was helpful in pointing out differences between working- and middle-class advertisements. Bernstein's research led him to conclude that the middle and working classes differ in terms of their speech patterns.²⁸ That is, the middle class is taught elaborate linguistic codes as children. These codes, in turn, cause them to make use of grammatically complex sentences, varied vocabulary, and logic in their everyday speech. The working class, on the other hand, uses restricted linguistic codes which include grammatically simple sentences, uniform vocabulary, and short, repetitious sentences.²⁹ One could argue that these codes, in turn, can be utilized by advertisers targeting specific social groups in order to create meaning for the target audience.

Other research also played a significant role in the development of this thesis. Chiara Giaccardi's dissertation on the "sociosemiotics" of Italian and British advertisements influenced the choice of methodology, and also helped in the overall understanding of semiotics and the issue of meaning in advertisements. More importantly, though, it was Arthur Asa Berger's guidelines and suggestions for a semiological analysis of advertisements that were adapted to fit this thesis. Furthermore, sociologists such as Urry, Warde, and Gergen helped in drawing connections between changes and trends in society (such as postmodernism, consumerism, etc.) and the presence of signs and symbols in advertisements.

Purpose and Significance of Study

Social class is an important factor in defining the advertisers' audience, as class plays a large role in the beliefs, values, lifestyles, that the audience members associate with. Realizing this, advertisers target social classes in distinct ways: in order to capture the attention of their middle- and working-class audience, advertisers must tap into their dreams, their desires, their likes and dislikes.

Despite the importance of class in defining the audience, class is an overlooked issue in the realm of communications research. The purpose of this research, then, is to determine how advertising organizes and constructs reality, and more specifically, to determine how advertisements present this social reality in drawing from the visual and textual stereotypes of middle- and working-class members of society. Thus, this research hopes to answer the questions of how the working and middle classes are portrayed in advertisements in both the United States and Britain, and whether or not there are similarities between and among portrayals of the working and middle class in both of these countries. Once these questions are answered, this research will make an attempt to hypothesize why social classes are portrayed they way they are in advertisements. In order to meet these goals, this research will semiologically analyze both working- and middle-class advertisements in terms of elements such as the overall aesthetics of design, type of appeals used, the identities established, and the linguistic codes present in the text.

Organization of Study

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter II provides a review of the literature relating to the study. This literature review covers several issues including the debate on how meaning is derived from advertisements, changes and trends in Western societies as they relate to advertising, and class distinctions between the US and the UK.

Because advertising regulations play a crucial role in how advertisers create advertisements, a synopsis of the differences in British and American advertising practices and histories is provided in Appendix B. In Chapter III, the semiotics of advertising is discussed in depth, as it is important in order to acquaint the reader with this method of analysis. Also in Chapter III, this methodology is discussed in terms of the research design. In Chapter IV, the research data are presented. And finally, in Chapter V, a discussion of the findings is provided, along with the conclusions and recommendations for further study.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

¹Kenneth Gergen, The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life (US: BasicBooks, 1991), 151.

²Roger Burrows and Catherine Marsh. Consumption and Class (London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1992), 6.

³Ibid.

⁴Kenneth Gergen, The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life (US: BasicBooks, 1991), 139.

⁵Arthur Asa Berger, Cultural Criticism (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1995), 54.

⁶John Berger, Ways of Seeing (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979), 153.

⁷Arthur Asa Berger, Cultural Criticism (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1995), 54.

⁸ Marshall Blonski, American Mythologies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 94.

⁹Ibid., 100.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Roland Barthes, The Semiotic Challenge (New York: Hill and Wang, 1988), 178.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schroder, The Language of Advertising (United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd, 1985), 121.

¹⁴Gillian Dyer, Advertising As Communication (London: Routledge, 1992), 135.

¹⁵Ibid., 129.

¹⁶ Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schroder, The Language of Advertising (United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd., 1985), 121.

¹⁷Alan Warde and Nicholas Abercrombie, eds., Stratification and Social Inequality: Studies in British Society (Lancaster, UK: Framework Press Educational Publishers Ltd, 1994), 5.

¹⁸Stuart Ewen, All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture (US: Basic Books, 1988), 58; Arthur Asa Berger, Cultural Criticism (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1995), 48.

¹⁹Michael R. Solomon, Consumer Behavior. (MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1992), 392.

²⁰Stuart Ewen, All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture (US: Basic Books, 1988), 58.

²¹Ibid., 59.

²²Alan Warde and Nicholas Abercrombie, eds. Stratification and Social Inequality: Studies in British Society (Lancaster, UK: Framework Press Educational Publishers Ltd, 1994), 28.

²³ Ibid., 5.

²⁴Ellis E. Cashmore, United Kingdom? Class, Race and Gender Since The War (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989), 53.

²⁵Tony Parsons, "No More Heroes," The London Times. 3 October 1994, R20 (D).

²⁶John Berger, Ways of Seeing (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979), 110.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes, and Control (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), vol. 1, 115.

²⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is little research on advertisements aimed at specific social classes. That which does exist only hints at the issue by simply defining and identifying what constitutes a "class-specific" advertisement. Thus, this literature review will turn to the few scholars—namely John Berger, John Fiske and John Hartley, and Torben Vestegaard—who have begun to explore the issue of class-specific advertising. In addition, the literature review will focus on related issues such as meaning in advertisements, consumption, cultural trends in Western societies, and of course, social class. Most of the literature reviewed here refers to both the United States and the United Kingdom, except where distinctions are specifically noted.

Meaning

In any investigation into the realm of advertising, one must first ponder the question of meaning. What are advertisements trying to convey with the images they portray? With the discourses they construct? And for the purpose of this research, the primary question is: What do advertisements, as a combination of both text and images, say about social class? One can only make some attempt to determine what *advertisers'* meanings are in conveying a message. Perhaps one could regard advertising as a complete entity, where the authors are a team who construct messages with a particular meaning in mind. This goes along with Grice who posits that in order to make sense of communicative texts, one must "grasp the intention of the speaker through a series of inferences."¹ With this, recipients are considered as passive objects of a message which is designed to be understood only as the author intended.²

Most scholars, however, argue that the source and recipient are expected to work together to facilitate the accurate exchange of information.³ In further explanation of this

idea, one could turn to Wittgenstein, who theorizes that meaning is built into language and that different groups have different "language games" with different assumptions.⁴ From this one could posit that advertisers take advantage of tacit assumptions built into a group's language and make use of the fact that a given group of people will respond to some ways of speaking and not to others. Therefore, advertising represents "a perspective of reality by means of a particular language."⁵ Or, to put it in Dyer's terms:

There are sets of rules known to both advertiser and receiver which assign meaning to certain signs. These rules organize our understanding of the world in terms of the dominant meaning patterns of each culture. As an example, long blond hair is a sign of femininity when it is interpreted through the code of femininity as the signifier of woman. ⁶

The idea that meaning is something that is negotiated between the sender and receiver is based on the notion that advertisers use images, concepts, myths, etc., already available in society in order to mobilize meaning. More specifically, Vestegaard and Schroder make the point that it is possible to "take the temperature of the popular ideology" through advertisements.⁷ That is, in order for advertisers to capture the attention of the audience, advertisers must tap into the readers' consciousness by disposing them favorably to the product.⁸ Vestegaard and Schroder suggest this can be seen in a British advertisement for oriental food products which reflected the widespread racism in Britain in the 1970s: "Here are two Orientals you'll want to invite to dinner again and again."⁹

Vestegaard and Schroder make other points on meaning, one in particular, that should be mentioned here. In a sense, they contradict themselves by arguing that besides taking the temperature of social reality, advertising also suggests a reality: "the world portrayed in advertisements moves on a daydream level: youth vs. age, beauty vs. ugliness, work vs. leisure. It is all wishful thinking."¹⁰ Thus, according to Vestegaard and Schroder, the overrepresentation of younger people should not be seen as a distortion of a social fact, but as an indication that old age is held in low esteem in culture.¹¹ This idea is even better illustrated through their claim that advertising "functions as a bulwark against

social change by disseminating what are presented as the rules of the game, those norms and types of behavior which are presented as self-evident for all who want to lead a normal human life."¹²

Linguists such as Fairclough agree with Vestegaard's assumption here. Fairclough argues that the discourse of advertising defines the self.¹³ That is, it makes assumptions about and portrays individuals and different groups of people in its own terms. According to Fairclough, this is because categories of potential buyers are often hard to distinguish in terms of class, age, and income, and as a result they have to be constructed in discourse.¹⁴

Goffman, on the other hand, explains the presentation of the "self" in advertisements in a different manner. He posits that the language of advertising provides readable images, or "display acts," of a situation so that the sender and receiver of the interaction have some grounds for establishing a relationship.¹⁵ That is, advertisers place the actors in their advertisements in situations that are recognizable to the audience, and by doing so, advertising inevitably re-creates stereotypes and conventional portraits.¹⁶ Likewise, Leiss et al. argue that the selves in advertisements are created in order to draw the consumer in and capture his or her attention. They argue that the producer, product, and consumer are brought together as "co-participants in a life-style, a community of consumption, which the advertisement constructs and assimilates."¹⁷

In further exploration of the idea that meaning in advertisements involves a process of negotiation between the sender and receiver, one should turn to scholars such as Eco, Stern, and Geis. These scholars argue that it is important for the sender of the message to remember the fact that with advertisements, as with any other media message, receivers' interpretations vary.¹⁸ As noted earlier, Eco argues that text is a project of communication by an author, requiring an active cooperation from the receiver who must "fill in the gaps."¹⁹ In other words, advertising text is something that must be accomplished.²⁰ Furthermore, Geis purports that the interpretation of a message will be the one most consistent with the receiver's belief set and requiring the least effort on his or her part:

In our normal mode of using language we are as listeners concerned with the "gist" of what others say to us. . . . The gist of what is said in an advertisement will be interpreted by the hearer in association with his or her knowledge of the product, the advertiser, and the medium, and also what might be of interest to him about the product.²¹

From this one can conclude that different receivers will interpret advertising messages in different ways. A message's meaning can thus vary from individual to individual and culture to culture, as readers bring their social positions, backgrounds, gender, etc., with them to the reading of any discourse.²² Eco expands on this in the following passage:

Codes and subcodes are applied to the message in the light of a general framework of cultural references, which constitutes the receiver's patrimony of knowledge: his ideological, ethical, religious standpoints, his psychological attitudes, his tastes, his value systems, etc.²³

This notion that readers bring a "patrimony of knowledge" to the reading of a discourse challenges the traditional communications model, which, according to Stern, lacks crucial elements. The traditional model assumes that there is an absolute code in which both sender and receiver share an understanding and thus from which derive meaning.²⁴ Those researchers in opposition to this idea of an absolute code make the point that "meaning is always negotiated in the semiotic process, never simply imposed inexorably from above by an omnipresent author through an absolute code."²⁵ Eco eloquently summarizes the shortcomings in the traditional communications model in the following paragraph:

. . . the standard communication model proposed by information theorists (Sender, Message, Addressee—in which the message is decoded on the basis of a Code shared by both the virtual poles of the chain) does not describe the actual functioning of communicative intercourses. The existence of various codes and subcodes, the variety of sociocultural circumstances in which a message is omitted (where the codes of the addressee can be different from those of the sender—and the rate of initiative displayed by the addressee in making presuppositions and abductions—all result in making a message (insofar as it is received and transformed into the content of an expression) an empty form to which various possible senses can be attributed. Moreover, what one calls "message" is usually a text, that is a network of different messages

depending on different cues and working at different levels of signification. Therefore, the usual communication model should be rewritten. . . .²⁶

In short, the traditional communications model of "who tells what to whom?" implies that the source, message, and recipient are engaged in a speech act where each entity is conceived of as singular. This leads to the assumption that passive recipients function to receive information transmitted by a single source.²⁷ This, Stern claims, "does not fully describe the interactive network of advertisers, promotional text, and consumers as co-creators of communication intercourse."²⁸

With these shortcomings in mind, Stern (drawing from Eco) proposes a revised communications model which she applies to advertising. She first proposes that advertising should be viewed as text, defined as "any written document that embodies prevailing literary, social, and communication codes and that is interpretable within cultural context."²⁹ Thus, as text, advertising can be linked to culture and can be analyzed more fully as a piece of discourse.³⁰

More specifically, Stern describes advertising text as having two domains: internal and external.

The main boundary surrounds the text, for the message *per se* is the only entity in the communication triad that resides solely within it, unlike the source and the recipients who have within-text and without-text aspects. That is, multidimensional sources and recipients can function in the external or real world outside of the text as well as in the internal or fictionalized world inside the texts.³¹

In explanation of the above idea, one should first note that Stern distinguishes between external, or real world reality, which she terms "without-text," and internal message reality, termed "within-text." She also points out that there is a "slipperiness" between external reality and internal reality, as the recipients and sources can function in both the real world and within the internal or fictionalized world inside the text.

According to Stern, the function of the recipients and the sources vary with the multiple roles they play.³² The roles of the consumers include implied consumers—those addressed by the advertisement; sponsorial consumers—the sponsor's representatives who

determine whether the advertisement runs; and actual consumers—those who exist in the real world.³³ Again, these consumer roles are tied to either the within-text or without-text status. The implied consumers are considered "within-text" and are the imaginary message recipients that are being addressed by the message. They are created by the writer of the advertisement and are constructed in his or her imagination.³⁴ They are, as Ong notes, an audience cast in some sort of role: entertainment seekers, information gatherers, or empathetic participants. With this, the implied consumer must cast him or herself into this role by agreeing, for example, to believe that in the case of the Frosted Flake advertisements, Tony the Tiger can talk.³⁵ Thus, these consumers are the ideal recipients in that they are "assumed to acquiesce to whatever beliefs are required by the text."³⁶

Sponsorial consumers, on the other hand, are those first encountered outside the advertising text. Again, they are the consumers who approve and pay for the advertisement and thus, they are the gatekeepers of the advertisements. Actual consumers also exist outside the advertisement. They are the individuals in the real world who comprise the target market.³⁷

The source also has more than one dimension. As Stern suggests, the source is not a single human author and is instead a dual entity. The source's multidimensionality is defined by its two roles: the sponsor and the author of the message. The sponsor is a real-life, without-text figure and holds financial responsibility for the advertisement. The author is also part of the real world and serves to create the message.³⁸ The persona, on the other hand, is part of the source but it is distinguished from the other two entities in that resides within the textual world of the advertisement. The persona is defined as the communicator within the advertisement.³⁹

What Stern's revised communications model points to is that in considering the multidimensional roles and complexity of both the sources and recipients in producing meaning, there can be no absolute meaning derived from advertisements. Absolute meaning, again, suggests that the source and the recipient are single entities where the

message is to be contrived, sent, and interpreted in a correct way.⁴⁰ Thus, in adhering to the assumptions of researchers like Eco, Geis, and Stern, perhaps it is best to view meaning in advertisements as derived from readers who must fill in textual gaps and who become creative participants in the interpretation of messages created by a multidimensional source.

Even further, one could conclude with individual interpretations of messages, there is no "true" meaning in an advertising message, and by turning to semiotics (which is the basis of both Eco and Stern's theses), one can better understand this conclusion. For as Sebeok notes, "semiotics never reveals what the world is, but circumscribes what we can know about it; in other words, what a semiotic model depicts is not 'reality' as such, but nature as unveiled by our method of questioning."⁴¹ This is better explained by Sebeok's semiological account of how meaning is derived from a message:

It is convenient to begin a general preliminary consideration of messages where they are assumed to originate. Their inception can be pictured as in a box, designated the source. A message can now be provisionally defined as a selection out of a code by a source. . . . The source box is nothing more than a formal model used for facilitating the comprehension of hypothetical constructs: given a certain input, one must, more or less, guess at what takes place to account for the output.⁴²

Thus, with the notion of black box, one knows nothing about what is inside it or about its function. This is because the message must undergo several transformations while progressing on its journey toward the destination, and as a result, only inferences can be made. Thus, there can be no certainty or no real truth in what will come out of the box (or the message)—one can only guess at its meaning.⁴³

Arthur Asa Berger explains semiotics as the science of signs which is concerned with how meaning is generated in texts. Further, "it deals with what signs are and how they function."⁴⁴ Most scholars writing on semiotics begin with a definition of a sign. Peirce, one of the founders of modern semiotics, defines a sign as follows: "something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity."⁴⁵ In more concrete

terms, Peirce explains that there are three kinds of signs: icons which communicate by resemblance; indexes which communicate by logical connection; and symbols, which are completely conventional and whose meanings are learned.⁴⁶ In his theory, icons and indexes have natural relationships with what they stand for, while symbols must be learned. For example, a pencil streak representing a geometrical line is an icon; a bullet hole in a window representing a gunshot is an index; and words or utterances—which must be interpreted and understood—are symbols.⁴⁷ It is important to note here that Peirce stresses that different symbols mean different things in different cultures and time periods. This stems from his notion that signs, as noted above, must be interpreted in order to have meaning.⁴⁸

In order to understand semiotics, one must know that signs are composed of two entities, the signifier and the signified. By turning to Barthes, one can better understand these two entities. He uses the example of an ice cream advertisement to explain them: *Gervais Ice Cream—You'll Melt with Pleasure*.⁴⁹ Barthes proposes a situation involving an outerspace Martian, who knows the English language, but who is not familiar with advertising. After seeing the Gervais Ice Cream advertisement, the Martian would think that if he ate this certain brand of ice cream, his entire body would change in form from experiencing pleasure.⁵⁰ Barthes notes, "naturally, the Martian has no understanding of the metaphors of our language; but this particular deafness does not prevent him from receiving a perfectly meaningful message."⁵¹

According to Barthes, this "meaningful" message of *You'll Melt With Pleasure* is "in relation" to the reality of the advertisement and is called the message of denotation.⁵² It is made up of the signifiers. The second message is the message of connotation, it is the signified and it is always the same in all advertising messages: the excellence of the product announced.⁵³ Barthes claims the advertising goal is reached the precise moment this signified is perceived.⁵⁴

A final and crucial element that must be understood as part of semiotics is the code. Arthur Asa Berger defines codes as "highly complex patterns of associations we all learn in a given society and culture."⁵⁵ A more concrete explanation of codes is given by Saussure:

The relationship between the signified and the signifiers is arbitrary, and the connection that is made between these two entities must be understood within a given context or set of rules. These connections between the signifier and signified— when identified, isolated, and formalized— are the codes.⁵⁶

Saussure, in essence, explains codes as the connections that are made between the signifier and the signified. As an example of codes one could again turn to Dyer's explanation that long blonde hair is a signifier of woman when interpreted through the code of femininity. The code of femininity in most Western cultures includes factors such as manicured nails, soft voices, make up, and of course, long hair.⁵⁷ Thus, with Dyer's example, one should recognize that long blonde hair is the signifier, that woman is the signified, and that the connection between these two elements is interpreted through Western culture's code of what it means to be a woman.

Furthermore, according to Arthur Asa Berger, to be socialized within a culture means, in essence, to be taught a number of codes, most of which are specific to a person's social class, ethnic group and so on. Because of this, individuals bring different codes to messages and thus interpret these messages in different ways.⁵⁸ A good example of this can be seen in Basil Bernstein's work on the differences between middle and working class codes. His research (where he analyzed speech samples from discussion groups involving both middle-class and working-class subjects with varying IQ profiles) led him to conclude that in Britain children learn either of two linguistic codes, the "elaborated" or "restrictive" codes, and that these codes play a major role in the children's future development and adult lives.⁵⁹ The elaborated codes are the codes Bernstein associates with the middle class. They include grammatically complex sentences, varied vocabulary, careful use of adjectives and adverbs, high-level conceptualization, and the use of logic, qualifications, passive

voice, uncommon adjectives and adverbs, and egocentric sequences.⁶⁰ Restricted codes are those of the working class. They include grammatically simple sentences, uniform vocabulary, short, repetitious sentences, little use of adjectives and adverbs, low-level conceptualization, emotional appeals, and little use of qualifications.⁶¹ Bernstein argues that the difference in language-use (elaborated vs. restricted codes) stems from entirely different modes of speech found within the middle and the working class. The distinctions in modes of speech, he posits, arise because the organization of the two social classes maintains that different emphases are placed on language potential. These emphases, in turn, orient the speakers to different types of relationships to objects and to persons.⁶²

In short, semiotics is not just the study of signs, it is also a study of what signs mean for those who make and exchange them. Thus, by a semiotic analysis of advertising messages, one can understand that advertisements are not about truth, but about a "duplicity in the spoken representation of the world."⁶³ For as Barthes notes, all advertising presents the product, but tells something else.⁶⁴

Consumption And Class-Defined Consumers

Consumption

On Saturday I went shopping with my teenage daughter. I needed a dress for a party the next week. I saw a very attractive dress, black, a daring cut, and with silver sequins. I was very excited until I tried it on. Dejectedly I had to tell my daughter that I just couldn't take it. It wasn't me. My daughter responded with gentle mockery, 'But Mom, that isn't the point. With that dress you would really *be* somebody.'⁶⁵

Most Western advertising of the 1990s has stressed the same underlying message: by using Brand X, the consumer will *be* somebody.⁶⁶ Perhaps this is best explained by John Berger who notes that products can create selves which might be enviable to others.⁶⁷ Along this line of thinking, Ward argues that it is status consumption that plays the primary role in the purchase of goods and services with identity value.⁶⁸ Status consumption is the

process by which individuals strive to improve their social standing through the consumption of products that display status both to the individual and to others.⁶⁹ Warde notes two general ways for consumers to generate identity value, both distinguished in terms of the "other" that the consumer is striving to impress. That is, consumers either try to impress members of different status groups, or members of their own groups. By impressing members of different groups, upper groups are in essence marking their privilege. By impressing members of their own group, consumers are establishing differentiation and individuality.⁷⁰ (Here, it is important to point to the fact that identity value is not associated with all products, as most consumers do not buy soup, for example, for identity purposes. Products such as food and cleaning items are usually only associated with their use. Use-values are tied to final consumption and the use that consumers get from a product.)⁷¹

In short, one could conclude, as Lee does, that products are extensions of the self, as they provide consumers with a way of managing their sense of place, social position and identity.⁷² For as Baudrillard suggests, the consumption of material goods is inseparable from the consumption of their social meaning:⁷³ an individual who owns a nice home, good furniture, and a nice car "is recognized by others as having passed the test of personhood in our society."⁷⁴

Gary Cross, in his book *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture*, explains that existing consumption patterns and Western society's obsession with goods are a result of the consumer culture. He argues that in the 1920s and 1930s, Western societies opted for consumerism rather than for a different approach to culture. Consumerism created insatiable needs for products which, in turn, forced members of capitalist societies to work more than industrialism required. As a result there was an overabundance in the production of material goods.⁷⁵

Critics of the consumer culture argue that this overproduction of consumer goods leads to alienation. This is because although people possess commodities in the consumer

culture, they also experience themselves as commodities. With this, their work is alien to their "deeper natures and they work to make money so they can survive and buy goods, not because they feel they are expressing themselves in their work."⁷⁶ Thus, these critics claim that consumers work not only because they have real needs (food, clothing, shelter), but also because they are inspired to work to satisfy desires that tempt them.⁷⁷ This tempting, they argue, is done by the advertising business which feels that in order to move products off the shelves, it must persuade consumers to buy things they do not need.⁷⁸ John Berger makes the following point regarding advertising's role in status consumption:

Publicity recognizes nothing except the power to acquire. . . . All hopes are gathered together, made homogeneous, simplified, so that they become the vague, magical promise offered in every purchase. No other kind of hope or satisfaction can be envisaged within the culture of capitalism.⁷⁹

Consumer culture critics further suggest that alienation is functional for advertisers, for it is the sense of estrangement from the self that leads people to purchase products endlessly in an effort to alleviate the alienation they feel.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Lefebvre argues that advertising "is a powerful force that exerts terror on people and uses this terror to make them behave in certain ways."⁸¹ These terrors include matters such as growing old in a youth-centered culture, being fat in a thin-crazed culture, and being poor in a wealth-crazed culture. Thus, Lefebvre argues that advertising and the media in capitalist societies are more than just a means of marketing products; they are an instrument of social control.⁸² Along these lines of thinking, Wolfgang Huag suggests advertisers have learned to exploit human sexuality through their use of design to keep the consumer culture operating. He argues that advertisers have aestheticized commodities so that these objects themselves now stimulate desire.⁸³ And Enzenberger argues that advertising's real goal is not to sell goods, but to sell the long term political order that makes the consumer culture possible.⁸⁴

In short, consumer culture theorists argue that capitalism is not simply an economic system, but a kind of culture in which almost everything is subordinated to consumption.⁸⁵

In order to better understand the overall picture of consumption and the consumer culture, one must make note of two important trends that have changed the way consumers are viewed in the eyes of marketers and producers. To begin with, Urry suggests that Western societies have been moving from Fordist to post-Fordist consumption.⁸⁶ The post-Fordist mass consumption hypothesis is, according to Urry, the most influential of the economic restructuring theories.⁸⁷ Perhaps in explaining this restructuring, it is best to begin with a brief synopsis of the notion of Fordism. Urry explains that Fordism is characterized by the purchase of commodities made under mass production. With this, the focus is on high expenditure of consumer products. Individual producers dominate particular industrial markets and thus, the producer rather than the consumer tends to be in control. Furthermore, with Fordism commodities are not distinctly differentiated from each other by fashion, style, or specific market segments. There is thus a limited choice of products for consumers, and what there is tends to reflect producer interests only.⁸⁸

With post-Fordism, on the other hand, one sees a shift from socialized toward more privatized modes of consumption.⁸⁹ According to Urry, there is, with post-Fordism, an emphasis on the purchase of commodities which are produced under conditions of flexible production. Furthermore, as credit permits consumer expenditure to rise, consumption rather than production is dominant. In sum, with post-Fordism almost all aspects of social life have been commodified and there develops a much greater differentiation of purchasing patterns within market segments. Gone are the mass audiences of the Fordism era; in their place are consumer-driven producers and more specialized commodities.⁹⁰

Postmodernism also plays a role in consumerism and purchasing patterns. Burrows and Marsh define postmodernism as the "fragmenting of ideas and lifestyles and the elaboration of symbol over substance"⁹¹ More specifically, Burrows and Marsh tie postmodernism to consumption in the following ways: (a) symbolic meanings attached to objects have become a major part of marketing, (b) there is a move toward more of a "pick and mix aesthetic," as in MTV which combines elements of previous cultures; (c)

consumers in the postmodern era define themselves as members of groups which seek to establish their identities by distinctive symbols such as language and dress; and (d) there is an increased "fluidity" in consumption patterns as symbolic meanings change rapidly.⁹² Obviously, there is a link here between postmodernism and the post-Fordist pattern of consumption, as both are centered on the consumer and with both, everything is commodified.

Class-Defined Consumers

There is then, a culture of capitalism—characterized by an extremely well developed advertising industry, the production of many goods and services in the private realm, and, generally speaking, the increased separation of people into socioeconomic classes, with those at the top of the economic ladder gaining ever-larger amounts of money at the expense of those at the bottom.⁹³

The above passage is in accordance with Marx, whose theories of class conflict and hegemony have played a large role in the notion of the consumer culture. The main thrust of Marx's schema is that capitalism allows the upper classes to maintain positions of power over the masses by controlling production and thus controlling ideas.⁹⁴ Marxist theorists further argue that "bourgeoisie heroes" in the media maintain the status quo by "peddling" capitalist ideologies of individuality and consumer lust.⁹⁵ In other words, these theorists suggest that the media gatekeepers use powerful middle-class protagonists in their advertisements, movies, etc., in order to promote upper-class ideologies, and it is because of this that most people get their information about the social structure from the mass media.

Whether or not the media's agenda involves the use of bourgeoisie heroes in order to maintain class divisions is debatable, but the fact remains that class divisions exist, and realizing this, marketers and advertisers target social classes in specific ways. Thus, it is because marketers are aware that people spend their leisure time with others who share their tastes, ideas, and values about the way life should be lived that social class has become a

major part of market segmentation.⁹⁶ Marketing researchers such as Solomon, for example, argue that a person's class can be a cause of consumption, as people in different classes have differing views about how to spend money. More specifically, Solomon's research shows that the working class tends to evaluate products in utilitarian terms such as sturdiness and comfort, while the middle class tends to evaluate products in terms of style and fashionability. Solomon also found that the working class is less likely than the middle class to experiment with new products such as modern furniture or colored appliances. Thus, immediate needs tend to dictate buying behavior for the working class, while long term goals appear to dictate buying behavior for the middle class.⁹⁷

Fussell's research on class-specific purchasing patterns, however, shows the working class does spend money on modern items such as color televisions, stereos, and elaborate refrigerators.⁹⁸ The working class, he argues, has much respect for advertising and brand names. Fussell claims that by knowing about brand names, the lower class hopes to display up-to-dateness, as well as to associate themselves with a successful product. ⁹⁹ Fussell does argue, though, that the working class is "unself-conscious." That is, because they are not concerned with choosing the correct status emblems, they can "do, say, wear, and look like pretty much anything they want without undue feelings of shame, which belong to their betters, the middle class."¹⁰⁰

Through Fussell's research on the middle class, one can see that the middle class is overly concerned about appearances. Fussell refers to C.Wright Mills' assumption that the affliction of the middle class is "status panic."¹⁰¹ That is, Fussell suggests the middle class possesses a strong desire to belong, and purchasing something in order to belong is a good sign of being middle class.¹⁰² They are, he argues, the natural target for bandwagon advertisements in which they are promised to become part of a large group. And it is the middle-class concern about "offending others" that makes them the primary market for hygiene products: "For without the middle class, the whole deodorant business would fall to the ground."¹⁰³

By turning to theoretical work on class-specific consumption patterns, one can better understand the reasons behind these patterns. To begin with, Bourdieu's *habitus* theory provides an explanation of the differences between working- and middle-class tastes. Bourdieu argues that working-class taste is a result of a particular world-view that stems from a lifestyle of necessity. The working class' social origins, he argues, are "closest to the realm of economic necessity, and because of this fact the working class is denied access to cultural and educational capital."¹⁰⁴ This, in turn, leads to different tastes and judgments about products. Working-class taste in food, for example, is generally governed by the capacity of certain food products and meals to satisfy hunger and to provide nutrition. According to Bourdieu, this is transformed unconsciously by the working class into a "symbolic level where the typical working-class meal objectifies a deep-seated struggle to escape the yoke of economic scarcity."¹⁰⁵ This is why, Bourdieu explains, the meal and the mode of consumption within the working-class lifestyle constitutes material substance and abundance, and thus "soups or sauces are served with a ladle or spoon to avoid too much measuring or counting."¹⁰⁶

Bourdieu points to photographic preferences as another explanation of the differences between working- and middle-class tastes. Bourdieu explains that the working class tend toward the common sense function of a photograph as a document of social ceremonies and family occasions, while the middle class, on the other hand, who hold a significant amount of cultural capital (here, education), consume photography very differently.¹⁰⁷ For the middle class, photography becomes the occasion for a display of cultural competence which is based on an appreciation of the art of photography itself. What is significant is not the content, but the formal composition of the photo, and the knowledge which provides the basis for aesthetic judgment of the photo.¹⁰⁸

In short, Bourdieu argues that it is the time spent in, as well as the qualifications gained from, education that produces different consumption patterns between the classes:

"It is educational capital that is valued for its capacity to code and contextualise social experience in a way that grants a sense of distinction to those who possess it."¹⁰⁹

Again, marketers understand that the working and middle classes may differ in everything from their education and income to their opinions and values, and as a result, target these groups in distinct ways. Marketers have, however, failed to use social class information as effectively as they could. Solomon suggests that marketers should place more emphasis on such factors as (a) intergenerational mobility, where members within one family move up or down in status; (b) status inconsistency, where some groups are not consistent in their choice of status symbols; (c) subjective social class, which is the class a consumer identifies with rather than the one he or she objectively belongs to; and (d) the consumers' aspiration to change their class standing.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, researchers such as Solomon and Sorensen stress that marketers should place more emphasis on the social status of working wives. The traditional assumption is that husbands define a family's social class, while wives only "live it,"¹¹¹ but according to Sorenson, this should be questioned, as many women now contribute equally to the family's well being.¹¹²

Class-Specific Advertising

In researching the topic of class-specific advertising, one finds that there is little information on it as a complete subject. What does exist is primarily theoretical work and is based on the assumption that groups or classes handle their positions in society differently. For example, John Berger argues that the middle class usually aspires to higher social strata and as a result, the advertisements targeted to this class appeal to the individuality of the readers.¹¹³ Berger argues that advertisements for the working class, on the other hand, promise a personal transformation through the function of the particular product the advertisement is selling.¹¹⁴ In sum, Berger claims that class-specific advertising aimed at the working class is based on the "Cinderella myth," while middle class publicity

"promises a transformation of relationships through a general atmosphere created by an ensemble of products."¹¹⁵

Although Berger suggests an interesting hypothesis of class-specific advertising, he fails to support his suppositions with an analysis. Realizing this, Vestergaard and Schroder take Berger's hypothesis a step further by analyzing magazine advertisements aimed at working- and middle-class audiences.¹¹⁶ Their research findings support Berger's suppositions: they found that numerous middle-class advertisements single out each audience member as a unique individual, sometimes picturing women as solopists, "staring into the void or narcissistically enjoying their own bodies" and that, overall, working-class advertisements do in fact use products as a means of personal transformation.¹¹⁷ As an example of working-class advertisements, Vestergaard and Schroder make note of a floor tile advertisement: "The flooring you choose to put down says a lot about the sort of person you are."¹¹⁸

Fiske and Hartley add to the theoretical data on class-specific advertising by pointing to Parkin, who assumes that facts alone do not provide meanings, and that individuals in Western societies make sense of their social world by drawing upon at least three meaning systems: the *dominant system*, the *subordinate system*, and the *radical system*.¹¹⁹

Parkin explains that the *dominant system* presents the "official version of class relations."¹²⁰ That is, it promotes existing inequality, and leads to a response among members of the lower class that can be described as deferential or aspirational: they either defer to the way things are, or they aspire to an individual share of the available rewards. Thus, with the dominant system, individuals essentially accept the existing distribution of jobs, power, etc.¹²¹ Vestergaard and Schroder suggest that a relationship exists between the traditional middle class consciousness and the dominant system, as members of the middle class are relatively privileged in terms of wealth, power, and opportunities.¹²²

Vestergaard and Schroder suggest that Parkin's *subordinate* and *radical* meaning systems, on the other hand, are more in line with working class consciousness.¹²³ According to Parkin, the subordinate system is based on the acceptance of the dominant system's control of the economic processes, but suggests that the subordinate class reserves the right to negotiate a better share of the available rewards. Thus, the subordinate system promotes a negotiated response to inequality. As an example, Parkin explains that this meaning system can be seen in the collective bargaining of trade-unions in which a reward structure is accepted.¹²⁴ The radical system, however, is based on that section of the subordinate class whose identity of interest is expressed in working class solidarity. It is class-conscious, unlike the previous two meaning systems, in that it rejects the frameworks by which one class achieves a dominant position, and as a result, promotes an oppositional response to inequality.¹²⁵

Fiske and Hartley argue that Parkin's meaning systems can be analyzed in the context of media messages. More specifically, they explain that the meaning systems can be viewed as three separate codes which are used by both the sender and receiver of media messages.¹²⁶ The latent meaning of a message is encoded by the sender in the "dominant" code. The receiver, however, may use any one of the three codes to decode the message, depending on his or her social experience and individual response to the message.¹²⁷ Thus, receivers derive different meanings from media messages depending on what meaning system with which they associate.

Furthermore, Fiske and Hartley also point to the distinction between class *in itself* and class *of itself* as an important factor in how the media targets specific groups.¹²⁸ They define these terms, which were first proposed by Marx, in the following passage:

Class in itself involves the objective existence of classes produced by a social structure deriving ultimately from what Marx variously terms the material, social or economic "conditions of existence." These classes are differentiated from one another by inequalities of power, wealth, security, opportunity and position. . . . But people's response to their objective class situation gives rise to the secondary notion of class for itself. This is the

(sometimes only potential) awareness among people of a common identity springing from their common experience.¹²⁹

In short, Fiske and Hartley explain class *in itself* to be the class that is defined by its social position—that is, the education, occupation, and income of its members. *Class for itself*, on the other hand, is the awareness of common identity among the members of a class.

Fiske and Hartley argue that this distinction is important because the media avoids divisions between classes in themselves and tends to focus on classes for themselves.¹³⁰ That is, advertisements targeted toward specific classes often focus on the responses of people to their status groups, as it is this response that produces individual anxieties about one's social status.¹³¹ In line with this, Vestergaard and Schroder make the point that middle-class advertisements often flatter the audience members by implying that they already belong to a prestigious social group.¹³² Vestergaard and Schroder go on to note that this flattery of the reader's ego is not absent from working-class advertisements, as they try to persuade consumers to buy what they cannot afford.¹³³

Class Structure, Class Differences, and Class-Consciousness In The US And UK

Curran et al., in their book *Mass Communication and Society*, argue that class inequalities remain the central structural axis of capitalist societies.¹³⁴ Their argument stems from the two primary contributors to the theorization of class: Marx and Weber. Marx's and Weber's theories of class became central to sociology after the industrial revolution in both England and America in the late eighteenth century, as it was at this time that these two countries were reorganized into modern capitalism, which in turn led to the creation of new classes and the tendency for class positions to be allocated on the basis of ability rather than birth.¹³⁵ According to Marx, there are two major classes under capitalism: those who control the means of production (the bourgeoisie) and those who do

not (the proletarians).¹³⁶ Marx focuses on the role of conflict between these two groups, as Marx argues that eventually this conflict will lead to a the "prolarization" of society when the proletariat overcomes the bourgeoisie.¹³⁷ Thus, Marx's explanation of the class system is conceptualized in economic terms. Weber's view of class is similar to Marx's, but stresses that there is more to class struggle than the issue of who controls the means of production. That is, Weber is distinguished from Marx in that he emphasizes the importance of skills, knowledge, and the ownership of property in determining class positions which in turn, leads to more than just two primary groups as Marx suggests, and thus results in many hierarchically arranged social groups.¹³⁸

Two prominent contemporary theories of class are based on Marx's and Weber's conceptualizations of class and are thus referred to as Wright's neo-Marxist theory of class and Goldthorpe's neo-Weberian theory of class. In short, Wright, like Marx, divides class based on who controls the means of production, but takes Marx's theory a step further by stressing the importance of "contradictory" locations within the class structure.¹³⁹

Wright explains contradictory locations as those which are not concrete in terms of the ownership of means of production. As an example, managers occupy a contradictory location because they simultaneously dominate workers and are dominated by capitalists.¹⁴⁰ Wright's theory produces twelve classes, with the first three grouped as the owners of the means of production and the remaining nine grouped as non-owners of the means of production: the bourgeoisie, small employers, and petty bourgeoisie; the expert managers, expert supervisors, expert non-managers, semi-credentialled managers, semi-credentialled supervisors, semi-credentialled workers, uncredentialled managers, uncredentialled supervisors, and finally proletarians.¹⁴¹

Goldthorpe's neo-Weberian theory of class focuses on the British class system and groups class into three divisions: the service class, the intermediate class, and the working class.¹⁴² In each group, Goldthorpe suggests, classes are comparable in terms of their work and marketable skills.¹⁴³ The service class includes both propertied and propertyless

classes, but only white collar occupations, and is said to be more prestigious than the other classes. The intermediate class is mixed, Goldthorpe argues, as it consists of propertied and propertyless blue- and white-collar workers. Finally, Goldthorpe argues that the working class is the only pure class in that it contains only propertyless manual workers.¹⁴⁴

With the above theories of class in mind, as well as the understanding of its salience in capitalist societies, one could ask to what degree class inequalities exist, whether or not they vary from country to country, and how class-consciousness plays a role in class structure. By turning to the class structure in both the United States and Britain, one can attempt to answer these questions. To begin with, Fussell and Blumberg argue that in America, class is a forbidden thought, as people are perhaps "afraid" or unaware of class inequalities in American society.¹⁴⁵ By turning to scholars such as Arthur Asa Berger and Ewen, one can see a simplified explanation of this. That is, these scholars argue that it is the notion of the American dream that plays a large role in the degree of class-consciousness in the United States.¹⁴⁶ With the American dream, each individual has fair access to status and recognition and can therefore escape the conditions of the "common lot."¹⁴⁷ With this ability to escape the common lot, along with the importance of individualism, Americans are seen as less class-conscious than other Western societies because they appear to have more opportunity to climb the social ladder to the middle class.

Sombart's research on the absence of class-consciousness in America provides a different, perhaps more specific explanation. He argues that America is distinct because its working class has a different mindset than in other capitalist societies. That is, America's working class is dominated by the "spirit of business" and as a result lack "oppositional consciousness," or class-consciousness.¹⁴⁸ Sombart argues that this spirit of business stems from the United States' lack of socialism.¹⁴⁹ With this, one must note that Sombart's definition of class-consciousness is based on the notion of class conflict, where

members of the working class, frustrated by their subordinate position, would ultimately defeat capitalism and control by the bourgeoisie.¹⁵⁰

Edgell, in his book *Class*, re-assesses the accepted view that America is distinct in its class-consciousness.¹⁵¹ He points to revolutionary research by Vanneman and Cannon which rejects classlessness in America. Their thesis is based upon two primary factors: first, the fact that strikes among American workers are longer and more violent than they are in other capitalist societies (which indicates opposition to upper classes), and second, that when analyzing perceptions of working class individuals in both the US and Britain, no real differences were found.¹⁵²

Thus, drawing from Venneman and Cannon's research, one could argue that a stratified class system in America is closer to reality than the American dream, or what Sombart argues as the lack of socialism suggests. The US has, after all, tended to maintain a class structure.¹⁵³ The most influential and earliest attempt to describe American class structure was proposed by W. Lloyd Warner in 1941. He identifies six classes based on income, education, and occupation, with income having the most weight: Upper upper, Lower upper, Upper middle, Lower middle, Upper lower, and Lower lower.¹⁵⁴ Along with this, it is important to note that, according to some scholars, American consumers have few problems placing themselves into these classes, as most accept the idea that categories exist.¹⁵⁵ For example, Solomon notes that "blue collar workers with high prestige jobs still tend to see themselves as working class, even though their income levels may be the same as white collar workers."¹⁵⁶ In addition, Arthur Asa Berger points out that in the 1990s, the American dream seems to have lost some of its power, as young individuals are finding that their standard of living is and will continue to be below that of their parents, and the middle class finds itself slipping down the class ladder.¹⁵⁷

But despite the fact that the American dream has lost salience, America is still seen as the place where almost any individual can become president, and where the sense of a "middle class America" still permeates society.¹⁵⁸ Marxist theorists explain this as simply

an attempt by the bourgeoisie to convince people that there are no classes or that class is somehow incidental and irrelevant: "Thus, in America we have the myth of a classless society because we have not had a hereditary aristocracy and because our upper class tends to be friendly in social encounters."¹⁵⁹ In short, Marxist theorists argue that the notion of a classless society is a result of the bourgeoisie's attempts to camouflage the real social relations that exist in the United States.¹⁶⁰

Britain, on the other hand, is unmistakably argued and recognized as being a society obsessed by class.¹⁶¹ Realizing this, the British government openly struggles toward the notion of a classless society. British Prime Minister John Major believes that by narrowing the gap between blue and white collar workers in Britain, he would "produce a genuinely classless society, and people can rise to whatever level from whatever level they started."¹⁶² Major adds: "the government intends to further its commitment to open up society so that individuals have more opportunities to achieve their potential, and more choice in coming to decisions over matters which affect them."¹⁶³

Despite the British government's struggle over the years to create a classless society, class is still the most common source of social identity and the most important social factor shaping individual's attitudes in Britain.¹⁶⁴ The most common and widely-used breakdown of British society was created by the Registrar General in 1911 and is based on occupation: the professional service class; the intermediate service class; the non-manual skilled class; the manual skilled class; the partly-skilled class; and finally, the unskilled class.¹⁶⁵ In Britain, one's accent, clothes, job, etc., can all indicate commitment to one of these classes. British citizens even go so far as to form cliques and use pronunciation of words to separate themselves from other classes.¹⁶⁶ Britain's obsession with class is well illustrated through Virgin Airline's development of a middle class section on its commercial flights in 1994. The airline's middle class section was the result of research that found that the British "middle class wants to distance themselves from the stratum beneath them."¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, Peter Bauer argues that there is possibly more social class division in the 1980s than there was in the past.¹⁶⁸ He points out that the Britain he came to in the 1930s was far more a land of opportunity than it was in the 1980s—all he was clutching when he entered Cambridge in 1934 was a translation of his Hungarian diploma. Now, he would have to "complete innumerable forms, indicate a serious commitment to fight sexism, and flourish sufficient A level equivalents to get in."¹⁶⁹ He also points out that the social attitude that puts class privilege above individual achievement has been engraved for 100 years.¹⁷⁰ Cashmore makes the following point on the government's vain attempts to make Britain a classless society:

The era since the war has contained the rise of the Labour Party, the construction of the welfare state, the emergence of progressive taxation and the arrival of property-owning democracy. Yet, forty-five years after the promise of a social revolution and of transformation to a classless society, Britain still has mountainous peaks and deep valleys in its economic landscape."¹⁷¹

The idea of a rigid social structure in Britain is supported by sociologists who argue that the British working class has only become similar to the middle class in their lifestyle and in the amount of goods they own. Saunders, for example, makes the point that the British government's attempt in the 1980s to create the property-owning democracy allowed the working class to move toward its dream of owning a home (according to Saunders, home ownership gives people a sense of autonomy and security and in the past, home ownership was considered a middle class phenomenon).¹⁷² Furthermore, Cashmore argues that the working class in Britain is concerned with status and material achievement and do not want to necessarily change their inequality.¹⁷³ This clinging to one's caste is illustrated by the following passage:

But who exactly are the working class? Oh, you will know them when you see them. There are people in this country, many of them in the media, who no longer know which class they belong to. I count myself among this number. The child of working Londoners, I grew up. . . part of the cockney Diaspora. By virtue of my profession, tax bracket and inclination, I am no longer working class. But although a veteran of a 1000 dinner parties, I don't feel middle class and never will." The class structure is firmly in place and the working class are the reason—they cling to their caste and know

their place. They don't want social mobility—they advertise their social position.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, Marshal et al. explain this clinging to one's class by the fact that although most people perceive the distribution of income and wealth in Britain as unequal and unfair, they believe there is nothing they can do to change this inequality. Thus, they suggest that the cohesion within the working class is a result of routine and resignation rather than consensus and approval.¹⁷⁵

Despite the predominant view that class-consciousness exists in Britain, scholars such as Solomon make the point that the dominance of the inherited wealth has faded. Solomon argues that this can be seen by the fact that in the past, members of the upper class were only educated at prestigious universities such as Oxford and Cambridge, while the working class rarely attended universities.¹⁷⁶ In the 1990s, however, more and more members of the working class have begun to attend universities. Furthermore, according to a survey conducted in 1991, 86 of the 200 wealthiest people in England made their money by earning it.¹⁷⁷ Finally, as Soloman notes, "even the sanctity of the royal family, which epitomizes the aristocracy, has been diluted because of tabloid exposure."¹⁷⁸

A final point which should be noted here is that, according to Edgell, the basic class structure in Britain and the US is the same.¹⁷⁹ Although he points to several researchers who argue that America is distinct in its class-consciousness, Edgell lumps the US and Britain into one category, and gives them similar definitions regarding their class structures.

Along with this, Edgell argues that there have been some changes with and between the classes that make up the class structure in these two countries. These changes include (a) a decrease in personal capital and an increase in impersonal capital within the highest class, (b) an increase and fragmentation of the intermediate, or middle class, (c) a decrease in the property-owning middle class, (d) an increase in the propertyless professional and managerial class, (e) an increase in routine white-collar work, which is increasingly being

undertaken by women, and finally, (f) a decline in the distinction between manual and non-manual work, as clerical and secretarial workers are being placed in the working class.¹⁸⁰

In short, through the work of leading scholars one can see that class divisions exist in both American and England. The difference lies, however, in the fact that in Britain class is more of an issue—it is a problem that, according to the British government, needs to be solved. In the United States, on the other hand, class awareness may exist, but is masked—either by the American dream, or as Marxists argue, by the bourgeoisie's attempts to perpetuate the myth of a classless society.

Changes And Trends In Western Societies

*Love is a universal migraine
A bright strain on the vision
Blotting out reason* —Robert Graves, *Symptoms of Love*¹⁸¹

This poem, written at the height of modernism, is a good example of how changes in the themes of society lead to changes in all forms of discourse. Before modernism became a major theme of society, it was romanticism's notions of feeling, imagination, and love that served as the driving force behind all human endeavors.¹⁸² But with the rise of modernism, these ideas of love and imagination lost their salience. Modernism signalled a return to the Enlightenment. As Gergen argues, with industrialism, and the rise of technology which improved everyday life, reason and rational utility seemed more appealing in the era of modernism. Modernism stressed that everything (including people) should be based on scientific thinking in order for society to operate smoothly. In short, the "grand narrative" of modernism is one of "upward movement, improvement, conquest, and achievement, toward some goal and science is the guide."¹⁸³

Postmodernism, which is the major theme of Western societies in the 1990s, suggests a break from modernity.¹⁸⁴ Postmodernism takes many forms. As Featherstone notes, its definitions are vague, but can be described as an "order of change" in society, an

"emergence of a new social totality," that was first detected in the writing of Lyotard and Baudrillard.¹⁸⁵ Baudrillard's primary point was that in the postmodern world, simulations and models increase in importance so that the distinction between the real and appearance becomes fuzzy.¹⁸⁶ Lyotard, on the other hand, stresses the salience of the "computerization" of knowledge in postmodern society.¹⁸⁷

Other definitions of postmodernity point to the fact that it is associated with the fragmenting of ideas and lifestyles.¹⁸⁸ Kenneth Gergen makes this point in his book *The Saturated Self*. His basic thesis is that with postmodernism, there is no self outside the social context: "today's society affords more opportunity for intensive personal relationships, as we can fly to one city and see someone and back to another to see someone else."¹⁸⁹ As a result, the self becomes a mixture of the numerous other selves that one encounters on a daily basis, via the media, the workplace, etc. This leads to self contradictions, and as Gergen argues, "people have a sense of self sameness only to find themselves suddenly propelled by alternative impulses."¹⁹⁰ He uses the example of a college professor who teaches students by day and smokes marijuana by night.¹⁹¹

Gergen also makes the point that the media play a large role in postmodern society. Gergen's primary point here is that the media provide viewers with numerous selves with whom to compare: "Each impulse toward well-formed identity is cast into increasing doubt as one looks around; each is found absurd, shallow, limited, or flawed by the onlooking audience of the interior."¹⁹² Gergen, as well as other researchers, posits that advertising helps the flawed selves by allowing them to purchase identities.¹⁹³ Edgely agrees by arguing that with plastic surgery, one can simply purchase a beautiful body.¹⁹⁴

Finally, Gergen makes the point that social knowledge expands every hour with the help of the media.¹⁹⁵ As an example, Gergen points out that there are few six-year-olds who do not know about drug dealers from television. And "if a friend announces that she is contemplating divorce we aren't astonished because the drama has been played out on TV

so often that it is no longer a big deal."¹⁹⁶ Gergen succinctly states his position on the role of the media in the following passage:

So powerful are the media in their well-wrought portrayals that their realities become more compelling than those furnished by common experience. The vacation is not real until captured on film; marriages become events staged for camera and videotape; sports fans often prefer television because it is more fully lifelike than the eyeball view from the stands. It is to the media, and not to sense perception, that we increasingly turn for definitions of what is real.¹⁹⁷

Other researchers point to several characteristics of postmodern society which are worth discussing here. To begin with, Giddens argues that Western society is post-traditional. By this he implies that traditions must be justified against alternative possibilities rather than being taken for granted, that relationships in public based on authority are in decline, and that people's self-identities are built up through a process of negotiation within dialogue, rather than through given positions and roles.¹⁹⁸ Finally, he adds that with the post-traditional trend, public discourse has become conversational. This is illustrated by the fact that political discourse has become much less formal as, for example, can be seen with political figures who appear on talk shows.¹⁹⁹

Next, Featherstone argues that contemporary culture is a promotional, consumer culture. This trend is noted above, but should be mentioned again. Consumer culture is simply a shift from production to consumption. With it comes the reconstruction of social life on a market basis. This, in turn, leads to a shift in the relative importance of different semiotic elements within discourses. In advertising, for example, there has been a shift toward greater dependence on visual images at the expense of text.²⁰⁰ Moreover, along with consumer culture comes commodification—where social domains and institutions, whose concern is not producing commodities in the sense of economic goods for sale, come to be organized in terms of commodity production, distribution, and consumption.²⁰¹ As an example, Fairclough points to universities, which are advertised like commodities.²⁰²

A final trend noted here is that of democratization. Fairclough stresses that with democratization, there is a removal of inequalities in discourse. This includes a tendency toward an informality of language, and a move toward more equality in gender related practices. This also includes the elimination of overt power markers in unequal relationships, where for example, doctor-patient relationships appear more equal as doctors limit their use of these "power markers."²⁰³

In addition to the changes and trends explicated above, there exists somewhat of a constant in Western societies: capitalism. With capitalism there is private ownership of the means of production; economic activity is geared toward making profits; profits go to the owners of the means of production; workers usually do not own productive property but work for wages; and the processes of production and sale of goods and services are organized into markets.²⁰⁴

These economic processes, as well as the trends that have come into place in the 1980s and 1990s, in essence, produce cultures. Capitalism, for example, produces a "self-propelling, ever accelerating sort of society."²⁰⁵ And further, one should understand that the trends, or state of affairs, in any culture play a large role in how the members of that culture view the world. They determine the participants' view of reality and help them define their own and other's actions. In short, the way a culture is "set up" helps to give meaning to the signs and symbols within that culture.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

PART I

Semiology: The Deconstruction of Advertisements

From the previous chapter one should now be able to understand the basis of semiology: the focus is on signs, and these signs are made up of signifiers (images) and signifieds (concepts). Furthermore, in semiotics, messages are viewed as a string of signs transmitted from the sign producers to the sign receivers. And as Arthur Asa Berger, a leading scholar in semiological analysis points out, because nothing has meaning in itself, the relationships that exist among signs are important:

In semiological analysis we make an arbitrary and temporary separation of content and form and focus our attention on the system of signs that makes up a text. Thus, a meal. . . is not seen as steak, salad, baked potato, and apple pie, but rather as a sign system conveying meanings related to matters such as status, taste, sophistication, nationality, and so on.¹

Berger suggests that these sign systems can be analyzed in a wide range of fields—from architecture to medicine to the theater. In fact, some researchers consider semiotics to be the "queen" of all methodologies, arguing that it can be used to analyze *everything*.² Whether this is the case is questionable, but as scholars such as Goffman and Berger himself have shown, it can be a useful tool in the deconstruction of advertising messages.

The first step in the semiological deconstruction of advertising text is the realization that advertising is, in essence, a form of speech. Saussure pioneered the notion that text is speech and stressed that it is language that makes speech meaningful. Language is "a storehouse of sound images," and is made up of the rules and conventions that have been systemized and that enable us to speak.³ In short, each person speaks in his or her own manner, but this speaking is based on the language and rules that everyone learns.⁴ Thus, one could conclude that with advertising, the audience must be familiar with how words

and images are used in the advertising speech. The whole idea is for the advertisers to strike a responsive cord with the audience. Tony Schwartz explains how this works in the following paragraph:

The critical task is to design our package of stimuli so that it resonates with information already stored with the individual and thereby induces the desired learning or behavioral effect. Resonance takes place when the stimuli put into our communication evokes meaning in a listener or viewer. That which we put into the communication has no meaning in itself. The meaning of our communication is what a listener or viewer gets out of his experience with the communicator's stimulus.⁵

As an example of striking a responsive cord, Berger points to the television program *Star Trek*. According to Berger, *Star Trek* is considered "a speech that is intelligible to its audience because the audience knows the language."⁶ That is, the audience understands the signs and what they signify: the rocket ships, the uniforms, the ray guns, etc., all serve as signifiers to the audience that *Star Trek* is a space adventure series.⁷

By treating advertisements as a sort of language, semiologists are stressing the notion that the relationships between signs are arbitrary, and that the meanings these signs hold must be learned somehow. These learned meanings are the codes. Codes are a crucial part of the semiological analysis of advertisements. Berger defines codes as "highly complex patterns of associations we all learn in a given society and culture."⁸ They affect the way one interprets signs and symbols found in the media, and further, they tell one what to do in "all conceivable situations."⁹ As an example, Berger points out that in looking at an advertisement, one might see codes of white space, simplicity and formality. These "culture codes" are learned by people who are taught by advertising to associate simplicity, spaciousness, and formal structure with wealth and class.¹⁰ Thus to be socialized and to be part of a culture means, essentially, to be taught a number of codes, most of which are specific to a person's social class and ethnic group. This, in turn, leads to "very different value systems, belief systems, attitudes about the world and so on."¹¹

Furthermore, Umberto Eco stresses that people bring different codes to a given message and thus interpret it in different ways.¹² As noted in the literature review, the work of Basil Bernstein illustrates how the working and middle class may differ in their speech patterns. His research (in which he analyzed speech samples from discussion groups involving both middle- and working-class subjects with varying IQ profiles) led him to conclude that in Britain children learn either of two linguistic codes, the "elaborated" or "restrictive" codes, and that these codes play a major role in how they interpret text throughout their lives.¹³

But the question remains: how does the semiologist find meaning in advertisements? Berger refers to this task as "breaking the advertising code."¹⁴ The first step in breaking the code is the realization that in ads, there are two elements which must be analyzed: the text and the pictorial images. With the text, the appeals—such as snobbery, anxiety, or fear—must be drawn out.¹⁵ Other constructs must be analyzed in the text as well such as the oppositions (work vs. leisure, beauty vs. ugliness, young vs. old), and also the comparisons.¹⁶ These constructs, however, usually help to determine the overall appeal of the advertisements.

With the artwork, the desired feelings and fantasies that stress the appeal are drawn out just as they are with the text. Berger points out that design, size of the elements in the ad, the use of camera focus, and so on, are some of the techniques that should be considered in order to analyze the "language" of the pictorial images.¹⁷ For example, he suggests that different camera shots signify different things. He terms these shots as part of the "grammar of television,"¹⁸ but they would fit here as part of the grammar of advertising. Berger argues that the shots function as signifiers: a close-up shot (face only) signifies intimacy; a medium shot (most of body) signifies personal relationships; a long shot (setting and characters) signifies context, scope, and public distance; and finally a full shot of the full body of an individual signifies social relationships.¹⁹ Techniques such as these help the audience understand what is "going on" in a given message. Again, Berger

stresses that the audience members learn the meanings of these phenomena as they view messages.²⁰

Thus, by analyzing the associations made between the signifiers and signifieds in both the pictorial and textual elements of advertisements, researchers can better determine how codes function. Even further, and in more specific terms, the semiologists should examine several associations present in both the text and the artwork in order to crack the codes: the use of oppositions, metaphors, metonymy, icons, indexes, and symbols.

To begin with, Berger argues that metaphor and metonymy are two important ways of transmitting meaning.²¹ Eco explains that metaphor and metonymy represent two different procedures: "one of substitution by similarity and the other of substitution by contiguity."²² Thus, with metaphors, a relationship between two things is suggested through the use of analogy. As an example, one may say, "my love is a red rose."²³ Likewise, with a simile, the terms "like" and "as" are used to suggest a comparison: "he is as sharp as a razor."²⁴ With metonymy, on the other hand, a relationship is suggested that is based on association, which implies the existence of codes in people's minds that enable the proper connections to be made. Eco describes metonymy as a simple matter of "overcoding." As an example, he argues that given the accepted judgment that the President lives in the White House, it is easy to use the White House as a metonymy for the President of the United States.²⁵ In short, a metaphor is resemblance based on analogy, while metonymy is resemblance based on association. These two methods of conveying meaning are simplified with Berger's contrasting examples: the costume of Spiderman is a metaphor, while Uncle Sam stands for America.²⁶

Thus, metaphors and metonymy are important, as they enable the semiologist to see more clearly how objects and images generate meaning. Along with this, it is also important for the semiologist to examine the oppositions in the media message and to explain why they are used in the text. Berger argues that part of "cracking the code" entails finding the oppositions within the text.²⁷ Levi-Strauss terms the analysis of oppositions in

texts *paradigmatic analysis*.²⁸ Essentially, paradigmatic analysis looks for the pattern of paired oppositions buried in the text. These binaries can include oppositions such as freedom and control, work and play, and beauty and ugliness.²⁹ Levi-Strauss suggests that in all texts there is some sort underlying opposition, and that there is usually an overall opposition such as freedom and control which is displayed through certain signs in the message.³⁰ Furthermore, Levi-Strauss argues that paradigmatic analysis is important because meaning is based upon relationships and "the most crucial relationship in the production of meaning in language is that of opposition."³¹

Finally, as noted in the previous chapter, icons, indexes, and symbols are three forms of signs which, according to Peirce, should be examined and drawn out in order to break the code.³² Peirce explains that icons communicate by resemblance, indexes communicate by logical connection, and symbols communicate by learned meanings.³³ Thus, icons and indexes have natural relationships with what they stand for, while symbols must be learned. For example, a portrait of someone and the person being portrayed is an icon; smoke indicating fire is an index; and words or flags are symbols.³⁴

Berger, Goffman, and Manning: Applying Semiotics

As noted previously, Berger and Goffman are exemplars of the methods suggested above for a deconstruction of advertising text. Although it is Berger's methodology that is of importance here, as it will be adopted for this research, Goffman's method of analysis in his work *Gender Advertisements* should also be noted and examined, as it provides the foundation for any semiological and qualitative analysis of advertisements. Finally, Manning's semiological analysis of giftgiving practices within a police force provides crucial information for researchers interested in semiology.

To begin with, in Berger's semiological analysis of fashion advertisements, Berger makes the point that because the creators of advertisements are trying to generate some sort of effect or emotional response, researchers must "start with the effect and work

backwards."³⁵ Therefore, in Berger's deconstruction of fashion advertisements, he first asks, "What is the fantasy, and how is it induced?"³⁶ In answering this, Berger first explains his analysis of a Revlon cosmetic advertisement for facial moisturizer. By pulling out several keywords, Berger argues that he can determine the appeal of the advertisement. The keywords include "Revlon Research Group," "hygiene," and "precision tip applicator." These terms are signifiers, he says, for science and technology.³⁷ Thus, the creators of the advertisement chose science over nature in order to appeal to the audience.³⁸

Furthermore, layout, design, and artwork also serve as signifiers in the Revlon advertisement. Berger explains that the ad's use of large amounts of white space and axial balance are signifiers of quality and "class."³⁹ And with the pictorial element of the ad—a close-up photo of a woman's face—Berger argues that Revlon is trying to sell magic. In the advertisement, the face is composed of quarter-inch squares of various colors which gives the reader an optical illusion: "If we squint, or place the magazine fifteen feet away from us, the squares merge together and form a face. But at arm's length, the face is somewhat distorted and out of focus."⁴⁰ Berger explains that the face has two functions. First, it catches one's attention, as at first glance it seems out of focus and strange due to the patchwork of squares. But, if one squints or stares at it, it magically transforms into a face. According to Berger, this transformation signifies the transformation the consumer should expect if she uses the product.⁴¹

Berger then turns his focus to a Benandre body moisturizer advertisement, which shows a woman bathing in ice blue water in a glass bathtub. Berger purports that overall, the ad signifies a woman's loss of moisture and ultimately, her loss of sexuality: "Dry skin becomes a sign of a woman who is all dried up and who is not sexually responsive."⁴² Thus, the woman is portrayed as an arid desert, devoid of life, threatened by the possibility of losing her capacity to reproduce. In short, Berger argues that dehydration becomes a metaphor for the loss of sexual attractiveness.⁴³ In order to draw this conclusion, Berger explains that in society, water is tied with birth and purity—as in baptismal rites.⁴⁴ Along

with this, Berger again pulls various keywords out of the advertisement which imply that the moisture product is sold as a kind of indulgence for women: "lavished," "unique," "luxury," "rare oils," etc.⁴⁵ Overall, Berger argues the copy in the Benandre ad hints at sex, while the pictorial element is connected with symbols of innocence, baptism, cleanliness, and so on.⁴⁶

Goffman, on the other hand, in his semiological analysis of gendered advertisements, uses a more narrow approach than Berger. Unlike Berger, Goffman concentrates on specific features: hands, eyes, knees; facial expressions, head postures, relative sizes, and so on.⁴⁷ In doing this, Goffman groups advertisements, making note of several patterns that illustrate how women are portrayed in advertisements. Some of these patterns include the relative size of the individuals in the ads, where the man is usually taller or larger; function ranking, where one individual is seen in a higher status position; and the ritualization of subordination, where people are pictured on floors or in beds and thus, are physically lowered in some form. With the third pattern, Goffman is suggesting that high physical place signifies high social place.⁴⁸

Another pattern that Goffman makes note of is that of the feminine touch. Goffman points out that women, more than men, are pictured using their fingers and hands to trace the outline of an object or to cradle or caress its surface. This ritualistic touching, Goffman argues, is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind that grasps, manipulates, or holds.⁴⁹

Goffman's basic thesis in *Gender Advertisements* is that advertisements depict not necessarily how individuals actually behave as members of society, but how one thinks men and women behave. In doing so, Goffman argues, advertisements present somewhat of a schedule for presenting the pictures of behavior. It is these schedules that he studies, and that the work at hand also hopes to study.⁵⁰

Finally, by turning to the semiologist Peter Manning, one can see the overall picture of the semiological analysis. Manning argues that semiology is an analytic technique and not a data gathering technique.⁵¹ In Manning's semiological analysis of a police force,

where he examines giftgiving, perks, and outright corruption among police officers, Manning concludes there is a social code for these giftlike transactions. This code determines what is considered "right" in the police officers' acceptance of gifts and perks.⁵²

Manning then takes his analysis a step further by examining connections between the code for giftlike transactions and those for other police actions such as high speed chases, etc.⁵³ These connections, Manning argues, are important in semiotics, which essentially studies the whole ordered by rules: "It looks at one system, finding its units and meanings, and then translates that system onto another one. It is thinking with one scheme about another one and moving back and forth."⁵⁴ In other words, semiotics is a method of analysis that seeks paradigms within which the elements in a message can be understood and can be used to examine other messages.

It must be remembered, however, that with the semiotic mode of analysis, one finds that different meanings are attached in different messages, and that there are a number of associated meanings or connotative meanings associated with these messages. Along these lines, Manning concludes that semiology requires an analysis to "penetrate surface meanings or extract underlying modes of understanding."⁵⁵ For example, it might be assumed that the meaning of "buy" and "save money" are understood and constant across all advertisements. These are displayed as a single surface meaning, or as a denotative "gloss" on the message.⁵⁶ But again, different cultures and different groups of individuals may interpret these terms in various ways.

In short, semiotics is an analysis that seeks principles and rules that account for a known pattern, and requires comparisons to establish meaning. Thus, the semiologist can compare the elements, rituals, portrayals, and so on across advertisements and across cultures, and can use the rules that govern conduct and behavior as a tool for cultural analysis.⁵⁷

There are, of course, drawbacks to semiological analysis—the most eminent drawback being that it is subjective. As Arthur Asa Berger points out, semiological analysis "exists as nothing but . . . an excuse for a virtuoso performance by the semiologist."⁵⁸ This can be seen in both Arthur Asa Berger and Goffman's semiological analyses, as they both make assumptions about what different signs and symbols convey. But as Goffman notes, it must be remembered that despite the fact that semiological analysis is somewhat subjective, the semiologist is only trying to get at how the models, etc., are portrayed in the ads, not how the ads are interpreted or how reality is defined.⁵⁹

PART II

Methodology

Overview

This study analyzes the portrayals and identities of the working and middle classes in all advertisements over one-quarter page in size appearing in eight magazines—two working-class British and two working-class American magazines, and two middle-class British and two middle-class American magazines. Furthermore, both men's and women's magazines are used in this analysis to ensure that both men's and women's products are represented, which in turn ensures that the portrayals will include both men and women. The specific magazine issues (dates) chosen for the analysis were chosen out of convenience, as the researcher was only able to obtain British magazine issues at the discretion of the magazine publishers.

Print magazine advertisements were chosen as the field of inquiry for this study because they are more easily defined in terms of the social class of their target markets. As David Abrahamson, notes, magazines have become, since the 1960s, more narrowly targeted to specific audiences: there has been a decline of many large mass-market, general interest publications, and the emergence of a wide variety of smaller special interest magazines. Abrahamson explains the reasons for this rise of the special interest magazine in the following citation:

In the 60s Americans found themselves empowered by affluence, education and the possibility of social mobility. They were cut off from communal sources of identity and social class, so many turned to specialized magazines⁶⁰

Thus, this research follows Abrahamson's hypothesis in that it assumes that specific magazines are primarily read by individuals with similar demographics (in the case of the research at hand, the demographic of interest is social class).

The middle-class American magazines chosen for this study were *Vanity Fair* for women and *GQ* for men. The working-class American magazines include *True Story* for

women and *Hot Rod* for men. The middle-class British magazines chosen include *Tatler* for women and *GQ* for men. The working-class British magazines include *Chat* for women and *Loaded* for men. Information was gathered from magazine publishers to help in determining what are considered as middle- and working-class magazines. The publishers provided complete descriptions of their target markets, which often included the social class, occupation, income, and education of their readers. In most cases, this information was indicative of the reader's social class. For a few of the magazines, however, other factors such as editorial content, or education alone, were used in determining what social class the magazines were targeting. The information they provided is listed in the section below on definition of terms.

In order to analyze the portrayals and/or identities of the working and middle classes in both Britain and the United States, semiology has been utilized. Again, with semiology, signs are deconstructed and interpreted (making it a qualitative methodology) in order to derive meaning from the advertisements. Through the analysis, specific elements will be drawn out of the advertisements. The elements include a) type of product, b) identities established, c) design style, d) appeal, and e) discourse type. These elements are defined in the section below on definition of terms.

Research Question

How are the middle and working classes targeted and portrayed in American and British magazine advertisements?

Definition of Terms

1. Advertisements—All paid messages within the magazines. Only those at least one-quarter page in size were used in the research.

2. Class—In order to define the two classes of importance for this research, both Goldthorpe's sociological breakdown of the American class system and an overall breakdown of the British class system were used. Goldthorpe defines the middle and working classes based on occupation as follows:

Middle class: Routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; other rank and file service workers; small proprietors; self-employed artisans and other own-account workers with and without employees; farmers and smallholders and other self-employed workers in primary production.

Working class: Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers and skilled manual workers; semi and unskilled manual workers (other than in primary production); agricultural and other workers in primary production.

The British class system, which is commonly defined by sociologists and marketers in Britain, is divided into the following groups:

AB: Managerial and professional—middle class

C1: Supervisory and clerical—lower middle class

C2: Skilled manual—working class

DE: Unskilled manual and unemployed—lower working (and non-working) class

3. Middle- and Working-Class Magazines—In order to determine what are considered middle- and working-class magazines, information, as noted above, was gathered from the magazine publishers. It should be noted that while in most cases, the publisher's information helped the researcher to determine the potential social class of the target audience, it in some cases played only a small role in determining class. That is to say that while combinations of income, occupation, and education are often indicative of social class, the magazine content itself often plays a larger role, as it is what the readers are interested in that tells much about their mindset, values, and beliefs, which in turn, help to

determine their social class. The information provided by the publishers is listed below for each magazine used in this study.

Gentlemen's Quarterly

American middle-class magazine for men

Published in New York by Conde Nast Publications. "Edited for men of style and intelligence, *GQ* addresses the people, places, ideas and issues that shape their personal expression, development and experiences."

- Total Average Paid Circulation: 658,346
- Readers are educated, urban and affluent
- Education: 63% college educated; 24% graduated college
- Occupation: 21% are professional managerial; 51% are white collar workers
- Income: Over 50% have a household income of over \$40,000
- Median age: 27.3
- Gender: 67% males

Gentlemen's Quarterly

British middle-class magazine for men

Published monthly in London by Conde Nast Publications. *GQ* is the best selling general interest men's magazine in Europe. "Edited for men of style and intelligence, *GQ* addresses the people, places, ideas and issues that shape their personal expression, development and experiences."

- Total net circulation: 126,000
- Social Class: 35% AB (managerial, professional) men
- GQ* readers live in some of the wealthiest homes in the country
- Income: *GQ*'s average AB (middle class) man personally earns \$50,250

- The *GQ* man is young, upmarket, single, healthy, health conscious, stylish, and sociable

Vanity Fair

American middle-class magazine for women

Published monthly in Chicago by the Conde Nast Publications. Editorial content includes articles on national and foreign affairs, business/industry, culture/humanities, general interest, fashion, and film and television.

- Total paid circulation: 1,130,993
- Education: 64% attended or graduated college, 37% graduated college
- Occupation: 31.3% hold professional/managerial occupations
- Median household income: \$49,211
- Gender: 78% females
- Median age: 41.1

Tatler

British middle-class magazine for women

Published monthly in London by Conde Nast Publications. Editorial content includes fashion, beauty, gossip, and profiles of the rich and famous.

- Total paid circulation: 80,373
- Social Class: 54% AB; 31% C1
- Gender: 73% females
- Core age range: 25-34

Chat**British working-class magazine for women**

Published in London by IPC Weeklies Group. Editorial content includes articles on fashion, health and beauty, home furnishing, real life, and cooking.

- Circulation: 375,000
- Social Class: 9% AB, 27% C1, 22% C2, 23% D, 19% E
- Core age range: 18-44
- Gender: Targeted to females

True Story**American working-class magazine for women**

Published monthly in New York by The Sterling/Macfadden Partnership. Editorial content includes primarily personal relations and self improvement stories, as well as articles on food and nutrition, children, general interest issues, the humanities, beauty, health and medicine.

- Total average paid circulation: 760,442
- Median household income: \$22,000
- Education: 50% graduated high school; 20% did not graduate high school; 30% have some college experience
- Median age: 37.9
- Gender: Female

Hot Rod**American working-class magazine for men**

Published monthly in New York by Petersen Publishing Company. Editorial content includes information on street rods, street machines and drag racing, engine build-ups, road tests on performance cars, and the latest street super bikes.

- Total average paid circulation: 804,851
- Median household income: \$35,555
- Education: 76% graduated high school and attended college; 91% graduated high school
- Median age: 29.6 years
- Gender: 87% males

Loaded

British working-class magazine for men

Published monthly in London by IPC Magazines. Editorial content includes articles on sex, sports, drinking, music, clubs, fashion, and comedy.

- Total average paid circulation: 95,782
- Social class: 31% AB, 42% C1, 27% C2, D, and E
- Core age group: 15-34
- Gender: 85% males

**Note: Although the publishers claim the readers of Loaded are predominantly middle-class, the editorial content of the magazine suggests it is a working-class magazine. In order to prove the hypothesis that Loaded is a working class magazine, the magazine was presented to three British individuals. All three individuals agreed that Loaded is, in fact, a working class magazine.*

4. Portrayal of Social Classes—To determine how the social classes are portrayed, several elements were "teased" out of the advertisements. These elements are defined below within the explanation of the research design.

Research Design

This study followed a modified version of Arthur Asa Berger's methodology for a semiological analysis of media messages. The steps involved in the analysis are listed and described below.

Step 1. Isolate and analyze the important signs in the text.

Signs are made up of signifiers (images) and signifieds (concepts). Their meanings vary with individual interpretations; however, a sign's meaning is often constant across a given culture. A few examples of signs which are common in advertisements are listed below.

- Color, lighting, white space, and type faces used.* These are signs which often convey an overall mood for the advertisement. For example, as Berger points out, white space often signifies "class," or prestige. Furthermore, light is often suggestive of warmth, security, visibility, truth, and joy, while the absence of light is suggestive of the invisible, the hidden, and the fearful. Finally, color of light is another important element of the advertising language and has strong culturally acquired symbolic meanings. For example red light is often associated with sexual subjects, but can also connote warmth, coziness and security. Very simply, color can be warm or cool. Warm colors such as red, orange and yellow tend to suggest intimacy, violence, heat, aggression, sex, and passion. Cool colors such as blue, green and violet tend to suggest peace, tranquillity, coldness, control, and clinicalness.

- Camera shots and angles.* For example, a close-up shot (face only) signifies intimacy; a medium shot (most of body) signifies personal relationships; a long shot (setting and characters) signifies context, scope, and public distance; and finally a full shot of the full body of an individual signifies social relationships.

- Use of language or types of discourse.* The way language is used often conveys meaning to the audience. Linguists make note of this in their research with advertising text. For example, an advertisement that uses a language of technology often targets men, while

an advertisement that uses a language of the "lifeworld" (i.e., referring to motherhood, cleaning, household tasks, etc.) is often targeted toward women.

- The item itself and its role and function in society.* Does the item convey any special meaning for society? For example, perfume functions as sort of pheromone to attract members of the opposite sex.

- Other significant images and symbols, which must be tackled and analyzed individually.* An example of this sort of sign is well illustrated through Berger's notation that a woman in a bathtub in a moisture cream advertisement signifies baptism and rebirth; it is the antithesis of being dried up and fruitless.

Step 2. What is the system that gives these signs meaning?

That is, what codes can be found? Codes are defined as "highly complex patterns of associations we all learn in a given society and culture." They affect the way one interprets signs and symbols found in the media, and further, they tell one what to do in all situations. Examples include codes for how to behave at funerals, codes of ethical behavior for journalists, and so on.

Step 3. What is the paradigmatic structure of the text?

Paradigmatic structure, as defined by Levi-Strauss, involves the central oppositions in the text. The paradigmatic structure helps identify the overlying theme in the advertisement. Examples include freedom vs. control, love vs. hate, thin vs. obese, rich vs. poor, popular vs. lonely, etc. The paradigmatic structure is often evident through the type of appeal advertisement uses. For example, an advertisement with a beauty appeal would have beauty vs. ugliness as its central opposition

Step 4. What are the comparisons used?

What metaphors, metonyms, and similes are used? In short, a metaphor is resemblance based on analogy, while metonymy is resemblance based on association. These two methods of conveying meaning are simplified with Berger's contrasting examples: the costume of Spiderman is a metaphor, while Uncle Sam stands for America.

With similes, the terms "like" and "as" are used to suggest a comparison, as in "he is as sharp as a razor."

Step 5. What ideological and sociological matters are involved with the signs and with the oppositions within the advertisements?

This involves determining how the advertisement attempts to sell the audience and what roles it offers to imitate, as well as how social phenomena might be reflected indirectly (alienation, boredom, conformism, etc.). In short, the semiologist utilizes sociology and psychology as tools in dissecting the advertisement. As an example, a car advertisement targeted to women which only focuses on automotive features that would help her in mothering children could signal that the sign of a woman is motherhood. That is, the ideal woman is a mother.

Step 6. What theories can be applied in order to draw out meaning?

For example, with the uses and gratifications theory, the semiologist can attempt to determine the gratification the reader gets from the advertisement—as a sort of cultural preparation for the demands of upward mobility, as reassurance for the importance of one's role in society, as an emotional escape and so on.

From Berger's methodology, the semiologist was able to tease out the following elements from the advertisements which helped in determining the portrayals of the target market:

•Type of Product

1. *Clothing and Accessories*—Products classified as clothing include items made of cloth or fabric (including leathers) that are produced to cover the body. Products classified as accessories include items, other than jewelry, that are used to compliment clothing. Examples of accessories include shoes, ties, belts, handbags, sunglasses, etc.

2. *Alcohol or Cigarettes*— Products classified as alcohol include items that qualify as intoxicating beverages. Alcoholic beverages include both spirits and liqueurs. Products classified as cigarettes include items that qualify as small rolls of finely cut tobacco wrapped in thin paper for smoking.

3. *Automobiles and Motorcycles*— Products classified as automobiles include all four-wheel passenger vehicles with built-in engines. Products classified as motorcycles include all two-wheel vehicles propelled by internal-combustion engines.

4. *Jewelry*— Products classified as jewelry include items that qualify as ornaments worn on one's body (this includes rings, necklaces, watches, earrings, etc.).

5. *Fragrance*— Products classified as fragrances include items, other than lotions, that offer a pleasing scent and that are worn on the skin.

6. *Cosmetics*— Products classified as cosmetics include items that beautify and correct faults in the face, hair, etc. Examples of cosmetics include moisturizing lotions, lipsticks, facial hair removers, etc.

7. *Personal Hygiene Products*— Products classified as personal hygiene items include items that are used for the body to preserve cleanliness and health. Examples of personal hygiene products include soaps, deodorants, razors, etc.

8. *Food and Beverages*— Products classified as food and beverages include items, other than vitamins, taken into the body for nourishment . Examples include mineral water, salad dressings, and pasta sauces.

9. *Health Products*— Products classified as vitamins include tablets taken through the mouth in order to aid in better health. Examples include vitamins; smoking prevention campaigns, and weight-loss products.

10. *Tools/Auto Maintenance Supplies*— Products classified as tools include items qualified as an instrument used to do mechanical work (drills, wrenches, etc.). Products classified as auto maintenance supplies include items that are used in the upkeep of automobiles (motor oil, transmission fluid, waxes, etc.).

11. Psychic Services— Products classified as psychic services include organizations or individuals claiming to predict the future.

12. Entertainment— Products classified as entertainment include items that are made to amuse such as movies, music, books, television programs, and magazines.

13. Sexual Enhancement Products— Products classified as sexual enhancement products include items that are made to help enhance or increase sexual desire. An example of this type of product is an instructional sex video.

14. Business Related Products— Products classified as business related products include items that are used in day to day office work activities (e.g., fax machines, computers, brief cases, etc.).

15. Home Decoration Products— Products classified as home decoration products include items such as lamps, window shades, bed covers, etc. that are made to enhance the appearance of one's home or living quarters.

16. Household Items/Cleaning— Products classified as household and/or cleaning products include items that are used in day to day maintenance of a place of residence (e.g., trash bags, laundry detergent, mops, vacuum cleaners, etc.).

17. Career Opportunities/High School Diploma Courses—Services classified as career include those that offer training in a specific field in order to prepare one for work in this field. The fields of work include computer programming, accounting, bookkeeping, etc. Also in this category are Army and Navy careers, whereby men and women can join the military in order to establish a career. Services classified as high school diploma courses are defined as services whereby students can study at home in order to obtain their high school degrees.

18. Collectibles/Novelties—Products classified as collectibles include those items which have no great intrinsic value, yet form a class whereby similar items can be gathered together and formed into a group. Examples include collectible dolls, painted plates for display, and other collectible, inexpensive artwork. Products classified as novelties include

small, often cheaply made articles, usually made for play or adornment. Examples novelties include Elvis Presley keychains and self-tying shoe strings.

19. *Vacations*—Products or services classified as vacations include places where one can obtain freedom and rest from work. Examples include vacations to Australia, the Bahamas, and Paris.

20. *Bank Related Products*—Products classified as bank related include items that involve the loan, exchange, or issue of money. An example of a bank related product is a credit card.

21. *Miscellaneous Products*— Products classified as miscellaneous include various products that did not cluster into groups of two or more like-products.

•*Product Method of Purchase*

The method of purchase for a product is defined as the means by which the product can be obtained. The three methods of purchase are defined as follows:

1. *Mail-order*—All items advertised with a mail order form as the means of obtaining the product.

2. *In-store*—All items advertised with a store name and location as the means of obtaining the product.

3. *Phone-order*—All items advertised with a phone number as the means of obtaining the product.

•*Appeal or Persuasive Technique*

Appeals are defined as messages designed to motivate the consumer to purchase. Appeals may be *rational* or *emotional*.

Rational—Using information and arguments that present a logical, reasonable case based on the consumer's practical need for buying a product. The following is a defined list of rational appeals found in this study.

1. *Quality*— Emphasis is on the positive attributes of a product that differentiates it from others in the same class, or simply on the excellence of the product.

2. *Performance*— Emphasis is on the success the product achieves, or on the effectiveness of the product.

3. *Price*— Emphasis is on the low price or value of the product.

Emotional—Advertising messages with emotional appeals appeal to psychological rather than utility needs, i.e. needs for love and to be loved, to be regarded as successful, to be considered as sexual by other people, and other similar motivations. The following is a defined list of emotional appeals found in the advertisements in this research.

1. *Independence/Autonomy*— Emphasis is on the individual being distinct and unlike others. Nonconformity and originality are key terms. Dependency is played down. Models in the advertisements are often shown alone in a setting, often stand out in the crowd, or have the ability to be self-sufficient.

2. *Tradition*— Emphasize is on wisdom or tradition. That is, tradition as defined by established or customary patterns of thought; or the handing down of information, beliefs, and customs by word of mouth from one generation to another. Models are portrayed as either old fashioned or in traditional scenes, such as fathers and sons playing sports.

3. *Youth*— Emphasis on deification of the younger generation; stress is on the new, contemporary values of the product. Models are young, usually in the near to early 20 age group.

4. *Status*— Position and rank is stressed. Ads suggest the use of a product will improve some inherent quality of the user in the eyes of other people. Celebrity endorsements are common.

5. *Sex*— Emphasis is on the product's ability to excite sexual desire. Models in ads with sex appeals are often shown in sexual embraces, while the copy of these ads often refer to sexual behavior .

6. *Romance*—Emphasis is on courtship and "wooing" as opposed to sexuality.

Common signifiers in advertisements include fireplaces, dim lights, flowers, and so on.

7. *Fear*—Emphasis is on the avoidance of something that may cause one anxiety.

Examples include everything from the avoidance of being stranded in a car to the avoidance of bad breath.

8. *Good Health*— Emphasis is on leading a healthy lifestyle—on enjoying a physical and active lifestyle. Examples include depictions of individuals in some sort of physical activity such as inline skating or running for exercise.

9. *Wealth*— Emphasis is on the possession of money, property, or riches. Ads with wealth appeals show models in elaborate settings, or use signifiers of wealth such as a home with tennis courts, etc.

10. *Adventure*— Emphasis is on daring undertakings—climbing large mountains, driving race cars, etc.

11. *Excitement*— Emphasis is on the arousal of feelings, the desire for thrill. Ads with excitement appeals often portray or refer to models in an endeavor that produces thrill, such as fast driving.

12. *Masculinity/Strength*— Emphasis is on the identities' toughness, or power to endure. Models are usually males with large, visible muscles. Where no model is present, it is the ad text that points to the desire for physical strength.

13. *Solitude*— Emphasis is on the desire to be alone—the desire for seclusion. Settings are usually peaceful and natural.

14. *Success*— Emphasis is on gaining wealth or achieving one's goals. Ad text usually refers to elements of success such as fax machines, clients, stocks, etc.

15. *Femininity*— Emphasis is on having qualities or characteristics suitable to women. Gentle and delicate are key terms. Signifiers include flowers, colors (soft pinks, soft blues), etc.

16. *Beauty*— Emphasis is on the desire to be pleasing or attractive to others.

Models are portrayed without lines or wrinkles in their skin. They are also young, between the ages of 18 and 35.

17. *Relaxation/Leisure*— Emphasis is on enjoying oneself. Work is played down while leisure activities such as walking on the beach, playing in the water, etc., are depicted.

18. *Art/Sensitivity*— Emphasis is on creativity and the desire for unusual perception of form and beauty. Examples of ads with art/sensitivity appeals include those that refer to actual works of art.

19. *Purity*— Emphasis is on innocence and the desire to be completely free of sin or bad elements. Models in these ads are often pictured in white (angelic) and are surrounded by nature (which is, in itself, pure).

20. *Nature/Outdoors*— Emphasis is on anything outside a building or shelter. Camping, hunting or fishing are common activities in ads with nature/outdoors appeals.

•*Discourse Type*

The discourse type refers to the type of speech from which the text, or even the artwork, draws from. The ten discourse types that surfaced in this study are defined as follows:

1. *Technology/Science*—This type of discourse often uses terms of the technological nature such as a "V-8 engine" or amount of "torque" when referring to an automobile.

2. *Nature*—This type of discourse is evident when references are made to natural phenomena such as the weather, animals, the creation of man, etc.

3. *Lifeworld*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to the activities of day to day life, such as parental tasks.

4. *Historical*—This type of discourse draws from past events, or features historical time frames as the setting for the advertisements.

5. *Medical*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to the treatment of disease or pain.

6. *Sexual*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to erotic pleasures, such as the act of intercourse.

7. *Athletic*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to sports or games—often football, baseball, basketball, etc.

8. *Banking*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to the exchange, loan, or issue of money.

9. *Political*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to government activities such as laws, constitutional rights, political campaigns, etc.

10. *Art*—This type of discourse is evident through references made to creative work such as paintings or sculptures.

•*Identities Established*

The identities established in advertisements involve age, gender, occupational roles of the participants, as well as any other characteristics that can be determined about the models or the readers. The occupational roles of the participants are often determined through the surrounding symbols present in the advertisement. For example, in determining an actor is a pilot, one would note an airplane behind the actor, as well as his or her flight jacket and headgear. The implications about the actors (and even the readers) include whether or not the actor is a mother or father (through presence of or reference to children), whether or not the actors are married (through the presence of a wedding ring), and so on. A defined list of the identities that surfaced in this research follow below.

1. *Gender*—Either male or female.

2. *Age*—The actual number of years a person has lived since birth.

3. *Independent*—Emphasis is on the individual as being distinct, unlike others. Models in ads often stand out in the crowd, or have the ability to be self-sufficient. Non-conformity, originality and uniqueness are the key terms. Dependency is played down.

4. *Successful*— Position and rank are stressed. Reaching one's goals is also noted. Often, in advertisements that establish successful identities, references are made to the necessities of prestigious occupations, such as fax machines, business appointments, and computers.

5. *Active/Healthy*—Portrayals of individuals engaging in sporting activities are the key to active/healthy identities. These activities include inline skating, running, and rock climbing. Laziness is played down. One's health is the primary emphasis here.

6. *Beautiful/Attractive*—When beauty is the primary identity established, the actors in the advertisements are pleasing to the eye. They appear flawless, without wrinkles or lines in their skin. They are often photographed at close range and stare directly at the camera.

7. *Hardworking*—Emphasis is on physical labor. Models are seen completing manual labor tasks such as construction or building tasks.

8. *Sensitive*—Identities are depicted as tender and responsive to feelings. Male models depicted as sensitive are often surrounded by signifiers of femininity such as soft colors, flowers, soft lighting, and so on.

9. *Sexual*—Identities are depicted as erotic and sensual. Sexual identities are often shown in sexual embraces.

10. *Rugged/Masculine*—Identities are depicted as powerful and possess great muscular strength through the possession of large visible muscles or the accomplishment of strenuous physical tasks.

11. *Troubled*—Identities are depicted as full of worry or mental distress. Troubled identities are usually established through their facial expressions.

12. *Outdoorsy/Nature Oriented*—Identities are depicted as having a love of the outdoors. Models are shown enjoying activities such as camping, hunting and fishing.

13. *Parental*—Identities are depicted as parents through the presence of children.

14. *Homemaker*—Identities are depicted as individuals who manage a home. Most often, homemakers are females involved in household cleaning activities.

15. *Adventurous*—Identities are portrayed either involved in, or interested in, daring undertakings—climbing large mountains, driving race cars, etc.

16. *Culturally Elite*—Identities are portrayed as being intelligent and knowledgeable about art, literature and the humanities. These identities are often established through the presence of, or references to, art and literature.

17. *Femme Fatal*—Identities are portrayed as strong, independent, and sexual. These identities are established through sexual signs such as red fingernails, red lips, and tight red dresses placed alongside male signifiers such as motorcycles and cigars.

18. *Powerful*—Identities are portrayed as superior to others. Often power is established in female identities through male signifiers such as female models wearing male business suits. Power is established in male identities through signifiers such as strength, money, or success.

19. *Mysterious*—Identities are portrayed as secretive. Dark shadows often help in establishing mysterious identities by hiding the models' faces.

20. *Money Conscious*—Identities are portrayed as being concerned about or aware of money and prices. These identities are often established through text that points to monetary concerns of the audience.

21. *Fraternizer/Party-oriented*—Identities are portrayed as those who like to mingle, attend parties, and drink alcoholic beverages. These identities are often established through art or text that refers to "partying," or to drinking large quantities of alcohol.

22. *Low Education Level*—Identities are portrayed as having no college education, and often as having no high school education. These identities are established through text that makes references to their lack of education or need of direction in reaching goals.

23. *Miscellaneous Identities*—Identities classified as miscellaneous include various identities that did not cluster into groups of two or more like-identities.

•Design

Overall, the design style within the advertisements is one that is approximated through axial balance, the prominence of art or text, and the type of camera shots.

Axial Balance—Characterized by white space and by being formally designed. White space is defined as the empty space within an advertisement. That is, the space that is absent of art or text. Advertisements that are formally designed are characterized by being well-balanced and by having good form.

Number of Words—The number of words present in advertisements.

Art or Text—Which is more prominent in the ad—the art or the text? That is, which stands out more in the ad?

Camera Shots—How the models in the advertisements are photographed. The four primary types of camera shots that surfaced in this research are as follows:

1. *Close-up Shots*—Shots that only show the face.
2. *Medium Shots*—Shots that show most of the body.
3. *Long Shots*—Shots that only show the setting and characters.
4. *Parts of Bodies*—Includes shots of hands, feet, legs, mouths, etc., that are only seen as a portion.

Data Collection Plan and Recording

In order to collect and record the data, the advertisements were analyzed according to the outline above. Signs were analyzed, and semiological descriptions were summarized,

which allowed the researcher to note following elements: products advertised, discourse types used, design styles used, appeals used, and identities established. Charts were compiled in which the presence or absence of most of these elements were marked for each of the advertisements. These charts were then entered into a SYSTAT's data editor matrix in order to calculate percentages of the elements being analyzed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 17.

²Ibid., 16.

³Ferdinand De Saussure, Course In General Linguistics (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959), 15-16.

⁴Ibid., 14.

⁵Tony Schwartz, The Responsive Chord (New York: Anchor Press, 1973), 24-25.

⁶Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 20.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., 34.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., 142.

¹¹Ibid., 36.

¹²Umberto Eco, A Theory of Semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 206-207.

¹³Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes, and Control Vol I. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 115.

¹⁴Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 142.

¹⁵Ibid., 143.

¹⁶Edmund Leach, Claude Levi-Strauss (New York: The Viking Press, 1970), 30.

¹⁷Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 38.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., 39.

²¹Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (California: Sage Publications, 1982), 32.

²²Umberto Eco, A Theory of Semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 280.

²³Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 32.

²⁴Ibid., 33.

²⁵Umberto Eco, A Theory of Semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 280.

²⁶Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 34-35

²⁷Ibid., 30-32.

²⁸Edmund Leach, Claude Levi-Strauss (New York: The Viking Press, 1970), 30.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Peirce, Charles Sanders, Peirce On Signs: Writings On Semiotics, ed. James Hoopes (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 239-240; quoted in Arthur Asa Berger, Cultural Criticism (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1995), 79.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 15.

³⁵Ibid., 136.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., 137.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This study is a qualitative analysis which examines how working and middle-class identities are established in British and American magazine advertisements. Four British magazines (including two working-class and two middle-class magazines) and four American magazines (including two working-class and two middle-class magazines) were chosen for this study. Because three issues of each magazine were used in the analysis, a total of 24 magazines were analyzed. Furthermore, because only advertisements at least one-quarter page in size were considered in the analysis, and because duplicate advertisements were not considered, a total of 735 advertisements were analyzed.

In order to determine how classes are portrayed, the advertisements were semiologically analyzed. More specifically, through a semiological analysis of the signs and symbols present in the ads, several elements were pulled out and counted: (a) type of products, (b) appeals used, (c) discourse types, (d) identities established, and (e) design styles.

In the presentation of findings below, the magazines are grouped according to nation and class in order to make comparisons among the portrayals of working and middle-class Americans to and among portrayals of the working and middle-class British. Both men's and women's magazines were used in the study simply to ensure that both men and women would be represented as part of a wider class-based target market. Thus, gender, or sex, is not a basis for comparison in this analysis.

Products Advertised

Type of Products

In the analysis of the type of products that emerged within the American and British magazines, a total of 735 advertisements was analyzed, and because each of the advertisements featured a single product, 735 actual products were included. Furthermore, in the analysis of products, when two or more similar products were found, groups, or clusters were formed. Twenty-one groups, or clusters, of products emerged within the magazines.

The twenty-one product clusters that emerged within the magazines are as follows: (1) clothing and accessories, (2) alcohol and cigarettes, (3) automobiles, (4) jewelry, (5) fragrance, (6) personal hygiene products, (7) cosmetics, (8) sensual products, (9) food and beverages, (10) business products, (11) home decoration products, (12) entertainment, (13) banking products, (14) career/education services, (15) tools and automobile supplies, (16) cleaning and household products, (17) vacations, (18) health products, (19) collectibles and novelties, (20) psychic services, and (21) miscellaneous products.¹

The eight magazines used in determining product types were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table I below presents the types of products found in the magazines used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the twenty-one product groups that were found within the magazines. The number of products that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE I
 PRODUCTS ADVERTISED IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE-
 AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINES
 N = 735

Type of Product	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Clothing/Accessories	41 %	15 %	4 %	21 %	24 %
Alcohol/Cigarettes	14	7	15	11	12
Automobiles	12	6	7	4	8
Jewelry	6	22	0	4	8
Fragrance	5	18	2	1	7
Personal Hygiene	2	0	3	2	2
Cosmetics	8	8	1	1	5
Sensual Products	1	0	4	1	2
Food/Beverages	3	3	0	11	3
Business Products	2	1	0	0	1
Home Decoration	0	1	0	2	1
Entertainment	2	5	4	22	6
Banking	0	1	0	1	0
Career Services	0	1	6	0	2
Tools/Auto Supplies	0	1	32	1	7
Cleaning/Household	0	2	3	2	2
Vacations	1	3	0	0	2
Health Products	1	1	5	6	2
Collectibles/Novelties	0	0	12	6	3
Psychic Services	0	0	2	2	1
Miscellaneous	2	5	0	2	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table I above, the highest percentage of products advertised in American middle-class magazines was clothing and accessories at 41%, followed by alcohol and cigarettes at 14%, and automobiles at 12%. There were several product groups that were not advertised in American middle-class magazines, as their frequency percentages totaled zero. These product groups include home decoration and household

cleaning items, banking services, career services, tools and auto supplies, vacations, collectibles and novelties, and psychic services.

Furthermore, the highest percentage of products advertised in British middle-class magazines was jewelry at 22%, followed by fragrance at 18%. As in the American middle-class magazines, there were several product groups that were not advertised in British middle-class magazines. These product groups include personal hygiene products, sensual products, collectibles, and psychic services.

The highest percentage of products advertised in American working-class magazines were tools and auto supplies at 32%, followed by alcohol and cigarettes at 15%, and collectibles and novelties at 12%. It should be noted that the high percentage of tools and automobile supplies is assumed to be a result of the American working-class magazine chosen for this study, *Hot Rod*, which is a technological magazine. Thus, the alcohol and cigarettes and collectibles and novelties product groups are given more weight by the researcher in American working-class magazines than their percentages offer. Product groups that were not advertised in this magazine group include jewelry, food and beverages, business products, home decoration products, and banking services.

Finally, the highest percentages of products advertised in British working-class magazines were entertainment at 22% and clothing and accessories at 21%, followed by alcohol and cigarettes and food and beverages, both at 11%. The product groups that were not advertised in British working-class magazines included the banking service group, the vacation group, the career service group, and the business related product group.

Product Method of Purchase

In addition to the types, or categories, of products that emerged within the four magazine groups, one other feature involving the products was also examined and counted: the method of purchase for the products. Three methods of purchase were found. They include (1) mail-order purchases, (2) in-store purchases, and (3) phone-order purchases.²

Table II presents the methods of purchase for products found in the magazine advertisements analyzed in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the methods of purchase that were found. The row titled "Not Applicable" is made up of percentages of products whose method of purchase was not applicable, as in smoking prevention campaigns, where an actual product or service is not purchased. The number of methods of purchase that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE II
METHOD OF PURCHASE FOR PRODUCTS ADVERTISED IN AMERICAN AND
BRITISH MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINES
 N = 735

Product Method Of Purchase	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Mail-order	0 %	0 %	50 %	22 %	15 %
In-store	99	100	46	70	83
Phone-order	1	0	4	3	1
Not Applicable	0	0	0	5	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table II, the most common method of purchase for products in American middle-class magazines was in-store purchase at 99%. The most common method of purchase for products in British middle-class magazines was also in-store purchase at 100%. In American working-class magazines, however, the percentages of in-store and mail-order methods of purchase were nearly equal, with in-store purchases at 46% and mail-order purchases at 50%. Finally, the most common method of purchase for products in British working-class magazines was in-store purchase at 70%.

Appeals

Overall Appeals

Appeals are defined as messages designed to motivate the consumer to purchase. In the analysis of the type of appeals that emerged within the American and British magazines, *overall* appeals were first examined. A total of 735 advertisements was analyzed for their overall appeals. The overall appeals that emerged in the advertisements in this study include both rational and emotional appeals.³

The eight magazines used in determining overall appeals were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table III presents the types of overall appeals found in the magazines used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups listed above. The rows are made up of the overall appeals. The four groups of overall appeals in the table below are as follows: (1) rational appeals, (2) emotional appeals, (3) combinations of rational and emotional appeals, and (4) combinations of emotional appeals. The row titled "Undetermined" is made up of percentages of overall appeals that this researcher was unable to determine. The number of appeals that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE III
 OVERALL APPEALS USED IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE-
 AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
 N = 735

Overall Appeals	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Rational	12 %	21 %	46 %	16%	22 %
Emotional	68	63	35	63	59
Rational and Emotional	11	5	12	6	9
Combined Emotional	1	1	1	1	1
Undetermined	8	10	6	14	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table III above, the highest percentage of appeals used in American middle-class magazines were emotional appeals at 68%. Likewise, the highest percentage of appeals used in British middle-class magazines were emotional appeals at 63%. The highest percentage of appeals used in American working-class magazines were rational appeals at 46%, followed closely by emotional appeals at 35%. Finally, the highest percentage of appeals used in British working-class magazines were emotional appeals at 63%.

Specific Appeals

After the overall appeals were determined, the advertisements were analyzed for their *specific* appeals. Emotional appeals formed twenty distinct (or specific) groups, while rational appeals formed four distinct (or specific) groups. The twenty emotional appeal clusters that emerged are as follows: (1) the desire to have status, (2) the desire to be attractive, (3) the desire to be adventurous, (4) the desire to be healthy/active, (5) the desire to be relaxed, (6) the desire to be excited, (7) the desire to be young, (8) the desire to be successful, (9) the desire to be rugged or masculine, (10) the desire to be

independent/autonomous, (11) the desire to be sexy, (12) the desire to be romantic, (13) the desire to be outdoorsy, (15) the desire to be artistic, (16) the desire to be traditional, (17) the desire to be wholesome, (18) the desire to be feminine, (19) the desire to be fearless, and (20) the desire for solitude.

Furthermore, the three rational clusters that emerged are as follows:

(1) performance, (2) quality, and (3) price.

The eight magazines analyzed to determine specific appeals were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table IV on the following page presents the types of specific appeals found in the magazines used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the specific appeals. Rows with more than one specific appeal listed denote advertisements that offered combinations of appeals. The row titled "Undetermined" is made up of percentages of specific appeals that this researcher was unable to determine. The number of specific appeals that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE IV
 SPECIFIC APPEALS USED IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE-
 AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
 N = 735

Specific Appeals	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
<i>Emotional Only</i>					
Status	2 %	1 %	1 %	3 %	2 %
Attractive	16	10	3	8	10
Adventurous	4	5	2	4	4
Healthy/Active	4	1	0	1	2
Relaxed	7	5	1	1	4
Excited	6	2	4	8	5
Young	1	0	0	2	2
Successful	2	3	4	0	3
Rugged/Masculine	1	1	1	1	1
Independent	9	5	3	2	6
Sexy	2	6	3	5	4
Romantic	2	2	2	1	2
Outdoorsy	1	1	0	0	1
Artistic	4	10	4	4	6
Traditional	2	5	3	1	2
Wealthy	1	0	0	1	0
Wholesome	0	1	0	0	0
Feminine	0	1	0	0	0
Fear	0	1	1	0	1
Solitude	0	0	2	3	0
<i>Combined Emotional</i>					
Sexy & Wholesome	0	0	1	0	0
Attractive & Healthy	1	0	0	0	0
Young & Excited	1	0	0	0	0
Attractive & Sexy	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Rational Only</i>					
Performance	3	3	8	1	4
Quality	7	17	22	7	13
Price	0	1	15	11	5
<i>Rational & Emotional</i>					
Quality & Pride	1	0	0	0	0
Quality & Attractive	5	2	2	4	4
Quality & Rugged/Masculine	1	0	2	0	1
Quality & Adventurous	1	1	1	0	1
Quality & Artistic	1	0	1	1	1
Quality & Sexy	1	0	1	0	1
Quality & Success	1	0	1	0	1
Quality & Status	1	1	0	0	0
Quality & Wholesome	0	2	1	0	1
Quality & Relaxed	0	1	0	0	0
Quality & Excited	0	1	2	0	1
<i>Undetermined</i>	12	12	10	31	14
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table IV, the most commonly used specific appeal in American middle-class magazine advertisements was the desire to be attractive at 16%. Also from the table one can see that there were several specific appeal groups that did not surface in American middle-class magazine advertisements, as their frequency percentages totaled zero. These appeal groups include wholesome appeals, feminine appeals, fear appeals, solitude appeals, price appeals, and several other groups of combination appeals. The most prevalent combination appeal that did occur was the quality and attractive combination at 5%.

The most commonly used specific appeals in British middle-class magazines were quality appeals at 17%, and beauty (attractive) and artistic appeals, both at 10%. In addition, the appeals that did not surface in this magazine group include youth appeals, wealth appeals, solitude appeals, and several other groups of combination appeals.

The most commonly used specific appeals in American working-class magazines were quality appeals at 22%, and price appeals at 15%. The appeals that did not surface in this magazine group include youth appeals, outdoor appeals, wealth, purity (wholesome), and feminine appeals, as well as several other combinations of rational and emotional appeals.

The most commonly used specific appeals in British working-class magazines were price appeals at 11%, and excitement appeals at 8%. Furthermore, from the table one can see that success, outdoor, purity, feminine, and fear appeals did not surface in British working-class magazine advertisements. Finally, one should note that in a large proportion (31%) of the British working-class magazine advertisements, the specific appeals were unable to be determined by this researcher.

Discourse Type

Discourse type refers to the type of speech that the text, or even the artwork, draws from. In the analysis of the discourse types that emerged within the American and British magazines, a total of 735 advertisements was analyzed. When two or more similar discourse types were found, groups, or clusters were formed. Ten groups, or clusters, of discourse types emerged within the magazines.

The ten discourse types that emerged within the magazines are as follows: (1) lifeworld discourse, (2) nature discourse, (3) technology/science discourse, (4) art discourse, (5) historical discourse, (6) athletic discourse, (7) medical discourse, (8) political discourse, (9) sexual discourse, and (10) banking discourse.⁴

The eight magazines used in determining discourse types were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table V on the following page presents the discourse types found in the magazines used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the discourse types that were found within the magazines. Rows with more than one discourse type listed denote advertisements that offered combinations of discourse types. The row titled "Undetermined" is made up of percentages of discourse types that the researcher was unable to determine. The number of discourse types that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE V
DISCOURSE TYPES IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE- AND
WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Discourse Type	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Lifeworld	47 %	22 %	20 %	31%	33 %
Nature	7	11	3	5	7
Technology/Science	10	13	37	6	16
Art	7	8	6	6	7
Historical	2	1	0	0	1
Athletic	3	2	0	7	2
Medical	2	1	5	0	2
Political	1	1	0	0	1
Sexual	1	5	4	5	3
Banking	0	2	0	0	0
<i>Combination Discourses</i>					
Technology & Athletic	2	0	0	0	1
Technology & Lifeworld	1	2	1	1	2
Technology & Sex	0	1	0	0	0
Nature & Technology	0	1	0	0	0
Undetermined	17	30	24	39	25
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table V above, the most common discourse type found in American middle-class magazine advertisements was lifeworld at 47%. Also worth noting is the technology/science discourse, which surfaced in 10% of the ads in this magazine group. The only discourse type that was not found in this magazine group was a banking discourse.

Likewise, the most common discourse type found in British middle-class magazines was also lifeworld at 22%. In addition, both the technology/science and the nature discourse types surfaced frequently in this magazine group, at 13% and 11% respectively.

The most common discourse type found in American working-class magazine advertisements was technology/science at 37%, followed by lifeworld at 20%. It should be noted that the high percentage of technology/science discourse is assumed to be a result of the American working-class magazine chosen for this study, *Hot Rod*, which is a technological magazine. Thus, the lifeworld discourse is given more weight by the researcher in American working-class magazines than its percentages offer. Several discourse-type groups did not surface in American working-class magazines. These groups include historical, medical, political, and banking discourse types, as well as several other groups of combination discourse types.

Finally, the most common discourse type found British working-class magazine advertisements was lifeworld at 31%. Those discourse types that did not surface in this magazine group include banking, medical, historical, and political discourses.

It should be noted that in a large proportion of the advertisements, the discourse types were undetermined. For example, when analyzing British middle-class magazine advertisements, the researcher was unable to determine the discourse types in 30% of the ads, and when analyzing British working-class advertisements, the researcher was unable to determine discourse types in 39% of the ads.

Identities Established

The identities established in advertisements involve age, gender, occupational roles of the participants, as well as any other characteristics that can be determined about the models or the readers.

In the analysis of the occupational and character identities that emerged within the American and British magazines, a total of 735 advertisements was analyzed. Furthermore, when two or more similar identities were found, groups, or clusters were formed. Twenty groups, or clusters, of identities emerged within the magazines.

The twenty identities that emerged within the magazines are as follows: (1) successful, (2) cultural elite, (3) sensitive/wholesome, (4) active/healthy, (5) sexual, (6) adventurous, (7) rugged/masculine, (8) attractive, (9) independent, (10) outdoorsy, (11) troubled, (12) femme fatale, (13) parental, (14) powerful, (15) homemaker, (16) mysterious, (17) money conscious, (18) fraternizer, (19) hardworking, and (20) low education level.⁵

The eight magazines used in determining the character identities were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table VI on the following page presents the character identities established in the magazines used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the identities that were found within the magazines. Rows with more than one type of identity listed denote advertisements that offered combinations of identities. The row titled "Undetermined" is made up of percentages of identities that the researcher was unable to determine. The number of identities that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE VI
 CHARACTER IDENTITIES ESTABLISHED IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH
 MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
 N = 735

Identities	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Successful	8 %	6 %	1%	0%	5 %
Culturally Elite	4	6	0	0	3
Sensitive	4	2	2	2	3
Active	8	2	2	9	5
Sexual	6	5	4	3	5
Adventurous	5	6	3	2	5
Rugged/Masculine	1	0	3	0	1
Attractive	21	8	2	9	12
Independent	8	4	3	3	5
Outdoorsy	1	3	0	0	1
Troubled	1	0	0	0	0
Femme Fatale	1	1	0	0	0
Parental	2	2	0	1	1
Powerful	0	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	4	1
Mysterious	0	2	1	0	1
Money Conscious	0	1	1	0	0
Fraternizer	0	0	1	2	1
Hardworking	0	0	3	0	1
Low Education	0	0	2	0	1
Undetermined	25	51	70	64	46
Other	5	1	2	1	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table VI above, the most common identity established in American middle-class magazine advertisements was the attractive identity at 21%. Both successful and active identities also surfaced frequently in this magazine group, both at 8%. Those identities not established include powerful, homemaking, mysterious, money-conscious, fraternizing, hardworking, and low education level identities.

The most common identity established in British middle-class magazines was also the attractive identity at 8%, followed by successful, culturally elite, and adventurous

identities, each at 6%. Those identities not established in this magazine group include masculine, troubled, powerful, homemaking, fraternizing, hardworking, and low education level identities.

The most common identity established in American working-class magazines was the sexual identity at 4%, followed by adventurous, masculine, and hardworking identities all at 3%. Those not established include culturally elite, outdoorsy, troubled, femme fatale, parental, and homemaking identities.

Finally, the most common identities established in British working-class magazines were the active and attractive identities, both at 9%. Those identities not established in this magazine group include successful, culturally elite, rugged/masculine, outdoorsy, troubled, femme fatale, powerful, money-conscious, hardworking, and low education level identities.

It should be noted that in a large proportion of the advertisements, the identities were undetermined, especially in the working-class advertisements, where the undetermined identities were at 70% for American working-class magazines, and 64% for British working-class magazines. It is for this reason that the identities that were established in these magazine groups appeared in such low percentiles.

Gender

Gender plays a role in helping to establish the overall identities in the advertisements. The gender groups that emerged within this study are as follows: (1) male, (2) female, or (3) both male and female (when more than one model was present in the ad), and (4) no model(s) present.⁶

The eight magazines used in determining the gender of the models were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men’s and women’s working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men’s and women’s working-class British magazines

Table VII below presents the gender of the models in the magazine advertisements used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of gender-based identities. The number of gender-based identities that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE VII
GENDER OF MODELS IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE-
AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Gender of Models In Ads	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Male	26 %	15 %	10 %	27 %	20 %
Female	24	19	18	13	20
Both Male & Female	14	7	5	12	10
No Models Present	35	58	66	47	49
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table VII above, gender surfaced in nearly equal proportions in American middle-class magazine advertisements, with males at 26% and females at 24%. Likewise, a close proportion of models in British middle-class magazine advertisements were female (19%) and male (15%). The most common gender established in American working-class magazines was female at 18%. The most common gender established in British working-class magazines was male at 27%.

Age

Age, like gender, plays a role in helping to establish the overall identities in the advertisements. Age was divided into the following groups: (1) 1-10, (2) 11-20, (3) 21-30, (4) 31-40, (5) 41-50, (6) 51+, (7) combination of ages, (8) age not determined, and (9) no model(s) present.⁷ Group seven, combination of ages, was made up of advertisements that contained several models with varying ages.

The eight magazines used in determining age-based identities were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table VIII on the following page presents the age of the models in the magazine advertisements used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of age-based identities. The number of age-based identities that made up each group was counted and transmitted into percentage form.

TABLE VIII
AGE OF MODELS IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE- AND WORKING-
CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Age of Models In Ads	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
1-10	1 %	2 %	1 %	2%	1 %
11-20	5	1	1	3	3
21-30	28	21	10	31	23
31-40	21	10	14	3	14
41-50	2	1	2	2	2
51+	0	0	1	1	0
Combination Ages	2	1	1	3	2
Age Not Determined	6	6	4	8	6
No Models Present	35	58	66	47	49
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table VIII above indicates that a close proportion of models in American middle-class magazine advertisements fell into the 21-30 year-old age group at 28%, and into the 31-40 year-old age group at 21%.

In British middle-class magazine advertisements, the largest percentage of models were in the 21-30 year-old age group at 21%.

The most common age group established in American working-class magazines was the 31-40 age group at 14%, followed by the 21-30 age group at 10%.

The most common age group established in British working-class magazines was, by far, the 21-30 age group at 31%.

Design

Overall, the design style within the advertisements was approximated through axial balance, the prominence of art or text, and the type of camera shots.

Axial Balance

Axial balance is characterized by white space and by being formally designed. In the analysis of the presence or absence of axial balance within the magazines used in this study, a total of 735 advertisements was analyzed. When considering axial balance, only two groups were formed within the advertisements in this study. They include (1) ads with axial balance, and (2) ads without axial balance.⁸

The eight magazines used in determining the presence or absence of axial balance were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table IX below presents the presence or absence of axial balance in the magazine advertisements used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the axial balance design style. The number of ads with and without axial balance was counted and transmitted into percentage form. These percentages, along with their corresponding magazine groups, are listed below.

TABLE IX
THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF AXIAL BALANCE IN AMERICAN AND
BRITISH MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE
ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Presence or Absence of Axial Balance	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Axial Balance	95 %	97 %	45 %	79 %	82 %
No Axial Balance	5	3	55	21	18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table IX above, a large percentage (95%) of American middle-class magazine advertisements used axial balance. Likewise, a large percentage (97%) of British middle-class magazine advertisements also offered axial balance. In American working-class magazines, however, axial balance was not used in 55% of the advertisements. Finally, in British working-class magazine advertisements, axial balance was used in 79% of the advertisements.

Art or Text

In analyzing the prominence of art and text in the advertisements, 735 advertisements were examined in order to determine which of the two—art or text—were stronger features in the advertisements (i.e., which stood out more). When considering the prominence of art and text, the following three groups were formed: (1) ads with art as the prominent feature (2) ads with text as the prominent feature, and (3) ads with both text and art as equally prominent features.⁹

The eight magazines used in determining the prominence of art or text were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table X on the following page presents the prominence of art and text in the magazine advertisements used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the art and text elements of design style. The number of ads with art and text as prominent features was counted and transmitted into percentage form. These percentages, along with their corresponding magazine groups, are listed below.

TABLE X
THE PROMINENCE OF ART AND TEXT IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH
MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Prominence of Art and Text	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Art	79 %	76 %	29%	70 %	66 %
Text	6	8	44	10	16
Both Art & Text	15	16	27	20	18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table X above, a large percentage (79%) of American middle-class magazine advertisements displayed art as the prominent feature. Likewise, a large percentage (76%) of British middle-class magazine advertisements also displayed art as the prominent feature. In American working-class magazines, however, text was the prominent feature at 45%. Finally, in British working-class magazine advertisements, art was the prominent feature at 70%.

Number of Words

The number of words present in advertisements provide a concrete way of determining the prominence of text in advertisements. Thus, to determine the salience in textual information within the advertisements, the number of words present in each ad was counted. The number of words present in the advertisements fell into the following categories: (1) 0 words, (2) 1-100 words, (3) 101-200 words, (4) 201-300 words, (5) 301-400 words, (6) 401-500 words, and (7) 501-600 words.¹⁰

The eight magazines used in determining the number of words present in advertisements were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table XI below presents the number of words present in the magazine advertisements used in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the categories of numbers of words. The number of words was counted for each advertisement and transmitted into percentage form. These percentages, along with their corresponding magazine groups, are listed below.

TABLE XI
NUMBER OF WORDS IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE- AND
WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Number of Words In Ads	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
0 Words	31 %	20 %	1 %	5 %	18 %
1-100	58	65	55	78	62
101-200	7	13	26	12	14
201-300	2	1	8	4	3
301-400	1	1	3	1	1
401-500	0	0	2	0	1
501-600	1	0	5	0	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XI above, a majority (58%) of the advertisements in the American middle-class magazines contained 100 or fewer words. Furthermore, a large percentage (31%) of the ads this magazine group contained no words at all.

Likewise, a large percentage (65%) of British middle-class magazine advertisements contained 100 or fewer words, while 20% of them contained no words at all.

In American working-class magazines, a majority (55%) of the advertisements contained 100 or fewer words; however, only 1% of the advertisements in this group contained no words at all. It should be noted that 26% of the advertisements in this magazine group contained 101 to 200 words.

Finally, in British working-class magazine advertisements, the majority of advertisements contained 100 or fewer words, while none of the ads in this magazine group contained over 400 words. Only 5% of the ads in British working-class magazines, however, contained no words at all.

Camera Shots

In the analysis of the types of camera shots within the American and British magazines, a total of 735 advertisements was analyzed. The three primary types of camera shots include close-up, medium, and long shots. In addition to these types of shots, two other types of shots surfaced within the advertisements in this study. They include shots that reveal only parts of bodies, and shots that reveal a mixture of the three primary types of shots (i.e., a mixture of close-up, medium, and long shots). Thus, a total of five groups of camera shots emerged within the advertisements in this study: (1) close-up shots, (2) medium shots, (3) long shots, (4) parts of bodies, and (5) mixture of shots.¹¹

The eight magazines used in determining the types of camera shots were grouped by nation and class as follows:

Group 1—Men's and women's middle-class American magazines

Group 2—Men's and women's middle-class British magazines

Group 3—Men's and women's working-class American magazines

Group 4—Men's and women's working-class British magazines

Table XII on the following page presents the types of camera shots used in the magazine advertisements in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the magazine groups. The rows are made up of the types of camera

shots. The row titled "No Models Present" is made up of the percentages of advertisements that did not contain models. The types of camera shots were counted and transmitted into percentage form. These percentages, along with their corresponding magazine groups, are listed below.

TABLE XII
CAMERA SHOTS OF MODELS IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH MIDDLE-
AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Type of Camera Shots	Magazine Groups				Overall
	American Middle- Class Magazines N = 296	British Middle- Class Magazines N = 176	American Working- Class Magazines N = 164	British Working- Class Magazines N = 99	
Close-Up	11 %	6 %	3 %	3 %	7 %
Medium	28	16	15	21	21
Long	20	14	13	17	16
Mixture of Shots	2	1	1	4	2
Parts of Bodies	4	6	2	8	5
No Models Present	35	57	66	47	49
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XII above, the most common type of shot for all of the magazine groups was the medium shot—28% for American middle-class magazine advertisements, 16% for British middle-class magazine advertisements, 15% for American working-class magazines, and 21% for British working-class magazine advertisements.

Furthermore, the least prevalent type of camera shot in nearly all of the magazine groups was the mixture of shots—2% for American middle-class magazine advertisements, 1% for British middle-class magazine advertisements, and 1% for American working-class magazines. The least prevalent type of camera shot in British working-class magazine advertisements was the close-up shot at 3%.

It should be noted that in all of the magazines, a large proportion of advertisements offered no models and thus, the type of camera shots could not be determined. This was

the case in 35% of the American middle-class magazine ads, in 57% of the British middle-class ads, in 66% of the American working-class ads, and in 47% of the British working-class ads.

Relationships Between The Elements

Because several of the elements above relate to one another in order to produce a semiotic effect in the advertisements, their percentages were combined in the tables below. The elements that were combined for each magazine group include: (1) types of products and overall appeals, (2) identities established and overall appeals, (3) identities established and camera shots, and (4) identities established and axial balance.

Types of Products and Overall Appeals

In order to establish how advertisers in working- and middle-class magazines target their readers through appeals, the types of products and appeals were combined. The relationships between the types of products and overall appeals are presented below for each of the four magazine groups independently.

American Middle-class Magazines

Table XIII on the following page presents the relationship between overall appeals and product types for American middle-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the overall appeals. The rows are made up of the 21 product groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of appeals and product groups are shown below.

TABLE XIII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERALL APPEALS AND TYPES OF PRODUCTS IN
AMERICAN MIDDLE-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Type Of Product	Overall Appeals					Overall
	Rational Appeals N = 34	Emotional Appeals N = 202	Combined Rat. & Emot. N = 33	Combined Emotional N = 3	Undetermined Appeals N = 24	
Clothing/Accessories	15 %	47 %	18 %	67 %	58 %	41 %
Alcohol/Cigarettes	6	19	3	0	0	14
Automobiles	35	7	27	0	0	12
Jewelry	8	6	3	0	4	6
Fragrance	0	7	0	0	0	5
Personal Hygiene	9	1	4	0	0	2
Cosmetics	9	2	30	0	21	8
Sensual Products	0	1	6	0	0	1
Food/Beverages	3	3	0	33	0	3
Business Products	6	1	3	0	0	3
Home Decoration	0	1	0	0	0	0
Entertainment	3	2	0	0	5	2
Banking	0	0	0	0	0	0
Career Services	0	0	3	0	0	0
Tools/Auto Supplies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cleaning/Household	0	1	0	0	0	0
Vacations	0	1	0	0	0	0
Health Products	0	0	3	0	4	1
Collectibles/Novelties	0	0	0	0	0	0
Psychic Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	6	1	0	0	8	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XIII above, 35% of the automobile ads in American middle-class magazines used rational appeals. It is interesting to note that 15% of the clothing and accessories advertisements in this magazine group used rational appeals; however, a large percentage (47%) of this product group also used emotional appeals. When considering the combined rational and emotional appeal group, cosmetics surfaced with the highest percentage at 30%, followed closely by automobiles at 27%. In the

combined emotional appeal group, only two types of products emerged: clothing and accessories at 67%, and food and beverages at 33%.

British Middle-class Magazines

Table XIV on the following page presents the relationship between overall appeals and product types for British middle-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the overall appeals. The rows are made up of the 21 product groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of appeals and product groups are shown below.

TABLE XIV
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERALL APPEALS AND TYPES OF PRODUCTS IN
BRITISH MIDDLE-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Type Of Product	Overall Appeals					Overall
	Rational Appeals N=37	Emotional Appeals N= 111	Combined Rat. & Emot. N=9	Combined Emotional N= 1	Undetermined Appeals N= 18	
Clothing/Accessories	13%	17 %	11 %	100 %	0 %	15 %
Alcohol/Cigarettes	8	7	0	0	11	7
Automobiles	22	3	0	0	0	6
Jewelry	24	22	11	0	22	22
Fragrance	0	26	0	0	11	18
Personal Hygiene	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cosmetics	6	6	44	0	11	8
Sensual Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food/Beverages	3	1	0	0	17	3
Business Products	0	2	0	0	0	1
Home Decoration	3	0	0	0	0	1
Entertainment	5	4	12	0	11	5
Banking	5	0	0	0	0	1
Career Services	3	0	0	0	0	1
Tools/Auto Supplies	0	0	11	0	0	1
Cleaning/Household	0	3	0	0	0	2
Vacations	0	5	0	0	0	3
Health Products	0	2	0	0	0	1
Collectibles/Novelties	0	0	0	0	0	0
Psychic Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	8	2	11	0	17	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XIV above, the highest percentages of products with rational appeals in British middle-class magazines were jewelry at 24%, and automobiles at 22%. The highest percentages of products with emotional appeals in this magazine group were fragrance at 26%, and jewelry at 22%. When considering the combined rational and emotional appeal group, cosmetics surfaced with the highest percentage at 44%. In the combined emotional appeal group, only one type of product emerged: clothing and accessories at 100%.

As can be seen in Table XV above, the highest percentages of products with rational appeals in American working-class magazines were tools and automobile supplies at 54%. The highest percentage of products with emotional appeals in this magazine group was the alcohol/cigarettes product type at 26%. When considering the combined rational and emotional appeal group, tools/automobile supplies surfaced with the highest percentage at 25%, followed closely by automobiles at 20%. In the combined emotional appeal group, only one type of product emerged: fragrance at 100%.

British Working-class Magazines

Table XVI on the following page presents the relationship between overall appeals and product types for American working-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the overall appeals. The rows are made up of the 21 product groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of appeals and product groups are shown below.

TABLE XVI
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERALL APPEALS AND TYPES OF PRODUCTS IN
BRITISH WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Type Of Product	Overall Appeals					Overall
	Rational Appeals N = 16	Emotional Appeals N = 62	Combined Rat. & Emot. N = 6	Combined Emotional N = 1	Undetermined Appeals N = 14	
Clothing/Accessories	0%	21 %	33 %	100 %	36 %	21 %
Alcohol/Cigarettes	0	14	16	0	7	11
Automobiles	0	6	0	0	0	4
Jewelry	0	6	0	0	0	4
Fragrance	0	2	0	0	0	1
Personal Hygiene	6	2	0	0	0	2
Cosmetics	0	0	17	0	0	1
Sensual Products	7	0	0	0	0	1
Food/Beverages	6	16	0	0	0	11
Business Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Decoration	13	0	0	0	0	2
Entertainment	12	19	0	0	57	22
Banking	6	0	0	0	0	1
Career Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tools/Auto Supplies	0	2	0	0	0	1
Cleaning/Household	13	0	0	0	0	3
Vacations	0	0	0	0	0	0
Health Products	6	6	17	0	0	6
Collectibles/Novelties	25	2	17	0	0	6
Psychic Services	0	2	0	0	0	1
Miscellaneous	6	2	0	0	0	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XVI above, the highest percentage of products with rational appeals in British working-class magazines was collectibles/novelties at 25%. The highest percentages of products with emotional appeals in this magazine group were clothing and accessories at 21%, and entertainment at 19%. When considering the combined rational and emotional appeal group, clothing and accessories surfaced with the highest percentage at 33%, followed by alcohol/cigarettes, cosmetics, health products, and collectibles/novelties,

all at 17%. In the combined emotional appeal group, only one type of product emerged: clothing and accessories at 100%.

Identities Established and Overall Appeals

By relating the identities to the overall appeals in each magazine group, the researcher was able to determine which types of identities were established rationally and which types were established emotionally. The relationships between the identities and the overall appeals are presented below for each of the four magazine groups independently.

American Middle-class Magazines

Table XVII on the following page presents the relationship between overall appeals and types of identities for American middle-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the overall appeals. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of appeals and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XVII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERALL APPEALS AND IDENTITIES IN
AMERICAN MIDDLE-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Overall Appeals					Overall
	Rational Appeals N = 34	Emotional Appeals N = 202	Combined Rat. & Emot. N = 33	Combined Emotional N = 3	Undetermined Appeals N = 24	
Successful	11 %	8 %	6 %	0 %	4 %	7 %
Culturally Elite	9	4	6	0	0	4
Sensitive	3	4	6	0	0	4
Active	3	7	15	67	0	7
Sexual	3	7	9	33	0	6
Adventurous	0	6	6	0	0	5
Rugged/Masculine	0	1	3	0	0	1
Attractive	9	24	34	0	0	22
Independent	0	12	0	0	0	8
Outdoorsy	3	1	0	0	0	1
Troubled	0	1	0	0	0	1
Femme Fatale	0	0	0	0	4	1
Parental	0	2	0	0	4	2
Powerful	0	1	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mysterious	0	0	0	0	0	0
Money Conscious	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fraternizer	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hardworking	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low Education	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undetermined	53	16	9	0	84	25
Other	6	6	6	0	4	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XVII above, in American middle-class magazine advertisements, rational appeals were most often used in establishing successful and culturally elite identities, at 11% and 9% respectively. Furthermore, emotional appeals were most often used in establishing attractive (24%) and independent (12%) identities. Combined rational and emotional appeals were also used frequently in establishing attractive identities (34%). Finally, combined emotional appeals, where more than one type

of emotional appeal is used, were only used in establishing active (67%) and sexual (33%) identities.

British Middle-class Magazines

Table XVIII on the following page presents the relationship between overall appeals and types of identities for British middle-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the overall appeals. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of appeals and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XVIII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERALL APPEALS AND IDENTITIES IN
BRITISH MIDDLE-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Overall Appeals					Overall
	Rational Appeals N = 37	Emotional Appeals N = 111	Combined Rat. & Emot. N = 9	Combined Emotional N = 1	Undetermined Appeals N = 18	
Successful	5%	8%	0%	0%	0%	6%
Culturally Elite	0	9	0	0	6	6
Sensitive	0	3	0	0	0	2
Active	3	2	0	0	0	2
Sexual	0	7	0	0	0	5
Adventurous	0	8	22	0	0	6
Rugged/Masculine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attractive	0	11	22	0	0	8
Independent	0	6	0	0	0	4
Outdoorsy	3	3	0	100	0	3
Troubled	0	0	0	0	0	0
Femme Fatale	0	1	0	0	0	0
Parental	0	2	11	0	0	2
Powerful	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mysterious	0	3	0	0	0	2
Money Conscious	3	0	0	0	0	1
Fraternizer	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hardworking	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low Education	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undetermined	81	36	45	0	94	51
Other	5	0	0	0	0	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XVIII above, in British middle-class magazine advertisements, rational appeals were most often used in establishing successful identities, at 5%. Furthermore, emotional appeals were most often used in establishing attractive (11%), successful (8%), culturally elite (9%), and adventurous (8%) identities. Combined rational and emotional appeals were used almost exclusively in establishing attractive identities (22%), adventurous (22%), and parental (11%) identities. Finally, combined

emotional appeals were only used only in establishing outdoorsy identities in the British middle-class magazine advertisements.

American Working-Class Magazines

Table XIX on the following page presents the relationship between overall appeals and types of identities for American working-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the overall appeals. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of appeals and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XIX
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OVERALL APPEALS AND IDENTITIES IN
AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Overall Appeals					Overall
	Rational Appeals N = 76	Emotional Appeals N = 58	Combined Rat. & Emot. N = 20	Combined Emotional N = 1	Undetermined Appeals N = 9	
Successful	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	1%
Culturally Elite	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sensitive	2	5	0	0	0	3
Active	0	5	0	0	0	2
Sexual	0	10	0	100	0	4
Adventurous	0	9	0	0	0	3
Rugged/Masculine	1	3	10	0	0	3
Attractive	1	3	5	0	0	2
Independent	0	9	0	0	0	3
Outdoorsy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Troubled	0	0	0	0	0	0
Femme Fatale	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parental	0	0	0	0	0	0
Powerful	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mysterious	0	2	0	0	0	1
Money Conscious	1	0	0	0	0	1
Fraternizer	0	3	0	0	0	1
Hardworking	7	0	0	0	0	3
Low Education	1	2	10	0	0	2
Undetermined	86	45	70	0	100	69
Other	1	4	0	0	0	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XIX above, in American working-class magazine advertisements, rational appeals were most often used in establishing hardworking identities at 7%. Furthermore, emotional appeals were most often used in establishing sexual (10%) and adventurous (9%) identities. Combined rational and emotional appeals were most frequently in establishing masculine (10%) and low education level identities (10%). Finally, combined emotional appeals, where more than one type of emotional appeal is used, were only used in establishing sexual identities at 100%.

As can be seen in Table XX above, in British working-class magazine advertisements, rational appeals were most often used in establishing homemaker (12%), sexual (7%) and sensitive (6%) identities. Furthermore, emotional appeals were most often used in establishing attractive (13%) and active (11%) identities. Combined rational and emotional appeals were used exclusively in establishing attractive (17%) identities. Finally, combined emotional appeals, where more than one type of emotional appeal is used, were only used in establishing active identities at 100%.

Identities Established and Axial Balance

By establishing a relationship between the identities and the use of axial balance, the researcher was able to determine what types of identities were related to formally-designed advertisements. Relationships could be determined such as whether or not successful or cultural identities, for example, were associated with formal, well-designed advertisements. The relationships between the identities and axial balance presented below for the four magazine groups.

Table XXI on the following page presents the relationship between the presence or absence of axial balance and the types of identities for all four magazine groups in this study. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of axial balance design style. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of axial balance and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XXI
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AXIAL BALANCE AND IDENTITIES IN AMERICAN
AND BRITISH MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE
ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Presence or Absence of Axial Balance							
	American Middle-Class Magazines N = 296		British Middle-Class Magazines N = 176		American Working-Class Magazines N = 164		British Working-Class Magazines N = 99	
	<u>Axial</u>	<u>No Axial</u>	<u>Axial</u>	<u>No Axial</u>	<u>Axial</u>	<u>No Axial</u>	<u>Axial</u>	<u>No Axial</u>
Successful	8 %	0%	6%	0 %	1 %	0%	0 %	0%
Culturally Elite	5	0	6	20	0	0	0	0
Sensitive	4	0	2	0	4	2	3	0
Active	7	13	2	0	4	0	11	0
Sexual	6	6	5	0	6	3	4	0
Adventurous	5	7	6	0	7	0	1	5
Rugged/Masculine	1	7	0	0	5	2	0	0
Attractive	23	0	8	0	3	3	9	9
Independent	7	20	4	0	7	0	4	0
Outdoorsy	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Troubled	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Femme Fatale	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Parental	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Powerful	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
Mysterious	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Money Conscious	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Fraternalizer	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0
Hardworking	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0
Low Education	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
Undetermined	24	40	51	80	51	84	63	67
Other	6	7	1	0	1	2	0	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XXI above, in American middle-class magazine advertisements, axial balance was most often used in establishing attractive (23%), and successful (8%) identities. It should be noted that the absence of axial balance surfaced most frequently in independent (20%) and active (13%) identities in this magazine group. In British middle-class magazine advertisements, axial balance was used most often in establishing attractive identities at 8%. No axial balance was used in establishing culturally

elite identities. In American working-class magazine advertisements, axial balance was most frequently used in establishing independent and adventurous identities, both at 7%. Axial balance did not surface in large percentages when relating it to the identities established in American working-class advertisements. In British working-class magazine advertisements, axial balance was most frequently used in establishing active identities at 11%, and attractive identities at 9%. Finally, the no axial balance group was most often related to homemaker identities in this magazine group at 14%.

Identities Established and Types of Camera Shots

By relating the identities to the types of camera shots used in each magazine group, the researcher was able to determine, for example, which types of identities related to the intimacy of close-ups shots, or which types of identities related to the public distance signified through long shots. The relationship between the identities established and the types of camera shots are presented below for each magazine group independently.

American Middle-class Magazines

Table XXII on the following page presents the relationship between types of camera shots and types of identities for American middle-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the types of camera shots. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of camera shots and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XXII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAMERA SHOTS AND IDENTITIES IN
AMERICAN MIDDLE-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Camera Shots						Overall
	Close-up Shot N = 34	Medium Shot N = 82	Long Shot N = 59	Mixture of Shots N = 104	Parts of Bodies N = 13	No Models Present N = 4	
Successful	0%	6%	10%	7%	15%	25%	7%
Culturally Elite	3	0	3	8	8	0	4
Sensitive	0	9	2	3	0	0	4
Active	0	10	15	4	8	0	7
Sexual	14	10	2	2	8	25	6
Adventurous	3	2	5	9	0	0	5
Rugged/Masculine	3	1	2	1	0	0	1
Attractive	50	34	15	7	15	0	21
Independent	6	7	17	5	0	25	8
Outdoorsy	0	2	0	2	0	0	2
Troubled	0	2	2	0	0	0	1
Femme Fatale	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Parental	0	3	5	0	0	0	2
Powerful	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mysterious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Money Conscious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fraternizer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hardworking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undetermined	18	4	10	49	46	25	25
Other	3	10	10	2	0	0	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XXII above, in American middle-class magazine advertisements, close-up shots were frequently used in establishing both attractive (50%) and sexual (14%) identities. Furthermore, medium shots were also used frequently in establishing attractive and sexual identities, at 34% and 10% respectively. Long shots were most frequently used in establishing independent (17%) and active (15%) identities, while a mixture of shots were most frequently used in establishing adventurous (9%) and culturally

elite (8%) identities. Finally, camera shots which revealed only parts of bodies were most frequently used for successful and attractive identities, both at 15% for this relationship.

British Middle-class Magazines

Table XXIII on the following page presents the relationship between types of camera shots and types of identities for British middle-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the types of camera shots. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of camera shots and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XXIII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAMERA SHOTS AND IDENTITIES IN
BRITISH MIDDLE-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Camera Shots						Overall
	Close-up Shot N=11	Medium Shot N = 28	Long Shot N=25	Mixture of Shots N = 100	Parts of Bodies N = 10	No Models Present N = 2	
Successful	0%	4 %	16 %	5 %	10 %	0%	6 %
Culturally Elite	0	4	8	8	0	0	6
Sensitive	9	7	4	0	0	0	2
Active	0	0	4	2	0	0	2
Sexual	27	7	0	1	20	0	5
Adventurous	0	7	16	3	20	0	6
Rugged/Masculine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attractive	37	21	8	0	10	50	8
Independent	0	7	12	2	0	0	4
Outdoorsy	0	0	16	1	0	0	3
Troubled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Femme Fatale	0	4	0	0	0	0	1
Parental	0	7	4	0	0	0	2
Powerful	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mysterious	9	7	0	0	0	0	2
Money Conscious	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Fraternizer	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Hardworking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undetermined	18	21	12	75	40	50	51
Other	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XXIII above, in British middle-class magazine advertisements, close-up shots were frequently used in establishing both attractive (37%) and sexual (27%) identities. Furthermore, medium shots were also used frequently in establishing attractive identities, at 21%. Long shots were most frequently used in establishing successful, adventurous, and outdoorsy identities, all at 16%, while a mixture of shots were most frequently used in establishing culturally elite (8%) identities. Finally,

camera shots which revealed only parts of bodies were most frequently used for successful and adventurous identities, both at 20% for this relationship.

American Working-class Magazines

Table XXIV on the following page presents the relationship between types of camera shots and types of identities for American working-class magazines. The table is divided into rows and columns. The columns are made up of the types of camera shots. The rows are made up of the 22 identity groups that emerged in this study. Percentages for combinations of camera shots and identity groups are shown below.

TABLE XXIV
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAMERA SHOTS AND IDENTITIES IN
AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS
N = 735

Identities	Camera Shots						Overall
	Close-up Shot N = 5	Medium Shot N = 25	Long Shot N = 19	Mixture of Shots N = 109	Parts of Bodies N = 4	No Models Present N = 2	
Successful	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Culturally Elite	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sensitive	20	8	5	0	0	0	2
Active	0	4	11	0	0	0	2
Sexual	20	16	6	0	0	50	4
Adventurous	0	4	6	3	0	0	3
Rugged/Masculine	0	4	0	3	0	0	3
Attractive	20	8	5	0	0	0	2
Independent	0	0	26	0	0	0	3
Outdoorsy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Troubled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Femme Fatale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parental	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Powerful	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mysterious	0	0	5	0	0	0	1
Money Conscious	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Fraternalizer	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Hardworking	0	16	5	0	0	0	3
Low Education	0	4	0	3	0	0	2
Undetermined	40	32	26	86	100	50	69
Other	0	4	0	2	0	0	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen in Table XXIV above, in American working-class magazine advertisements, close-up shots were frequently used in establishing attractive, sexual, and sensitive identities, all at 20%. Furthermore, medium shots were used frequently in establishing sexual identities at 16%. Long shots were most frequently used in establishing independent identities at 26%. Neither the mixture of shots or the shots that reveal only parts of bodies surfaced in substantial proportions in the relationship between the identities and camera shots.

As can be seen in Table XXV above, in British working-class magazine advertisements, close-up shots were exclusively used in establishing homemaker identities at 50%. Furthermore, medium shots were primarily used in establishing attractive identities at 29%. Long shots were most frequently used in establishing active identities at 24%. The mixture of shots group only related to a few identities in small percentages—those identities that did surface for this type of shot include sensitive, sexual, adventurous and independent identities, all at 2%. Finally, camera shots which revealed only parts of bodies were most frequently used for the fraternizer (13%), homemaker (12%), and attractive (13%) identities.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

¹For a definition of the types of products advertised, refer to Chapter III, page 70.

²For a definition of the method of purchase for the products advertised, refer to Chapter III, page 73.

³For a definition of the types of appeals, refer to Chapter III, page 73.

⁴For a definition of the discourse types, refer to Chapter III, page 76.

⁵For a definition of the identities established, refer to Chapter III, page 77.

⁶For a definition of age, refer to Chapter III, page 77.

⁷For a definition of gender, refer to Chapter III, page 77.

⁸For a definition of axial balance, refer to Chapter III, page 80.

⁹For an explanation of the prominence of art or text, refer to Chapter III, page 80.

¹⁰For a definition of the number of words, refer to Chapter III, page 80.

¹¹For a definition of the types of camera shots, refer to Chapter III, page 80.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In a postmodern image culture, where images are of increased importance, individuals are said to get their very identities from the identities established in advertisements. This is because advertising is both “symbolic and persuasive and its images attempt to sell products by also selling a worldview, a lifestyle, and a value system congruent with the society in which it operates.”¹ The assumption of this research, then, is that advertising is significant in Western society as far as social meanings and the imaginations that advertisers have about their audience are concerned.

With this assumption in mind, the purpose of this study was to determine how social classes are portrayed and presented by advertisers in both Great Britain and the United States. The primary hypothesis of this research was that despite the fact that Great Britain is considered class-conscious while America is not, the advertisements in both of these cultures would portray the working and middle classes in similar ways. In order to study the portrayals of social class, four British and four American magazines were chosen based on their target audiences. Once the magazines were selected, all of the advertisements over one-quarter page in size were semiologically analyzed to make comparisons among the portrayals of working- and middle-class Americans to and among portrayals of working- and middle-class British.

The results of the semiological analysis of the four magazine groups show that, overall, the British and American middle-class magazine advertisements grouped together and portrayed social classes in similar ways in most respects, while the British and American working-class advertisements grouped together and portrayed social classes in similar ways in many respects, but not in others.

When analyzing the advertisements semiologically, the images and their arrangements played a key role. That is to say that while the percentages offered in Chapter IV provide illustrations of the findings, it is the images and the overall effect that the magazine advertisements offered that should be discussed here. Furthermore, while the tables in Chapter IV offer illustrations of all of the findings in this study, only a few will be highlighted here, as not every finding held inherently meaningful values for each magazine group.

In examining the advertisements in the American and British middle-class magazine groups, the most overwhelming image was that of the successful and intelligent identity. As an example of an advertisement portraying the successful individual, a BMW car ad stands out. The artwork of the BMW advertisement dominates the available space and features the car to the front, a river behind it, and a city skyline in the distance. The water, a symbol of peace, and often purity, serves to separate the car from the city. Thus, the artwork, along with the headline "Sudden Comfort," hint at the need for an escape from the treachery of a busy city. In turning to the text of the BMW advertisement, this escape appeal is confirmed: "BMW introduces the fastest way to unwind from the grind. . .M-contour wheels and special body styling transform the daily commute into an exciting escape." This text also suggests that the target audience works in the city and lives in the suburbs. And by pointing to how the BMW will make the driver forget about the stock exchange and his clients, one can see that the target audience is assumed to be professional.

An advertisement for AT & T long distance service also demonstrates the advertisements' tendency to portray the middle class as successful. It involves a female chef who sits, in her chef's uniform, in front of several Asian men who stand behind her adorned in lavish robes. The headline for the ad reads: "Diverse cultures are embracing one another." Here, the woman serves as a representative of her culture. She is intelligent and can help to "build bridges" between her culture and the Asian culture. And the fact that she

is a chef is a tribute to her success, as it is a difficult occupation in which to become established.

Another advertisement of interest which conveys meaning and establishes a somewhat independent identity for the model is a Faconnable fragrance advert. The advertisement is striking at first, because the male model in the ad is not portrayed as flawless, as most other models in this magazine group are. The lighting is bright, suggesting truth and warmth, and the setting is reminiscent of a Sunday morning breakfast. The model is in his thirties, slim, and shows no obvious signs of muscular strength. He sits relaxed, wearing baby blue flowered boxer shorts and a white tank top, eating a bowl of cereal, and smiling at the camera. A newspaper lies under the cereal bowl he is holding, and at close examination, one sees the headlines of the newspaper: "Stay home and make difference;" "Why I'm still a baseball fan;" and "Author, film-maker reflects dismay, disillusionment." He is not reading the stock quotes. There are no obvious signs of power. He is portrayed as somewhat feminine. In Western culture, feminine men are often viewed as more friendly, more homey, and more sensitive than their true masculine counterparts. Femininity becomes, then, the sign of a man who can relax, eat cereal for breakfast, and can wear flowered boxer shorts. He needs no overt power markers, or women, for that matter, to make him seem important or successful. He can be himself, alone, and independent.

Likewise, an ad for Emanuel clothing portrays a middle-class woman as independent by giving her male qualities. The model in the ad is depicted in numerous small shots on the left half of the ad. She appears to be in her thirties, with short dark hair. She is often shown in masculine style pant suits, but in a few of the shots she wears dresses of a more feminine nature. On the right half of the ad, the woman is seen in a close-up shot, which lends intimacy and allows the reader to know her better. She nonchalantly holds a drink in her hand which appears to be a cocktail of some sort, straight vodka or gin with no ice. Her nails are short and natural. She sits as a man does-her elbows resting on

her open knees-and wears a pinstriped blouse, a vest suit, and a masculine tie. Even her watch is somewhat masculine. This is a woman who is powerful, sophisticated, and above all, independent.

Overall, the message within this magazine group reinforces the notion that the middle class is knowledgeable, educated and successful. Yet while success is a given for the identities established within magazine group, leisure is the desired state of being; it is the goal that the identities must try to achieve. It is as if the advertisements are telling the reader that he or she has already achieved success and that it is time to relax and enjoy life. This is exemplified in a Lotus car advertisement which reads: "Your brain got you where you are today. So stop thinking already." Keywords within the Lotus ad heighten the appeal for luxury through a "stimulation of the senses." The advertisement asks the reader to feel, experience, touch, indulge, smell, and enjoy-without the invasion of intellect.

Success is evident through more than just the portrayals of the models in British and American middle-class magazine advertisements. Simply through the quality and type of products advertised, one can understand that the reader must possess a small fortune in order to afford these products. Expensive cars, designer clothing, and diamond jewelry-all are suggestive of wealthy middle-, or even upper-class tastes. In addition, the products advertised suggest the reader does not drink beer, but liquor and fine wine, and enjoys luxury and gourmet food. Even when household items are advertised, the advertisers are careful not to associate them with household cleaning chores. A Glad trash bag advertisement, for example, features movie actor Robert Mitchum in a dirty street alley. The headline of the advertisement reads: "Ties are out. Flaps are in." It is clear that the advertisement's meaning is conveyed through the use of a metaphor comparing Robert Mitchum's tie-less attire to the new tie-less Glad trash bags. Emphasis, then, is not placed on how the trash bags can help in household tasks, but instead on the new, "hip" feature of the product: flaps.

The design elements within the British and American middle-class magazine advertisements also reinforce the notion of class and success. All of the adverts use a great deal of white space and axial balance. Arthur Asa Berger suggests that because space is associated with class-which stems from the fact that the rich live in spacious mansions-the reader associates the abundance of white space with class in advertisements.²

Finally, it should be noted that the advertisers' primary persuasive technique in this magazine group is in appealing to one's desire to be attractive. In a large portion of both the British and American middle-class advertisements, models were portrayed as flawless, without lines or wrinkles, and pleasing to the eye. One explanation for this is given by Berger, who suggests that in society, it is natural for individuals to enjoy experiencing the beautiful, and to find identities to imitate.³ Perhaps this desire to be attractive is simply an expression of the basic desire for humans to be part of that beauty and also to enjoy seeing that beauty.

In turning to the working-class magazines used in this study, the results of the analysis show that in some respects, the working-class British and the working-class Americans are portrayed in similar ways (i.e., separate from the middle-class portrayals), while in other respects, the British working-class portrayals, as a group, are more closely aligned with the middle-class portrayals.

To begin with, one way in which the working-class magazine portrayals are similar is that successful and intelligent identities are all but absent from both the British and American working-class magazine advertisements. The readers and the models in both the British and American working-class magazines are portrayed as uneducated: they can join the army or navy to increase their chances of becoming a success, they can enroll in courses in order to receive technical degrees, or they can complete their high school education.

Furthermore, those identities that do have careers, or hold occupations, are often portrayed as construction workers or mechanics. An advertisement for Wolverine boots

provides an example here. The artwork in the advertisement features two men working at a construction site, decorated with hard-hats, overalls, and goggles for their eyes. The colors used in the ad are dingy greens and grays in order to emphasize the drudgery of the task at hand. The headline in the ad reads, "Work like hell. Feel like heaven." It is clear from the ad that these are not professional business-men, they are working-class men doing working-class jobs. Furthermore, they are strong-they can endure working "like hell," especially with the help of Wolverine boots.

In addition to career or occupational related identities established in the working-class advertisements, other characteristics of the working class also surfaced: they drink beer (not liquor), they attend parties, they clean house, and they watch television.

An advertisement for Miller beer provides a good example of the party-oriented nature of the portrayals in the working-class advertisements. The advertisement features a dog, of mixed breeds, with its head cocked and its tongue hanging from its mouth. The headline of the ad reads: "This is a dog. He sleeps all day and goes out every night. Hence the expression 'lucky dog.'" The fact that the dog is a mixed breed plays a role in the advertisement's message: it is not an expensive full-bred canine; it is an unkempt "mutt." It enjoys attending parties and sleeping all day-in essence, it makes no real contributions to society.

In addition to the similar identities established in both the British and working-class magazine groups, the analysis shows that the products themselves are often the central feature of the advertisements in these magazine groups. That is, the advertisements within the working-class magazines often existed solely to inform the reader about the products' features. That is, they provide few emotionally-based identity transformations for the readers. The primary products advertised in this manner included clothing and accessories, and automobile supplies. In several of the clothing and accessories advertisements, for example, the models are made to look attractive, yet not flawless, wrinkle-free, or perfect as they are in middle-class magazines. This suggests that the primary emphasis of the

working-class clothing advertisement is not on beauty (although beauty appeals can be found), but instead on the function, practicality, and quality of the product. This can be seen in a rain jacket advertisement which claims that it has a "knitted lining for extra warmth," and in a trouser advertisement which points to the comfort benefits of the product.

Finally, regarding the products, it should be noted that in several other advertisements besides those for clothing, products were advertised in different manners based on the advertiser's assumptions about the varying roles of middle and working class readers. In working-class magazines, for example, automobiles are objects of fun, as in a Ranger truck advertisement, which is shown being driven through the mud. In fact, several of the automobile ads in the working-class magazines associated the cars with mud in order to point to automobiles as either tools for fun, or to associate the automobiles with power, strength and masculinity. A Chevy truck advertisement reads: "Its big. It's tough. . . it's more of what you need." Further, it will "hunker down in the dirt."

By comparing the automobile advertisements mentioned above to those in middle-class magazines, one sees a difference in the assumptions made by advertisers regarding the role that the automobile plays for the consumer. In the middle-class magazine groups, cars were metaphorically compared to art, not mud—they donned sleek lines, beautiful interiors, and sculpted aerodynamics. They were, as in the Toyota advertisements, considered to be "open air art exhibit[s]." Again, these are obvious signs of "class" differences, as the upper classes are often associated with high or elite art, while the working class is often associated with amusement parks, television, and other, more popular forms of entertainment.

Other than clothing/accessories and automobile advertisements, there were within the working-class magazines numerous advertisements for collectible pieces of art. As Fussell notes in his book *Class*, the working class has an inclination toward the display of popular, collectible items in the home, while the upper classes are more inclined to display

original works of art by internationally recognized artists.⁴ In each of the advertisements for the collectible art, the advertisers emphasize "award-winning artists" and the fact that the pieces are a "special commission," which display "stunning radiance" and "extraordinary detail." With this, advertisers are attempting to convince the consumer that the collectible items are, in fact, original pieces of art. This leads to another point: several of the advertisements in the working-class magazines feature text as the prominent feature, and use a large amount of copy to persuade the reader to buy the products. One could conclude from this that the more advertisers try to convince the reader of the product's importance, quality, and authenticity, the less prestigious and well-made the product is, and thus, the cheaper and the lower-class it is. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that a large number of the advertisements in middle-class magazines use no text at all to sell products. Artwork, images, and emotions were they key factors in persuading the consumers to buy products.

It should also be noted that many of the products advertised in all of the working-class magazines were mail-order, and many of the advertisements placed emphasis on the low cost of the products. This suggests that the working-class market is concerned with prices and saving money, as with mail-order products the reader is always given the option of paying in installments.

In turning to the types of overall appeals used in the working-class advertisements, the problem solving technique of the advertisements in the magazines, as well as the emphasis on price, points to the fact that rational appeals played a larger role in the working-class advertisements than they did in the middle-class advertisements. An example of the problem solving technique of working-class advertisements is a Seven Seas cod liver oil ad: "I'm not the only one to keep my joints supple with High Strength Pure Cod Liver Oil." The tight joint problem in this advertisement is not delicately implied, but boldly displayed and emphasized. Realism is the key here, as it is in the appearance of the less-

than-perfect models in the advertisements. It is as if the working-class recognizes and realizes human flaws.

Finally, through the design styles used in the working-class magazine groups, one can also see how the advertisers portray class differences. That is, the analysis shows that a large proportion of the advertisements, excluding a few advertisements for collectible items, were absent of axial balance. More specifically, these advertisements were not formally designed and were often cluttered with an overabundance of text (and sometimes art). This could be related, again, to the fact that lack of space is associated with the working class, as their homes and living spaces are often more compact and cluttered than middle-class living spaces. Furthermore, the prevalence and sheer dominance of text in working class advertisements leads to another issue. The dominance of text repudiates the assumption that the working class places little value in books, scholarship, and simply the written word. One could draw the conclusion, however, that the text-laden advertisements reveal the working class' need for proof through the written word. It is as if the working class feels that if it something is written in words, it must be true.

In focusing on the British working-class advertisements, it is interesting to note that they were found similar to both the middle-class magazine groups in several respects. For example, emotional appeals were the main type of appeals used in British working-class advertisements, just as they were in the middle-class adverts. Furthermore, it should be noted that the highest percentages of products advertised in both the middle-class magazines and in the British working-class magazines were status related. That is, the products provided identity value in that they offered to help the reader increase his or her status through the use of the product. Finally, attractive identities and appeals were constant and frequent across all three of these magazine groups.

It should be noted that while these similarities between the middle-class magazine groups and the British working-class magazines are noted, their importance is considered minimal by this researcher. Again, images are the key to semiological analyses, and it is the

images in the British working-class magazines that conveyed identities similar to the American working-class magazine group. That is, while the appeals and types of products advertised were similar for both the middle-class and British working-class magazines, it was the identities that were of key importance, as both successful and culturally elite identities were all but absent from all of the working-class advertisements analyzed in this study.

In examining all of the magazine groups overall, one can see that all of the ads in both nations and social classes did hold one element in common: their frequent use of the lifeworld discourse type. This is best explained by the fact that all of the ads, because of the fact that they are ads, encompass two factors: information and persuasion. That is, advertising's purpose is to both inform and persuade the reader. In order to do this, ads simulate popular speech and pull from the lifeworld. By pulling from the lifeworld, the ad's writers simply hope to mobilize meaning by creating images of familiar social situations that the reader can identify with.

Conclusions

Semiotics, as a method of analyzing advertisements, attempts to tear apart and break down messages in order to gain an understanding of them. It places each element working within an advertisement under close examination while at the same time, it tries to establish relationships between the elements. In short, semiotics deconstructs. But what remains after the deconstruction? What does a semiological understanding of how advertisements work to perpetuate distinct images tell the researcher and the reader? In answering these questions, one should first understand that with any advertisement—or object—under investigation, it is the whole, the completeness of the object that is impressionable. But in order to *understand* the entity, one must go beneath the denotative gloss and "dig in" in

order to determine how the parts work and combine with one another to create a complete picture. Using art as an example, with Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, one sees the overall picture of a mysteriously smiling woman, but in order to delve deeper and understand the meaning behind the smile, the viewer must make an attempt to pull the pieces of the painting apart, to understand how the lighting the shadows and the colors work within the painting to create meaning.

But again, the question remains: What does the *understanding* of art, or in this case class-specific advertisements, tell readers about the society in which they live? With this question in mind, this research attempts to take semiotics a step further by *reconstructing* the deconstruction. In short, it attempts to draw conclusions and hypothesize about why the portrayals of social class are the way they are. In order to do this, one must first come to terms with the meaning of class. Perhaps the best understanding and most semiologically useful definition of class is provided by scholars such as Fussell, who suggest that class is not defined by the amount of riches one owns because "no one ever knows that about you for sure."⁵ Class, instead of being defined by riches, is defined by style and taste and awareness. Class is values and beliefs. It is what one eats and how one speaks. It is, in short, a lifestyle.

The findings of this research are in congruence with Fussell's notion of class. That is, the findings show that class portrayals are demonstrated in both the American and British ads through signifiers of working- and middle-class lifestyles. Furthermore, the findings, as noted earlier, support the general hypothesis that overall, both Britain and the United States portray social class in similar ways, despite the fact that they are imagined to have varying degrees of class-consciousness. More specifically, it is evident through the analysis that both nations separated the working and middle classes into distinct groups by portraying the working class as money-conscious, party-oriented, and uneducated, and portraying the middle class as successful, independent, and attractive. Fussell explains the almost unavoidable structure of social class in society as simply part of the fact that

individuals want distinction: "Analysis and separation we find interesting, synthesis boring."⁶ Although this is an elementary explanation of social class divisions, it does make the point that members of society group and surround themselves with those of similar backgrounds and tastes. Thus, the working class in both Britain and America has a distinct set of values, beliefs, and tastes that separate them from the middle class, which has its own set of values, beliefs, and tastes. This distinction is emphasized by the working class who cling to the idea of separation, and who even go so far as to express antipathy for the middle class. Marshal et al. argue that working class members of society "cling" to their class because they know they cannot change their position in society.⁷ They, in short, voluntarily separate themselves from the other classes.

The most salient conclusion in restructuring the class-specific advertisements in this analysis is that working-class magazines present the desires and beliefs and tastes in a way to which their advertisers assume the working class will respond, and middle-class magazines present them in a way to which advertisers assume that the middle class will respond. In taking this further, one of the overwhelming distinctions of the middle-class adverts is their emphasis on buying a fantasy. Fussell makes the point that the middle class enjoys the comforting fantasy that one can buy success, beauty, and love with "cold cash."⁸ This is in line with the middle-class desire to be upper class, to move up the social ladder.⁹ This explains the prevalence of status appeals in middle-class advertisements, as it is these appeals that play on one's desire to be appreciated and envied by others. In short, aspirations are the key to the middle-class identity. It is aspiration that differs the middle class from the working class. Thus, for the middle class, magazines serve as vehicles of vicarious experience, both in the middle class member's desire to buy fantasies such as love and beauty, and also in their desire to purchase products, or dreams, that they cannot afford. Art magazines provide an example here. Those who read art magazines may be knowledgeable about art, yet they often cannot afford the expensive paintings and sculptures described within the pages of the magazines. Thus, middle-class readers use art

magazines to validate and perhaps increase their knowledge of art, and also to daydream about owning that art.

The working class, on the other hand, seems to lack this aspirational quality. This class would rather buy an actual product rather than a fantasy with their cold cash. This is evident through the advertisements targeted to this class, which do not sell fantasies or daydreams, but products. Thus, for the working class, magazines simply serve to validate the reality of their lives—their concern with money, their desire to drink beer, their desire to watch network television, and so on. As Fussell argues, the working class members of society do not mind the absence of daydreams because they know there is little they can do to alter their class identity.¹⁰ As noted above, they are comfortable with their position in society and even cling to this position. Thus, they lack the pretense of trying to be an “upper,” or a “middle” for that matter, and can thus be who they want to be. They do not read cultured art magazines because they have no interest in them, and also because they know they cannot afford expensive works art. Instead, they read *True Story* magazine where they can buy collectible painted plates from the Franklin Mint that they can pay in three easy monthly installments.

On the other side of this issue, however, one could argue that the line between the working and middle class is a thin one, as some working-class members of society, for example, do drink expensive wine instead of beer, while some middle-class members do drive and enjoy hot rod cars. The crucial point to this, though, is that advertisements portraying these images would be rejected, as a whole, as somehow violating the working and middle-class' values and sense of identity.

Finally, in turning to the method of analysis for this research, one should note that limitations do exist. The primary drawback being that it is subjective, and that there are no means of adjudicating the different frameworks of interpretation within semiological analyses. But as Goffman notes, it must be remembered that despite the fact that semiological analysis is somewhat subjective, the semiologist is only trying to get at how

the models, etc., are portrayed in the ads, not how the ads are interpreted or how reality is defined.¹¹ Furthermore, another limitation of this research is that the magazine issues were not chosen randomly, and for this reason, the reader should be aware that the research findings are perhaps only applicable to the magazines that were chosen and analyzed in this study. This is the case, however, with any qualitative analysis, as qualitative studies are valid for the situation that they study and are not to be generalized across all situations.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study was intended to provide clues as to how advertisers construct social class cross-culturally. Class was chosen as a topic of investigation because it is an overlooked indicator of identities in communications research. As Ehrenreich explains in her work on defining the working class, the working class is disappearing from the media and culture because classes are now less likely to mix in college due to the decline of financial aid, in residential neighborhoods due to the rise of real estate prices, and even in the shopping malls, due to the now almost “universal segmentation of the retail industry into upscale and downscale components.”¹² In the absence of real contact or communication, Ehrenreich argues, stereotypes continue unchallenged, and prejudices easily substitute for knowledge.¹³ With this in mind, further work on class portrayals in the media is necessary.

One way to better understand class portrayals in the print media is to examine editorial content alongside the advertising messages. Although advertising is a crucial element in the analysis of media representation in society, it is also important for researchers to understand and analyze how editorial content plays a role in these representations. Thus, an angle for further consideration in the realm of print media is the analysis of how editorial content combines and works with advertisements in order to

inform the production, construction and consumption of class-specific media representations in society.

In addition to this, one could do a historical study to determine how the portrayals of social class have changed over time in both Great Britain and the United States. With this, the researcher would consider the time frame of the advertisements and what societal trends and occurrences affected how class is portrayed. For example, with the large-scale recognition of class-consciousness in Britain in the 1990s, even by the British government, one would question whether there were more distinct class differences in ads of the 1950s when class-consciousness was not a great concern and was perhaps was thus more prevalent. Likewise in the US, where in the mid-40s the GI bill opened opportunities for young men to attend college, the middle class seemed to expand, thus perhaps decreasing the amount of class-consciousness in the US which in turn could have played a role in how social class was portrayed in the advertisements of that time period.

Finally, because images within the media have become so pervasive and because with postmodern culture life is seen as "situational, fragmented, style-centered, participator-oriented, and reflexive,"¹⁴ the notion that one can no longer derive meaning from texts is strengthened. Analysts such as Arthur Asa Berger, Umberto Eco, and Barbara Stern hold that most readers are capable of negotiating a powerfully preferred meaning in text, and for this reason perhaps it would be better to go along with the current trend of not deriving meaning, but of determining how readers understand meaning.¹⁵ With this, it is the individual as an interpreting actor that is of interest. A recommendation for further research, then, would be the analysis of how readers within specific social classes interpret messages, and also how they accept, reconstruct, or even resist the intended strategies of the advertisement's authors and thereby either reject or accept the status quo.

The need for research into how representations of social class are constructed by the media can perhaps best be summarized by one of the most salient features of postmodern society: the individual need to purchase an identity. There is, as Gergen argues, no self

outside the social context.¹⁶ The media, which provide a plethora of social situations for onlookers to identify with and become part of, serve as vehicles for purchasing these identities. From this one could conclude that working- and middle-class selves are formed, in part, by the numerous other selves that one encounters on a daily basis via the media. It is, in short, these “other” selves that are in need of further investigation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

¹Douglas Kellner, "Reading Images Critically: Toward A Postmodern Pedagogy," in Gender, Race and Class in Media, eds. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (Long Island: Sage Publications, 1995), 127.

²Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1982), 137.

³Arthur Asa Berger, Cultural Criticism (California: Sage Publications, 1995).

⁴Paul Fussell, Class (New York: Ballantine Books, 1983), 97-98, 231.

⁵Ibid., 9.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Alan Warde and Nicholas Abercrombie, eds., Stratification and Social Inequality: Studies in British Society (Lancaster: Framework Press Educational Publishers Ltd., 1994), 28.

⁸Paul Fussell, Class (New York: Ballantine Books, 1983), 181.

⁹Ibid., 183.

¹⁰Ibid., 186.

¹¹Erving Goffman, Gender Advertisements (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1979), 6-8.

¹²Barbara Ehrenreich, "The Silenced Majority: Why the Average Working Person Has Disappeared From American Media and Culture," in Gender, Race and Class In Media, eds. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (California: Sage Publications, 1995), 41.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Douglas Kellner, "Reading Images Critically: Toward A Postmodern Pedagogy," in Gender, Race and Class in Media, eds. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (Long Island: Sage Publications, 1995), 127

¹⁵Barbara Anne Byrne, "Relevance Theory and the Language of Advertising" (MPhil In Linguistics thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1988), 13; Roland Barthes, The Semiotic Challenge (New York: Hill and Wang, 1988); Umberto Eco, The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 1-13; Barbara Stern, "A Revised Communication Model for Advertising: Multiple Dimensions of the Source, Message, and the Ricipient," Journal of Advertising (June 1994): 5.

¹⁶Kenneth Gergen, The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life (US: BasicBooks, 1991), 68-69.

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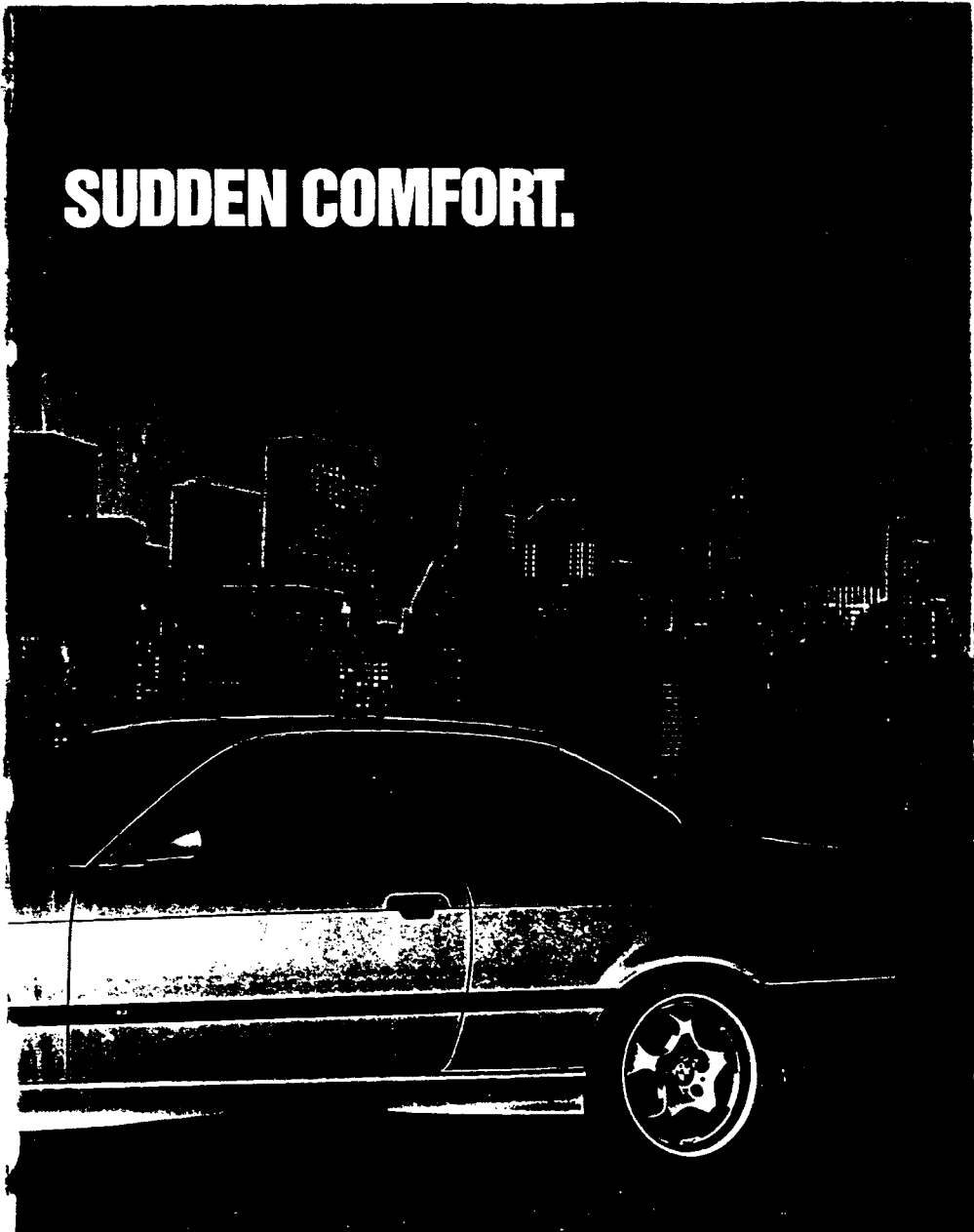
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ADVERTISEMENTS REPRESENTED IN
THE SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS

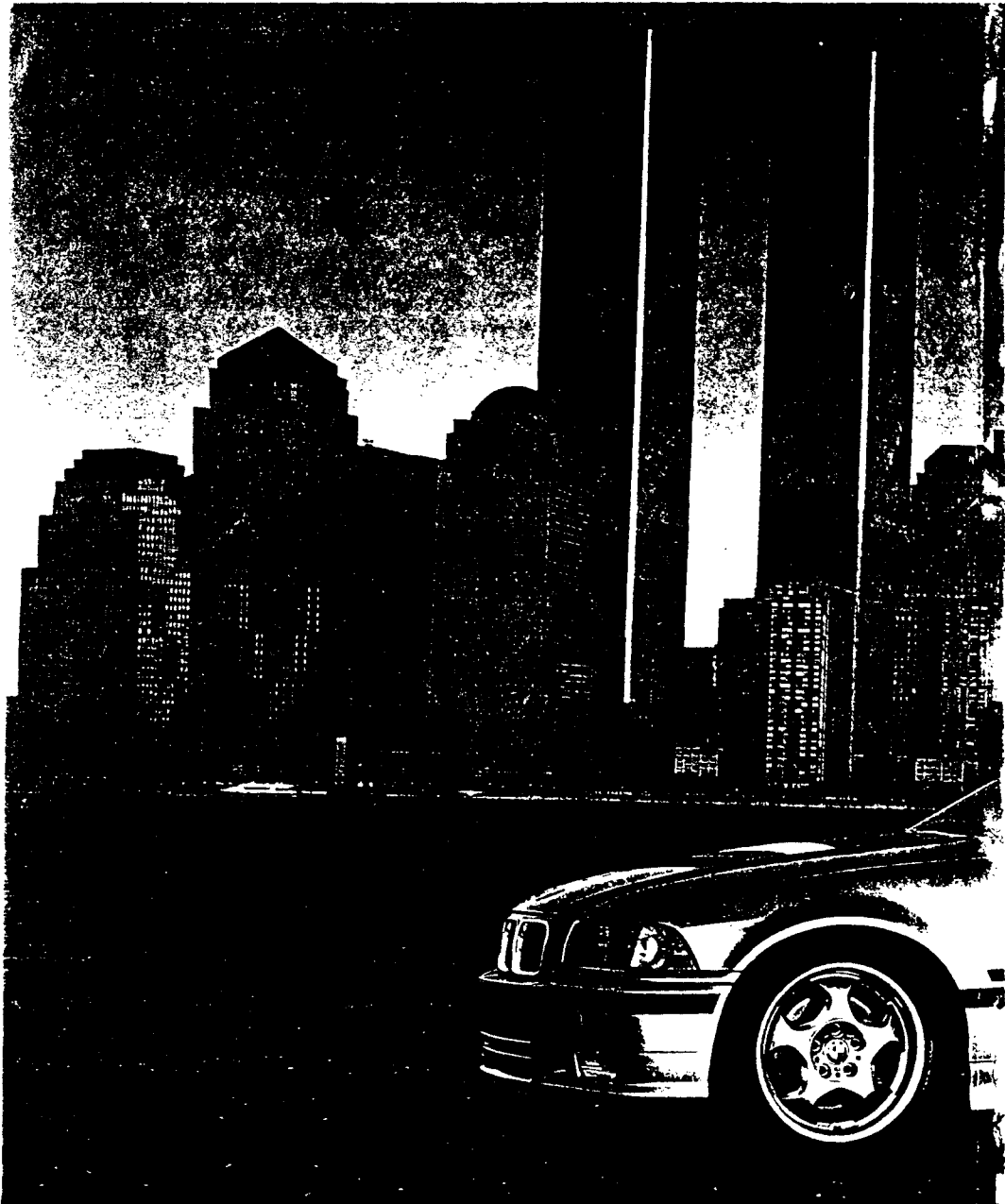
transform the daily commute into an exciting escape. Now, an optional five-speed automatic transmission with exuberant response makes gridlock bearable – and your getaway quick. By that time, you'll probably have forgotten about the Dow, your clients and everything else.

Call 1-800-334-4BMW for more information about the new M3 Luxury. A sports coupe that can take you away from it all – immediately.

*Manual transmission

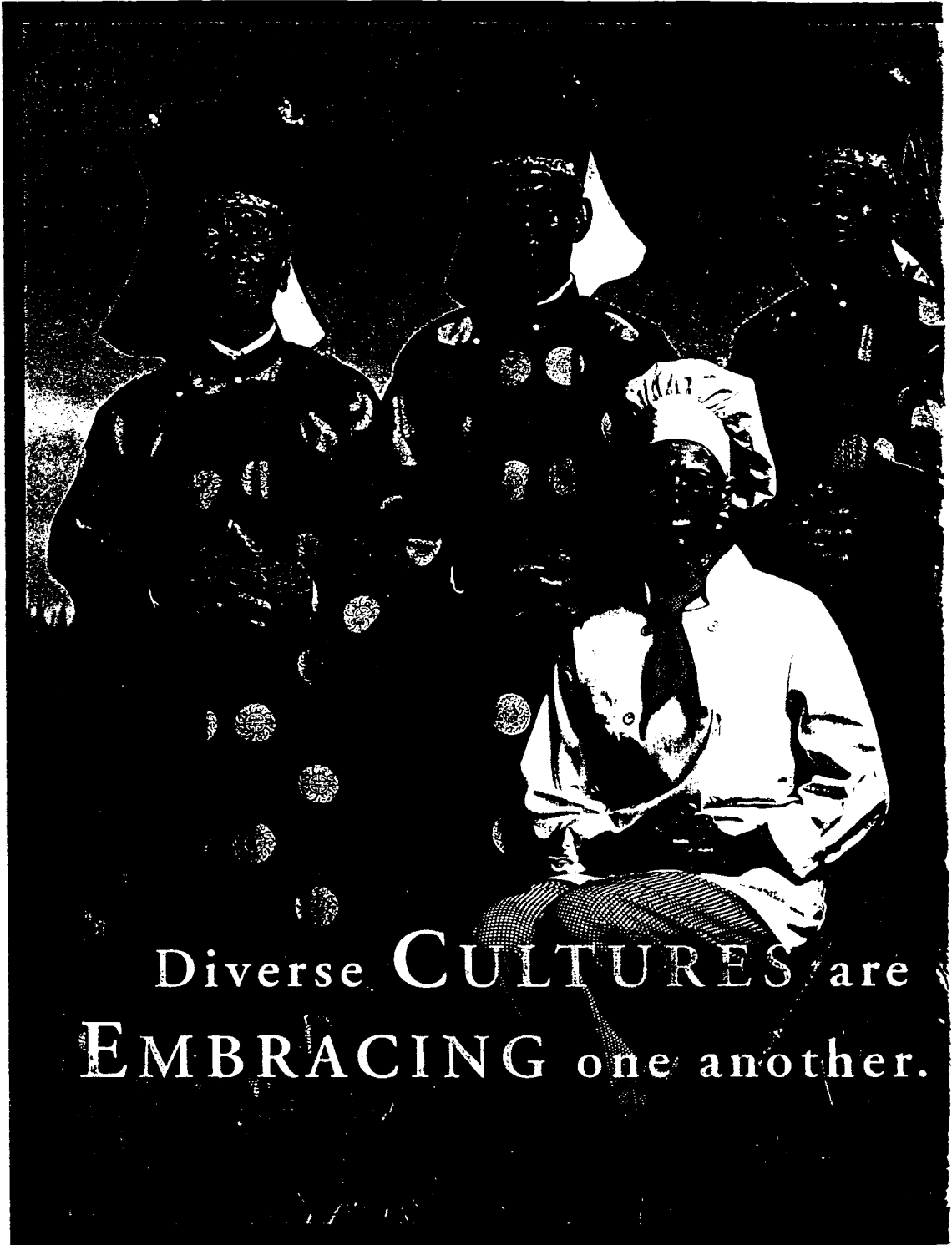
THE NEW M3 LUXURY



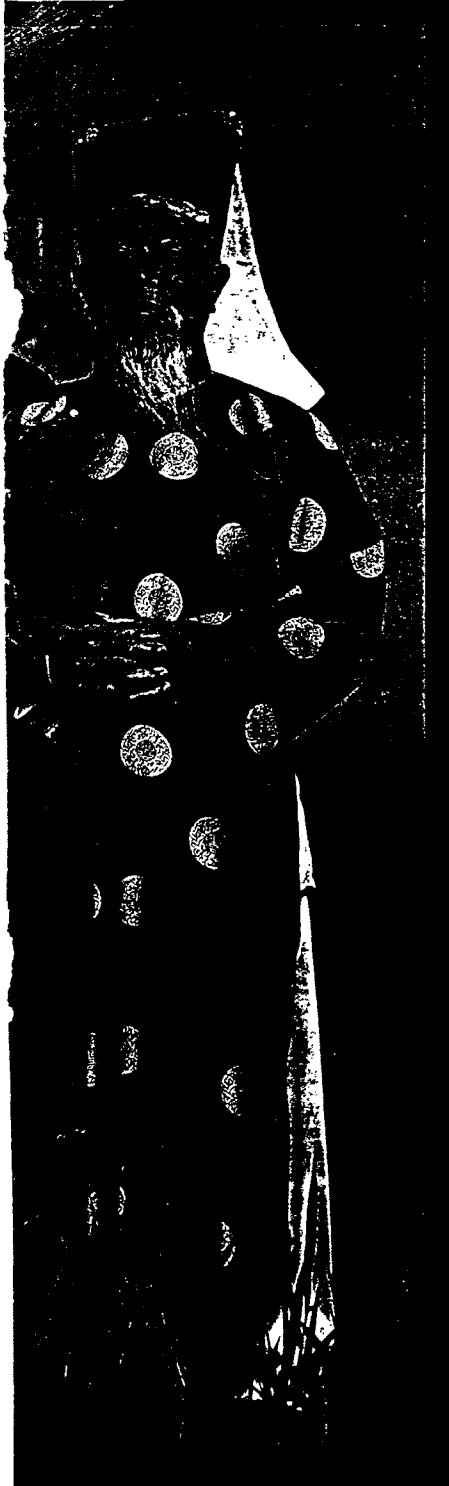


BMW introduces the fastest way to unwind from the grind of the MS Luxury. It starts with the vibrant, touring capabilities and four-seat practicality of the world-acclaimed M1, and then adds you with sophisticated comfort and luxury. The 340-hp engine propels you from 0-60 in 4.1 seconds.

Get a breath of fresh air with panoramic windows, leather interior, power windows, light, heat, and air conditioning, Nappa leather. A multi-function on-board computer and cruise control add driver convenience and comfort. A trim exclusive M1 alloy wheel and optional roof rack.



Diverse CULTURES are
EMBRACING one another.



BUILDING BRIDGES

Three in a series.

There's only one human race. Yet isn't it remarkable how so many things can actually separate us? Things like time.

And distance. And language. Well, imagine, if you will, a world without limits. Where close and



AT&T Language Line interpreters are available in up to 140 languages, 24 hours a day.

familiar replace foreign and distant. If you're an AT&T customer,



that world is now within your reach. For instance, with

AT&T Language Line,[®] interpreters help you build

*AT&T TrueVoice
Patented technology gives
you the clearest, richest
sound quality ever.*

bridges of understanding. To hear the most subtle

inflections in any voice, we developed AT&T TrueVoice.[®] And with

AT&T TrueWorld[™] Savings we can help you save on

every international call you make.* A world of

possibilities. That's *Your True Choice.*[™] AT&T.



*AT&T TrueWorld Savings
Save on every international
call, no matter how many
countries you call. Pay only \$3
a month, and save 40%.**

Just call 1 800 336-TRUE. Or on the Internet at <http://www.att.com>

*Not in most areas. Discount off AT&T basic residential rates. Certain exclusions apply.
Direct dial calls during value hours compared to standard period prices.



AT&T

Your True Choice

FAÇONNABLE

DESIGNED IN FRANCE
BY ALBERT GOLDBERG



NORDSTROM

AVAILABLE IN AMERICA EXCLUSIVELY AT NORDSTROM STORES (TO ORDER, CALL OUR HOTLINE AT 1-800-723-2889);
AND AT FAÇONNABLE NEW YORK, FIFTH AVENUE AT 54TH STREET, (212) 319-0111





EMANUEL

BLOOMINGDALE'S HENRI BENDEL NORDSTROM MARCHONNE SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

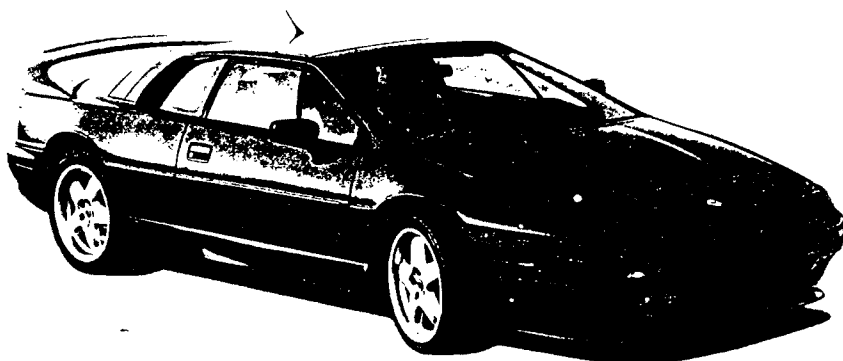
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
PETITE COLLECTION AVAILABLE





Your brains got you to where you are today.
So stop thinking already.

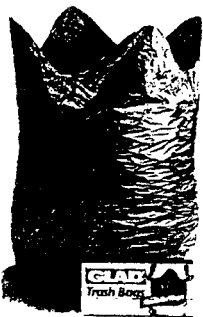
And *feel* the allurements of the road. *Experience* the elation that comes from the new 300-horsepower 54-. With a slight *touch* of your hand. *Enjoy* its supple power steering and rigorous handling. *Smell* its pervasive full Connolly leather. And *enjoy*, for once, stimulation of the senses without the invasion of intellect. For information or to find an agent near you, call 1-800-24-LOTUS.



TIES ARE OUT.



FLAPS ARE IN.



Glad Trash Bags with new Quick-Tie Flaps mean you'll never have to be bothered with twist-ties again.

**WORK LIKE
HELL
FEEL LIKE
HEAVEN**

Thanks to DuraShocks® technology, Wolverines can make your feet forget they're working at all. They're the only work boots with a 30-day money-back guarantee for comfort. And they're available in 6", 8", Steel Toes and Wellingtons. For a dealer near you, call 1-800-543-2668.

THE WORLD'S MOST COMFORTABLE BOOTS

DURA SHOCKS

Patented Compression Pads Cushion Your Foot on Impact.

WOLVERINE BOOTS & OUTDOOR FOOTWEAR SINCE 1883

© 1994 Wolverine World Wide, Inc., Eadsford, MI 49231

1996 Lake County Co. Milwaukee WI

THIS IS A DOG.

HE SLEEPS ALL DAY

AND GOES OUT

EVERY NIGHT

HENCE THE EXPRESSION

"LUCKY DOG."

ICE BREWED FOR THE TASTE THAT GOES ALL OUT WHEN YOU'RE OUT. THE NIGHT IS YOUNG.

A Truck And A Half.

CHEVY S-SERIES ZR2 EXTENDED-CAB, 191 HP 4X4. It's big. It's tough. And it's here, introducing the all-new Chevy ZR2 Extended-Cab. Hot off the press, this ZR2 Extended-Cab gives you more of what you want in a truck, and more of what you need. Much more.

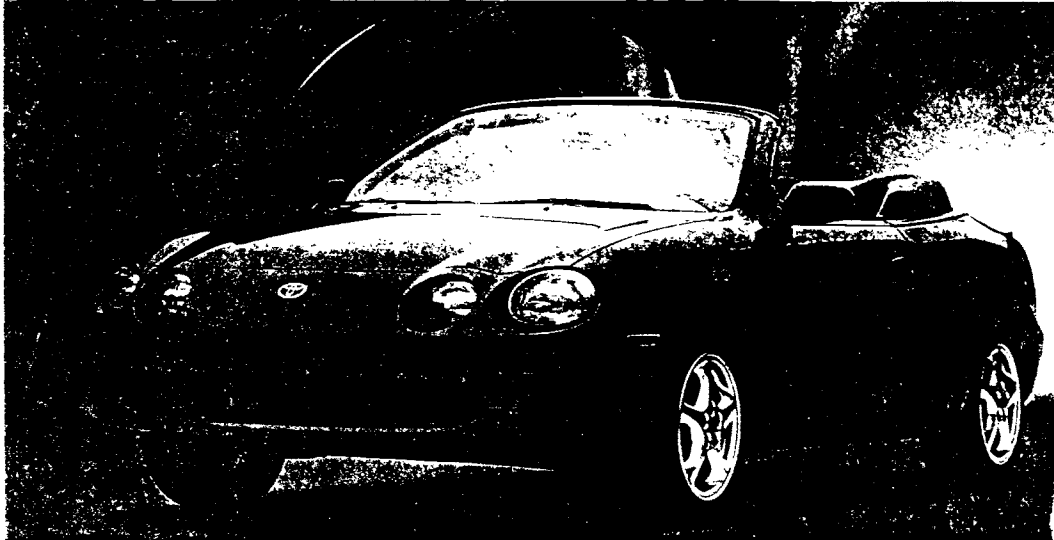
Watch its wide front and rear track hunker down in the dirt while the available 191 HP V6 kicks back. No other V6 in this class can touch it for power. Below deck, 46 mm Bilstein shocks are strapped onto an off-road suspension package that takes no prisoners. Got gear? Stow it in the room this extended cab provides. The new Chevy ZR2 Extended-Cab. Go big. Or go home.

Chevy S-Series
LIKE A ROCK



For a free product brochure call 1-800-950-2438.

The Chevrolet Emblem is a registered trademark and Chevy is a trademark of the GM Corp. ©1994 GM Corp. All Rights Reserved. Buckle up, America!



OPEN air art EXHIBIT.

SLIPPERY LINES. SCULPTED
aerodynamics. A powerful ENGINE
and nimble AGILITY.



The 1995 Toyota Celica GT
Convertible. ALL-NEW from the
top down, it's as BEAUTIFUL to
drive as it is to LOOK at.



CALL 1-800-GO-TOYOTA
for a BROCHURE
and to locate your
NEAREST DEALER.



 **TOYOTA CELICA**
THE WAY TO LIFE

A First from Capodimonte



Each petal is individually formed by hand and carefully hand-assembled.

The Roses of Capodimonte
 LIMITED EDITION
 CRAFTED IN THE BISQUE WORKS
 Plate No. _____
 Individually numbered by hand with 24 karat gold

Plate shown smaller than actual size of 8" (20.32 cm) in diameter.

The first-ever collector plate from Capodimonte. A Limited Edition. Hand-Numbered and Bordered in 24 Karat Gold.

For over two hundred years, the Capodimonte name has meant the highest standards and quality in European floral sculpture. Now the same Capodimonte masters present their first-ever collector plate.

"The Roses of Capodimonte." A glorious bouquet of fine porcelain roses, blushed in softest pink, placed on a custom-designed bisque porcelain collector plate. Handcrafted by the renowned artisans of Capodimonte, so that no two are alike. In the tradition of the most prized collectibles, each is hand-numbered and bordered in 24 karat gold. And each imported plate bears the Capodimonte mark on its reverse side.

This Limited Edition will be closed forever after just 45 casting days. Available exclusively from The Franklin Mint, Franklin Center, PA 19091-0001.

A Limited Edition Collector Plate. Hand-Numbered and Bordered in 24 Karat Gold.
 The Franklin Mint Please mail by June 30, 1998
 Franklin Center, PA 19091-0001

Please enter my order for *The Roses of Capodimonte*, presented by the floral porcelain masters of Capodimonte. I need SEND NO MONEY NOW. My order will be billed in 4 equal monthly installments of \$27.50. I will be billed when my plate arrives to my home. I am not a customer.

NAME: _____
 ADDRESS: _____
 CITY: _____
 STATE: _____
 ZIP: _____

Satisfaction Guaranteed. If you are not completely satisfied, please return your plate for a full refund. No return charges. Payment by credit card only.

“I’m not the only one to keep my joints supple with High Strength Pure Cod Liver Oil.”

Before taking Seven Seas High Strength Cod Liver Oil I couldn't lift my arm above shoulder height. Now I can lift it above my head.

Mr. Chandler, states at

I feel better in my joints for taking it.

Mr. Spawning, August

My joints are a lot looser since I've been taking High Strength Cod Liver Oil.

Mrs. Brown, True and Wear

I trust Seven Seas. If it was another brand I wouldn't be taking it.

Mrs. Yorks, Chicago

I've always taken Seven Seas because I know it's the best.

Mrs. Clark, states at

Who better to advertise Seven Seas High Strength Pure Cod Liver Oil than the people who most feel the benefit?

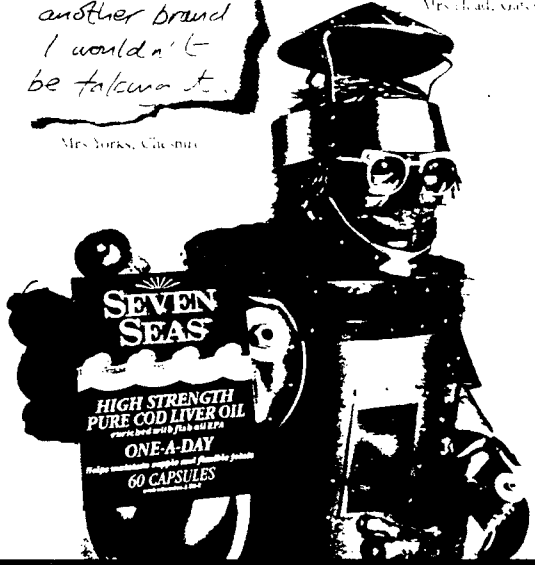
You see, our range contains around 50% more natural EPA than ordinary cod liver oil. EPA is the special polyunsaturate that experts agree plays an important role in maintaining healthy joints.

What's more, Seven Seas High Strength Pure Cod Liver Oil is available in both liquid and taste-free capsules.



Why not try it for yourself? Taken daily, it can help keep your joints supple and flexible.

It's the best ever from Seven Seas and it's at your local stockist now.



THERE'S NO BETTER WAY TO MAINTAIN SUPPLE AND FLEXIBLE JOINTS



APPENDIX B

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVERTISING IN THE US AND UK

Advertising in both the United States and the United Kingdom has its origins in signs, painted with symbols or pictures, which merchants hung over their doors to inform the public of the goods that were available inside.¹ In 1450, after the invention of movable type in Germany, posters, pamphlets and handbills began to appear in England, and in the 17th century, the first newspapers appeared in England. Newspapers surfaced in the New World at the beginning of the 18th century.²

With the emergence of newspapers came the emergence of "space brokers" who sold advertising space to local business people.³ In Britain, it was the formation of a relatively large literate middle class in the early eighteenth century that created the preconditions for advertising in its modern sense. "Advertisements were targeted toward frequenters of coffee houses, where magazines and newspapers were read, and significantly, the products advertised were such luxuries as coffee, tea, books, wigs, patent medicines, cosmetics, plays and concerts," and so on.⁴ Advertising of this time held no credibility, as it was argued to actually damage a businesses reputation.⁵

The great breakthrough for advertising in both Britain and the United States came in the late nineteenth century, for it was not until this time that technology and mass-production techniques were developed well enough to enable producers to turn out products of roughly the same quality and at roughly the same price.⁶ This was accompanied by overproduction and under-demand, which in turn required market stimulation in order to move products off the shelves.⁷ It was at this time that advertising techniques changed from proclamation to persuasion, and further that literacy spread to larger segments of the population. It was also at this time that the first newspaper to rely on

advertising for a significant part of its revenue, the *Daily Mail* of London, began publication.⁸

The first advertising agency—Lord & Thomas—surfaced in Chicago in 1904.⁹ With advertising agencies came concepts such as consumer benefit and reason-why advertising in which a logical argument showed the prospect why it was in his or her best interest to use the product. These concepts evolved into market research, as it became apparent that "an understanding of the prospect was at least as important as an understanding of the product."¹⁰

"This re-definition of advertising, along with the introduction of radio in the United States in the 1920s, gave the industry a boost that carried it through the Great Depression and the years of World War II."¹¹ Immediately following the war, television stations in the United States began broadcasting in major cities, and in the early 1950s, coast-to-coast television began to gain momentum. This was the start of the advertising boom in which advertising expenditures increased tenfold between 1950 and 1980.¹²

Britain carries a history of opposition to advertising from the upper classes which stems from their overall contempt of commercialism. The upper classes fought against allowing advertisements on television, and it was not until 1955 that the British parliament approved its use.¹³ With the approval of television advertising, British agencies hired individuals with American experience and American agencies began opening offices in London to service the needs of important clients in Britain. Thus, the British were influenced by the advertising concepts of the United States and as a result, early British television advertisements tended to be dominated by commercials made in the American style.¹⁴

British advertising did, however, come into its own during the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, despite cultural similarities between the United States and the Britain, there are now substantial differences between American and British advertising.¹⁵ British advertisements, like American advertisements, make "frequent use of features in their culture."¹⁶ In Britain,

these features include the "persistence of class divisions and affection for eccentricity."¹⁷ Furthermore, British advertisements have been found to leave the audience with a general impression of a product's values and benefits, while American advertisements focus on one specific feature or attribute. Along with this, research shows that British advertisements are implicit while American advertisements are explicit.¹⁸ As a British copywriter writes, "you can communicate more accurately, more effectively to slightly different groups if you let them decide the responses you want them to have."¹⁹

Overall, British advertisements tend to contain less information than American advertisements, employ a soft sell rather than a hard sell approach, and attempt to entertain the viewer.²⁰ Perhaps this is why British viewers' opinions of advertisements are more favorable than those of American viewers. One scholar noted that British advertisements constitute the "least intrusive. . . advertising in the world."²¹ In addition, Britain has more humorous advertisements than the United States does. Ogilvy and Mather found that because a softer sell makes television advertising more acceptable to the viewer, the British audience feels they are being entertained with their advertisements while American consumers feel they are being informed.²²

In turning to rights and regulations regarding advertising, one should first note that in the United States, advertising is covered by the shield of the First Amendment. It is protected because the information within advertisements is considered valuable to consumers.²³ The United Kingdom, on the other hand, has no written constitution. Instead, it has a series of constitutional principles and conventions, with "no formal protection of freedom of expression and access to information."²⁴ In the early 1990s, however, it did acquire two sets of external constitutional laws in the treaties of the European Union, in which Article 10 protects freedom of expression.²⁵

In the United States advertising may be regulated by the government, but only if the government can satisfy three requirements: the government must justify the regulation, it must demonstrate that the regulation advanced the state interest, and the regulation must be

no more extensive than is necessary to serve the interest of the state. If the government can meet these three requirements, the courts will normally permit the advertisement in question to be restricted or banned altogether.²⁶ In addition, the United States government can regulate or prohibit advertising that promotes an unlawful activity or that is misleading or untruthful. Laws banning false advertising exist at both the state and local levels, "but tend to be applied halfheartedly."²⁷ The Federal Trade Commission is the most potent weapon against false or misleading advertising. It ensures that consumers are not victimized by unfair, misleading or deceptive advertisements.²⁸

Likewise, Britain has television advertising codes of practice which include substantiation requirements. Both the United States and Britain are effective in excluding unsubstantiated claims even though they may differ in type of products permitted to be advertised.²⁹ Furthermore, Britain's Television Act of 1963 had several provisions concerning advertising and programming. The ones of interest are as follows: a) specific powers regarding program control—e.g., violence in programs when large numbers of children may be watching, b) "more exact responsibility in regard to the control of advertisements," c) a ban on subliminal advertising, and d) a rule that "audible matter in advertisements must not be excessively noisy or strident."³⁰

The United States has laws protecting individuals from being placed in advertisements without their consent. In Britain, on the other hand, only images of the royal family are taboo, although the kings and queens of Britain help promote fine teas and other products by issuing seals of approval—called royal warrants—on packages. Thus, all public figures below the rank of royal can be shown in British advertisements. (A beer company in Britain featured a picture of Bill Clinton in a billboard advertisement. The headline for the advertisement read: "One of the things that I've learned this year is that a strong beer can have a really clean taste."³¹ Although the author of this quote is noted at the bottom of the advertisement, it is clear that the advertiser hoped to mislead the audience by placing a large picture of Bill Clinton next to the headline.)

Besides governmental control of advertisements, self-regulation in the United States also serves as a watchdog on advertising. Both the advertising industry and the mass media work to "police American advertising."³² Likewise, Britain's Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) has several guidelines controlling advertisements in Britain. It is internal within the industry and has guidelines that ensure, for example, that "advertising should be socially responsible and should not encourage excessive consumption of alcohol."³³ Other ASA guidelines are concerned with advertisements aimed at children, such as the directive that British advertisements should not be directed toward children unless the product is of use to them, and the directive that adverts should not encourage children to be a nuisance to parents.³⁴

NOTES TO APPENDIX B

¹Compton's NewMedia Encyclopedia, 1995 ed., s.v. "Advertising History."

²Ibid.

³Steven Fox, The Mirror Makers: A History Of American Advertising and Its Creators (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 14.

⁴Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schroder, The Language of Advertising (United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd, 1985), 4.

⁵Steven Fox, The Mirror Makers: A History Of American Advertising and Its Creators (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 16.

⁶Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schroder, The Language of Advertising (United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd, 1985), 4.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Compton's NewMedia Encyclopedia, 1995 ed., s.v. "Advertising History."

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Dr. Terence Nevett, "Differences Between American and British Television Advertising: Explanations and Implications," Journal of Advertising (December 1992), 65.

¹⁴Ibid., 61.

¹⁵Ibid., 62.

¹⁶Ibid., 62.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸J.J. Waterson, "General Trends In UK Advertising," International Journal of Advertising (March 1986), 267.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Dr. Terence Nevett, "Differences Between American and British Television Advertising: Explanations and Implications," Journal of Advertising (December 1992), 62.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Don Pember, Mass Media Law (IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1990),

²⁴Myrna Reid Grant, "Gibraltar Killings: British Media Ethics," Journal of Mass Media Ethics (Spring 1992), 31.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Don Pember, Mass Media Law (IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1990),

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Dr. Terence Nevett, "Differences Between American and British Television Advertising: Explanations and Implications," Journal of Advertising (December 1992), 64.

³⁰Dan Ingman, Television Advertising (London: Business Publications Limited, 1965), 4.

³¹"Brewer Uses Clinton Picture to Sell Beer in Britain," Saturday Oklahoman & Times, 26 August 1993, 29.

³²Don Pember, Mass Media Law (IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1990),

³³Gillian Dyer, Advertising As Communication (London: Routledge, 1992), 135.

³⁴Ibid.

VITA

Cynthia M. Jimes

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Master of Science

Thesis: CLASS-SPECIFIC ADVERTISING: A SEMIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF
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Major Field: Mass Communications

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